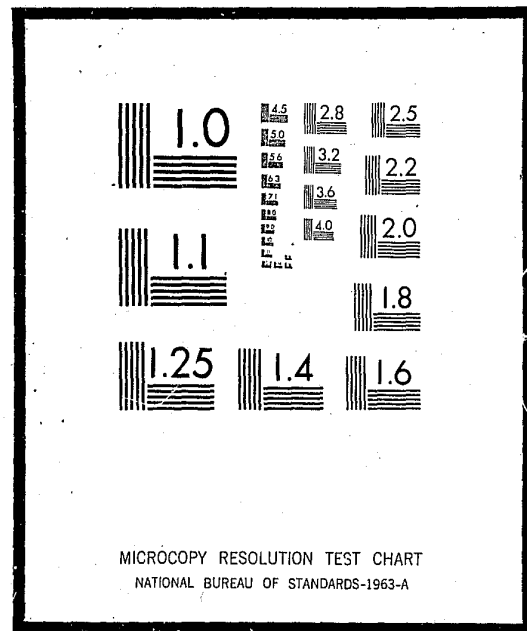


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THE MATURE CRIMINAL AS A HYPOTHETICAL TYPE: AN EVALUATION

by

Max Norman Burchard

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of  
The Graduate College of the University of Nebraska  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of Sociology

Under the Supervision of

Dr. James M. Reinhardt

Lincoln, Nebraska

May 1, 1955

TITLE

THE MATURE CRIMINAL AS A HYPOTHETICAL TYPE: AN EVALUATION

BY

Max Norman Burchard

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## THE MATURE CRIMINAL AS A HYPOTHETICAL TYPE: AN EVALUATION

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## THE MATURE CRIMINAL

### CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The concept "mature criminal" has been utilized by criminologists during the past ten years or so in order to designate those individuals in whom criminality has become an integrated part of the personality. This concept represents an ideal or constructed type of criminality which was suggested by the late E. H. Sutherland. Sutherland described the type as one who "...makes plans for the execution of delinquencies, but quite as carefully considers how to secure immunity in case he is apprehended. Furthermore, in case his precautions in these respects are inadequate, he takes imprisonment philosophically as a part of his life, just as a newsboy who has made what provision he could against the rain takes the rain as a part of his life."<sup>1</sup>

Logically, if a person is a "mature" criminal, he must have become so by means of a process of "maturation." This "maturation" process, according to Sutherland, refers to the fact that, in persisting criminals, "...criminality...grows in a somewhat consistent course. It does not mean that an individual who starts on this course must follow it to the end, or that he may not begin at some other point than that at which most other criminals begin."<sup>2</sup> The "maturation" process involves the tendency for criminality in certain individuals to proceed "... from trivial to serious, from occasional to frequent, from sport to business, from emotionally balanced criminality to the desperado complex, and from crimes committed by isolated individuals or by very loosely organized groups to crimes committed by rather tightly organized

1. Principles of Criminology, N.Y.: Lipincott, ed. 4, 1947, p. 200.

2. Ibid., p. 177.

groups. This process in crimes of violence reaches its height when the offender is about nineteen years of age and then remains constant for five or ten years..."<sup>3</sup>

The "mature criminal" may be considered as a hypothetical type, derived from "common-sense" observations. It is felt that such types must always be validated empirically, in order that one may avoid the error of universal application which ~~is~~ often marks the use of the stereotype. The concept "mature criminal" has not as yet been validated empirically, nor have its limits been as strictly defined as they should be. The only limit that Sutherland set for the "mature criminal" is shown in the following proposition: Persisting criminals are mature criminals. This assertion does not tell us which persisting criminals are "mature criminals," nor whether all "mature criminals" are persisting criminals. Further, there has been no attempt to show the validity of the type name, i.e., it is given that the "mature criminal" is a type of criminal, but it has not been shown that in referring to this type, one is actually referring to something which is mature. Therefore, the problem of the study becomes the validation of the "mature criminal" type, both from the standpoint of the type name and the empirical reality of the type.

In order to demonstrate the empirical reality of a type, it is necessary to discover at least one specimen which corresponds to the type-description. Assuming that all "mature criminals" are persisting criminals, one should expect that a specimen or group of specimens in a group of persisting criminals. This study is seen as an attempt to find such a specimen or group of specimens within a sample of persisting criminals.

3. Ibid., p. 200.

At this point, the following questions may be raised: (1) Does Sutherland's concept of criminal maturity fit in with current concepts of general maturity? That is, does the concept actually refer to maturity, rather than, for example, simply habituation? (2) Is the "mature criminal" as a constructed hypothetical type,<sup>4</sup> empirically demonstrable and if so, (3) do the factors, enumerated by Sutherland, adequately depict the type, and are they the most important factors involved in this particular type and its developmental processes? (4) What are the relationships, if any, which exist between persisting criminality and mature criminality, i.e., what makes a persisting criminal "mature"; do all persisting criminals follow the typical developmental sequence and become ultimately "mature" criminals? (5) Would an empirical type<sup>5</sup> more adequately portray the category of criminals in question, and be more amenable both to theoretical and practical usage than the constructed type?

It is felt that these questions may be answered by testing the following hypotheses:

4. The "mature criminal" may be considered a constructed type in the sense that it is derived on the basis of logic from non-systematic observation of phenomena. This is contrasted with the empirical type, which is a descriptive statement of the empirically proven commonalities of a class of objects (or phenomena). Cf. Becker, H., Through Values to Social Interpretation, Durham: Duke Uni. Press, 1950, pp. 95-127, for a discussion of "constructive typology." Cf. Winch, R.F., "Feuristic and Empirical Typologies: A Job For Factor Analysis," A.S. Sociol. Rev., 12: 6-75, Feb., 1947, for a discussion of empirical types. Other references will be found in bibliography.
5. The empirical type has been posed by Winch (*Ibid.*) and others as a test of the validity of the constructed type. Also, it is felt that the empirical type provides a means for more exact description of the constructed type, particularly in the case of relatively specific categories (cf. hypothesis 3, this study). The empirical type may also be used independently.

- 4
1. The persisting criminal goes through the typical pattern of development described above as a maturation process, and becomes, between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five, the type of individual described above as the "mature criminal."
  2. All persisting criminals tend to fit the pattern outlined above as the "mature criminal"; the habit of persisting in criminality imparts a certain element of maturity in the field to the individual criminal.
  3. An empirical type, derived from those traits which are common to a sample of persisting criminals, will enable a more precise description of the "mature criminal," and rather definitely establish the limits of this hypothetical type.

One of the problems which the social sciences face is the general usage of the hypothetical without bothering to test it. An attempt will be made in this study to (a) validate a hypothetical type (the "mature criminal") which has had general usage in criminology, and/or (b) more clearly and specifically define the type in order to demonstrate the limits of its scientific usage.

It is believed that this study may contribute to the field of criminology in two ways: First, through the clarification of one of the major concepts of the field (criminal maturity) and the contribution to theoretical order which a description of a valid type makes; and second, by establishing a category or type which may be used in a practical way for prediction and control of the behavior of those who fit the type. It is necessary to have, in criminology as in other fields, a body of theory that has both conceptual and practical utility; and in order to meet these conditions, taxonomy is definitely needed, else one flounders in the confusion of individual differences from which it is impossible to derive order.

It is held that a criminological taxonomy based upon the common characteristics and behavioral tendencies of criminals will provide

a tool for theoretical analysis and generalization, as well as for practical purposes. Such a classification system should help to clarify concepts and bring a measure of order out of the chaos which has come about as a result of the relatively fruitless contemplation of individual differences. This is not to say that knowledge of individual differences has no practical utility. In social engineering, for example, knowledge is applied to the individual case, and information regarding individual differences is virtually indispensable for this purpose.<sup>6</sup> However, it is essential to have, as a reference point, as concise a taxonomy as possible.<sup>7</sup> Such a taxonomy is only slowly being built up at the present time. Outstanding efforts in that direction include C. R. Shaw's The Jack-roller,<sup>8</sup> and Sutherland's The Professional Thief,<sup>9</sup> among others.

A system of classification does not and cannot develop in a single study. Rather, many studies will be required to build up such a system. Moreover, in view of the continuous development of new research techniques, and the dynamic nature of the world in which we live, a sociological taxonomy can rarely be considered complete. This study will attempt to depict, as adequately as possible, one criminological category, the "mature criminal," in order to clarify concepts and aid in ordered thinking with regard to this particular type of criminal. This will be done by proceeding, after a discussion of the methodology of this investigation, to: (1) compare the concept

6. Cf., Allport, G.W., The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science, N.Y.: Soc. Sci. Res. Council, 1942, p. 58.

7. McKinney, J. C., "The Role of Constructive Typology in Scientific Sociological Analysis," Social Forces, 20:235-40.

8. Philadelphia: Albert Saifer, 1951.

9. University of Chicago Press, 1937.

of criminal maturity with those of general social maturity, in order to determine the validity of the type-name;<sup>10</sup> (2) determine the empirical reality of the above-described hypothetical type; and (3) derive, as the data permit, an empirical type based upon the characteristics of the subjects studied, so as to provide a cross-check on, and possible modification of, the constructed type.

10. Cf. Chapter III, below.

## CHAPTER II INTRODUCTION

The problem, as stated in Chapter I, is the validation of the "mature criminal" type, from the standpoint of both the type name and empirical reality of the type, for the purpose of providing for a higher degree of clarity and accuracy in its usage. In order to do this, it is deemed necessary, first, to compare the concept of criminal maturity with concepts of general social maturity; secondly, to discover the existence of an empirical instance or specimen (or group of specimens) which correspond to the description of the type; and thirdly, to discover further points of identity for type-description existing among a group of specimens which are expected to conform to the type, in order to more accurately and extensively describe the type.

The comparison of concepts will be done on the basis of the relation of the descriptive points of the "mature criminal" type to those of a composite concept of general social maturity. While one should not necessarily expect the "mature criminal" type to conform completely to the general concept, since the latter is of a higher order of abstraction, yet the majority of the points descriptive of the "mature criminal" should correspond to those of the general concept in order that validity of the "mature criminal," as a "maturity" type may be established.

It seemed that the most fruitful way in which to accomplish the task of demonstrating empirical reality and deriving an empirical type with a single method would be to utilize the case-history approach. This approach has been utilized in this study, because, in the first place, this method allows the study of the developmental aspects of



the type which are enumerated or implied in the description of that type, as well as the study of the characteristics of the finished product (i.e., the empirical instance of the type). Secondly, the case history allows the derivation of an empirical type on the basis of several common characteristics rather than just one or possibly two, as would be the case with most questionnaire-type instruments.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the derived type will be a more complex composite, a relatively specific category, and will represent a more homogeneous group than would otherwise be possible.

A third rather general point to be made regarding the use of the case history is that it lends itself not only to the study of the idiographic-particular, but is also valid for the study of the nomothetic-general, or class phenomena.<sup>2</sup> Both classes of generalization are necessary in all sociological fields.

The first (idiographic) type of generalization is necessary in order to ascertain, on the basis of the peculiarity of the individual case and the characteristics which are unique to that case, the probable extent of deviation from the class norm of the individual's reactions in given situations. This is the only way in which allowances may be made (in engineering, for instance) for the unique.

It is found possible, for example, by extensive study of the behavior patterns revealed in the life history of a given individual, to predict his future behavior on the basis of those patterns. It has been noted that repeated reactions to similar circumstances become

1. Terman, L.M., "The Measurement of Personality," Science, 60:05-06, 1921, p. 607.
2. Allport, G.W., The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science, N.Y.: Soc. Sci. Res. Council, 1924, p. 57.

habitual. Assuming this habit factor, one may reasonably predict that an individual will react in the future in much the same manner as he has reacted in the past under similar circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Such prediction has already been utilized in criminology, generally with reference to behavior on parole and probation.

The second (nomothetic) type of generalization is necessary in order to have system in thinking and research, and also to economize in those activities relative to the objects of study. Thus, given one's purposes, it is not necessary to study in toto each individual in the sample, but only those traits or patterns which place him in a given type. One may then predict, with limits, group and individual activity in certain circumstances on the basis of what is known of the type.

It is believed that if one used both categories of generalization together, it would be possible to predict for one individual, on the basis of his type and the vagaries of his developmental history, his actions on parole, in custody, on probation, as a non-parole discharger from a penal institution, in an occupation in free society, as a trusty, and so forth. Also, it is possible that, by utilizing both classes of knowledge in the study of correction and rehabilitation, one may first determine which methods are most successful for which particular type, and second, account for and perhaps counteract the dominant factors in those individuals who refuse to respond to the type treatment. A typology, then, should provide for relatively accurate prediction and a measure of economy in corrective handling of criminals.

3. Cf. Foreman, L.S., "The Theory of Case Studies," Social Forces, 26:408-419, 1948.

Methodologically, it would seem that the procedure is the same whether one desires idiographic or nomothetic generalizations. That is, in either case, one studies the recurrent and the identical for purposes of arrangement, control and prediction. The specific method used, of course, may be different in each case; however, it is felt that the rationale of the method is equivalent in either setting. One must, of course, refrain from unwarranted generalizations whether they be idiographic or nomothetic.

A hypothetical case will serve to illustrate the possibility for prediction on the basis of both nomothetic and idiographic knowledge. Thus, for example, let us say that we have determined three dominant characteristics by which we describe forgers (other than the factor sine qua non, forging checks). They are (1) the forger regards his periods of freedom between prison terms as vacations from a job; (2) his philosophy is that he should live high during his vacation, and the easiest way in which to finance such a venture is through forgery; and (3) the forger is easily caught because he takes little or no precaution to avoid apprehension, thus his vacations are short. John Doe, let us say, has served three terms for forgery, has been paroled two times, both of which saw his parole revoked. He is married and always goes home from prison to his wife; does not go on "wild" parties; has never held a steady job; is rather thoroughly institutionalized; a trusted inmate of the prison during periods of incarceration; he forges checks for only small amounts; his stays in free society are brief but quiet.

It may be ascertained from this very brief outline of the man and type that: (a) his offenses are always forgeries; (b) he regards

his periods of freedom somewhat as vacations, during which he has no intention of working, although he prefers a more sedentary vacation than does the average forger; (c) he utilizes forged instruments to finance his rest period; (d) he is easily caught, which may be inferred from the length of his periods of freedom. It is felt, thus, that John fits the forger type. One may predict, on the basis of what is known of the type that: (a) he will not work when released from prison, but will return to his check-forging, and (b) that he will be back in prison in relatively short order. On the basis of his case history, one may also predict that (a) John will be a good trusty in prison, (b) he will live with his wife, quietly, while on the outside, (c) he would not do well on parole, (d) the checks he forges will be for small amounts of money.

Although the example is oversimplified, it is seen that the individual portrayed has certain characteristics in common with others whereby it is possible to type him and lawfully predict certain aspects of his future behavior. It is also possible, on the basis of repeated behavior patterns in this man's history, to predict that he will react in the future in much the same manner as he has in the past, given similar circumstances. Hence, it is seen that, by use of both nomothetic and idiographic generalizations, more aspects of the individual's behavior may be predicted than by using either one alone.

A statement regarding the general nature of a typology is relevant here. The term is used in this study to refer to a system of relatively discrete classes or categories of objects. In no case, however, will the individual types be necessarily mutually exclusive. Nor is it necessary to establish categories which are mutually

exclusive in order to satisfy the demands of any science. On the contrary, the types are discrete only to the extent that one's purposes demand that they be. Thus, for example, man, as a type of animal, forms a relatively discrete grouping. Yet, it is seen that he has features in common with various other animals, as for instance, a blood characteristic known as the "rhesus factor". Such overlapping of characteristics is not a deterrent to prediction in biological science; on the contrary, the knowledge of the existence of such a factor may serve to make prediction more accurate in certain circumstances. Hence, depending upon the purpose at hand, and the available data, the type may be developed on the basis of those characteristics which seem to be related to the particular problem in view.

The establishment and use of typologies have been advocated and attempted in sociology, mainly for theoretical and research purposes.<sup>4</sup> Little, however, has been noted regarding its usage by the practitioner, specifically, in reference to criminology, the police, judge, warden, parole officer and social worker. If a typology in criminology has no value for these people, directly or indirectly, there is a strong possibility that it has no practical value at all. And, it is felt that it is the task of the researcher to point out, insofar as possible, how his theory may be applied to concrete cases.

Since it is desired that the results of this study have practical

4. Cf., e.g., Parsons, T., "The Professions and Social Structure," Social Forces, 17:457-67, 1939; Allick, P.J., "Types of Families; An Analysis of Census Data," Am. Socio. Rev., 6:840-58, 1941; Riemer, S., "A Research Note on Incest," Am. J. Sociol., 45:76-75, 1940; Riemer, S., "Theory and Quantitative Analysis in Criminological Research," Am. J. Sociol., 48:188-201, 1942.

utility, it is felt that those characteristics which are most easily observable should be considered in this study. Another reason for the utilization of those characteristics which are readily observable is the fact that most of our prisons have no clinical psychologists or psychiatrists available for depth probing, consequently there is little information available regarding those factors which are more obscure. Our prisons are, by and large, places which are maintained primarily to retain custody over the felon; and while rehabilitation or correction programs are desperately needed, the immediate problem for the warden and his staff is the most economical and suitable method of providing custody. To a lesser degree, the same is true of the probation and parole worker, and the police officials. The information that these officials want is what the individual will do rather than why he may do it. With this problem in mind, this study is not concerned primarily with motivation or causation, but with those common repetitive patterns from which one may predict future behavior in and out of prison.

In gathering the data for this study, a check sheet was prepared, listing some twenty-seven rather easily discernible and tabulable items.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this check sheet, a relatively short summary of those elements in the individual's social history was written up.<sup>6</sup> These summaries are of similar quality to those provided for prison officials and, e.g., juvenile court judges in many instances. It was felt that, in order to have utility, the study should show, if possible, a more efficient use of existing facilities rather than attempting to produce new or more elaborate ones.

<sup>5</sup>. See Appendix I  
<sup>6</sup>. See Appendix I

In determining types, an effort should be made to present a description of related factors, and if possible, to show how they are related. Also, these factors should be relevant to concepts of crime causation and/or continuation. By following this procedure, one may avoid the enumeration of such things as eye color, religious sect, and other items which, as far as is known, are not factors in general crime causation. And, by using those factors commonly associated in criminological theory with causation, it may be possible to point out areas for further study in the field of cause.

It will be remembered that the problem is to locate a specimen of the "mature" criminal type. Hence, only subjects which might reasonably be expected to fit the defined criteria should be chosen for examination. To do otherwise would be an obvious waste of time. Therefore, in selecting subjects for study, a number of points had to be considered. First, by definition, a "mature" criminal is a persisting one, that is, he persists in criminality over an extended period of time. Consequently, for such a study as this, one must of necessity select persisting criminals for examination. Second, the term "mature" carries the connotation of ability to judge and decide for oneself. Hence, an individual of abnormally low intelligence, while he may be a persisting criminal, still would be found lacking in judgement--that is, his criminality might well be the result of his susceptibility to the persuasions of his fellows rather than a rational acceptance of this type of life. On the basis of this reasoning, one should expect to find the "mature" criminal specimen only among those of relatively normal or high intelligence. In keeping with this line of thought, those individuals whose crimes

indicated the possibility of compulsive behavior were also ruled out. Third, it was felt that members of racial minorities of our own society should not be included, since it is argued by some that these individuals are often forced into crime by the dominant group. Fourth, since criminal subjects were required for examination, penitentiary inmates were indicated. Reformatory inmates tend to be those who are serving their first terms after having attained eighteen years of age, whereas recidivists are lodged in penitentiaries.

Following the above reasoning, the subjects for this study were selected from those who had served time in the Nebraska State Penitentiary, on the basis of the following characteristics: (a) Three or more felony convictions for which the individual was sentenced to a penitentiary. It was felt that this would rather conclusively indicate a tendency toward recidivism, and show clearly the required factor of persistence in criminality. While most of the subjects had served in state industrial schools and/or reformatories, service in these institutions was not considered in the selection of the cases. (b) A recorded intelligence score, either of the Wechsler-Bellevue or the Stanford-Binet variety, of relative normality. The main consideration here was to obtain subjects whose tested intelligence was not abnormally low, in order to ensure, as far as possible, that they were capable of making decisions for themselves. (c) A predominance of theft and/or the so-called economic "crimes of violence." Thus, the majority of the crimes for which the subjects were convicted were burglary, breaking and entering, grand larceny, and so forth. Those whose crimes consisted largely of drug addiction, murder, etc., were excluded on the grounds of



possible compulsion-dominated behavior. One exception was included-- a confidence man. (d) All the subjects selected were of the Caucasian racial category, essentially of Northern European extraction.

The universe here consists of all those individuals who meet the foregoing qualifications. Since it would be impossible to search the records of all such individuals, a sample group was necessarily selected for study. It was reasoned that, other things being equal, a group of inmates who had been discharged from the Nebraska Penitentiary over a three-year period would very likely provide a group of sufficient size for the purpose of this study. It was further decided that one would have no better chance of locating a "mature" criminal specimen during one three-year period than any other such period. Therefore, (and incidentally to lend a degree of currency to the findings), all those individuals who met the above selective criteria, and who were discharged from the Nebraska State Penitentiary during the years 1950-1952, inclusive, and for whom relatively complete records could be obtained,<sup>7</sup> were selected for examination. There were twenty-five such cases.

Special attention was devoted to obtaining information regarding those qualities of the type posited by Sutherland. However, it has been necessary to make some inferences regarding certain of these

7. When an individual is re-sentenced to the Nebraska State Penitentiary, he is given a new number and new record jacket. However, certain records are taken from the old jacket and placed in the new (for example, psychological test scores and social studies). Thus, there were some individuals who would have been included in the study (i.e., they met the first four qualifications and were discharged during the required period) had their "dead" records not been reduced to skeleton proportions as a result of their having been incarcerated at the time the data were gathered.

qualities, since the subjects were not available for interview, and since social investigations in these cases were incomplete in varying degrees. The specific inferences are noted as such later in the study.

The social history that is available to the warden and hence for this study, is quite sketchy. Much information which would be of value both to prison and other officials, and to students of criminology is not available in these histories. Social investigations are frequently carried on by relatively untrained workers in County Welfare Bureau. These jobs do not ordinarily attract highly skilled persons, since the pay is usually very low.

The use of these case records as sources of data for this study is perhaps not the most desirable from a strictly theoretical point of view; however, in order to serve the utilitarian purpose of the study, as well as the theoretical, a compromise of this sort was felt necessary. Also, information which would be ideal, theoretically, was impossible to acquire--for example, as is pointed out above, the subjects could not be interviewed relative to those activities which are not noted in the records.

Since their periods of incarceration were served in state prisons, psychologic and psychiatric diagnoses, treatment records and prognoses were not available for most individuals. For those few who had served in federal prisons, information of a psychiatric nature was available. However, since this information was not available for even a majority of the subjects, it was not used.

The information which is available in the prisoner's record jacket varies in quality and quantity from case to case, depending upon the number of terms served, his contacts with welfare agencies

on the outside, the particular prisons in which he has been incarcerated, and the skill of the individual who works up the socioeconomic history of the case, among other things. In general, though, there are items in the record which are fairly uniform, except, possibly, as regards quality. Among these items are the following:

1. Included in each record is a report from the F.B.I., listing all arrests, convictions, and periods of incarceration that have been reported to this organization.
2. Something in the way of psychological data is present in most cases, e.g., an I. Q. score, a Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory score sheet, with or without an interpretation by the examiner. The giving of the M.M.P.I. seems to be more or less routine at the Nebraska State Penitentiary.
3. A socioeconomic history is present in each case, as is a write-up of the prison intake interview.
4. A cursory record of the subject's conduct in the various penal institutions other than the Nebraska Penitentiary, in case he has done time elsewhere.
5. A medical report based upon the "entrance examination" at the Nebraska Penitentiary. Other items of a medical nature may or may not be found in the socioeconomic history. Also, of course, will be found a record of all medical treatment received while at the Nebraska Penitentiary.
6. A record of all reported rule infractions and discipline received therefor while incarcerated at the Nebraska Penitentiary.
7. An institutional occupation record showing jobs worked at and the good time earned for work, school and trusty activities.

8. Letters to the warden regarding the prisoner from his family, creditors, friends and from state officials. Letters to the inmate from state and prison officials and the reverse. A record of incoming and outgoing mail and a record of visitors. Also found here is correspondence between law enforcement officers and the warden regarding this subject. Such personal items as letters to friends and relatives from the prisoner and from them to him will not be found in the record jacket, unless they are "illegal" letters to and from restricted individuals.

9. A relatively complete record of hearings and decisions of various boards (e.g., the Board of Pardons) in Nebraska regarding the subject's case.

Upon the stipulation of the warden of the Nebraska State Penitentiary, only "dead" records were utilized in this study (the records of individuals who had already been discharged from the institution). Consequently, the subjects were not available for further study via interview.

From the data gathered, it is possible to determine whether the subject or subjects meet the criteria of the "mature" criminal type by noting the agreement or disagreement of their characteristics with these criteria. This is the relatively simple operation of examining a specimen to determine its classification.

Further, one may utilize these data for the purpose of deriving an empirical type for cross-checking purposes. This may be done by establishing dichotomous tables on the basis of whether the subjects possess a given trait. This is a very simple method of arranging the data, and involves a minimum of statistical

manipulation for the determination of the degree of homogeneity of the sample relative to any particular characteristic. On the basis of the number of subjects who do or do not possess a given characteristic (frequency of possession or non-possession) relative to a hypothetical frequency of possession or non-possession of the given characteristic, one may derive either or both of two scores: chi square or z. Tables have been constructed showing the probabilities, for given values of chi square and z, that the hypothetical frequency may be accepted as valid. The chi square method is particularly suited to this study, since it was developed for use with small groups of thirty or fewer cases.

The hypothetical (expected) frequency of possession of any given characteristic<sup>8</sup> is set for this study at 12.5 (i.e., one-half the possible total). This assumes that the sample is relatively heterogeneous with regard to this trait. The establishment of some such hypothetical frequency is necessary, in order that a statistical hypothesis may be stated and tested. It is reasoned that, on the basis of chance, a subject has one possibility in two of possessing the given trait (odds are 50-50 that he will). Hence the null or statistical hypothesis for this study is stated thus: It is expected that the subjects will not possess any given trait to an extent that may not be explained on the basis of chance. All that is said here is that the sample is expected to be heterogeneous relative to any given trait.

8. The characteristics to be tested in this study are enumerated in Chapter IV below.

Having stated the hypothesis and determined chi square<sup>9</sup> and its corresponding probability, one may then state the probability that the null hypothesis is true. Obviously, the smaller the probability, the more confidently one may reject the null hypothesis. The accepted level of confidence for rejection of the null hypothesis is conventionally given at a probability level of .05 or less (probability is expressed in terms of fractions from zero to unity). A p of .05 enables one to confidently reject the null hypothesis; a p of .01 or less indicates that one may very confidently reject it.<sup>10</sup> Since the nature of the problem of this study is not such as to demand a departure from statistical conventionality, a p of .05 or less will be accepted as a significant indication that the sample is homogeneous relative to the characteristic under observation.

The demonstration of chi square is significant in this study for two major reasons: (1) It provides a statistical measure of the typicality or homogeneity of the group with regard to any given characteristic; as a result of which (2) one may predict, within limits, characteristic behavior of an individual on the basis of a few known qualities. That is, one may determine, on the basis of the degree of typicality established by chi square of the characteristic of a selected group of individuals, the traits and behavior manifestations which may be expected of any individual who meets the selective criteria.

Regarding the characteristics to be tested, in some instances the factors considered are those which have been shown, at least

9. Corrected for continuity by the Yates method. F. Fisher, R.A., Statistical Methods for Research Workers, N.Y.: Hafner, 1950.

10. On this point, W. L. Gage, A.B., Experimental Design in Psychological Research, N.Y.: Kinehart, 1950.

tentatively, to relate to crime causation. Thus, for example, attention has been given to broken homes, socioeconomic status, etc. Other characteristics considered may not be related directly to crime causation, but rather to crime continuation, as for example, occupational skill, parole violation and others.

To recapitulate: The problem of the study is seen as one of (a) establishing the validity of the concept of criminal maturity in terms of those of general social maturity, and (b) demonstrating the empirical reality of the "mature criminal" type. This may be done by: (1) comparing the concept of criminal maturity with those of social maturity, (2) ascertaining the extent to which a sample of persisting criminals conform to the "mature criminal" type, and (3) deriving a type based upon the traits common to the sample of persisting criminals. The derived type is seen as an added check on the validity of the "mature criminal" type.

In this chapter, it was shown that the case study method was especially adaptable to the problem at hand, and that the data obtained from the case histories could be tested by the chi square test of statistical significance. It was decided that a probability of .05 or less would be accepted as a significant indication that the sample is homogeneous relative to the given trait.

Chapter III will proceed with the comparison of criminal maturity with social maturity in order to establish validity of the type-name.

Chapter IV will present an attempt to show that the sample conforms to the "mature criminal" type.

Chapter V will show the degree of homogeneity of the sample relative to a number of traits, in order to define more precisely the "mature criminal."

Chapter VI will consist of a summary of the study and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom.



### CHAPTER III CONCEPTS OF MATURITY

It will be remembered that earlier in the study it was stated that an attempt should be made to compare the concept of criminal maturity with those of general social maturity. This is very important in order to establish a measure of validity for the type-name ("mature criminal"). One should always be careful in assigning a name to a type in order that confusion and misinterpretation may be held to a minimum. This is particularly true when one assigns a descriptive name to a type.<sup>1</sup> "If appropriately applied, such names indicate some salient feature of the (type) which distinguishes it from other similar forms."<sup>2</sup>

In the case of the "mature criminal," the salient feature indicated is "maturity." Assuming, for the time being, that the type is valid in other respects, the question that may be raised is: Is this type that has been designated the "mature criminal" actually a type which displays "maturity"? In other words, are we actually describing a form of maturity, or are we referring to occupational proficiency, or simply, perhaps, the factor of habituation to criminality? If maturity is not the salient quality of the proposed type, then manifestly the name should be changed to coincide with that which it describes. Otherwise, it is obvious that error in thinking and research will occur as a result of utilizing the type. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that the type-name is valid, then one may proceed to use the type as a basis for scientific premises with a degree of assurance that the assumptions involved are true.

1. Cf. Schenk, E. T., and Mc.Masters, J. H., Procedure in Taxonomy, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1936, p. 17.
2. Ibid., p. 2.

This chapter is an attempt to establish a measure of validity for the type-name ("mature criminal"), assuming, for this purpose, that the type is valid in all other respects. This will be done on the basis of the deduction, from a verbal comparison of the concepts involved, of the relative degree of conformity of "criminal maturity" to "general social maturity."

Since crime is socially defined and structured--as, for example, is school teaching--the entire criminal population of a society may be posited as a separate group of that society in the same manner in which school teachers are defined as a group. Each of these groups is homogeneous with respect to one factor. For the school teachers, this factor consists of having obtained a teaching position in a school. For the criminals, the factor consists of having been convicted of a crime. And within each of these rather broad categories, there are sub-groups which are homogeneous with respect to two or more factors: the more such factors (and the smaller the category), the more homogeneous the sub-group. Thus, the group of school teachers may be broken down into such categories as college professors, elementary and secondary school teachers, which sub-categories may be further parsed. Similarly, the criminal group breaks down into felons and misdemeanants; these sub-groups may be further partitioned.

Since school teachers and others are commonly referred to as being mature or immature, there seems no reason why criminals should not be thought of in the same light. Also, when determining the maturity of a school teacher, not only are his actions which pertain to teaching considered, but so also are certain general behavior

patterns which are more or less shared by all members of his society. Following this line of reasoning, one would expect that mature criminals will also evince certain behavior patterns which are more or less characteristic of the entire society and which would fit a theory of general or social maturity. And if such is the case, a concept of criminal maturity should not be radically different from current ideas regarding general social maturity. It follows, then, that one valid test of Sutherland's concept of criminal maturity would be to compare it with concepts of general social maturity put forth by students of human development. It is assumed that these concepts of general social maturity are essentially valid.

