

An Institutional Survey of the Kansas State Boys' Industrial School,  
including Case-Studies of Twenty of the Youngest Boys.

by

Frank McClelland

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Approved by:

Hubert A. Ellis

Instructor in charge

Carroll D. Clark

Chairman, Sociology Dept.

August, 1932.

## Preface.

A great many persons have assisted in securing the material which has been incorporated in this survey, and I wish to make an acknowledgment of their help. Without that aid, this survey would have been very much more limited than it is.

I wish to thank Supt. A. E. Jones and his Institutional Staff; the inmates of the Institution; the Kansas Public Welfare Commission, especially Miss Ruth Kolling, its secretary; Miss Lula Jean Elliott; Miss Ellen Davis; Dr. R. N. Miller and Mr. A. G. Pommerenke; Mr. Collier; Griffenhagen and Associates, Ltd.; the various teachers, probate judges; social workers, probation officers, and other local officials who helped provide the case-study material; the masculine members of the department of Sociology of the University of Kansas, especially Mr. V. E. Helleberg; and above all, Dr. Mabel Elliott of the University of Kansas Sociology department, whose extensive knowledge of the field has helped me immeasurably to economize my efforts.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction.

Purpose. The purpose of any survey is semi-journalistic. It is fact-finding, news-gathering. It describes the various aspects of a problem in their general interrelationships. It proves nothing in the sense of measuring any functional relationships or of establishing the basis for scientific generalizations. Its greatest value lies in pointing out problems for further and more intensive investigation and in giving a description of a general situation.

This is a survey of the Kansas State Boys' Industrial School, an institution for delinquent boys under sixteen. The research has been carried on under the direction of and with the help of the Kansas Public Welfare Commission and members of the department of sociology of the University of Kansas.

Method. This survey is distinctly limited. It is an institutional survey. It has made no attempt to study such things as the probation and parole situation in Kansas, or types of individuals committed to the Industrial School as determined by the local commitment policies throughout the state, or local efforts at developing crime prevention programs, or any other of a number of significant related problems. The only inquiry contained in this report which does not pertain directly to the institution itself consists of a series of case-studies of twenty of the youngest inmates. These case-studies are presented as a means of describing qualitatively the home situations and individual histories of the twenty boys and to furnish the reader with a better description of the inmates of the institution than he might otherwise have. On the whole the survey confines itself to answering the question, what is the Boys' Industrial School like and what is it doing?

The procedure of investigation has rested mainly on the assumption that a news gathering feat the widest possible knowledge of the institution would be the best basis for description and evaluation. Consequently, the investigator has attempted to get every important viewpoint represented. He first made a tour of inspection over the grounds. Then he spent many days taking elaborate notes from each of the biennial reports issued by the institution,<sup>1</sup> and whatever other material could be found relating to its history. He also searched for reports from similar institutions and for institutional standards by which to evaluate the work of the Kansas Industrial School. He began to study and take notes from the case-records of the twenty young boys, supplementing these with information gathered through questionnaires about each boy addressed to local authorities. His next step was to spend eight days as an inmate (February, 1932), during which time he kept an extensive and complete diary, which is included in this report.<sup>2</sup> He then spent six days as an officer at the invitation of the superintendent. (March, 1932). And at other times he has made frequent visits to look around, to cull the records, to talk with the boys, to associate with the officers, and to poke his nose into just as many places as seemed to present any journalistic prospects at all.

Much still remains hidden, of course, but the investigator believes that this report describes the major features of the institution.

Summary. (a) History. "Muddling through," H. G. Well's phrase, is perhaps the most accurate description of the Industrial School's half-century of life. There have been no attempts to keep the program of

the institution abreast of the progress of criminological research, and there has been little effort to refine the institutions crude rule-of-thumb methods into more and more scientific ones as time went on. The making of appropriations has never rested on any thorough survey of the institution's needs, and it has never been based on any sort of planning, but has instead consisted in the main of a hand-to-mouth process of doling out appropriations long after they have become necessary.

The original founders of the institution, to be sure, worked out carefully the general principles on which the institution's program of treatment should be based, but not only did successive generations forget their method of research, they also never took the pains to live up to the original ideals. The result is that it is quite true to say, as the present superintendent, Mr. A. E. Jones, declared in 1932, "We aren't even up to the place we were fifty years ago."

(b) Equipment. The institution at the present time consists of a large plant, predominantly agricultural. The equipment on the whole is in fair condition except for several deteriorated buildings. The greatest lack in the institution is the absence of any home atmosphere. The buildings, the furniture, the general atmosphere of the grounds is, though solid and substantial, gloomy and institutional. The company dormitory-buildings are large, barred brick structures holding an average of forty-five boys.

The recreational equipment is fairly adequate and is improving. The best provision for recreation is for various types of athletic sports, especially basketball, baseball, and swimming.

The uniforms of the inmates are ordinary working clothes, and for Sunday dressing up, military khaki outfits.

The library contains about 1600 volumes. The rest of the equipment is generally good and constantly improving under the present administration.

(c) Personnel. The standards for personnel appointment and remuneration fall consistently far short of the standards in leading similar institutions. The average working week is over sixty hours, and the average monthly income is well under \$100 in cash, in addition to food, shelter, and laundry. The average wage of all officials, including the superintendent, is thus approximately thirty cents an hour.

There is no civil service basis of appointment of Industrial School employees, and, as a rule, political considerations are of prime importance in hiring and firing. This is true even in the academic department, and the state public school standards for teachers are not observed in the institutional grade school.

The institution has no psychiatric or clinical facilities of any sort. In addition, though there is a dentist, he is unable to do any work because of a lack of proper equipment.

There is practically no effort made to train the personnel in treatment of delinquency on the grounds by classes, lectures, discussions, readings, etc. The long hours of work forbid such attempts.

(d) Program. (a) Types. Apparently, there are no clear-cut types of inmates in the sense that there are "born criminals" or other well-marked criminal characters in the institution. At best, one must be

sceptical, in the fact of a lack of evidence either way, as to abnormality of the average boy within the institution. The inmates are apparently very similar in personality characteristics to other boys of the same age and general background.

(b) Academic education. The school offers ten regular grades and attempts to keep the work up to the state standards. The school equipment is new and fairly adequate, but there are no facilities for the care of records or correspondence.

(c) Vocational education. Vocational education is limited to practical work. The institution offers no trade classes whatever. Some of the rudiments of various trades are taught the boys by actual experience in maintenance and repair of the institutional equipment. On the whole, this work is so largely routinized and unplanned that it has little practical value as preparation for a later occupation. The emphasis is, indeed, on getting each day's tasks done and not on preparing the inmates for later life. The lack of trade classes contributes greatly to the inadequacy of the whole vocational program. The method of assigning tasks to both officers and inmates is on a primitive rule-of-thumb basis.

(d) Recreation. The recreational program of the institution embraces primarily athletics, music, and reading. The athletic program is especially well developed. An effort is made to draw almost all the inmates into regular exercises, but the equipment is inadequate for a complete development of this effort. Band and vocal music is encouraged, as is reading. Other types of recreation are also practiced, but there is no provision for any sort of serious dramatics,

pictorial artistry, writing, or the subtler recreations. The recreational supervisors are constantly expanding their programs, but they do not yet work out coordinated individual plans for each boy, as is done at the Whittier State School of California.

(e) Health. A full-time nurse and a part-time physician are employed to give examinations on entrance, and also treatment as necessary. As mentioned, the dentist is unable to perform, and there is no psychiatrist.

The sanitation of the institution is apparently adequate for good health. A fairly well equipped hospital is provided.

(f) Attitude development. The major emphasis of the general program is on routinized efforts to instill fundamentalist conventional standards of religion, morals, politics, etc. This "character education" is declining in importance, but it is still the major approach in treating the boys. By various supplementary techniques, the superintendent has raised the morale and standards of sportsmanship in the institution rather high, but the effectiveness of the religious and moral exhortation on which the general program rests is open to serious speculation. The discipline system is not yet on an honor basis, but the rigid discipline formerly enforced has largely disappeared. Military drill is not overemphasized.

The program is characteristically institutional and not individual. It has the merit of being impartial and automatic, but it has the great weakness of being rigid, artificial, and unheeding of the individual cases and background.

(g) Parole. The parole department is very inadequate. Only one man, who was without training of any sort for parole supervision at the time of his appointment in 1931, is provided to take charge of all placements, supervision, records, correspondence, and general parole work. He must supervise about two hundred boys, and even so, the time of parole for each boy is dangerously short. The methods and facilities of the parole department constitute, I think, by far the weakest point in the program of the whole institution.

(h) Special Problems. Certain behavior problems are evident within the institution. Of these, runaways and smoking are perhaps the most common. The general culture-patterns of the institution have not been carefully investigated in this report, but they do not seem dissimilar from those of other boys, and the morale of the institution is high. In general, perhaps the greatest problem is the weakness of the whole institutional approach to the treatment of delinquency.

Suggested related problems for future research. A brief list of allied problems which offer interest to the social investigator follow:

1. A survey of the basis of treatment of juvenile delinquents in local communities. This should attempt to determine whether certain types of delinquents tend to be treated on one basis while other types are treated on different bases, und so weiter.
2. A follow-up study of past inmates of the institution and a comparison with their contemporary delinquents who were treated in other than institutional ways.
3. A survey of the local programs of crime prevention now practiced in Kansas.

4. A survey of methods employed elsewhere as substitutes for institutional treatment of juvenile delinquents.
5. A survey of the integration in Kansas of social work agencies, clinics, schools, parents, juvenile courts, and probation and parole agents, etc.
6. The effect of different types of treatment, such as athletics, trade training, etc., on various types of delinquents, such as inferiority types, subnormal individuals, and so forth.
7. A survey of Kansas child-placement methods and standards.
8. A survey of methods of treatment for mentally subnormal or emotionally unstable delinquent cases.

Recommendations. A careful survey of the institution at least once a decade would probably be both revealing and economical. On such a basis a plan for appropriating money might be worked out more adequately and scientifically than has been the case. A survey should include investigation into the development of criminological theories of delinquent treatment by leading criminologists throughout the world and an evaluation of the institution's work by the best standards.

The records of the Industrial School are inadequate and inaccurate. Provision should be made for complete and trustworthy statistics of all sorts.

The equipment of the institution is not bad, but the laundry, the industrial building, the administration and chapel buildings are badly deteriorated and should be immediately replaced. These buildings are all fire hazards.

It is unfortunate that the agricultural phase of the institution

should have been overdeveloped at the expense of the other departments. Most of the boys need preparation for an urban, not a rural, life. It would be wise to bring the industrial departments up to the level of the agricultural.

The superintendent's wish for money to convert the old school building, now unused, into an honor company should be granted. The proposal is excellent from the standpoint of treatment. In the long run, it should also prove actually economical.

It is very unfortunate that the institution is not built on a cottage plan. For any future buildings I should most emphatically recommend that small, handsome one-story wooden cottages holding eight to twelve boys and an official couple be the type of dormitory built. The lack of a normal family atmosphere is perhaps the greatest of all detriments to the institution's attempts at treatment. The interests of real economy demand that such an atmosphere be the background for all the institution's efforts.

The basis of personnel appointment and discharge is thoroughly unsatisfactory. The proper basis, of course, should be a well worked out civil service system. In the absence of such a system the superintendent should be given complete freedom and responsibility over his staff. The practice of permitting politics to interfere with the administration of a children's institution would be farcical if it were not tragic, and I must confess that I am cynical enough to believe that the spoils system will not be eradicated except by well developed civil service. In the meantime, one can only appeal to the authorities to think of the possible consequences of their traditional

methods of hiring and firing.

The long hours and low wages of the institution do not attract well trained officials into the work. An eight-hour basis, for the employees, such as is installed in the Whittier State School is eminently desirable. The constant improvements of method which are necessary in any institution cannot be worked out by a badly tired, heavily overloaded personnel staff. A working day of twelve or more hours leaves no time for reading, reflection, or discussion. Under such a regime few officers can keep a fresh interest in their work and so become able to keep from sinking into the rut of pure routine. It is especially important that the superintendent have time to reflect on the various important problems he must meet and not be bothered with numerous trifling affairs.

The lack of any clinical assistance is unfortunate. A good psychiatric social worker would probably add tremendously to the range of the institution's program and add little to the ultimate cost. Recourse to other clinics should be arranged for as needed. The dentist should also be given equipment of the proper sort.

The academic education offered deserves expansion and closer coordination with the vocational program. A well worked out trade school system, like that at Glen Mills, Pennsylvania, or at Whittier, is essential, and in some way facilities must be secured which will permit the vocational activities to be transformed from mere routine maintenance work to real trade training.

The recreational program deserves expansion also. Dramatics especially should be encouraged by an enlarged personnel and better

equipment. It would be desirable to inaugurate a balanced recreational plan for each inmate.

The absence of good case-studies for each inmate is a severe handicap to individual treatment. The local authorities should be obliged to furnish full studies of each case as it is committed. These should include much more than a recital of the acts leading to apprehension, and they should go fully into family background, economic status, heredity, health, education, occupation, recreation, and other social factors conditioning each case. The essence of treatment in criminology, as in medicine, is the treatment of the individual in the light of his personal history and not the effort to suppress the superficial symptoms of the disease by force or incantations.

It is desirable that the attempts at character education and personality development practiced within the institution be changed from a moralistic to a pragmatic basis. This is being done to some extent already. The boys should be encouraged to develop their ideals and to make their social adjustments, not from abstract standards, but in the actual daily group experiences which they undergo. A frankly experimental attitude toward all character-formation should be taken. As the underlying basis of treatment, it is desirable that an atmosphere as nearly normal and homelike as possible be built up. A sense of humor and of esthetics should be cultivated as well as the more formal virtues. The boys should be trained to think for themselves and encouraged to question any beliefs which do not seem to stand up in their own lives. Such an approach promises infinitely more than one which is ritualized and hortatory.

It would be desirable to abolish uniforms, guards, bars, and other penal measures just as fast as it is possible to do so.

The weakness of the parole department has been indicated. The parole terms for each boy should in general be lengthened materially, and a field agent should be provided for every fifty cases. In addition, office help for records and correspondence should be provided. The tasks of a parole officer demand infinite resourcefulness, and the standards for the parole personnel should be even higher than those for company officers. In the absence of a well-worked out state wide probation and parole system, the institution must itself take the responsibility for the after-care of its "alumni." There is no way to determine the institution's efficiency except through the records of the later lives of the inmates. There is no way to be sure that a boy will become well adjusted after leaving the institution except by long-continued, sympathetic, expert supervision. An institution without a good parole department is only half an institution.

The state would do well to cast about carefully for other types of delinquent treatment than institutional ones. The effectiveness of an institutional approach is very dubious, and more natural methods, such as probation, child guidance, trade training, foster-placement, etc., promise not only greater results but much lower costs of operation.

At present, in the absence of a state wide crime-prevention program, the Boys' Industrial School is still necessary and deserves the best facilities the state can give. In the long run, perhaps

other and better methods will entirely supplant the present ones.

Footnotes.

<sup>1</sup>These biennial reports were all carefully scanned with the exception of that for 1916-18, which was nowhere available.

<sup>2</sup>Chapter IX.

## Chapter 11. History of the Institution.

Very little material relating to the history of the Kansas Boys' Industrial School is available. The only reports at hand are the twenty-five biennial reports issued by the superintendent every biennium since 1882. One of these reports, covering the period from 1916 to 1918, is no longer accessible. The others are sketchy pamphlets containing a brief statement by the superintendent of the main events during each preceding period of two years, some financial details, and a few tables relating to the inmates.

One must be careful to remember that the history derived from these reports will almost necessarily be one which tends to omit unpleasant facts and to stress laudatory ones. Many important events doubtless have been neglected entirely. The statistical tables in the reports are probably so untrustworthy as to be of little value for bases of comparison with present day figures. The published data of these reports have been assembled in composite tabular form as far as possible, and the resulting tables and graphs are scattered throughout this survey.

This is the first intensive study ever made of the institution by an outside investigator. Had there been others, the following history might be more reliable. As it is now, the history is presented as merely a general picture of the institution's course during the period from 1881 to 1930.

Table 1. Superintendents of the Institution.

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J. G. Eckles,	1881-1882.	
J. F. Buck,	1882-1891.	
W. E. Fagan,	1891-1893.	
E. C. Hitchcock,	1893-1895.	Average term, 3 years, 3 months.
W. H. Howell,	1895-1897.	
J. M. Hart,	1897-1899.	
James Butler,	1899-1899.	
W. S. Hancock,	1899-1902.	
H. W. Charles,	1902-1919.	
W. P. MacLean,	1919-1923.	
N. A. Anderson,	1923-1925.	
S. G. Clarke,	1925-1928.	
L. D. White,	1928-1929.	
W. A. Smith,	1929-1930.	
N. A. Armel,	1930-1931.	
A.E. Jones,	1931-	

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The Kansas Boys' Industrial School has recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. On June 1, 1881, under the name of the Kansas State Reform School, with J. G. Eckles as superintendent, the institution was formally opened. It was located on a tract of land four miles north of the state capital, Topeka. Prior to its erection the state authorities had studied the project intensively, and the trustees of the State Charitable Institutions reported in 1881 to the legislature.

In a pamphlet entitled, Purposes, Rules, and Regulations of the State Reform School, the trustees formulated the following conclusions as the basis for the new institution:

First: A reform school is an institution, the distinct feature of which is character-building, and it belongs to the educational rather than to the penal department of the State government.

Second: The work of a reform school is to receive, discipline and educate the following classes of juveniles, fitting them for return to parents or friends, or to enter homes provided for them, viz.: First, those bereft of their natural guardians, and left exposed and neglected; second, those who are truants from home and school, and are incorrigible to ordinary authority; third, those who live idle, vagrant lives, and whose influence and example are bad, and tend to corrupt others; fourth, those who are offenders against the law, but not hardened by criminal practices.

Third: The discipline of a reform school should be that which is incident to a well-governed family; the law of kindness should be its guiding principle, and the developed manhood of the pupil its promise of success; and all who are insensible to efforts of this character, are not proper subjects for reformatory treatment.

Fourth: What is known as the "family plan" of reform-school management commends itself, by accomplished facts, as the most intelligent and successful system in practice, and from the proper standpoint--that the true measure of economy is, the speedy reformation of the pupil. It is the most economical system yet devised.

Fifth: In the construction of buildings and the arrangement of the grounds, no restraints should be provided. Walls, cells, bars, bolts, grates and screens should be omitted in the general plans.

Sixth: Separate institutions should be provided for the sexes, and the school provided for by the present law should be exclusively for boys.

Seventh: A carefully-guarded indenture system should be provided for in the draft of the law to govern the institution, which shall comprise a system of supervision over the indentured pupil by local agents, who shall also aid in securing proper homes for pupils and otherwise assist in giving due effect to the laws governing the system. This labor may properly be confined to the county superintendents of public instruction in the several counties of the state.

Eighth: The maximum age of admission should be sixteen years, subject to exceptions in the discretion of the Board of Trustees.

Ninth: Forms of trial should be avoided when practicable; commitments should be during minority, and the power to discharge earlier should be vested in the Trustees alone, upon satisfactory evidence of reformation, and that a proper home is provided, or in cases where the best interests of the school demand the expulsion of a refractory pupil who is not amenable to reformatory treatment.<sup>1</sup>

The trustees arrived at these principles through extensive correspondence with officials of similar institutions and through study of prevailing theories and practices. With these purposes in mind, they expected the institution to become one of the most valuable of all state institutions; and it is evident that they thought of it as a training school in which the pupils and officers were bound by relationships of warm friendship; it was not to be a prison, but a beneficent institution based on "broad principles of kindness and persuasion, seeking results through intelligent and well-directed appeals to manhood of the pupil."<sup>2</sup> The founders recognized, however, that some inmates would always fail to respond to any sort of positive treatment, and apparently they intended such persons to be transferred to the state penitentiary or returned to local authorities.

Section four of the law creating the school gave courts of record and probate courts the power to commit the following types of persons:

- (1) boys under sixteen liable to imprisonment for violation of any state law;
- (2) any boy charged with crime, with the consent of his

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(1) Purposes, Rules and Regulations of the State Reform School. 1881

Pp. 3-4

(2) Ibid., p.5

guardian; (3) incorrigibles, habitual disregarders of their guardians' commands, vagrants, and those immoral, idle, or truant. Under this last part (3) of section four, those admitted were to be asked questions about their past record, etc., given a physical examination, and barred if feeble-minded or crippled; their parents were to pay \$18.20 per quarter if able, and their underclothing, socks, shoes, and other clothing were to be furnished by the counties from which they came.

There were only forty non-paying boys and a few paying ones admitted to June, 1882. The institution was not equipped to handle more, although it had a building large enough for 125 boys. Superintendent J. F. Buck, who succeeded Superintendent Eckles on March 1, 1882, announced in the first biennial report of the institution<sup>3</sup> that many boys convicted of crime and sentenced to the reform school "lay in jails, fast hardening into permanent criminals," and also that he had had many applications for the admission of boys "designated as 'incorrigible,' who were rapidly degenerating into criminals, but who under wholesome restraints would grow up to be useful and valuable citizens."

The early superintendents were predominantly moralistic in their approach to the problem; words such as "evil," "sinful," "manly," "reclaim," "kindness," "vicious," "better nature," "character-building," etc., abound throughout their reports--and in fact, as will be shown

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<sup>3</sup> Third Biennial Report of the State Charitable Institutions. Report of the State Reform School, Pp. 87-94 plus, appendix, Public Documents of Kansas, 1881-2.

later, the use of such terms shows that even now the major emphasis in treatment is hortatory and moralistic.

The original personnel consisted of a superintendent, whose salary was set at not over \$1200, plus living, a matron not over \$400 plus living, and teachers. The records to be kept were a commitment record, a daily number record, a record of current expenses, grade books, grade ledger, and a visitor record. Visitors were to be permitted to communicate with inmates, under surveillance, once a month. A boy entering was placed in the fourth of the following five grades: first, Excelsior; second, Honor; third, Hope; fourth, Trust; fifth, Disgrace. He was given 210 marks of merit at first and allowed to earn each day three merits, and as many demerits as the superintendent deemed fit. After 420 merits had been earned, he was promoted to grade three, and so on, moving up one grade for each 210 merits. In grade two he was a trusty; in grade one he was allowed to leave unattended on business or pleasure.<sup>4</sup>

Care was to be taken to impress the inmates with the positive object of all punishment in subduing "vicious passions," etc., "and at the same time to convince them beyond a doubt that discipline and good order will be maintained at all hazards." Kindness, coolness, and competency were the stated qualifications of all employees; punishment was to be gentle at first, increasing with the repetition and severity of the offense. Corporal punishment was to be used only

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<sup>4</sup>Purposes, Rules, and Regulations of the State Reform School, pp 10-12.

by the superintendent; and then only in the presence of other officers. An interesting feature was that all inmates were to be directly responsible to some one official, and the cost of recapturing any escaped inmate was to be deducted from the pay of the officer responsible for him.<sup>5</sup> This policy no longer holds.

From the very first the administrative officers of the institution have believed that employment, supplemented by academic and religious education, should be the main effort at rehabilitation. Apparently labor was valued chiefly because of its character-building qualities, and the vocational training aspect of work was distinctly subordinate. The pupils were allowed at first to help the teachers formulate rules of conduct which were expected to be obeyed "until habitual."

Superintendent Buck was successful in holding his job for over nine years, and the early policies of the institution were dominated by his theories of treatment. He believed in "strict discipline and careful training," and, in theory at least, in homelike surroundings. He also believed in expanding and developing the physical equipment of the institution and constantly pointed out to the legislature necessary improvements. The institution became a large farm; the superintendent felt that "farm labor is much to be preferred to shop labor as a reformatory measure,"<sup>6</sup> because it provided more freedom, more beauty, greater cause for thankfulness, etc., although he saw the necessity, for winter occupation, of more adequate equipment for trade training. Another

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup> Third Biennial Report of the State Reform School, p. 114.

reason for this early development of farm work as the dominant occupation was the belief that boys trained in it would be able to get farm jobs later and so keep out of mischief more easily than their city friends. Not until 1900 did the superintendent point out that perhaps farm work was not the best possible training, since most of the boys came from cities and most of them returned to cities after their discharge.<sup>7</sup> Agricultural training is still the dominant phase of vocational work, however, and as late as 1928 the superintendent declared that he considered farm training the best suited of all occupations for getting the boys away from their old city associates after their release from the institution.

At first, the supply of water and milk was liable to contamination because of the lack of an adequate sewage disposal system. In 1884 the physician pointed out that he should not be surprised if some epidemic should break out.<sup>8</sup> This is exactly what happened in the late summer of the next year, since the legislature ignored the request for better health conditions. Forty-one boys caught malarial fever in the epidemic, and two died. In the next biennium, 1886-1888, there was an attempt to improve and expand the health facilities, but it was not altogether adequate, for malarial fever was still present.

A description of the school in 1888 mentioned the following equipment: 160 acres of land, a main building, 122 feet by 60 feet, with kitchen pantries, play rooms, offices, dining rooms, school rooms,

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<sup>7</sup> Tenth Biennial Report of the Kansas Boys' Industrial School, p.7.

<sup>8</sup> Second Biennial Report of the State Reform School, p. 117.

Officers' rooms, storerooms, dormitories for one hundred boys, and other rooms for various things. To the north of this was a chapel hall and boys' dining room building, 46 feet by 120 feet. This included a telegraphy instruction room. Adjoining this was a kitchen building, 40 feet by 85 feet, including eleven bed rooms, two wardrobes, and other rooms. One hundred eighty feet to the rear of the kitchen building was a laundry, 26 feet by 60 feet. This held ironing and dry rooms, a shoe shop, and an engineering department in the basement, with engine, boiler, and coal rooms. A five hundred-barrel water tank west of the laundry provided a full supply of water. On each side of the main building, one hundred twenty five feet away, was a cottage, three stories high. Each held sixty boys. In the basement of each was a large play room, closets, and bath room with hot and cold water; on the first floor, a school room, library, and officers' family rooms; on the second and third floors, dormitories. These buildings had steam heat and presumably gas lighting. At this time, it was recommended by the superintendent that a mechanical building be erected to teach trades. He believed such training to possess inestimable value. There had been a physician rendering service to the institution since September, 1881, but there was at first no hospital, and after a few years a hospital was formed in one of the upper dormitories; not until after the epidemic mentioned above was a separate hospital built, and that was a small frame building costing \$1500, erected by the labor of the inmates. This was felt to be adequate for a population of 200.

In the report for the biennium of 1886-8, the superintendent mentioned a decision by the board of trustees not to admit incorrigibles. This was probably due to a decreased appropriation by the legislature, and further reductions led to the discharge of all inmates committed for incorrigibility in the biennium of 1888-90. The average population rose from 107 in the year ending June 30, 1887, to 191 in the year ending June 30, 1888. In the next biennium the average was 189 and in the next 214; with some fluctuations, generally upward, this average has been maintained approximately ever since, over a period of forty years or more. Not until the 1892-94 biennial report were incorrigibles readmitted, but the population did not decline greatly in the meantime, probably because those who would formerly have been committed as incorrigible were committed under some more specific charges.

The original superintendental salary was \$1200, but there was a reduction in officers' salaries by the 1889 legislature, and another by the 1891 legislature. This led the superintendent to complain that "the Kansas School has gained a place upon the list of the model reformatory institutions of the United States, and to retrograde would be painfully humiliating."<sup>9</sup> He pointed out that a rapid turnover of employees was demoralizing to the effectiveness of the institution. In 1892 the superintendent's salary was only \$1000, compared to Colorado at \$1500, Nebraska at \$2000, and Missouri at \$1800.

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<sup>9</sup> Sixth Biennial Report of the State Reform School, p. 55

The average population in the Kansas school at the same time was 215; Colorado, 145; Nebraska, 275; and Missouri, 100. The situation led the Board of Trustees to make a special report in which it was ironically stated, "It would seem that the time has arrived in Kansas when the state charitable institutions should be divorced from politics."<sup>10</sup> This special report pointed out that there were no shops, that the school was overcrowded, needing a new cottage and industrial building at once to convert the institution into "a credit to the state."

A few features were added, but evidently times were too hard for a thorough rebuilding. Appropriations decreased constantly until the biennium of 1898-1900, when an industrial building was provided, and after this time some improvement in the physical equipment was usually made by each succeeding legislature over a period of almost a decade. The various legislatures throughout the history of the institution have followed a general policy of making appropriations just large enough to cover the institution's minimum needs until the neglect of years had made necessary greatly increased facilities. No planned or consistent financing policy seems ever to have been considered, much less attempted.

Superintendent Buck had been succeeded July 1, 1891, by W. E. Fagan who lasted exactly one year. He was succeeded by E. C. Hitchcock, who lasted almost two years. These gentlemen and their successors had a merry game commenting on the policies of their predecessors.

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<sup>10</sup> Extract from Report of Board of Trustees of Kansas State Reform School, June 30, 1896, p. 4.

The Reverend W. H. Howell, who succeeded Hitchcock May 15, 1895, pointed out several errors and falsities in the statements of his predecessor's report, implying that graft had been practiced, and said, "You will please pardon the digression in the remark that I deem it unfortunate that an institution's management must feel compelled to indulge a spirit of parsimony that would cripple efficiency, in order to promote party interests. There is no economy." <sup>11</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Howell himself, however, who admittedly had "no experience in institutional affairs," was censured for "neglected work" by his successor, Superintendent J. M. Hart, who also had had no experience but who admitted his own "devotion and zeal." Hart was appointed June 1, 1897 and lasted two years, until May 1, 1899. He was succeeded by W. S. Hancock, who lasted till January 1, 1902.

The main building had cost \$35,000, and the land--160 acres--had been bought at not over \$15 an acre. Superintendent Hancock's estimate of the total value of the lands, buildings, and equipment in June, 1900, was \$150,000, plus about \$10,000 for stock and other personal property.

His treatment was, he claimed, based on a careful and critical diagnosis of the individual offender, his inclinations and the general trend of his character; his moral, mental and physical weaknesses; and so on "until every defect of his diseased character is understood and carefully treated." <sup>12</sup> He also pointed out that

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Eighth Biennial Report of Kansas State Reform School, p.77.

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Tenth Biennial Report of the Boys' Industrial School, p. 4.

various theories of treatment were being advanced by criminologists and said that the time had passed when a strong will and a stronger passion on the part of the officer was the principal qualification for treatment, although in some cases severe measures might be necessary. The emphasis from the data of founding in 1881 until about ten years later had been mainly moral exhortation, farm work, academic and religious education, as has been pointed out. From about 1891 until 1899 the superintendents were content to follow the same general policy, and devoted most of their attention to worrying over the salaries and equipment of the institution. It seems that during this period, even more than during other times, the institution was considered something of a big factory or farm, and the effectiveness of the treatment had become distinctly secondary or perhaps tertiary. The wise principles of the founders had never been very heartily applied, but during this period they were apparently forgotten. With the turn of the century a slight change for the better came, which lasted until approximately the period of the war. Following the war another decline seems to have set in, which lasted until very recently.