Numerous works which deal with human development stress infantility and immaturity, yet many of them do not proceed from a well-defined concept of maturity.<sup>3</sup> Such a procedure puts them in the position of moving toward an unknown goal which may not be recognized when it is achieved. The assumption is, apparently, that which is not immaturity or infantility will be maturity. This negative approach to the subject of maturity leaves much to be desired. In order to define precisely an object or a concept in terms of that which it is not, one must cover a tremendous area so as to avoid error. As an example, a horse is not a cow, or a pig, or a dog, or a host of other things.

On the other hand, there have been several attempts to define social maturity positively. Some have produced rather sketchy

<sup>3</sup>. Cf., e.g., Binet, P., Developmental Psychology, N.Y.: Appleton-Century, ed. 2, 1909; Langer, C., Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics, N.Y.: Ronald, 1950; and Abrahamson, J., Stage and the Human Mind, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1944.

results, others have delineated numerous attributes of the concept. Most agree with the others to a large extent. Some students have worked out theories of general maturity or adulthood; others have defined several areas in which the individual may be mature, as for example, biological, emotional, social, etc. A number of these efforts will be reviewed below with an aim toward deducing from them a composite relevant to the purposes of this study.

Brooks equates "maturity" with "age" and distinguishes between chronological, anatomical, physiological, mental, social, educational and emotional ages or maturities.<sup>4</sup> According to his thinking, "Social age or maturity denotes the state of development of social attitudes, habits and skills--the ability to make adjustments involving other human beings--and is much the same as social intelligence."<sup>5</sup>

Cole holds her enumeration of maturities to four: physical, emotional, social and moral.<sup>6</sup> She considers the socially mature person as one who is not blindly loyal to his friends or blindly prejudiced against those who are different. He can get along in casual business relations with almost any normal adult. He is completely emancipated from his parental home, though still maintaining harmonious relationships with parents and aunts. He feels secure in ordinary and recurrent social situations. He is no longer a slave to the opinions of his peer group, i.e., he is not obsessed with a desire to "keep up with the Joneses."<sup>7</sup>

4. Brooks, F.D., Psychology of Adolescence, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1929, pp. 198 ff.

5. Ibid., p. 199.

6. Cole, Luella, Psychology of Adolescence, N.Y.: Ferrer & Binchert, ed. 2, 1942, pp. 537 ff.

7. Ibid., pp. 534 ff.

Weitzman, in stating the premises upon which he devised a scale for measuring social maturity, concluded that, "One of the most obvious attributes of the socially competent person is his freedom from the necessity to be cared for by others, that is to say, he is quite capable of protecting himself from the ordinary hazards of his environment, to look after his own needs with respect to feeding and clothing himself. He assumes, moreover, some measure of responsibility for his own actions; and he governs his present behavior with regard for his own future welfare."<sup>8</sup>

Hirschberg, in his study of delinquents, stated that "Social maturity...is composed of two elements of approximately equal importance, commonly designated as intellectual maturity and emotional maturity."<sup>9</sup> The characteristics of intellectual maturity he enumerates as: the ability to reason and plan in advance, to think in abstract terms; the cognizance and understanding of social situations, that peculiar faculty of knowing the right thing to do in a given instance; a sense of values; the capacity to evaluate situations, (and people) properly and objectively.<sup>10</sup> "Emotional maturity...is characterized by the progress from selfish-egocentric to altruistic forms of motivation, its development determined by the extent to which an individual is capable of subordinating his own interests and adventures to those of others and of society as a whole, by man's ability to sublimate his original and primary drives (needs, instincts, impulses) through the pursuit of spiritual, idealistic goals."<sup>11</sup>

8. Weitzman, E., "A Study of Social Maturity in Persons Sixteen Through Twenty-four Years of Age," J. Gen. Psychol., 54:57-56, 1944, p. 59.

9. Hirschberg, R., "The Socialized Delinquent," Nerv. Child. 6:447-66, 1947, p. 450.

10. Ibid., p. 450.

11. Ibid., p. 451.

Bloch takes a somewhat different position from the others in that he assigns to society at least a measure of responsibility for determining social maturity. According to him, "...sociological maturity refers to the attribution by the group of those traits that endow the personality with adult social status. Sociological maturity involves the capacity of the individual to assume the social, economic and political obligations that mature participation in the life of the community signifies."<sup>12</sup>

Overstreet's efforts were apparently in the direction of defining a mature personality as a whole, rather than partitioning off small areas for consideration. He defines maturity as a process of "becoming" rather than a state of being, and lists the following six criteria for the mature person:

1. Constant growth of knowledge, both that which enables the individual to know more about his specialty or occupation and also that which is general in nature--that which enables him to know about other people, places, things.
2. Constant growth of responsibility: the individual must accept his human role; develop a sense of function, i.e., he must realize that there are functions for him to perform relatively expertly; develop function-habits, i.e., a certain element of the scheduled or routine.
3. Constant development of ability to articulate--to communicate with others; to utilize, correctly, a broader area of his native (and other) language.

12. Bloch, L.A., Disorganization, Personal and Social, N.Y.: Knopf, 1952, pp. 197 f.

4. Constant growth of sexual expression: "No one can be called sexually mature...until he accepts his own sex nature without guilt; incorporates that nature in a rational life-plan; and is able to make sexual experience the basis of a sustained, mutually fulfilling, and creative relationship with the opposite sex."

5. Constant development of empathy, the ability to effect a psychic identification with others--a development of socio-centricity as opposed to egocentricity.

6. Constant growth of the philosophical--the ability to see wholes rather than only parts which allow distortion of reality. The ability to remove wishes, pride, prejudices, moods, etc., from influencing or limiting the ability to discern the totality of situations.<sup>13</sup>

According to Overstreet, the mature individual maintains "linkages" with the areas designated in the criteria and makes use of those linkages for the purpose of becoming always more mature for his own and society's good.<sup>14</sup>

To Overstreet's six criteria, Sutherland, Woodward and Maxwell have added six more. To these writers, the mature individual, while conforming to Overstreet's stipulations, must also move (a) from phantasy toward reality thinking, (b) from emotional thinking toward objective and rational thinking, (c) from conflict toward integration, (d) from emotional instability to emotional stability, (e) from rigidity and inflexibility toward spontaneity and freedom, and

13. Overstreet, H.A., The Mature Mind, N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 1949 pp. 46 ff.

14. Ibid., ch. II.

TABLE I

Traits commonly associated with personal maturity.

- 
1. Responsibility
  2. Growth of knowledge
  3. Sociocentricity
  4. Articulatness
  5. Heterosexuality
  6. Ability to see wholes
  7. Rationality and objectivity
  8. Emotional security
  9. Ability to adjust to others
  10. Independence
  11. Consideration of future
  12. Realism
  13. Integration
  14. Emotional stability
  15. Spontaneity of action
  16. Lack of prejudice
  17. Tact
- 

TABLE II

Composite of maturity characteristics derived from a combination of items in Table I (see p. 25).

- 
1. Responsibility
  2. Realism
  3. Sociocentricity
  4. Growth of knowledge
  5. Articulatness
  6. Consideration of future
-



(f) from insecurity and anxiety toward emotional security.<sup>15</sup>

In checking over the foregoing ideas regarding maturity, it will be noted that quite a number of characteristics have been cataloged. These are given, in rough order of consensus, in Table I. Some of these characteristics seem to overlap a great deal with others, and in such cases two or more may be considered as one. For example, the rational and objective thinker will most likely be realistic and unprejudiced also; sociocentricity implies altruism, tact, and an ability to adjust to other people. Following this procedure, it is possible to combine characteristics one through six in Table I with nine of the other eleven. It is felt that the similarity is great enough to combine #10 and #5 with #1; numbers 9, 16 and 17 with #3; and numbers 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, and 15 with #6. This leaves trait #11, the subordination of present goals to future welfare and #15, spontaneity of action.

In our society, a premium is placed upon regard and preparation for the future, and a socially mature individual might well possess this trait. Hence, "consideration of the future" will be retained as a characteristic of maturity.

Spontaneity of action in relation to maturity, however, raises a serious question. It has been observed that spontaneous behavior is a definite characteristic of the small child, and that, by means of the socialization processes, man tends to become relatively recurrent and stable, whereas the term "spontaneity" may well connote a degree of instability. Certainly, it would seem that the individual whose

15. Sutherland, S.L., Woodward, J.L., and Maxwell, M.A., Introductory Sociology, N.Y.: Lippincott, ed. 4, 1952, p. 187.

actions are predominantly of the "spur of the moment" variety is not likely to be considered particularly mature; on the contrary, he is apt to be regarded as impulsive and childish. It is felt therefore, that trait #15, spontaneity, should not be retained as a characteristic of the mature person. There remain the following six relatively separate traits which may be attributed to the mature person:

- I. Growth of responsibility--the individual's acceptance of his own personality, statuses and roles; his assumption of accountability for his actions, his assumption of a measure of independence.
- II. Realism--the ability to grasp the totality of situations with as little distortion as possible from the influences of prejudice, moods, desires and other emotions; the ability to distinguish between that which is and that which ought to be.
- III. Sociocentricity--seen here as a third level of centricity which is broader yet than ethnocentricity. A development of empathetic feelings extending to all mankind.
- IV. Growth of knowledge--particularly in the area of the individuals' occupation and hobbies; more generally in as many areas of endeavor as possible.
- V. Articulatness--especially should the mature individual have a reasonably broad command of his own language in order that his self-expression may be as precise as possible. He may also strive to become fluent in the use of languages other than his native tongue.
- VI. Consideration of the future--applies not only to the hoarding

of money but also to the development of such skills, interests and plans as will provide satisfactions in the future, e.g., following retirement.

The above traits are also listed in Table II.

Most of the authors cited above explicitly or implicitly define maturity as a never-ending process. That is, the mature person is constantly becoming more mature--more empathetic, more altruistic, more philosophical, and so forth. It is felt that this concept of maturity is rather highly idealistic, since man tends to become more rigid in his thinking, more self-satisfied, more conservative with age. Maturity, then, represents a goal toward which man may strive, but seldom reach. It is, in this sense, a constructed type, whose parts are enumerated and to which the concept of criminal maturity may be compared. The type parts, or processes, involved in this dynamic conception of maturity are those listed in Table II.

With some exceptions, the six criteria for maturity in Table II correspond rather closely to those listed by Overstreet. This is not necessarily because Overstreet's ideas cannot be improved upon; but rather because his criteria were set forth more elaborately than most, and are quite broad in coverage. Also, the scope of this study precludes a comprehensive attempt to derive a theory of personality maturity, hence, the efforts of others in this area are utilized with little change.

One would suppose that a concept of criminal maturity should display a relatively good fit to the concept of general maturity. Yet, it might also be expected that the concept of the mature criminal would be more limited in scope than a statement of personality

maturity. For example, the mature criminal might very well have a strong sense of responsibility to his cohorts, his family and friends, but not to society as a whole.

Sutherland gave eight rather specific descriptive points or criteria for the mature criminal and the maturing process. Putting them in dynamic form, the criminal: (1) lays plans for his jobs, increasingly more elaborate and workable, (2) attempts always to widen his areas of contact for immunity purposes, (3) becomes more philosophical about his setbacks with each such incident; he proceeds (4) from trivial to serious crimes, (5) from occasional to frequent commission of crimes, (6) from recreational to occupational criminality, (7) from emotionally-balanced criminality to the desperado complex, and (8) from crimes committed alone or by loosely-organized groups to those committed by tightly-organized groups.<sup>16</sup>

In comparing Sutherland's criteria for the mature criminal with the above criteria for social or general maturity, it will be seen upon close observation that there is a certain relationship between the two. For purposes of clarity in the following discussion, Roman numerals will be used to depict the criteria for general maturity, Arabic numerals for the mature criminal criteria.

Criterion (1) compares rather favorably with criterion IV. Certainly, it is felt, that in order to more adequately plan his activities, the criminal must grow in knowledge, particularly with reference to his criminal specialty (techniques) and his intended victims. One might expect, however, that the criminal's knowledge about his victim will consist of only that knowledge which will affect the operation of the crime.

16. Cr. Surv., ch. I.

Criterion (2) might well fit in also with criterion IV. That is, the criminal must learn about other people, in order to determine whom to contest to make provision for immunity. He will also have to know certain things about the law; for instance, he should know the dividing point between petty and grand larceny in the state in which he operates and on the federal level. Also, it will be noted that the criminal to whom criterion (2) applies is also giving consideration to his future welfare. He is purchasing, by his payment to bondsman, attorney, politician, judge or policeman, as much insurance as is possible for a man in his position. This compares with criterion VI of general maturity.

Criterion (3) compares with criterion I, in the sense that the mature criminal accepts the consequences of his activities in case his immunization efforts prove in vain. He realizes that always there is danger of a slip, and that society regards him as being responsible and accountable for his mis-deeds. In line with his calm acceptance of his fate, the mature criminal will be a model prisoner, quite likely even a trusty, and will do his time as quickly and easily as possible. One might also make a comparison between (3) and criterion II. It would seem that the criminal who accepts his convictions rather calmly is looking at the situation realistically. He is not likely to expect such miracles as pardons or commutations of sentence (unless his political liaison is strong enough to make this possible) but rather will expect to serve his time in the same manner that every other convicted criminal is expected to do. Criterion (3) implies an expectation on the part of the criminal to make a "comeback." This is in contrast to the calmness born of hopelessness.

Criteria (4), (5) and (6) refer primarily, it would seem, to the occupational aspect of mature criminality and its development. A rather close comparison may be seen in the life history of a professional athlete who begins his activities in early childhood with an occasional, recreational game of baseball. As he grows older, he takes a more serious interest in the game, plays oftener; and when he enters professional play as a paid participant, the game has become an occupation. Seen in this light, criteria (4), (5) and (6) may well fit in with criterion IV (as regards development of occupation).

Criterion (7) gives reason for wonder. The term "desperado complex" connotes the attitude on the part of the criminal that he won't be taken alive—that he will perform quite futile and dangerous acts of bravado rather than take his chances in the courts. This is the type of activity which might be expected on the part of inexperienced, frightened, or mentally deranged criminals, but hardly on the part of a mature one. This criterion, it seems, directly contradicts criteria II and VI, and is even contradicted by Sutherland himself, in criterion (3). One should expect, according to criteria (3), II and VI, that the mature criminal would grow further from the possibility of committing acts which could be classified under the term "desperado complex." There is, as near as can be determined from available material, no evidence that the majority of persisting criminals ever develop a desperado complex. If they do not, perhaps the phenomenon should not be considered as an element of mature criminality. At best, it would seem that Sutherland mis-stated criterion (7). Certainly, if the desperado complex is a factor in the

TABLE III

Comparison of the concept of the "mature criminal" with a concept of "general maturity."

Traits of "general maturity"	Traits posited for the "mature criminal"
I Responsibility	(3) Accepts consequences calmly
II Realism	(3) Accepts consequences calmly
III Sociocentricity	
IV Growth of knowledge	(1) Plans crimes (2) Provides for immunity (4) Increasingly more serious crimes (5) Increasingly more frequent crimes (6) Increasingly dependent on crime for living
V Articulatness	
VI Consideration of future	(2) Provides for immunity (7) Develops desperado complex

life history of the mature criminal, one would expect him to move from the complex to emotionally-balanced criminality.

Criterion (8) might well tie in with criterion IV. That is, as the criminal grows in knowledge regarding his specialty, he can see the efficacy of a well-organized team in planning and action. Thus, for instance, a pickpocket works much more effectively in cooperation with one or more teammates who can draw attention from the act of theft. There is, apparently, no set limit either way to the size of the functioning group. Size of the organization would depend upon the specialty of crime involved, get-away facilities, and possibly the particular intended victim. Burglars, for example, might operate in pairs or trios, whereas the illegal sale of narcotics might involve hundreds of persons in a well-organized operation.

From the above discussion, it will be noted that four of the criteria for general maturity have been met in the description of the mature criminal. It is believed that this is sufficient to justify the use of the term "mature" in reference to this particular type of criminal, and that the concept of criminal maturity displays sufficient goodness of fit to the concept of general maturity to conclude that the type "mature criminal" is valid in this respect. This is shown more clearly by Table III, which shows the areas of comparability between the traits of general maturity and those of criminal maturity.

Having established a measure of validity for the type-name, the study will proceed, in the next chapter, with the validation of the type in another respect, namely, the demonstration of its empirical reality.



CHAPTER IV EMPIRICAL REALITY OF THE "MATURE CRIMINAL" TYPE

This chapter is concerned with the demonstration of empirical reality of the type, "mature criminal." It has been shown that the type-name is valid, in that it is descriptive of a form of maturity. Since, however, the type, as conceived by Sutherland, is hypothetical, it is felt that it is necessary to determine, if possible, the existence of that which it describes.

It will be remembered that Sutherland included all persisting criminals within the confines of the type. Therefore, one would expect to find that a group of individuals who could be considered persisting criminals would also display the characteristics of criminal maturity. A group of twenty-five such criminals has been selected for this study.

Taxonomists have indicated that one may validly describe a type on the basis of the outstanding characteristics of one specimen; however, most systematists seem to prefer a number of specimens for this task, if it is possible to obtain them.<sup>1</sup> Assuming that one may validly describe a type on the basis of one specimen, it stands that one specimen (empirical instance) is sufficient to demonstrate the empirical reality of a hypothetical type. It is wise, however, to exceed the lower limits of a scientific requirement whenever possible, in order to more firmly establish the premises involved. Hence, if one individual is found, within the selected group who conforms to the description of the "mature criminal" type, it shall be concluded that the type is valid,

1. Cf., e. g., Hitchcock, A.S., Methods of Descriptive Systematic Botany, N.Y.: Wiley, 1945, p. 17-18; Schenk, E.L., and Masters, J.L., Procedure in Taxonomy, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956, p. 5.

empirically. However, it will be borne in mind that the more such empirical instances which may be found, the more confidence one may place in the type (i.e., the more firmly it will be established).

The constructed or hypothetical type involves one or both of two major assumptions. The first is that the type depicts an entire class of phenomena which are identical as far as the purposes at hand are concerned; the second, that these phenomena are recurrent. Hence, the relative validity of these assumptions will determine the degree of validity of the type in regard to its utility. The hypothetical type also has logical validity; however, logical perfection of the type does not preclude spurious results from its use. Therefore, in order to have utility, the constructed type must be validated with regard to the assumptions on which it is based. It is this validation of assumptions that is involved in the determination of empirical reality for the type. The demonstration of empirical reality or validity of the mature criminal type will be conducted on the basis of whether one or more of the subjects selected for this study conform to the criteria of the type as described by Sutherland.

In order to determine the empirical validity of the hypothetical or constructed type, at least one case must be found which displays relative goodness-of-fit<sup>2</sup> to the criteria of the concept. For purposes of easy reference, the criteria of the "mature criminal" type are

2. Goodness of fit of the empirical instance to the concept must be relative, since one does not expect complete conformity of empirical reality to the hypothetical, except, perhaps, where the hypothetical is a complete description of a universe consisting of a single specimen.

here reiterated. The mature criminal:

1. Lays plans for his crimes.
2. Attempts to secure immunity from the law.
3. Accepts setbacks philosophically.

His crimes progress:

4. From trivial to serious.
5. From occasional to frequent.
6. From sport to business.
7. From emotionally-balanced to desperado activity.
8. From those committed alone or in loosely-organized groups to those committed by tightly organized groups.

Since no standard degree of goodness of fit has been established for this type of problem, its relativity for validating purposes is arbitrary. The constructed type is in a sense unreal (i.e., derived by means of accentuation of features) hence, no empirical instance is expected to be found wherein all the type-criteria will be applicable.

Sutherland, in his description of the "mature criminal" type, separated criteria 1, 2 and 3 from the rest, on the grounds that these three criteria referred to the finished product, whereas the other five refer primarily to the developmental processes involved. On this basis, it is felt that the validating empirical instance must meet a majority of each of the two sets of criteria (any two of criteria 1, 2 and 3, and any three of criteria 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8). This delineation of the required goodness-of-fit of the empirical instance to the type may seem somewhat stringent; however, it is felt that the standards should be fairly rigorous due to the relatively small population covered by the type.

TABLE IV

Possession, by a group of persisting criminals, of the characteristics of the "mature criminal" type.

Subject	Characteristic*							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
AA			x	x				
BB			x	x				
CC			x	x				
DD			x	x				
EE			x	x				
FF			x	x		x		
GG			x	x				
HH			x	x				
II			x	x				
JJ			x	x				
KK			x	x				
LL			x	x				
MM			x	x				
NN			x	x				
OO			x	x				
PP			x	x				
QQ			x	x				
RR			x	x				
SS			x	x		x		
TT			x	x				
UU			x	x				
VV			x	x				
WW			x	x				
XX			x	x		x		
YY			x	x				

\*Characteristics are as follows (cf. p. 40 for more complete description):

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| (1) Plans crimes               | (5) Progress to frequent crimes              |
| (2) Immunity from law          | (6) Progress to crime as occupation          |
| (3) Accepts prison calmly      | (7) Progress to desperado complex            |
| (4) Progress to serious crimes | (8) Progress to tightly-knit gang operations |

**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 4**

Table IV lists each individual subject with regard to whether he meets each of the type-criteria. For further clarification, it will be well to discuss the application of these criteria to the subjects and the degree to which the latter do or do not fit the hypothetical type. This will be done criterion by criterion, in the order in which they are listed on page 40 above.

Criterion 1: The mature criminal lays plans for his crimes. This criterion, as a characteristic of criminal "maturity," involves the foresighted planning of the actual commission of the crime and the get-away or escape. Attention must be given to such things as police activities in the area of the crime, prior careful inspection of the physical and human lay-out of the area involved in order that the crime may be committed quickly and efficiently, and the criminal may escape undetected (or unidentified). If it should be found that a subject has given attention to these and other details of operation, he shall be regarded as having met this criterion, hence will be considered "mature" in this respect.

Examination of the records reveals that seven of the subjects claimed to have been intoxicated at the time of commission of all crimes, and thirteen of them claimed to have been intoxicated when some of their crimes were committed. Only five of the subjects stated that they were never intoxicated when committing a crime.

One may be certain that those seven subjects who stated that they were always intoxicated when they committed crimes do not meet the criterion of planning, since the two rarely, if ever, go together. This is particularly true when one considers that these individuals list drunkenness as the reason for their crimes.

Similarly for the thirteen who gave drunkenness as the reason for some of their criminal acts, but not all. It is believed that the fear of being apprehended and convicted would be a sufficient threat to restrain a "mature" criminal from committing a felony while in a drunken state. He would realize that, while intoxicated, his efficiency would be impaired to such a degree that he would be an easy mark for the police. Hence, even though these individuals might at times plan their crimes, it is felt that they do not meet this criterion.

Turning to those five subjects (FF, CQ, SE, WW and XX) who were never intoxicated when committing crimes, it is believed that these also fail to meet the planning criterion. Considering them separately:

FF was first committed to a penal institution (industrial school) at the age of 13, where he remained off and on until he was sent to a reformatory at the age of 16. His periods of freedom between terms range from three months to just under two years. During the longer period of freedom, he was on parole for approximately six months and discharged from the parole. This indicates that he was somewhat careful during this time in order not to be returned as a parole violator and in all likelihood, not engaged in criminality. While one cannot say with certainty that his crimes were not more or less planned, surely the shortness of his free periods indicates that they were not planned too well. Hence, this subject cannot be said to clearly meet the planning criterion.

QQ, during his relatively long periods of freedom (up to seven years) was considered a reliable worker by his employers. He worked as a washer operator in laundries and was able to keep a steady job for a period of years without recourse to crime. His income, while small, was probably enough to keep him (he never married). However, at times he would run short of funds for some reason, and try to make money via criminality. He was apprehended and convicted each time, as near as may be determined, thus leading one to believe that little if any planning were done.

SS has been incarcerated virtually all his life, having first been institutionalized at the age of five (so he states) in an industrial school. He has served nine sentences since 1932 (age 20), with short periods of freedom, all less than one year, between. It should also be noted that, during these short free periods, he has been jailed many times for misdemeanors such as drunkenness, vagrancy, assault, etc. This, of course, makes his short periods of apparent freedom even shorter. Due to the extreme shortness of his free periods, one may infer that, if he did plan, certainly he was inept at the task and was easily apprehended.

WW shows much the same pattern as SS with regard to length of time in free society. He was first sentenced at the age of 21, with no previous criminal record. Prior to this time, he had lived at home and worked for his father. Since the first sentence, he has not been on the outside for more than a year at a time, and has served a total of eight terms in prison. During his longest free period, he worked for his father for eleven months, and was not engaged in criminality during that time. When he



finally did commit a crime, he was quickly apprehended. His short periods of freedom indicate that his planning, if any, was certainly limited. One cannot conclude that he meets this criterion.

XX also reveals this pattern of extremely short periods of freedom followed by the commission of a crime of the spur of the moment resulting in his being rapidly apprehended. This pattern began in XX's life at about the age of 10, and since that time (about 15 years) he has not been in free society longer than a year at any one time. As a rule, he has remained free from three weeks to three months. This, again, does not point to the conclusion that his crimes were well-planned, consequently it cannot be said that he meets this criterion.

The above discussion leads to the conclusion that not one of the subjects clearly meets the criterion of planning for crimes and escape. In some instances where information is lacking, one cannot say with certainty that the subjects did not plan their crimes; however, in order to meet the criterion, it must be clearly shown that they do plan more or less effectively. This could not be done in these cases.

Criterion 2: The mature criminal attempts to gain immunity from the law. This does not, of course, imply absolute immunity, consequently one might logically expect that a "mature" criminal would occasionally serve a term in a penal institution. It does mean, however, that he would employ such methods as bribery of officials whenever possible, retaining a bail bondsman and/or lawyer, saving money for court or trial expenses, maintaining a liaison with influential politicians. These methods are calculated

first to keep the criminal from being arrested and booked, second to keep him from coming to trial in case he should be arrested and booked, third to insure acquittal or short sentence in case of failure in the above stages, and fourth to assure, as far as possible, early parole, pardon or commutation of sentence should he be incarcerated. Should the examination of the subjects reveal this pattern in anyone of them, it will be concluded that he has met this criterion.

With the exception of three of the subjects (AA, HH and JJ) the records indicate rather clearly that this criterion is not met. Other than these three men, the subjects simply had no contacts by which they could establish a degree of immunity from arrest and conviction; moreover in none of the cases is there clear-cut evidence of a concerted effort on the part of a subject to establish immunity by such means as those given above.

Considering the three subjects about whom there may be some doubt:

AA did have a degree of immunity; however, this was due to the fact that his father was a police inspector (and later, chief), rather than to his own efforts to establish a measure of protection. Thus, it would seem that his immunity involved no conscious effort on his part, and at best, kept him out of a juvenile institution for a time and enabled him to beat a few misdemeanor charges rather early in his career. The fact that he had served eight penitentiary terms by the age of 26 indicates that perhaps the immunity that he had was not especially effective, particularly when one considers the length of the sentences. For these reasons, one must conclude

that his efforts to obtain immunity have not been clearly demonstrated, hence that he fails to meet this criterion.

HH, during his early years, was kept out of trouble by his stepfather, who made good the bad checks passed by the subject. However, this bit of protection was removed when the subject was 18 years old by the death of the stepfather. This subject, after the age of 21, was engaged in the confidence game almost exclusively. By selecting his victims wisely, he could have obtained a measure of immunity as a result of their reluctance to go to the police. However, judging from the fact that he was out of prison for only very short periods (less than six months) one must conclude that he did not use even that immunity which is essentially "built in" the confidence game, therefore, this subject also must be rejected with regard to meeting the immunity criterion.

JJ, at first glance, might appear to have met the immunity requirement, since he has been arrested about thirty times, but has served only four prison terms for felonies. However, closer inspection of his record indicates that these many arrests were for such misdemeanors as vagrancy, drunkenness and petit larceny, for which he served numerous terms in city and county jails. Thus, while he has served a limited time in reformatory and penitentiary, he was actually incarcerated almost constantly. Further, there is no evidence of his ever having attempted to utilize those methods which might bring about a measure of immunity. Hence he does not meet this criterion.

It is seen in the foregoing discussion that there is no clear evidence that any of the subjects put forth an effort to obtain

immunity from the law. On the contrary, the evidence indicates that they did not. It must be concluded then that the immunity criterion was not met by any of the subjects examined.

Criterion 3: The mature criminal accepts imprisonment philosophically. The only way in which this characteristic may be judged from the data available is to determine whether the subjects are rebellious and troublesome while incarcerated. The term "philosophical," according to Webster's Dictionary, means to act in a rational, unruffled manner. Hence, those individuals who accept their imprisonment calmly, perform their assigned duties in a relatively efficient fashion, and are not disciplined for rule infractions will be said to meet this criterion.

The records show that, at the time of the last incarceration all but one of the subjects were serving their sentences without being troublesome. Further, they must have done their assigned work reasonably well since they were not disciplined for not working. Some of them had, during earlier periods of confinement, been trouble-makers, and had been disciplined numerous times for their rebelliousness. However, with the exception of XX, all the subjects had learned to serve their time calmly and, one may assume rationally, hence all but XX meet this criterion.

Criterion 4: The mature criminals' crimes have progressed from trivial to serious. The fact that all the subjects have been convicted of felonies indicates that the structural aspect of this criterion is met. That is, they have arrived at the point of commission of serious crimes. The processual aspect of the criterion, however, is not so clearly shown in the records.

Juvenile court and other records of the subjects' early lives are lacking. One may, on the basis of Porterfield's study of the "delinquent" and "pre-delinquent" actions of a sample of college students (100% of his subjects reported commission of such acts)<sup>3</sup> posit the assumption that the subjects of the present study actually did progress from trivial to serious criminality. In fact, if Porterfield's findings have general applicability, and one hundred per cent of the entire population of this country has committed "delinquent" or "pre-delinquent" acts, it follows that anyone who is convicted of a felony in later life has progressed from relatively trivial to serious crimes. Hence it is concluded that all the subjects meet this criterion.

Criterion 5: The mature criminal has progressed from occasional to frequent commission of crimes. Again, the structural aspect of this criterion is easily met by the subjects in all but two cases. Twenty three of them were committing crimes with relative frequency at the time of the study. Information relative to the processual aspect of the criterion is unfortunately totally lacking; therefore it cannot be said that any of the subjects meet this criterion.

Criterion 6: The mature criminal's criminality progresses from sport to business. In view of the fact that twenty of the subjects have drunkenness as the reason for the commission of all or part of their crimes, one may assume that other factors than the desire to gain a livelihood are dominant in these cases, consequently it is concluded that they do not meet this criterion in any sense.

<sup>3</sup>. Porterfield, Martin, Youth in Trouble, Austin: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946, pp. 27-41.

With regard to those five who claimed never to have been intoxicated when committing crimes (FP, QQ, SS, WW and XX), two of them (QQ and WW) seem to meet this criterion due to the fact that their records show progressively shorter periods of freedom and hence less dependence on legitimate jobs for support. On the other hand, it does not appear that their earlier crimes were committed "just for fun," and on this basis they do not meet the criterion. FP, SS and XX have never held jobs for longer than six months, and may be said to be dependent upon criminality for sustenance. It is also likely that their crimes began as sporting events, since they were first committed to industrial schools at the ages of 13, 9 and 10, respectively. Certainly it seems highly improbable that they were engaged in criminality as an occupation at these early ages, and on the basis of this reasoning it is concluded that these three subjects meet this criterion.

Criterion 7: The mature criminal progresses from emotionally-balanced criminality to the desperado complex. The inconsistency of this criterion has been discussed in Chapter III, above. The desperado complex especially involves the determination on the part of the individual not to be captured alive and other equally childish attitudes. One of the subjects has developed the "won't be taken alive" attitude, and thus do not meet this criterion.

Criterion 8: The mature criminal progresses from commission of crimes alone or in loosely-organized groups to commission of crimes in tightly-organized groups. Only seven of the subjects ever cooperated with others in the commission of crimes, and three of these only occasionally. As a rule, the groups thus constructed

were quite small (two or three members) and rather loosely-knit. Therefore, none of the subjects has "matured" with respect to this criterion.

It is seen that while two of the subjects meet at least three of the criteria, none of them meet more than one of criteria 1, 2 and 3 nor more than two of criteria 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Thus, none of the subjects is mature in criminality, and empirical validity of the "mature criminal" type was not established.

The fact that not one of the subjects meets sufficient criteria to be considered mature in criminality forces the conclusion that the converse of the above proposition does not hold true; hence, although all mature criminals are persisting criminals, all persisting criminals are not mature criminals. This conclusion calls forth the question: Is there an entire typology extant within the group which is considered "persisting" in criminality? While the "mature criminal" type was not empirically validated, neither was it necessarily invalidated, although certain modifications are indicated (cf. Chapter VI, below). Assuming for the moment then, the "mature criminal" as a valid type of persisting criminal; and assuming that the group of persisting criminals at hand constitutes another type, the indications are that an entire range of types may be found within the persisting criminal category.

Table IV indicates that there are certain characteristics which are possessed in common by the subjects studied. It is believed that further investigation will reveal other common characteristics by which a relatively discrete type may be described. Such an investigation is proposed for Chapter V. Since empirical validity

of the "mature criminal" type was not established, Chapter V is seen as an attempt to describe a new type, rather than to enlarge on the hypothetical type.



#### CHAPTER V DERIVATION OF AN EMPIRICAL TYPE

It was concluded in Chapter IV that: (1) empirical validity of the mature criminal was not demonstrated with the present sample of persisting criminals, and (2) therefore, all persisting criminals are not mature criminals. These conclusions point to the following questions: (a) Since the subjects selected for this study are not mature criminals, what are they? That is, do they constitute another criminal type, and if so, what is the nature of the type? (b) Are there other recognizable criminal types among persisting criminals than the mature criminal? It is here proposed that some such typicality can be shown within the group selected for study.

In Chapter II, it was noted that the data gathered could be tabled dichotomously (on an "either...or" basis) and that the chi square method of determining the statistical significance of typicality or homogeneity would be utilized. It was further pointed out that a chi square of sufficient size to give a probability of .05 or less would be required to establish typicality or relative homogeneity with regard to any specific characteristic.

Establishment of homogeneity and determination of the predictive value of a set of type-criteria becomes particularly significant when one considers the possibility of applying such controls to prison inmates, parolees, probationers, etc. If, for example, one can predict patterns related to crime continuation, it becomes possible to establish prior controls and perhaps thereby aimed at their elimination or reduction. An example might serve to illustrate this reasoning: Given type-criteria A, B and C for group Q, it is found on the basis of the chi square test that Q is significantly

homogeneous with respect to traits X, Y and Z. One may then state, within the limits of confidence established for the chi square test, the nomothetic generalization: An individual who meets type-criteria A, B and C will also possess traits X, Y and Z. For the present study, the factors whereby the subjects were selected become the type-criteria. Thus if it shall be found that the group of subjects is homogeneous with respect to the tested characteristics, it will be possible to predict that these characteristics will be possessed by any other individual who meets these type-criteria. Should the tested-predicted characteristics in this study allow a greater measure of control over criminals than is otherwise possible, the value of the type is immediately apparent.

The chi square test for significance requires the establishment of a null hypothesis which will be rejected on the basis of the degree of probability that it is true. Thus, a probability of .05 (odds of 5 in 100) that the null hypothesis is true is considered sufficient for its rejection.<sup>1</sup> With regard to this study, each individual is rated according as he does or does not possess a given trait. This provides a two-fold table with regard to each characteristic, on the basis of which each individual has a 50-50 chance of falling into either category if it is posited that the group is heterogeneous with regard to the dependent variables (i.e., if only chance factors

1. Cf. Edwards, A.L., Experimental Design in Psychological Research, N.Y.: Knickerbocker, 1940, p. 2; Peters, W.L., and Van Voorhis, W.L., Statistical Procedures and their Mathematical Bases, N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1940, p. 120.

operate). The null hypothesis may then be stated: Each of the dependent variables will be distributed among the subjects only on a 50-50 basis.

The characteristics proposed for study number 37. They may be categorized, for purposes of rough order, into these descriptive categories: background, structural and behavioral. These characteristics, grouped into the three categories, are:

#### Background characteristics

- locality of early life (rural-urban)
- locality of later life (rural-urban)
- physical unity of home (broken-unbroken)
- socioeconomic status of family (high, medium, low)
- completed grammar school
- completed high school
- unusual physiological conditions

#### Structural characteristics

- socioeconomic status of individual (high, medium, low)
- diagnosis of neurosis
- average and range of subjects
- average I.Q. score and I.Q. range
- total penal terms served and average
  - total and average penitentiary terms
  - total and average reformatory terms
  - total and average industrial school terms
- use of and addiction to alcohol
- use of and addiction to narcotics
- occupational proficiency (skilled-unskilled)
- marriage sometime
- married at time of study
- loss of contact with parents and siblings

#### Behavioral Characteristics

- planning of crimes
- attempted immunity from the law
- easily apprehended
- jury trial or plea of guilty
- accomplices
- derive most income from crime
- steady job between terms
- parole
- parole violation
- school in institutions
- work rating in institutions
- trouble maker in prison
- does time quietly after third term
- trusty
- trusty revoke
- escape

TABLE 1a

Table of chi squares, z, and probabilities for all possible combinations of frequencies in a sample of  $N = 25$  (two-fold tables for computation of chi square). Value for z is given as the square root of chi square, where chi square is derived from two-fold tables with one degree of freedom. Probabilities are taken from Table III, Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-405, multiplied by 2 (p listed in this table is twice the p for z given by Edwards).

Possible observed frequency	Chi square	z	P
0 - 25	23.04	4.80	not given
1 - 24	19.36	4.40	not given
2 - 23	16.00	4.00	.00006
3 - 22	12.96	3.60	.0004
4 - 21	10.24	3.20	.0014
5 - 20	7.84	2.80	.0052
6 - 19	5.76	2.40	.0164
7 - 18	4.00	2.00	.0456
8 - 17	2.56	1.60	.1096
9 - 16	1.44	1.20	.2302
10 - 15	0.64	0.80	.4238
11 - 14	0.16	0.40	.6892
12 - 13	0.00	0.00	1.0000

It must be remembered that the above classification is quite rudimentary, made solely for purposes of easy and relatively clear presentation. No other significance is intended here. Some of the above characteristics do not lend themselves to the chi square test for significance. They are those dealing with age, I.Q., total and average penal terms served, and total and average penitentiary terms served. These factors may be so tabulated as to produce averages; these averages will be deemed relatively typical of the sample studied.

For the other characteristics listed, however, two-fold frequency tables may be established from which chi square may be derived. It was felt that the most economical way in which to derive chi square for each of the characteristics was to set up a table of the chi squares and probabilities for all possible frequencies in the sample; then as the frequency of each characteristic is noted, to determine simply from the table the corresponding chi square and its significance. The chi squares and their corresponding probabilities are presented in Table 1a.

The average age for the sample is 38.8 years, the range is 23 to 62 years. The average I.Q. for the 24 recorded scores is 102.6, the range being from 86 to 122. Assuming that the man for whom no I.Q. score is available would make no lower than 86 on an I.Q. test, the average intelligence quotient for the entire sample would be 101.1. The total number of penal terms served by the sample group is 177, which gives an average of just over 7 terms (included are penitentiary, reformatory and industrial school terms). These subjects have served a total of 126 terms in penitentiaries, for an

average of 5 terms. Twenty of the men have served 28 terms in reformatories (average 1.4 terms). It may well be that there is no significant distinction between reformatories and penitentiaries, since the reformatory is an institution to which adult first offenders may be sent if the sentencing judge so desires. However, for purposes of clarity of discussion, reformatory sentences were not considered in selecting the subjects. 16 of the subjects spent one or more terms in industrial schools for a total of 23 terms, average 1.4. A frequency of 16 is not statistically significant. (chi square equals 1.44, p equals .23), hence for our purposes it shows only that a majority of the sample began their criminal careers rather early in life (cf. Table 4a).

It was felt that the data could be presented more clearly by means of a series of tables (showing whether each individual possessed the characteristics in question) than by verbal efforts alone. Also, a series of tables will allow the presentation of data for each subject, which would be extremely difficult to do otherwise. Some comments on various of the characteristics will of course be made. The data are presented in Tables 2a through 6a.

It will be remembered that the subjects were selected on a basis of homogeneity (with stated exceptions) with regard to the following four characteristics: (1) At least three penitentiary sentences, (2) normal I.Q., (3) crimes of economic violence, (4) Northern-European Caucasian racial extraction. As a matter for later convenience in discussion, it is felt that a type-name may be assigned the group at this point, since the above four criteria constitute a type-description. Accordingly, it was decided to take the name from the element of persistence in criminality; accounting for the fact that,

TABLE 2s

Characteristics of a sample of persisting criminals

Sub- ject	Locality of early life		Locality of later life		Home life broken	Socioecon. status of family			Finish grammar school	Finish high school	Normal physical condition
	rur.	urb.	rur.	urb.		hi.	med.	low			
AA		x		x			x		x		x
BB		x		x	x		x		x		x
CC		x		x	x		x		x	x	x
DD		x		x	x		x		x		x
EE	x			x			x		x		x
FF		x		x			x		x		x
GG	x			x			x		x		x
HH	x			x	x		x		x		x
II		x		x			x		x		x
JJ		x		x			x		x		x
KK	x			x			x	x	x		x
LL	x			x	x		x		x		x
MM	x			x			x		x		x
NN		x		x	x		x		x		x
OO	x			x			x		x		x
PP		x		x	x		x		x		x
QQ		x		x	x		x		x		x
RR	x			x	x		x		x		x
SS	x			x	x		x		x		x
TT	x			x			x		x		x
UU	x		x				x		x		x
VV		x		x			x		x		x
WW	x			x			x		x		x
XX		x		x			x		x		x
YY	x			x			x		x		x
Total	13	12	1	24	10	1	14	10	22	1	21
Ghi square	0.00		19.36		0.64				12.96	19.36	10.24
P	1.00		less than .0001		.42				.0004	less than .0001	.001

in this group, persistent criminality is associated with conviction, it was decided to designate the type "habitual convict." In future references to the "habitual convict" it must be remembered that, except in a very minor way, he is described by the above four selective factors.

Table 2a:

Upon inspection of Table 2a, it will be noted that 52 per cent of the subjects spent the earlier years of their lives in rural areas. This is not a statistically significant percentage, however it does suggest that perhaps fruitful study might be conducted in the area of rural criminology. It will also be noted that 96 per cent of the subjects had been living in urban areas for some time prior to and were still living there at the time of the study. This indicates that the habitual convict typically lives his adult years in an urban setting, even though he may have been reared in a rural area (chi square equals 19.36, p equals less than .0001).

Forty per cent of the sample came from broken homes. This is not a sufficient percentage to establish typicality either way. Another factor involved in consideration of the broken home is the amount of dissention between the parents, and between parents and children. Information was insufficient in the files to consider this point.

The socioeconomic status of each subject's family, as indicated by this table, shows no typicality. The divisions utilized in this respect are as follows: "high" corresponds roughly to Warner's designation of the upper-middle class; "medium" would fit approximately either the lower-middle or upper-lower classes described by Warner;



TABLE 3a

Characteristics of a sample of persisting criminals

Subject	Reported happy childhood	Always single	Single at time of study	Lost con- tact with all rela- tives	Unskilled laborer	Steady work between prison terms
AA	x		x		x	
BB		x	x		x	
CC	x	x	x		x	
DD	x		x		x	
EE	x	x	x		x	
FF			x		x	
GG	x	x	x		x	
HH	x		x		x	
II	x	x	x		x	
JJ	x	x	x		x	
KK	x		x		x	
LL	x	x	x		x	
MM	x			x	x	
NN	x		x		x	x
OO	x	x	x		x	
PP					x	
QQ	x	x	x	x	x	
RR	x	x	x	x	x	
SS			x	x	x	
TT						
UU	x		x	x	x	
VV	x		x		x	
WW	x				x	
XX		x	x		x	x
YY	x		x		x	
Total	19	11	21	4	22	2
Chi square	5.76	0.16	10.24	10.24	12.96	16.00
p	.016	.69	.001	.001	.0004	.00006

"low" would correspond to Warner's lower-lower class.<sup>2</sup> Only one individual in the sample came from anything like a privileged environment; hence, it may be stated that the habitual convict comes from either "medium" or "low" socioeconomic levels.

Typically, the habitual convict finishes grammar school (8th grade), and even more typically does not finish high school (chi squares and p's 12.96-.0004 and 19.36-less than .0001 respectively).

The habitual convict is typically in good health, i.e., there are no unusual physical handicaps such as deformities which might be precipitating factors in criminality (chi square 10.24, p .001).

Table 3a:

Table 3a shows, first of all, that the habitual convict remembers his childhood as a quite happy one (chi square 5.76, p .016). Information is short regarding the reality of many of these individuals' childhoods; however there are some indications that these men tend to remember only the happier moments of their early years and consequently to build up a distorted memory-picture of that period.

It is seen that the habitual convict may or may not marry at some time (some, of course, marry more than once). A rather large proportion of the group never married, and it would seem that, typically, the habitual convict, whether married at one time or not, comes to live in later years as a single man. Only four of the subjects were married at the time of the study (chi square 10.24, p .001). This is not to be considered as conclusive because of the time factor involved. Indications are that, by and large,

2. Cf. Warner, G. L., Meeker, M., and Fells, A., Social Class in America, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, pp. 66-67.

TABLE 4s

Characteristics of a sample of persisting criminals

Sub- ject	Low personal socioecon. status	Diagnosed neurotic	Intelli- gence quotient	Age at time of study	Penal terms served			
					SIS	REF	PEN	ALL
AA	x	x	100	54	1		7	8
BB	x		101	43	2	1	5	8
CC	x		106	27	1	1	4	6
DD	x		104	62	1		11	12
EE	x		89	26	1	1	3	5
FF	x		94	23	2	1	3	6
GG	x	x	86	42	1	2	4	7
HH	x		95	32		3	2	5
II	x		111	49		1	3	4
JJ	x		104	42		1	3	4
KK	x		110	35	1	2	5	8
LL	x	x	98	51		3	8	11
MM	x		101	39		1	5	6
NN	x		122	40	1	1	4	6
OO	x	x	94	42		1	7	8
PP	x	x	121	29	2	2	4	8
QQ	x			45	2		4	6
RR	x	x	106*	26	1	1	3	5
SS	x	x	91	38	2	1	8	11
TT	x		106	30	2	1	4	7
UU	x		96	43		1	4	5
VV	x	x	109*	54			9	9
WW	x		111	41			8	8
XX	x		107	26	2	1	4	7
YY	x		100	32	1	2	4	7
Total	25	8	2462	971	23	28	126	177
Frequency	25	8			16	20		
Chi square	23.04	2.56			1.44	7.84		
p	less than .0001	.11			.23	.005		
			R=86-122 M=102.6	R=23-62 M=38.8			R=2-11 M=5.0	R=4-12 M=7.0

All but the two intelligence scores which are starred were made on the Wechsler-Bellevue intelligence test. The two starred scores were made on the Stanford-Binet test.

those married subjects who reverted to single status did so as a result of their having been incarcerated rather than as a result of incompatibility in marital relations.

One might expect that as a result of the many prison terms which the subjects have served and the drifting that they have done about the country, they would lose all contact with their families of orientation and their own children, if any. This does not, however, seem to have been the case. Only four of the subjects lost all such contacts which indicates that the habitual convict maintains some sort of relationship with at least one member of either his family of orientation or family of procreation (chi square 10.24, p .001).

It is notable that only three of the subjects may be classified as skilled workers. This, on the basis of a chi square of 12.96 (p .0004) indicates that the habitual convict typically is unskilled. It will be further noted that the habitual convict is not a steady worker between prison terms (chi square 16.00, p .00006). Only two of the subjects tended to work at steady jobs of six months or more duration between terms, whereas the others, particularly in later life, work at spot jobs or leave the more permanent positions rather quickly. A point of interest here is that neither of the two steady workers in the group is skilled.

Table 4a:

At the time of the study, each of the subjects as individuals could be classed as socioeconomically low (corresponding roughly to Warner's lower-lower class). Some of them live with their wives or other relatives during their free periods which keeps them from actual "skid-row" status. Yet, those wives and relatives are

TABLE 5a

Characteristics of a sample of persisting criminals

Subject	Uses alcohol excessively	Is alcoholic	Uses narcotics
AA	x		
BB	x	x	
CC	x		x
DD	x		
EE	x		
FF	x		
GG	x		
HH	x		
II	x		x
JJ	x		x
KK	x		
LL	x	x	x
MM	x		
NN	x		
OO	x		
PP	x		
QQ	x		
RR	x		
SS	x		
TT	x		
UU	x	x	
VV	x		x
WW	x		
XX			
YY	x	x	
Total	24	4	5
Chi square	19.36	10.24	7.84
p	less than .0001	.001	.005

often on relief, and the freedom of the subject does not raise the economic status.

Eight of the subjects had been, at one time or the other, diagnosed as either "neurotic" or "psychopathic". This does not indicate typicality either way (chi square 2.56, p .11). A study of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory scores, reproduced in the Appendix, may give further information on this point. Such a study is beyond the scope of this paper.

Table 5a:

This table shows that all but one man in the sample use alcohol to excess (chi square 19.37, p less than .0001), yet only four of the subjects have been characterized as alcoholics by medical authorities (chi square 10.24, p .001). One man is a total abstainer. Typically, then, the habitual convict is a heavy drinker, but not an alcoholic. Many of the men tend to blame alcohol as the cause of their criminality. It is believed, however, that this is simply an excuse which they make (primarily to themselves) for their wrong-doings--or perhaps they are excusing themselves for getting caught. It was noted that many of the subjects claimed to be intoxicated when they committed crimes, but evidence on this point is inconclusive due to the incompleteness of records.

Twenty of the subjects claimed not to be users of drugs (narcotics or barbiturates), and medical information available does not contradict these claims. One may say, then, that the habitual convict is not, typically, a drug addict (chi square 7.84, p .005). Reliability of evidence (records of medical examinations and reports) may be questioned, however, and further study on this point is indicated.

TABLE 6s

Characteristics of a sample of persisting criminals

Subject	Plans crimes effectively	Gets immunity from law	Is easily apprehended	Is easily convicted	Most of in-come from criminality	Works with accomplices
AA			x	x	x	
BB			x	x	x	
CC			x	x	x	
DD			x	x	x	x
EE			x	x	x	
FF			x	x	x	
GG			x	x	x	x
HH			x	x	x	
II			x	x	x	
JJ			x	x	x	
KK			x	x	x	
LL			x	x	x	
MM			x	x	x	
NN			x	x	x	x
OO			x	x	x	
PP			x	x	x	
QQ			x	x	x	x
RR			x	x	x	x
SS			x	x	x	x
TT			x	x	x	
UU			x	x	x	
VV			x	x	x	
WW			x	x	x	x
XX			x	x	x	
YY			x	x	x	
Total	0	0	25	25	23	7
Chi square	23.04	23.04	23.04	23.04	16.00	4.00
p	less than .0001	less than .0001	less than .0001	less than .0001	.00006	.046

Table 6a:

From this table it may be seen that none of the subjects effectively planned his crimes. This is an inference which may be made on the basis of the length of time which the habitual convict spends in free society. Another factor involved here is the relative ease of apprehension of these subjects (cf. Table 4a). This is not to say, of course, that the habitual convict does not plan at all, but merely that his efforts in this direction are largely ineffective. It may be tentatively posited here that the habitual convict is easily apprehended because of his lack of effective planning for the commission of the crime and the get-away. The fact that no effort is made to establish a degree of immunity from the law (cf. Table 4a) seems to further indicate a lack of planning. The habitual convict is quite easily convicted in the courts (cf. Table 4a), also. All the subjects pleaded guilty to the charges against them (two subjects pleaded not guilty on one occasion each--they were convicted each time). This seems to indicate either a degree of hopelessness on the part of the individual when faced with the entire state or United States, or a facility on the part of law enforcement officers for catching these subjects red-handed.

Table 6a indicates that the habitual convict typically derives most of his income from criminality (chi square 16.00, p .00006). Here, a sin, is a point which is inferred from the length of time between terms, and the steadiness of legitimate work during free periods. A closer study of this point may produce more definite conclusions.



TABLE 7s

Characteristics of a sample of persisting criminals

Subject	Number of times paroled	Number of parole violations	Number of times made trusty	Number of trusty re-vocations	Has escaped prison*
AA	2	1	3	1	
BB	1		2		
CC					
DD	2	2	4		x
EE	1	1			x
FF	2	1			x
GG	2	2	2		
HH	3	1			
II					
JJ					x
KK	4	4	1		x
LL					
MM	1		3	1	x
NN	1	1	3		
OO	2		5	2	
PP					x
QQ	1				
RR	1				x
SS			1		
TT	2	2	2		
UU	1		1	1	x
VV	1	1	1		
WW	1		1	1	
XX	1	1			x
YY	3	2			
Total	32	19	29	6	10
Frequency	19	12	13	5	10
Chi square	5.76	1.68	0.00	.154	0.64
p	.016	.194	1.00	.696	.42

\* Adult prison only.

It is further seen in Table 6s that the habitual convict does not typically operate with accomplices (chi square 4.00, p .046). This would seem to indicate that: (1) the habitual convict doesn't trust his fellows, or (2) he is lacking in criminal proficiency to such an extent that no one will work at it with him.

Table 7s:

This table shows that the habitual convict typically makes a sufficiently good adjustment in prison to earn a parole (chi square 5.76, p .016), and frequently more than one (nine of the subjects paroled more than once each). It will also be noted that a majority of those who receive paroles violate them although there is not a large enough chi square to establish typicality on this point. And in considering the number of paroles violated (total of 32 paroles, 19 violated), typicality cannot be established (chi square .78, p .38).

Thirteen of the subjects were made trusty at least one time (total of 29 times). This indicates that there is no typicality in the sample with regard to this characteristic (chi square 0.00, p 1.00). One may not say, either, that typically, those who are made trusty do or do not have their trusty passes revoked for some infraction of rules (chi square .154, p .696). When one considers the number of times trusty passes have been revoked as against the total number of times the thirteen men were made trusty, it is seen that revocation of trusty passes is the exception rather than the rule (6 revocations: chi square 8.83, p .005). Since, however, the habitual convict may or may not be made trusty, no further generalizations may be made about him with regard to this characteristic.

TABLE 8s

Characteristics of a sample of persisting criminals

Subject	Was early troublemaker in prison*	Does time quietly after second term*	Good work rating in prison*	Attends school in prison*
AA		X	X	
BB		X	X	
CC		X	X	
DD		X	X	
EE	X	X		
FF	X	X		
GG		X	X	X
HH		X	X	
II		X	X	
JJ	X	X		
KK		X	X	
LL		X	X	X
MM		X	X	
NN		X	X	
OO		X	X	
PP	X		X	X
QQ		X	X	X
RR	X	X	X	X
SS		X	X	
TT		X	X	X
UU		X	X	
VV	X		X	
WW		X	X	
XX	X			
YY		X	X	
Total	7	22	22	6
Chi square	4.00	12.96	12.96	5.76
P	.046	.0004	.0004	.016

\* Adult prisons only.

Ten of the subjects have escaped from prison at least once each. Here, again, typicality is not established (chi square 0.64, p 0.42), consequently, one may say only that the majority of the subjects studied did not escape from an adult penal institution.

Table 8s:

One may see, here, that eighteen of the subjects were never considered as trouble-makers in prison, and that four of the seven who were early trouble-makers were never considered so after having completed the second term in an adult prison (reformatory or penitentiary). Accordingly, one may say that typically, the habitual convict is never considered a trouble-maker in prison (chi square 4.30, p .046), and particularly during prison terms subsequent to the second (chi square 12.95, p .0004).

In line with the above paragraph on good behavior in prison, twenty-two of the subjects were considered good workers on the inside. This establishes that the habitual convict is typically a good worker while in prison (chi square 12.95, p .0004). It is of interest to note that all three of the poor workers were among those who were considered trouble-makers on the inside. One might expect that an individual who has learned to do his time quietly would be a willing worker, since the time passes much more quickly for the busy prisoner.

Six of the subjects have attended school or taken correspondence work while in prison. Typically, the habitual convict does not attend prison school or take correspondence courses while incarcerated (chi square 5.75, p .016). In a sense, one should expect a higher percentage of these men to be taking school courses, since it provides another method of keeping occupied and thus passing the time more

TABLE V

Possession, by each subject, of significantly and/or very significantly typical traits ( $p=.05$  or less).

Subject	Traits*																								Deviation from maxi- mum possible
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
AA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1
BB	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2
CC	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	3	
DD	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	
EE	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		2	
FF	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	4	
GG	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	
HH	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	
II	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	
JJ	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	5	
KK	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	
LL	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	5	
MM	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	4	
NN	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	
OO	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	
PP	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		7	
QQ	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		3	
RR	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	5	
SS	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	5	
TT	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	
UU		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	
VV	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	3	
WW	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	4	
XX	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	5	
YY	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	

\* Trait numbers refer to the list of traits, p. 61.

Total  
Average 72  
2.88

easily. However, they probably establish a routine consisting of job, a period of loafing and sleep. It is notable that those who do school work in adult prisons are relatively young men (45 years old and younger). This may indicate a future trend in the direction of school attendance, since it is only recently that education has been emphasized strongly for prisoners.

This chapter has shown that the sample, which is homogeneous relative to the four selective criteria, is also significantly homogeneous with regard to twenty-four other characteristics ( $p$  is equal to .05 or less; moreover, they are very significantly homogeneous with regard to nineteen of those characteristics ( $p$  equals .01 or less). Thus, it may be said that, given the four selective characteristics, one may predict, with reasonable confidence, that five of the above twenty-four characteristics will also be present; and that very confidently one may expect to find the other 19 of the 24 characteristics. These characteristics, and notations as to whether they are statistically significant or very significant, are as follows:

1. Adult years as urbanite (very significant)<sup>3</sup>
2. Finishes grammar school (very significant)
3. Does not finish high school (very significant)
4. Physiologically normal (very significant)
5. Remembers childhood as happy (significant)
6. Single at time of study (very significant)
7. Maintains contact with family (very significant)
8. Unskilled (very significant)
9. Not a steady worker on the outside (very significant)
10. Own socioeconomic status is low (very significant)
11. Heavy drinker (very significant)
12. Not an alcoholic (very significant)
13. Not a drug-addict (very significant)
14. Does not plan crimes effectively (very significant)
15. No attempt to obtain immunity (very significant)
16. Easily apprehended (very significant)

<sup>3</sup>. For the numerical probability of each characteristic cf. Tables 2a through 5a.

17. Easily convicted (very significant)
18. Most of income from criminality (very significant)
19. Commits crimes by self (significant)
20. Obtains one or more paroles (significant)
21. Never a trouble-maker in prison (significant)
22. Not a trouble-maker after second adult term (very significant)
23. Good worker in prison (very significant)
24. Does not go to school in prison (significant)

Table V shows the extent to which each subject possesses the above twenty-four characteristics. Assuming that each subject should possess all the characteristics, it is found that the mean deviation from this expectancy is 2.88. The average deviation from this mean of 2.88 is plus or minus 1.51, which means that, assuming normality of the distribution, we should expect 58 per cent of the cases to be within a range of 1.37 to 4.39 actual deviations; and that about 89 per cent of the cases will not likely deviate from homogeneity by more than 5.9 nor less than 0.14 characteristics. Thus, one should expect deviations of as many as six characteristics, and should not be surprised at a somewhat larger deviation. However, the odds are only about two in 100 that a deviation by more than seven characteristics will be found.

In this chapter, the data have been analyzed for homogeneity by means of the chi square method. It was shown that a criminal type does exist within the sample which is relatively homogeneous (significant at the .05 level or less) with regard to twenty-four characteristics other than those used for selection of the subjects. A distribution of deviations from complete homogeneity of 0 to 7 characteristics was obtained from Table V. The mean deviation was found to be 2.88, with an average deviation from this mean of plus

or minus 1.51. Conclusions drawn from these and other findings,  
and a brief summary of the entire study will be presented in  
Chapter VI.



## CHAPTER VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study, the concept of criminal maturity has been tested empirically as required by the statement of the problem in Chapter I. In the following pages the study is summarized, those conclusions dictated by the evidence presented are drawn, and certain observations are made concerning the study and its relation to the fields of criminology and sociology.

The concept of the "mature criminal" was presented by the late E. H. Sutherland as one criminal type. This is seen as an attempt to extend the system of typologies which has been slowly built up in the field of criminology. Since Sutherland derived this type on the basis of common-sense observation of similarities, it is considered as a constructed type, as contrasted with an empirical type which is derived from a systematic study of the characteristics of a specimen or group of specimens. The constructed type, in order to have more complete validity and permanence in a typology, must be validated empirically. That is, it must be demonstrated that the type corresponds to the reality of the class of objects which it purports to portray.

Five questions were raised in connection with Sutherland's description of the "mature criminal." For purposes of easy reference, they are here reiterated:

- (1) Does Sutherland's concept of criminal maturity fit in with current concepts of general social maturity?
- (2) Is the "mature criminal," as a constructed type, empirically demonstrable, and if so:
- (3) Do the factors, enumerated by Sutherland, adequately depict the type, and are they the most important factors involved in this particular type and its developmental processes?
- (4) What are the relationships, if any, which exist between persisting criminality and mature criminality, i.e., what makes a persisting criminal "mature"; do all persisting criminals follow the typical developmental sequence and become ultimately "mature" criminals?

- (5) Would an empirical type more adequately portray the category of criminals in question, and be more amenable both to theoretical and practical usage than the constructed type?

It was proposed that these questions would be answered as a result of testing the following hypotheses:

1. The persisting criminal goes through the typical pattern of development described as a maturation process, and becomes, between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five, the type of individual described as the "mature criminal."
2. All persisting criminals fit the pattern outlined as the "mature criminal"; the habit of persisting in criminality imparts a certain element of maturity in the field to the individual criminal.
3. An empirical type, derived from those traits which are common to a sample of persisting criminals, will enable a more precise description of the "mature criminal," and rather definitely establish the limits of this hypothetical type.

It was decided to test these hypotheses by means of analysis of the case histories of twenty-five men who had served terms in the Nebraska State Penitentiary, and whose histories would be available there. These twenty-five subjects were selected on the basis of (1) having served at least three terms in adult prisons for felonies, (2) relatively normal tested intelligence, (3) predominance of economic crimes of violence, (4) Caucasian, Northern-European racial extraction. The group included all individuals meeting these four requirements who were discharged from the Nebraska State Penitentiary during the period 1950-1952, inclusive, and for whom relatively complete records could be obtained. The chi-square test of statistical significance was selected for the purpose of determining the degree of relative homogeneity of the sample with respect to each characteristic studied, on the basis of which an empirical type could be derived.

It was pointed out that, according to students of taxonomical procedure, the name which is given to a type or category is very

important; and that since the "mature criminal" constituted a social type, the concept of criminal maturity should not deviate radically from prevalent concepts of social or general maturity. It was found, in Chapter III, that the concept of criminal maturity does conform sufficiently to ideas of social maturity to establish its validity from the standpoint of the type-name.

Chapter IV presents an attempt to demonstrate the empirical reality of the "mature criminal" type. It was pointed out that Sutherland separated the three descriptive points which relate to structure from the five which depict the developmental processes. On this basis, it was decided that at least one of the subjects in the group must meet at least a majority of the criteria within each division in order to establish empirical validity for the type. It was shown that not one of the subjects met these standards, hence it was concluded that empirical validity of the "mature criminal" type was not established in this study.

Since empirical validity of the "mature criminal" was not shown, it was suggested that perhaps there were other types than "mature" to be found among persisting criminals. In an effort to demonstrate this possibility, some 37 characteristics were analyzed in Chapter V to determine the degree to which the subjects were homogeneous relative to those traits. It was found that 24 of the 37 traits were each possessed by sufficient of the subjects to show homogeneity at the .05 level or less of statistical significance. On the basis of these significant points of homogeneity, the subjects constitute a type of criminal which was tentatively labeled "habitual convict." However, the validity of this name for this type is questionable since

in prison after his second term, (27) is a good worker in prison and (28) does not attend school in prison. (The first four of the above descriptive points are the factors by which the subjects were selected.) Assuming normal distribution of the deviations from complete homogeneity (i.e., the possession of all the latter twenty-four points listed here) one should expect that not more than two cases in one hundred will possess less than seventeen of the twenty-four modal characteristics.