A platoon system of school training has always been the general rule: half work and half school each day. But at first all the boys were sent to school three and one half hours a day for five days a week. Only five grades were offered. At present the rule is that the lower five grades go all day, and the upper five grades go about four hours a day. Above the fifth grade school attendance is now optional.

From 1881 to 1903 the institution was without even the semblance of a parole officer. Two hundred of the two thousand boys released during this period of twenty two years were "paroled," but the remaining eighteen hundred were discharged completely after an average confinement of fourteen months. The lack of a parole system did not dim the superintendents' faith in the efficacy of their treatment, apparently, for, as Superintendent Buck put it in 1888, "of the 203 boys who have gone out from the School with their 'Honor Badge,' we know of but few who have committed any criminal act." A later superintendent estimated the percentage of success after institutionalization to be about 75%. There was, however, and is yet, no basis but guesswork for making any statement about the degree of success and failure after discharge. In 1903 a single man became both parole agent and chaplain. From that day to this the institution has had only one parole agent at any one time; and none of these have had experience in their tasks prior to their appointment, nor have any of them been supplied with clerical assistance to take care of the extensive details of such work.

In January, 1902, Superintendent Hancock was succeeded by Superintendent H. W. Charles, whose tenure was over seventeen years, by far the longest of any superintendent. The present industrial building, with a manual training department, shops, gymnasium, library, storeroom, and relief room was completed in 1900-02. The old playrooms were also enlarged, and a small greenhouse was built. At this time seven boys were learning harness-making, fourteen shoe

manufacturing (they made 492 pairs in a year, in addition to doing all the repairing necessary), fourteen were in the tailor shop, and thirty in the woodworking department. This latter occupation was not considered by the superintendent of great value as vocational training, but rather as a start at the development of vocational interests. Physical training and military drill were also introduced for physical development. At this time the inmates were for a while allowed to earn wages up to sixty cents a month. This was felt to stimulate their incentive to good work. There was an increase in the number of commitments, due to a new truancy law and stricter enforcement all around. The personnel consisted of thirty-seven officers at the time.

The total list of occupations engaged in by the boys at this period (1902) was manual training, carpentry, harness-making, shoemaking, cooking, engineering, bricklaying, laundrying, farming, gardening, dairying, and baking. Superintendent Charles was a firm believer in the preventive utility of employment and recommended extensions in trade equipment, especially printing. He also requested an increase in the salaries which had been reduced years before, two new cottage-dormitories, since the main building (still standing) had been repeatedly condemned and no dormitories had been built for twenty years, a revision in the commitment laws, and the establishment of a juvenile court, following the lead of other states. The appropriations had risen from approximately \$18,000 a year to almost \$60,000. The per capita expenses had risen somewhat, but it is difficult to say

accurately how much, because apparently account is not taken of the rate of turnover. In 1906 it was stated that the per capita expenditure per annum was \$230 and \$204 for the biennium, but this is probably inaccurate for the reason stated above.

The chaplain-parole agent, starting in 1903, handled 76 cases. In the first two years of parole, the average rose to approximately 150; from that time the case-load has risen at times to almost a thousand. A monthly report is required from each boy, and has been from the beginning of the system. The original parole rules were that to secure discharge a boy should be sixteen and have had a good record for a year since leaving the institution. The administration recognized from the start that a parole system, to be successful, needed careful attention lest it defeat its own purpose. The chaplain-parole agent declared in his first report (1904) that religious training lay at the bottom of all reform.

In the period from 1904 to 1906 a school building was constructed, a printing office installed, which immediately began publishing a boys' paper, and raffia work and basketry for the smaller boys were instituted. A new law permitting the superintendent greater freedom in selecting help was also passed at this time. The superintendent pointed out in his report that defective individuals who properly belonged in a separate institution were sometimes committed to the school.

The attitude of Superintendent Charles to the problem of delinquency was well-defined and showed clearly the influence of the prevailing Lombrosian theories, viz., that delinquents tended to be

distinct physical types; he later installed elaborate anthropometric equipment to test his hypothesis that delinquent boys tended to be slightly underdeveloped, but apparently he never used controls adequate for proof or disproof, and the anthropometric measurements were eventually discarded. He also felt that both heredity and environment were contributing factors to delinquency and that poverty was one of the most significant of environmental factors.

He declared that the juvenile court which had been started was very inadequate and of the law dealing with juvenile delinquency he said: "With a strange persistency it continues to deal with the offense instead of the offender, although it is for the good of the latter that that the laws are made."<sup>13</sup> The average term at this time was still about fourteen months, which the superintendent felt was inadequate to overcome "years of evil associations and inherited tendencies." The average number of boys in a dormitory was sixty, much to the distaste of Superintendent Charles, who wished each cottage to hold no more than twenty-five boys, with a man and his wife to supervise each after the fashion of an ordinary family.

It is interesting to notice, in this thirteenth biennial report (1904-06), that the superintendent believed that physical defects, "stigmata of degeneracy," atypicality, blindness, deafness, etc., were largely responsible for delinquency, while he waved aside the older concepts of "original sin," "total depravity," and "pure

cussedness;" but at the same time the parole officer clung tenaciously to the theory of moral weakness, or the lack of conscience.

The average term of confinement rose in the biennium 1906-08 to eighteen months, which the superintendent still felt to be inadequate. He believed increasingly in specialized classification: truants, he felt, as well as defectives, should not be committed. He also felt that the juvenile courts, through too strict and too literal interpretations of the laws and through lack of cooperation with institutional officials, were forcing many boys into the ranks of delinquents who did not properly belong there at all, since the intellectual standards of the inmates seemed lower than at any time in his previous seven years of office. At this time also the superintendent modified his position somewhat in respect to the emphasis he placed on poverty as a factor in crime; he came to feel that poverty was not a cause but a contemporary of delinquency. He also seems to have tended more and more to the conclusion of a progressive criminal degeneracy transmitted through heredity and advocated safeguards on the marriage of criminals as rigid as those on insane persons. In spite of his emphasis on physical and hereditary conditions he did not altogether neglect social factors, but his emphasis was distinctly in the eugenic direction. The parole-agent-chaplain at the same time became if anything more mystical and declared in his report that Reverence, Respect, and Restraint had replaced the original three R's. He estimated at this time (1908) that 20% of the boys paroled were failures.

The salaries by month of the officers are listed as being in 1908 \$100 for the superintendent, which is the same as the original 1881 salary; \$25 for the physician (part time); \$65, steward; \$42.50, family officers; \$30-\$35, teachers; \$60, engineer; \$50, physical director; and the balance of the staff, \$25 or less. The total monthly payroll was approximately \$1300.

The institution continued to expand physically in the next bien-nium, 1908-10, and a new cottage for thirty-six boys was built; fifty acres of land were purchased, for \$10,000; a canning outfit was bought; a hand loom was added to the vocational training department; a stereopticon was purchased; medical clinics were arranged. The superintendent's attitude toward industrial training was that it was not a deterrent or punishment but that it was valuable for forming habits of industry; he felt that school training should precede industrial training, moreover. He also continued to stress physical development, and the emphasis on religion and moral exhortation which had characterized the institution from the start was never relaxed.

In tactful but firm language, Superintendent Charles pointed out that the juvenile courts could be improved, and that in large counties they should be separate courts; he also declared that no boy should be committed to the institution until all else had been tried and failed. Then, he said, the Industrial School should have complete supervision. He extended the minimum time of commitment to twenty-two months. The family units of sixty boys he declared much too large and posited sixteen as the desirable maximum; the buildings

he described as obsolete and the system of treatment much the same as the buildings. He also suggested that the legislature appropriate a sum to investigate the causes of juvenile crime and degeneracy as related both to hereditary transmission and bad social conditions. This, of course, was ignored. The chaplain-parole-agent, named McKirahan, stressed as some of the obstacles facing successful parole work the hostile attitude of the local communities to which the boys were paroled and that fact that "Few good people care to have a boy from our school, and when they do it is to impose a man's work on him for little or no wages." <sup>14</sup> What he meant by "good people" in this connection I cannot undertake to say. He also declared that paroled boys did not take well to farm life--largely because of the farmers.

The Reverend Mr. McKirahan later, after seven years as parole agent, during which time he traveled about 20,000 miles a year, making approximately 500 visits a year, half to boys and half to other individuals, stated that, "I have learned to have more sympathy with human infirmity, to be more patient with the frail and erring, to omit censure for the failures of the poor and struggling, and that the only thing worth while is to help somebody." <sup>15</sup>

In the biennium of 1910-12 the average population rose to over 250. A silo was constructed and other physical improvements made. The school work was gratifying to the superintendent, who felt that

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<sup>14</sup>  
Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Boys' Industrial School, p.23.

<sup>15</sup>  
Ibid., p. 24.

the teachers were well equipped for their work and genuinely interested in backward children, who were, according to the superintendent, the fundamental problem to be dealt with. "The Industrial School boy is usually the result of individual maladjustment to existing social economic conditions," said the superintendent. "His need calls for discreet guidance, based on a concrete knowledge of each individual case."<sup>16</sup>

Increasing stress was laid on recreation and amusement. Following the purchase of the stereopticon and the introduction of weekly lectures, the building and installation of gymnasium equipment, calisthenics, etc., there was a constant attempt to expand and develop these facilities. The boys greatly appreciated the trips which the whole school made to various places of interest.

The inception of the juvenile court caused a marked change in the Industrial School population, said Superintendent Charles, and he pointed out that it had reclaimed many boys who otherwise would have drifted into institutionalization. The basis for his remark was the fact that the boys committed were increasingly more backward. Twenty per cent were five or more years behind in school; and of these the superintendent said, "Not one can ever become a normal, self-supporting citizen."<sup>17</sup>

Considerable overcrowding was experienced at this period, and the daily average population for the biennium was four and one-half more

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<sup>16</sup> Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Boys' Industrial School, p.4

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.7

boys than the institution had beds. At one time there were twenty-six more boys than beds. The family units also continued to be very large, and an intimate personal knowledge of the individual boys by the family managers was impossible.

At the same time, the parole agent declared, "The parents of many (paroled) boys are shiftless, migratory, and restless, dragging their families about from place to place, and the unfortunate children never know the advantages of a permanent home." He also said that few good homes were available for placement, that most foster-parents wanted large boys for adult work without the necessity of paying adult wages. During this biennium there was an average of 418 on parole. The agent declared that it was physically impossible to visit them all and that only those having charges registered against their conduct while on parole could be visited and investigated. This parole agent died in 1913.

The tests which the institution gave at this time included the following: (1) anthropometric; (2) eye, ear, nose and throat; (3) physical diagnosis; (4) mental and moral tests. The purpose of these last tests was to determine the content of mind or mental condition due to education and training and also to discover native ability or inherent native capacity. That this is possible is a belief that most experts have yet failed to admit.

The result of these tests showed the following percentages: normal, 16%; two or more years retarded, 66%; five or more years retarded, 20%; and eight years or more retarded, 7%.

In the period from 1912-14, an irrigating plant was installed, but other improvements were delayed, and the buildings which were old and deteriorated were kept in condition only by the expenditure of considerable amounts of money and labor.

The superintendent installed motion pictures and expanded other recreations, including baseball and other sports. There was also an extension service of the Y. M. C. A., and each year at Christmas Washburn college students conducted Bible classes. The Rev. H. J. Corwine had succeeded Mr. McKirahan as parole agent-chaplain. The University of Kansas education department began to cooperate in giving Binet tests to the boys, and the analysis of these tests was reported to the parents with the purpose of suggesting methods by which the parents might cooperate in helping their sons.

These improved techniques and extensions of institutional treatment were, however, counterbalanced by certain other factors: "The large number of commitments, the largest number received in any previous biennial period, the daily population in excess of the maximum accommodations, coupled with the fact that the equipment of the school is largely antiquated and obsolete, show the necessity of radical and fundamental changes if the state is to have a modern well-appointed school," declared Superintendent Charles in his report of 1914. He asked for several new cottages, each to hold twenty boys or less.

The requested improvements were not granted, and by 1916 the superintendent declared that the institution found it necessary to request the courts not to commit unless absolutely necessary.

There was during this biennial period an increase in the number of small boys committed, coupled with a continuance of the congestion noted previously.

It was a period of rising prices, and the legislature was reluctant to provide needed new equipment.

Target practice was started, and two troops of Boy Scouts, for boys with the best records, were installed. The Rev. M. F. Troxell became parole agent-chaplain January 1, 1916. Difficulty was found in providing industrial training for the increasing numbers of small boys. An attempt was made to do much more case-work, but it was limited in facilities and funds. The following points in each case were studied so far as possible: (1) a physical examination was made with a special search for stigmata; (2) inquiry was made into the social conditions of the child's rearing; (3) a personal history study over every phase of social and personal history was written; (4) mental tests were given; (5) a study of the child's heredity was made. There is no record left of the results of any of these investigations, apparently.

The 19th biennial report, covering the period from July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1918, is not available; no copies seem to be left in existence.

Captain W. P. MacLean succeeded Superintendent Charles September 1, 1919. In his first report, made June 30, 1920, he mentioned the following features of the institution, then almost forty years old:

There were 315 acres of ground, of which 63 were rented. The institution maintained a separate water, light, and heat system. About 5300

boys had been admitted since the founding, and the highest population at any one time was 276. The fourteen buildings were the main building with dormitory; the A, B, and C dormitories: the industrial building, the chapel-dining hall, the school-gymnasium, the hospital, the engine house, the laundry, the bakery, the canning-factory, the greenhouse, and the barns. There was no adequate play room, and all but one of the dormitories was forty years old, according to the superintendent, who pointed out that the dormitory in the main building accommodated from eighty-six to ninety boys and had wash bowls for eight. The quarters for officers, as well as their salaries, were, he declared, poor, and he recommended a separate cottage for the superintendent so that some of the officers could move into the old superintendent's cottage. He ruled that each boy should be allowed to eat all he desired of everything on the menu. This increased food consumption considerably; and he recommended a separate food fund, so if the buildings fell down, the maintenance and repair fund could take care of the collapse, while the separate food fund would permit the boys to continue eating. Cottages A and B had both been condemned by the state architect and the city electrician. It was pointed out that a private school or institution wouldn't be allowed to use them as housing for children, but that the state itself did so.

Superintendent MacLean was convinced that the institution should not be punitive, but developmental. He declared that 95% of the inmates were committed because of their home conditions.<sup>18</sup> He put the

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<sup>18</sup>Twentieth Biennial Report of the Boys' Industrial School, p.9.

institution on a definitely military basis and emphasized physical activity strongly. He also started monthly weighing and measuring, and declared that the fund of \$300 a year was wholly insufficient for attending to the 50% of the inmates who needed medical or dental attention.

The schedule established by the superintendent at this time called for the following arrangement of hours each week: eighteen hours industrial or agricultural training; seven military; one and one-half setting up exercises; three music; two gymnasium work; one gymnasium or pageantry practice; eighteen supervised play or sport; three manual training; six educational entertainment; two dramatics and pageantry. This is a total of sixty one and one-half, and presumably the remaining one hundred six and one-half was divided between sleeping, eating, and attending school.

The institution had started with a biennial appropriation of \$35,000 and had gradually expanded to over \$100,000, but Superintendent MacLean asked for a biennial appropriation of \$480,000 for 1920-22. Said he, "We must practically start rebuilding the institution."<sup>19</sup> Besides the buildings which he desired, he wished to install a short high school commercial course and form an entirely new parole department; he asked for a 40% increase in all salaries to get "instructors rather than keepers;" he wished power machinery for the tailor-sewing departments; and various other improvements were planned. He received \$500 for band instruments, a private donation of \$2000

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

for a swimming pool built by the boys, enough to remodel the hospital, and a new "cottage" housing 162 boys. The population increased in the next biennium, 1920-22, to 350, due, according to the superintendent, to (1) the increasing loss of familial control; (2) increased stays for violations of parole; (3) the lack of horror of commitments on the part of judges.<sup>20</sup>

A sawmill was set up, twenty acres were cleared, a vineyard was planted, 600 cherry trees and 7000 gooseberry plants were put in the ground, the strawberry patches were increased, a mile of sewer and a mile and half of new pipes were laid, \$10,000 worth of material was salvaged from the old cottage which was torn down, 1000 chickens were bought, machinery was added to the laundry, the carpenter shop, the kitchen, the tailor shop, print shop, and rug factory. A blacksmith shop was started (this in 1922), a basket making department, a high school commercial course started, a radio, telegraph, and electrical school initiated. Band instruments were purchased, and electrical equipment was bought with the receipts of entertainments.

The superintendent declared, "Society is too largely interested in getting rid of the juvenile malefactor, getting him out of sight and then forgetting him." He pointed out that the Industrial School cost the tax payers only five cents on a \$10,000 property valuation. He also pointed out that over 90% of the boys' homes were broken and that the conditions which caused the boys' delinquencies were local conditions for which the local communities were really responsible.

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<sup>20</sup> Twenty-first Biennial Report of the Boys' Industrial School, p.17.

"The conditions which sent them into the institution existed and still exist in your own home town or community," he said.<sup>21</sup> He defended the expenditures he had made on the grounds that though much had been spent, it had been well spent and that an attempt to save money in institutional treatment was not real economy. On the other hand, he said that some parents were profiting by their children's commitments and that such parents should be forced to contribute something to the support of the institution.

At this time the inmates had their own self-government, after a fashion. The form at least was present, for the inmates elected a mayor, city commissioner, chief of police, chief librarian, and sanitary officers. Since the average age was only 13, "in our system of self-government the student officers can do just exactly as they please just so long as they do what the superintendent directs,"<sup>22</sup> said the superintendent bluntly.

Captain MacLean was succeeded by N. A. Anderson August 16, 1923. In the biennium ending 1924 there was no deficit incurred, but changes and improvements which were needed were foregone and postponed. Superintendent Anderson found the records in poor shape and took some steps to improve them, according to his report.

A cottage was torn down and the material salvaged. The engine house had also been removed, and a new building completed in January, 1922. A new commissary building was finished May, 1924. The plumbing, wiring,

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 10

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 10

insulating, shelving, etc., were done by the boys. The laundry received some new equipment; and in addition there was some attempt to permore more adequate medical services: thirty-eight minor operations were performed.

The school rooms continued to be overcrowded, and some of the boys were sent to Seaman high school nearby. The farm methods were very much improved, and the cost of milk was reduced to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  cents a gallon. A slight modification in the parole procedure was also adopted. The secretary reported that the records were very incomplete and occasionally incorrect and that personnel cards, with photographic records, had been installed for each inmate. A check system for handling the boys' money was also started. In this biennium the population receded from an average of almost 350 to about 310.

On January 7, 1924, there were 975 boys on parole; on that same day 768 were discharged at the direction of the governor. The reason for this wholesale release is not clear.

The parole agent reported: "In checkmating the gang lies much of the secret as to stopping the 'wave' and eliminating the repeater. Unless that is done, Kansas, and even America, is delivered to the advancing cohorts of crime."<sup>23</sup> He pointed out that in his estimation, "There is a vast range between the case of the boy who was sent because 'mother died and father could not hold us together' and that of the boy-burglar or boy killer."<sup>24</sup> He also said that

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<sup>23</sup> Twenty-second Biennial Report of the Boys' Industrial School, p.15.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

in the last year the courts had made a distinctive gain by avoiding commitment unless absolutely necessary.

Major S. G. Clarke became superintendent July 1, 1925. In the 1924-26 biennium, a new cottage was completed. This had two large dormitories, a play room in the west wing and a hospital in the east wing. All boys were removed from the main building dormitory and also from the old school building. The population rose again from 310 to 346.

There was at this time one troop of boy Scouts, which the superintendent felt it advisable to continue and enlarge. Corporal punishment was abolished and replaced by increased military training. Manual training had been dropped for lack of funds, and the farm was only 247 acres in extent at this time. A total of about 170 boys were in some band or other, taking lessons, but the instruments were lacking for much training in this line. The library also was very much run down, as it had been to a considerable extent throughout the history of the institution.

L. D. White succeeded Superintendent Clarke in 1928. He noticed the numerous discrepancies in previous biennial reports and explained that they were largely due to the lack of a definite system for the keeping of records. Some steps were taken to correct this defect.

The theory of this superintendent was that the boys should be made into farm hands so that a majority of them could "make good" away from their old city gangs. He accordingly cultivated 981 acres of land, of which 635 were rented. He also believed strongly in vocational training as he felt that it was the first opportunity

of learning a trade most of the boys had met. He asked for \$564,000 appropriations for 1928-1930.

W. A. Smith on July 1, 1929 succeeded Superintendent White. He made a conscious effort to secure the boys' cooperation as each one entered: he also attempted, according to his report of June 30, 1930, to emphasize the industrial training aspect as opposed to the penal aspect of the institution.

The population dropped from an average of 302 in 1929 to 213 in 1930, partly through an increase in the number of those paroled.

The superintendent made an effort to get the committing judges and probation officers to furnish case-histories of each individual, and he commended the cooperation he received, but added that many case-histories were still incomplete.

It is interesting to notice at this time something of a reversal of opinion from that of former Superintendent Charles's on the part of Dr. Van Horn, the institutional physician. Dr. Van Horn declared, "We are not of the opinion that (correcting physical ills) ... is going to give the unadjusted boy any new concept of life, or particularly change his attitude toward the social body." He admitted, however, that physical ill-being often constituted a very serious handicap to the boy. Corrective measures for physical characteristics were practiced as far as possible. In September, 1929, a registered nurse was placed in charge of the hospital, and also a complete system of reports was begun. A new dental chair, dental unit, dental cabinet, plumbing for running water, and new

dental instruments were installed during 1928-9, and a dental examination of each boy on admission was made. Emergency cases were taken to the school dentist in Topeka. Company brushing contests were also started, and the result was the almost complete disappearance of diseased gums in the younger boys and the reduction of dental troubles among the older boys.

A new school building was expected to be ready February 1, 1931, but it did not open till September of that year--just in time for the opening of school. Intelligence, mechanical, and vocational tests were given each boy at entrance or shortly afterward until the present administration. Placements in school depended on the boy's word; his intelligence; the transcript of his grades and the results of standardized tests from his last school; and trial and error. The results of the tests were tabulated on file cards for each boy.

The library which had about 300 volumes in 1930 received about 500 more through gifts during the year. In 1931 enough books were ordered to bring the total number to 1500 or more.

In 1930, the following shops and industries existed for vocational work: print shop, electric shop, plumbing shop, engine room, shoe repair shop, barber shop, carpenter shop, paint shop, sewing room, tailor shop, basketry, bakery, kitchen, greenhouse, laundry, farming, gardening, dairying, hog-raising, and poultry-raising. A large part of the goods consumed was grown on the grounds. The farm at this time was 757 acres, of which 411 were rented. The rented land was used for pasture and prairie meadow.

The recreational equipment of the institution was improved and extended, and greater dependence on sport, singing, band work, movies, etc., was stressed. The merit system which is still in existence and which will be described later was started in July, 1929. The basic assumption of this system is that the individual's effort and attitude determine the length of his commitment. There were two scout troops, one for colored and one for white boys, each with twenty-five to thirty-five members.

Approximately 250-300 boys remained on parole under the supervision of a single parole-agent. Monthly reports from each paroled boy were required, and the agent made visits only when complaints reached him. He suggested that "The complaints would be fewer and not so many boys would be returned to the school as parole-violators if additional visiting agents were provided."<sup>25</sup>

In 1930 N. A. Armel succeeded Superintendent Smith. The most notable feature of his administration was that he returned \$63,000 of the appropriations to the state, while the institution deteriorated into a frightful condition. He was succeeded in August, 1931, by A. E. Jones, the present superintendent, who immediately started to rebuild the institution and to carry out a different type of treatment of the sort which is described in the following pages.

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25  
Twenty-Fifth Biennial Report of the Boys' Industrial School, p. 21.

Chapter 111. Physical Equipment.

The institution has now become a large plant. It has about thirty buildings, owns 283 acres of Kaw Valley land, which is estimated to be worth \$61,100,<sup>1</sup> rents 120 acres of pasture for \$200 a year, 63 acres of farm land for \$325 a year, and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  acres of drainage and farm land for \$100 a year. The total acreage is accordingly  $476\frac{1}{2}$ . This is well below the highest point of times past.

The location meets very well the standards for such institutions devised by W. H. Slingerland from a study of 150 similar schools.<sup>2</sup> The advantage of a large acreage in the country for air, freedom from undesirable neighbors, enough land for farming and gardening, etc., is a vital feature for any large institution, according to this study.<sup>3</sup> Accessibility to a large town or city is also desirable, both to avoid isolation and to be near a source of supplies. A third desirable feature is elevation and drainage: "a tract somewhat rolling but not rough, adjacent to a good-sized stream or river."<sup>4</sup> A stream runs through the grounds of the Kansas B. I. S., which provides adequate drainage.

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<sup>1</sup>All figures in this chapter are taken from the regular 1932 inventory, (unpublished), of the institution unless otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup>W. H. Slingerland, Schools for Delinquent Boys--The American System of Educating and Training Juvenile Delinquents. Russell Sage Foundation unpublished manuscript.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Ch. 111.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., ch. 111, p. 5.

"In any type of plant the situation for the principal buildings must take into account elevation, drainage, access to highways and railways, connection with other structures on the tract, spaces for playgrounds, arable fields for gardens and orchards... A commanding situation should not be obtained at the sacrifice of an accessible approach, economical hauling of supplies and so forth."<sup>5</sup> The B. I. S. meets these requirements.

The farm equipment of the Kansas institution is modern and fairly complete, as far as a layman can judge, and is estimated to be worth \$3061. In addition to the farm and garden machinery and tools, represented by the above figure, there are feedstuffs on hand worth \$6243 and live stock worth \$8821. The live stock is of prize quality, and the institution consistently takes many prizes at fairs and exhibitions. The National Dairy Association awarded the dairy herd a place on the 1930 National Honor Roll for the fifth year in succession.

The buildings include a chickenhouse and feed shed, laundry, industrial building, engine house and blacksmith shop, commissary and officers' quarters, old school building--now unused--, new school building, superintendent's cottage, three company buildings, administration building, chapel and dining room, bakery, greenhouse, three dairy barns, horse barn, hog house, paint shop, live stock feed barn, vegetable cellar, two silos, garages, truck shed, tool shed, etc.

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<sup>5</sup>  
Ibid., Ch. 111, pp. 7-8

An adequate hospital is provided in a wing of one of the company buildings. There are gymmasia in three of the company buildings, but two companies do without.

The ages and costs of these buildings vary considerably. The administration building dates from the founding of the institution and is in a dilapidated condition. The new school building, finished in the fall of 1931, is the newest addition to the "campus." The administration building, laundry, chapel, and industrial building are all old and deteriorated structures, needing immediate replacement.

The fire fighting equipment is very inadequate. The administration-chapel building and the industrial building are fire-traps. The boys are often congregated in the chapel en masse, and they are consequently in great danger, as the building has only one small exit. The administration building has seventeen apartments and three sleeping-rooms for officers and their families, and a blaze starting in the center of the building would quickly cut off the central stairway, so that it would be almost a miracle if some lives were not lost.

All the buildings have hand fire-extinguishers of an old model. Fire plugs are scattered over the grounds, and the water in the tank can be pumped through the engine house. The only available fire fighters are the officers and boys, untrained and inefficient. Supplementing them, the Topeka fire department has in the past cooperated by coming to the help of the institution, but the arrangement is purely a courtesy on the part of the department.

The minimum fire-fighting improvements should be more adequate fire extinguishers, a complete system of fire escapes, and definite arrangements with the Topeka department for assistance at call. A fire hazard exists which the state would not tolerate from a private agency, especially an institution housing large numbers of children.

The total value of the buildings is estimated to be \$359,400. Whether this is figured in current property-values or upon the original costs is unknown. Annexed features bring the total value of the institution to \$551,676, including supplies on hand. These annexed features include a water-tower and smoke stack worth \$8500, tunnels and sewers worth \$20,000, street lights, etc., \$2500, sidewalks, driveways, etc., \$1000, railway spur, \$9500, and drainage ditch and equipment, \$10,000.

Slingerland's study, mentioned previously, states that one-story cottages, with individual sleeping rooms, are the most desirable type of sleeping quarters, as they eliminate fire hazards and simplify administration.<sup>6</sup> The B. I. S. has never been arranged in this fashion, but instead it has always crowded large numbers of boys together in two- or three-story brick structures, against the advice of the several superintendents during whose administrations the buildings were constructed. The present superintendent has been wishing for some time for a tornado to blow away all the present buildings, so that the institution could be rebuilt on a small-cottage plan.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Ch. 111. pp. 6-7

For the biennium of 1930-32 the maintenance and repair appropriation was originally \$180,000, and the salary appropriation \$90,000. In 1931, however, as has been stated in chapter 1 the superintendent, Mr. N. A. Armel, returned to the state out of the maintenance appropriations the sum of \$63,000. The present superintendent has been asked to return \$17,000 in addition.

The sleeping quarters for the boys are divided into five companies. Company A (Negro boys) and company E share one v-shaped building split in half, with one wing for each company; company B and company D share another identically constructed building. Company C, for the youngest boys, has a separate three-story brick building, which also contains some officers' apartments. In the D, E, and A quarters there are dormitories, reading rooms, showers and toilets and gymnasias. The other two companies have approximately the same arrangement but lack gymnasias.

All the boys are locked in at night behind heavy wire screens. In some cases a whole company sleeps in one large dormitory, in other cases the dormitory space is partitioned off into small sections for eight or nine boys, separated by walls or screens. The windows are heavily screened also. In a part of the dormitory of company B there is a wire cage used for a jail. Formerly another jail existed in the basement of one of the buildings, but this was torn out in the fall of 1931.

The company buildings are reasonably fireproof, constructed with composition floorings and fireproof walls and ceilings, except for C cottage, which is the oldest dormitory building. There are no fire

escapes for any of the boys' quarters. The average number of inmates in each company is about forty-five.

The officers' apartments are scattered. Most of them are in the administration building; some are in the commissary building, some in C cottage, and a few elsewhere. There is a personnel of sixty-one. The superintendent and his family have a separate cottage.

The three company gymnasias are large and fairly well-equipped; they have basketball backboards, and the floors are marked for basketball play. There are rough benches around the walls, and steel lockers, one for each boy. Mats for tumbling are provided. In these three companies there is also a small but adequate reading-room with tables and benches and a book and magazine rack. A miscellaneous assortment of Bibles, magazines, newspapers, and boys' books are on these racks, and in addition there is in the school a library from which other books can be checked out by individuals. The other two companies have similar play and reading arrangements with the exception that they have no gymnasias and that the games which can be played are consequently more restricted. The furniture throughout is dismal and rough, of a sombre grey-painted wood. It is not upholstered. The lights are ceiling lights protected by screens. The walls are unpainted brick.

The beds are white-enameled iron single beds. They are in fairly good condition. The pillows are compact and hard. The mattresses are fairly comfortable and the bed springs are in good condition. Each bed has two sheets, a pillowcase, a blanket, a spread, and whatever else is necessary, according to the type of

weather. The beds are aired thoroughly once a week, and the bed-linen is washed once a week.

One kitchen serves two dining rooms, a large one for the boys and a smaller one for the officers and their families. The kitchen and dining-rooms are washed and disinfected at regular intervals. In spite of the efforts made to keep the eating conditions sanitary, there is a certain number of insects. This is partly because of the extreme age of the building and partly because of the fact that all three eating and cooking rooms are in the basement of the building. With the present facilities it seems true that the food is served about as hygienically as possible.