Certain conclusions may now be drawn from this study. First, with regard to the three stated hypotheses (cf. p. 68, above):

Hypothesis #1:

Since the "mature criminal" type was not empirically validated by this study, hypothesis #1 was neither verified nor refuted in toto. However, due to the fact that it was not possible to demonstrate empirical reality for this type on the basis of the records of a group of persisting criminals, it seems that the hypothesis should be modified. Since, according to Sutherland, the "mature criminal" obtains a measure of immunity from the law, it may be assumed that he will rarely be convicted of a felony and thus he will not likely be found in a prison. Therefore, the hypothesis may be re-stated as follows:

The persisting criminal who is relatively immune to the legal consequences of his criminality has gone through the pattern of development described by Sutherland as a maturation process. He becomes, between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five, the type of individual which Sutherland portrayed as the "mature criminal."

Hypothesis #2:

It was shown in Chapter IV that an empirical instance of the "mature criminal" type was not found in a group of persisting criminals.

It was concluded on this basis that all persisting criminals do not become "mature" in criminality, thus refuting hypothesis #2. This suggests that there are more than one, and possibly a wide range of types to be found under the general heading of "persisting criminals." That at least one type other than the "mature criminal" exists among persisting criminals was definitely established in Chapter V. Consequently it is concluded that more than the mere fact of persistence in criminality is needed to produce a "mature criminal." For this reason, and considering the elements of planning and immunity required for the "mature criminal" type, the following hypothesis is posed as a replacement for #2:

Only those persisting criminals who effectively plan their illegal operations and who obtain relative immunity from the law become "mature criminals."

This hypothesis serves to establish definite limits to the "mature criminal" type and provides orientation for further study.

Hypothesis #3:

Because none of the subjects could be considered an empirical instance of the "mature criminal" type, and since the empirical type which was derived from the group of persisting criminals does not enable one to further describe and delimit the hypothetical type, hypothesis #3 is in a sense refuted. It was shown that since Sutherland did not qualify or delimit the persisting criminals which were to be included as "mature criminals," his description of the type, from this standpoint, is inaccurate. On this basis, hypothesis #3 is re-stated as follows:

An empirical type, derived from the outstanding traits common to a sample of those criminals described above (in the hypothesis posed as a replacement for hypothesis #2) will enable one to precisely describe and delimit the "mature criminal" type.

While the five questions stated above (pp. 67-68) have been generally answered in the discussions of type-naming and the three hypotheses, it is well, at the risk of redundancy, to point out specific answers to them, insofar as possible. The questions will not be re-stated here, but will be referred to by number.

Question (1): In Chapter III, the comparison of the concept of criminal maturity with general social maturity indicates that, from the standpoint of consistency of description and name, Sutherland's hypothetical type is valid. That is, the concept of criminal maturity does conform to concepts of general social maturity.

Questions (2) and (3): Empirical validity of the "mature criminal" type was not established, yet neither was it necessarily invalidated, hence it is impossible to generalize regarding Sutherland's description of the "mature criminal." That is, one may not say, on the basis of this study that the type was or was not adequately depicted except as indicated in the above discussion of the hypotheses and in the answer to question (4), below; nor may one say whether the factors given are the most important ones involved in this particular type and its developmental processes.

Question (4): With regard to what makes a persisting criminal mature, one may say only that it is more than the fact of persistence. One may hypothesize about the other factors involved as, for example, in the substitute hypothesis #2, but a definite answer to this question must await further study. It was shown in Chapter IV that all persisting criminals are not mature, and there is no evidence that they all become so after a period of time.

Question (5): Obviously, the empirical type derived in this project did not portray the "mature criminal" type. Rather the study presented evidence of a possible typology of persisting criminals. It may be that the empirical type is somewhat more valuable both for theory and practice than is the constructed or hypothetical type, because empirical derivation of a type makes it possible to describe the category more completely and accurately than does logical derivation. Also, it would seem that the limits of a type are more clearly established by empirical derivation than by logical construction. This, however, may be the result of a failure to establish logical limits to the hypothetical type rather than the lack of ability to do so.

Beyond those conclusions demanded by the problem of the study, certain observations may be made on the basis of evidence presented in this paper:

(1) While the "mature criminal" type was not validated, relative to demonstrating its empirical reality, neither was it necessarily invalidated. The fact that an empirical instance of the type was not found is not proof that the type does not exist. There may very well be persisting criminals who possess the characteristics of the type. On the other hand, there is the probability that the "mature criminal" as a criminological type is so limited as to have no value, and possibly should be discarded. The difficulty involved in finding a type-specimen has been pointed out in this study; and since one must, as a rule, examine only those individuals who have been incarcerated, this difficulty may be almost insurmountable. Certainly it seems now that the concept of "mature" criminality would have

such restricted applicability as to be almost totally useless insofar as the average warden or parole officer is concerned.

The term "mature criminal" is of course an incongruity; that is, this particular metaphorical construct combines terms that are mutually incompatible insofar as our accepted values are concerned. It does, however, by its very incongruity cast light upon a needed area of research and provides a perspective which may not otherwise be given.<sup>1</sup> But once the phenomena thus exposed have been investigated and it has been shown that such terminology would have extremely limited or no value in portraying reality, the incongruous metaphor may as well be dropped. That there is scientific value in doing the research that these incongruous terms point to, one can have no doubt, since the fewer such terms extant in a body of theory, the greater the possibility that the theory will be firmly based in reality.

(2) An empirical type makes for more complete enumeration of those characteristics which are common to the typical individuals than does the constructed type. Hence, it may be argued that the empirical type is the more valuable to the theory and practice of a science, because a greater degree of clarity and precision is achieved thereby and prediction is made more accurate. On the other hand, there are definite gaps in the world of fact which may be filled by the constructed or hypothetical type to produce an element of unity and consistency in theory and practice which is otherwise not possible. This is necessary in order to provide for generalization from one set of facts to another. Seen in this light, the value of the "

1. H. Burke, Kenneth, Corporation and Other A. N. V.: New Republic, 1928, pp. 118 ff., for a discussion of "perspective by incongruity."



empirical type as against the constructed type is not a matter of degree but of kind. The constructed type is very useful for problem formulation and as a means of orienting and guiding research. It must be used carefully, however, in order that one does not generalize beyond the limits of a given type.

(5) On the basis of the derived chi squares of the characteristics, analyzed in Chapter V, one may confidently predict that an individual who possesses the selective characteristics will also possess each of the twenty-four tested characteristics listed on pp. 64-65 above. That is, one should expect to be wrong in such predictions about one time in twenty, or less. Further study may enable a more exact statement of some of the characteristics of the "pro-habitual convict"; and may add to the number of descriptive points whereby the type may be identified. It is expected that, in the main, other studies of the "pro-habitual convict" will verify the above description.

(4) This study provides very useful information for the criminological practitioner. For example, a prison warden could determine rather quickly whether a prisoner were a "pro-habitual convict"; if so, he probably need not provide close custody for such an inmate, since a "pro-habitual convict" is likely to be a good institutional worker and abide by the rules of the prison.

While the present study provides useful information about the "pro-habitual convict," a definite need is seen for ways by which the type may be identified at an earlier stage than is possible at this point. It may be that extensive study of the childhood and adolescent periods of "pro-habitual convicts" may disclose information whereby early identification is possible. It is believed that

successful correction and/or rehabilitation must, generally, come in the formative years of such individuals. Once the individual becomes habituated to life in prison, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for him to make a successful adjustment in free society. One must also consider here the element of personal security which prison life may impart to the convict; he may very well be loath to leave the certainty of a bed and three meals a day for the unstable living conditions he may face in a free society. Further study along these lines is very definitely needed.

A further general note regarding the place of a taxonomy or classification system in criminology and sociology may be added here. The term "taxonomy," as used in this study (cf. p. 4, supra), refers to a system of classification whereby knowledge is arranged in some sort of order. "The possibility of classifying the objects of experience enables us to bring order into the turmoil of immediate awareness, and thus makes possible further advances of analysis. It provides the basis for systematic knowledge and justifies scientific inquiries. This is especially true since even 'groups' of objects have attributes in common and may therefore, in turn, be united in other 'groups' of more inclusive or higher 'orders', until the most inclusive or highest is reached."<sup>2</sup> According to Jevons, "All logical inference involves classification, which is...the necessary accompaniment of the action of judgement."<sup>3</sup> And, "The result of...classification is to yield generalized knowledge, as distinguished from the

2. Vermeilster, J.H., A Philosophy of Science, N.Y.: Harper's, 1940, p. 11.

3. Jevons, W.S., The Principles of Science, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1904, p. 673.

direct and sensuous knowledge of particular facts. Of every class, so far as it is correctly formed, the principle of substitution is true, and whatever we know of one object in a class we know of the other objects, so far as identity has been detected between them.<sup>4</sup>

This discussion of classification is intended to serve simply as a reminder of the purposes of establishing classification systems, and the properties thereof. One is referred to the works cited in footnotes 2 and 3 of this chapter for more detailed discussion of the subject.

Since this paper is concerned with the study of a specific hypothetical type, rather than with the philosophy of typing or classifying, for the purposes in hand, one may conceive of a taxonomy as including four orders of grouping. They appear somewhat as follows:

Taxonomy

  Typology

    Type

      Individual

A more detailed taxonomical outline may be found in Schenk, E.T., and McMasters, J.H., Procedure in Taxonomy,<sup>5</sup> however, the above is sufficient to demonstrate the possibilities for arrangement of knowledge.

There is, at the present time, a number of types or categories whereby we may classify criminals for various purposes. Thus, we have, according to crimes committed, felons and misdemeanants, the definitions of which vary from state to state; there are also

4. Ibid., p. 274.

5. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1926.

penological classification systems, for the purpose of determining necessary custody, inmate occupation, and so forth, and these, too, vary from one institution to another.

Criminological theory has been, in the past, and is still to a limited extent, derived from classification systems based on such characteristics as physiological types, psychiatric categories, and assumed motivation. The physiological classificatory system has been substantially discredited in recent years, due in part to the realization by criminologists and others that environmental factors play a large part in determining our actions in given situations, and in part to the realization that crime is relative to a particular society or culture. Thus, Lombroso's "born criminal," for example, might very well have been a law-abiding citizen, given a different society in which to live.

Likewise, psychiatric classifications have left much to be desired. The "psychopathic" criminal, for example, may be a man who is mentally deficient to the extent that he is incapable of distinguishing "legitimate" from "illegitimate"; or he may simply have such hideous physical features that his jailors assume that he is mentally unbalanced. The term "psychopathic," thus, presents something of a catch-all category, which has little specific meaning except for the particular individual who applies it in a given instance.

Those systems which are based upon assumed motives have also been found to have limited usefulness, due to the complex nature of motivation and its determination. Thus, for instance, a theft may be committed because of hunger, desire for prestige, desire for revenge, or, according to psychoanalytic theory, to a desire, perhaps,

to have incestuous relationships with the parent of the opposite sex. Since motivation is not economically determinable, it is obvious that the utility of such a system is quite narrow. This is particularly true when we consider the shortage of persons trained to discover those motives underlying human behavior.

Although the above-mentioned classification schemes, or typologies, are of limited value, they represent an attempt to establish relatively general systems of classification in criminology and may be quite useful for certain purposes. That some systems have been discredited in a large measure is a reflection mainly upon the amount of criminological knowledge available when they were established. On the other hand, some have argued, that because of this discrediting, all classification in criminology is sterile, and that attempts to classify only add to the confusion of concepts and terminology which has been apparent in the past.<sup>6</sup> Such arguments are quite probably based upon the fallacious generalization that, since each individual human being is different from his fellows in some respect or other, any attempt to type humans produces only spurious results. This argument, when carried to the extreme, would make it scientifically untenable to even type a category of animals as human beings. Since, however, scientific generalization and prediction are based upon the reaction-patterns and other descriptive traits of types or classes,<sup>7</sup> it is felt that a sound taxonomy is of the same utmost importance in criminology as in any other scientific field.

6. Cf., e.g., Barnes, H.E., and Peters, H.A., New horizons in Criminology, N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, ed. 3, 1947, pp. V and VI.

7. H. McInerney, J.C., "The role of Constructive Typology in Scientific Sociological Analysis," Social Forces, 1927, p. 40.

**CONTINUED**

**2 OF 4**

APPENDIX I

Case Histories and Information Check Sheets

**Pre-school**--Born in \_\_\_\_\_, where he lived until about 5 years old. The family moved to a large city at that time. He had all the childhood diseases but was otherwise always in good health. Got along well with his parents and siblings. Started school at about the age of 5 or 6.

**School**--Attended Catholic parochial schools through the 8th grade. Liked school well enough, but decided he had had enough education when he finished the 8th grade. Apparently got along well in his studies.

**Home and family**--Parents both of the Catholic faith and attended church regularly. The mother and father died at the ages of 58 and 72 respectively, quite some time after the subject had left the parental home. He had 7 brothers and sisters--position of the subject in the family not given, but the record indicates that he is neither the oldest nor the youngest. There is no record of any of the siblings ever having been in trouble with the law. Two siblings were deceased at the time of the last social history on the subject (1946), whether brothers or sisters is not indicated in the record. According to the record, there was no more than average friction between this man and his sibs. He always seemed to feel that he could go to them for help at any time, and did use their assistance frequently.

**First offense, juvenile**--According to a brother, the subject was in and out of juvenile court a number of times after about the age of 10, and was in the detention home and SIS. According to the case worker, no record of the subject could be found in the juvenile court records. Other records indicate, however, that he was sentenced to the SIS at the age of 17 as a delinquent (burglary).

**First offense, criminal**--At the age of 20, the subject was brought into court on the charge of breaking and entering; however there is no record of a disposition by the court. At the age of 21, he was sentenced to 3-15 years on a charge of highway robbery, and was released after 19 months by the governor. Age 22, was sentenced to 12 years for auto theft and parole violation. Age 27, was in court on a B&E charge, disposition not given; age 35, assault with intent to commit murder, two counts, sentenced to 5 years each count to run consecutively; age 42, B&E, 5 years; age 46, NFG, 1 year; age 47, vagrancy, dismissed; age 47, NFG and habitual criminal, bound over to the district court, charges dismissed 10 months later; age 48, NFG, 3 years; age 50, forgery, 5 years; age 54, NFG, 2 years.

**Work history**--Subject worked at odd jobs, painting, dock work, etc. Claims to have had his own truck or trucks for a time, shipping potatoes and apples out of Vancouver, Washington. The record conflicts with this story, however. Most of his work was in between prison sentences and was in the nature of WPA and spot jobs. There is no record of his ever having held any job more than a month or two.

**Religion**--Subject is of the Catholic faith, but has never indicated any particular devoutness. Was raised in this faith, and attended parochial schools through the 8th grade. Attends services in penal institutions more or less regularly.



Marriage--Married his first wife at about the age of 18 and lived with her for three years. They were divorced about the time of his first entry to the pen. No children--grounds for divorce not given in the record. Subject married again about 20 years later a woman with an adopted son. Lived with his second wife about a year, until she learned of his past record. Following the separation, they lived together off and on for about 4 years and apparently divorced (at least, this wife has remarried). There is no record of the subject's fighting with his wives. Apparently, the first divorced him because of his 3-15 year sentence to the pen; the second divorced him because of his failure to support her and her son. Subject had no children of his own.

Reasons given for offenses--No statements on the earlier offenses. Stated on later offenses (forgery, MFO) that they came about as parts of drunken spree. Claims drunkenness for the last five offenses.

Ability to do time--Seems very good. Is generally made a trusty, which allows him to earn extra good time. The record indicates that he has never lost good time, whether earned or statutory. Has on his record only one infraction of prison rules: on his most recent sentence, he got drunk on paint remover and was given 15 days in the hole and had his trusty pass revoked. Otherwise he gives evidence of being able to make excellent institutional adjustment, and apparently doesn't mind serving time. He has paroled twice. On all his other sentences, he has jammed early due to extra earned good time and statutory time. On the first parole from the pen, he was returned as a violator. On the second parole, he was released from his obligations some time prior to the expiration of the full time.

Development of a code of ethics--One can infer, from the subject's brother's statement, that the subject rather early became imbued with the idea that he could get by with almost anything, since his father was a cop. Thus, according to the brother, subject was in and out of the juvenile court from the age of 10 on. However, subject wasn't committed to the SIS until he was 17 years of age. From that time on, he became a heavy drinker, and this undoubtedly influenced his activities. He was never one to accept responsibility, as witness his almost complete lack of a work history and one divorce on grounds of non-support. On most of his check-passing jobs, he was drunk. He was considered virtually an alcoholic at the time of his last entry into the penitentiary. Somewhere along the line, he developed chronic asthma. He never used this ailment to keep out of work, at least not officially. That he has the malady is verified by the prison physician. Subject's brother states that the man has a wonderful personality--everyone likes him. Subject is well-known to police in his hometown (his father was chief of police there at one time); the police have been very lenient with him and have helped him out of a lot of scrapes. His employers have covered up for him a number of times.

Military--none.

Medical--Chronic asthma in later years.

Other--none.

**Pre-school**—Parents separated when subject was 3 years old. He and his sister, who is 8 years older than he, were placed in an orphanage at about this time. The mother did laundry and domestic work. At about the age of 5, subject ran away from home quite a lot, apparently from the orphanage. This running away continued until he was placed in Boys Town.

**School**—Subject was truant a great deal, finally finishing the 8th grade at either the age of 13 or 16. Some evidence that he left school and went directly into the army. Probably finished the 6th grade at the SIS. He attended school at the orphanage, at Boys Town and at SIS. No record of mishaps at school other than that he was often truant.

**Home and family**—Subject's father was an habitual drunkard; his mother and father separated when he was 3 years old. Mother worked in laundries and as a domestic. Very little of home life, since both children were placed in an orphanage in a large city after the separation. There was some jealousy of the subject toward his sister. He thought that she got all the advantages. The girl was left to care for the subject during the periods when they lived with their mother, but was in the habit of leaving him to his own devices while she went about with her own friends. Subject began running away from home at about the age of 5, and this pattern continued until he was placed in Boys Town. Subject's age at time of placement in B T is not given in the record. The mother remarried, but just when is uncertain. Subject's father died of a stroke brought on by alcohol at about the age of 50. No information regarding the stepfather. The sister has been married twice; has one daughter by the first husband and two sons by the second. She stated in a letter that the subject was "conceived while his father was under the influence of alcohol and his nerves were affected" as a result thereof.

**First offense, juvenile**—Subject was in and out of juvenile court from the age of 8 until he was 17. Was in detention home several times during this period. Was placed in Boys Town as a runaway. At the age of 14, he was committed to the SIS as a delinquent (BTP).

**First offense, criminal**—Subject's first sentence received in the criminal courts was to the reformatory at the age of 22, for robbery, 3 years.

**Work history**—Subject started work with his father, painting off and on. He worked at a number of places as a laborer, drove a taxi, and held many other spot jobs. Was considered unreliable by employers and stole from them. Average length of job was 1-3 months. Was something of a hunchback, with a number of jobs because of "heart trouble" and "rheumatism". Worked for a time in the CCC, but was given a dishonorable discharge after one year in the organization. He enlisted in the army, served two years and was given a DD for desertion.

**Religion**—Subject was brought up as a Protestant (Pentecostal and Methodist) but became a Catholic in later life. Attended church only rarely.

**Marriage**—Subject married at the age of 22, lived with his wife about 3 months when the marriage was annulled. He has not remarried. The marriage was probably annulled due to his being sentenced to the

reformatory. Although he hasn't remarried, he has lived with various women for shorter or longer periods of time. The one with whom he was living at the time of his most recent sentence in Nebraska was a known prostitute and dope addict.

Reasons given for offenses—His two major reasons are that he was either drunk or hungry. Either one could be true, since he was listed as an alcoholic and marijuana addict at the time of his entry into the U.S. Pen. He was treated for these conditions at the U.S. Pen. Various physical examinations show him to be "very nervous" (exams given upon entry into penal institutions). This could be due to his having done without whatever stimulant or depressant he was accustomed to during the period of trial and pre-trial. Sister seems to think he is born criminal, since he "was conceived while his father was drunk."

Ability to do time—Seems to adjust to institutional life very well. He should, since he has been in institutions since the age of three, except for a few brief interludes. No infractions of prison rules recorded for any sentence served. Always manages to get good time, both statutory and trusty, thus cutting down on the amount of time served.

Development of a code of ethics—This individual's code was built up on the basis of a lifetime of incarceration. He has appropriated one of society's values "it is OK to steal when hungry," and has given this as an excuse for some of his offenses. Another excuse that has been used is drunkenness. He has adopted a desire for easy money which is not out of line with the values of our society. He was in SIS at a rather early and impressionable age; however, it is possible that he had seen enough of institutional life by that time to enable him to teach the older boys some of the facts of life. There was little in the way of family discipline, and the subject was very early left to shift for himself for the most part. He didn't get along with his stepfather, who may or not have been common-law. There is no mention in the records regarding the mother's getting a divorce.

Military—Enlisted in army at about age 16 or 17 and served two years before being given a dishonorable discharge for going AWOL. No information regarding where he served or what other trouble he may have had during his service.

Medical—Alcohol and dope addiction. Nervous condition. Hypochondriasis.

Other—none.

Pre-school—About average early childhood. Subject can remember nothing outstanding that occurred during this period. He had various of the childhood diseases, but with no particular ill effects—claims none were serious.

School—School work was never very hard for subject, but he didn't display a great deal of interest in it. Had a poor scholastic record due to irregular attendance. Was occasionally something of a smart aleck in the classroom, but otherwise not a behavior problem. Made his best grades in shop and math. Liked athletics and drama. When subject was 8 years old, his father died as the result of a gasoline stove explosion. After that time, the subject had very little in the way of discipline. Could come and go as he pleased. His mother and sister tried to talk him into better behavior, and while he wasn't belligerent, he just didn't listen to them. About the age of 16, was placed on a farm where he made a fair adjustment—gained weight, made better grades in school, and liked his teachers and peers. Spent two semesters on this farm, but in the spring he went back to his mother. The farmers were more strict with him than his mother was. Subject's mother had to work outside the home and couldn't watch him all the time. He ran with other boys who were behavior problems and became involved in a hit-and-run accident, was sent to the SIS. At the SIS, he finished high school and received the award for the highest scholastic average in the senior class.

Home and family—Subject is youngest of 7 children (4 boys, 3 girls) born to his parents. Until the death of his father, when the subject was about 8 years old, the home was apparently one of moderate circumstances. After the death of the father, the mother had to work as a domestic in order to support her family and didn't have time to take proper care of the children in other ways. Apparently, discipline was lax, even when the father was alive, if one can judge from the fact that the oldest son was an irretriever, and the next oldest son had done time in the state pen. This, however, might have been due to something else. The home was always neat and orderly, though of a sub-standard nature structurally. It was located in a slum section and had a run-down appearance on the outside. The mother developed in the children habits of neatness, but was unable to give them habits that would keep them out of trouble. Out of 7 children, 5 have been in trouble with the law, ranging from minor offenses such as irreverence to thievery on the part of the boys, three of whom have done time in the pen. The girl was in the SIS at the age of 15 as a sex delinquent. There is nothing in the records to indicate that the family was not congenial. On the contrary, family ties seem to be quite strong.

First offense, juvenile—At the age of 15, subject and another boy stole a bicycle. Subject was placed on probation, and two months later, with another boy stole a car, drove it out of town and left it. A

month after this, he stole about \$20 from the Salvation Army and was required to pay back his share of the loot. A short time later, he stole another car, abandoned it, and threw away the keys. Was involved in a number of chicken thefts and was placed on a farm. After leaving the farm, was involved in a hit-and-run accident and sent to the SIS. Subject engaged in all the above escapades in the company of at least one other boy. While at SIS, he took part in sports, played in band, sang in choir, and worked in the shoe shop. Was considered a good and careful worker in the shop. Was 1st Lt. in his company at SIS. Showed ambition and a need to be guided in his activities. Always reacted well while under supervision, but had little respect for social rules when on his own. Was on the staff of the SIS newspaper: displayed a desire to go to college after working a year to get the money. Wanted to work for his brother who had already served several terms in the state pen.

First offense, criminal—at the age of 19, subject got drunk, and in the company of another boy stole three cars. Wrecked one of them, set fire to the back seat of another, and abandoned the third. He was picked up and pleaded guilty to a charge of auto theft and was given a year in the pen. He appeared to feel no remorse or guilt, and accepted prison as something that couldn't be avoided. He has pleaded guilty on all except one of the felony charges for which he has been convicted, and in that one instance, he was convicted of grand larceny.

Work history—Began working while still in high school as a bell-hop in a small hotel, quit this job due to being sent to the SIS. After his term in the SIS, he worked as a truck driver and fireman for an electric power company; drove a taxi and worked in an ordnance plant for about a year before being drafted into the army. Subject got his first draft call, quit work, stole a car and was sent to the pen. Following his sentence in the pen, he was taken into the army for two years. He was out of the army for about 5 months when he was sent to the reformatory. Since getting out of the reformatory, he has been out of lock-up for only short periods, and has held only part-time jobs.

Religion—Family was never particularly religious, and subject never joined a church.

Marriage—none.

Reasons given for offenses—Each time—was out for a good time, got drunk, needed money and went out to get some.

Ability to do time—Subject seems to make excellent adjustments to prison routine. Does very well under supervision. The only record of infraction of prison rules is during his second term in the pen, when he was given 3 days in jail as a suspected homosexual (he was "riding" another inmate on a bed) and another term of 3 days in jail for being insubordinate. Subject considers his last term in the pen a "bum rap"—he was taken from the pen to court, tried, convicted and returned to the pen without ever having been free. He doesn't say that he wasn't guilty—just a "bum rap." Probably figures that the offense should have been forgotten about since he had been in the pen for over a year since it had occurred.

Development of a code of ethics—While the subject's mother has rather high ethical standards for herself, she has never been able to impart them to at least 5 of her children. Subject apparently appropriated the code of his older brothers, taking to drink and thievery at an early age. His code further developed while in the SIS, and he incorporated the attitudes of a delinquent peer group into his own personality.

Military—Subject was drafted into the army in 1944, saw combat duty in the South Pacific area and was given an honorable discharge in 1946 after having served about 2 years. Apparently made a good adjustment to the routine of the armed service.

Medical—On third entrance to the penitentiary, subject had acute gonorrhoea. Apparently was cured, since later physical exams do not show its existence. Has a more or less serious case of chronic ichthyosis, which has existed since his first entry into the pen. Received treatment for this condition during his periods of incarceration.

Other—None.

Pre-school--Subject's parents separated when boy was about 3 to 5 years old, and he went to live with his mother. No contact with his father from this time. His father was a foundry worker, probably stayed in the trade after the separation. Subject's mother worked in a medical school hospital and became head custodian there. Subject had such childhood diseases as measles, mumps and chicken pox, none serious.

School--Subject attended Catholic parochial school to the 9th grade. He changed schools a number of times, but always went to parochial schools. No record of his being a disciplinary problem while in school. He quit school to go to work in order to help his mother support the family.

Home and family--The home was broken by the separation of his parents when subject was 3 to 5 years old. Subject apparently had little contact with his father, who died at age 60 of dropsy. Subject was one of four children, 2 boys, 2 girls, order of birth not given. One sister died at age 8, subject's brother drowned in river at age 10. Mother worked in medical school hospital at quite low salary. Apparently father didn't help support the family. The subject peddled papers to help out for a period of about 10 years, almost all the time he was in school. Lived with his mother part of the time, and around town at times, wherever he could get accommodations. Left home permanently at about age 17. Discipline in home was variable; younger children were left in care of the oldest girl while the mother worked. Children seemed quite fond of one another and of their mother--apparently major trouble was financial.

First offense, juvenile--Records indicate that subject was sent to SIS in 1906 as a delinquent. No information regarding specific charge. He was about 17 at that time.

First offense, criminal--At age 16, just after having gotten out of SIS, subject committed a burglary in a rural county, was picked up and pleaded guilty. Had escaped from the SIS, but due to the fact that he was old enough to send to the pen, wasn't returned to former place. Since the first pen term in 1909, subject has served 9 other terms in various pens and is currently serving a term outside Nebraska. Pleaded guilty for every one of the 7 terms in Nebraska Pen. Got 1 year on his first pen sentence.

Work history--Subject has an early work history of selling newspapers in a large city for about 10 years, beginning at about age 6 or 7. After quitting school, did spot work for a time, and was sent to SIS. Has done some remodeling of buildings, roofing, etc., doing his own contracting. Worked some as a construction carpenter and laborer. Never kept one job longer than a few months, mainly due to fact that he was never out of prison long enough.

Religion--Subject is a member of the Catholic church, as were his parents and sibs. He was brought up in the faith, attended parochial schools to the 9th grade. Attended church regularly during early years and was baptized and confirmed in the church. In later years, his church attendance has become irregular.

**Marriage**—Subject married at age 30, lived with wife off and on for about 8 years. Had one daughter who was 7 years old when he was divorced from his wife in 1920. Subject has never remarried, but has had a rather long parade of girl friends, two of whom have written and visited him in the pen over a number of years. Was married in March, 1920, and was in prison in November, 1920, where he stayed until 1925. Subject doesn't know his daughter, nor does he know where she is.

**Reasons given for offenses**—Claimed drunkenness on two offenses for which he served time. There are no reasons given for the others. Subject is a heavy drinker, and the records indicate that he actually was drunk upon the said two occasions.

**Ability to do time**—Subject is rather thoroughly institutionalized, makes good institutional adjustments. Generally considered a model prisoner, often made trusty. At age 50, he escaped from the state pen but was quickly apprehended. This is the only recorded infraction of prison rules. He was paroled twice; one time from the Nebraska pen, and once from the U.S. pen at Leavenworth. Both times, he broke parole and was returned.

**Development of a code of ethics**—Although the subject's mother and sister both possessed rather high moral and ethical standards, subject didn't incorporate them into his own personality. On the other hand, he seemingly appropriated the ethics of a delinquent peer group, and while in his teens became a rather heavy drinker.

**Military**—Enlisted in National Guard in 1916. His company was activated shortly thereafter, and was sent to patrol the Mexican border. He was discharged in 1918. The records indicate that he received an honorable discharge; and that he was listed twice as a deserter. (FBI report shows him as a deserter; VA forms indicate that he has received veterans' benefits).

**Medical**—Was shot in leg in 1916 for not halting when a police officer told him to. Was treated in pen for gunshot wounds, not serious.

**Other**—None.



**Pre-school**—Subject was born in a rural community in 1927 and lived there all his life. During the early years he had light case of measles, but no other recorded diseases. Got along well with sibs and parents. Subject was second of five boys. Says that early life was about average.

**School**—Finished the 8th grade when he was about 14 years old. Started in the 9th grade, and then quit. Said it was hard for him to learn and he didn't like school. Favorite subject was arithmetic. Went to country school and schools in small towns. Parents lived on a farm and boys were more or less irregular in their school attendance due to helping with farm work, especially during planting and harvest seasons. Subject became defiant and belligerent in school and the superintendent was allowed to expel him in 1942. Subject was referred to a child welfare worker because he was considered incorrigible and refused to study. Shortly after this, was sent to SIS for thievery.

**Home and family**—Subject seems to have gotten along with parents and sibs pretty well. Says that parents were good to children and always provided enough of whatever they needed. General home atmosphere seems one of congeniality. Subject is the only delinquent member of the family. Discipline fairly strict, but apparently not excessive.

**First offense, juvenile**—At age 15, subject was sent to SIS a delinquent. There is no record of juvenile court appearances prior to this commitment. He was, however, expelled from school shortly before this, as being incorrigible. His mother stated that the subject's delinquency began at age 13. He was always a hard child to discipline, even during his early years. Following his parole from the SIS, subject kept out of trouble until his older brother was called into the army. Following this, subject "went to pieces," began running with a delinquent group.

**First offense, criminal—1944**, subject was sent to the reformatory on a grand larceny charge. Was working in a packing house, but felt that he wasn't making enough money; got to drinking and running around, needed more money than he had, so stole it. Got a 1-7 year term in the ref, but escaped within a year after his commitment. Was soon apprehended and given a 10-year term in the pen on a count of forging a certificate of title to an automobile, plus one year for escape from ref, plus the balance of his 1-7 term. At the time of his receipt into the pen, he made the statement that the place would never hold him—he would get out, regardless. Thus, for 5 years, he was a trouble-maker in the pen and in almost constant trouble. Received an aggregate of 140 days in the hole, plus one "indefinite" jail sentence. Was also in segregation for 100 days on offenses, plus two "indefinite" segregation terms. Because of his many infractions of rules, he lost 6 months statutory good time on his first sentence.