The general atmosphere of the institution is a mixture of various things. There is the smell of mustiness common to most old and dilapidated buildings, and there is little that resembles a home. The buildings are not prisons, but they are not all modern, and few of them are pleasing in appearance. The furniture is rough and uncomfortable; the interiors are bare and unattractive. There is a certain grimness and institutional impersonality about the place which, while by no means terrifying, produces a feeling of restraint that makes it all the harder for the personnel to get close to the real lives of the inmates.

The gymnasias, reading rooms, library, band, and chapel constitute the major part of the interior recreational equipment. The outside equipment of this sort is predominantly athletic. A large field for football and baseball lies to the west of the chapel,

and a small oval swimming pool has been laid to the rear of the laundry. Swings and seesaws constitute the remainder of the paraphernalia.

The income of the institution is derived almost entirely from the appropriations made by the state legislature. There are some supplementary sales of farm products, however. For instance, in 1930 \$6000 worth of potatoes was sold. Some corn, oats, and alfalfa had to be purchased, however. There was also a net value of hogs, including the estimated value of those used by the institution, of \$2839 from February 1, 1929 to April 7, 1931. The estimated value of fruits and vegetables raised in the biennium ending June 30, 1931<sup>7</sup> (?) was \$8592 and \$16,404. In the dairy all the milk produced is consumed on the grounds. It was secured in 1930 at a cost of 8.2¢ a gallon. Other products are also used by the institution (e. g., poultry and poultry products) and this use diminishes the cost of operation somewhat. The dairy does not make butter, and the boys very seldom eat any. A Kansas law prohibits feeding them butter substitutes. The officers eat "boughten" butter at every meal.

The uniforms are made on the grounds except for jackets, caps, gloves, shoes and such things as can be purchased more cheaply than they can be made. The daily uniforms consist of overalls, work shirts, heavy shoes, etc. On Sunday khaki uniforms are given out

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<sup>7</sup>These figures are taken from Building Boys is Better Than Mending Men. Probably the figures '1931' should be 1930. There is also some doubt whether the value of hogs as given should start from February 1929, or February, 1930. Both years are given in the pamphlet.

and worn for the day. The kitchen and bakery boys wear white clothes while working. The overalls, pajamas, shirts, khaki uniforms, and white suits are made and repaired in the institution. The white clothes are usually in a torn and buttonless state and the pajamas are the same, as well as being very roughly finished and not pressed by the laundry. It is somewhat disconcerting to wear white pants without buttons or belt straps and somewhat irritating to sleep in pajamas with a coat-of-mail finish. Notwithstanding this, the clothes problem is perhaps the least of the inmates' worries.

The institution has a modern plumbing and electrical system.

The dishes are of enameled metal and are relatively easy to clean. Formerly they were aluminium. The knives, forks, and spoons are of steel. The boys bend them badly.

The library contains about 1600 volumes, among which adventurous fiction, history, etc., predominates. The library is a large, clean room in the school building.

The equipment of the institution is on the whole not its worst feature. The farm equipment is especially good. The major defects are rather in the arrangement than in the equipment itself. For instance, the company buildings should consist of small, home-like cottages for ten or twelve boys and an official couple to act as foster-parents; and in my opinion the vocational equipment should not be so predominantly agricultural, since 90% of the boys come from urban areas and most of them plan to enter industrial and not agricultural occupations.

While there are no published standards relating to the amount of equipment necessary for a well-equipped training school, the Kansas institution probably ranks as well as the average throughout the country in this respect. In addition, the equipment seems to be becoming slowly and steadily more adequate.

#### Chapter IV. Personnel Standards

Published qualifications for Industrial School employees exist in the Wisconsin Civil Service specifications<sup>1</sup> and in a syllabus of specifications, constructed by Griffenhagen and Associates,<sup>2</sup> for the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School. These will serve as standards by which to judge the more important positions in the Kansas institution.

The administrative staff in Kansas consists of a superintendent and assistant superintendent. New York has the same arrangement. Wisconsin lacks an assistant. A tabular comparison of the present Kansas arrangement with New York and Wisconsin specifications follows:

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<sup>1</sup>Specifications and Salary Ranges for the Classified Service. Bureau of Personnel, State of Wisconsin. January, 1931.

<sup>2</sup>Personnel Survey of the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School. Private copy dated November, 1931. Mimeographed by Griffenhagen and Associates.

A. Superintendent

	Kansas	New York	Wisconsin
Salary	\$275X <sup>3</sup> monthly	\$550-\$625 (X) (?) <sup>3</sup> monthly	\$300-\$375X <sup>3</sup> monthly
Delinquency Experience.	Six years as probation officer and superintendent of boys' home and farm. Boys' work many years.	Five years institutional experience with delinquents, including two years of administrative responsibility; knowledge of modern penology for delinquent sympathy, character and personality.	Extensive experience of institutional administration; knowledge of modern juvenile penology; character, health, personality.
Appointed by	Governor	Civil Service	Civil Service
Training	Grammar School	College graduation with specialization in social science.	College graduation majoring in social science.
Duties	Administration of the institution; paid also for acting as dietician and housemother.	Administration of the institution.	Administration of the institution.

B. Superintendent

Salary	\$160X	\$300-\$345	No one official exactly corresponding to this position.
Delinquency Experience.	None	Three years delinquent institutional experience, including two years supervisory experience; character and personality.	
Appointed by	Governor	Civil Service	
Training	High School	College graduation with specialization in social science.	
Duties	General supervision over boys, personnel, and farm, as assistant to superintendent.	Chief assistant to superintendent.	

Table 11. Administrative personnel specifications for Kansas, New York, and Wisconsin state Industrial Schools.

<sup>3</sup> A cross (X) following a salary figure indicates compensation in kind in addition to money. I do not know whether any of the New York figures include this.

It will be noticed that the Kansas superintendent's salary of \$275X monthly is obtained only by the procedure of appointing him to three separate positions--superintendent, dietician, and housemother--and paying him the combined salary. Even so, his income falls below the minimum in either Wisconsin or New York. It even falls below that of assistant superintendent in New York.

The most important positions in the Industrial School, in addition to the administrative staff, are the family officers and matrons, the teachers, and the parole officers. A representative tabular comparison of these positions in the Kansas, New York, and Wisconsin institutions follows:

A. Company Officers

	Kansas	New York	Wisconsin
Salary	\$110X	\$130-\$150	\$15X (plus other salary received for combining duties of two men) <sup>4</sup> (about \$140X monthly is approximate average)
Delinquency	None	Some institutional or boys' work or equivalent.	None, but ability as gardener, herdsman or teacher; character and health.
Experience.			
Hours each week.	Ninety or more.	Not stated	Not stated
Appointed by	Governor through superintendent or by political boss, etc.	Civil Service	Civil Service.
Training	No specification, but two years high school is actual minimum.	High School	High School or equivalent.
Duties	Supervision, discipline, etc., of a company of 45 boys.	Supervision, discipline, etc., of line of group of boys and related work.	Responsibility for conduct of family and duties of another position as well, such as teacher, gardener, herdsman, etc.; family officers act in two capacities.

B. Company Matrons.

	Kansas	New York	Wisconsin
Salary	\$25X	\$130-\$150	\$50-\$75X
Hours a week.	24	Not stated but full time.	Not stated, but probably full time.
Delinquency	None.	Two years housekeeping experience; preferably some institutional experience.	Two years qualifying experience.
Experience.			
Appointed by	Governor or Superintendent.	Civil Service	Civil Service.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the monthly salary of \$15 listed for Wisconsin company officers is to supplement the salary received by the individuals for acting in other capacities. Wisconsin company officers combine two positions, such as gardener or herdsman and company officer.

B. Company Matrons--cont'd.

	Kansas	New York	Wisconsin.
Training	No standard	Elementary schooling and preferably high school.	Elementary school high school desirable.
Duties	Supervision of cleaning and house-keeping in company (half-time)	Supervision of cleaning, housekeep- ing, etc., in group.	Supervision of cleaning and house- keeping, etc., in institution.

C. Teachers

Salary	\$50-\$150X	\$130-\$150.	\$100-\$200
Hours a week.	54 to 72 or more (not counting preparation)	Not stated.	Not stated.
Appointed by	Governor, superin- tendent or state board of adminis- tration.	Civil Service	Civil Service.
Experience	None necessary. Some general teaching exper- ience usual, not necessary.	One year teaching	None specified.
Training	No standard. Some post-high school training general; teaching certifi- cate not necessary.	Normal school gradua- tion; certificate to teach in elementary state schools; know- ledge of the princi- ples of delinquent education.	High school train- ing and grade teaching certificate or license; familiar- ity with delinquent education.
Duties	Teaching in first ten grades plus miscellaneous insti- tutional work.	Teaching elementary grades and related work.	Teaching elementary classes.

D. Parole Agents.

	Kansas	New York	Wisconsin.
Salary	\$150X	\$210-\$250.	\$150-\$225X
Appointed by	Governor	Civil Service	Civil Service
Hours a week	84	Not stated	Not stated
Experience in Delinquency or Social Work	None.	Two years social work with delinquent boys; character, health, etc.	Five years experience in social service investigational work.
Training	Two years high school.	Graduation from social work school.	Graduation from college with major in social science.
Duties	Placement and general parole work for about 200 boys. (Only one agent provided, without assistance of any sort)	Supervision of parole preparation and care.	Supervision of parole activities.

Table 111. Comparison of Kansas, New York, and Wisconsin state Industrial School standards for company officers and matrons, educational teachers, and parole agents.

The table above is merely a representative tabulation of two administrative officers, five company officers, eight teachers, one parole agent, and nine matrons of the Kansas institution. For a more detailed summary the following table lists the main features of these twenty-five Kansas positions individually:

Title	Monthly Salary	Average hours per week.	Appointed by	Train- ing.	Exper- ience in Delinq.	General Duties.
Super- inten- dent.	\$275X	90	Gover- nor.	Elemen- tary School	Six Years.	Superintendent, Dietician and House-mother.
Assist- ant Superin- tendent.	\$160X	72	Gover- nor.	High School	0	Assisting super- intendent. Head detail officer.
Parole Agent	\$150X	84	Gover- nor.	Two years high school	0	Parole placement; reports, etc.
Com- pany Officer	\$110X	90	Gover- nor.	High School	0	Company and detail supervision.
Com- pany Officer	\$110X	90	(?)	3 years Embal- mers School	Some	Company and laundry supervision.
Com- pany Officer	\$110X	90	Boss	High School	0	Company and detail supervision.
Com- pany Officer	\$110X	90	Super- inten- dent.	3½ - years high school	0	Company and tailoring supervision.
Com- pany Officer	\$110X	90	Super- inten- dent.	2 - years high school	0	Company and detail supervision.
Head Matron	\$90X	72	Gover- nor.	Nurses School two years.	0	Supervision of matrons, Inspection, etc.
Com- pany Matron	\$25X	24	Gover- nor	Col- lege.	0	Supervision of company cleaning (part time)
Com- pany Matron	\$25X	24	Board of Adminis.		0	Supervision of company cleaning(part time)
Com- pany Matron	\$40X	40	Board of Adminis.		0	Supervision of company cleaning and hospital.

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Title	Monthly Salary	Average hours per week.	Appointed by	Training.	Experience in Delinq.	General Duties.
Company Matron	\$25X	20			0	Supervision of company cleaning (part time) (wife of company officer.)
Company Matron	\$25X	36	Governor.		0	Supervision of company cleaning (part time) (wife of company officer.)
House Matron	\$25X	24	Superintendent.		0	Supervision of house force, cleaning, etc. (wife of utility man.)
Relief Matron	\$40X	24	Governor.		0	General utility work under head matron.
Relief Matron	\$25X	24	Governor & Superintendent.		0	General utility work under head matron.
School Principal.	\$150X	43	Board of Administration	Life Certificate K.S.T.C.	0	Principal of school and of 9th and 10th grades.
Teacher Athletic Director	\$110X	72	Superintendent.	College K. U.	0	Elementary science and sixth grade teacher -and Athletic director.
Printing Supervisor.	\$110X	52	Governor.	K.S.T.C.	0	Supervision of institutional printing, and printing instruction.
Manual Training Teacher	\$100X	60		B. S. in Agri. Educa. K.S.C.	0	Manual training instruction, and dining room supervision.
Basketry Teacher	\$ 50X	54	Board of Administration		0	Teaching basketry, saw - work, etc to younger boys, and hospital relief.
Elementary Teacher	\$100X	58	Superintendent.	First grade Certificate.	0	4th and 5th grades and other relief work.

Title	Monthly Salary	Average hours per week.	Appointed by - Board of Administration.	Train- ing. Certi- ficate & Bus. College	Exper- ience Delinq. Years.	General Duties.
Elemen- tary Teacher	\$100X	54		College	Five Years.	Second and Third grades, and dining room supervision.
Elemen- tary Teacher	\$100X	72	Super- intend- ent.	College	0	Seventh and Eighth grades, and Music work, etc.
Average	\$91.	58				

Table IV. Listings of some of the major facts of the twenty-five Kansas B. I. S. employees having relatively great direct supervision over the inmates.

The remaining officials in the Industrial School are of somewhat less importance for actual delinquent rehabilitation, but nevertheless of considerable influence. They consist of four clerical employees, three health officials, four kitchen and dining-room supervisors, and twenty-six miscellaneous employees. Listed individually, the main features of these thirty-seven positions in the Kansas institution are tabulated as follows:

Title	Monthly Salary	Average hours per week.	Appointed by	General Duties
Boys' Dining Room Supervisor	\$ 50X	72		Supervision of boys' dining room. (relative of hog-man)
Officers' Dining Room Supervisor	\$ 40X	60		Supervision of officers' dining room. (wife of detail officer)
Secretary	\$100X	72	Superintendent.	Care of records; reports, general secretarial duties, etc. (now on leave)
Assistant Secretary	\$ 75X	72		Secretary to superintendent, and care of records; substitute for secretary. (wife of handy-man)
Assistant Secretary	\$ 45X	48		General assistance in office, employed temporarily. (wife of herdsman)
Book-keeper.	\$100X	60	Governor.	All commissary book-keeping and clerical work.
Assistant Steward	\$ 40X		Governor	General office work in commissary. (wife of steward)
Steward and Dentist	\$150X	72	Governor.	Supervision of commissary and dental work.
Doctor	\$ 90	30	Governor.	Surgery and medical treatment.
Nurse	\$100X	90	Governor	Nursing and hospital management.
Censor, etc.	\$ 40X	60	Governor	General detail work and censoring of mail, etc. (wife of gardener)

Title	Monthly Salary	Average hours per week.	Appointed by	General Duties
Librarian	\$ 40X	48	Superintendent.	Supervision of library and assistance in parole. (parole agent's wife)
Chaplain-Night-Watchman	\$ 75X	72		Night watchman and chaplain (on Sundays)
Engineer	\$125X	60	Superintendent.	In charge of mechanical and electrical department.
Day Fireman	\$ 75X	72		Day fireman, engine house.
Night Fireman	\$ 60X	72		Night fireman -engine house.
Plumber	\$100X	54	Governor.	Plumbing supervision and power house relief.
Shoemaker and Barber.	\$ 95X	72	Superintendent.	Supervision of cobbling and barbering and relief in dining room.
Cook	\$ 90X	72	Superintendent.	Supervision of kitchen.
Superintendent's Cook	\$ 25X	36	Governor.	Cook for superintendent and family.
Handyman	\$ 50X	72	Superintendent.	Night watchman and general utility work.
Gardener	\$ 90X	60	Governor.	Gardening and general utility.
Painter	\$100X	72	Superintendent	Supervision of painting.

Title	Monthly Salary	Average hours per week.	Appointed by -	General Duties
Baker	\$ 60X	36		Supervision of bakery.
Hog-man	\$ 60X	72		Hog barn supervision and general detail farm work.
Electrician.	\$ 50X	72	Superintendent.	Electrical repairs and general mechanical utility work.
Utility Man.	\$110X	72	Superintendent.	Detail officer, substitute assistant superintendent, etc.
Farm Overseer	\$115X	48		Supervision of agricultural activities.
Detail Officer	\$ 60X	72	Governor.	General detail work.
Mason and Carpenter	\$100X	48	Board of Administration.	Carpentry and masonry work.
Seamstress	\$ 60X	48		Supervision of sewing, repair department.
Carpenter	\$100X	60		Carpentry department supervisor.
Mechanic & Blacksmith	\$100X	60		Supervision of blacksmith and auto repair department.
Band Instructor	\$100X	48	Board of Administration	Band Instruction , dining room relief, etc.

Title	Monthly Salary	Average hours per week.	Appointed by	General Duties.
Herdsmen	\$110X	72		Herdsmen and general work.
Poultryman	\$100X	60	Governor & Superintendent.	Poultry house and general work.
Night watchman.	\$ 50X	60		Night watchman.
Average	\$ 79.	61		

Table V. Brief characterizations of thirty-seven miscellaneous employees of the Kansas B. I. S.

The training of the personnel is uniformly inadequate. There is not a single person on the staff fully trained in criminology, penology, or sociology. A few have had scattering courses in psychology or sociology. Two have had some nurse's training. Not one has studied social work. The teachers have not all received college degrees, and only about half of them have teaching certificates from the Kansas State Board of Education. None of the employees has a graduate college degree of any sort. A few have several hours of graduate credit, however.

The employees' prior experience in juvenile delinquency is about as far below accepted standards as is their formal training. The superintendent has been connected with boys' work for most of his life, and has had experience in work with juvenile delinquents, including administrative and probation work, for six years previously. The teacher of the second and third grades has had five years previous experience with teaching backward--not delinquent--children. The head matron was engaged for two years in community work. One company officer was a prison officer at Leavenworth and Lansing for about eleven years. Two or three other officers have had experience of one sort or another in directing recreational activities--not of delinquents--prior to their appointment. At least fifty members of the staff have never been remotely connected with delinquent treatment prior to their appointment. Some of these, of course, have been in the Industrial School for several years by this time and have been obtaining experience within the institution. Even so, there is an estimated minimum of twenty-five of the sixty-two employees who have never had either training or experience in delinquency work prior to their appointment and who have been employed in the institution less than two years.

It is of course true that in some cases the accepted standards may be violated without harm. This seems especially true in the case of the present superintendent, who is as effective and capable as the institution has ever had, in spite of the fact that he never passed beyond an elementary school education and that his salary is well below the standard minimum in New York and Wisconsin. But he is an exception; and while the staff members are well-meaning and likeable,

the lack of training in criminology, the lack of actual experience in dealing with juvenile delinquents, and the low salaries show up in the results only too frequently.

The standards derived by Slingerland from his study of 150 similar institutions stipulate, in respect to training and experience, that "Carefully selected workers of high character and right personalities with training and experience, if possible, afford the only safe basis on which to secure high class service."<sup>5</sup> This study also states, as among the basic employment principles, "All employees of child-caring institutions, public or private, should be of absolutely clean record and high personal qualifications of agreeable and polite manners.

"Education. All should be intelligent people, at least moderately well-educated, who habitually use good English. Children get their language, their manners, their ideals, and their morals mainly from those with whom they daily associate.

"Training. Other things being equal, preference should be given to those with previous training in social work, especially in institutional service."<sup>6</sup>

The state of Kansas does not have a civil service examination system; consequently none of the institutional staff members was appointed on a civil service basis. All appointments were made by the governor or by the state board of administration, or perhaps

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<sup>5</sup>Slingerland, op. cit., Ch. V, p.3

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Ch. V., pp.4-5

through the superintendent. In many cases in which the employment came technically from the superintendent, the real appointment came from the governor (not necessarily the present governor in every case) or one of the governor's political allies. This is not only a feature of the present administration but it is a long tradition. In general, the superintendent has no power of removal or discharge of political employees, regardless of their efficiency. He considers several of his subordinates so inefficient as to have labeled them "lemons" or worse in a private interview. The staff is stocked with the friends and connections of past and present Kansas politicians.

In contrast, the standards published for this phase of the institution follow:

"Public officials who try to thrust their followers upon welfare institutions as workers should find the way blocked by civil service and other examinations that guarantee some knowledge of the work by those who seek places on the payroll."<sup>7</sup> Another quotation from the same study emphasizes the following qualifications: "In our opinion two things are essential to happy and harmonious administration: first, that the superintendent have the right to select all the members of his staff, subject to approval by the board or its executive committee; second, that he be authorized to discharge at his discretion any member found to be incompetent, disloyal, or otherwise unsatisfactory."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., Ch. V. p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., Ch. V. p. 4.

Further: "Merit. All appointments should be made on the basis of merit and capability, fitting the worker in spirit and acquirements to his position."

"Politics. Partisanship and politics should have no place in the selection of employees for child-caring institutions."<sup>9</sup>

One could hardly find statements more directly opposed to the past and present bases of appointment in the Kansas Industrial School. No civil service, no merit appointments, and no way for the superintendent to remove inefficient political employees without getting into a political battle--this is the situation in Kansas at the present time. It is easy to understand why the superintendent should privately confess, "You know, I believe my real problem is the personnel. I have to struggle with them as much as I do the inmates."

It is more of a tribute than anything else to say that the superintendent has so thoroughly inspired his staff that he has secured their complete cooperation in setting up the first steps of his program. That he has done so to an extreme degree is undoubted. That he has had to struggle hard to have done so is also true.

The Wisconsin State Civil Service system for appointments and promotions, which may be taken as a suggested standard for Kansas to follow, is based on the following principles:

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., Ch. V. pp. 4-5

Economy in the cost of government lies in the direction of improvement of the organization and methods of procedure of the several branches and departments of the service in order to eliminate waste of time and effort and to produce a pay roll of minimum length. The problem of recruiting qualified men and women to perform the work of the thousands of places of employment in the state service, each one involving different duties and responsibilities, and of equitably compensating the incumbents for their services, is obviously highly important, complex, and difficult. The success with which it is solved in a large measure determines the economy and effectiveness of administration. Loyalty, industry, public spirit, and pride of accomplishment of employees are assets to the public service that can be secured only under a personnel procedure uniformly and impartially administered and based on the principle of like pay for like work under like conditions.<sup>10</sup>

To accomplish this, all the Wisconsin Industrial School officials, including the superintendent, are chosen on the civil service bases of education, experience, and character by a state board of control operating through a personnel bureau.

In the absence of such a system in Kansas, the best solution to the personnel problems in the Kansas Industrial School seems to be for the superintendent to be given complete control of the hiring and firing of those subject to his orders. This will be difficult under the traditions of the present political system.

The basis of assignment to duties within the institution is by no means a specialized one. Almost every official has to practice more than one occupation. For instance, the steward is also dentist, the barber is also cobbler, the laundryman is also a company officer, the chaplain is also night watchman, und so weiter. Every official

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<sup>10</sup> Specifications and Salary Ranges for the Classified Service of the State of Wisconsin. January, 1931. pp. V -VI.

must be ready at any moment to take some other place temporarily or permanently. One officer who has been in the institution's service for twenty-three years and is now the barber-cobbler, was a company manager for eleven years, gymnasium supervisor two years, gardener three years, and herdsman seven years. Other similar combinations exist. In general, the officers are assigned to those tasks for which they have the greatest inclination and are best fitted to practice. It is not always possible to fit them into vocations in which they have had the most training. For instance, the present laundryman--- Negro company officer received his training as an embalmer. This particular vocation has never been carried on extensively by the Industrial School, so he was compelled to take charge of the laundry. In other cases there is more fitness in appointment. The tailoring supervisor, for instance, had four years of tailoring experience prior to employment. Other tasks are designated according to the best rule-of-thumb arrangements which the superintendent can make. Such a situation will probably continue as long as long as the officials are employed in the present manner, without much regard paid to their training or experience.

The vocations in which the institution gives some instruction follow: printing, manual training, basketry, music, typing, firing, plumbing, shoemaking, barbering, cooking, gardening, painting, baking, farming, stock raising, dairying, electrical work, carpentry, sewing and tailoring, blacksmithing, auto repairing, and poultry raising. These vocations are not departmentalized but are more or less haphazard and

flexible. They will be considered more fully in chapter V.

The working hours are long and heavy. The full-time officers average about 67 a week. This is the equivalent of over eleven hours a day for a six-day week.

As a basis of evaluation of the effect of such long hours, a statement of the superintendent of the Whittier (California) State School, an institution recognized as one of the best in the country, will serve:

The establishment of an eight-hour basis of service has also tended to bring about a marked improvement in the attitude of the personnel. The work is trying, complex and difficult at best, and demands the whole-hearted, willing and active cooperation of every employee during every hour of his working day.<sup>11</sup>

The salaries of the staff have been listed. As a rule, all the salaries fall considerably below the minimum standards of the New York and Wisconsin institutions. When the working hours are considered, the salary schedule becomes even more reduced. Due to the long working hours, the hourly average rate of pay is about 32 cents, not including compensation in kind or perquisites received, which would tend to increase the figure slightly.

In this connection the Russell Sage Foundation study by Slingerland stipulates that the wisest policy to follow is to pay high enough salaries to prevent selections from the less desirable applicants. The reports says:

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<sup>11</sup>Fifth Biennial Report of the Department of Institutions, State of California, biennium ending June 30, 1930. P. 145.

In schools for juvenile delinquents the staff must be much more varied in its elements than is necessary in most other welfare institutions. Administration of the plant and care of the child are only a part of the service required.. Because the inmates are limited in their connection with the outside world, not only academic and industrial teaching, but moral and religious instruction must usually be provided within the institution. An executive's organization of such a staff is a matter of more than ordinary difficulty and responsibility and requires a large proportion of high-class and well-paid people than is usually recognized. State boards and other managerial bodies often make the mistake of endeavoring to put the work in homes for dependent children and in schools for juvenile delinquents on the same basis, both in regard to expense and the qualification and variety of workers and teachers. The requirements in the latter forbid such comparisons.<sup>12</sup>

The only conclusion to be drawn is that Kansas is following a policy that is "penny-wise and pound foolish" in respect to the personnel in the Industrial School. It does not have a civil service basis of appointment, and the positions are awarded as political plums, greatly to the detriment of the institution. The state is not able, consequently, to select the best trained and most experienced candidates available. That such candidates are available is indicated by the following statement made by the superintendent of the Whittier State School: "The general morale of the school is excellent. We have never had a more efficient or cooperative staff, and our turnover is at a minimum. The unemployment situation which has existed for some time is of course greatly to be deplored, but we have it to thank, in part at least, for the fact that we have been able to

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<sup>12</sup>Slingerland, op. cit., Ch. V. pp. 1-2.

raise our standards of efficiency. There has been an excellent supply of competent workers available, thus permitting us to 'weed-out' some whose qualifications were not up to a desirable standard, and to add to the staff men and women who, by experience and training, are well qualified to teach and supervise our boys."<sup>13</sup>

The low salaries, the long hours, the lack of specialization, all of which tend to prevent keenness of interest in the work and constant improvement, through study and discussion, of methods of treatment, are other factors which lower efficiency.

In spite of all these handicaps, the superintendent has been constantly improving the morale of his officers and giving them a new insight into more modern, humane, and effective methods than the institution has ever before practiced. In general, this is due to the personality of the superintendent; and the fact that he has been able to coordinate his staff effectively has come about in spite of, and not because of, the state's policy of selection and compensation.

It cannot be denied that on the average the Kansas officials are amiable and well-meaning. It is also true that most of them are interested in their work. They are cooperative and fairly well open to suggestion. They are generally liked by the boys under them. In personality and character they are up to standard as a group. But they rely on rule-of-thumb methods and not on more scientific techniques. It is in training and experience and in comprehension

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<sup>13</sup>Fifth Biennial Report of the Department of Institutions of the State of California. p. 146.

of the subtler features of their positions that they fall short, and the institutions suffers somewhat from that fact.

One outstanding attempt at training the personnel of an institution similar to the one under consideration was the experiment made by L. W. Mayo, assistant director of the Children's Village in New York--a semi-private institution--who is also a member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work. The history of this experiment is summarized from a mimeographed pamphlet issued by the Children's Village, entitled, "An Experiment in the Training of Institution Personnel,"

The plan of training the personnel of the Children's Village on the job, as finally settled, consisted of a series of lectures over a period of ten weeks, each of which was followed by a certain amount of discussion for the sole purpose of teaching principles of child supervision. Outside reading was assigned as a supplementary technique. The course, of one hour a week, was made voluntary, and a certificate was issued to each officer attending a certain percentage of meetings. Fifty-four officials out of eighty enrolled in the course, and others took similar courses in New York City. The series was built around the felt needs of the personnel and not set too rigidly in advance. Each session was based upon the preceding one, and the subjects of the meetings developed in the following manner:

First session: How can we build "standards"?

Second session: What do we mean by "standards"? Are there any commonly accepted standards?

Third session: Teaching standards as a part of habit training. What is involved in this?

Fourth session: How can we make good habits carry over into community life? How instil them at Children's Village?

Fifth session: How do children develop poor habits?

Sixth session: .Case studies of children with destructive habit-patterns, etc. Causes of delinquency.

Other sessions: Are we dealing adequately and constructively with children when we consider these causes of delinquency?

There were no compulsory assignments, but the leader deliberately fostered a questioning attitude on the part of the group during the discussion and at all other times; he also asked for clippings relating to the problem of juvenile delinquency and for suggestions and questions from staff members about their daily problems; he also presented actual case histories as the basis of discussion and attempted to avoid an air of finality about any problem in order to stimulate the individual listeners to further independent reflection.

That the Children's Village staff was effectively stimulated is seen by the results. The average attendance was sixty-four. Sixty received certificates for attending at least 70% of the time, and about two-thirds took advantage of the recommended outside reading. So far as it was possible to judge, most of the staff carried the interest from the course into practical applications and the daily

routine. This, of course, was the desideratum from the beginning.

Such a plan or a similar one seems not altogether unfitted for the Kansas Industrial School. The greatest drawbacks are the present extremely long working hours, the lack of time for reading and reflection, and the lack of an official well enough trained in social work to plan and lead such a course effectively. This plan of personnel training as it has been practiced at the Children's Village is, however, definitely an example of what one of the outstanding institutions in the country is attempting to do and of the standards to which the Kansas school will have to conform if it is to be recognized as an effective leader in the field of the treatment of juvenile delinquency.

Chapter V. The Institutional Program of  
Delinquent Treatment.

Types. There is no method of determining, in any quantitative fashion, the types of boys committed to the Industrial School. It would be interesting to go into the matter more deeply, but the present study, for lack of having investigated local commitment processes throughout the state, must refrain from any extended attempt to describe the inmates as falling into definite types.

It is probable that the various impressions about Industrial School boys held by the lay-public are not accurate. One must be suspicious of statements about "boy-bandits," "mental defectives," "young gangsters," and other rather sensationalized descriptions. A healthy scepticism as to "criminal types" is at present the most intelligent attitude possible; probably the Industrial School population does not vary fundamentally in character from other groups of boys of similar ages and back grounds. Some classes may be almost entirely eliminated from consideration; for instance, sons of rich parents are seldom committed. They are apparently never confined if there is any substitute course open to the local authorities.

The impressions of the institutional officials are somewhat less sensational than many of the popular catch-phrases, but at best they are merely commonsense theories as to the reasons for commitment and as to the types of individuals in the institution. One

of the B. I. S. teachers proclaimed, "None of the boys here are average mentally. If they were, they wouldn't be here. I don't believe there are any normal boys here. All these boys are awful story-tellers, too. I wouldn't believe one of them. They're all good liars."

Another teacher, with a more moderate viewpoint, said, "All these boys have possibilities, but they require constant attention and a lot of patience. Personally, I prefer a boy who has some meanness and life to him. It shows me there's something there to work with." This teacher also said that the inmates averaged slightly subnormal intelligences, as was shown by their school retardation, which is set forth in the following table:

GRADE	1	11	111	1V	V	V1	V11	V111	1X	X	X1	Totals
AGE												
6												
7	2											2
8	2		2									4
9	4		2	1		1						8
10	2	2	9	7	3	3						26
11	3	6	12	11	1	5	2					40
12	2	6	5	12	13	16	11	2				67
13	2	1	7	7	14	19	23	11				84
14	1	6	3	3	14	26	44	32	13	1		143
15	1	1	7	9	13	26	48	35	31	8		179 59.3%
16		1	3	6	11	21	44	38	31	9	3	167
17		1		1	4	7	16	17	12	7	3	68
18				1	2	3	3	6	3	2	1	21
19								2	3	3	1	9
20				1	1		1	2	1			6
TOTALS	19	24	50	59	76	127	192	145	94	30	8	824
												-----56.3%-----

Table VI. School progress at the time of admittance to the Kansas Boys' Industrial School of 824 boys admitted between 1920-28, as published in the pamphlet, "Building Boys is Better Than Mending Men."

Another teacher thinks that most of the boys are normal mentally, that few are subnormal, and that the retardation is due to other factors, such as lack of regular school attendance, lack of parental encouragement, and so forth.

The superintendent's theory is that the average boy in the institution at present is one lacking adult supervision and subject to more or less economic stress at home, who "falls" into delinquency, generally after getting in with a group of older boys who have previously started their delinquent careers in much the same way. This statement is probably as nearly right for the majority of inmates as one could get through impression. It is purely qualitative, but it has much plausibility as a general description. Further research, however, is necessary to determine the basis of commitment followed by the local authorities and the types of inmates resulting from these policies. At the present time it seems that a wide variation in the policy of disposing of juvenile delinquency cases exists throughout the state and that often it is almost a heads-or-tails choice with the judge as to whether a child should be sent to an orphans' home, to the Industrial School, or passed along the line in some other fashion.

Academic education. A new school building, completed in the summer of 1931 at a cost of \$85,000, houses the equipment for the ten regular grades taught by the institution, and, in addition, the printing, basketry, typewriting, and manual training departments. The library of 1600 volumes is also located in one room of this building. The text books used are those utilized by the state public

schools.

The school's physical equipment is fairly adequate. There are enough rooms to prevent overcrowding and there is plenty of black-board space. Perhaps the worst lack is a shortage of typewriters.

The personnel is badly overloaded. The principal, in addition to his general supervisory duties, teaches thirty classes in the ninth and tenth grades each week, and does extra detail work besides; another man teaches the seventh and eighth grades and leads all the singing in the institution; another teaches the sixth grade, the science classes, and is athletic director and scoutmaster; another teaches the fourth and fifth grades and all penmanship classes, in addition to doing relief and other work; a woman teaches the second and third grades--there is no regular first grade--, all the typewriting courses, and relieves in the boys' dining room, as well as doing other outside work. The manual training teacher teaches twenty classes a week, and takes charge of the boys in the officers' dining room for every meal six days a week. The basketry classes are taught by one woman who also spends much time in hospital relief duty. There is no ungraded room, as was formerly the case.

All time for preparing lessons, grading papers, tutoring, etc., is extra. According to the principal only three of his seven teachers have teaching certificates, and only one on the entire staff has been in the institution prior to the fall of 1931. Not a one of the seven had had any experience in delinquent work, teaching or otherwise, prior to his present employment.

The principal and the superintendent both wished at the time of employing new teachers to put the school on a level meeting the state standards, but the principal was not allowed to have the choice of selection. The state board of administration took that responsibility. The principal claims that the present staff consists of very good teachers, however, even though a majority does not have teaching certificates or college degrees. The instructors try to keep their classes up to the prescribed courses of study in the state, and succeed to some extent, but are not always able to do so, because of the retardation of their pupils and other factors. One claims that his students are relatively further advanced all around when they leave his classes than the public school pupils who enter, so that he feels his classes are more advanced than corresponding public school grades. There is no way to determine the truth of this claim.

The school records, which go back only to 1928-9 and consist only of records of grades, attendance, date of entrance, and date of parole, are very poor, and there are no facilities for keeping them in good condition. The principal does not receive individual school-histories of the inmates from the local school authorities, and only on rare occasions does he attempt to get in contact with the boy's previous teachers. He has no way of even knowing the schools the boys have previously attended except the boy's word. By a process of asking the inmates and through trial-and-error placements, each individual is classed in the grade to which he belongs. No conferences

between boys and principal is held, although the principal would have them if he had time.

Monthly reports of school progress are sent to the parents. The terms last for two semesters each, and there is no school in summer.

The school formerly gave each inmate two tests, the National Intelligence Tests and Stenquist's Mechanical Aptitude Tests, Test 11. These were discontinued by the present regime, and a two-foot stack of test records were thrown away, mainly for the reason that there was no way to employ them in actual treatment.

When a boy is paroled, a copy of his record is sent to the principal of his new school. The boy usually carries this record with him. The principal of the institutional school as a rule makes no effort to get in direct contact with the new school authorities.

Formerly there was an ungraded or opportunity room for all those inmates who were otherwise unclassifiable. There has been no teacher provided for this room, and it has been discontinued.

The school puts considerable emphasis on music, and there are, in addition to the regular band, mass singing, song contests, and a rhythm band for younger boys. Outside of the second and third grades there are no pictorial art courses, however. The principal believes that to encourage and train the boys in drawing would be an improvement, since many of them have drawing talent.

The school has traditionally followed a platoon system of

attendance--half school, half work--, which, with modifications, has existed since the institution's founding. At the present time the first five grades go to school all day; above the fifth grade school is optional, and it consists of half-day, or four-hour, sessions for each grade five days a week. Odd-numbered grades are taught in the morning and even-numbered ones in the afternoon. The boys are not permitted, except in special cases, to study outside of school, as it would necessitate two sets of textbooks and be another burden on the company officers. Very seldom does a boy ask for the privilege of studying outside.

The attendance problem, which would seem to be of no importance, is in reality a serious matter. Attendance in the school is considered secondary to almost anything else. If a boy needs a haircut, he is taken out of school; if he is due for orchestra practice, he is taken out of school; if there is work for him to do, he is taken out of school. This seriously interferes with the regularity and thoroughness of class work.

Boys who have been committed for truancy and who have completed the fifth grade are permitted to avoid school if they wish. The superintendent believes that vocational training is better fitted for such cases, especially if the inmate is antagonistic to further academic training.

The principal believes that certain improvements should be added to the existing school facilities. There are the following: (1) more teachers; (2) more courses, such as vocational agriculture, and extensions of present courses; (3) an ungraded room; (4) mental

tests, perhaps aptitude tests; (5) provision for adequate records; (6) art courses; (7) a complete system of vocational classes; (8) smaller classes in order to provide more individual attention.

Of these features, I should consider the vocational classes especially important and I should also add recommendations for higher salaries, shorter hours, more adequately trained teachers, especially teachers trained and thoroughly experienced in handling juvenile delinquents, since these are the pupils with whom regular teachers have usually failed, and they need teaching of an especially expert, resourceful type.

Most of the general principles of education suggested above have been successfully incorporated in the Whittier State School. As the report of that institution described it, the general educational system at Whittier is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Whittier State School boys have been problems in school in their own communities, and for this reason an important part of the boy's adjustment is that toward school. For this reason, the boys need individual consideration and consequently special care is taken in the selection of teachers, all of whom must have the regular certificates to teach in the public schools of California, and who must in addition possess unusual tact and poise in order to handle these problem boys.

The first thing to determine educationally is the boy's school classification. During his stay in the receiving and service cottages the boy spends part of the day in school and part in the general shop. The classes are small and ungraded. Furthermore, all boys in these two cottages are given a test of school knowledge;

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<sup>1</sup>Fifth Biennial Report of the Department of Institutions, State of California, pp. 148-149.

recently this has been the Stanford achievement test, by the teacher in charge of these groups. While in school during this period, an attempt is made to develop good reading habits, to cultivate interest in civics, government, and other subjects, instead of merely forcing the boy through a regular school course. When the boy leaves the service cottage, he is assigned to a regular grade in school. In making this assignment, his achievement test scores, his classroom work in receiving and service cottages, his former school grade and mental ability, are considered. In addition, consideration is given to the kind of group in which he will make the best social adjustment. This grade placement may or may not agree with his school grade at home.

The school work is closely correlated with the trade the boy has chosen by the use of lesson sheets especially prepared by the teachers of the Whittier State School. A boy who is interested in auto mechanics and taught that trade has arithmetic problems about auto mechanics; his work in language stresses the vocabulary and business English relevant to his chosen trade, and best of all, each boy has individual assignments based on his ability.

The School Department of the Whittier State School consists of the first six grades of school and the vocational school. That is, the older boys whom we anticipate are going to work rather than back to school in about 90 per cent of the cases, are in a true vocational school with the lessons arranged on a contact plan. The plan of work in the vocational school embodies some of the features of the Dalton plan in the arrangement of classes and of the Winnetka plan in the arrangement of lessons. The lessons are graded in difficulty on a "three-track" plan to fit the intelligence of the group. It is a three track plan based on the levels of intelligence represented in the vocational school. For example, in arithmetic there are three sets of lessons, each of two hundred jobs, one for boys of superior ability, another for the average group, and another for the boys who learn more slowly.

Under this system boys are much more interested in school work because they see its relationship to their trade; the bright and industrious boys are not held back by the slow ones, and the teacher can more quickly adjust the work to individual difficulties and needs. There is a great deal of flexibility in the plan. New contacts

and series of lessons are to be added if the need arises or if the present ones do not meet the boy's needs. There is neither physical nor educational lockstep in school work in the Whittier plan.

Vocational education. Vocational education in the Kansas

Industrial School is not strictly educative in the sense that it is taught according to any well arranged scheme. The emphasis throughout the institution is predominantly on maintaining and repairing the physical equipment, in getting the necessary daily work done, rather than in instructing the inmates how to practice definite trades. The kinds of vocational work existing in the institution are predominantly agricultural, a category including dairying, poultry raising, gardening, greenhouse and landscape work, and stock raising, as well as farming proper. The industrial trades include printing, typing, manual training--all previously mentioned--, blacksmithing, auto-repairing, engine firing, electrical work, plumbing, carpentry, masonry, painting, tailoring, sewing, cobbling, barbering, laundering, baking, cooking, and, of course, cleaning. Some of these activities consist of very little vocational instruction or practice either. Only in the manual training and typing departments, both of which are managed in connection with the regular academic school, are any actual classes held. All the other activities are purely practical.

A brief consideration of the facilities in the departments will bring out somewhat the strong and weak points of each.

The agricultural department, so far as a layman can tell, has modern and apparently adequate machinery and equipment. A new--as

the term is used here, new means less than a decade old--horse barn, new hog house, new feed barn, new tool shed, new dairy barns, new chicken houses, new silos, and fairly new greenhouse and potato cellar house the equipment for this department. In 1931 the following types of farm work instruction are mentioned by the pamphlet, "Building Boys is Better Than Mending Men," published by the B. I. S. : farming in alfalfa, potatoes, cane, and corn; gardening in strawberries, grapes, gooseberries, asparagus, string beans, beets, sweet corn, cabbage, cauliflower, carrots, eggplants, cucumbers, lettuce, muskmelons, honey dew melons, onions, pumpkins, peas, mango and hot peppers, radishes, rhubarb, spinach, squash, turnips, tomatoes, and watermelons; grazing; dairying; chicken raising; hog raising; landscape gardening; greenhouse work; and various other related activities. At that time the institution had eighty acres in alfalfa; fifty-five acres in potatoes; seventy-five acres in cane; sixty acres in corn; forty acres of garden; and one hundred-sixty-five acres in pasture.<sup>2</sup>

The dairy department consists of one hundred Holstein animals. The school has been on the National Honor Roll for the last five or six years for developing a herd of more than fifty cows to a yearly production average of over 300 pounds of butter fat. Cows not producing 10,000 pounds of milk or 300 pounds of butter fat a year are sold, as are non-breeders, aged cows, and surplus stock. Daily

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<sup>2</sup>Building Boys is Better Than Mending Men, p. 39.

individual records are kept on the production of each cow. In fact, the records on the cows seem more carefully kept than do the school's records on the boys.

The hog department is also well-equipped; it showed a clear profit over all costs of \$2,839.29 between February 1, 1929, and April 7, 1931.<sup>3</sup>

The gardening department is extensive, and during the 1928-30 biennium raised garden truck, potatoes, and grapes of an estimated value of \$24,997.76<sup>4</sup>

There is a small 25'x60" greenhouse. Here 10,000 tomato, 8000 cabbage, 8000 pepper, 2000 eggplant, 5000 cauliflower, and 12,000 sweet potato plants are planted, transplanted once inside, and then transplanted in the hotbeds outside each year. The greenhouse also raises about 15,000 flower plants and has a banana tree. This department is also in charge of the general landscape work, such as grass-cutting, white-washing of trees, etc.<sup>5</sup>

The printing department does all the institution's printing. It has adequate hand-printing equipment and several small presses. It does not have any linotype or monotype equipment and consequently cannot give training in the more modern mechanical aspects of printing. A monthly bulletin, "The Oasaycap Chronicle," is issued. (Oasaycap is a word taken from the first letters of Victor Hugo's phrase, "Open a school and you close a prison.") The department

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 40

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 42

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 46

is under the supervision of a separate officer. Some effort is made to teach advertising principles and also cost-accounting, but no definite classes in printing are given.

In printing the leading institution of this kind in the country is almost undoubtedly the Whittier State School of California. This institution published each month, "The Journal of Juvenile Research," one of the nation's leading criminological publications, which circulates in all American states and in thirty foreign countries. The Whittier School also prints various research bulletins and reports. The Kansas institution has nothing to compare with this department of printing at Whittier.

The blacksmith and auto-repair department is a department in name only. Some blacksmithing and a little auto-repair department is a department in name only. Some blacksmithing and a little auto-repairing is done, but the equipment is inadequate for serious operations of this sort.

The power plant gives a number of boys practice in hauling coal and cinders in wheel-barrows and in watching the hired firemen at work.

The electric shop does the electrical repairing for the institution. The inmates in this department handle many types of electrical equipment, but the field of electrical work is not taught as a trade and the department furnishes little extensive training. No classes in electricity are offered.

The plumbing shop installs and repairs the plumbing apparatus of the institution. Since plumbing is more a manipulative than a

theoretical trade, this department offers a sounder training than some of the other vocational departments.

The carpentry, masonry, and manual training departments, though related activities, are not integrated closely. The manual training department is located in the school building under a separate instructor. It offers very little instruction in metal working, and also does not attempt to teach mechanical drawing, for the reason, according to the supervisor, that the boys are not able to learn fractions. At other institutions this fractional myopia apparently does not exist, and in the new vocational building of the Glen Mills (Pa.) School a complete mechanical drawing and blue-print department has been installed as a prerequisite to all trade classes. The boys in this school range, however, from eight to twenty-one years in age.

The masonry department in the Kansas Industrial School operates in repairs and construction work about the institution. The carpentry department does both building and repairing of all sorts about the grounds. Neither department offers any classes in trade theory.

The sewing department repairs all the clothing--about 18,000 garments a year. Here the shirts, nightshirts, neckties, pillow cases, towels, etc., are made.

The tailoring department makes overalls, Sunday uniforms and caps, and white clothes. The department gives a fairly good background for operating sewing-machines. The shop does not have a

machine-presser, however, and it depends on handirons for doing all the pressing.

The shoe shop is really only a repair shop for shoes used within the institution. Formerly it manufactured them, but since they could be purchased more cheaply, the manufacturing was stopped.

The barber shop is run in connection with the cobbling department; the two departments are located in the same room and are under the supervision of the same officer. The haircuts given are of a mass-production "bowl-on-the-head" type. Little shaving is done--few officers will submit to the torture. The inmates must of necessity have their haircuts here.

The laundry is run exclusively by Negro boys under the Negro company officer. It has two washers, two wringers, a mangle, a dryhouse, and five hand-irons. The equipment is inadequate and more or less obsolete and in constant need of repair. The laundry building is even more obsolete than the laundry machinery and needs immediate replacement. The pressing done is very limited and of poor quality, and the finished pieces are very rough. A machine-presser or two would greatly improve the laundry work and also furnish vocational training in a field in which the demand for good workers is better than average.

The bake shop is small, although it bakes all the bread, rolls, cookies, etc., used in the institution. This department gives fairly thorough training in the fundamentals of baking, but offers no theoretical instruction.

The kitchen department offers experience in cleaning, helping prepare foods, and some cooking with mass-production machinery. No courses are offered in cooking or in dietetics.

The typing department has been mentioned in connection with academic education. Only eight typewriters are available, which serve thirty-two boys. No shorthand, bookkeeping, accounting, or other commercial courses are offered.

In addition to these types of work, a great many boys, perhaps a majority, are used in cleaning, waiting tables and washing dishes, grubbing stumps, and general handy work. This type of labor has practically no vocational training value.

A complete system of trade classes is badly needed to supplement the work activities conducted by the institution. For instance, classes in physics, chemistry, electricity, mechanics, mechanical drawing, etc., should supplement the day's work in the industrial and mechanical trades.

A more suitable method of placing boys in the various departments also seems advisable. At present each boy is placed, if possible, according to his preferences, and constant shifting of inmates from one type of work to another is done to adjust the boys satisfactorily. In almost all cases a boy must go into the department in which there is a vacancy, regardless of his needs or inclinations. No aptitude tests are given, no studies of the boy's past record or probable future are made, and the result is a rule-of-thumb type of placement based largely on the personalities of the

various instructors and the boy. This is especially important in considering the effectiveness of the institution, moreover, for almost all the inmates agree that a boy who likes the work he is doing and feels it to be real training for a later vocation is usually well adjusted and considers the institution a foster-home.

Elsewhere more scientific efforts at placement have been attempted, including aptitude tests, vocational guidance clinics, general shops, etc. For a basis of comparison with the Kansas B. I. S., the vocational programs of two of the leading institutions in the country are described.

In the Whittier State School, a complete survey of vocational education was made in 1928, and recommendations based upon this survey were offered by authorities in the field.

A description of the results follows:<sup>6</sup>

There were a number of important changes which followed this survey, the most progressive and useful of all being the general shop. The school introduced a general shop in the fall of 1928, offering the possibility of trying the boy out in a number of occupations, etc., electrical work, mechanics, carpentry, etc. All boys get about four months trial instruction in all of these trades. The classes contain about fifteen boys. The director of the general shop is able to observe and to report upon the vocational aptitudes of the boys from first-hand observation of them at work.

In addition to this actual trial of the boy at work, the vocational interests of the boy are studied by the vocational director and the school psychologist. On

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<sup>6</sup>Fifth Biennial Report, Department of Institutions, State of California. pp. 147-8.

the basis of these findings and in consideration of the vocational opportunities which will probably be open to him when he leaves the Whittier State School, a vocational assignment is made. If the first assignment proves to be incorrect, a change is made later. One basic feature of the Whittier plan is its flexibility. No program for a boy is ever considered final and inflexible; it is always subject to modification if that seems advisable. It is well to emphasize here that an essential feature of the entire program is the fact that the home of the boy is visited by a psychiatric social work or placement supervisor shortly after he arrives at Whittier and his vocational program is outlined in terms of the chances of getting him a satisfactory job when he leaves. The vocations taught are: mortar trades, including bricklaying, plastering, tile setting, and statuary; woodworking, painting, baking, cooking, shoe repair, laundering, plumbing, electricity, including house wiring, motors, batteries, stationary steam engineering, printing, automobile mechanics, ranch work, including care of stock; care and operation of tractor and other farm implements; irrigation, grading, and care of citrus and deciduous trees.

So often in institutions the trade training of the boys and girls is second to the maintenance of the institution. In such places the boys and girls exist to keep up the institution--to wash the dishes, do the laundry, water and cut the lawns, etc. At Whittier this unfortunate interference with trade training is circumvented by a plan introduced in the fall of 1929 which is known as the service cottage. The boys spend about six or eight weeks in service cottage after leaving receiving cottage and before going to a regular cottage. The service cottage group do all the service around the institution, such as work in the kitchen, cleaning, etc. When the boy leaves the service cottage his education is no longer interrupted by the maintenance work of the institution. From this time on, Whittier exists for the boy, and his school and trade training are given priority at all times.

Thus, trades taught at the Whittier State School are now planned to meet the present labor needs and in 1930 will include such things as ground work in aviation, auto mechanics, work with batteries and radio sets, and other trades in which the boys are interested and in which good jobs can be found for them when they leave. The essence of mental hygiene is vocational guidance. Surely the boy or man who is doing something that is meaningful to him is the one who is happy and effective and keeping out of

trouble. Finding the right work for the boy is often the solution of his difficulties.

The Glen Mills School in November, 1930, also embarked on a complete schedule of trade training. According to its report,<sup>7</sup> the whole vocational system was completely revolutionized from something similar to the present Kansas program into a thoroughly new and modern effort. "Formerly no complete course had been offered in any trade," says the report, "although practical training had been given for many years. Under the new plan all boys-- all normal ones, that is--, whose age permits and who qualify otherwise, are given an opportunity to learn a trade. The length of time a boy stays depends not on his conduct while in the school, but on the completion of a training course."

Under this plan the vocational education is divided into schools. The school of carpentry, under two instructors, one in charge of all shop work, the other directing maintenance and construction, offers a complete course in house carpentry, millwork, concrete form work, furniture construction, and the operation of woodworking machines. The school of masonry offers complete courses in bricklaying, plastering, concrete work, tile setting, and stone setting. After completing the shop courses, the boys practice their trades in maintenance and construction work about the

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<sup>7</sup>A New Training Program at the Glen Mills School for Boys.

institution. The school of printing instructs in hand composition, makeup, proofreading, imposition, bookbinding, paper cutting, and presswork. The school of painting teaches house painting, interior decorating, sign printing, show card writing, hard wood finishing, and paper hanging. The school of forging trains in metal furniture construction, wrought-iron work, repairing of machinery, and horseshoeing. The school of baking is new and completely equipped. There is also a general shop offering prevocational courses in woodworking, mill work, and household arts for boys too young for trade training. Boys in the general shop also do maintenance work and go to school. The mechanical drawing department is a preliminary course for all schools. In addition, "Each shop is provided with a class room in which the boys study and are given instruction in Trade Theory and Shop Mathematics. This instruction is under the direct supervision of the shop instructor in each of the trades."

To supplement this, there is also a trade library, where trade journals and reference books are available.

For more successful placement, a vocational guidance clinic had been organized at Glen Mills to study each individual's aptitudes and capabilities.

Throughout the department, the emphasis is upon theoretical training as a preliminary and supplement of practical experience.

The vocational courses are designed to be supplemented by academic classes in Civics, English, Commercial Geography, and

Hygiene. Such classes were being arranged when the report was published.

Of these two plans, the Whittier type would probably be the system most easily possible to inaugurate in Kansas, since the Whittier institution is not dissimilar in population or age to the Kansas Industrial School. The receiving and service cottage system practiced at Whittier is especially commendable, and it avoids the situation existing at Kansas where all the inmates are compelled to do maintenance work first--and often forever.

To install such a vocational system as that which exists at either Whittier or Glen Mills, the Kansas Industrial School would require a greatly enlarged, better paid, and improved personnel. The Whittier plan would probably be the less expensive method. If the improvement prevented a considerable amount of crime, it would, of course, be inexpensive regardless of the immediate cost.

Recreation. The recreational aspect of any juvenile institution is important, and this is especially true in a delinquent training school, for the ill use of leisure time is the source of much delinquency. Criminologists have repeatedly noticed that many boys who are well adjusted at home, in school, or at work, commit delinquent acts in the use of their leisure time and that the unsupervised playground or unsupervised gang is one of the most fertile breeding places for delinquency.

Clifford Shaw<sup>8</sup> has emphasized the fact that nothing is so thrilling to a boy as delinquency and that any delinquent treatment must, to be effective, offer more thrilling and interesting pursuits and occupations than those which it attempts to remove. Children do not instinctively know how to make satisfactory play adjustments. They have to be taught the proper use of their recreational time. This is a difficult problem, and adequate expert supervision is the key to its solution.

The Kansas Boys' Industrial School recreational program is predominantly athletic, but it includes also music, reading, Boy Scout work, declamation, movies, trips, and company entertainments of various sorts.

The athletic program is under the supervision of an officer who has had experience in college athletics and in recreational work, though not with delinquents. This officer devotes only part of his time to the athletic program.

The athletic program is carried on the year around. In the fall of 1931 a football team was formed, for which about thirty-five or forty boys tried out, all of whom got a chance to play on some team if they wished, and several outside games were played, as well as inter-company games. Practice was hampered by lack of time. The short period after luncheon was often used for practicing, but even this was sometimes impossible.

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<sup>8</sup>Speech at the National Conference of Social Work. Philadelphia, May 20, 1932.

In basketball for the winter of 1931-32 the first team won fourteen out of eighteen games played, up to the time that an epidemic of "the itch" occurred. The team played games with many of the leading teams in the vicinity, and the director of athletics boasted that never had the B. I. S. team outfouled its opponents. Company basketball, with three divisions of play-- youths, juniors, and seniors--was managed, and a school tournament held for each division. The winners were given a banquet. For the spring of 1932 the director has hoped to be able to inaugurate track and tennis after constructing a running track and some tennis courts. A hard-baseball team for older boys and a soft-ball team for younger boys was formed. The institution has no difficulty in scheduling games in any sport.

Boxing is carried on extensively, and frequent public exhibitions, limited to three minutes, are given.

Calisthenics are practiced every morning before breakfast for fifteen minutes in cold weather and twenty-five to thirty minutes in warm weather. These exercises are almost identical with the state Y. M. C. A. exercises. The director considers calisthenics the best type of exercise possible for the growing boy.

Tumbling classes are planned, but the gymnasium equipment has not been adequate to develop this sport.

The inmates swim in an outdoor pool on the grounds of the institution. There are no indoor swimming facilities for cold weather exercise.

The director is an extreme enthusiast about athletics and is zealous in developing his program to the greatest possible extent. He refuses to permit any swearing, always makes his team cheer for its opponents, and attempts to emphasize sportsmanship at all cost. He believes that athletics develops an esprit de corps ✓ for the school as a whole, and he tries to get as large a proportion of the inmates on the sidelines for every game as is possible. He has never had a boy run away while engaged in athletic participation of any sort. The superintendent cooperates in developing a complete athletic program and has followed the policy, when individual boys have failed to respond to ordinary routine treatment, of asking the athletic supervisor to give special attention to them as individuals. In many cases of a very serious nature this policy is said to have had startlingly positive results.

The musical recreation is largely under the supervision of the bandmaster, who gives individual as well as group instruction in the playing of band instruments. Occasional band concerts are given outside the school. Substitutes usually stand ready to take any place in the band left vacant.

For the smaller school boys there is a rhythm band, with triangles, cymbals, and similar instruments. This is taught in connection with the lower school grades.

Mass singing is very much encouraged and plays an especially prominent part in Sunday School, and all other assemblies. Music classes are taught in the regular school. There is also a glee club which sings frequently, both within and without the institution. Solo and quartet singing are also encouraged. The superintendent related one case in which a boy with definite feelings of inferiority developed a sense of status and became well adjusted through being encouraged in singing. Singing is under the supervision of the teacher of the seventh and eighth grades. W. C. T. U. singing contests are held about once a month.

The practice of reading is increasingly important as a leisure-time activity. There is a library of 1600 volumes, presided over by a part-time librarian, and in addition there is a reading room in each company, where a few magazines, Bibles, newspapers, and books are at hand. Many of the inmates subscribe to papers and magazines. Reading is subject to censorship, and "Wild west" stories, crime stories, etc., are forbidden. Some are smuggled in, of course, and are considered great prizes.

A picture show is held once a week. Usually it consists of a comedy or so, news reels, educational pictures, or travelogues. Ordinary movies are not shown. There is no equipment for presenting talking cinemas.

On Tuesday evenings there are entertainments presented by each company in turn. These usually consist of singing, boxing, reciting, and harmonica playing acts. There is no attempt made

to produce regular dramas or pageants. The chapel in which the productions are given does not have scenery, and there is no officer provided for dramatic supervision. In this connection, it is pertinent to observe that many sociologists hold the theory that dramatics is one of the most educative and socializing of all activities, and the lack of any such program seems very unfortunate. It is a regular feature of most similar institutions. The superintendent of the Waukesha, Wisconsin, Industrial School, in deploring the removal of the dramatic department, said, "When I first came to this Institution as a teacher, it had the good fortune of having a music teacher who was very proficient in putting on musical and dramatic plays. This man had unusual ability along this line and the plays which he put on were equal, if not superior, to any I have ever seen put on at high schools. I remember well the interest and enthusiasm in which the boys entered into this work. They had something interesting to think about; they were doing something they liked to do. Since that time there has been no one to continue the work. I believe that a special teacher should be provided, knowing positively that it would be something that would greatly interest a large number of boys, something that would arouse their interest, occupy their spare time, and also would give them something better and higher to think about."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Twenty-third Biennial Report of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys June 30, 1928, p. 3.

The Boy Scout program has been an off-and-on proposition. It was revived in the early part of 1932. About twenty-five or thirty boys are enrolled. The athletic director, principal, and one of the grade teachers conduct scouting meetings once a week. The purpose is to develop ideas of sportsmanship and of doing good turns as examples to the rest of the boys. Only boys especially selected as capable of learning Scout ideals are eligible for membership. A series of outings and field trips is planned for the troop. Those who run away or get into serious trouble are automatically eliminated. Many boys desire to join, and are said to be stimulated to good behavior by their desire. The Topeka Rotary club furnishes Scout books and other literature. The boys do not have Scout uniforms.

Another type of recreational work is declamation. Declamation contests are held in conjunction with singing contests about once a month under W. C. T. U. auspices. The songs sung and pieces recited in these contests are of a propaganda type. It seems unfortunate that a propaganda organization should have so much control over the inmates as this organization has been delegated.

On the whole, the recreational program does remarkably well if one considers the equipment and small personnel staff which are furnished. The recreational supervisors have kept in mind fairly well the therapeutic aspects of their work and do not, as a rule, subordinate them to more immediate goals. The superintendent believes that there are "thousands of ways" to inject the principles of good citizenship and sportsmanship into the daily activities of

the boys, and he believes in trying all of them. This is a very effective technique for the great majority of cases, and it has improved the morale of the institution tremendously.