**Work history**—The longest job the subject has ever held was for 3 weeks in a packing house as a laborer. He has worked as a farm laborer and as a packing house laborer at other times, but never for very long at a time. Most of his jobs have been temporary (spot jobs). Subject hasn't been out of institutions for very long at a time since the age of 15, and hasn't been able to establish much in the way of a work record.

Religion—None.

Marriage—None.

Reasons given for offenses—Subject gives several excuses for his criminal behavior: Was drinking when he committed his first felony; was in bad company at the time of the second; wanted money on the third; and he escaped from the ref because he wanted freedom.

Ability to do time—Seems to be improving. During his term in the ref, he escaped, and was sent back to the pen with three terms to do. While serving the 10-year term (the first in the pen) he received 15 separate "hole" terms, and was reprimanded 4 times for major and minor infractions of prison rules, such as attempted escape, fighting, rioting, attempting to incite a riot, plugging up the sewers, destroying plumbing, etc. He served his second sentence (1 year) with no infractions and was paroled for the balance of his 1-7 term upon completion of the 1 year sentence. However, he wasn't out much more than a month when he was returned to finish the sentence due to a violation of his parole. The specific charge on the parole violation was breaking and entering, three counts, for which he received three sentences of 5 years each, to run concurrently. Since his latest return to the pen he has had no infractions of prison rules.

Development of a code of ethics—Subject apparently didn't receive much of his code from his parents, but got most of it from the boys with whom he ran. Was always defiant and hard to discipline. Learned a great deal from the older boys with whom he ran and from other prison inmates since the age of 15. Subject is easily influenced by his criminal friends, but not by his non-criminal friends. Has been incarcerated almost continuously since age 15, and still has the balance of his 1-7 term plus 5 years on a B&E charge to serve.

Military—None.

Medical—None.

Other—None.

- Pre-school—Born in a large city in 1927, and lived there all his life. Parents lived together and were good providers. Never had any trouble with his parents or sibs, according to record. Had usual childhood diseases, but no serious ill effects. Was always healthy, during early years. Ran away from home several times but always went back. Could give no reason for running away.
- School—Completed the 7th grade before quitting. Claims he quit because his father was ill and he was needed to work and help at home (has several older brothers and sisters). Got a permit to quit school and go to work. Liked school until about 7th grade, when he lost interest. Was going to school in 8th grade when he quit. Favorite subject was mechanical drawing, and always did well in other subjects except history. Had good attendance record and wasn't a conduct problem until about grade 7B. Finished 8th grade in SIS. Had no particular friends—had a dog, a magazine route and ran errands. Was a Golden Gloves boxer for about 2 years and was considered a good boxer.
- Home and family—Subject's father died at age 59 when boy was 16 of TB and pneumonia. Mother remarried soon after, her third husband whom she currently lives with (she was married and had 3 children before her marriage to subject's father; father was also married once before and had four children by his first wife). Subject has five full brothers and sisters. Two of his full brothers have served time in the state pen as did one of his half-brothers on the father's side. One of these full brothers is considered of low mentality (moron). One full sister committed suicide at age 20 by jumping into river. The rest of the 13 children have no delinquency records.
- First offense, juvenile—Started getting into trouble at age 11, and was sent to SIS at age 13. Did well in school there and finished the 8th grade. Was paroled after a year, but was returned after 3 months on the outside as a parole violator (auto theft), and four months later escaped from the SIS. Was soon apprehended and returned, and paroled some 8 months later. Completed almost a year on parole. At SIS, was considered talkative, vivacious during his first term, but during the second term, displayed nervousness and facial tics.
- First offense, criminal—Age 16, was sentenced to the reformatory, soon escaped, was apprehended and returned to the reformatory. Has been incarcerated almost constantly since that time.
- Work history—Worked at laboring jobs, but not very long at any one time. Longest job held was at a creamery for 6 months. Many other jobs of shorter duration. Was working in Utah as a linerian for Western Union when his father died. Came back home for the funeral, was unable to find another steady job but worked at spot jobs until sent to the ref.
- Religion—Father was Catholic, mother doesn't belong to any church. Subject was confirmed in Catholic faith at age 13, after having

attended a parochial school for some time. Has never been particularly devout, attends church only occasionally.

**Marriage**—Met his wife at a dance and they were married a month later. She had two children by a previous marriage when this man married her, and has had one by him. Subject never made any effort to support wife and family, and after his incarceration she divorced him. She receives ADC for the three children. Wife's family quite bitter against subject since they feel that he and his brother got the wife's younger brother into trouble which resulted in his being sent to the ref. The subject never tried to make a home for wife and children.

**Reasons given for offenses**—None given.

**Ability to do time**—Improving. During terms in SIS, developed facial tics and nervousness. Escaped from reformatory, was transferred to the pen. During first term in pen, was in trouble only once or a minor charge. During second term in pen was in quite a bit of trouble for fighting, causing disturbances and attempting to incite riots. Also attempted escape. However, during later part of second term, straightened out and paroled after serving about 3 years. Made good on parole. During third term in pen was in trouble only one time for fighting with another inmate. Took high school courses in pen on third term; learned typing, took Spanish and literature. Earned 73 school days and 73 work days extra good time.

**Development of a code of ethics**—Two older brothers were delinquent and undoubtedly influenced subject in his development of social code. Also, an older half-brother was delinquent and somewhat influential with subject. Subject was out of school running around with boys older than himself after finishing the 7th grade and received instructions in delinquency from them. The time spent in SIS from age 13 to 15 also helped form his code. Was sent to the ref at age 16 and has been incarcerated almost constantly since. His code is now that of a confirmed criminal, i.e., that which he thinks he needs he will take regardless of method.

**Military**—Tried to join navy and marines but wasn't accepted—reasons for rejections not given.

**Medical**—None.

**Other**—Subject learned at an early age that he could, by playing on the sympathy of others, get by with a great deal that was otherwise forbidden to him. This appealing to the sympathy of others has become well patterned in his personality, and he has used it throughout his life. He has become very smooth in his attempts to win sympathy, and his stories are quite plausible, if not actually heart-rending, but false.

**Pre-school**—Subject's parents state that he was easy to manage, and got along well in the home. Was only boy of 5 children, second oldest of the 5. Subject was quiet and no trouble to parents during early years. Since he was only son, was somewhat pampered by parents.

**School**—During early grades, teachers reported subject as "mischievous." In later grades (6, 7 & 8) was considered a "very real discipline problem." During the time he was in the 8th grade, subject was placed on probation for truancy, and before the year was out, was committed to SIS (truancy and chicken theft). Subject didn't like school and found it hard to learn. However, records indicate that he finished 9th grade in SIS.

**Home and family**—Subject's parents always gave him about everything he wanted—to the extent of their abilities. Family was never too well off; subject's father carried mail part time and hauled some express shipments around small town. Father was steady worker and managed his income quite well. Parents are considered rather low mentally by caseworker of the area. The three older girls are considered to have average mentality—youngest is somewhat dull, and has stayed home (about 28 now). Parents maintained a modest home in fairly good neighborhood. Money was spent on necessities rather than luxuries. Home atmosphere always congenial—none of the family ever censured subject for his misbehavior, but allowed him to go his way without much in the way of comment. Subject's three older sisters are married and they, with their families, are considered assets in their several communities. Subject's parents didn't take much part in community affairs; however, family was well liked in home town and well spoken of. Home was fairly well furnished and comfortable.

**First offense, juvenile**—Subject was on probation for truancy when was committed to SIS for chicken theft. Records show that he might have been in trouble with the law earlier than this—one sister states that he had a "decided penchant for getting into trouble" at a very early age. This may or not show a degree of over-indulgence of subject.

**First offense, criminal**—At age 20, subject was in a county jail, serving an 85-day sentence, when he broke jail, stole a car and wrote at least one bad check. The reason for being in jail not given. Was apprehended within a few days and received 2-6 years in the ref. Following subject's release from SIS, his parents had sent him to a barber college to learn the trade. No record of his finishing this training, nor of apprenticeship. Was free long enough to have done so, however. Didn't return home following release from SIS, and sisters and parents don't know much about his activities during the 4 years (just prior to the ref sentence. One sister stated that he became a heavy drinker and spent most of his time in bars.

**Work history**—Subject never worked long enough to establish a work record; unless possibly during the period between SIS and ref (age 16-20). There is no information concerning this period. Most of the work

that he did later on consisted of spot jobs at common labor. Never worked more than a month at a time on one job. Always low salary. Religion—Subject's mother is member of Jehovah's Witness church; father a member of the Christian church. Neither parent active in religious affairs. Subject never had any interest in religion of any type.

Marriage—Subject married a 25-year-old woman when he was 37. Lived with her about a year when they separated. Wife was a heavy drinker, and considered by his family and neighbors as a bit undesirable. There is no divorce recorded. Subject never lived long enough in one place to establish residence after age 20, and didn't attempt to provide a stable home for wife. He and wife lived with his parents for a time—this is the only home they had.

Reasons given for offenses—Subject states that he gets settled down on a good job, then gets to running around, living beyond his means, so writes checks for which no funds in bank. Says he always intends to write just one, then make it good before getting caught, but later decides he might as well go all the way and write some more. There is no indication of drunkenness at times when he writes checks, although sister stated that he is a heavy drinker. One employer stated that he "...was interested in anything that wore a skirt... Most of his leisure time was spent in hooky tonks."

Ability to do time—Seems quite good. Has never been in trouble on account of infraction of prison rules, and was made trusty on two different sentences. Seems to feel a certain amount of security while in prison and has been incarcerated almost constantly since age 20.

Development of a code of ethics—Subject was somewhat over-indulged as a child and probably came to the conclusion rather early that whatever he wanted he should have without much effort on his part, and regardless of the interests of others. Early attached himself to older children, liked to show off and be thought of as a "wheel"—was the "life of any party." While in grade school, was hit in the nose with a ball bat (accidentally), and laid up for a time. This period of illness brought a certain amount of sympathy, which further developed the over-indulgence pattern. Parents tried to give him all the opportunities they could manage, however, he didn't take advantage of them. Term in SIS helped to give him the idea that working was for the "birds." This, with the fact that his father's income was small probably decided him that a person never gets ahead by working hard all his life.

Military—None.

Medical—Was hit in nose with a ball bat while still in early grades in school. Injury brought about obstruction of nasal passages and caused considerable pain. Subject convinced himself that he had cancer and was given treatment for this condition at the pen for a time. Later on the obstruction was removed and found non-cancerous (subject still convinced he has cancer, however). Nose was disfigured some as result of early blow and later operation.

Pre-school--Statements regarding subject's birth vary--mother stated that subject's father died sometime before boy was born, other statements indicate he deserted when child was about 4 months old. Others claim that subject is illegitimate and that his mother is not sure who his father might have been. Subject's mother lived with her parents following subject's birth until he was about a year old, when she married. Husband was a rancher or surveyor (records conflict) who had a son and daughter by a previous wife. The son lived with the family, but the daughter didn't. Subject's mother had one child by this husband, a daughter, about four years younger than the subject. Subject had a number of the childhood diseases, none particularly serious.

School--Subject got through the 9th grade in school and quit. No reason given for quitting. There is nothing in the records which would indicate that subject was a behavior problem in school, and he made about average grades.

Home and family--Although records show that subject may be illegitimate, his mother married when he was about a year old, and he was led to believe that step-father was his real father (which is altogether possible). Subject later concluded that he is illegitimate. His step-father had steady employment, good living. Home life was apparently reasonably happy, no record of incompatibility. Subject states that his father was very good to him and was a good provider. Father died with subject was 18. Mother has re-married, but subject isn't clear as to her name at present time. None of other three children of this family have ever been in trouble with the law.

First offense, juvenile--Subject has a record of passing several bad checks which his stepfather made good before subject was 17. This started at age 15. However, at age 17, subject was placed in the CCC program to keep him out of trouble. After about a year in the CCC, he was given three days in jail and a \$100 fine on a bad check charge. During the next two years, had 3 more such charges against him. At age 20, subject was told by the court to enlist in army (1940) and a bad check charge would be dropped. He enlisted, served about 14 months, got an undesirable discharge for AWOL and alcoholic.

First offense, criminal--At age 21, subject was sentenced to the state reformatory in Colorado on con game charges. This was about one month after discharge from army. Got an indefinite sentence, paroled after 9 months, was out less than 2 months and was picked up as a FV (con game). Was returned to the ref on another indefinite sentence, paroled again after 10 months. Since that time subject has been in almost constant trouble with the law--either on con game charges or no fund check charges. FBI records indicate that, even during the short periods of free life that he has had, he was picked up periodically and charged with con game or FV.

Work history—Subject drove trucks some. Claims to have driven a truck for one company for a period of three years; however, there is no period of three years in this man's life, since the age of 20 during which he hasn't been incarcerated for at least 6 months. Has, by and large, attempted to make a living by the con game or by passing hot checks.

Religion—Was baptized into the Baptist church and attended Sunday School regularly as a boy. Still goes to church, but to German Lutheran. Could hardly be considered a devout religionist.

Marriage—Subject was married to one of three different women, or may never have been married. He and his "wife" applied for aid to a welfare bureau in 1945 and again in 1946. Had a different "wife" when sentenced to Nebraska ref, and still another when sent to the Nebraska pen. While at the pen, claimed to have a wife, yet established a woman as a fiancée. Filed an affidavit of his intent to marry this fiancée upon his release, and she filed one showing intent to marry him. This had to be done in order that she could write and visit him. Subject never attempted to provide a permanent home for any of his "wives."

Reasons given for offenses—Gives drunkenness on one occasion, doesn't give any reasons for others. Records show him a heavy drinker.

Ability to do time—Seems very good. Has a record of abiding by rules, getting by with as little effort as possible, and has worked three of his five prison terms, as a result of being a good worker in prison and adjusting to the routine. Subject treats his sentences as periods of necessary work between check-passing and con game vacations.

Development of a code of ethics—Subject started at an early age, writing bad checks which his father made good for him. He has stated that he is an illegitimate child, and this may have some bearing on his actions. It is possible that his writing of checks started shortly after he discovered his illegitimacy, but there is no way to find this out for sure. Even with all his early bad checks, however, he didn't serve any time until the age of 21. Prior to this he had been given fines, placed in a CCC camp and allowed to join the army. This, plus the ideas that he most likely picked up during his first incarceration in a ref, probably gave him the idea that he might as well live off the fat of the land by the con game and bad checks, if a man is convicted on such charges, draw small sentences. Apparently, the time in prison is considered small punishment for the good time he has on the money he makes.

Military—Enlisted in the army at age 20 at the behest of a criminal court. Got an undesirable discharge 14 months later for AMNL and acute alcoholism. Served in U.S. only.

Medical—None.

Other—None



Pre-school--Subject was born last in a family of two boys and two girls. (One of the girls was a half-sister by the mother's previous marriage). Subject had several of the childhood diseases, none serious. Was considered a "good" boy by his father, easy to manage and easy to get along with. Had no outstanding trouble with his siblings; no outstanding or serious maladies or other disturbances. Subject states he had a very happy childhood.

School--Went to the \_\_\_\_\_ schools, finished the 8th grade at the age of about 15. After finishing the 8th grade, he quit school and went to work at the State Journal printing company as a book-binder. Nothing in the records to indicate that he was a discipline problem in school. Grades were about average.

Home and family--Subject comes from a seemingly good home. His father was a steady worker and a good provider; mother was a housewife until her death. She never worked outside the home. Father is still living, mother died at the age of 65, after being hit by a truck while crossing a street. Father was a Protestant, but seldom went to church--mother was a Catholic, and attended church regularly. Subjects parents got along well with one another and with the children. None of the sibs were ever involved with the law. Family lived in modest circumstances and always had enough of the necessities of life. Lived in a neighborhood of families of moderate income. Discipline at home was moderate--provided a congenial atmosphere.

First offense, juvenile--none.

First offense, criminal--at the age of 25, subject was convicted of petit larceny (shop lifting) and given 6 months bench parole. This is the first recorded arrest and sentence. Following this sentence, the subject was almost constantly in jail on charges of petit larceny, shoplifting or more serious offenses. Was arrested several times on drunk and var charges. Mostly, however, the charges involved petit larceny. Was sentenced a number of times to the county jail and paid many fines for his activities. At the age of 29, subject was sentenced to a year in the Nebraska pen on a grand larceny charge. Following this sentence, he has done time in the penitentiary on three separate occasions for 1 year, 18 months, and 2 years on charges of 4th, 5th and 6th convictions of petit larceny.

Work history--Subject started work at the State Journal as a book binder at about the age of 15. Worked there for about 3 years, then took a job as an iron molder in a foundry, where he stayed for about 6 years. Following this he had no steady employment--quit working steady at the beginning of the depression and hasn't worked since, except for spot jobs. Rumored around a great deal and has been chased out of a number of towns for petty offenses. In the prison records, his work history is very good--he works well at any job which he is assigned. Has only one serious disciplinary report on his prison record, for stealing clothes. Is considered a good worker by the prison officials and has been made trusty during each sentence. Worked as a cook in the city jail and was allowed to take over the operation of the kitchen when the regular (civilian) cook was on vacation or ill. (Subject was a prisoner in the city jail at these times). Considered an excellent cook.

Religion--claims to be a Methodist, but never went to church much.  
Religion not a large factor in his life.

Marriage--none.

Reasons given for offenses--drunkenness claimed on every count.

Ability to do time--Seems very good. He is considered cooperative, a good worker, and no trouble to the officials. Is considered a quiet, harmless man, inoffensive, and eager to please. Makes excellent institutional adjustment, and gets along well with other inmates. Has spent so much time in county jails and penal institutions that it is probably like home to him. In fact, since the age of 29, these institutions have been about the only home he has had.

Development of a code of ethics--At the age of about 15, or 16, subject began drinking heavily and, according to his father, no one could control him or get him to stop drinking. This is about the time he quit school, and his drinking may have been an assertion of his independence, although the records do not indicate that home discipline was severe. Was working for a printing company and perhaps felt that drinking was one way to show that he was a man. The drinking continued until, at the age of about 28, he was sent to the state hospital as a dipsomaniac. At this time, he admitted the use of morphine (as much as two grains a day), but claimed to have quit using it before his admittance to the hospital. (This is highly questionable, for an individual who is on such a high dosage). There is no official record of his ever having been charged as a user, or with having dope in his possession, however. At the time of his incarceration in the ref, and at the time of his first sentence to the pen, he was suffering from gonorrhoea, for which he was treated. Apparently was cured, since there is no record of his having the disease at a later date. At the time of his entry into the state hospital, he was suffering from hallucinations and a persecution complex, both of which are symptomatic of dipsomania.

Military--none.

Medical--Chronic gonorrhoea at age 29 and again at age 44. Dipsomania and use of morphine shown by records. Term in state mental hospital as a dipsomaniac, at about age 28.

Other--Habitual drunk--petty offenses seem to lead to more serious charges. Considered a very good man to have around when sober, very obliging sort of person. Subject's father thinks that his son associates with bums and these bums get him into all sorts of trouble. Father had to finally kick the subject out of the home, since the old man had retired, and his small pension wouldn't support them both, and the subject wouldn't work. This didn't come, however, until the subject was about 45 or so years old.

Pre-school--Subject was the only child in his family. Born in a small town and moved to \_\_\_\_\_ while quite young--about age 2. Parents considered him a good child at this age. Easy to manage. At the age of 5, subject was bitten on the head by a dog which caused a large swelling. Records show measles and mumps for this period.

School--Subject started in the \_\_\_\_\_ schools, and attended until the age of 17 when he quit. He was in the 10th grade at this time. Grades were about average or a little better. Was not a serious disciplinary problem in school. Was never controlled by his parents--was allowed to have whatever he wanted and do about what he wanted.

Home and family--Parents came from a small town in the Midwest--members of the Catholic church. Subject attended Catholic church while small. Family was always in moderate circumstances, always had enough to get along on and to provide whatever the subject thought he needed or wanted. Provided subject with opportunity to finish high school and let him know that he would be sent on to college, should he desire. However, Subject didn't take advantage of these opportunities and quit school in the 10th grade. Subject lived at home until the age of about 21 or so. Father was always a steady worker and was always employed at a fairly good job. Mother died when the subject was about 27. Parents had high school education--mother was a school teacher when she married. She died just before or just after the subject was sentenced to the ref on a RAE charge. This was his first conviction on a felony charge.

First offense, juvenile--none.

First offense, criminal--At the age of 22, subject was arrested and charged with assault with intent to do great bodily injury. Charge was dismissed at the preliminary hearing. There is a note in the caseworker's report to the effect that the subject at one time had some friends hold a man while he beat up on the fellow. This is probably the same incident for which he was arrested, since this is the only assault charge on subject's FBI sheet which is not in connection with robbery. Subject was arrested 8 other times on petit larceny and joy riding charges before being sent to the ref on a grand larceny charge at the age of 27. Following the ref term, he was in and out of jails and courts and the penitentiary. Claims to have been arrested about 50 times (FBI records show about 50 arrests).

Work history--Subject went to work upon quitting school at the Western Newspapers Union in \_\_\_\_\_, learning the printing trade. However, he didn't finish the apprenticeship, but stayed on the job only 3 months. After this, he didn't work at any job more than a few weeks. Mostly, he had just spot jobs. The rest of the time was taken up with jail terms and petty thievery.

Religion--Subject's parents were Catholic, and subject attended the Catholic church occasionally while young. There is no record of his having been confirmed in the church. At the present time, he does not profess to believe in any religion. Parents were

not particularly devout members of the church.

Marriage--none.

Reasons given for offenses--drunkenness is blamed for everything, small and large. Even escaped the pen to go to town and buy some whisky. Made wine on the prison farm and got drunk, for which his trusty pass was revoked.

Ability to do time--Seems to be improving. Subject had a bad conduct record while at the reformatory. First two terms in the pen, he was in quite a bit of trouble. First term in the pen, was in the hole two times, once for making wine and getting drunk and once for fighting; second term in the pen, was in the hole 12 different times for fighting, disobedience, threatening a guard, stealing food, drunk and escape. The last term in the pen, there are no recorded infractions of the rules.

Development of a code of ethics--Subject was overindulged by his parents and developed the attitude that he could get what he wanted without any effort on his part; this attitude has apparently continued to dominate his personality throughout life. When he quit high school, he began running around with individuals of questionable characters, one of whom was an ex-convict. He became addicted to liquor while in his late teens and is more or less a habitual drunk. Police records show that he has been a user of barbiturates, and was once rendered unconscious for a considerable period of time as the result of an overdose of phenobarbital, while in the city jail. (Records do not indicate whether he was in jail before taking the barb). However, his use of barbiturates was probably only occasional, since that is the only official record of his taking the stuff. His first love was whisky. Subject's parents provided him with plenty of opportunity, but he early developed a dislike for work which he still maintains. He is generally charged only with petty crimes, and has thus gotten away with much with only light sentences. This sort of thing would bolster his conviction that he can get away with about anything he wants to.

Military--none.

Medical--Severe dog bite on the head at the age of 5. There is no way of evaluating the effect that this may have had on his behavior. Alcoholism and use of barbiturates indicated.

Other--Apparently does not mind incarceration a great deal--when subject left the prison upon discharge from his third term, he was asked for his mailing address; he replied that he would pick up his mail next time he came back to the institution. This was, however, five years ago, and he has not been returned to the Nebraska pen. It was learned, however, that he is currently in police custody, awaiting a hearing on felony charges--exact charges not known.

**Pre-school--**Born 4th of 6 children in a small town in the state of Washington. Claims to have had none of the childhood diseases, however, he had such ones as measles, etc. There is nothing in the records to indicate anything outstanding happening during this period. Subject claims to have had a normal, happy childhood. Records show usual childhood diseases.

**School--**Subject attended school in a small town in Washington, wasn't a behavior problem and claims to have liked school. At the age of 10, he received a head injury and a specialist advised surgery. However, subject's father refused to have the operation performed and, according to subject's brothers, bone splinters kept working out of the subject's skull during the next 4 years. At the age of 15, he quit school, having finished the 8th grade. At the age of 16, he was sentenced to the Washington SIS for forgery. Claims to have finished 3 years of high school while in the Washington reformatory, and that he has a number of certificates showing completion of some 200 courses by correspondence.

**Home and family--**Father worked a marginal farm and worked as a feed mill operator. Provided only a marginal income for the family. The family was on relief during the depression. Home life was congenial and all members of the family got along well together. Parents belonged to the Methodist church and had daily Bible readings and prayer in the home. Subject's father died at the age of 56; mother lives with one of the daughters. The other five children have never been in any trouble with the law, and all are currently living in moderate financial circumstances. All are married. Father died of heart failure. Discipline in the home was apparently about average--no recorded instances of it being either lax or severe. Mother states that subject has always been unreliable and untrustworthy. Didn't live at home except on rare occasions after the age of 16. Mother is now living on public assistance and seems disinterested in the welfare of her errant son. Apparently the subject has caused his family so much trouble with bad checks that they are not interested in trying to help him any more.

**First offense, juvenile--**At about the age of 15, subject began getting into trouble. Just after his 16th birthday, he was sent to the SIS in Washington. This was on a charge of forgery and he had already written a number of checks which he had no means of making good. This sentence was the culmination of several months of trouble making for this man, mostly in the form of bad checks. While at the SIS, he was involved in several infractions of the rules, once for sodomy. Was paroled after 9 months, and less than a year after parole was involved with an older man in the robbery of a store. However, he was allowed to go free on probation for this latter offense.

**First offense, criminal--**Was on parole from the SIS and working at a garage when he took a customer's car containing some beer. Subject says he took the car so that he could take a girl friend for a joy ride. Took the car out of the state; however, wasn't prosecuted under the Dyer Act for this offense. Instead, he

received a 2-year sentence in the Oregon state pen, served 14 months and was paroled. His parole was revoked 7 months later, and he will be returned to the Oregon state pen if he goes back to that state. Since this first term, he has served 4 others in state pens and the federal pen at McNeil Island. He is now serving out a 15 year term in the Washington state pen for reason of escape. Was taken directly to the Washington institution from the Nebraska pen.

**Work history**--Subject didn't work long at any job. Was a salesman for a time for the IHC, selling trucks and farm machinery (not more than a year). Worked a month as a cafe cook and quit. Worked about 5 months as chief cook on the American President lines out of San Francisco at \$182.50 a week. Reason for quitting was not given. Worked as a steward on the Burns Steamship line about 4 months and quit. Was considered a poor worker by this latter employer. Worked for the American Mail Line as second cook and baker for about 6 months and was fired for being drunk on duty. Company would not rehire him. Claims to have served in the Army Transport Service during the war, but records do not verify this. Was considered a good worker by his bosses on the American President lines, and they indicated to the officials at McNeil Island that they would rehire him upon his release from prison.

**Religion**--Subject came from a strongly religious home where they had Bible readings and daily prayer in the home. Has a deep respect for his religion although it never had any deterrent effect on his activities. He was baptized into the Methodist church. While young, he went regularly to Sunday school and young people's meetings. Sang in the choir and says he enjoyed religious services very much.

**Marriage**--Married at the age of 26, subject married a 19-year-old girl with whom he lived for 9 months until she divorced him for reason of his being returned to the reformatory. Subject had known this girl for several years before the marriage. They had no children.

At the age of 28, subject married another woman who was 28 years old at the time. Had known her about 6 months prior to the marriage. She had one child by a previous marriage. They met at a dance in Alameda, California. She divorced him after a year because he was in the pen in Nevada. No children by this marriage.

Claims to have lived common-law with a woman in Portland for 7 months in 1947. She was 31 at the time, he was 32. Records do not indicate incompatibility in any of these marriages, but rather that the wives divorced him because he would or could not stay out of stir.

**Reasons given for offenses**--Pleads drunkenness, mostly. However, on a number of occasions, subject wasn't drunk when he committed his offenses. Has a record of being a heavy drinker, and was fired from at least one job for being drunk. Was considered effeminate by the officials at the Nevada state pen, however, there is only one instance in which he is officially charged with homosexual behavior, and that was during his stay at the SIS.

**Ability to do time**--Subject is considered an old-time con and vice in the ways of institutional living. Generally sides with the

rules and on one term was made trusty. Has good work and conduct records from all the institutions in which he has served time. Although he has escaped from institutions twice, he seems always to have been able to adjust to the routine.

**Development of a code of ethics--**Subject's mother claims he was deceitful at an early age. He wasn't a behavior problem in school, but immediately after quitting school began writing bad checks, some of which were made good by his father and older brother. On numerous other occasions, his father and brothers have made good the checks which he has written. At the age of 16, was sent to the SIS, where he picked up the attitudes of the habitual convict--dislike for work and getting something for nothing. Was reported several times for infractions including sodomy while at the SIS. Was in the state pen at the age of 19, and undoubtedly picked up a lot more information there that would be useful in a criminal career. Also, it is likely that his criminal attitudes became rather crystallized at this point. Worked as a cook and steward in the maritime service, a trade which is notorious as a racket, involving such activities as bootlegging whiskey and dope to homosexuality.

**Military--**Claims he enlisted in the U.S. Navy and was transferred to the Army Transport Service during the war. However, this is not verified and the dates given by the subject conflict with those in the FBI records which show him doing time during the war. He may actually have served in the maritime service during the war, but it would have had to be for an extremely short period.

**Medical--**Received a head injury at the age of 10 (was hit in the head with a ball bat). Father refused to allow surgery. Two brothers state that the attending physician at that time told the father that if surgery were not performed, he (the M.D.) would not be responsible for future actions and illnesses of the subject. McNeil Island psychiatrist reported, 11/4/46, that the subject was "without mental disorder". Just prior to this report, however, subject tried to commit suicide while at the McNeil prison camp.

**Other--**Subject was involved in a smuggling ring at the Washington state pen at one time, smuggling benzadrine into the other inmates. Was caught and transferred to another institution. No record of his being a user.

**Pre-school**--Born in 1898 in either \_\_\_\_\_ or \_\_\_\_\_. Father died 1902 when subject was 4. Subject was placed with friends of his parents in a small town in \_\_\_\_\_ where he lived until about the age of 15. These friends were very good to him and made a good home for him. He liked them very much and liked living on their farm with them. Had nessesles, but not very serious.

**School**--Attended country school near \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ until the age of 15, at which time he had finished the 5th grade. At this time he left home. Didn't like school, and attendance was irregular. This was probably due to the fact that he lived on the farm and had to help with the work there. There is an old tradition in that part of the country that requires education to come second to farm work or other work that a child's parents may have for him to do. Subject saw his mother only occasionally. She apparently re-married at some time or other--records not clear on this point. After leaving home, subject bummed around and worked some on farms for about 5 years--there is no record of his having done any time in any SIS or other school for boys. However, this is possible, since early records on this man are far from complete. His mother died in 1941 of heart trouble. No reason given for the death of the father. No record of how he did in school, scholastically.

**Home and family**--Subject is an only child who lost his father at the age of 4. Was placed with friends of the parents and, according to his aunt, lived in several different homes during his early years. Apparently did live with the same people during his 6 years in school, since records indicate that he attended the same school for those years. These people made him a good home and he apparently liked living with them. There is no record of other children being in the home. This family lived on a farm near a small town in \_\_\_\_\_--probably were not too well off, but should have had enough to get along on. The farms in that area are not too productive, but are capable of producing enough to subsist on. There is nothing in the record to indicate that the subject was a behavior problem in this home, however, he left there at the age of about 15. No reason given for his leaving. Subject claims he had no good reason for leaving--just wanted to get out and see the world. Discipline was apparently not too severe in the home.

**First offense, juvenile**--none.

**First offense, criminal**--At the age of 18, subject was sentenced to the state pen in Oklahoma on a burglary charge for 2 years. There is no record of the exact nature of the offense, since it happened in 1916 and the records of the Oklahoma pen are not very complete that far back. The same applies to the second sentence in 1919 (2 yrs for burglary at the Oklahoma state pen). The third sentence in 1921 was to the Oklahoma State Reformatory on a grand larceny charge for 1 year, but again, no record of the nature or conditions of the offense. Subject served 3 different terms in the Oklahoma reformatory, 1st and 3rd terms for grand larceny, the second for 2nd degree burglary. In the Missouri state pen,



subject was punished for 4 violations of prison rules--one time for being in bed with another inmate, three times for having dope in his possession. At this time, 1926-29, subject was on morphine. Began the use of the drug while at the Oklahoma state pen in 1917 after getting 2 fingers cut off while working in the license plate factory. Just how much he used, or for exactly how long, is not indicated in the records. No record of his being a user after 1929. No record of subject having been a trusty at any time.