Valuable as the recreational program is, however, it is not so complete that it cannot be extended. In several ways other institutions have demonstrated the possibility of certain types of recreation unknown to the Kansas School.

At the Whittier State School a school broadcasting system has been installed. Musical and literary programs are broadcast from this to all the cottages in the institution. Good outside programs are also rebroadcast. The results are reported as follows: "It has been an interesting phenomena (sic) to observe the gradual improvement of the musical preferences of the boys themselves and their desire for good music. It is a significant fact that since the installation of the radio broadcasting system, there has not been a single instance of serious misconduct at night."<sup>10</sup>

At Whittier also boys especially talented in art or music are given special individual instruction through scholarships or other methods. Hobbies and the care of pets are also encouraged in that institution.

A number of departments at Whittier usually cooperate in formulating a complete plan of recreational activity for each boy, according to his special needs and interests. A summer camp is conducted on Catalina Island.

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<sup>10</sup>Fifth Biennial Report, Department of Institutions, State of California,  
p. 150. (Italics mine.)

These special activities are lacking in Kansas. Their absence contributes greatly to the lack of a homelike atmosphere, which is essential to really effective corrective work. The Kansas company rooms are cheerless and drab; the reading rooms are not cheerful; there is no radio music; no lounges or lobbies; the furniture is rough and not upholstered; and the activities of most of the boys, especially in winter, is rather limited and much more rigidly institutional than free. An extension of the recreational activities of the B. I. S., patterned upon the principles successfully practiced elsewhere would almost certainly contribute greatly to the institution's effectiveness and probably markedly decrease runaways and other types of behavior-problems.

Health facilities. Each inmate entering the institution is given a physical examination by the institution's physician, who is not employed on a full-time basis, but is a Topeka practitioner who makes regular daily visits and such other calls as are necessary. A registered nurse is in constant attendance at the hospital, and she takes care of ordinary illnesses requiring minor attention. There is a hospital line each day at a specified time, and inmates with ailments are supposed to go to the hospital for treatment in this line. Ordinary tonsil operations, etc., are performed in the institution, but more serious cases are frequently sent in to the city of Topeka. The hospital is in a wing of one of the newer buildings and has a capacity of thirty to fifty beds. It is moderately well equipped for ordinary treatment, and is large enough except for

severe epidemics. It gives no blood or Wasserman tests.

The institution employs a dentist who is also steward. The dentist is unable to do any dental work at present because \$350 needed for a machine to operate the institution's dental equipment is unavailable. Meanwhile, many inmates are suffering from various dental ailments. The dentist has offered to work overtime to catch up on necessary treatments, but the state board of administration has refused to furnish the proper equipment. The motor formerly used for this work became obsolete when the power for the institution was changed from direct to alternating current.

Each boy is furnished with an individual toothbrush and given toothpaste once a day. The brushing is irregular, however, and apparently a great percentage of the inmates brush their teeth infrequently, if ever.

There are no records of the dental conditions of the entering inmates, because no thorough mouth examinations are made, but in the Wisconsin State Industrial School it was found that not more than one in twenty entering had ever had dental attention, that 98% needed fillings, and that 50% needed extraction of permanent teeth, due to neglect and consequent infection.<sup>11</sup> If a similar situation exists in Kansas, as is probable, the lack of adequate dental equipment assumes very serious dimensions. The effect of health on delinquency has perhaps been overstressed, but few can deny

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<sup>11</sup> Op. cit., 1928.

that a healthy physical condition is often a prerequisite to a set of normal social attitudes.

According to the standards developed by Slingerland's study, an adequate health staff requires at least four officials; a physician, a dentist, a psychologist, and a nurse, with recourse to other specialists as required.<sup>12</sup> The Kansas institution falls far short of these standards, for it has no psychologist or psychiatrist, the part-time dentist has no workable equipment and might as well not exist, and the physician makes only part-time visits, though this is probably sufficient.

The food of the institution is fairly well balanced and healthful. There is no trained dietician--the superintendent draws the dietician's salary, and the superintendent's daughter does some of the dietician's work--but the cook has had many years of experience and is described by the superintendent as being "the best and most efficient" in his experience. The officers get much better food than the inmates, but the boys seem fairly well satisfied, and they thrive. They have all the milk they want. A special diet is given to boys who are underweight.

The sanitation of the institution is in fairly good condition, and there is now an adequate drainage system which removes the danger of epidemics which existed when the institution was young. A sufficient supply of pure water is stored in a large tank. The toilet system is adequate, modern, and kept clean.

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<sup>12</sup>Slingerland, op. cit., Ch. V., pp. 9-11

All parts of the institution are kept as clean as is possible. The company buildings are fairly new and consequently relatively easy to keep hygienic. The labor necessary to accomplish this is under the supervision in each company of a half-time matron assisted by a house force of inmates. The administration-chapel-dining-room-kitchen building is, however, extremely old and deteriorated and needs exceptionally heroic efforts to be kept sanitary. Constant scrubbing and polishing is carried on, and the results are relatively satisfactory. In general, the institution is in good hygienic condition. The health of the inmates is very good, although occasional epidemics of athlete's foot, the itch, and other similar diseases sweep through the companies. Only thirty-five deaths have been recorded since 1881, and some of these were boys already seriously ill at entrance. This record is probably not complete, however, for nine out of twenty-five biennial reports carry no statistics of deaths.

Development of social attitudes. The development of socially acceptable habits and attitudes, which underlies all successful criminological treatment, is a difficult and complex task, and it must be suited to a thorough study of the individual.

The case-reports furnished to the institution by the local probation officer or other authorities are not case-reports at all in any real sense. They consist generally of a brief account of the individual's delinquent acts leading directly to his arrest and commitment, a few pious observations, and a great many misspelled words. No effort is made to go into the family history,

the social and economic background, the school or work record, the companions, or other features of the environment in which the individual has developed. Consequently, the institution has no basis for individual treatment of any fundamental sort. It gathers a few meagre facts upon the boys' entrance if he is willing to furnish them, but it does not check these data and it goes no further into the case.

The records so collected are very inadequate and inaccurate, but they are the best obtainable. As a sample, figures published by the institution show that of 895 cases admitted between 1920-1928, 44.6% had parents living together, and the rest came from "broken" homes in the following proportions: 22.4% had parents separated or divorced, 13% had the mother dead, 16% had the father dead, and 4% were orphans.<sup>13</sup> There is serious doubt that these figures are at all accurate. To test them, the superintendent went through a random lot of cards before him in April, 1932, and selected a number of cases in which he personally knew the home was broken but which were not so recorded. He made the statement that a thorough two-year survey at the Sedgwick County, (Kansas) farm - - --where he was formerly superintendent--revealed that 82% of the homes were broken. This is probably more nearly correct than the 55% figure cited above. Most of the other records

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<sup>13</sup> Building Boys is Better than Mending Men, p. 61.

kept by the institution are probably equally unreliable and untrustworthy, unless all inferences fail.

The records which are gathered for each boy are collected together in a file which is kept in the office. They are not transmitted to the other members of the staff, although they are accessible to the officers, and the result is that the officers have no knowledge of the backgrounds of the boys under their care except that which they pick up in conversation. Treatment throughout the institution is consequently not based on any knowledge on the part of the officers of the factors underlying the individual cases. It is even questionable, as the superintendent has suggested, that, if the officers did know each case thoroughly, they would have the training in social work to utilize the information well or the time to work out any understanding plans of treatment. With the present personnel standards, thorough case-studies would be only slight aids to treatment.

In attempting to stimulate the groups of inmates to greater efforts, the superintendent's emphasis has continually been on positive motivation. He has introduced prizes of all sorts and stimulated competition between groups and individuals. Examples of these efforts follow: In the dining-room there are two "orange-tables," which are filled by the boys from each of the other tables who have had the best table manners for the preceding week; the boys who sit at this table receive oranges twice a day during the week they sit there. Each member of the company having no runaways for a month gets two credits

added to his merit book. Each month there is an honor roll, nominated by the officers. At assemblies each side of the room sings against the other, and the superintendent praises the side singing most heartily. The superintendent is very careful to notice and praise instances of good sportsmanship. For instance, he praised one boy for not hitting another who had slipped while boxing, and he praised the other boy for getting back up as quickly as he could, no matter how often he slipped and fell. In another case, a boy who had run away four times was finally won over with a talk, and when the eight other boys in his sleeping partition broke loose one night and ran away, he pretended to be asleep and stayed behind. For this the superintendent took him down town to a show and treated him in a special manner. In all contests the losers and other boys are encouraged to applaud winners heartily. Little contests are held between companies for learning and reciting pieces or for talking, and the winner goes to a show downtown with the superintendent or an officer. The superintendent also plans to have some light drilling competitions between companies, with prizes for the winners.

The officers are instructed to follow out the same type of policy. One teacher, for instance, used to write on the blackboard each week the names of boys who had misbehaved; she now writes the names of those who do well and puts little gilt stars after their names, One for each week of continued good behavior. The results are much better now than formerly. Sportsmanship and

effort are increasingly encouraged, by judicious praise and blame, and this positive emphasis on effort has improved the morale and esprit de corps of the institution immeasurably since the beginning of the present administration. In line with this general principle, the superintendent wishes to establish an honor company for honor roll boys without locks or too close restraints and with special privileges of all sorts. There is a building formerly used as the school which he wishes to remodel into a company building to be utilized as an honor company, but the \$1800 or \$2000 necessary to alter the building is unavailable, and the superintendent's plans have been postponed indefinitely. He hopes ultimately to extend these special homelike privileges to the entire institution, as has been done elsewhere.

There is a definite routine for the whole institution which is the fundamental method of treatment. To this daily routine most of the boys become fairly well adjusted; they present only minor problems which are handled by the officers as they arise. The staff assumes that no special effort is necessary for a boy who is comparatively well adjusted within the institution.

In certain number of cases--probably less than ten per cent of the total institutional population--the boys are definitely not responsive to the routine treatment given to everyone. For such cases there is usually special individual consideration by the superintendent and the assistant superintendent. This consists of a conference with the boy to determine, if possible, the cause of his trouble

and to find his reactions. Then follows study and experiment in various ways until the right method of treatment is found. There is no technique which will reach everyone; as a matter of fact, the superintendent states that no two such boys can be handled in exactly the same way.

In many cases the inmate is given special responsibilities or privileges. Or again, his vocation may be changed. Or he may be interested in participating in athletics or music or in some other way he is encouraged to develop a sense of personal status. If the boy has feelings of inferiority, the superintendent talks with him, praises his efforts and good results, and places increasing burdens on him as he develops the capacity to carry them. After efforts like these, the unadapted individual usually responds, for he feels the superintendent is depending on him personally and willing to trust him.

Such efforts as these are usually effective. Unfortunately, the superintendent has very limited time at his disposal for such work. He is compelled to consider a great many things that should properly be under the jurisdiction of someone else. If the cows are ailing, he must be concerned about them. If political problems come up, he must confer about them. His energies are dissipated into a host of petty channels. Competent assistance from a well-trained personnel and the delegation to the assistant superintendent of the responsibility of handling the routine affairs of the institution would leave the superintendent free to devote all his time to

special problems of working with individual boys who fail to respond to other types of treatment. Such a plan as this would probably markedly improve the effectiveness of the institution as a training school and a crime preventive.

The B. I. S. gives no training in thrift, and all of the boys' accounts are handled through the office. All their legitimate wants are furnished by the institution, so there is no direct need of considerable sums of money for individuals. Some plan designed to teach them how to manage their own financial affairs would, however, probably have merit as a training for later adjustment.

The opportunities presented for group participation and self-expression are fairly widely varied. The institution follows the policy of increasing each individual's capacity for assuming responsibility in one or more directions. In the companies some boys are made out-of-line boys who assist the company officer in drilling and disciplining the other inmates. Others are made door guards to prevent escapes. Still others are trusted to go alone on errands and messages. In the school there are monitors and out-of-line boys who have special functions to perform, for which they receive extra credit or a sense of superior status. Higher grades in school work, praise, and publicity in the "Chronicle" are given to outstanding students. Hygiene courses are taught to spread health and sex information. Musical activities, both vocal and instrumental, are encouraged. Manual training, printing, typing and similar activities are used to reach those

boys whose mental curiosity remains unstimulated by ordinary academic study. In vocational work, special functions are assigned, and the boys are promoted, with a consequent increase in authority, as they develop through experience and aptitude. Certain kinds of jobs which are especially coveted are awarded to those for whom responsibility of a particular sort seems most necessary. The honor system is designed for a special class of boys who can handle special privileges without violating them. Training in citizenship, which is perhaps too narrow and chauvinist to be well suited to an international world, is given in the school, in the chapel, in the ordinary routine of the day, and wherever else it can be injected. There is, however, no self-government on the part of the inmates, although half way attempts have been made to introduce such a system. These efforts to introduce some degree of autonomy have failed largely because of the inertia and lack of cooperation of the personnel and because of the traditions of the institution, which are penal and not educational in character. The installation of any self-government plan is, of course, very difficult and can be, at best, of only limited application.

In such ways as these the institution is beginning to delegate responsibility and to develop individual morale. That these efforts are being constantly extended and improved is one of the most laudable features of the institution's general program.

Almost every phase of the Industrial School is designed in

some way to contribute to character education or the development of conventional virtues and standards on the part of the inmates. The theory of the superintendent is that the staff must first gain the boys' respect and confidence and that they will respond to this type of efforts through persuasion much more readily than through compulsion, though firmness has a place.

The major emphasis in this type of character education is moral or religious. Thursday evenings are Y. M. C. A. nights. Assemblies are held each week in the chapel at this time, and there is mass hymn-singing, followed by a talk of a moral nature. The speakers are accustomed as a rule to connect nature with God, to make religion pleasant and attractive, to point out the value of friends and the greater degree of success attained by those who conform to social standards and win the approval of society at large. On Sunday morning there is Sunday school for an hour with hymn-singing and a short class-discussion of a definite standardized lesson. Catholic boys receive separate religious instruction. Following the short session in which the teacher expounds the lesson there is a practical talk by the superintendent who tries to connect everything he says definitely with the every-day activities of the audience in a homely, simple way. Once a month the W. C. T. U. has charge of a Sunday meeting, and again once a month the W. C. T. U. conducts a dual singing-reciting contest in which prizes are awarded, and a talk is made extolling abstinence from tobacco and alcohol. At every meal the boys are supposed to pray silently in the fifteen-

second interval between the sounding of two gongs, and at night each company lines up, bows heads, and recites the Lord's Prayer in unison. There is also a prohibition on swearing, smoking, immoral conduct, and "sin" in general. Bibles are placed in the reading rooms of all companies. The schools open each session with a prayer.

It is difficult to estimate how effective this type of approach is. It has been the dominant method of constructive treatment from the very founding of the institution, but it has been slowly decreasing in importance. It does not seem conducive to spontaneous religious exhilaration, but seems rather a forced and routine affair to which the boys have been long accustomed and which they accept uncritically. The whole approach in this field seems to be that known as the "ordering-and-forbidding" technique. Sunday school and the Y. M. C. A. nights are valued by the inmates mainly as social or recreational affairs. On the other hand, it is almost undoubtedly true that some boys are reached and helped to develop conventional standards of morals and religion by these efforts. Probably this number of boys is not great. I believe that this approach hardly deserves the time and emphasis that it now receives and that less compulsion would perhaps improve the effectiveness of this part of the program. It might even be true that other activities could be substituted completely for exhortation, with a gain in the institution's effectiveness. This opinion is purely personal and subject to experimental verification.

In line with the emphasis on this approach, the moving picture programs offered are carefully selected in order to eliminate those which might stimulate abnormal recreational tendencies or suggest delinquencies of any sort. The reading which is done in the school classes and in the W. C. T. U. contests, as well as the songs which are taught, is all of a definitely moral nature in the conventional sense. The conventional hero always succeeds and the conventional villain always fails amidst curses and hisses. There is also considerable emphasis laid upon national patriotism. The flag pledge is spoken at each school session, the flag is raised and lowered each day while the boys stand at attention, and the history classes are taught, out of the standard Kansas public school texts, that American history has been glorious and divine as well as that "dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." That national pride in great accomplishments should be inculcated and made an important basis for delinquent education is a truism; that national allegiance of a provincial sort as opposed to world allegiance should be definitely taught seems of very dubious value; especially if textbooks distort historical accuracy for the sake of national glory.

There is, therefore, a rather complete effort to produce conformity to certain standards and to develop individuals conforming to a certain stereotype of relative fundamentalism in religion, of nationalist patriotism, politically, and of conventional moral standards.

The military training given by the institution is much less im-

portant than it has been in the past. At the present time probably no more than one hour a week is devoted to special drill training. The groups march to and from exercise, meals, work, school, etc., but the officers themselves as a rule are not well trained in military drill, and the result is a rather loose system. In some companies, however, drill is more emphasized. This seems especially true in the Negro company, where drill is sometimes made a punishment for minor rule infractions.

The superintendent has planned to introduce some drill competition with prizes for the best drilled company, but he wishes to avoid an overemphasis on drilling. In other institutions this type of treatment theoretically inculcates self-respect, mental alertness, and discipline. The truth of this theory is subject to considerable scepticism; drilling certainly contributes to the rigidity and artificiality of the atmosphere of the institution; on the other hand, it makes the officers' tasks in handling groups much easier than they would be otherwise. The boys' attitude toward drill is not a resentful one, but they do not take it very seriously and apparently have no very deep opinions about it one way or the other.

The disciplinary system has always been more or less on a merit basis, but the emphasis on this as against corporal punishment, internment, etc., has varied. The merit system has never been the sole basis of discipline.

The present merit system may be described as follows: on entrance each inmate is assigned a certain number of credits to earn

for release. The usual number is seventy-five. Forty merits are equivalent to one credit, or seventy-five credits equal 3000 merits. Each boy is given a merit book in which the officers write merits and demerits, which is taken back each week and recorded by the office. Every month new merit books are issued. Each entry must be initialed by the officer making it. A boy who receives no demerits for three consecutive months is placed on the honor roll. The first demeritless month on the honor roll gives him two extra credits; the second month three extra; the third and all succeeding months, four extra credits. If a boy receives any demerits, he is automatically removed from the honor roll, which is published in "The Oasaycap Chronicle." a boy usually receives four or five merits each half day. On Saturday and Sunday he may receive extra merits for doing extra work. Other extra duties are similarly rewarded. The company without an escape for a month receives two extra credits for each boy. As a rule a boy may earn only up to ten or twelve credits a month, and the average length of stay for each inmate is about twelve to fifteen months. The major rules for giving demerits follow: (1) escape, 40-400 demerits; (2) falsehood, 40-120 demerits; (3) vile language, 40-120 demerits; (4) stealing 40-200 demerits; (5) smoking, 40-200 demerits; (6) immorality, 40-400 demerits; (7) cruelty, 40-200 demerits; (8) fighting, 40-200 demerits; (9) destroying property, 40-200 demerits; (10) insubordination, 40-400 demerits.

Repeated violations are subject to additional demerits, denied

privileges, extra work, or forfeiture of merits.

Merits are given as follows: for helping catch runaways, 40-240 merits; reporting major rule violations, 40-200; finding property, 2-15; good school record, 20-40 merits a week; good work, 20-40 a week; extra work before breakfast and after supper, 20 a week; special work, 10-14 merits a week. Outstanding services are rewarded by an extra one or two merits.

Almost every action of the boys is related to the merit system. The inmates are habituated to consider every deed as subject to merits or demerits. This system doubtless stimulates many boys to great effort, but it has the disadvantage of emphasizing immediate reward too heavily. On the whole, it seems justly administered and preferable to any system that has been tried extensively within the institution, and it is especially superior to corporal punishment.

The superintendent has issued orders that officers may not whip boys without special permission, but some of the officers have been violating this rule and one was made to turn in the leather strap all officers possess. The Negro company officer is given a free hand, however, because the superintendent believes the Negro boys might resent being whipped by a white man. The principal of the school was also given autonomy with regard to whipping. Several of the officers are hotheaded and quick to use corporal punishment and do not study the cases long enough to see the results of the whippings they give. For this reason the superintendent has announced that he plans to be more strict in enforcing the no-whipping-without-

permission rule. Officers are forbidden to use their fists or feet on boys, but they are permitted to slap them with open hands. This amount of freedom was permitted because it was found that the boys felt they could be as insubordinate as they chose if the officers were not permitted to touch them in any way. The superintendent does not approve of corporal punishment except for exceptional cases where it will be effective, and he wishes to get completely onto the merit basis. He believes that lecturing, scolding if necessary, and other more dignified procedures are the best possible disciplinary methods, but he has not been able to get complete cooperation from his staff, and many of the officers' rules are repeatedly violated.

Out-of-line boys are appointed by each company officer and by the school authorities to help in keeping order. These boys are not supposed even to touch another boy in disciplining him, but in practice they slap and kick frequently. If the rules are to mean anything, it would seem that they should be more rigidly enforced. The inmates are more resentful of discipline which is itself illegal than they are of open corporal punishment.

As between the merit system and corporal punishment, most of the inmates prefer the corporal punishment because it is over immediately. Many boys resent demerits much more than a severe whipping. This is especially true with honor roll boys, who will do almost anything to avoid receiving demerits, which cut them out of several credits a month. This is an indication that the merit system really provides a better incentive than brutality. It is certainly more dignified and conducive to respect.

Other types of punishment are sometimes used for minor offenses. Floor polishing for an hour, drilling, various chores, lecturing, scolding, etc., are used for these purposes. In addition, several rather severe types of punishment, not actually corporal, are used. These are contrary to the rules, on the whole, but they are said to be still meted out occasionally. The most severe of them all is the "ups and downs." The boy being punished places his hands behind his head and goes up and down, bending his knees, for an hour or so. This is sheer torture--try it--and nothing else. Another, less severe, punishment, is "walking the bull-ring," in which the boy is made to stop play and walk continually around the black line bounding the basketball court in the company playroom; another is "on the gang," when play privileges are suspended. Another is the order for a boy to spend all his spare time standing in a corner with his face to the wall. This is sometimes carried on for the entire spare time of a boy for weeks; it, also, is nothing but torture. Happily, these ingeniously cruel punishments are becoming more and more rarely used.

The previous practice of confinement in a special jail has now practically disappeared. The old jail has been torn out, and the only one now existing is an open wire cage in one corner of the B company dormitory. According to the superintendent this has been used for punishment only about six times in five months. The average sentence has only been about six hours or less. One boy, a Negro, was held there pending the arrival of the authorities who

were to transfer him to Hutchinson. He had started three fires on the grounds. In short, the jail is used so little and so briefly it need not be considered seriously as a form of punishment.

In general, certain tendencies have been present in the systems of discipline enforced. Emphasis has fluctuated from positive, non-corporal treatment to negative, open brutality. At the present time there is a strong tendency to emphasize positive efforts and to put the institution on a complete honor basis. The superintendent is having a hard struggle to do this, as much because of a short-sighted personnel as for any reason.

It is difficult to make comparisons with other institutions from the reports, because reports always tend to ignore unpleasant items. Some institutions seem to have got away from a predominantly penal aspect, however, and their success indicates that Kansas may do likewise. For instance, at Glen Mills, the dormitories are not locked at night, and at the Childrens' Village, the inmates are permitted to wear ordinary clothes and not uniforms. They are also permitted to go to work or school without supervision and on their own initiative. The children in these institutions apparently respond well to the trust so placed in them. A careful study of the discipline systems employed elsewhere would be a valuable aid to the efforts of the Kansas Industrial School superintendent and staff.

## Chapter VI. Parole

One parole agent constitutes the parole department. He does not even have assistance for record-care or correspondence. The agent's wife helps with the correspondence, but is not paid to do so.

The parole agent was a railway employee for about eighteen years, and for two terms was a court clerk in his county. He received two years of high school training and has never had training or experience in any sort of social work. His appointment was made by the governor. His salary is \$150 a month, in addition to the ordinary perquisites, and he estimates that he spends eighty-four hours a week at his work.

The parole agent is willing and energetic, but because of his limited training he has a narrow conception of his task. He is also prevented from inaugurating an effective program because of the lack of assistance of any sort and the large number of cases which he is supposed to supervise, a number which generally averages over two hundred.

According to the standards developed by Slingerland's study, the parole officer "should rank with the chief executive officers in importance and should be selected with great care. He must possess high qualities, a good education, and large social experience; he must also be a qualified case worker."<sup>1</sup> The Kansas parole agent's

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<sup>1</sup>Slingerland, op. cit., Ch. V, p. 9.

character is high enough, but he meets none of the other qualifications stated. As for the case-load which the parole agent should carry, "the best authorities declare that from fifty to seventy-five is the maximum for whom one person should be responsible."<sup>2</sup> The number on parole from the Kansas institution is far in excess of this number, and in the past has reached a thousand cases. An adequate staff for handling the usual number for a sufficiently long period of time would require at least three parole officers, in addition to a record-clerk and a correspondence secretary. Five visiting agents would be by no means too many, in view of the poor local probation and parole facilities throughout the state.

The methods employed by the parole agent are not widely varied for different individuals.

As each boy approaches the number of credits necessary to permit him to leave the institution on parole, the institution asks the local juvenile court judge to report on the home conditions of the boy. If the home is approved, the inmate is usually returned there. If not, or if the boy has no home, an effort is made to find a foster-home, usually that of a farmer who provides subsistence in return for help. Not enough of these placements can be found, and there are always large numbers of boys who have received their credits but who remain in the institution. The following table shows, as of April 1, 1932, the number of boys in each company listed as having received all their credits but not yet paroled.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Commitment	Company A		Company B		Company C		Company D		Company E		Totals		Grand Totals
	Hav- ing	Need- ing											
	All Credits	More Credits											
First	4	28	2	35	5	15	8	29	7	22	26	129	155
Sec- ond	4	10	1	11	3	5	1	10	5	8	14	44	58
Third	0	7	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	2	2	14	16
Totals	8	45	4	48	8	21	10	41	12	32	42	187	229

Table VII. Inmates of the Kansas Boy's Industrial School, by companies, arranged according to commitments, (a) needing more credits before becoming eligible for parole and (b) waiting for parole after earning all credits, as of April 1, 1932.

This table shows that 42, or 18.3%, of the 229 inmates had earned all their credits but were delayed in parole placement for some reason. A few boys have been in the institution for a number of years waiting placement. The parole agent is constantly inquiring of probation officers and other local officials for homes, and he finds a considerable number, but it is impossible for one man to do this work adequately.

To gain parole, each boy is required to sign an agreement promising obedience to a set of rules. On parole, he is required to fill out the blanks of printed report slips and to mail them in monthly. These reports are read and checked in, kept for a while, and then thrown away. They provide rather meagre information and are usually incomplete. As a rule, even if a report which the parole agent received is not completely filled out, it is considered satisfactory, and no further report is asked for. No visits to supervise paroled

boys are made unless some definite complaint reached the institution that an individual is violating his parole. When a serious complaint is received, the parole agent visits the boy and confers with him. If the violations are serious, a return to the institution is considered. If the agent has a chance to visit other paroled boys in the vicinity, he does so. He makes about twenty-five or thirty visits a month on the average. He does not get in touch with any local social work agencies, but confines himself to contacts with probation, court, and law enforcement officials. He has made some attempt to interest local commercial and social organizations to take an interest in supervising paroled boys in their communities, but the results of such efforts have been slight.

The recommendation of the local probation officer is usually secured before the boy is released from parole; a year's parole is ordinarily sufficient. The adequacy of such brief supervision may be questioned, but a longer term would greatly increase the case load. No boy may be released from parole until he is sixteen, and after twenty-one all paroles are automatically discharged.

No case-records are kept except a check list of the receipt of monthly reports. There is consequently, no way to analyze the parole system in any objective way.

The parole agent believes that a staff of four to ten field workers for visiting should be provided unless a complete system of probation officials is provided throughout the state. In relation to this fact, he has called attention to the fifty-year old law providing that the county school superintendents shall have

parole supervision as part of their duties. So far as is known, no county school superintendent has obeyed this law; probably few superintendents even know of its existence or have been asked to cooperate.

The parole agent also believes that the parole department should have complete record and correspondence facilities and that it should be made a separate department, not subject to the superintendent.

There is evidence of friction between the present parole officer and the superintendent, which interferes at times with the welfare of the children. In one case--see the case of "Arthur" in the case-studies in Chapter LX--the parole agent transferred a boy from a desirable to an undesirable and immoral environment, apparently for personal reasons. Such conditions, if they exist, as observations seem to indicate, should be eliminated.

The whole field of parole is a very complex one. Apparently no institution in the country has a really adequate parole system. This is especially unfortunate since only by the degree of success in after-adjustment can the effectiveness of the institution be judged. A few surveys of former institutional inmates have been made, but as a rule only guesses are available. These guesses tend to be much too optimistic.

In 1911 the Whittier State School made a follow-up study of its inmates of the period between 1893-1895 and found that 93% were definite failures. A more recent study by the same institution is

said to have found 70% satisfactorily adjusted.<sup>3</sup> A survey of girls twenty-five years of age or more in 1924 who were committed to Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, between 1913-1915<sup>4</sup> made by M. A. Elliott revealed that only 23.6% of the 110 cases followed up were completely successful in adjustment. 23.6% had definitely failed to make an adjustment, while 52.8% presented serious problems.<sup>5</sup> Further follow-up studies are badly needed in estimating the effectiveness of juvenile correctional institutions.

As a rule, the various superintendents are inclined to guess that from 70% to 80% of their charges make good after release. These figures are usually derived from the fact that 20% to 30% of those released are definitely heard of again as being in unsatisfactory circumstances. But the great majority of inmates slip away from their connections with the institution, and considerable ignorance exists as to their later histories. In the absence of definite data, no one knows how effective the various institutions are. But even an institution 75% effective--the maximum ordinary estimate--is not performing its work well, especially when it is realized that large numbers of children are committed because of dependency or for some trivial offense, and that probably a majority of those committed would make successful adjustments anyhow. It is, in fact, open to discussion whether the Kansas institution and similar institutions do more good than ill. Without an adequate and well-equipped parole

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<sup>3</sup>Whittier State School "Flashes."

<sup>4</sup>Correctional Education and the Delinquent Girl, p. 37

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

department having facilities for thorough follow-up study, this question will never be settled, and the institution will continue to "muddle through."

The whole question of parole is of the utmost importance. Parole should be considered an extension of the institution and one of the most important aspects of the institution. The value of constant and adequate parole supervision is such that many boys are able to adjust themselves satisfactorily under such a system who would otherwise fail to do so. In comparison with the actual per capita cost of the institution, which in the fiscal year 1929-1930 was over \$700 a year,<sup>6</sup> the cost of parole is relatively low, usually well under \$50 a year and even state payment to parents and to foster parents for children's subsistence, which has been used extensively elsewhere as a substitute for institutionalization, costs but \$200 to \$400 per capita a year.

Parole supervision is very difficult and can be performed effectively only by officials thoroughly trained and experienced in criminology and social work. The system should be just as well managed as any other phase of the institution.

The weakness of the parole department in the Kansas Industrial School is, I think, by far the weakest spot in the whole program of the institution.

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<sup>6</sup>Twenty-fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas Boys' Industrial School, p. 32, table 8.

Chapter VII. Special Problems Existing at  
the Institution.