Work history--Since the age of 18, subject has not worked on the outside, except for a period of a week or two at a time. This is mainly because he has not been out of prison except for periods of a week or a month at a time since the age of 18. In a number of instances, he has been back in prison within 1-3 weeks after being discharged. While in prison, he has worked as a barber, in the laundry and on general common labor details.

Religion--Protestant--not a member of any church; attends only occasionally in the institutions. Religion not a big thing in the life of this man.

Marriage--none.

Reasons given for offenses--Subject claims to be an alcoholic, and gives this as a reason for getting his last two sentences--says he was drunk when he committed the offenses. There are no reasons given for the others.

Ability to do time--Very good--subject adjusts to prison routine very well, works hard while in prison and does not violate prison rules. He is considered thoroughly institutionalized by the officials of the various prisons in which he has served. The fact that he has managed to stay out for only brief periods of time would also indicate his better relative adjustment on the inside.

Development of a code of ethics--Probably had good early training, however, this has been overcome by his many terms in institutions, starting at the age of 18. Left home at the age of 13 to bum around and found the going rather tough. Could have spent some time in a boys school some place, but there is no record of this. At the age of 18, was in a state pen where he learned to use dope. This habit probably kept him from making a good adjustment on the outside until he quit using it (if he ever did). This man's code is that of a confirmed or habitual convict; he has no fear whatsoever of being incarcerated.

Military--none.

Medical--Has two fingers of one hand amputated at the first joint. History shows use of morphine and excessive drinking of alcohol. Claims to be an alcoholic, which is odd, since he has been on the wagon almost constantly for the last 30 years due to incarceration. His last medical examination showed chronic asthma.

Other--None.

Pre-school--Subject was born on a farm near a small \_\_\_\_\_ town. Had some of the childhood diseases, none seriously. Parents were farm people all their lives and maintained fairly strict discipline in the home. Father was apparently the disciplinarian, and the children were given work to do as soon as they were able. Subject felt, however, that none of the children were worked too hard nor that discipline was too severe. Said their family was about average in these respects.

School--Went to a country school and completed the 8th grade. Says he could have gone on to high school, but decided not to. Took a course in electricity in a trade school in \_\_\_\_\_. Claims he got along well in school and, according to records, wasn't a behavior problem. Liked school while he was going, but just didn't care to go on to high school. Grades in school were about average.

Home and family--Subject is youngest of 5 children born to his parents. The parents were farm people and the subject grew up on a farm. He got along well with his sibs and with his parents. Parents were Catholic--father a member of the Knights of Columbus. Parents kept a rather strict discipline in the home and the children were expected to help around the farm. Subject states that the children had all the privileges of the average child and that they had money to spend when they needed it. 2 of the other children have 8th grade educations, and 2 have finished high school. All are married and doing well in their respective locations. Subject is the only member of the family that has ever been in trouble with the law. Records indicate that the family situation was congenial and that subject wasn't a behavior problem in the home. Father died at the age of 60 of heart trouble. Mother died three years later at the age of 59 following an operation for goiter. The subject was 25 years old at the time his father died. Mother didn't work outside the home any time, during her married life. Family wasn't rich, but was in comfortable circumstances.

First offense, juvenile--none.

First offense, criminal--At the age of 19, subject spent 6 months in a county jail on a petty larceny charge. This is the first recorded arrest for this man. (There may have been other arrests that were not reported to the FBI), however, case records do not show earlier arrests that were not listed. At the age of 22, subject was sent to the Wisconsin state pen on a grand larceny charge for 1-2 years. After serving four months at the state pen, was transferred to the state ref to finish the term. Was paroled from the ref 12 months after transfer and was discharged from parole four months later. At the age of 25, was sent to the Wisconsin pen for operating a car without the owner's consent on a 1-15 months sentence. Escaped 6 months later, was apprehended in ten days and given a new sentence of 9 months. At the age of 28, got a 10 year term for burglary in the Iowa state pen. At the age of 35, was discharged from the Iowa pen. Was out for

five years, when, at the age of 40, got a one year term in the Nebraska pen for larceny from the person (purse snatching)

Work history--Mostly farm work--fairly good worker, considered dependable by his employers. Worked several different times on his father's farm in \_\_\_\_\_ and for other farmers in the same general area. Rented a farm and worked it on his own for about a year. In between sentences, he worked fairly steadily, generally doing farm labor. However, in later years, subject worked for a bakery, packing house, as a shipping clerk, and on various spot labor jobs. Prefers farm work. Generally did farm work while in institutions.

Religion--Subject has been confirmed into the Catholic church but has not attended services for about 20 years...comes from a Catholic family, parents fairly active in religious affairs. Religion has had no apparent effect on his activities.

Marriage--married at the age of 37 to a 31-year-old woman, with whom he has lived ever since. She had a grade school education. They went back together following the subject's release from his last prison term. Wife worked as a waitress in a cafe in order to support herself following subject's incarceration. While subject was in prison, wife visited him and wrote regularly. Subject and wife are consensual and get along well together. They were married in \_\_\_\_\_ and the wife has never seen any of his family. They have no children. They had been married about 2 years when the subject was sent to the Nebraska pen.

Reasons given for offenses--Claims drunkenness on three occasions, however, reasons for other offenses not given. Has a history of occasional excessive drinking. Escaped from a prison farm because he didn't like it there, and decided that it would be easy to get away.

Ability to do time--pretty good. During several of his terms he was in trouble for such things as talking and having contraband (dice in one instance). Was reported only once for fighting, however, and otherwise adjusted to the routine and was a more or less "model" prisoner. During three terms, was made a trusty and worked on farms outside the prison.

Development of a code of ethics--During early life (until about the age of 18), subject lived with his parents or in the same community and should have internalized something of the prevailing community ethics. Yet, at the age of 19, he was given a 6-months term in the county jail on a petty larceny charge (records do not indicate the nature of the offense nor the circumstances under which it was committed). Apparently didn't absorb the criminal code in its entirety, since he is able to stay out of trouble for relatively long periods at a time during which time he is a fairly good and steady worker. While in prison, he does his time with as little effort as possible and tries to get by with whatever he can (cf. contraband). Has something of a mixed code.

Military--none.

Medical--on arrival at the Iowa state pen (5th institutional commitment) was found to have active gonorrhoea. This was cured, apparently, since later medical exams do not indicate the presence of the disease. Received treatment for scarred ear-drums also, while in the Iowa pen, and the latest exam shows them to be clear and normal, with hearing normal. He is in good health generally.

Other--none.

Pre-school--Born in \_\_\_\_\_ in about 1908. Had 11 brothers and sisters, some older, some younger. Records do not indicate exact placement of the subject in the family, but it seems he was about #10 or so in the lineup. Subject does not claim any of the childhood diseases, and the records do not indicate one way or the other. Claims he had a very happy childhood.

School--Subject attended parochial school, finished the 8th grade at the age of 15. Records indicate that he was not a behavior problem in school and that he made good grades. According to the score he ran up on the WA test, he could have loafed all through school and still have made better than average grades. There is little information regarding this period of his life.

Home and family--Parents lived together until the death of the father at the age of 52. The father owned a grocery store in \_\_\_\_\_ for a time, later moved on to a farm just outside \_\_\_\_\_. Family was well respected in the community and seemed to be in moderate financial circumstances. Parents were active members of the Catholic church and all 12 of the children were baptized and confirmed in the church. No record of incompatibility in the home. Atmosphere was apparently congenial. One brother committed suicide while in the county jail for drunkenness. Subject later married this brother's widow. None of the other sibs have ever been in trouble with the law, and the deceased brother had no record of felony conviction. Was only an occasional drinker, but apparently got too much of a load on at one time, and as a result landed in jail where he killed himself. Following the father's death, subject continued in school for two years until he finished the 8th grade. He got along well with all his sibs until recent years, after he had built himself such a conviction record. At the present time, all but one sister have disowned the subject. In earlier years, subject's brothers had helped him out of a number of difficulties, but this got to be old stuff to them, and they gave up. All but three of the children are still living--all are industrious and considered good citizens of their communities. They can give no reasons why the subject should have turned to criminality.

First offense, juvenile--At the age of 16, subject was committed to the SIS at Kearney. There is no information regarding this sentence, nor the specific charges for which he was declared delinquent. He had been out of school for a year before being sentenced.

First offense, criminal--at the age of 25, subject was sent to the Nebraska ref for 3-4 years on a robbery charge. Was paroled from the ref 2 years later and violated the parole by being sentenced to the Illinois pen. Was discharged from his parole 7 years later without having served any more time at the ref. The officials probably just gave up trying to catch him in between other sentences. After leaving the Illinois pen, was out about 5 years before being sentenced to the Nebraska pen for 2 years on a grand larceny charge (did 1-10 in Ill.). However,

during this five years, he was arrested once on a robbery charge which was dismissed in district court, and once on a charge of assault with intent to rob for which he was fined \$500. After leaving the Nebraska pen, he was out only about a year before being sent back on a charge of auto theft for 3 years. Did this term and was out about a month before getting a 3-year term in Nebraska pen on conviction of assault with intent to rob. In prison, is a good worker, does time in short order. Usually made trusty and gets extra earned good time this way.

Work history--Worked on construction as common laborer. According to one boss, not a very good worker. Worked about a month in a steel mill, and for a time as custodian at Boys Town. Worked longest and steadiest at Boys Town, and appeared to like work there. Got a good salary plus maintenance, but had to leave job due to sentence to Nebraska pen. During his last free period (about a month) did odd jobs.

Religion--Was baptized and confirmed in the Catholic church. Claims he was an altar boy and choir boy when going to parochial school. Later attendance only occasional and during periods of incarceration attended Protestant services.

Marriage--Married a 19-year-old girl when he was 20. She was a dancing instructor and they seemed to get along rather well together. Lived together for 10 years before she divorced him while he was in the Illinois pen. During this marriage, he also served a term in Nebraska ref. At age 34, he married his deceased brother's widow. She had two sons by her first husband. There was a certain amount of incompatibility in this relationship, but subject's mother says the two seem to have a strong attachment for each other. They were divorced in 1948, after 6 years of married life, while subject was in Nebraska pen.

Reasons given for offenses--Drunkenness.

Ability to do time--Seems quite good. Subject is good institutional worker and on all but one sentence was made trusty. Learns easily and becomes a key man on any job at which he works. No rule infractions on any term. Is pleasant, gets along well with both officials and inmates.

Development of a code of ethics--Subject was raised in Catholic religion and attended parochial school, lived in good neighborhood and had law-abiding associates. However, quit school at age 15, was "on the streets" a lot, met new acquaintances. At age 16, was sent to SIS. Probably picked up a lot of his anti-social attitudes there. While married to first wife, they were habitues of dance halls and night clubs, both good dancers and drinking became part of their recreational patterns. Subject is considered chronic alcoholic.

Military--None.

Medical--Has long history of eczema and hives. While in Illinois pen, was transferred to medical ward where he was given hydrotherapy and diagnosed as a mild schizophrenic. Improved and was released from hospital though still considered unstable. Was a bullet in right hip as a result of not stopping when a policeman said "stop" in 1935. Bullet doesn't bother him.

Other--Parents both born in Czechoslovakia. Came to this country while still quite young. Subject is hard drinker.

Pre-school--Subject was born in 1909 on a farm near a small town. Records show no childhood diseases. Has about 5th of 9 children born to his parents. Subject states that he had a normal, happy childhood on the farm.

School--Attended country school until about the age of 15 or so, when he completed the 8th grade, after which he quit school. He was not considered a behavior problem in school and his grades were about average. Says he neither liked nor disliked school. Got along well with the teachers and the other students.

Home and family--Subject's parents were farmers, owned their own farm and had children enough to operate it. Made an average living and the subject states that there was always enough of everything they needed to get along. Mother didn't work outside the home after marriage, except possibly in the fields along with the rest of the family. All the boys quit school after finishing the 8th grade--3 of the girls went to high school, 2 of them finished high school. Subject's father was born in Holland, came to this country when a small boy and became a citizen. Mother was a natural born citizen of this country. Subject states that discipline in the home was strict but not severe. All the children worked, according to what each was large enough to do. The home atmosphere was congenial and the family got along well with one another. Subject still visits with his sibs and they attempt to help him whenever they can, by getting him jobs and providing him with a place to live when he gets discharged from various penal institutions. Father died when subject was 25 years old--mother died the same year. Both parents had 8th grade educations, were members of the Presbyterian church, considered good citizens, and the mother was active in church work. Since they lived on a farm, the boys had to stay out of school at times to help with the work. They had to walk about 2 miles to get to school. At about the time the subject finished the 8th grade, the father met with an accident and had to have a leg amputated. Following this, all the boys had to stay out of school until the father was able to get about again. None of the boys went to high school, but all managed to finish grammar school. The subject is the only member of the family who has ever been in trouble with the law.

First offense, juvenile--none.

First offense, criminal--At the age of 15, subject was committed to the Nebraska reformatory on a charge of box stealing for 1-5 years. This was in 1927 and there is no information regarding the how or why of his stealing them, or it. Subject wasn't in trouble again until he was 26, when he was sent to the Nebraska pen for 3 years on a charge of larceny. Made a fairly good institutional adjustment, and was made trusty. However, his trusty pass was revoked for the offense of bringing marijuana into the pen and selling it. Following this term, subject was a free man for only short periods of time up to one year. He is a good prisoner, is generally made trusty. On his last two terms, however, wasn't made trusty.

probably due to the fact that he was doing two terms consecutively. Work history--Worked on his father's farm until sent to the ref at the age of 16. Following his release on parole, he travelled around, taking jobs wherever he could find them. This was during the depression, and jobs were hard to find. In 1935, at the age of 26, was sent to the Nebraska pen on a grand larceny charge for 3 years. Following this term, he never worked at any job more than a few weeks. Worked about 2 weeks in the copper mines in Montana. During his incarcerations, has learned leather work and shoe-making, worked as a machinist in the prison tailor shops, and as a stationary engineer. His hobby is leather working.

Religion--Subject was baptized into the Presbyterian church and attended Sunday School while young. Other than this, has not taken part in any religious activities. Parents were members of the same church and the mother was quite an active worker in the church.

Reasons given for offenses--A time or two, he has given drunkenness as an excuse for his illegal actions. However, most of the time, he states that he was broke and out of work (which is undoubtedly true in each instance). There is nothing in the records to indicate that he is an habitual drunk.

Ability to do time--Seems to be quite good. Is generally able to make a good institutional adjustment and has been made trusty on all but 2 terms in the pens. Yet, on 2 different occasions, he has had his trusty passes revoked for violation of rules. One time for bringing in marijuana and selling it inside the walls, and the second time for getting drunk while working on the prison farm. His last two terms list no infractions of the prison rules. Is considered a good reliable and efficient worker by the prison officials and seems to get along with the other inmates.

Development of a code of ethics--Subject had to work hard on the farm during his early years and is considered a good worker when he works. He probably decided that he could get along without working so much and developed the habit of living off others. The fact that he stayed out of trouble for 6 years following his first sentence would seem to indicate that his criminal attitudes didn't crystallize until somewhat late in life. During the depression, he may have come to the conclusion that he had to steal in order to eat, since jobs were so scarce for everyone, and especially for those with felony records. Whatever the reason for the start, stealing for a more or less living has become somewhat of a habit and there is little chance that his habit will be broken.

Military--none.

Medical--none.

Other--none.

**Pre-school**--Subject was born in \_\_\_\_\_ in 1922. Father worked as a bricklayer. Subject was the youngest of 6 children in the family. Father died in 1924 when the subject was 2 years old. Mother re-married shortly after and had 3 more children by her second husband. Subject states he got along all right as a child, although he didn't care much for his stepfather. No record of childhood diseases or other serious malady.

**School**--Attended public school in \_\_\_\_\_ and finished the 7th grade there. There is nothing in the records to indicate that he was a behavior problem in school, and the subject is quite capable of making superior grades, if the WB test is any criterion. No information regarding his actual school work. Finished the 8th and 9th grades at SIS Kearney, did fairly good work, but was considered able to do better. Was paroled from the SIS but was returned shortly as a PV. Probably found the school work somewhat boring and consequently didn't work at it.

**Home and family**--the family lived in the poorer sections of town and was never in particularly good financial shape. Father died when subject was 2 years old, and mother soon remarried. She had to, with 6 children. She lived with this second husband for 14 years, and had 3 children by him. He was a truck driver, and apparently didn't make enough to support such a large family, so that the older boys had to help make a living. Subject states that he never cared for his 71 stepfather, but got along with him all right. In 1938, mother divorced her second husband, and a year later married a third. She is still married to this man. He is a retired railroad man, but at the present time, they are not living together, and he doesn't contribute to the support of the family. He lives in a little shack down by the river in \_\_\_\_\_, and tends to keep to himself. The family is known to be quarrelsome and records indicate that only one boy has ever amounted to much. The sisters seem to be doing all right. One older brother has done time in the Nebraska and Leavenworth pens. The family is considered something of a nuisance and generally uncooperative in the community.

**First offense--juvenile**--Subject was in the detention home in \_\_\_\_\_ several times before being sent to the SIS. No information as to why he was detained. At the age of 13, he was sent to the SIS on a charge of breaking and entering. He made a fair adjustment at the institution and was paroled 9 months later. Was returned after 3 months on parole as a parole violator (specifically: auto theft). While serving the second term, he tried to escape twice. His behavior then improved and he was paroled after a stretch of 20 months. He was out just a year when he was sent to the reformatory.

**First offense, criminal**--At the age of 18, was sent to the Nebraska ref for stealing a car, on a 1 year sentence. Made a good adjustment at the ref and was discharged in 3 months. Was immediately taken into custody by the U.S. Marshall on a Dyer Act charge. Got a year and a day in the Federal reformatory at El Reno.



Subject said that he had had too much to drink, wanted to go from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_, so just picked up a guy's car and took off (both above ref terms stem from the same act). The Federal ref reports show that he was "Industrious; interest and effort above average; cooperative; always neat in person and quarters orderly; cheerful; well-liked by others; well balanced." Following this term he was on the outside for periods ranging from 5 months to a year.

**Work History**--Subject has worked at odd jobs during the rare times when he has been on the outside. Worked on construction for about 4 months--this is the longest period he has ever worked at one job. In prison, he has worked in the laundry, as a plumber's helper and on general detail.

**Marriage**--Married at the age of 18, but the marriage was annulled a month later. No other information available about this marriage. Did not re-marry until the age of 29, when he married a 26-year-old woman. This was just about 9 months before being sent to the pen for his 4th term. She had 3 or 4 children by a previous marriage. Subject and wife quarreled a great deal about the support of these children, and the subject's brother adopted the oldest of the lot. Subject's wife is the sister of this brother's wife. These two women do not get along with the subject's mother, possibly for the same reason that her husbands didn't. Subject's wife visited him and wrote regularly while he was in the pen, and they went back together upon his release. Records indicate some incompatibility in their relationships.

**Reasons given for offenses**--Claimed to be drunk when he stole the car for which he received two ref sentences. This was the only time that he claims drunkenness. The other times, he needed money, and claims innocence on the last term (possession of burglar tools). It should be noted that anyone with a pinch bar and a couple of tire irons in his possession could be prosecuted for this offense.

**Ability to do time**--improving. During his early years of incarceration, subject was a lot of trouble to the officials, spent some time in the hole for fighting, escape, loud talking in restricted areas, and refusing to work. However, he served his last term without any infractions. Has gone to school, learned typing and studied arithmetic while in institutions. Also took a business course while at the ref in El Reno. These courses, if they have no other value, help greatly to pass time.

**Development of a code of ethics**--Was early in the detention home and most likely for reasons of anti-social behavior. Most probably picked up other anti-social attitudes there and at the SIS, where he was sent at the age of 13. Lived in the near-slum-areas of town and probably got by with more than he was ever charged with or punished for. One older brother has a long criminal record and probably influenced the subject. They were sentenced together on subject's last hitch for possession of burglar tools. The brother, however, was sent to the U.S. pen at Leavenworth. Subject is superior, mentally, and likely got by in school without working too hard, which might produce the attitude that there was no use working for anything.

**Military**--none.

Medical--Nose operation while in the pen in 1940--sub-mucuous resection.  
Probably the result of being hit in the nose during his earlier  
years. Nothing of a serious nature--the above operation requires  
only 3 days in the hospital.

Other--None.

Pre-school--Subject was born in \_\_\_\_\_, in 1904. States that he had a happy childhood. Claims to have had none of the usual childhood diseases. States that he had a good home.

School--Subject attended school in \_\_\_\_\_, and was still going to school at the age of 13. Performance record not given. Claims to have finished the 6th grade, with about average grades. During his last term in the pen, he attended elementary school and did fair to poor work. States that he liked school and that he was never in trouble while in school, which is probably true--nothing in record to contradict this claim.

Home and family--Subject states that his home life was congenial. His father was born in Germany, and was married before coming to this country. There is reason to believe that the subject was also born in Germany, since his school records list his mother tongue as German. Subject claims 4 brothers, but there is no confirmation of this in the records. Subject's parents first settled in Minnesota, then came to \_\_\_\_\_ where the subject lived most of his life. His father was a carpenter, mother didn't work outside the home. When subject was about 7 years old, his mother died and his grandmother, who lived in the home, took care of him. His father was paralyzed when subject was about 4 and died when subject was about 13. Father could speak and write English well, mother never learned the language of the new country very well. Family lived in a nice neighborhood, and subject worked as a caddy at the country club in order to help out with family finances. Subject was quite healthy all during his early years. Parental discipline was probably rather strict, since that was the pattern in the old country.

First offense, juvenile--At the age of 15, subject was committed to the State Industrial School until the age of 21. He had been living with his grandmother, following the death of his father. Grandmother died shortly before subject was sent to SIS, or shortly after. Subject escaped from SIS 9 months after commitment and was returned the same day. Was paroled 3 weeks later and returned without cause within a very short time. Stayed at SIS until he was 21 years old, probably because there was no one for him to go to on the outside. Was discharged from SIS because of reaching majority.

First offense, criminal--Subject was sent to the Nebraska pen on a burglary charge at the age of 28 for 3-10 years. There is no record of what he did during the 7 years between SIS and the pen. Was paroled from the pen after serving 3 years, and was pardoned 2 years later. During his parole he worked in a hospital laundry. He liked the work and apparently did very well at it. 6 years later, he was again sent to the Nebraska pen on a B&E charge for 3 years. Served his time in 2 years and was out for a period of 4 years, at the end of which he was given a 3 year term for breaking and entering. Did this sentence in 2 years, and was out 5 days when he got a 5 year sentence for burglary.

Work history--Not too much information on this point. About the only work he has ever done on the outside has been as a washer operator in laundries. Worked in a number of hospital laundries for periods up to about 3 or 4 years. Was considered a fairly good worker and reliable--both on the outside and in the institutions. During the middle 1940's, he travelled about the Midwest, working in laundries here and there for more or less short periods.

Religion--Subject was raised in the German Lutheran faith. Both parents and grandmother of this faith. No record of the subject's having been baptized, although he generally attends services regularly, and has all his life. He feels that he has not been able to get all he should have out of his religion.

Marriage--none.

Reasons given for offenses--Broke and needed money.

Ability to do time--Quite good. This man has no living relatives in this country that he knows of, and therefore nothing but himself to consider. This condition has prevailed since he was about 16 or 17 years old. He makes a good institutional adjustment, does his time without any rule infractions, and gets extra earned good time for school and work details. Due to the fact that he was in the SIS for some 6 years, he was well institutionalized before he was turned loose in society. Yet, during his earlier career, he was able to stay out of penal institutions for periods of up to 7 years. Knows the ropes, and does his time with a minimum of effort.

Development of a code of ethics--Subject was brought up in a good home, although it was broken by the death of his mother, and later, his father. His work (caddying) may not have been the most wholesome in the world, due possibly to a high degree of competition for the available jobs; and the subject was working at caddying at a rather early age in order to help with the family finances. The 6 years he spent in the SIS probably instilled in him mixed feelings regarding criminality and sociality. His criminal attitudes apparently didn't crystallize until somewhat late in life (following about the 4th pen term), at which time he may have come to the conclusion that, since there was no one in this world for him to consider but himself, he wasn't hurting anyone by being in the pen. He may also have felt that anyone with a 4-time record wouldn't get a job at anything, and have thus become more or less resigned to spending the rest of his life in an institution, with only brief vacations between terms.

Military--none.

Medical--nothing unusual.

Other--nothing.

Pre-school--Subject was born 7th of 9 children near \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_. Subject had measles and mumps, neither was serious. Had an accident when about 2 years old, suffered a tear in the region of the groin but wasn't taken to a physician. Often had convulsions and high fever while a child. Was considered slow to learn as a child.

School--Subject attended school in \_\_\_\_\_ off and on. Didn't like school and didn't go unless forced to. His parents rarely made him go to school, so he generally didn't go. None of his brothers made it through the 8th grade. No information of the education of his sisters. At the age of 12, subject was in the 4th grade, receiving poor marks. Finished the 7th grade at SIS Kearney. Subject was capable of doing good work in school, yet at the age of 15, couldn't read or write, although he had a spoken vocabulary of an average adult. Attended school in the pen and at the present time writes a very good hand and has the spelling ability of many college students. Is fairly good in arithmetic, although one examiner states that he had to do all the problems mentally as he couldn't read or write at that time. At the time he was sent to the SIS, he couldn't even read letters from code, and this was the gimmick which the educators there used to get him interested in school.

Home and family--Entire family was considered rather worthless in the community. Father was a good worker--farmed for himself from 1910-30. Following this, he was on WPA and small construction jobs. Followed the carpenters' trade, but made a rather poor living after 1930. Before that, he did fairly well, but was a poor manager, and the family had very little. Subject's mother came from a family of very good reputation. Was always a housewife, following her marriage to the subject's father. In about 1937, subject's father had a nervous breakdown, and the mother deserted him. She got a divorce and re-married a retired rancher who died a short time later. She then married a third husband and now lives with him in the state of \_\_\_\_\_. Subject's father was in more or less poor health during the 1930's, and wasn't able to work all the time on WPA jobs. Father was rather dirty in appearance and the home was generally filthy. It was a substandard house, and the family made little or no effort to take care of it. Subject was considered by his parents to be headstrong and hard to manage. However, discipline was almost nonexistent in the home, what discipline there was, was severe and inconsistent. Subject got along well with his sibs. He didn't like school and began running away from home at an early age. Although other sibs have not been in serious trouble with the law, most of them are considered undesirable elements in their respective communities. Subject is the only one of the lot who is currently unmarried. This family presents the picture of a typical large, rural slum family, with most of the children doing about as they please, below average in financial status, with little or no concern for themselves or their community.

First offense, juvenile--Subject was in almost constant trouble from

a quite early age. He was something of a leader of the "bad boys" in the town. At the age of 12, he was in juvenile court on a theft charge and given a bench parole. The next year and the next, he was given bench paroles by the judge of the juvenile court. At the age of 15, he was sent to SIS on a burglary charge. During the years he was on parole, subject was given physical and mental exams: at the age of 13, he had an undescended right testicle, hernia, and malformation of the head. The mental exams at that time showed him to be a dull normal (SBIQ-85). Later mental exams, however, show him to be just a shade above average (SBIQ-106).

**First offense, criminal--**At the age of 19, subject broke into a liquor store and was committed to the state ref (Nebr.) for 5 years. He says he needed some money, so he and another kid broke into the store and stole a case of whisky. Was in the ref only about 3 months when he escaped. Said he and some other guys got to talking about getting away one evening and when the other inmates were playing baseball, they took off. Was quickly apprehended and transferred to the Nebraska pen to finish his original 5 year term plus an extra three years for escaping. Was out only a short time, following his discharge from his second sentence, when he was caught and again sent to the Nebraska pen.

**Work History--**Subject worked on his brother-in-law's farm for about a year following his parole from the SIS. He then began moving about the country, working for 3 or 4 months on farms and other laboring jobs. Following his release from the pen (the first time) he drove trucks for several companies, never staying with one outfit very long at a time. At the pen, subject worked in the laundry and on the outside tree and lawn detail. Also worked on the farm detail for a short time. Following his third term in the pen, he was paroled, discharged from parole after 6 months and is currently at large. There is no information regarding his occupation while on parole this last time.

**Religion--**Subject attended Methodist church as a boy, but not regularly. Was baptized into the First Christian Church in 1951 and was in regular attendance when sentenced to the pen for his third term. Parents attended the Methodist church but not regularly. Family not particularly religious.

**Marriage--**none.

**Reasons given for offenses--**Was first involved in theft because he had no money and wanted some. This pattern was continued until the third term in the pen, when he claimed to have been drunk for about 3 months just preceding the incident which landed him in stir-- "Just one prolonged binge." Was always involved with at least one other in his escapades--was generally considered the leader in committing these offenses. Says the only club he ever belonged to was a pack of thieves.

**Ability to do time--**Improving. Subject was considered shiftless and lazy at the SIS, and escaped from the ref. During his first two terms at the pen, he was involved in numerous scrapes--fighting other inmates, trying to incite riots, and generally being contrary. However, during the later part of the second term and all during the third term, he wasn't in any trouble for violations

of institutional rules. Worked himself a parole on his third term. Development of a code of ethics--Subject had little or no discipline at home, ran around with the "worst" element of the town (or was the "worst" element), and was early involved in minor thefts. Developed a smart aleck attitude, felt that those in authority were stupid, and constantly tried to beat them. He was paroled from the court several times before being sent to the SIS, which may have given him the idea that he could get by with a great deal because of his tender years, since the judge wouldn't want to send a kid to a reform school. Also, since records indicate that he was the leader of his gang, he probably had to do something in order to show the others how tough he was, and picked illegal activities with which to show off. These attitudes continued to dominate and are probably still dominant.

Military--none.

Medical--Subject suffered a torn groin at about the age of 2, but wasn't given medical treatment. During early years, had convulsions, and much high fever. Also had an undescended testicle at about age 16, and hernia. Received a herniotomy during second term in pen. No record of testicle bothering him, physically, and latest medical exams show this organ normal.

Other--Subject was caught following one theft because he handed out sums of money to people whom he thought were needy. During his adolescent years, was described as dirty, untidy and generally negligent in appearance.

**Pre-school**--Subject was born in a small town in \_\_\_\_\_ in 1913. He has three sibs younger--one boy, 2 girls. His mother died before he started school and his father made no effort to take care of the children. Subject states that he began stealing in order to support his sisters and brother, but that he was caught and sent to the Oklahoma SIS when he was 5 years old. States that he spent his 6th birthday in this institution. His sibs were placed in an orphanage at that time.

**School**--Subject has had all his schooling inside correctional institutions. FBI records show that he was in the Oklahoma SIS from 1922-28--this would make him about 9 at the time he was originally sentenced. He was re-sentenced in 1925 to the SIS for 7 years. This would make him about 19 before he got out, provided he served the full time, and there is no indication that he did not. Claims to have finished one year of high school and is literate. If the subject actually was sent to the SIS at the age of 5, he must have spent some 14 years in that institution.

**Home and family**--Subject's mother died when the subject was very small of malarial dropsy. Father worked in the timber, and made little or no effort to take care of the four children. Subject has had little contact with him or other members of his family over the years. All his sibs were placed in a Methodist orphanage in \_\_\_\_\_ when the subject was first sent to the SIS. He states that he had to steal in order to support his sibs, because his father didn't take care of them. Claims one brother was killed while in the army serving overseas. \_\_\_\_\_ has had some contact with one sister, however, he does not know where she is at the present time, and she doesn't want him to find out. He feels that he has caused her and her family enough trouble. Home life has consisted almost entirely of the Oklahoma SIS.

**First offense, juvenile**--FBI records indicate that the subject was committed to the Oklahoma SIS for petit larceny in 1922 at the age of 9. Subject states, however, that he was sent to this institution when only 5 years old on charges of theft. Records show that he was re-committed to the SIS in 1925 at the age of 12 as a delinquent on a 7 year sentence. There is no information available regarding his court appearances, nor why he wasn't sent to the orphanage with the other children in the family.

**First offense, criminal**--In 1930, at the age of 20, subject was sent to the Oklahoma state ref for 2 years on a 2nd degree burglary charge. No information regarding this offense or why it was committed. While at the ref, subject had only two minor infractions of the rules and was a trusty. This is the only time that he has been made a trusty, and he has 9 prison terms to his credit. Following this first conviction on a felony charge, subject has not been on the outside for more than a year at a time, and during these periods has been in jails all over the country on misdemeanor charges including such things as vagrancy, assault, carrying concealed weapons, etc., charges, and has paid fines for such offenses as purse snatching, vagrancy and possession of stolen



property. Altogether, the subject has been on the outside of institutions something less than 5 years since 1932.

Work history--while on the outside, subject has worked at times as a cook for railroad canteens and in cafes. Most of his institutional assignments have been in the kitchens. While in the institutions, is considered a good worker and generally gets extra earned good time for working. However, while visiting his sister in 1949, he informed her that he didn't work, because there are better ways of making a living than working on a farm. He made this statement after his sister and her husband offered to let him stay with them if he would get a job and pay for his keep. He didn't stay with them long.

Religion--Claims none. Records show that he attended services in the Methodist church some. Has had no profound religious experience.

Marriage--Claims to have been married only once--to a 20-year-old woman in 1945 when he was about 33 years old. However, records from the Oklahoma pen show that he corresponded regularly with his wife. Since he was doing this time in 1940, there is some doubt as to his actual status. It is possible that he was married but didn't bother to get a divorce from the first wife before marrying the second. Since bigamy could involve more time, he probably would want to keep such information from becoming public knowledge.

Reasons given for offenses--Generally gives no reasons. Says he is never drunk when he commits his felonies. Sometimes pleads poverty. More likely, however, he sees an opportunity for making a fast buck and doesn't want to pass it up. Is so inept at his employment that he is easily caught.

Ability to do time--Very good. This man has had long training in the ways of correctional and penal institutions, and knows all the angles. Does his time quite easily, doesn't become involved in prison difficulties, generally speaking. Is considered a good worker in the institutions and earns extra good time, thus serving his sentences in fairly short order.

Development of a code of ethics--Subject was incarcerated at a very early age, and his code is that of a confirmed convict. He wants to get by in the easiest possible manner, and doing time is no deterrent. Since he spent so many of his early formative years in a correctional institution, it is felt that he most likely picked up the most of his attitudes from the older, more criminally inclined boys in that institution.

Military--none.

Medical--none.

Other--none.

**Pre-school**--Subject was born in a small town in \_\_\_\_\_ in 1921. He was 7th of 10 children born to his parents. Had measles and chicken pox, neither serious. Claims that his father was a heavy drinker and was abusive to all the children. Also states that an older brother picked on him and made a lot of trouble for him. Says that he was punished often by being locked in his room at home and fed nothing but bread and water. Says his childhood was quite unhappy.

**School**--Subject attended school in a small town in \_\_\_\_\_ and completed the 4th grade there. Completed the 8th grade in the SIS in that state and claims to have finished the 10th grade while in the Federal ref. Was interested in school and generally made efforts to study while serving time. Made good grades in school and generally studied, both in and out of institutions.

**Home and family**--Subject's father was a laborer who did odd jobs around the community. He was a heavy drinker and served time in the Missouri state pen, but the subject doesn't know what for. The first child born to the father and mother was illegitimate (born before they were married). Subject's oldest brother is currently doing life for murder in the Iowa pen. None of the other children have criminal records. The mother was never engaged in occupation outside the home. She died in 1946 at the age of 55 after being run over by a truck. Father died at the age of 24 in 1947 as the result of an accident in the nursing home where he stayed. He was on an old age pension for years before his death. Never supported his family adequately. The family maintained a substandard house in the community and was generally considered undesirable by the other citizens of the town. Subject's father was almost 30 years older than his mother. One sister is a nun in the Catholic church; the others are married and apparently doing all right. The family environment was apparently not too congenial, with punishment spasmodic and severe. Only one of the children completed high school. All finished the 8th grade. Subject has lost contact with all the other children except the nun. He has no close family ties.

**First offense, juvenile**--Subject was in the 4th grade when sentenced to the Missouri SIS. He had been in juvenile court several times previous to his commitment. Was given a 2-year term, following which he was paroled. Was out only about a month and returned to serve to the age of 21. On the second term, he served something over 5 years, was out just a few days before being sent to the federal ref.

**First offense, criminal**--Stole some letters from the locked boxes of the post office in his home town; got 25 dollars for his trouble and a 2-year term in the federal ref at El Reno. He served about 4 months at El Reno and was transferred to Lewisburg, Pa. because he couldn't get along with the other inmates at El Reno. Subject tried to take over the dorm at El Reno, and the other boys didn't care for the idea. Subject was lamer for his size, and thought he could get by with such behavior because of that. In the other institutions in which he has served time, subject has good

conduct records, and has been made trusty a couple of times. Has come to serve his time rather easily.

**Work History**--Subject has been out of stir only a short time since the age of 11. He has worked some as a farm hand, worked a short while as a fry cook and was working as a salesman (had a milk truck route) for the \_\_\_\_\_ company when last sent up. Never was out long enough to hold a steady job.

**Religion**--Was baptized in the Methodist church, attends services occasionally. Enrolled in a Bible study course at the Nebraska pen during his last term. Claims to be quite religious, says he reads his Bible and prays a lot. Parents not particularly religious. Mother a member of the Methodist church. One sister is a member of a Catholic order of nuns.

**Marriage**--Subject was married the first time at the age of 24 to a 15-year old girl while he was in the army. Had two daughters by this wife and was divorced from her some time following the birth of the second one. Remarried a 30 year old woman in 1951, when he was 30. This woman had been married twice before and had 3 children by her previous husbands. She has had one child, a boy, by the subject. Apparently gets along well with this wife and went back to her upon release from prison in 1953. During his last time in the pen, the subject's wife, in poor health, received ADC payments for the support of the 4 children and medical treatments from various hospitals. Children were all undernourished and had rickets and were placed on special diets by the \_\_\_\_\_ health center. Wife appears to be very nervous and emotionally unstable.

**Reasons given for offenses**--Subject claims drunkenness on his last offense. Most of the others, he says he needed money and couldn't get it any other way.

**Ability to do time**--Quite good. Subject is well institutionalized. Works hard and generally is made a trusty. This always helps in doing time, and he makes an effort to serve his sentences in the shortest possible time. Has been in institutions almost constantly since the age of 11 and knows his way around them. Writes quite a few letters and takes correspondence courses in order to pass time.

**Development of a code of ethics**--Subject comes from a family of rather low cultural and socioeconomic status, his father having done time in a state pen before the subject was born. His parents were married following the birth of their oldest child, and the father didn't make much effort to support the family. By the time the subject was born, his father was 38 years old, and probably wasn't capable of doing hard labor. Subject was in trouble early, ran away from home quite a bit and was in trouble in school some. Developed anti-social attitudes and an attitude of irresponsibility early in life. At the age of 11 was sent to the SIS, where he picked up the ideas of the older boys. Was considered a bully and somewhat arrogant, and this pattern persisted for some time. Decided that he could get whatever he wanted without working and has generally operated on that premise.

**Military**--Enlisted in the army in March 1944. Served in the anti-aircraft and coast artillery branches in the U.S. and he received

an honorable discharge in June, 1946. Altogether, he spent about 2 years and 3 months in the army, with no bad conduct on his record.

Medical--nothing.

Other--While at the El Reno ref, subject was reported by the institution's psychiatrist to be a constitutional psychopath. In the same paragraph of the report, it also says that his psychopathy may not be constitutional. He is sullen in appearance and has generally been reported as a very irresponsible and antagonistic individual in the institutions, although he generally doesn't get reported for bad conduct.

**Pre-school--**Subject states that he had a normal, happy childhood. The family was poor though the parents were good to the children and had no serious trouble with them during early years. Subject claims to have had none of the usual childhood diseases. Nothing outstanding happened during this early period of life. Subject was born and raised on a farm in \_\_\_\_\_, born in 1909. Was the youngest of 3 boys.

**School--**Subject went to country school and finished the 8th grade. Quit school at this time in order to go to work. No information regarding his behavior and performance in school.

**Home and family--**Subject comes from what was apparently a congenial home environment. Claims his parents were good to him and his brothers and that the family got along well all the time he stayed at home. Subject is the youngest of the family of 3 boys and may have been something of a family pet. There is no confirmation of this idea, however. Subject is the only delinquent member of the family. Both brothers are good workers and are considered good citizens in their home communities.

**First offense, juvenile--**none.

**First offense, criminal--**At the age of 17, subject began getting into trouble which ended in his being sent to the Kansas pen for 5-10 years on a charge of destroying railroad property. Served from 1926 to about 1935 and was back in the pen a year later after having spent most of the year in jail. Got a 5-10 year term on a burglary charge this time. Was transferred to the Kansas ref and served some 3 years of the sentence. Was out only a short time and was sent back to the pen on a count of forgery in 1939 for 1-10 years. Escaped in 1942, was out about 5 months before being brought back. Was paroled in 1948 and his sentence expired 3 months later while he was on parole. In 1946, subject was taken from the pen to face charges of assault with intent to kill, however, disposition on this charge is apparently still pending (FBI records list no disposition). This charge was the result of his trying to kill another inmate with a hatchet while he was doing time. Subject finished his 3 months on parole, got his discharge from the pen and 9 days later was picked up on a grand larceny charge and sent back to the pen for 1-5 years. Was released in 1951 on the complete serving of this hitch and expiration of his sentence and managed to stay out just one year before being sent back for auto theft in Nebraska. Subject is generally well-behaved in prison, a good worker and gets extra earned good time for good behavior and work details. Made trusty on his second pen term, and was a trusty for 2 years. However, he escaped while a trusty and, although there is no record of it, he most likely lost all the good time he had built up.

**Work History--**Subject has worked mostly as a farm laborer although he states that he has learned the pipefitter's trade. Never worked for one employer more than 6-8 months at one time. Probably worked during his early years on the family farm (his father was a tenant farmer). Since leaving home at about the age of 17, subject has not been out of stir long enough to work more than

just a few months at any one time. Most of his jobs other than farm labor have been along the lines of common labor.

Religion--Subject states that he was raised in the Baptist church and during his early years attended Sunday School quite regularly. However, was never deeply religious. Parents were nominal church members.

Marriage--Subject married a 26-year-old woman in 1938 or 39. The marriage was apparently more or less consensual, and his wife stayed with him until 1948, although he was in the pen during most of this time. When he was sentenced in 1948, she left him, and he thinks she got a divorce, but is not sure. They had two children, both boys. Subject doesn't know where his wife and children are now.

Reasons given for offenses--Subject claims drunkenness in each instance. Ability to do time--Seems to be quite good. Subject has had only about 3 reports for misconduct in prisons during all the years of his several incarcerations (plus one escape charge during his 2nd pen term). Generally adjusts well to the prison routine, works hard and tries to do in the shortest possible time his sentences--and usually manages to do so.

Development of a code of ethics--No clear information on this point.

Military--none.

Medical--none.

Other--Subject has lost all trace of his brothers and his former wife and his two children. Has no contact with any relatives.

**CONTINUED**

**3 OF 4**

**Pre-school**--Subject was born 1895 in \_\_\_\_\_. Both parents were foreign born. Family got along well together, and subject claims to have had a happy childhood. Subject was second in a family of 2 girls and 3 boys. One girl older than subject. Subject has had measles, a light case.

**School**--Subject started school in \_\_\_\_\_ at about age 6 or so. Finished the 8th grade at the age of 14; claims to have finished high school at the age of 18, but this is not confirmed by other records. Worked as a bell-hop and messenger boy during later school years, probably during high school. Tests given at McNeil Island indicate that he has an educational equivalent of 10th grade. Subject's grades in school were about average. There is no indication in the record that he was a behavior problem until after he was discharged from the army. States he liked school and always got along well there.

**Home and family**--Father was a hard worker and a good citizen. Worked as a coal miner and gardener. Was a member of the IOCF, but didn't belong to any church. Father came to this country at the age of 31 from England, where he was born and raised. Became a citizen of this country at some later date. Mother was born in Scotland, came to this country at the age of 11. Marriage of parents of subject was apparently congenial, subject states that he had a happy childhood. Father was a moderate drinker--no record of this drinking ever causing any trouble in the home. Subject had poor health as a child, and didn't participate in any organized boys' activities. Had St. Vitus dance. No record of which part of the anatomy was affected. Had no childhood delinquencies. Had adequate living; parents owned the home, mother never worked outside the home. Home was located in a residential district in \_\_\_\_\_. Subject lived with his parents until the age of 21 (1917) when he left home to join the army. His father died in 1918 at the age of 54 of pneumonia. Mother remarried in 1922 to a farmer in \_\_\_\_\_.

**First offense, juvenile**--none.

**First offense, criminal**--Following subject's release from the army in 1919, his work history was irregular and in 1920, while going to the west coast, he stole a car in Wyoming. Was given a 1-2 year sentence in the Wyoming pen. Following this initial incarceration, the subject has been out of institutions only about 19 months to the present time. In 1923, was given 2 years in Leavenworth on the Dyer Act; in 1925, got 2 1/2 years in the Iowa pen for armed robbery; in 1937, was sent to McNeil Island for 2 1/2 years on the Mann Act; was paroled in 1939, in 1940 was returned to finish the sentence; in 1940, was given 5 years in the Iowa pen for stealing clothes; in 1944 got 1 year at the state farm in Illinois on a charge of larceny; in 1946, got 1-2 years in the Michigan pen on a charge of attempted larceny; in 1950, got 2 years in the Nebraska pen for Grand larceny. In between prison terms, subject spent a number of terms in county jails, ranging from 5 days to 15 months.



**Work history**--Subject generally works as a tailor while in institutions. On the outside, started to work as a bellhop, worked for a time as a messenger boy, and as an auto mechanic, all before his first prison sentence. Following his release from the army, subject has not had any steady job, generally depending upon the results of his criminal activities to support him.

**Religion**--Subject was brought up in the Presbyterian church, but never joined. Mother was a member of this church and was active in church work. Subject's father wasn't a member of any church. Subject was not particularly religious.

**Marriage**--Subject was married at the age of 21 to an 18 year-old girl in \_\_\_\_\_. Had two children, a boy and a girl by this wife. This marriage was more or less incongenial, probably due to the subject's lack of effort to support his family. His first wife divorced him in 1925. They were married while subject was in the army. He had already served two pen terms before she divorced him. Subject had apparently deserted his wife in 1920, leaving her with the children while he went to the west coast. He got as far as Wyoming, where he stole a car.

Following the divorce in 1925, subject married a woman in \_\_\_\_\_ who was some 6 years younger than himself. Was engaged in thievery at the time, and was sent to the Iowa pen in the later part of 1925 for armed robbery. He never attempted to establish a home for his second wife, and she divorced him in 1926, following his most recent incarceration. Subject had no children by this wife, and has never married again. Subject had never been in any trouble with the law, until after his first marriage, which occurred while he was in the army. Following his release from the army, he had to support his wife and 2 children, and apparently couldn't stand the responsibility.

**Reasons given for offenses**--Drunkenness; needed money; thought he would get by the easy way, by having a woman hustle to support him; wanted to give his brother a new suit of clothes for Christmas.

**Ability to do time**--Subject is thoroughly institutionalized. While he has been made trusty only once, according to the available records, he generally is considered a good worker and gets extra earned good time for his work as a tailor. During his first two or three prison terms, subject was a trouble maker, however, in later years, he has managed to get by without getting reported for misconduct.

**Development of a code of ethics**--Subject lived at home until the age of 21, and apparently developed something of an attitude of irresponsibility. Because of early ill health, was probably babied and overprotected. Wasn't allowed, or didn't want to engage in any of the usual boys' games. He married while in the army, and for the first year or two of his marriage, family support wasn't a large item of worry, since his pay was regular and he could't quit his job easily. Following his release from service, subject floated from one job to another for a time, then deserted his family and headed west. Since that time has had no other occupation other than criminal. During one free period, he took a woman from Iowa to Idaho, where he set her up as a whore. She hustled and supported both of them. This

only lasted a week or so, when the subject got drunk, came home and picked a fight with his woman who called the police. He was stuck for a term under the Mann Act. Other than this venture, he has tried to live by stealing.

**Military**--Enlisted in the army 1917, served almost 2 years. Was discharged in 1919. Saw duty in the Signal Corps, mostly in the state of \_\_\_\_\_. Subject had a good conduct record in the army and was given an honorable discharge.

**Medical**--Subject had St. Vitus Dance as a small child. As an adult, though, has had good health until later years. Left index finger amputated, print patterns on all fingers purposely scarred by acid. Claims to have an ulcer, is excessive in his use of alcohol, and shows a history of use of morphine in later years--possible addict.

Pre-school--Subject was born in 1906 in \_\_\_\_\_. Family moved shortly thereafter to a small town in \_\_\_\_\_ where they lived until the subject was 14. They then moved to \_\_\_\_\_. Subject is the 3rd of about 15 children. Subject had good health as a child, records show he had measles and whooping cough. No unusual or health detriments.

School--Subject started school in a small town in \_\_\_\_\_. Transferred to the \_\_\_\_\_ public schools at the age of 14 and continued until the age of 17, when he was in the 10th grade. Subject says he got tired of school at this time and quit to go to work with his father. There is no record of his being a behavior problem in school or elsewhere during his school years. Grades were average and better in school. Subject states that he liked math but no other course of study.

Home and family--Parents were farmers during the early years of their marriage. Lived in \_\_\_\_\_ where they had homesteaded. Sold the place after growing up on it. Moved to \_\_\_\_\_, shortly after the subject was born. Lived on a farm near that town. When the subject was 14, they moved to \_\_\_\_\_, where the father worked as a carpenter and cabinet maker. Family was generally fairly well off, generally lived in their own home and apparently had no financial difficulties until about 1931 when the father was placed on WPA. He worked on WPA for several years, but went back to his cabinet making job as soon as he could. Is currently working at that trade and doing very well. There is apparently a strong tie between the members of the family--they have often helped the subject out of troubles that he has gotten into. No evidence of strained relations within the family group. The youngest son has also been incarcerated (in the ref), but is currently making a home for his wife and children and working in his father's shop. No other delinquent members of the family. The father has been known to drink heavily on occasions. Parents have always lived together, and apparently get along well with one another and with the children. Father has come to the conclusion, however, that he has done enough for the subject and figures that it is a waste of time to try to help him any more.

First offense--juvenile, none.

First offense, criminal--Subject's first arrest was in 1929 at the age of 21. Was arrested for investigation in connection with a larceny charge. Got 10 days in the county jail. One month later, he was arrested and tried on a charge of armed robbery and was acquitted. 4 months after this, he was convicted of violation of the Dyer Act and got 2 years at Leavenworth. Following his first period of time in prison, subject has been on the outside for only short periods of time up to just over a year. Managed to stay out for more than a year on two different occasions. Altogether subject has served 7 pen terms and now is serving the 6th. Got his 2nd stretch for forgery, 3 years; 3rd for burglary, 1-1½ years; 4th for Dyer Act, 15 months; 5th for burglary, 2

counts, 1 and 3 years consecutively; 6th for receiving stolen property, 5 years 9 months; 7th, carrying concealed weapons, 1 year; 8th, bank theft, 5 years. Subject has been incarcerated rather steadily since the age of 22.

Work history--Subject quit school at the age of 17 and went to work with his father, who was contracting at that time. Subject did general labor, worked at this job for about 3 years. Since his first sentence, subject has worked very little on the outside. Worked some as a cutter in a tailoring shop, cutting out men's shorts, worked as a cook for a short time. During one free period is listed as working for his father for about 11 months. This period is the closest he has come to having a steady job since 1930.

Religion--Subject claims to have been baptized in the Methodist church when a young boy and says he attended services regularly while young. Subject's mother is a member of the same sect, generally attends regularly and always took the children to church with her. There is no indication that religion is a strong force in this man's life.

Marriage--Subject was married in 1946 and sired two children, a boy and a girl. Subject's family state that subject's wife is a very nice woman and they seem to be quite fond of her. Subject and his wife appear to get along quite well together and she wrote and visited often during his last period of incarceration at the Nebraska pen.

Reasons given for committing offenses--Wanted money and didn't want to work for it--thought he could make a fast buck by engaging in illegal activity.

Ability to do time--seems good. Subject makes good institutional adjustment, is skilled as a tailor and gets extra earned good time for this work. Has no record of prison disciplinary action and is considered a good worker. Was involved during one sentence in a drinking party on a prison farm, but wasn't punished for this--seems there was no actual proof of his guilt. He was, however, removed from the farm.

Development of a code of ethics--Subject apparently didn't develop a strong code until after he left home at about the age of 21. From that time, he seemed to operate on the theory that the best way to get along in this world is to take every opportunity to make a fast buck without having to work for it. Apparently has the idea that the world owes him a living, perhaps feels that he has worked long enough and it is time that someone did something for him.

Military--Subject enlisted in the army in 1927 and was given an honorable discharge a year later. He was in the infantry at Fort Snelling, Minn. Made no promotions, but had a good conduct record in the service.

Medical--none.

Other--Subject's father states that his son had habit of just up and leaving without letting anyone know where he was going or when (runaway). The family would go to bed at night and when they got up the next morning, subject would be gone. This started

when subject was about 17 years old and apparently has continued. The father provided subject with a house for him and his family to live in about 1948 while subject was working in \_\_\_\_\_.

Subject was fired from his job for being drunk, and left town with his family in the middle of the night without letting any of his sibs or parents know he was going or where.

**Pre-school**--Subject was born in 1924 in a small \_\_\_\_\_ town. He was 3rd of 7 children, 2 girls older, 3 girls and one boy younger. Subject claims to have had a normal, happy childhood with none of the childhood diseases. There is no record of any outstanding events or physical conditions during his early years.

**School**--There is no evidence that the subject was considered a behavior problem by his teachers in school. However, he was in trouble with the law and his parents during most of his school years. His school attendance was regular, and he apparently finished the 8th grade (at the SIS). He was sent to the SIS Kearny at the age of 10, and as a result of this had to finish whatever schooling he got at the institution. At the SIS, subject was something of a problem, tried to escape twice, hurt himself on several occasions in order to keep out of work and gain sympathy. Didn't get along well with the other boys at the institution, lied, stole, and was something of a bully. Also had a record of sexual misconduct at the SIS (exact nature of misconduct not given).

**Home and family**--Subject's father and mother never got along well. Mother states that she realized her mistake in marrying the father very soon after they were married, but she stayed with him on account of the children. Subject's father claimed that the mother was always running around with other men, and she accused him of chasing other women. There is reason to believe that the claims of both are true. Subject's father never took any interest in the children and seemed to actively reject the subject. Subject was the only boy in the family for a period of about 6 years. All the children preferred to be with their mother rather than their father, since none of them could get along with him. Father is reported to have suffered from a persecution complex. Father owned and operated a grocery store in a small \_\_\_\_\_ town for several years. This store burned down, and the father was unable to collect many outstanding bills. The family then moved to \_\_\_\_\_, where he opened another store, which he sold some 6 months later. Following this venture, the father worked as a laborer for various companies and on WPA. Records indicate that the mother actually was running around with other men and frequenting the beer halls. They also show that the father was running around with other women and was also seen a lot in the taverns. There was nothing in the way of congenial relationships between the father and the rest of the family. The subject and his 4 younger sibs were all delinquent at one time or another. The father served time in the Nebraska pen for stealing horses, and the mother also spent some time in the Girls Training School (reason not given). Subject never got along with his father, and at the age of 7 began running away from home. This pattern continued until he was sent to the SIS at the age of 10. Parents separated during his time at the SIS. Subject's parents were believed to be bootlegging at times before subject was sent to SIS.

**First offense, juvenile**--Subject was first sentenced to the SIS at the age of 10. He had previously been placed on probation for a month for the offense of stealing postage stamps from the post office.

He was considered by the judge to be incorrigible and without proper parental care and control. After being on probation for a month, subject violated and was committed. During his time at the SIS, subject was in trouble quite a lot--would injure himself in order to be sent to the hospital; was involved in sex misconduct; stole; and tried to escape twice. Subject was paroled from the SIS after serving 5 years, violated parole rather quickly and was returned. A short time later was again paroled, following which he was sentenced to the Nebraska ref on a B&D charge.

**First offense, criminal**--Subject received 30 days in the county jail in \_\_\_\_\_ on a charge of larceny at the age of 18. 4 months later, he was sentenced to the Nebraska ref on a charge of breaking and entering in 1942. He was at the ref only 1 month when he escaped and stole a car in \_\_\_\_\_. He was caught the same day and returned to the ref, following which he was transferred to the pen to finish his B&E sentence. He was also given 18 months on the escape charge. The B&E charge was commuted in 1944, and he was discharged from the pen in 1945. About 1 year later, he was sentenced to the California pen for car theft and escaped (got 0-10 years on one count of auto theft, 1-5 on a second). Was picked up, returned and then was released on parole in 1948. One month later, he was sentenced to 1 year in the county jail at \_\_\_\_\_ for purse snatching. Was returned to San Quentin in 1949 as a PV and was released from there in 1951. 2 months after this release, subject was given 3 years in the Nebraska pen on a grand larceny charge. Was released from the Nebraska pen in 1953 and one month later was sentenced to the Cal pen on a grand theft charge. He is still in the California pen.

**Work history**--Subject has worked very little, for two reasons. First, he does not want to work, and second, he has been on the outside very little since the age of 10. Worked for a time for a junk dealer, loading scrap iron. Followed a circus for a few weeks, taking care of the horses. Subject has worked altogether about 6 weeks since the age of 10, outside institutions. On the inside, he is assigned general duty.

**Religion**--Subject's parents were protestant. Subject doesn't belong to any church, although he claims to attend the First Christian Church with fair regularity. Is not particularly religious.

**Marriage**--none.

**Reasons given for offenses**--needed money.

**Ability to do time**--Subject has not yet, apparently, developed the ability to do his time calmly, if we are to judge by his institutional misconduct records. During every one of his institutional sentences, he was in a great deal of trouble, much of which consisted of "serious offenses" including escape and self-harm. Quite probably he will develop the ability to do time without getting into so much trouble. He is still rather young. Seems to feel that he is being punished unjustly and is after a bit of revenge. Is maladjusted, both inside and out.

**Development of a code of ethics**--Subject's father had the idea that one should not work for a living, and consequently did as little of it as possible. According to the records, subject's parents

bootlegged whisky off and on, and apparently the children picked up their ideas of right and wrong, from their more or less delinquent parents. Father did time for hog-stealing. Also, since the subject was sent to the SIS at the age of 10, he undoubtedly picked up some of his attitudes from the other delinquent boys there. He was in the state pen at the age of 16, where his attitudes underwent further crystallization.

Military--none.

Medical--none.

Other--San Quentin psychiatrist in 1949 felt that the subject had minor perceptive slants in his thinking, but also felt that he was harmless. MMPI, according to the examiner, shows nothing out of the ordinary.



**Pre-school--**Subject was born in 1918 in a small town in \_\_\_\_\_. He claims to have had a happy and normal childhood with no serious diseases--had light cases of measles and mumps.

**School--**Subject started school at about the age of 6, attended grade school, junior high and finished the 10th grade in high school. Liked school, particularly math and English. Played baseball and basketball both on junior high and high school teams. Made average or better grades, and wasn't considered a behavior problem in school.

**Home and family--**Subject is second of 3 boys born to his parents. Neither of his brothers have been delinquent. Subject's father was a deputy sheriff for a time in a small \_\_\_\_\_ town. Mother never worked outside the home. Family relationships were always congenial, they were fairly well off, financially, and were apparently well thought of in the community. Father owned his own home and after moving to a larger town in the state (when subject was small) was a master mechanic for a petroleum company at which he made a good living. Discipline in the home is reported as having been about average, relatively consistent. Subject's mother is still living. Father died at about the age of 60.

**First offense, juvenile--**Subject was given an indefinite sentence in the Arkansas SIS (to age 21) on a charge of forgery at the age of 15. He said that he was in with the wrong crowd, boys who hung around the pool rooms and drug stores, spending more money than they made. He became one of them. Was released on parole after serving 5 months.

**First offense, criminal--**At the age of 16 (1934), subject was sentenced to 19 months in the federal ref at El Reno on a Dyer Act charge. Following his release from El Reno, subject was on the outside for a period of about 3 years when, at the age of 20, he was given 3 years at Atlanta on a Dyer Act charge. Was paroled from Atlanta after serving 2 years and 2 months after was returned to Leavenworth to finish the sentence for PV. Was released on final discharge in November 1941. Three months later, he enlisted in the Marines but was given an undesirable discharge after finishing boot training, in May 1942, because of fraudulent enlistment. About 1 1/2 years later, he was sent to the Oklahoma pen for stealing a car for 5 years. Was transferred to the Oklahoma ref to complete his sentence and was discharged from the ref in August, 1946. He was out about 2 years when he was again sentenced to the federal pen at Sandstone, Minn. for 2 years on a Dyer Act charge. Was transferred to the pen at Texarkana from which he was paroled in July, 1950. 2 months later, he was sentenced to 2 years and 1 day in the Nebraska pen for stealing a car. Was discharged from the pen in March 1952, at which time he was taken into custody by the U.S. Marshall and returned to Leavenworth as a PV to finish a 2-year sentence. This subject has never been convicted of any felony other than those involving theft and transportation of automobiles.

**Work history--**Subject worked during the 1930's as a roustabout in the oil fields and as a truck driver for a period of 2-3 years.

This was the nearest thing to a steady job that he has ever held since the age of 15. During the 1940's, he travelled about, working in power houses and oxygen plants. He is a welder, and has studied diesel engines. Claims to qualify as a marine diesel engineer. Records indicate that he probably could. Since 1940, his jobs have been mostly of the spot variety due to his nomadic habits, drunkenness and desire to drive other people's cars. Most of his leisure time is spent in drinking and hanging around here.

Religion--Subject's parents were active members of the Baptist church. Yet, the subject claims to have been baptized into the Methodist church. Is not particularly religious.

Marriage--Subject married at the age of 24, a woman some 10 years older than himself. His wife was a waitress and was considered something of a prostitute. Subject lived with his wife less than a year before they were divorced.

Reasons given for offenses--juvenile--needed money. Later: drunk.

Ability to do time--Subject makes very good institutional adjustments. Has no record of rule infractions at any institution. Is considered a good worker in the institutions and gets extra earned good time for work and good behavior.

Development of a code of ethics--Subject claims to have gotten in with the wrong crowd during his early life and felt the need for money--more than he could get legitimately. As a result of this he was sent to the SIS for forging a check. Probably a case of the norms of the peer group taking precedence over the family norms. Subject seems to have a compulsive tendency to steal cars, generally while drunk. Possible part of an escape pattern. Other than this, he has been in very little trouble with the law. When sober, is considered a good worker, is very courteous, and well thought of by his acquaintances. His drinking is dyspepsiacal.

Military--Subject enlisted in the Marines in 1942 but was given an undesirable discharge after serving 5 months, because he enlisted fraudulently. He had just finished boot training.

Medical--nothing.

Other--none.

AA

CHECK SHEET

Race: W O Age 54 Deceased \_\_\_\_\_

Religion: P C J O IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ NB V102; P100; F100

Home: R U Martial: M O W S R <sup>Div from wife</sup> Children no

Terms in: SIS 1 REF no PEN 7

Age, 1st admission: SIS 16 REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 35

Court Record (appearances): Jur normal Crim 8

Alcohol: Y N <sup>heavy</sup> Narcotics: Y (at p) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home: R U (now) \_\_\_\_\_ No. sibs 7

School year completed: Outside 8 Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation labour

Prison occupation labour

Prison discipline 3/23/49-15d jail, drunk, revoke trusty pass

Escape (each bit): SIS no REF no  
PEN no

Parole: SIS 1 REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 2

Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 5 times

Sentences (length): SIS 2 yrs REF \_\_\_\_\_  
PEN 3-15; 12; 5/acts cons; 5; 1; 3; 5; 2

Parole violation: SIS 1 REF \_\_\_\_\_  
PEN 1

Surrender: easy Plea: Not guilty one offense; guilty all others

Gang: Y U

Offenses (t/p): burg; B+E; H-rob; auto theft; B+E; also w/intent to murder; B+E; NFC; NFC, NFC; traf; NFC.