There are certain special problems of various sorts in the Industrial School. Some of these deserve individual considerations.

Behavior problems. Certain behavior-patterns exist within the institution as they do within all social groupings. Many of these patterns and processes are essential and useful. Others present difficult problems in the administration. It is a hard task to direct and control the lives and activities of 220 delinquent boys during all their waking moments, and infractions of certain rules are especially common.

(a) Runaways. One of the most serious of these problems, for example, is the number of runaways, or "hotfoots," as the boys call them, though the significance of this phenomenon is frequently overestimated and is very difficult to interpret correctly by any criterion.

The following table shows the runaways, caught and uncaught, by months, for certain months from 1927 through April, 1932. Records do not exist for the months left blank.

YEAR	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year	Total	Average.													
	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U														
1927										12	0	6	1	3	1	21	2	23	8									
1928	4	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	7	0			3	0	5	1	10	0	33	1	34	4						
1929	6	0	2	1	5	0	5	0	1	0	9	3	13	2	19	0	7	0	12	0	8	0	10	0	97	6	103	9
1930	1	0	2	0	4	0	8	0	1	0	11	1	8	0	5	0	6	2	3	2	5	1	7	0	61	6	67	5.5
1931	12	0	4	0	5	0	3	0	2	2	3	2	14	3	21	1	18	0	29	0	8	0	14	3	133	11	144	12
1932	17	0	12	3	15	1	6	1																				14

Table VIII. Number of runaways from the Kansas Boys' Industrial School by months during the period from October, 1927, to April, 1932.

C--Caught; U--Uncaught.

This table is faulty in many respects. First, it does not define "escape;" an attempt to escape may be included at one place and not at another. Second, it is easily possible that many escapes or attempts have not been recorded. There may also have been deliberate deceptions in the records. These data are all that are available, however, and they must serve in lieu of anything better.

According to the records, on April 1, 1932, 74 or 32.1% of the 229 boys listed on the rolls had escaped at least once. 38, or 17%, had escaped once, 14, or 6% twice, 14, or 6% thrice, 4, or 2% four times, 3 or 1%, five times and 1 had escaped six times.

The following table presents these figures.

	Company A		Company B		Company C		Company D		Company E		Total	
	Negro		Large		Small		Intern.		Intern.		Esc. Ret.	
	Esc.	Ret.										
Not returned after first escape			11				1				12	
One escape	3	3	20	11			11	11	4	4	38	29
Two escapes			5	4	3	3	4	4	2	2	14	13
Three escapes			4	3			7	7	3	3	14	13
Four escapes			1	2			3	2		1	4	5
Five escapes			1				1	1	1		3	1
Six escapes			1	1							1	1
Totals	3	3	32	21	3	3	26	25	10	10	86	62
Complete escapes but still listed on rolls	0		15		0		4		1		20	

Table IX. Number of individuals having escaped from one to six times and returned as often, as of the institutions population on April 1, 1932.

The various slight discrepancies in this table are due to the inaccuracy of the records. The table is presented merely for what it is worth as a general picture of the situation.

Compared with other training schools for boys, the Kansas institution had a large number of escapes during the 1928-1930 biennium. The Minnesota Training School for Boys had 43 escapes during the biennium, or 12.7 per hundred average daily population,<sup>1</sup> while the Kansas institution had 173 escapes from October 1, 1928, to September 30, 1930, or an average of 67 per hundred daily average population. The Whittier State School had 116 escapes in the 1928-30 biennium, or 35 per hundred average daily population,<sup>2</sup> and the Wisconsin Industrial School had 53 escapes in the 1926-28 biennium, or 13.3 per hundred average daily population.<sup>3</sup> The Children's Village had 61 escapes in 1930, or 15.2 per hundred average daily population for one year.<sup>4</sup> This figure, representing only one year, should be doubled, or made 30.4 per hundred to be comparable with the other figures. The reader must be careful about jumping to hasty conclusions from these figures, however. There is no sure way to interpret them adequately. As a matter of fact, escapes are not especially significant in determining the effectiveness of the institutional treatment. It is my opinion that any attempt to increase

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Superintendents, Minnesota Training School for Boys and Home School for Girls, for biennial period ending June 30, 1930. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Fifth Biennial Report, Department of Institutions, State of California, p. 155. (Average population estimated by me.)

<sup>3</sup>Twenty-third Biennial Report, Wisconsin Industrial School, Table 1.

<sup>4</sup>Another Year--1930 (The Childrens' Village Annual Report) p.45.

the amount of responsibility on the inmates will be followed by a proportional increase in the number of escapes. The introduction of a new superintendent tends in the same direction. There is no valid reason for supposing that the large runaway rate in the Kansas Industrial School necessarily means that the institution's effectiveness is low. That may be true, but the opposite may also be the case. Judgment should be based on entirely different factors-- primarily the degree of success in adjustment after release from the institution.

The boy who runs away, even if returned, becomes something of an idol to the rest of the company. This is true even though the other boys suffer for his conduct, since by running away he deprives each other boy in the company of two extra credits for the month. As long as this tradition of hero-worship continues, the runaways rate will probably be high. There has been a slight tendency for it to drop in the last few months, now that the present administration has begun to get its program well under way. If this tendency to decrease continues, the problem will not be extremely serious.

(b) Sex problems. Another type of behavior-problem found in any such institution is that of autoeroticism and homosexuality. There is no way to discover the true extent of this phenomenon, but several changes in policy recently seem to have produced a decided decrease in the seriousness of the situation at the Kansas B. I. S. The youth of the inmates is a factor which prevents the problem from being marked. Formerly, a bright light was left on all night in

each company dormitory as a means of enabling the night watchman to detect any immorality. The effect was, instead, the opposite of that intended. The lights kept the boys awake till late at night, and they posted lookouts who could see the watchman coming long before he entered the building, while the rest of the inmates practiced various forms of homosexuality. The beds were also hard and uncomfortable, and this led to extensive masturbation. The lights have now been replaced by dim green lights which do not interfere with sleep, and the beds have been renovated and made much more comfortable, with the result that the boys go to sleep much more promptly than previously. However, the problem still exists, and the major part of it is held to be in the Negro company; even here it is said to be decreasing. The large proportion in the Negro company is probably a result of the lack of segregation. In this company both large and small boys are housed together and the larger boys are able to compel some of the younger ones to submit to them. The white companies are classified according to size, hence the condition is less frequent. The Negro company officer is diligent in finding and severe in punishing the cases present in his company, and the efforts he has made seem to have had some effect.

It is a question how much sexual ideation and repression, which is often more important than any overt sexual activity, is present in the companies. In the absence of a psychiatrist, it is impossible to state accurately anything in this respect. There is an interesting game known as "the dozens," which some of the officers are

said to have taught the inmates. This game apparently consists of very thorough efforts on the part of two persons to insult each other's ancestors and family relationships until one or both cries "quits." There is also a great deal of the double entendre, and apparently harmless words are interpreted obscenely. One such word is "take." Certain other words have been invented to fit certain obscene situations. "Shag" is one of these, which means "to have homosexual relations." A "chippie" is a passive homosexual participant. In addition to such words as these, there is the usual line of swear words. It is against the rules for any officer or inmate to use any sort of immoral language, but no attempt is made to enforce the rule because the difficulty of detection is extremely great. The officers restrain their vocabularies only slightly. Some of the women officers are not altogether perfect in this respect.

On the whole, I doubt that the inmates vary markedly in their moral standards and actions from the average run of boys of the same age. On the other hand, a statement like this is subject to so many reservations that it becomes valueless. Certainly a psychiatrist is definitely needed to treat cases in which abnormal sexual factors enter.

(c) Miscellaneous behavior-problems and general culture-traits. Other behavior-problems are also present. The most common of all of these is smoking. There is a highly exaggerated interest in smoking, which only a few of the younger boys are free from sharing. The institution has a rigid prohibition against the use of tobacco, either

by inmates or officers, but many of the officers smoke regularly themselves and the enforcement of the rule upon the inmates is very uneven; some officers are very strict in punishing infractions of the rule, while others ignore them almost wholly.

An inmate is seldom able to resist very long the craze for tobacco. The emphasis on the practice is so great that an outside observer is scarcely able to understand it. Not only is smoking a means of attaining prestige and status, but also the very fact that the prohibition placed upon it is so rigid and so constantly mentioned throws a sort of glamor about the practice. A solution to the problem would be difficult to find. The fire hazard at the institution is very great, and any set of rules must take account of this fact. Perhaps permission to smoke at will without official notice would relieve the present tension. Certainly any solution should be experimental and tentative. Smoking-rooms might help. At any rate the situation could hardly be worse than it is; at least 90% of the inmates smoke, and probably the figure should be greater.

Insubordination is of course also a fairly common phenomenon. Because of the increasing morale which the present administration is producing, this problem is decreasing. When an individual who is sullen and unresponsive to the general routine of the institution turns up, the superintendent usually makes a special effort to find the basis of the difficulty and to treat the case individually, so far as the facilities permit. Within the institutional walls only a

small portion of the boys fail to adjust themselves. But the reader must be careful not to jump to the conclusion that the well-adjusted inmates are necessarily completely reformed. The close supervision within the institution creates a rigid and artificial atmosphere which is very dissimilar to the life outside to which the boy must adjust after parole.

The culture-patterns within the institution are not altogether what might be expected. In many penal institutions the inmates' leaders are those who have the longest and worst records of previous crimes and those who break most of the institutional rules. This type of culture-pattern does not seem to be prominent in the Kansas Industrial School. Several factors seem to militate against this. For one thing, the efforts of the officers to be fair and humane is important. The age of the inmates keeps them from looking upon themselves as criminals; few do so, and fewer still plan to be professional criminals for life. They do not, as a rule, brag about their past records although they will answer questions freely. They do not especially admire rule-breaking, particularly when it involves a violation of trust or a refusal to meet an officer half way. The inmates look upon running away and smoking as heroic exploits, however. These ideals are not altogether demoralizing, as a matter of fact, for they signify some respect for independence and self-assertion.

In general, the type of leader admired by most of the boys is the big, strong, athletic man, especially the type of man who does

exciting things. A sailor, an aviator, or a cowboy is such an ideal type. For their personal friends the boys admire especially boys with "nerve" and boys who don't "snag" or "snitch", boys who are friendly and who "stand by" their friends.

In short, there are apparently the same fundamental ideals and mechanisms within the institution as there are in any group of boys of the same ages. It would be interesting to study this further, however, and a more intensive search might find unseen social processes at work.

The effectiveness of the institutional approach. The whole question of the institutional method of handling delinquents, especially juvenile delinquents, is one deserving serious consideration; as compared to a reformatory or penitentiary, the industrial or training school is undoubtedly an improvement. But as a sort of catch-all, as a method for local authorities to pass on the responsibility for handling the cases of problem children without any effort at individual study and treatment, the use of such an institution is being increasingly criticized. William Healy and his associates have voiced this criticism in no uncertain terms. They have said that in the future we shall look back and condemn, as we now condemn the burning of witches, "the often too frequent employment of so-called correctional institutions as dumping-grounds for children whose cases have been rushed through the courts with all too little understanding of the true problems involved."<sup>5</sup> They do not deny, however,

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<sup>5</sup>Healy, Bronner, Baylor, Murphy, Reconstructing Behavior in Youth, p.4.

that a small percentage of problem children whose habits of delinquency and whose personality characteristics are so fixed that they refuse to recognize any authority should be subjected to a well-directed and constructive institutional policy.

The growth of institutions in America has been of a mushroom sort. They have been erected largely because no one conducted thorough studies to find other methods of treatment. At the present time much research and experimentation is revealing substitutes for these institutions.

It is an axiom in criminology that successful treatment must deal with the individual delinquent<sup>6</sup> and moreover, as Clifford Shaw and others have pointed out, with the individual as a member of various social groups in which he develops; and as a corollary of this axiom it is held that the best possible place for treating a delinquent child is in his own family, if it is or can be made approximately "normal". If the child's own family lacks proper supervision or is subject to unavoidable conditions making normal life impossible, a foster-family placement is desirable before there is any recourse to institutional commitment.<sup>7</sup>

Certain factors should be present in every child's life, especially if he is a delinquent and needs careful treatment. He should first of all have a "sense of belonging"--this he can best obtain in his own home; his family should have sufficient income to feel secure and to maintain a high standard of living; good

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<sup>6</sup>Cf. especially William Healy, The Individual Delinquent.

<sup>7</sup>Healy, Bronner, Baylor, Murphy, op. cit., p.7

housing, sanitation, adequate health facilities are essential; the community school must meet the child's needs and arouse his interests; special clinics for solving behavior problems and giving special instruction and advice to the family and the child are necessary; vocational training and employment deserve emphasis; a carefully supervised recreational program should exist; and for those who slip by all these censors into delinquent acts, a carefully worked-out probation service will be able to handle the problem with little recourse to institutionalization.

Kansas has no systematic provision for any one of these special aids to delinquency prevention. In Massachusetts and elsewhere, for example, the state pays foster-homes a small weekly wage to supervise dependent and delinquent children and is thus able to avoid a great deal of the very expensive institutional work which otherwise would become necessary. Kansas, however, has no such provision for child-placement.

The installation of a state-wide preventive program of child-placement, probation, play supervision, psychiatric clinics, social work agencies, and the like promises to be much more effective in decreasing crime than the present punitive system, and while the first costs seem great, the real savings should be tremendous.

This report is not an investigation into crime prevention methods as substitutes for industrial school confinement, and it can go no further into that absorbing subject; but the present type of approach seems to need thorough investigation and overhauling.

That the Kansas Industrial School helps some boys in many ways is probably true. That it should have greatly improved facilities until an adequate preventive probation and child-placement system can be developed is also true. But the atmosphere in the Industrial School is and must be abnormal, restrained, and far from homelike, the discipline is rigid and thoroughly artificial--as in all institutions--and many other defects exist which lie in the very nature of an institutional approach. The public is well justified in questioning all such efforts and in attempting to find a substitute program better suited to the situation.

Chapter VIII. A Representative Week--

The Diary of a Pseudo-Inmate.

The investigator spent the eight days from January 29 to February 6, 1932, as an inmate of the institution. As far as possible he did everything the other inmates did. He did not try to conceal his identity, but he did try to convince the boys that he was not spying on them, and he feels that most of them acted very naturally in his presence.

During his incarceration he wrote a complete diary of all his doings, which constitutes this chapter of the institutional survey. This diary gives a day-by-day account of institutional life from the viewpoint of the inmates and is presented here as a description of a period which is probably as nearly representative of the Industrial School's routine life as any one week that could have been chosen.

The diary is a series of first impressions, printed substantially just as it was written. A few of the impressions later turned out to be incorrect, and all statements concerning the institution should not be taken too literally in details. On the other hand, this is a fairly accurate general picture of the school. It is also perhaps a rather too intimate picture of the investigator's personal idiosyncrasies, but he is willing to sacrifice himself on the altar of science.

All names have been systematically changed. Officers' names are prefaced by "Mr.", while inmates have no titles.

Friday, January 29. I arrived at three-thirty in the afternoon. At four-thirty I was started in by Assistant Superintendent Johns. My number would be 6403 if I were a real inmate. They gave me a sheet of paper with all sorts of questions I would have to answer if I were being entered. Mr. Johns took me to the commissary and I was outfitted with overalls, shoes (two pairs), a cap, socks, but not with a shirt because they were fresh out of shirts. Then I would have had to go to the hospital to wait for the doctor to come out and examine me, but they waived this, because sometimes it takes him two weeks to get to the institution.

I put my own clothes with Mr. Johns for safekeeping and got in line at detail. We marched in to wash. I was immediately besieged with questions, and I told the kids what I wanted. They asked me my name, my town, the number of credits I had to make, and my offense. They laughed when I said I was just here to look around for a week or so, and they never did understand exactly what I wanted, because they all wanted to get out so badly that they couldn't see why anybody should want to get in. We marched into dinner. My company is B, under Mr. Smith; it is the company of the largest boys. At dinner we took our hats off, bowed our heads between gongs--nobody prayed, so far as I could see--sat down and proceeded to eat without any talking, theoretically. As a matter of fact there was a lot of it, as much as anywhere, indeed, but

with closed lips. For supper we had potatoes (scalloped, but not really cooked--"after all, you'r not at home," one boy said), fish, cabbage, milk, bread (not enough), a cookie. The rule seems to be to give one of each main item of good and then to have the boys fill up on bread and milk. Those who were caught talking had to stand up in the middle of the room, but less than one-half of one per cent. ever get caught. The officers don't try very hard to catch them. After eating, we folded our arms. Then we marched out, went to the company, washed, took off our shoes, and went up to the play room. I taught a guy how to play skunk. He seemed to like it. Bed's at eight-thirty or nine, and we get up at six.

I really like the boys very well, and they seem just like any other kids of the same age. Two of them from this company had escaped a day or so ago and they were reported about caught. The penalty is demerits and a blistering on the rear.

The boys generally seem to like the place, although they say a year or so of it is hard and tiresome. They say time passes fast, though. There are magazines and cards and Bibles in the play room. The Bibles are used mainly to throw.

The officers get much better food, as I have occasion to know after eating in both dining rooms. In the BDR (Boys' Dining Room) signals are used for food. If I had any manners before, I think a week of this place would destroy them forever. There are not any standards of esthetics or cleanliness whatever. The building I live in is new and clean, though. It has the usual gymnasium smell.

Wrestling, reading, cards, writing, and so forth, are about the only diversions.

Mr. Smith, the company officer, is well liked and seems efficient. He mixes freely with the boys and doesn't seem too hard-boiled.

All the boys smoke. They find tobacco along the road or in officers' rooms or get it down town or bum money and buy it somewhere. They use toilet paper for cigarette paper and light safety matches on windows or radiators. Some can light cigarettes from light sockets. There is a technique of doing everything, and they are quite willing to tell me what it is if I ask.

This is the oldest company and should be the toughest. I haven't seen any evidence of homosexuality, but it's early yet. Company A (Negro boys) is said to have the most.

The boys have pointed out to me that even those who are sent up for truancy don't have to go to school. After the fifth or sixth grade, school is optional. One boy says he wants to be an aviator or a mechanic, but the blacksmith shop doesn't give very much training of that sort. There's a jail for the runaways, but it is supposed to be too weak to hold anybody. They're tearing down the old jail and haven't used it for some time.

This place is like a big family. One boy came up to say, "It's not so bad." Of course, this may be just a pose; I shall have to discount a lot of remarks intended for my hearing.

The two boys who ran away have just come back. Somebody advised me, if I planned to run away, not to tell my plans to anybody in advance

because, if I did, the boy I told could get merits by telling on me. The escaped boys are telling their stories to admiring crowds. They aren't afraid and don't seem to have been punished severely. One apparently had his feet frozen.

I finally learned the signals at dinner: two fingers for milk, one for bread (bread, being the staff of life, is primary), three for salad, etc., and almost everything else, and four for salt.

"Evilminded" is a word heard frequently. It is applied when some boy interprets obscenely what seems to an outsider an ordinary word. Other phrases in the vocabulary are these: "trees" or "sticks" mean matches; "enough for one" or "one-half" means "enough tobacco for one cigarette or one-half cigarette;" "got anything?" means, "have you any tobacco?" "Bunions," "shakedown," "hotfoots," mean sore feet, searches, and runaways.

Saturday, January 30. Forgotten from yesterday: Mr. Johns advised me to tell the boys the truth and not to try to fool them, so I did. About two or three are bigger and heavier than I am, though, and I've shaved off my moustache, so I might have got by.

After dinner we wait for a gong and then we put all the utensils together so the waiters can get them easily.

Today: for breakfast we had two shredded wheat, one biscuit, jelly, milk, bread. For lunch, meat--mostly yellow fat--, milk, bread, one sweet roll, potatoes, bean salad, peans and carrots. For supper, soup, crackers, bread, milk, pie.

Last night we were locked in our wire cage covering half

the play room. I slept pretty well, considering everything. Best showed me how to make my bed when I got up, then I dressed in my simple garments, washed, marched to breakfast, marched out for work on the "extra force," (unclassified workers). It was awfully cold. We went to dig stumps. I got some gloves, but I needed three more pairs, also about three more pairs of pants, because I didn't have any underwear except what I had to start. We went out to the stump field and grubbed and chopped a little, but the ground was too hard to work, so sat around and talked. Smith--Mr. Smith to you!--doesn't believe in too much strictness, he said, but says he treats boys as human beings and has only one rule: that they're always to tell the truth. He doesn't snoop. He seems quite conceited, but he also seems to get very good results, which is more important. The boys like him, but they think he is conceited, too. He lets them go anywhere they want in the company building. He hasn't missed anything from his apartment yet, though he keeps it open all the time.

We came in from stump-grubbing and sat in the chicken house. I went to sleep. Then about eleven forty-five we went back to lunch. After lunch I started to play cards with a kid, but I got hooked into painting the laundry. Saturday afternoons the boys pick up lots of extra credits by doing such work. I didn't need any credits, but I wanted to do everything naturally. We didn't get through by supper, so I have to go back and finish the undercoating, at least, afterwards. Tonight is shave and bath night, and I hate to miss. I may not have to, though. The "evil-mindedness" is of course still here, but it's not any

worse than anywhere else, I guess; I'll match any fraternity house with this bunch. Now I have to paint.

Sunday, January 31. We have to paint again, so I have to hurry with my writing.

Last night we got in a paint fight, and my face was dark gray, but I wasn't the only one, because I sure soaked the guy that got me. We also got to throwing putty, and that stuff stings when it hits you. I looked swell when I came back. I got to wash my face in gasoline, but I didn't get a bath (and won't for a week, unless I get a special dispensation from the pope or something).

The cutlery is usually badly bent. The plates are white enamel and fairly clean. We get a plate, cup, knife, fork, and spoon, usually. Breakfast this morning was pancakes, stewed plums, ralston, butter, sorghum, and milk. The officer got hard at us for talking and threatened to put us all in the middle of the floor. Last night an officer slapped a Negro boy hard several times in the dining room. I don't know why. Yesterday too Mr. Jackson got hard while we were at the chicken house with Mr. Smith and said he'd do the cussing if any was necessary. Apparently some was necessary, because he did plenty. That's the rule, it seems or at least an old Spanish custom. He made us kids stand out in the cold while he and Mr. Smith smoked inside.

Smoking is forbidden, I hear, because of fire hazards, not for moral reasons. Mr. Smith said somebody was smoking at night and that he'd find out who it was by himself. The penalty is ten swats, I think.

Everybody is talking about a war with Japan, and wanting to get in it. I guess it's unpatriotic to reflect that war is all damned follishness. I really think a "scarehead" by a Topeka paper is all that has made everybody excited.

Last night while we were painting and after Mr. McLeod had left, one of the boys rang the phone and the office sent somebody down to find out who did it. He didn't find out and left. Wray told him he had rung it back after the office had rung first, but not before. That wasn't the truth, but it passed. After we got through work, we all had pie and gasoline, and got to bed about nine fifty. Somebody snored and somebody yelled in his sleep and the pillows were harder than rocks, but I slept well regardless. It was hard to get up this morning, but, as in everything else, there was no choice; all our decisions are made by somebody else, and they are irrevocable, as a rule. I begin to get a little tired of the place, but no more than I would in any routine; I hate all routine and always shall.

A boy at the table last night had a red balloon which he manipulated for my benefit. He was in E company. I see one of the boys I am going to study. He is surely little. It's not so tough on these bigger boys to leave their families and homes, but I suspect it's hard for the little kids. I haven't met a boy yet who seems to me not a fit subject for foster-home placement or some other attempt to adjust without institutionalization. Perhaps it is too late for one or two--there is one who is a professional bum, so they say, and

another I know who has a terrible home life. He told me his father beat the devil out of him and that his mother ran off with a Negro. He seems starved for affection. He's a pretty good kid, but flighty and mischievous as the deuce. None of them seems to present any really insoluble behavior problems. They all respond readily to human treatment.

I just got out of more painting by saying I wanted to see church, which is partly true. They took up my merit book because they didn't have a chance to do it last night when they got the rest of them.

They dusted the floors this morning. They seem to work on this floor especially hard, or maybe it's just my imagination. There isn't any gymnasium in our company, unfortunately. Company C is in the same fix, but A, D, and E all have good ones, as well as reading rooms.

Herman is working in the hospital below our company now. I haven't talked to him, but he grinned at me in line.

Mr. Smith's radio is going, and we can hear it.

Whenever an officer or visitor comes in, we have to stand attention for a minute. It's a gripe. We also have to march everywhere we go, to meals, etc., but not to work--at least we don't usually do it going to work.

The marching is sloppy and by no means rigid. We look like a chain gang as we march along, but I think the boys avoid having a prison psychosis, which is fortunate. They by no means look upon

themselves as prisoners, but they tend slightly (not so much as I expected) to look on their delinquencies as joking exploits. I must confess that delinquency assumes a more and more normal aspect all the time. Superficially, I should judge that the family and local situation has everything to do--negatively, perhaps, though--with a boy's coming here. He may be in a broken family, or one of low economic and social status, and be in a neighborhood which presents few opportunities for normal participation and self-expression. Also the authorities may be too strict or too lenient. There are apparently great variations in court standards, and very petty offenders are sometimes sent up here. Some, however, are sent up for doing regular "jobs" and doing them systematically. They don't seem any worse than the others, though.

A well-developed probation system might help, although it's not effective without some improvement in the family situation.

I shaved and then we all went to Sunday school. We drilled a little because it was cold, but we had to wait in the corridor outside the chapel, and we practically froze. We went in and sang songs the boys suggested: "America," "The Little Church in the Wildwood," "There is a Melody Ringing in My Heart," "Yield Not to Temptation," and afterwards, "You Take the One Next to You." In the class discussion, led by a Washburn student, I was told to pay attention and to wipe the grin off my face. I couldn't keep from laughing--he was such a fundamentalist--and when he said that I wouldn't ever have got there if I had paid attention in school at home, the whole

class exploded with laughter, but of course he didn't know why because he had no idea who I was. Then later he asked me what he had been talking about, and since I have developed the ability of knowing what a lot of dull professors might be talking about without paying more than a minimum of attention, I said that I thought he had been talking about "physical and mental," though it all sounded somewhat confused. He then asked me what I meant by "spiritual," and I said I didn't mean anything by it, never used the concept, and didn't believe in it, since it represented an outworn Platonism, so I couldn't answer. (The fourth point of his talk was to be "everyday life," but we never got there.) He asked me if I believed in God--all the while shaking his finger in my face--and I said I didn't know. I got all shivery, partly from cold and partly from realizing I was breaking rules by arguing with an officer. Then I had to tell him what commandments I believed in, and I said the fifth, sixth, and eighth. He didn't know what they were, so I had to tell him. He asked me if I believed in adultery (the seventh), and I said I was a follower of Bertrand Russell. He said, "Oh! A Radical!" He grew constantly more embarrassed and his face turned bright pink as he came to realize that I hadn't been sent up for anything.

He insisted doubt meant disbelief, and I let him have it his own way because it was a matter of no significance to me. He ended up rather weakly by saying that "spiritual" meant belief in God, the church, etc. Afterwards he came up and said he didn't think the boys were ready for my particular brand of agnosticism, and I said

possibly his "religion" was not harmful to them, but that I didn't think I would hurt them either--otherwise I should have different beliefs.

I told him I was from K. U. The boys all got excited and cheered me on. They were very much pleased with the argument, because Sunday school is generally a gripe.

Superintendent Victor told the boys that there must be something to religion if everybody outside went voluntarily to church. He pointed out that "Yield Not to Temptation," which we had just finished singing, applied to Slim and Hallam, who ran away, and he said Slim's feet would always be tender from freezing. He said he didn't try to force religion on boys, but offered it to them if they wanted it. The teacher had been very dogmatic, however, and had certainly tried to force his opinions on the class- with little success. That was one reason I argued with him. The boys were all cowed, as might be expected. The teacher used the four-finger and "practical-application" business in his talk extensively but very crudely. He bragged a lot about how strong he was and how he stayed out late at nights--a regular devil, no doubt--but he didn't fool the boys, because they said they always did think he was a sissy.

This is Sunday, so I have on my khaki uniform: soldier cap, black string tie, coat, pants (no pockets), black shoes, etc. I shaved too before Sunday school. The razor pulled, as usual. After Sunday school, Mr. Smith made me get up and lead everybody

in reading the lesson, because we hadn't done it. I wasn't very successful, but we dragged through. Now we're sitting around waiting for dinner.

It was cruelly cold this morning and we had to stand outside a long time. An officer slapped a little Negro kid. I don't know why. Slapping is not infrequent, but perhaps not overly done. I hear that other company officers make boys stand in corners of the play room for punishment. There are also always one or two boys who have to stand up at dinner for talking.

We cleaned up the floor this morning, because visitors are expected this afternoon.

Wilbur's through painting, but he has to go back. Little was to go home today, but he isn't. He says if he doesn't get to go next week, he'll run off. Maybe I'll do it with him. I'd like to try it once, but if I did it by myself, they wouldn't come after me.

I can now distinguish George, Little, Hoffman, Wilbur, Slim, Hallam, Wray, Best, Wallis, O'Gonner, and others, but not by name. Officers I know are the Messrs.--society item--Smith, Jackson, Victor, Olliff, Love, Johns, McLeod.

A lot of boys have to work on Sunday and miss chapel. Work precedes religion, evidently. Also recreation, although you do get extra credits for working Saturday afternoon and Sunday.

Two per cent. of the boys who run away are said to escape, permanently. It's the hope of this that makes hotfooting exciting.

I took a nap this afternoon in the playroom after inspection. Inspection is like this: we line up in our Sunday suits and march over to another playroom--outside when it's warm--and stand around until Mr. Victor and Mr. Johns and some others look at our clothes. They decide whose uniform needs changing. Then we march back and change to our old clothes. There's a movie tonight. (Sunday!)

For lunch we had meat, potatoes and gravy, milk, apples, bread, and apricot turnover. There's a lot of milk, but few green vegetables now.

Religion is very much a matter of form, I should say. The way Mr. Smith says, "Bow your heads!" and the way he makes us read the lesson and go to Sunday school, willy-nilly, is typical, although the singing is hearty--and jazzy. The teacher we had evidently is young and believes all these boys are hardened criminals, which is preposterous.

As I went to sleep for a little while in the afternoon, I heard some of the kids talking about me. One said he thought I'd go to investigate Lansing next; another said I'd leave next week; and another said I was a pretty good kid, all right. Nobody dissented from this, so far as I heard, so I suppose they like me all right and are willing to accept me, at least partially. This is really one of the most congenial groups I've ever met.

There's some petty bullying and domineering by the boys who act as out-of-line boys, but they aren't grudge-holders, and they usually laugh at the end. They just don't say, "please," but

instead they sort of slap or kick you into place. I feel sure I am seeing the officers and boys much as they naturally are, because they couldn't conceal their habits entirely. There's no coddling, because an order means business, and there's no, or at least little, brutality; on the other hand, I don't know how adequate the habits formed in this routine would be when the boys have to decide for themselves and to act on their own initiative. This rigid routine is thoroughly artificial, but it almost undoubtedly gives some boys a perspective on themselves and a moderate amount of insight into the social significance of their acts.

For supper we had ham, warm potato salad, gravy, milk, jello, fruit salad--no lettuce--, and graham crackers. The waiter is little, but he is fast and well-liked. He's in for swiping some cartons of cigarettes with "Dead-boy" Leroy, so he brings Leroy lots of extra food. "Dead-boy" sits across from me. At the next table they get oranges twice a day, and one of the twenty youngest kids that I am studying is in the bunch. I forget who, but I recognize him from his picture.

I went down to see Herman today in the hospital. I had to get permission, although it was in the same building. You have to get permission to blow your nose around here.

I learned tonight that the BDR officer--Mr. Faith?-- would slap you if you didn't bow your head and shut your eyes between prayer gongs (fifteen seconds apart). This makes the boys all very, very religious.

After supper somebody threw the cat and it hit a guy. Nobody

saw it done, though.

Mr. Smith asked me how I was getting along and I said all right. He calls me "Big boy," but I'm not quite the biggest in the school. The boys call me that or else, "New guy;" not being particular, I answer to either.

I don't suppose the officers know any backgrounds or particular histories of offenses of any of the boys. There is strict impartiality and no attempt at individualization, so far as I can see.

We apparently have a clean table cloth every day. The laundry cleans all right but doesn't do any ironing, and everything is rough. My pajamas are hard as cast iron and shrunk and wrinkled. They never saw a button either.

The kids are all exceedingly interested in my writing, but I haven't showed them very much of it yet. They ask me what all I put in to fill up so much space.

None of them reads much, except newspapers; Liberty is the most exciting and best magazine by far in the boys' opinion. Wilbur said he thought it was perfect--and that it even beat The American.

I haven't seen anybody mistreat or tease any of the officers' kids. They play with them ideally.

We don't have napkins. I guess the table cloth edges are supposed to do.

Slade, in the tenth, and Domingez, in the seventh, grades, claim they asked to go to school and were refused. Slade was sent up for truancy, which seems peculiar. I'll have to investigate.

An hour drill is the rule every Sunday. Today was too cold. Everybody hates it. It's about time for the show now.

Monday, February 1. The show last night was "The Lost World," by Conan Doyle. Everybody was excited over it and O'Connor got a blanket after we were locked in, imitating Bull Montana. We didn't quiet down for a long time after we went to bed.

Sneed likes to scratch people with his fingernails. He's the head out-of-line boy. I heard today from Wilbur that the officers are only supposed to slap with open hands, and that the out-of-line boys are not supposed to kick or slap at all. He told me if I'd kept my incognito I'd have learned twice as much. I see a lot though; and this place looks a little worse all the time. At noon today a colored kid busted a boy who had tripped him, and the Negro officer(Vincent) got hard. Sneed said he had a big strap that he'd whip with. It's a round sewing machine belt. He's supposed to beat company A a lot, but that may be just talk. Mr. Smith has a strap he gives ten swats with for smoking at night. A lot of them don't smoke because they like him. Some do smoke, though, and some don't like him (George, for instance).

O'Connor showed me how to swipe a Chevrolet today without a key. It might come in handy.

For breakfast we had corn flakes, milk, toast, and jelly. For lunch potatoes and gravy, meat, cooked apples, water and bread. For supper, apples, oranges, Spanish rice, stringbeans, bread, milk, cake, and that's all, I guess.

This morning I went on the extra force and helped load "shorts"--- five of us loaded seven and half tons. That was a little too heavy for a four-months old appendectomy. Mr. Duncan and Mr. O'Reilly supervised. Mr. Smith was off today (Monday) and Mr. Jackson took his place. He was tough, or seemed so to me. Mr. Smith is tough enough when he wants to be, but he has a way with boys. Mr. Duncan is very windy and brags a lot. The ideal of both boys and officers is to be heavy and strong, evidently.

This afternoon Mr. Johns asked me if I wanted to go to school, and I was afraid of such heavy lifting as I had been doing, so I said yes, and Mr. Love marched me over to the eighth grade. We pledged allegiance to the flag, and said the Lord's prayer. We march everywhere, too; there is little freedom. Everything is marching, drilling, obeying, paying attention, etc. We studied arithmetic, history-- ten minutes--, agriculture, reading, writing, and wrote a letter. No spelling or geography today. The history was American and was extremely chauvinistic and distorted.

Everything is very patriotic and fundamentalist. No heresy or heterodoxy is permitted here. Are all Kansas grade schools the same? I never went to one. The boys show the results of their training with intense but abstract loyalty to the institutions they are taught to revere. The school teaches what to think and not how to do it. Lessons are crammed down, no homework is permitted-- much less required, and we change from one study to another rapidly. No order is maintained by Mr. Love though he threatens constantly.

Best hates school. He used to arrive twenty minutes late and miss arithmetic and Mr. Love kicked, so Best got sore because he was getting four credits a month by doing extra work, and getting to school on time would knock him out of them. He was altogether irretractable with Mr. Love, quite different from usual. I think a good case worker would be required to handle him. Certainly he won't be educated this way. A psychiatrist is really badly needed here. There are several personality problems, and I think some feebleminded.

I don't know whether I'm seeing everything or not. Wilbur says not, but I think I see more than he thinks I do. Then of course I guess at a lot more, but even so I must admit there is probably a lot of concealment by the officers and out-of-line boys and even the other boys in my presence. They naturally don't kick me around as they do everybody else or talk normally in every respect when they know I am listening.

I got picked out this morning to sit at the orange table, where you get oranges twice a day. The best one from each table is sent there each week. ( I learned later that Peters was responsible.) I guess I didn't raise quite as much cain as some of the rest, but I was only there two days to have the honor.

The officers have things all on their side, of course. Otherwise, I daresay it would be impossible to do anything.

I must get a copy of the rules for officers before I go, or sometime.

Tuesday, February 2. Mr. Jackson let us wrestle around awhile last night. Mr. Smith doesn't usually. Jackson let the kids bet licks on racing. The strap is leather an eighth of an inch thick and about fifteen to eighteen inches long. It's about an inch and a half or two inches wide. It's only used to punish smoking in bed, I guess--ten licks.

Mr. Smith is sick, and Mr. White got us up. The boys don't like him, but Mr. McLeod took the company after breakfast. He's a good guy. Breakfast was oatmeal, apricots, milk, jelly, one roll, and oranges (for our table only). Lunch was potatoes, sausage, kraut, milk, tapioca, and bread--no oranges.

Mr. White made us go to exercises this morning--the first time I knew there were any. We exercised ten or fifteen minutes, and the flag was raised. We stand at attention every morning--if we go--to watch it raised, and every evening after work it is lowered. Some bugling is done, generally rotten.

Everybody sort of picks on Wallis. He's not small, but he's fond of bull-throwing and he's not much of a fighter. Last night Hallam made a dart and was throwing it into people. I turned around just in time once.

Best, Little, and Wallis went to Scout meeting last night. They are the only three from this company. It's supposed to be an honor.

Little and Peters are two highly cultured boys for their ages. I wonder how they got here--probably some trivial offense. If these

boys are hardened criminals--and this company ought to be worst of all, because it's the oldest and biggest--then my name is Johnson. Some of them will probably turn out to be, though, if a good deal of very expert technique isn't used in handling them. Some of them seem badly suppressed, and I think Jung could explain the delinquent careers of these very well. They're not likely to get over their inferiority (Wray, Miller, etc.) here, except as they get training and so develop some means for attaining status later. That doesn't seem to be happening. Others seem starved for affection. Others only seem to want human treatment. Others need a chance to prove themselves. The last group have the best chance here, for there really is some degree of vocational training.

I worked with Mr. Faith and the Company A boys in the laundry this morning. They have two washers, two wringers, a mangle, a dry house, and five hand ironers. One wringer was broken, and so was the mangle, but they fixed it. I ran the wringer by myself. Mr. Johns asked if I wanted to see the other shops, but I said I had already.

I think by this time everybody is wise to me and is careful not to do anything wrong around me, so that I probably shan't see much from now on. The colored boy I worked with wouldn't say much about Mr. Vincent, but admitted he was pretty tough.. I have no first hand evidence of any brutality on his part, though.

The boys all agree that Mr. Andrews, the former superintendent, was terrible. He is said to have let officers knock the boys down and treat them in almost any fashion.

I suppose we shall have to go back to work soon. I hope we have more to do than we did this morning. I suppose the rest of the week will pass somehow, but it's going very slowly now. That's my main complaint with life here.

For supper tonight we had sausage, kraut, potato balls, milk, bread, Spanish rice, beans, oranges, and apricots with graham crackers and sauce. I ate too much. I had swiped some graham crackers from the BDR and I ate them with milk.

After lunch Mr. Faith took me over to Mr. Biggs in the shoe and barber shop. I started to cut Herman's hair, but I had to stop, and Slim finished. O'Connor's kid brother shaved me, but the razor was awfully dull and pulled badly. I watched the boys fix shoes, but really loafed all afternoon. I got to swinging around in the officers' barber chair and Hoffman said Mr. Biggs and Mr. Holmes laughed. He said they'd have given me 500 demerits if I'd been an inmate. That's an exaggeration, of course, but they might have given me some or scolded me, at least. About four or four-thirty we took some milk to the BDR and there we swiped the crackers. Hoffman skimmed all the cream off and Slim took it to their table. We watched the flag lowered and then washed for supper.

We have special slippers for the playroom. Mr. Smith is good at seeing that we have all the equipment we deserve. We have to grab for towels. These get on the floor all the time, and it would be better if we had separate or even roller towels. We brush our teeth every morning before breakfast, but I don't think everybody does it. Sneed doles out the toothpaste.

Some of the boys have to clean the playroom and dormitory and some have to clean the toilet in the company when the rest of us aren't working at all. The company does this by platoons, and the boys who do the work get extra credits.

This morning was fold-up day. We took sheets and pillow-cases, and they went to the laundry. The mattresses were swept, sprayed, and aired all day. We'll have to make beds in a while, just before we go to bed. Mrs. Bland is very meticulous about the bed-making--she can cuss like sixty, too. She's rather good-looking, though.

Tonight we go to chapel for company entertainment. Thursday is Y. M. C. A. night. "The biggest job you boys have to learn to do is--life!" (bang, bang, bang with his fist on the table) said one of the boys in describing these Thursday night lectures. I think it was Slade, a good kid. Nobody fools these fellows very much. They aren't credulous or gullible to any great extent. The opposite rather. They ought to make good scientists.

Mr. Lang, the bandmaster--band practice was this afternoon--, was in charge of the kitchen today. He didn't seem to care how many crackers we swiped. Mr. Biggs didn't seem to care how much or how little work we did, either, and we didn't do much, any of us. Slim told me how he happened to run away. He was in the barber shop and went after Hallam to get him for a haircut and they went together, but couldn't get a freight. They got thirty miles away and walked the whole distance. Slim got too near the fire, and his

shoe sole burned off. That's how his feet got frozen. It's hard on him, because they'll be sore for a long, long time. He said a kid wouldn't mind this place much if he got work he liked, but he wants to go in the blacksmith shop or plumbing shop and not cut hair.

The work here is a curious mixture of odd jobs and vocational training. It's not so bad though, all things considered, and I think they at least try to fit the kids into the jobs they want most of all.

Five or six boys are going to be operated on tomorrow for tonsils or adenoids; probably more than that need it. They'll get them later, I suppose.

I've been trying to see if by any chance these kids aren't at least a little worse than the worst I went with when I was kid-- none of whom went to a place like this--, and I'll be jiggered if these aren't perfectly normal. They're all sorts, and they average up just like any gang I ever knew.

Wednesday, February 3. Last night company E put on the show, with songs, music, and boxing. We all sang songs in the audience, too; Mr. Victor told of a tramp who knocked at his door last night for shelter, and then he compared the tramp with the boys, saying that the boys were much better off. He also praised the sportsmanship of Josephs (our waiter) and company E's Wallis, who had been boxing. We came home and made the beds--after a fashion--and Simons punched our Wallis for calling him names. There was no real fight though. We made a racket because Mr. McLeod had

charge, and we could get away with it. Leroy pulled out a "wild west" magazine and read it in bed by the green lights. They are verboten and consequently, like cigarettes, are very much desired. This morning, for breakfast we had oatmeal, milk, jelly, oranges, prunes, and toast. For lunch, we had noodles and meat, bread, water, celery salad, cranberry dessert. We've had butter only once since we got here. I think there's a Kansas law against serving oleo, so we don't get anything.

On the way to breakfast Mr. Vincent grabbed a little Negro kid by the collar and yelled at him, "Do you want me to punch you? Do you want me to punch you? Do you want me to punch you?" The kid cringed and said, "No." He didn't get hit, but he was badly frightened. I think the boy had talked in line or something. Most of the A company boys seem cowed or terrorized by Mr. Vincent. I'll have to talk to them. Mr. Johns put me in the commissary to work this morning. I ate cocoanut and candy and oranges, and swiped a pencil to see how it would feel. If I worked there all the time, I'd soon be rich enough to retire. I swept the floor, but after nine fifteen we didn't have any more to do, and I took a nap. Sneed had his tonsils out, and I took his place. The other kid said Sneed smoked all the time. A fellow has a snap there, without supervision or anything.

Mrs. Bland just gave O'Connor fifty demerits for having on his shoes in the playroom; that knocked him off the honor roll and cost him about five and a half credits, or 220 demerits--a severe penalty. She'd told him before, though. He is planning to run away. I'd

like to go with him if it weren't so cold. There are narrow limits to my heroism.

Mr. Johns asked me my criticisms of the place, and I said a parole system was badly needed, which seemed safe enough. I also said some small changes might be advisable, and he said he knew it. He said their theory was to get the boys smiling and feeling good so as to help them more easily.

He agreed that most were here because of their home conditions, that this should be a place of last resort, and that, in general, the boys were just like any others and should be treated the same.

Mr. Beach and Dr. Rice--Dr. by virtue of a D. D. S. -- are in charge of the commissary. Rice is also dentist.

There's a sort of fear epidemic among the boys about this tonsil business. They're scared--some of them, at least--and I heard of one who threatened to use a ball bat if they tried to get him. Some of them have asked me how it was to have tonsils out and I told them it was sort of fun, really, and that it didn't hurt any to speak of.

I got a letter from Cliff Gordon this noon, the silly fool. He didn't have anything to say but had to write. I'll burn him up in return. I think I'll write several of my other friends from here.

For supper we had hominy, potatoes and onions, cocoa, bread, beans, fruit salad, and oranges. The cocoa didn't have any sugar, so we couldn't drink it. Washington asked Mr. Biggs if we could have sugar and he said, "No." I don't know what value cocoa without

sugar has, but not much, especially if nobody drinks it.

This afternoon we grubbed stumps again. We got a little done around one stump, but that's all. It was too cold, and I'm too soft for such work. I'll be stiff tomorrow anyhow. I'm ready for bed now. Today passed fairly quickly. I guess the rest of the week will do the same.

Mr. Sauer was in charge this afternoon. He's the best yet. He doesn't even cuss much. Most of the officers say, "If there's any cussing to be done around here, I'll do it."--And they usually do--or need I have added that?

There are a great many examples of the obscene double entendre around here. Last night, for instance, Mr. Love asked the audience if it was going to take that, referring to one side's being beaten in singing by the other or something, and everybody laughed at the implication, which was of course wholly unintended. They look at me when such a case occurs. Having had competent instructors, I usually understand.

Herman gave a harp solo, "Old Black Joe," last night. It was fair but rapid. I think I'll try to get him home with me for awhile. His family didn't get him Christmas, and he could have gone. That's hard on a kid, especially when everybody else goes.

The Oasaycap Chronicle came out today. I notice several kids are mentioned who went home Christmas and were turned out; or could have gone and their families didn't get them.

Brill says everybody thinks I'm a spy. I was afraid they

would, but it can't be helped. They can't really conceal much, though, I believe. For instance, this afternoon the other three boys--Ericson, Westen, and Swede--pulled out a snipe when Mr. Sauer left for a while and each took a drag. It couldn't have been more than an inch long. They got a big kick out of it--forbidden fruit, I guess. They asked me what I'd do if they started to run and I said, "Nothing." It was purely a rhetorical question. One of the three had escaped and been in Texas for a year and ten days. They caught him in Joplin. He has to start all over. That doesn't sound like a whole lot of fun.

Up above the carpenter shop and barber-shoe shop are the tailoring and cutting shops, and a storeroom. I loafed awhile in the carpenter shop. They made doghouses and toy windmills today. They have the tools there for the whole farm--the portable ones, at least. They have a pretty good carpenter shop, I guess, but of course I don't really know much about it.

If I were an officer, I don't know whether I'd let my kids run around here or not. I guess it would be all right. They'd just learn early what they'd learn anyhow later. I don't suppose that would really hurt anything much.

I'll have to wait awhile to think of more to write. I'll quit now for a little bit.

There are several boys here--McClure and Wray, for example--who have earned their credits but have no place to go. It seems a shame that they have to be treated like everybody else. I

think perhaps I shall suggest that they be given special privileges and treated more like guests and less like prisoners. This could be a good home for a kid if he felt free to do more as he wished.

I also think the boys ought to be given more responsibility in some way. Now their thinking is all done for them. That doesn't prepare them very well for the difficulties they'll meet after they leave.

Dr. Rice just caught George, Wallis, and Leroy "fogging" (smoking) in the toilet, but he said that he'd not turn it in and would give them another chance. George says if he did it again, he'd deserve to stay here a long time.

Thursday, February 4. This morning George, Leroy, and Wray were smoking in the toilet. There's a ventilator that takes off the smoke. Apparently George and Leroy didn't think much of their promise to Dr. Rice.

The boys in the kitchen get up at four thirty. God knows when they sleep. The dairy boys and several other kinds work every day. A haircut is more important than school--anything is, I guess, because they yank boys out all the time if there's something to be done.

For breakfast we had grapenuts, milk, syrup, butter, pancakes, raisins, and oranges. For lunch, chipped beef, sweet potatoes, gravy and bread, water, and dates or prunes for dessert.

This morning I started out with Mr. Faith to shovel oats from one bin to another, but Mr. Wiedeman needed a boy, so I went with him to the hoghouse and fed and watered the hogs. One 700-lb. sow

was awfully sick, and he was giving her pills, but it didn't do a whole lot of good. One of the farm officers really ought to be a vet. Mr. Wiedeman says they lose animals they ought not to lose. He says he never saw Mr. Vincent hit a boy yet, but he said Mr. Vincent said he had to terrorize his company to get anything out of them, because they were Negroes. I wonder? The Negro out-of-line boy slapped a couple of Negro kids today--not hard, though. Wray cut up in line and deserved the few pokes he got from O'Connor. That boy's a psychiatric problem.

Mr. Wiedeman joked all morning and gave Arthur 500,000 demerits. Arthur just laughed. Mr. Wiedeman and Mr. Jacobs both said this was a good place for any boy who behaved himself. That's true, I think, but more than that is necessary. Mr. Jacobs' wife censored all my mail and told him all about it. There isn't exactly a lot of privacy here. They say George used to smuggle letters through the censor when he was office boy. He got kicked out. Stafford used to swipe confiscated tobacco from Mr. Victor's office. He got kicked out, too. He's a pathological liar, I think--a hard case to handle.

This Arthur boy is a good kid. Mr. Wiedeman gives him complete freedom. He has credits enough to leave, but no place to go. His parents are both dead.

We got the hoghouse all smoked up. It was terrible. It's fun working there. Mr. Wiedeman has a lot of wit, and there isn't much work, and hogs are dumb brutes, but fun to watch. They have

pretty red hair--just like Ted Barker's--I wonder if Ted has his kid yet.

There was an inch of snow last night, but the sun was out today and some of it thawed--the snow, not the sun.

Peters works in the print shop and he says maybe he can cut me some more note cards like these I'm writing on. I'm about out.

Brill has a little bag sewed in his overalls for tobacco. He didn't have much in it though this morning. I think he sews. The boys who make overalls put their marks on them, but I don't know who made mine.

This afternoon I worked in the horsebarn under Mr. O'Reilly. Wilbur and I hauled cinders--half coal. I got fairly cold. The sun was out, but the snow only melted a little.

I got a razor from Mr. McLeod and shaved tonight. He has the company because Mr. Smith is still sick. Best, Simons, and McSpath obliged me with a fag-lighting exhibition from the light socket. They frazzled the edge of some toilet paper and popped the sockets a couple of times with the lead in a pencil. I don't see why the fuse didn't blow. They didn't get a light before they had to quit.

I neglected to say that Mr. Wiedeman recommends warm cow-dung poultices for inflammation or infection of the skin. I'll have to try it if I ever need to. "They is nothing like good warm cow-dung poultices," said Mr. W.

We had a speech tonight, sponsored by the Y. M. C. A.

Lawyer Higgins of Topeka spoke. He said friends were often valuable. After listening to this pertinent commentary, we sang, "The Little Church in the Wildwood," and "Yield Not to Temptation," two great favorites. We also sang, "America." I have to laugh at some of the phrases, such as "Author of liberty," "Let freedom ring," etc., in this place.

The boys have no dramatics at all. This seems unfortunate, as that is probably the most socializing of all activities. Mr. McLeod put Little in Wallis's place out-of-line, while Sneed is in the hospital. Haddie has the itch and is in the jail for three days. He waited on the officers in the ODR with it for two weeks, I hear.

The hoghouse looks like a fire trap. There really is no adequate fire protection anywhere around this place. There are also no fire drills that I know of, but the dormitories are supposed to be fireproof. We're locked in, and if we got stuck while a fire broke out, it would be just too bad.

Friday, February 5. Last night, going to bed, little Malone got absent minded and didn't count off right, and Best slapped him hard across the face. There was practically no justification for it.

If we don't bow our heads when we're supposed to be praying, it's tough. This ought to be good training for later agnosticism, if my theories are correct: that force produces reaction.

Wilbur showed me a rockpile Mr. Andrew used to have the runaways break up after they were caught. I understand runaways got 2000

to 3500 demerits, or at least about six months added to their stay. Wilbur claims he's had more chances to run away than anybody he knows, and I don't doubt it. He had a tractor and went alone about seven miles off the farm to bale hay, but didn't even think of hotfooting, he says. He could've run off yesterday afternoon, for that matter, up the frozen creek, and nobody could have seen him. I wouldn't have interfered.

Wallis is shooting off at the mouth some more. He cringes and threatens at the very same time.

All the boys want me to give them my new clothes when I leave, but I want to take them with me if possible. I don't know whether they will sell them to me or not.

I looked around the engine house too, yesterday. There's an electric side and coal side. About all the boys do is shovel coal and take away the so-called cinders. It certainly looks to me that a lot of coal and coke goes into the cinders, but of course I'm no engineer, and the grade of coal used may be such that a lot of waste is necessary.

It's hard to write without a million kids hanging over my shoulder. Right now nobody is, but one just gave up in despair. I talked to him so hard and fast he couldn't read anything. Yesterday Mr. Victor asked me to come in to see him before I left. It was after somebody threw a rubber basin-stopper at the dining-room door; Victor was there, and he came out. He picked out George, showed him the stopper, and smacked him playfully in the arm with his fist. He laughed and so did we. The boys like him a great deal.

This morning for breakfast we had oatmeal, milk, alleged French toast, raisins again--nobody touched 'em--, and sorghum.

For lunch I ate in the kitchen and had butter, bread, crackers, soup, peaches, milk, and pudding--cornstarch flavored with butter-scotch.

For supper we had lima beans, bread, milk, oranges, corn, cookies, and slaw with cocoanut in it, which ruined it for me.

This morning I worked in the kitchen. First I eyed and sliced potatoes, then I helped scrub the floor with lye-water, then got some coal and emptied some trash. Then we loafed around till lunch. We ate in the kitchen. I ate too much and felt lousy all afternoon. After lunch I went down to the engine house and worked under Mr. Brown, the fireman. The head engineer is twenty-nine and a graduate of Purdue. Jefferson is his name. He took me for an inmate. He horsed around a lot. We loafed all afternoon. I helped load and haul coal into the engine room. I had a dark brown taste in my mouth, and didn't work very fast.

Mrs. Bland gave Little fifty demerits for sliding down the banister yesterday. A heinous crime, and a richly deserved penalty! He has seventy-four credits though and ought to go home soon.

Mr. Bland, the plumber, said he thought they wouldn't have any hotfoots if they let the boys smoke. I don't know--it's possible. They used to blow the whistle ("wildcat") when they had hotfoots, but not any more.

"Bumming out" means hiding out from work. A "snag" is a "snitch"

in my language.

The boys in the kitchen get a hot iron to light their smokes by. The boys in the engine house use live coals out of the furnace. Little, McSpath, Carlos, and five or six others all smoked this afternoon at the engine house. There is a wall they can hide behind, but really nobody tries to catch them anyhow. This uneven enforcement of the rules is characteristic to some extent everywhere, but it is of course natural and perhaps inevitable.

Peters wants me to come to the print shop tomorrow. I think I'll drop by there. He said Mr. Mallin, the printer, wanted to see me. Peters wouldn't tell me why he was sent up here. He just said, when I asked him, "For messin' around." He's a good fellow. He wants to learn printing, but they have no linotypes here.

So far I know in this company at least the following: Patrick, Best, O'Connor, Little, Sneed, Wallis, Peters, Malone, Wilbur, Simons, Miller, Wray, Brill, Taylor, Quayle, Hoffman, Hallam, Slim, George, Domingez, Carlos, Macbeth, McSpath, Leroy, Slade, Reed, Patten, and Poiret, That's twenty-seven or about all.

Simons says you get a whipping if your school work is below a certain level, so he quit. The boys who break dishes get about forty demerits for each one, whether it's accidental or not. They plan to write a joint letter to Mr. Victor, telling him dishbreaking is accidental and asking him to ease up. They weren't quite sure how to word it, though, and wanted me to help. It would be a good idea for the boys to have some way of expressing their just grievances. A complaint or suggestion box would be a good thing.

As my week here is just about to end, I am more than ever convinced that this mass treatment is far inferior to individual treatment in homes, natural or foster. Maybe that's just a pre-conception I had all along, and one for which I've sought confirming evidence, but I don't think this moral exhortation and general rigid and artificial routine life is likely to have much permanent effect. This is not to deny that Mr. Victor undoubtedly helps many boys, some permanently, and that the institution is remarkably well run, relatively to the obstacles it must face. I have indicated previously its characteristics, and I think the greatest weakness is its reliance on rule-of-thumb methods of habit-formation. To me habit-formation seems the basis of all successful criminological treatment, and it needs to be very expertly done to succeed in the individual case. More officers with sociological training are much needed, I should say.

An example of this weakness of the institution is seen especially in the emphasis made in the vocational work. The greatest emphasis is on getting the institution's work done. Practically no theory is taught and the daily activities are not given any larger significance except in some few cases. I think classes in vocational theory should supplement the day's work. I also think those trades should be emphasized which are best for the kids, regardless of their immediate value to the institution. This requires a great shift in emphasis, and perhaps more personnel, but I think it is necessary. Courses in dietetics, physics, engineering, plumbing, etc., should be part of those trades' activities.

McSpath is up here for forgery. That seems strange, but then a lot of very "respectable" college boys write wooden checks, and there isn't much difference. I doubt that the treatment here would help such a case much. This emphasizes my point that individualization is almost impossible in an institution of this sort.

Mr. Maple just got McSpath and Leroy for basketball. I wonder what athletic program is attempted for the smaller and undersized boys. I haven't come in contact with the athletic side at all, but apparently the bigger boys here, as in a college, get to do all the participating, while the others are left to yell on the sidelines.

Hoffman has a catalog of miscellaneous things. He is especially interested in a garter pistol; also in a cigarette lighter. I never saw such an exaggerated interest in smoking as there is here, due mainly to the prohibition of it. Perhaps also juvenile delinquents tend to smoke prematurely. I doubt it, but who knows?

Some places of work are very much more desirable than others. I don't know how they allot the boys, but many are disappointed. I suppose a crude attempt at individualization is made, but no really adequate study.

I forget whether I have put down previously my idea that the boys who have earned their credits but who have no home to go to should be given special privileges. I should also include those boys who are here for dependency and not delinquency. There are quite a few included in these two classes.

So far I have missed working in the following departments: the

chicken house, the print shop, the tailor and sewing rooms, the electric shop, the hospital, the house force, the greenhouse, the spud cellar, the plumbing shop, the bakery, the dairy barn, the blacksmith shop, and the office. But I have visited of these the following sufficiently to be fairly familiar with them: the chicken house, the print shop, the bakery, and the office.

I shall try to visit the others tomorrow for a while and take some notes. The blacksmith shop is said to have very inadequate equipment to do much mechanical work. I daresay some other places do too.

I must find out how much vocational training is given in the schoolhouse. The old schoolhouse is used only at recess for a gym, I guess.

Finally, I feel there is little positive harm done to the boys here. I shall put it this way: that the public will be content with the institution as described in my report, but that sociologists and those with similar training will not be. The public is interested in efficiency and the absence of brutality, but the sociologists want an industrial school to be more than just a place to keep boys out of mischief for a time. Whether this does more than that I can't say, but with the number of really serious problem children here, I feel this place needs many improvements which will probably not arrive for some time, if ever. In fact, as I say, perhaps home environing is the only possible effective criminological treatment. I should not be much surprised if that proved to be

the case, but I have yet insufficient data to be very dogmatic about it.

Saturday, February 6. (Last day) Notes taken on the various departments after casual visits:

(Dairy barn) They seem to have good quarters for the cows and very good cows--about thirty-five of them, I think. I'm sorry I didn't get to work here with Mr. Brush, as he is supposed to be the worst company officer here. Mr. Jacobs has charge this morning, but I can't find him.

(Grapes) They have a lot of grapes set out. They're raking straw off of them today. They have strawberries too.

Mr. White just yelled at me to come back. He thought I was a hotfoot. When he saw who I was, he said to go ahead. If I'd run when he yelled, I'd have had some fun trying to beat them all.

(Blacksmith shop) They do most of the repairs on school trucks, and a few officers have their cars repaired, but not many. The equipment seems very scanty. They also shoe horses, I guess.

(Ice Plant) This has about 2800-lb. capacity.

(Greenhouse) This is small, but moderately good, I guess. I can't judge, really. Nobody is here. They have as the chief feature of this place a banana tree. Some little green bananas are on it.

(Bakery) Only one piece of machinery is here, except for the slicing knife--a mixer. They have ovens also, of course, but the rest of the work is hand work. Three boys and the old man, Jake, work here. Beside the ovens there is a steam cabinet. The boys here don't seem

to wear white clothes as they do in the kitchen, but the white clothes in the kitchen are always in bad repair.

(Plumbing shop) Nobody here but a lot of pipes.

(Electric shop) Mr. Jefferson is showing Little how to weld. Mr. Bland is grinding cylinders with the electric lathe.

(Tailor shop) Here they make shirts, overalls, Sunday suits, white clothes, and some wool mufti. They have two power sewers, and the rest are mostly foot-machines.

(Sewing room) Here they repair clothes, etc.

(Carpenter shop) Pretty adequate equipment here, apparently, but some crowding.

The superintendent's house is a shack. The old school building is lying vacant. That's about all there is to see, so I guess I'll quit.

Chapter IX. Case-Studies of Twenty  
of the Youngest Boys.