Military: none

M-FI: L-55; K-45; F-63; H-70; D-72; H-58; B-74; M-45; P-63; P-60; S-55; M-55. ditto - displays suspiciousness + withdrawal tendencies; "neurotic type of person ... (with) ... incipient psychosis caused by alcoholism."

BB

CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  N  O Age: 43 Deceased \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion:  C  J  O IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WBV98; P103; F101  
 Home:  R  U Martial:  <sup>annulled</sup> D  W  S  R Children: no  
 Terms in: SIS 2 REF 1 PEN 5  
 Age, 1st admission: SXS 14 REF 22 PEN 29  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv 2 Crim 8  
 Alcohol:  N Narcotics:  N (t.p.) marijuana  
 Parental home:  U (how) separation No. sibs 1  
 School year completed: Outside 8 Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legit occupation labors  
 Prison occupation labors  
 Prison discipline none

Escape (cash bit): SIS no REF no  
 PEN no  
 Parole: SIS 2 REF no PEN 1  
 Jam: SIS no REF 1 PEN 4  
 Sentences (length): SIS Indef REF 3 yrs  
 PEN 2; 1 yr + 1d; 3; 10; 1 yr 6 mo.  
 Parole violation: SIS 1 REF no  
 PEN no

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty  
 Gang:  Y  N

Offenses (t.p.): B+E; rob; B+E; Resp CIG house; Forg; G L; B+E + kid;  
 Military: CCC 1 yr dd; Enl army 2 yrs dd Alib <sup>B+E; Burg.</sup> pfc.  
 MPI: L-65; K-61; F-64; H-57; D-60; H-71; B-74; M-53; R-65; Pt-64;  
Se-61; Ma-55. No interpretation.

CC

CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  O Age: 27 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion: P C J  no sect IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB V100; P113; E106  
 Home: R  Martial: M D W  R Children: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Terms in: SIS 1 REF 1 PEN 4  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS 15 REF 22 PEN 19  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv no record Crim 10  
 Alcohol:  N Narcotics:  (t ps) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parental home:  U (how) death father No. sibs 6  
 School year completed: Outside 11 Inside 12  
 Legit occupation labourer  
 Prison occupation cook  
 Prison discipline 2nd term pen - 3d jail susp. home; 3d jail insub.

Escape (each bit): SIS no REF no  
 PEN no  
 Parole: SIS 1 REF no PEN no  
 Jam: SIS no REF 1 PEN 4  
 Sentences (length): SIS indef REF 1 yr  
 PEN 1; 3/2ets conv; 1/2yr 2  
 Parole violation: SIS no REF no  
 PEN no

Surrender: easy Pica: always guilty

Gang:  N generally w/our accomplices

Offenses (t/ps): Hitman; auto theft; B+E; B+E; B+E; mc. Ethn money;

Military: drafted army 1944, combat duty So Pac, bandis 1946.

M-PI: 6-50; K-51; F-55; H-42; D-58; H-48; P-87; ME-59; Pa-47; Pa-49; Sc-62; Ma-78. Interp: "impulsive... tendency to jump to conclusions... poor emotional make-up."

DD

CHECK SHEET

Race: W O      Age: 62      Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion: P C J O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WBV102; P112; F 104  
 Home: R O      Martial: N O W S R      Children 1  
 Terms in: SIS 1      REF no      PEN 10 plus current  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS 17      REF \_\_\_\_\_      PEN 18  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv no record      Crim 20 at least  
 Alcohol: D N      Narcotics: Y O (t p) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parental home: S U (how) Separation      No. sibs 4  
 School year completed: Outside 9      Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legit occupation labour  
 Prison occupation labour  
 Prison discipline Escapes, age 50, forfeit 1-yr stat good time

Escape (each bit): SIS 1      REF \_\_\_\_\_  
 PEN 1 (1948)  
 Parole: SIS no      REF \_\_\_\_\_      PEN 2 times  
 Jam: SIS no      REF \_\_\_\_\_      PEN 9  
 Sentences (length): SIS Indef      REF \_\_\_\_\_  
 PEN 1; 4; 1-15; 0-10 ind; 4; 3; 4; 1; 5; 1  
 Parole violation: SIS no      REF twice  
 PEN twice

Surrender: Easy Oct 1946 front holding Plea: always guilty  
 Gang: Y O  
 Offenses (t, p): burg; B+E; burg; burg; burg; P.D. laws; burg;  
B+E; B+E; burg, accepted, no info re current.  
 Military: 2 yrs Post Guard W.I. - Mgt. London City, disch, Dec 1918.  
 M.F.I: none

EE

CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  N  O Age: 26 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  P  C  J  O IQ: SB 93 WB 198, P81, F89

Home:  U Martial: M  D  W  S  R Children: \_\_\_\_\_

Terms in: SIS 1 REF 1 PEN 3

Age, 1st admission: SIS 15 REF 17 PEN 18

Court Record (appearances): Juv. no record Crim. 4

Alcohol:  N Narcotics:  Y (type) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_ No. sibs 4

School year completed: Outside 8 Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation labourer

Prison occupation labourer

Prison discipline 1<sup>st</sup> term: 15 offenses, drew 3-30d in lock, 4 offenses, reprimanded, atress, plug up sw, fighting, dist. plumbing, etc.

Escape (each bit): SIS no REF 1 PEN no

Parole: SIS no REF no PEN 1

Jam: SIS no REF no PEN 3

Sentences (length): SIS to age 21 REF 1-7 yrs PEN 10; 1; finish 1-7; 3 terms 5 yrs concurrently.

Parole violation: SIS 1 REF no PEN 1

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang:  Y

Offenses (type): B+E; G; long assign of cent of title; escape; B+E.

Military: none

MPI: none

FF

CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  N  O      Age: 23      Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  C  J  O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_      WB V89; P106; F94

Home:  R  J      Martial: M  W  S  R      Children: 1

Terms in: SIS 2      REF 1      PEN 3

Age, 1st admission: SIS 13      REF 16      PEN 18

Court Record (appearances): Juv no record      Crim 6

Alcohol:  N      Narcotics: Y  (t ps) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_      No. sibs 12 (6 full - 6 half)

School year completed: Outside 10      Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation laborer

Prison occupation laborer

Prison discipline: Pen: 1st term - 30 jail; 2nd term - 30 full; 15, 15 + 20 jail; indif segregation; 2 respivants - talking, sleeping, rioting; 3rd term - 50 jail fighting.

Escape (each bit): SIS 1 2nd term      REF 1

PEN no

Parole: SIS 2      REF 1      PEN 1

Jam: SIS no      REF no      PEN 2

Sentences (length): SIS Indefinite      REF 2-3 yrs

PEN 2-3; 3; 4

Parole violation: SIS 1      REF 1

PEN no

Surrender: Easy      Plea: always guilty

Gang:  N: generally work accomplice

Offenses (t/ps): B+E; B+E; burg; burg; escape; burg; burg; B+E

Military: none

MIFI: none



66

CHECK SHEET

Race:  N O Age: 42 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  C J O IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB 187; P 87; F 86

Ethnic:  J Martial: M D W  R Children: \_\_\_\_\_

Terms in: SIS 1 REF 2 PEN 4

Age, 1st admission: SIS 15 REF 20 PEN 27

Court Record (appearances): Juv no record Crim 9

Alcohol:  K <sup>occasional</sup> Narcotics: Y  (type) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_ No. sibs 4

School year completed: Outside 8 Inside 9

Legit occupation none

Prison occupation Tailor

Prison discipline none

Escape (each bit): SIS no REF no

PEN no

Parole: SIS 1 REF 2 PEN no

Jan: SIS no REF no PEN 4

Sentences (length): SIS Indefinite REF 2-6; 2 1/2-7 1/2

PEN 10/20 sec; 2; 7; 2

Parole violation: SIS no REF 2

PEN no

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang: Y

Offenses (type): Excj; ant; theft; forg; att ant; larc; forg; N.E.C.; Possession

Military: none

MFI: L-54; K-51; E-65; H-15; D-15; H-69; A-30; M-43; R-75; P-74; S-68; M-55. Intrep: "... seem to indicate... a psychopathic personality."

HH

CHECK SHEET

Race:  W N O      Age: 32      Deceased \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion:  C J O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB 495; P 96; E 95  
 Home:  U      Martial: M D W S R 2 <sup>CF</sup> mistery Children no  
 Terms in: SIS no      REF 3      PEN 2  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 21      PEN 26  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv not sure      Crim 11  
 Alcohol:  N      Narcotics: Y  (t p) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parental home:  U (how) death of father      No. sibs 1 half; 2 step  
 School year completed: Outside 9      Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legit occupation truck driving  
 Prison occupation laborer  
 Prison discipline none

Escape (each bit): SIS no      REF no  
 PEN no

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 2      PEN 1  
 Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1      PEN 1

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF indif; indif; 1-2  
 PEN 2-8; 1/2 to 5 comm

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1  
 PEN no

Surrender: easy      Plea: always guilty

Gang: Y   
 Offenses (t/p): con, you, j, o, g, hit, run, con, NFC, NFG, NFI; also jail term  
 Military: Enlisted 1948 at 1st Lt, 14 yrs, 15 only, under dis. A WOL. <sup>5 years in NFG</sup>  
 MPI: L-44, K-44, E-25, H-53, D-57, H-52; P-37, ME-35, R-55, R-52, So-63; Ma-53. Interp: "There is nothing in the scores to indicate emotional instability."

II  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  N O      Ag: 49      Deceased \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  C J O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WBV113; P108; F111.

Home: R       Marital: M D W  R \_\_\_\_\_ Children \_\_\_\_\_

Terms in: SIS no      REF 1      PEN 3

Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 29      PEN 44

Court Record (appearances): Juv. none      Crim 40

Alcohol:  N      Narcotics:  H (t pe) morphine

Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_      No. sibs 2 full; 1 half

School year completed: Outside 8      Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation book-binding, cook

Prison occupation General (good man on any job)

Prison discipline 2nd term pen - 3d juv, steal clothes for laundry

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Escape (each time): SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no

PEN no

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no      PEN no

Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1      PEN 3

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1 yr

PEN 1 1/2; 2

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no

PEN no

Surrender: easy      Pica: always guilty

Gang: Y

Offenses (t, pe): Pl; G; Pl; burg; VFC; G; ind sp; burg; many Pl +  
steal charges

Military: none

M-FPI: L-50; K-52; F-53; H-48; D-57; H-45; R-53; 46-46; R-50; A-57; S-52;  
Ma-72. No interp.

JJ

CHECK SHEET

Race: W N O Age: 42 Deceased \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion: P C J O none IQ: SB WB VIII; P106; F 104  
 Home: R O Martial: M D W S/R Children \_\_\_\_\_  
 Terms in: SIS no REF 1 PEN 3  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS REF 27 PEN 33  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv no Crim 25  
 Alcohol: Y N Narcotics: Y H (t. p.) barbiturate  
 Parental home: D U (how) No. sibs none  
 School year completed: Outside 9 Inside  
 Legit occupation labour  
 Prison occupation labour  
 Prison disc. plin: Bad conduct record in 1st term - 30 days, 90d segregation, fighting, 50 days, 2nd term - 12 days, 30d each, stealing food, fighting, disobedience, etc., drunk, violation of prison  
 Escaps (each bit): SIS REF no  
PEN 1 2nd term  
 Parole: SIS REF no PEN no  
 Jam: SIS REF 1 PEN 3  
 Sentences (length): SIS REF 1-3  
PEN 3; 5; 1  
 Parole violation: SIS REF no  
PEN no  
 Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty  
 Gang: Y O  
 Offenses (t. p.): Ph; Gh; B+E; Shove; murder; see; ass w/te; robbery; many way. PK murder charges.  
 Military: none  
 M:PI: none

KK  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  W H O      Age: 35      Deceased \_\_\_\_\_  
Religion:  P C J O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_      WE V107, P112, F110  
Home:  R U      Martial: <sup>wives</sup> M  W S R      Children no  
Terms in: SIS 1      REF 2      PEN 5  
Age, 1st admission: SIS 16      REF 21      PEN 19  
Court Record (appearances): Juv 3      Crim 12  
Alcohol:  N      Narcotics: Y  (t p.) \_\_\_\_\_  
Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_      No. sibs 5  
School year completed: Outside 8      Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
Legit occupation cook  
Prison occupation cook  
Prison discipline none

Escape (each bit): SIS no      REF 2  
PEN no  
Parole: SIS 1      REF 1      PEN 3  
Jam: SIS no      REF no      PEN 2  
Sentences (length): SIS 9 mo      REF 0-20; 15  
PEN 2; 2-14; 13 mo; 0-20; 2  
Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1  
PEN 3

Surrender: easy      Plea: always guilty

Gang: Y   
Offenses (t, p): freq; 6; P; 6; freq; 6; impus; 6; freq; 6; VEC; etc.  
Military: Quinn's Navy 1942; trans to ATS 18 mo; FBI record conflicts.  
MFI: L-50; K-49; E-14; H-70; D-45; H-62; H-18, 110; L-3; R-55; R-69; S-73; W-84.  
Interp: "...since he has a high level, with the inhibitions and hypomanic areas, the examiner is of the opinion that he has some evidence of an incipient schizoid personality."

LL

CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  N  O Age: 51 Deceased \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  P  C  J  O IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB 45, PD 4, F 98

Ethnic:  B  U Martial: M  D  W  R Children \_\_\_\_\_

Terms in: SIS no REF 3 PEN 8

Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF 23 PEN 18

Court Record (appearances): Juv none Crim 13

Alcohol:  N Narcotics:  N (type) morphine 327

Parental home:  U (how) both father No. sibs none

School year completed: Outside 6 Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation none

Prison occupation barber + laborer

Prison discipline 6<sup>th</sup> prison time in bed with another inmate; 3 times for having morphine in possession

Escape (each time): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF no

PEN no

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ R.F. no PEN no

Jail: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF 3 PEN 8

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF 4yr + 1d; 2; 1

PEN 2; 2; 5; 2; 5-10; 2; 5-10; 5

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ R.F. no

PEN no

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang:  Y  N

Offenses (type): burg; burg; Gb; burg; Gb; burg; burg; burg; burg; burg; burg

Military: none

WPI: L-50; K-44; E-65; H-75; D-54; H-57; B-72; M-30; R-45; R-43; S-45; M-70

Interp: "... a couple of high scores and they are probably indicators of a psychotic personality."

MM  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  N O      Age: 39      Deceased \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  J O      IQ: SR \_\_\_\_\_ NB V109; P92; F101

Home:  U      Martial:  D W S R      Children no

Terms in: SIS no      REF 1      PEN 5

Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 22      PEN 25

Court Record (appearances): Juv none      Crim 7

Alcohol:  N      Narcotics: Y  (t pc) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_      No. sibs 4

School year completed: Outside 8      Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation Farm & general labor

Prison occupation laborer

Prison discipline: <sup>Pen:</sup> 1st term - talking; 2nd term - talking, mess central, & term breaking dishes, contra; 3rd term - contra, refuse to work, fighting

Escape (each bit): SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no

PEN 1

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1      PEN no

Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no      PEN 5

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1-2

PEN 1/2 metal 1 mo; 9 mo; 12 metal 3 mo; 10; 1.

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no

PEN no

Surrender: easy      Plea: always guilty

Gang:  N: 2 times w/ one other; 1 time w/ 2 others

Offenses (t, pc): Chips, theft, sex, burg, liquor, sol; PL; Ph.

Military: none

MSPI: L-3, K-4, E-2, H-2, 2-5, H-4, 5, 8-1, H-5, R-4, R-4, S-3, H-57.

Interp: "... The Minnesota Multiphasic Test has a high score in the psychomotor area."

NN  
CHECK SHEET

Race: W H O      Age: 40      Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_  
Religion: P O J O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB 115, P125, F122  
Home: R O      Martial: M O W S R      Children: none  
Terms in: SIS 1      REF 1      PEN 4  
Age, 1st admission: SIS 16      REF 25      PEN 27  
Court Record (appearances): Juv none      Crim 9  
Alcohol: Y N      Narcotics: Y O (t p) \_\_\_\_\_  
Parental home: Y N U (how) death of father      No. sibs 11  
School year completed: Outside 8      Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
Legit occupation labourer  
Prison occupation PB operator, labourer, fireman  
Prison discipline none

Escape (each time): SIC no      REF no  
PEN no  
Parole: SIS 1      REF 1      PEN no  
Jam: SIS no      REF no      PEN 4  
Sentences (length): SIS 1 yr      REF 3-4  
PEN 1-10; 2; 3; 3  
Parole violation: SIS no      REF 1  
PEN no

Surrender: easy      Plea: always guilty  
Gang: Y O

Offenses (type): robbery, auto theft, assault, kidnap, hijack, murder, rape  
Military: none

MPI: 1-53, K-53, F-53, H-48, D-53, H-55, P1-52, K-52, P-57, P-48, S-45, H-58  
no interp.



00

CHECK SHEET

Rate:  H O      Age 42      Deceased \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion:  C J O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_      WB V97, P92, E94  
 Home:  U      Martial: M D W  R      Children \_\_\_\_\_  
 Terms in: SIS no      REF 1      PEN 7  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 18      PEN 26  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv none      Crim 14  
 Alcohol:  N      Narcotics: Y  (t.p.) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_      No. sibs 8  
 School year completed: Outside 8      Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legit occupation farm labor  
 Prison occupation cabinet work - shoe-making - fireman  
 Prison discipline none

Escape (each bit): SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF \_\_\_\_\_      PEN no

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1      PEN 1  
 Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no      PEN 6

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF 1-5  
 PEN 3; 2-2 1/2; 1 1/2; 4; 15; 3; 3

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_      REF no  
 PEN no

Surrender: easy      Pica: always guilty

Gang: Y   
 Offenses (t.p.): hoop sticking; bar; burg; forg; forg; 5th; P.E.; bus; ass; rap; 4th illness

Military: none

WPI: L-5; P-5; F-3; H-4; D-15; H-7; P-1; H-14; P-7; P-7; S-7; H-15  
 Interp: "...has a number of high scores, which taken collectively, probably indicate that he is a neurotic type of person."

PP  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  N  O Age: 29 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  C  J  O IQ: SB 135 WB 126; P 110; E 121

Home:  R  U Martial: M D W S  Annulled Children no

Terms in: SIS 2 REF 2 PEN 4

Age, 1st admission: SIS 14 REF 18 PEN 20

Court Record (appearances): Juv uncertain Crim 11

Alcohol:  N Narcotics: Y  (t ps) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home:  B  U (how) both father No. sibs 5 full + half

School year completed: Outside 7 Inside 9

Legit occupation labour

Prison occupation labour

Prison discipline: 1<sup>st</sup> term - 5 jail sentences, fighting, break etc.; 2<sup>nd</sup> term, see, loss lips 3 mo stat good time; 3<sup>rd</sup> term - 6 jail terms, fighting, talking etc.

Escape (each bit): SIS 2 attempts REF no  
PEN 1

Parole: SIS 2 REF no PEN no

Jam: SIS no REF 2 PEN 2

Sentences (length): SIS 10 yrs 21 REF 1; 1 yr 1 d.  
PEN 2-5; 5; 3; 1 1/2

Parole violation: SIS 2 REF no  
PEN no

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang:  Y  N occasionally upon other

Offenses (t/ps): B+E; auto base; auto theft; Rape; auto theft; auto theft; see; possibly roasts.

Military: none

M:PI: L-57; K-54; F-57; H-42; D-45; H-52; A-77; M-49; P-45; P-47; S-47; A-70.

Interp: "Psychopathic, i.e., inability to profit by experience - acts on impulse rather than judgement."

QQ

CHECK SHEET

Race:  N O      Age: 45      Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion:  C J O      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB P74 only  
 Home: R       Marital: M D W  R      Children: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Terms in: SIS 2      REF no      PEN 4  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS 15      REF \_\_\_\_\_      PEN 28  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv assault      Crim 5  
 Alcohol:  N      Narcotics: Y  (t/pc) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parental home: B U (how) death both parents      No. sibs Polina 4  
 School year completed: Outside 6      Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legit occupation labour  
 Prison occupation labour  
 Prison discipline none

Escapes (each bit): SIS 1      REF \_\_\_\_\_  
 PEN no  
 Parole: SIS 1      REF \_\_\_\_\_      PEN 1  
 Jail: SIS majority (age 21)      REF \_\_\_\_\_      PEN 3  
 Sentences (length): SIS terms 21      REF \_\_\_\_\_  
 PEN 3-10; 3; 3; 5  
 Parole violation: SIS no      REF \_\_\_\_\_  
 PEN no

Surrender: easy      Plea: always guilty  
 Gang: Y   
 Offenses (t/pc): B+E; burg; P+E; burg; burg; wop; wop  
 Military: none

MFI: L-57, K-57, E-51, H-48, D-53, H-46, P-17, M-38, P-45, P-57, S-53, M-68. No interp

RR  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  N  O Age: 26 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  C  J  O IQ: SB 106 WB \_\_\_\_\_

Home:  U Martial: M  D  W  S  R Children: \_\_\_\_\_

Terms in: SIS 1 RFF 1 PEN 3

Age, 1st admission: SIS 15 RFF 19 PEN 19

Court Record (appearances): Juv uncertain Crim 4

Alcohol:  N Narcotics:  (t, ps) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home:  U (how) divorced No. sibs 7

School year completed: Outside 6 Inside 7

Legit occupation farm labor - truck driver

Prison occupation farm labor

Prison discipline: 1st term - 9 jail terms 3-20d each; indif exp; 5 exprimand; 2nd term - 6 jail terms 3-20d each, 3 exprimand, fighting, riot, contra, helping drunk inmate, etc.

Escape (each bit): SIS no REF 1

PEN no

Parole: SIS 1 RFF no PEN 1

Jam: SIS no RFF no PEN 2

Sentences (length): SIS Indef RFF 5 yrs

PEN balance 3; 3; 2

Parole violation: SIS 1 RFF no

PEN no

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang:  K

Offenses (t, ps): burg; B+E; 500; 61; B+E

Military: none

MMPI: L-50; K-50; F-50; H-42; D-47; A-75; Ma-41; Pa-20; Sc-52; Si-46; 47

Interp: "... indicates a psychopathic deviation which could mean he lacks ability to profit by experiences; also indicates that he does not regard social mores in his explosive behavior."

55

CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  O      Age: 38      Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion: P C J O none      IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_      WB V86; P47; E91

Home:  U      Marital: <sup>from 1st</sup> M  W  R <sup>from 2nd</sup>      Children: no

Terms in: SIS 2      REF 1      PEN 8

Age, 1st admission: SIS 6? 9?      REF 20      PEN 22

Court Record (appearances): Juv no record      Crim 30

Alcohol:  N      Narcotics:  (t pe) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home:  U (how) both mother      No. sibs 3

School year completed: Outside no      Inside ? maybe 8

Legit occupation cook

Prison occupation cook and laborer

Prison discipline: Ref term: minor charges, lost state property.  
Pen term: 30 jail loss, 250 good time, drunk.

Escape (each bit): SIS no      REF no  
PEN no      (one co. jail twice)

Parole: SIS no info      REF no      PEN no

Jan: SIS 7      REF 1      PEN 8

Sentences (length): SIS 6; 7      REF 2  
PEN 3; 5; 1; 5; 1 1/2 - 2; 1 1/2 - 2; 1 - 2; 2

Parola violation: SIS ?      REF no  
PEN no

Surrender: easy      Plea: always guilty

Gang:  occasionally w/ one or two others

Offenses (type): burg; larc; G.H.; kidnap; jail break; murder; G.H.; G.H.; jail break, CCW, etc.

Military: none

M.F.I.: 5-53, 6-55, F-70, H-71, D-18, H-75, 8-79, H-65, B-72, 8-75, E-84, M-57.

Outup: "... the examiner is of the opinion that he is a severe neurotic."

TT

CHECK SHEET

Race: W H O Age: 30 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion: P C J O IQ: SB WB V98; P114; E106  
 Home: F U Marital: M <sup>1st</sup> D W S <sup>2</sup> R Children: 2-15<sup>th</sup> wife; 1-2<sup>nd</sup>  
 Terms in: SIS 2 REF 1 PEN 4  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS 11 REF 17 PEN 19  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv uncertain Crim 5  
 Alcohol: D H Narcotics: Y <sup>1</sup> (t ps)  
 Parental home: D <sup>1</sup> (hov) No. sibs 9  
 School year completed: Outside 4 Inside 10  
 Legit occupation labour  
 Prison occupation labour  
 Prison discipline 2 minor reports  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Escape (each bit): SIS no REF no  
 PEN no  
 Parole: SIS 1 REF 1 PEN 1  
 Jam: SIS 1 REF no PEN 3  
 Sentences (length): SIS 2; to age 21 REF 2  
 PEN 4; 2; 4; 3  
 Parole violation: SIS no REF 1  
 PEN 1  
 Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty  
 Gang: Y <sup>1</sup>  
 Offenses (t ps): Ph; burg; maid theft; GL; GL; GL; GL; forg  
 Military: Enlistment 1944, US only; hon dis 1946  
 MPI: L-63; K-49; E-56; H-32; D-15; H-49; P-14; M-42; R-15; P-30; S-56;  
Ma-35. Interp: "...does not indicate anything unusual  
about his personality pattern."

44  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  W O Ag: 43 Deceased \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  C J O IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB 102; P1; F96

Home:  U Martial: M  W S R Children 2

Terms in: SIS no REF 1 PEN 4

Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF 17 PEN 27

Court Record (appearances): Juv none Crim 11

Alcohol:  N Narcotics: Y  (t p:)

Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_ No. sibs 2

School year completed: Outside 8 Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation farm labor

Prison occupation farm & general labor

Prison discipline: 3<sup>rd</sup> pen term - carrying hatchet w/ intent to kill an inmate; disobedience; contraband. Punishment not given

Escape (each bit): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF no  
PEN 1

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF no PEN 2

Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF 1 PEN 2

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF 5-10  
PEN 1-10; 5-10; 1-5; 1

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF no  
PEN no

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang: Y

Offenses (t, p): kill w/ prop; burg; forg; Gk; auto theft; rob; ass w/ to kill

Military: none

MPI: L-42; K-44; E-57; H-35; D-30; H-42; F-42; M-42; P-45; R-25; S-25; A-33. Interpret: "The Minnesota Multiphasic Test does not show any unusual personality patterns."

VV  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  N  O Age: 54 Deceased \_\_\_\_\_

Religion:  C  J  O IQ: SB 109 WB \_\_\_\_\_

Home:  R  U Martial:  M  W  S  R <sup>from 2nd</sup> wif: Children 2-by 1st wife

Terms in: SIS no REF no PEN 9

Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 24

Court Record (appearances): Juv no Crim 25

Alcohol:  N Narcotics:  N (t pc) morphine

Parental home:  D (how) \_\_\_\_\_ No. sibs 4

School year completed: Outside 8 Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation Tailor

Prison occupation Tailor

Prison discipline during first couple terms was rebellious and disciplined a number of times

Escape (each bid): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_

PEN no

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 1

Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 8

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_

PEN 1 1/2; 2; 2 1/2; 3; 4; 1 1/2; 2; 2 1/2

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_

PEN 1

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang:  Y  N

Offenses (t,pc): 6; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 30; 31; 32; 33; 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39; 40; 41; 42; 43; 44; 45; 46; 47; 48; 49; 50; 51; 52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72; 73; 74; 75; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 81; 82; 83; 84; 85; 86; 87; 88; 89; 90; 91; 92; 93; 94; 95; 96; 97; 98; 99; 100

Military: Enlisted 6-1-17, Promoted 2-8-19, US Army, PFC.  
MFI: L-52, K-51, F-41, H-63, D-75, H-65, P-52, M-47, R-45, R-47, Sc-52, Ma-70. Intup: "... the test scores... would seem to indicate that he is a neurotic person."



WW  
CHECK SHEET

Race: W H O Age: 41 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion: P C J O IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB VIII; P III; F III

Home: S U Martial: D W S R Children 2

Terms in: SIS no REF no PEN 8

Age, 1st admission: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 22

Court Record (appearances): Juv none Crim 12

Alcohol: Y N Narcotics: Y D (t ps) \_\_\_\_\_

Parental home: B D (how) \_\_\_\_\_ No. slos 12

School year completed: Outside 10 Inside \_\_\_\_\_

Legit occupation Tailor

Prison occupation Tailor

Prison discipline none

Escape (each bit): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_

PEN no

Parole: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 1

Jam: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_ PEN 7

Sentences (length): SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_

PEN 2, 3; 1-1/2; 15 mo; 1 + 2/2 to cons; 5 yr 9 mo; 1; 5

Parole violation: SIS \_\_\_\_\_ REF \_\_\_\_\_

PEN no

Surrender: easy Plea: always guilty

Gang: Y N

Offenses (t/ps): Aggravated; Burg; Burg; 2 to burg; sexual proct; CCW;

Military: States <sup>bank theft</sup> sep army 1927; 1 yr; 1928; dty 55; Smelling only.

MFI: L-50; K-65; F-52; H-52; D-56; J-45; P-48; M-41; G-52; R-52; S-54; M-57.

Interp: "....does not indicate anything seriously wrong."

XX  
CHECK SHEET

Race: W H O Age: 26 Deceased: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Religion: P C J O IQ: SB 106 WB 107; P106; F107  
 Home: R U Martial: M D W R Children: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Terms in: SIS 2 REF 1 PEN 4  
 Age, 1st admission: SIS 10 REF 18 PEN 18  
 Court Record (appearances): Juv 4 Crim 12  
 Alcohol: Y Narcotics: Y (t,pc) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parental home: B (how) \_\_\_\_\_ No. sibs 6  
 School year completed: Outside 5 Inside 8  
 Legit occupation labors  
 Prison occupation labors  
 Prison discipline 5-19 disciplinary reports each term in pen. Esc. from ref  
 Escape (each sit): SIS 1 REF 1  
 PEN 1  
 Parole: SIS 2 REF no PEN 1  
 Jam: SIS no REF no PEN 3  
 Sentences (length): SIS to 2 yrs old REF 2-5  
 PEN bal 2-5; 18mo; 0-10+1-5/acts comm; 3; ind of  
 Parole violation: SIS 2 REF \_\_\_\_\_  
 PEN 1  
 Surrender: easy (has at times see arresting officer) Fica: always guilty  
 Gang: Y  
 Offenses (t,pc): Theft, BrE; see; car theft; see; GL; ground theft  
 Military: none  
 M:PI: L-55, K-15, F-41, H-52, D-51, H-14, P-1-67, H-6-67, P-65, Pe-50, Se-55, Ma-53. Int up: "... does not have any high scores to indicate anything in serious personality difficulty."

YY  
CHECK SHEET

Race:  W  H  O Age: 32 Deceased \_\_\_\_\_  
Religion:  P  C  J  O IQ: SB \_\_\_\_\_ WB V101, P99, F-100  
Home:  R  U Martial:  M  D  W  S  R Children no  
Terms in: SIS 1 REF 2 PEN 4  
Age, 1st admission: SIS 15 REF 16 PEN 20  
Court Record (appearances): Juv no record Crim 10  
Alcohol:  Y  N Narcotics:  Y  N (type) \_\_\_\_\_  
Parental home: B  (how) \_\_\_\_\_ No. sibs 2  
School year completed: Outside 11 Inside \_\_\_\_\_  
Legit occupation welder; roughneck  
Prison occupation welder; power house; stationary engineer  
Prison discipline none

Escape (each bit): SIS no REF no  
PEN no

Parole: SIS 1 REF 1 PEN 2  
Jam: SIS no REF 1 PEN 2

Sentences (length): SIS Indef REF 19 mo; 5  
PEN 3; finish 3; 2; 2 yrs 1 d; 2

Parole violation: SIS 1 REF no  
PEN 2

Surrender: easy Fica: always guilty

Gang:  Y  N  
Offenses (type): for; poss st; auto; Aggr; auto theft;

Military: Sailor in 1942, under dis 3 mo later, fraud case

M&PI: L-50; K-14; E-53; H-45; D-57; H-57; P-10; ME-44; P-55; P-52;  
Je-53; Ma-45. Setup: "...did not indicate anything of a  
serious nature."

APPENDIX II: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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