As a means of describing qualitatively some of the ways by which boys develop into pre-delinquents, the investigator made, in addition to the institutional survey proper, a series of case-studies of twenty of the youngest boys in the institution as of November, 1931. The individuals were selected because the office records of the institution showed them to be the twenty youngest inmates. In a few cases the records were later found to be incorrect, so that the twenty are not exactly the youngest twenty but belong in the youngest group. The only basis for their selection was the fact that the records showed them to be the youngest.

These studies are not intended to be full descriptions of the way criminals are made, but they do reveal, in a half-opaque fashion, some of the factors which seem to produce, in combination, the social phenomenon known as delinquency. They are designed to give the reader, especially the layman reader, some insight into the home conditions and life-histories of the boys who are committed to the Industrial School at an early age.

One of the startling impressions derived from these studies is the deduction that these children have been so little held back as they have and not that they have developed delinquent tendencies for which they have been committed. The wonder is that they are not much worse. Consider the case of "Arthur," the illegitimate

son of an illegitimate mother, committed for truancy, disobedience, and staying out late at night--but really because the shack he and his seventy-seven-year old great-grandfather lived in was no fit home for an animal, much less a ten-year old boy. Arthur's home conditions couldn't have been much worse, but he is an extremely pleasant and honest boy, above average in intelligence, and loved by all who meet him. Other boys are not so honest or so bright, perhaps, but many of them show surprising resilience in conquering almost unbelievable home conditions. To condemn them as "little criminals" or to throw up one's hands in moral exasperation at the sight of their "wickedness" is hardly the most effective way to treat them so as to make them into valuable adult citizens.

The procedure of making these case-studies was as follows: Notes were taken from material filed in the records of the institution on each case. Following this, the various probate judges or local social work agencies were asked to investigate the case and to furnish a complete report of the boy's home situation and history. In addition, questionnaires were sent to the schools known to have been attended by the individuals. These questionnaires asked for a school record of attendance, school-behavior, progress, etc. In addition, an effort was made to interview each boy thoroughly to find out every aspect of the case as he saw it. Only one boy, "Darius," was not interviewed, and he had been paroled to another state. At least one teacher of each boy within the institution was also interviewed. The case-

studies were compiled from the official records, the local studies, the returned school questionnaires, and the interviews with the teachers and boys. There were occasional discrepancies, but on the whole the various reports corroborated each other. In the cases of two boys, "Blueberry" and "Richard," no local case-studies were received and no school-questionnaires were returned. In the cases of four boys, "Harvey," "Jerry," "Lee," and "Jack," the local studies were very poor and inadequate. The remaining local studies furnished the investigator were, on the whole, good, and the cooperation of the local officials, social workers, and school teachers, while not very prompt in all cases, was fairly thorough.

1. Robert.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 109. Adventist. Age at time of first commitment,  $8\frac{1}{2}$ . Age at second commitment, 10. Age when studied,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Confined in B. I. S. February, 1929-February, 1930. Paroled. Returned October, 1930. Charges: incorrigibility, stealing, lying, and running away. Father, a barkeeper, in penitentiary for life for killing wife when Robert was five. One brother, 17, in Missouri reformatory. Two sisters, three other brothers. Robert cared for by mother's sister and her husband, a railroad painter and Adventist preacher, with two married children and a baby of their own. Robert drawls. Height, 54", weight  $73\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. at age of 10 years.

Robert was born in October, 1920, in a small Missouri town. He was  $11\frac{1}{2}$  at the time of this study. He is fairly good-looking, with blue eyes and light hair. He speaks with a drawl. He is in the fifth grade, and his I. Q. is reported to be 109.

Robert's father was a barkeeper and is described as being lazy and of bad character. Robert's foster-mother, who is his mother's sister, has an extreme hatred for his father, who is in the state penitentiary for life for beating his wife to death. Robert was adopted by his aunt and her husband after his mother's death. The foster-father is a painter and boiler scraper for the Santa Fe and an Adventist preacher on Saturday. He is said to receive a salary of \$200 monthly, which is the highest income of all the twenty cases in this series. The foster-mother is extremely nervous, has a goitre, and is hard of hearing. She is altogether unable to handle Robert and alternates between whipping him and reading the Bible to him. The boy is supposed to have been taught sexual practices by some older person.

As for physical characteristics, the boy was fifty-four inches tall and weighed seventy-three and a half pounds at the age of ten. His eyes were found to be 20/30, and he complained of deafness. He has had vaccine, typhoid and diphtheria sera. He needed circumcision when examined. He reports having had no children's diseases.

The foster-parents are extremely religious and they have taught Robert to be so, too. On Fridays the family commences

its Sabbath. Robert has been taught that moving pictures are sinful, and he does not like them for that reason. He sneaked into a theatre once with a crowd of boys, and he goes to movies occasionally, but says he would prefer more movies about Jesus and less about other things. He receives each week a religious magazine called "Our Little Friend," which he prefers to cowboy stories or other types of reading.

He hates girls and children, and he plans to be a bachelor because he says all women marry men for their money. He has a great aversion to talking about anything relating to sex and looks down on the boys whom he knows to practice masturbation. He has apparently a great mental conflict; on the one hand, he has been reared in an atmosphere of excessive puritanism and warned of the sins of sex and mammon, and on the other hand, he has had contact with older persons who seem to have initiated him into autoeroticism. His sexual ideational life is vivid. He is of a nervous temperament.

Robert's school development has been uneven. He likes school and has played hockey only once, but he has been praised for accomplishments in reading and singing, so that he has developed those talents and fallen far back of his grade in spelling and arithmetic. He has an extremely great imagination, likes to talk and tell stories. These stories often are untrue, but as a rule they are not intended to deceive. His behavior in school is good except for his story-telling. His attitude toward school is good. He repeated the first grade, but his teacher believes that it might have been due to his having been taught in a private school.

He began to steal small articles from his family and others when he started to school. He was also willful, and his foster-mother was entirely unable to manage him. He had three Negro companions nearby his home, and he says they got him into his trouble but that he didn't tell on them, so they weren't committed.

When he was a little over eight, he ran away from home and was sent to the Industrial School. He spent a year in the institution and received no demerits. He was returned to his foster-parents with an infection on his head caught at the school. The infection kept the neighbors' children from associating with him, which closed up his normal play outlets, and in addition his foster-parents were obliged to spend a considerable amount of time and money to heal his scalp.

Robert says his foster-parents have always been very good to him and that his foster-mother was not mean to him but that she was too sick to handle him. The superintendent of the Industrial School at the time of Robert's first parole believed that another foster-home should be found for the boy, but nothing was done, and when the foster-mother caught him stealing some prunes from the pantry, she felt that the last straw had been placed upon the camel's back and had the boy returned. She now refuses to have anything more to do with his supervision until she is well or dead. She still takes much interest in him, however, after his release, the boy plans to go live with his brother in Wichita, who has a job there, although Robert's sister, who lives in Missouri, would

be preferred. Robert is sure he will never again be committed to the Industrial School.

Robert is very much interested in music. He played a clarinet in the Industrial School band until the company officer made him stop going to practice after some boys had escaped that way. He plays also in the rhythm band. His greatest achievements, however, are in singing. He has won two singing medals, and he likes to sing jazz songs or "blues." He sang in a Topeka hotel lobby once, accompanied by his sister, and the audience contributed \$2.25 for his performance. He would like very much to be a radio blues singer. His next desire is to be an aviator and then a preacher, which indicates that he may not be so religious as he professes to be. He doesn't smoke and he has a great aversion to tobacco. He doesn't like to fight.

He doesn't seem particularly well adjusted with the other boys, and he is not very popular. He says the other boys fight too long and too much and that they call one another bad names. He has great energy for what he likes to do and is something of a leader.

Recommended treatment: a psychiatrist is needed for this case, since it is probable that mental conflicts and the boy's ideational life interfere somewhat with his social adjustments. He has excessive ideas of sinfulness, and his attention has been concentrated too much on the subject of conventional morality.

All the authorities in the case agree that he should never be returned to his foster-parents. If he is placed in a normal home and if he is made to bring his arithmetic up, while his singing

and reading talents are developed, he will probably find the means to achieve a fairly secure social status and so make a successful adjustment. His home environment has been extremely unfortunate throughout. He has been fairly well adjusted to the routine of the Industrial School and has never caused much trouble. His I. Q. and his capacity for energetic leadership make his prognosis good if a strong but sympathetic set of foster-parents are provided. Had such a foster-home been provided before, he probably would never have required any Industrial School experience at all.

2. Gene.

American. Parents American. Urban. Age at time of commitment 10.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  when investigated. Methodist. I. Q. 86. Confined in Industrial School November 1931. Previous record includes court appearances for school misconduct, begging, taking money, fighting, destroying property, etc. Expelled from school twice. Speech defect. Weight 58 lbs., height 53" at age of 10. Father a heavy drinker, dead. Mother a factory worker. Three older brothers, one older sister; one brother also in Industrial School. Charity received by the family.

Gene is one of the most fascinating and lovable boys in the institution. He is also one of the most troublesome. He has a speech impediment which makes it difficult to understand him and

perhaps makes him seem of lower intelligence than is actually the case.

He is extremely polite and affectionate and never neglects a chance to say something pleasant. He doesn't know the meaning of the word "discipline," however. He talks out loud in school, leaves his seat as he chooses, and has no idea of obedience.

Gene's father was a carpenter by trade. He was a heavy drinker and had considerable trouble with his wife. A few weeks after Gene's birth, he died. The mother went to work and supported her family. She later married another man, but he would not support her, and she divorced him when Gene was eight. She is an inspector in a can factory and earns \$18 a week to support herself and five children. She has had very little education and is apparently not of normal mentality.

The family has had a long series of contacts with the local charity society. At the first interview, the father stole a social worker's purse. The mother's word cannot be trusted. The two boys who are in the Industrial School, as well as the oldest boy, are persistent beggars. The oldest boy was sent to the Topeka institution for a year, but his sentence was cut a third because of good behavior. Since that time he has had irregular employment and has done considerable begging. He is now 17. The girl, 15, has an I. Q. of 48. She is stubborn in school and impudent. She has never been in court and seems to be improving somewhat. The third boy, 14, became tired of grade school and wanted to go to junior high. On being refused, he left school for good. He has

no court record. The two youngest boys, one 12, and Gene, 11, are the most serious problems. The older one has great influence on Gene and they spend a great deal of time begging. They do not seem able to learn and have been truant much of the time. They are much easier to handle separately than together. The mother is glad that they are in the Industrial School and is pleased with their progress under the discipline there.

Gene has received only ten demerits in the first five months of his confinement.

He says his mother washes the clothes on Sundays after working all week. He says his oldest brother looks after the rest of the children. He admits fighting in school and causing his teacher trouble, but he says he didn't hurt other children and that he liked his teacher. He has repeated the first grade four or five times.

He says that he begged on the streets with his brother because he didn't know any better and that his mother told him to stop when she learned of his begging. The money received from this source was used for candy, movies, and so forth. He likes comedies best of all movie shows. He likes school pretty well, likes to spell, and also to read, especially fairy stories. He is supposed to be in the second grade, but is really only in the first. His teachers in the Industrial School agree that he is of low mentality and his former teacher reports his I. Q. as 72, but a test made after several months in the Industrial School is reported to have

revealed his I. Q. as 86.

Gene wants to be a policeman when he grows up and catch robbers and put them in jail. He says it is wrong to rob from stores. He has very little insight into his own situation and doesn't connect himself with crime of any sort. He is very hazy in his remarks and doesn't seem to understand well. He needed some help from his brother about a few facts, but he seems to tell the truth as a rule.

Recommended Treatment: Gene needs a thorough psychological examination to determine his exact capacities and abilities. Treatment of his speech should also be given in order to remove the bar to successful social adjustments which this presents.

He does not seem to miss his home although he likes it. Some sort of supervision should be arranged for him. If this cannot be done within the present family conditions, a foster placement would be desirable.

Gene does fairly well under strict supervision and is content to let adults lead him. He needs training in ordinary social standards very much and has probably had none held up before him by his real parents.

He is probably defective and the prognosis is not bright; on the other hand, with close supervision he should adjust himself moderately well.

This is a case that perhaps should have been prevented by sterilization of the parents. The family has, to be sure, lacked supervision, but as the social worker states, the mother's influence would probably not have added much improvement to her children's

behavior or prospects.

3. Darius.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. unknown. Christian. Age at commitment nine. Age when studied 10. weight 51 lbs. height 48" at age of nine. Tonsils large. Bad teeth. Father, automobile mechanic, died when Darius was six. Mother had five sons and one daughter by previous marriage. One full brother, five years old. One-half-brother formerly on probation in Iowa for car stealing. Other half-brothers robbed a jewelry store, according to Darius. Darius under court observation over two years prior to confinement. Charges: extensive stealing, forgery, opening mail, being out late.

Darius' mother was married and had six children before she divorced her first husband. She then married Darius' father and had two children when her second husband, who was an expert auto mechanic, died. Darius' mother then moved from Iowa to Kansas and worked part of the time in a restaurant. She lived with her brother-in-law and his family in crowded and undesirable quarters.

Darius' half-siblings are all considerably older than he. One of them, was placed on probation by an Iowa juvenile court for car-stealing. Darius himself later implicated some of his other half-brothers in a jewelry store robbery. He later repudiated this statement. The family has had a desperate struggle for subsistence ever since the death of Darius' father.

Darius was in the fourth grade when he was committed to the Industrial School. He is excellent in his school conduct and has respect for his teachers. He is shy and reserved and plays by himself usually. He is also sly and has taken so many things that he can hardly be trusted out of sight. He started by taking automobile keys and articles out of cars, milk bottles, pies, bicycles, a horse, flashlights, automobiles. He usually merely took autos, horses and bicycles as loans. It is significant that he is unusually interested in machinery and apparently is "crazy" about automobiles. He was placed under the supervision of the local probation officer and the local judge took him into his home and had him examined by a child guidance specialist in Kansas City, who suggested that the child be placed in a foster home where his mechanical inclinations could be trained. This was not done. Darius is exceptionally bright in some of his studies, especially reading and arithmetic, and his local teachers liked him very much and took great efforts with him. The relatives of the boy were not cooperative, however, and they took little interest in his welfare.

Darius learned that his mother was receiving a mother's pension check of \$10 each month. He opened his mother's mail, signed his mother's name on the back of the check, and cashed it. For this, and because of the general home situation, he was sent to the Industrial School, where he remained for 13 months. He was then paroled to his mother, who took him and his brother back

to Iowa, where he was born. The Kansas judge, who sentenced him, made a heroic effort to have the boy placed on a farm in his community because the mother had refused to cooperate in any way and was desperately poor, but a local newspaper gave the boy so much unfavorable publicity that placement became impossible.

Recommended treatment: The boy has never been trained in the thing that interests him most: machinery. The economic status of his home and his mother's indifference militate against success in his present circumstances. The boy should probably be placed in a good foster-home where he can be given good training and have the things which most boys have. His delinquencies seem definitely to have been started because he wished to have the same things as other boys and because of his craze for autos. He is inclined to be sneaky. Only the supervision and training of sympathetic and patient foster parents seem to offer much hope of teaching him a better sort of social attitudes.

4. Clyde.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 77. Catholic.

Age at first commitment  $10\frac{1}{2}$ . Age at second commitment 12.

Age at third commitment  $12\frac{1}{2}$ . Age when studied, 13.

Weight 89 lbs., height 57" at age of 12. Eyes 15/20. Needs glasses. On probation to parents for stealing from store.

Broken after two months for stealing from neighbors. Committed to Industrial School. Paroled after a year to parents, who

returned him after six months. After five more months in the institution he was paroled to his parents again, who returned him in two months. Father a windowwasher, with work irregular. Mother mentally subnormal, a housewife. Two other boys 4, 19; three girls, 17, 3, 1.

Clyde's parents were married very young and neither had much education. Clyde's father is a window-washer and his work is irregular, so that the family is poor. He is trying to buy a home, however. Clyde's mother seems to be below normal mentality. Neither of the parents has ever been able to exercise authority over the children. Clyde's eldest brother, 19, has not been interested in school and leaves home whenever he chooses. He refuses to work and complains because his parents do not give him enough money. He strikes his mother when she displeases him, according to her report. Clyde's older sister, 17, has been irregular in school attendance, and has stayed out nights with boys. She has left home because her father told her not to do as she was doing, and now earns \$6 a week in an undertaking establishment where she lives. She has a court record.

Clyde's other siblings are under four and present no serious problems yet.

Clyde repeated grades one and two and seems unable to learn. His I. Q. is about 77 or below. He demoralizes the other pupils and goes into tantrums when he does not have his own way. He does better work with his hands than with his head and is

particularly interested in farming and growing things. He does not wear glasses although he says he cannot see the blackboard in school. He talks somewhat through his nose, and may have adenoids.

Clyde has great difficulty in staying at home, and there is serious antagonism between him and his father. He has often run away from home and stayed for several days at a time. On such trips he has been accompanied by other boys and together they have got in trouble. His parents seem to have no control over him whatever. Clyde hates to be at home and never takes his family into his confidence or tells them where he has been. He says he likes the Boys' Industrial School much better than he does his family and that his father mistreats him and whips him. He says that he was paroled home twice and that his father refused to let him stay either time. His story conflicts with his mother's who says she spoils him. At any rate the boy is desperately unhappy at home, and his parents have no conception of how to control him. Clyde likes farm work very well and wants to be put on a farm parole instead of being sent home. The parents do not seem proper guardians.

In the Industrial School Clyde seems to have become well adjusted. The teacher does not want to hurt his feelings by telling him he cannot do third grade work, so she gives him second grade work, especially in reading and spelling, and calls it third grade. In basketry and work done with his hands, Clyde is very obedient. He is good enough in all his conduct when he has his own way, but

when he is crossed, he becomes very much excited, kicks, and goes into a tantrum. His behavior is very unstable.

Clyde plays the clogs in the rhythm band and has sung in singing contests. He is also learning to play a harmonica. He says his family never writes to him; they have, however, sent him some candy. He wants to know why his family never gets in touch with him. He doesn't want to be paroled home again and he says his father won't let him come home again.

He seems fairly well adjusted socially. He likes the other inmates and also the officers. He likes to play all sorts of games. He received only 50 demerits during his first confinement, none his second, but in his third, he has received demerits every month. This doesn't affect his record, because he has more than enough credits to be paroled, as he was returned for replacement and not for parole violation.

He is emotionally unstable perhaps because of some organic defect. His testicles were undescended at an examination made when he was nine.

Recommended treatment: A psychiatric examination should be given since the boy is emotionally unstable. This is probably partially a result of the type of parental authority in his home, which seems to have alternated between extreme leniency and brutality. Since the boy is also anxious to work on a farm, a farm-placement in a patient but strict family would be advisable. The prognosis is good if he is taken away from his family, since his parents probably

should never have been permitted to have children because they have little conception of how to train them. The boy is below par mentally, but seems moderately capable so long as handwork and not abstract thinking is involved. He does not seem to mind institutional life.

5. Richard.

American. Parents American. Urban. Methodist. Age at first commitment 9; age at second commitment 11. Age when studied  $12\frac{1}{2}$ . Weight  $80\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., height 55" at 11. Eyes 20/30.

Enuresis. Father a truck farmer at present. Father a foreman when employed. Mother a housewife. Twelve siblings born in family, two dead. Five brothers, one dead, seven sisters, one dead. Committed for stealing. Interned for eleven months and paroled to family. After sixteen months returned for stealing again. Confined thirteen months and paroled to family.

Richard's home is a small deteriorated five-room house in southwest Kansas. His father is a section foreman, but has been out of work for a long time. He is now doing a little truck farming and helping his wife at home. There are eleven children in the family, including Richard.

Richard received no demerits during his first confinement at the B. I. S. and returned home in less than a year. He was out almost a year and a half when he was returned for the same offense.

He was in another year and then reparaoled. Now he is sure he will never go back to "that" place. He is in the fourth grade and does well in his work although he does not seem to have been encouraged very much in his attendance.

Richard admires athletes very much and doesn't smoke because he says it would shorten his wind. He has built up a newspaper route and he spends every evening after school working at it. His parents are very proud of his paper route interest. There seems to be a great deal of harmony in the family, and the children are well-behaved.

At the institution, Richard was well liked by his teachers. He is responsive to encouragement and works especially hard when he is praised. He occasionally loses his temper, but responds to reproof and is made ashamed of himself by being talked to. He was considered very honorable by the institutional teacher under whom he studied and probably above average in mentality. He did not like the institution very well, however, and thinks that the officers slap the boys too much. He also says he was never given enough time to study his lessons. He doesn't care much for the food. He believes the officers are not too partial, but he says that his company officer breaks the rules and smokes and that he whips any boy who tells on him.

He does not have much insight into his own case, but he says he is going to be very careful from now on.

Recommended treatment: The boy's delinquencies seem due largely to the low economic status of the family; the boy does not

have things that other boys have. If the father is given steady employment and the mother is consequently given the leisure to permit her to supervise the children better, the prognosis seems good.

6. Vincent.

American Negro. Parents American Negro. Urban. Baptist. Age at commitment  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Age when studied, 12. Weight 73 lbs., height 53" at  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Committed for truancy and petty stealing. Father and mother separated. Father works for paper company and contributes \$6.25 a week to family. Mother earns \$7.50 a week as hotel maid. Two little girls, 10 and 9. Mother, sisters, and Vincent live with grandparents in very poor Negro section.

Vincent's father and mother are Negroes from Arkansas. They knew each other in school and came to Kansas in 1924. The father works as a laborer. He has been in trouble for shooting a man, but the case was dismissed. He went with other women, and his wife objected, so the two agreed to separate about eight months before Vincent was committed to the Industrial School. The family now lives in a house owned by the maternal grandparents. It is only a three room house for six people, but is in fair condition and is kept neat. The family is self-supporting, but on a low economic level.

Vincent is the oldest child. His school record is poor,

and he has repeated 1a, 3a, and 4b grades. He is now in the fourth grade. He is not independent in his school work, and his conduct is not good, but he seems to try. He mumbles somewhat in reciting and doesn't take the trouble to articulate carefully. He has not been much encouraged to go to school.

Vincent's greatest trouble is truancy. He also has indulged in petty delinquency and says he stole petty articles "almost every day", but he doesn't know why. Usually he played hookey by himself, but when he stole, it was with other older boys. When his mother found it out, she turned him over to the probation officer. He was placed on probation under his father, but remained only three months; then he stole a truck. He was committed to the Industrial School.

He doesn't like the Industrial School although he gets along well enough. He presented a discipline problem at first but later improved. He is very stubborn at times. He is a very good athlete for his size, and he likes games, especially baseball.

He likes to read and to see movies, especially cowboy and fighting stories.

He prefers the movies at home to those in the institution. He likes the institutional Sunday School, but he likes the one at home better because they sing more there. He likes to sing very much and has sung and boxed in every company entertainment his company has given. He also has recited in a recitation contest. He plays the drums in the band and the clogs in the rhythm band.

He likes the other boys all right except that he thinks the out-of-line boys are too rough. He seems fairly well adjusted. He doesn't like his teacher, because he says the teacher slaps him for missing one problem or making any mistake. (Two other boys have said much the same thing independently about this teacher.) He doesn't like to fight very well, but he can box and will fight if he has to do so.

He says he is never going to be truant again if he gets out, because he doesn't want to be sent back. He likes school at home, the principal especially. He says the principal writes to him. The principal also wants Vincent to be paroled to him when he leaves. Both parents keep in close contact with the boy.

Vincent responded naively, when asked what he wanted to be when he grew up, and said, "A Christian". For his vocation he prefers chauffeuring. He likes farming, but he likes machinery better. He misses his home very much, although he has no serious complaint against the Industrial School

Recommended treatment: The boy's main trouble seems to have been due to the lack of supervision at home. He was not supervised carefully in his school work, and his leisure time activities were not watched. If some careful supervision is given, he should respond. He likes his home very much.

His school work is poor, and his interests seem to be more mechanical than abstract. If he is given industrial training of a manipulative sort, he will probably respond well. The mother is

cooperative and proud, and will probably make every effort to watch the boy, and the school principal will help. The prognosis is rather good.

7. Arthhur.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 110. Salvation Army. Age at commitment, 10. Age when studied, 11.

Extremely likable. Illegitimate. Mother illegitimate.

Height 52", weight  $60\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., at 10. Bad teeth. Father un-

known. Mother immoral. Boy adopted by great grandfather,

77 years old. Two half-brothers with step-father and one

younger half-brother with mother. Committed for staying

out late at night and for disobedience to great grandfather.

Paroled after year to farm home with foster-family. Removed

after several days and paroled to mother, now married.

Arthur is the illegitimate son of an illegitimate mother. When he was four, his great-grandparents adopted him. His great-grandmother died shortly after his adoption, and since that time he has lived alone with his 77-year old great-grandfather, who hauls corn cobs and trash in a rickety wagon and who rents two deteriorated houses for a total of \$15 a month, of which taxes take half. The house is a filthy shell, unkempt and totally unfit for human habitation. The great grandfather was unable to provide enough food, and Arthur frequently went hungry. He could not keep clean, and a friendly neighbor often had to take him in and clean him up.

The old man was jealous and, though he was unable to provide properly, he refused to let anyone else take care of the boy. He was not able to exercise any discipline and Arthur got in with a neighborhood gang. He roamed the streets until late at night, and his grandfather very often did not waken him in time for school. He was ashamed to come to school late and consequently he often played truant. When he went to school, he was very sleepy after spending the nights on the streets. He missed 155 days of school in nine semesters, or 810 days. He repeated grades 1B, 1A, and 2A although his I. Q. is 110, and he is average or a little above in school work.

Arthur's mother has been married and divorced several times. She had Arthur's brother with her in Omaha, and Arthur's stepfather, a farmer, part Indian, had his two sons with him on a farm. Arthur likes his mother and grandfather, but he has insight enough to realize that his mother is not a good parent and that his grandfather is unable to provide a good home, good food and proper supervision.

Arthur was truant so often, was dirty so much, was hungry so frequently and reported being beaten by his great-grandfather that the school teachers, who liked him tremendously, tried to find out the trouble. They recommended that he be placed in a foster-home or in an orphan asylum, but the county authorities sent him to the Industrial School because the orphan's home was full. He never committed any delinquency except that of truancy and of being irregular in his habits. He is trustworthy in every respect.

He thinks the Industrial School has helped him, but he

naturally misses his personal family contacts. No one has ever attempted to tell him why he was being committed, and he has wondered about it because he and another boy did everything together, and nobody did anything to the other boy.

He likes the institution fairly well and the boys and his teachers, but he says that some of the boys learn things they shouldn't. He used to smoke a little, but doesn't any more. He doesn't like to fight or box, although he wrestles a little. He has received only fifty demerits, for petty disobedience, and has been on the orange table many times and on the honor roll. He plays the clogs in the rhythm band, but does not participate actively in other things. He is in the fourth grade. He has a considerable amount of insight into his own situation and realizes that if he had had a good home he would have kept out of trouble. He wants to be a farmer when he grows up.

Later, Arthur was ready for parole from the institution and a local social worker found him a good foster home on a farm. Though the parole agent was away, the superintendent approved his parole, and the boy was taken to his new home. He liked it very well, and his foster-family was very much pleased with him, and he had no desire to leave. However, there was friction in the institution, and the parole agent insisted on removing Arthur and placing him with his mother and stepfather. The local social worker who had found the foster home protested bitterly, but the parole agent refused to reconsider his decision. The boy is still with his mother; he has

never been told why he was not left with his foster-family.

Recommended treatment: No treatment is necessary for this boy, except that he be returned to a good foster-family. He is not a delinquent in any sense and has survived the most demoralizing condition to which anyone could have been subjected. The prognosis is excellent under any set of conditions, but of course he deserves a half-way chance. He should have been placed in a good home long ago.

8. Jerry.

American. Parents American. Urban when committed. I. Q.

105. Catholic. Age at commitment,  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Aged when studied, 10.

Weight  $65\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., height 57", at  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Tonsils large. Committed for petty stealing (pencils, etc.) and stealing \$2 (stole money only once). Father a carpenter, irregularly employed.

Mother died when boy was small. Old grandmother in charge of children. Boy has four sisters, 16, 14, 12, and 6.

Jerry's mother died when he was very small. His father, a carpenter, is easy going and takes little interest in his son's behavior. An aged grand-mother helps him take care of the children, but is unable to exercise much discipline. One sister lives with the boy, the father, and the grandmother, but the other sisters are in other cities. All are said to have some delinquent tendencies.

Jerry's school attendance was fairly good and he seems never to have played hockey. He made average progress and is now in the

4th grade. He is very reticent and inclined to stubbornness when he is corrected or reproved. He is not always truthful and he does not concentrate as much as he might on his lessons. This is probably due to lack of home encouragement.

Jerry sometimes went away from home and stayed all night for the fun of it. He is not overly fond of going with other boys although he likes them all right. He sometimes took pencils and other little articles around the parochial school he attended. He then took a wallet with \$2 in it, the only time he has ever stolen any money or done anything serious. For this offense he was committed to the Industrial School. There he has had a practically perfect record, with only five demerits.

He does not participate in any activities and has no decided choices. He likes "fistfight" movies and also comedies. He likes to read very well, especially Robinson Crusoe. I suggested he take up The Swiss Family Robinson next, and he said he would, after I had told him what it was like. He likes outdoor games too, especially marbles and football. He smokes some. When he grows up, he wants to be a carpenter like his father. If he can't be that, he wants to be an aviator. He says he is not going to run away any more when he gets back home because he doesn't want to be returned to the B. I. S. He gets homesick sometimes but has no grudge against the institution and thinks the officers are fair.

One of his teachers in the institution says he is awfully dumb,

but another says he is bright in everything. The one who says he is dumb is the same one who thinks no normal boys are in the institution. She seems inclined to be somewhat impatient with all her pupils.

Recommended treatment: The boy is not really a delinquent, and has taken money only once. He needs supervision, however, which should be provided. The father is home much of the time and should take an interest in his son. If he refuses to cooperate, perhaps a good foster-home would become necessary. The boy has some insight and will probably do well if he is supervised. The prognosis is very good. He should probably never have been committed in the first place.

9. Scott.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 100. Methodist. Age at commitment, 11. Age when studied, 12. One aunt in insane asylum. Weight  $72\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., height  $53\frac{1}{2}$ " , at 11. Ran away from grandparents' home several times. Stole a brief case and articles from parked autos. Placed on probation under grandfather. Broke probation after two days by running away. Committed. Mother died when boy was 4. Father, a coal miner, is in Colorado. Boy lives with aged grandparents and with younger brother, 7. Elder brother, 15, with father formerly also with grandparents; one sister 13, and one 9, living elsewhere.

Scott's grandfather, a coal miner, is an intelligent old man of about seventy. He was born in England and lives in a college town in the Kansas coal mining district. His wife is said to be not of as high type as her husband intellectually. Scott's father is also a miner and has been in Colorado for some time, presumably working at a filling station. The mother died when the boy was four.

The grandparents, with whom Scott lives, are extremely poor and have had to depend on charity for subsistence. There are many relatives in the neighborhood, and many of them lounge around the grandfather's house. An uncle of Scott's used to run a restaurant near the town college, but gambled and was not so monogamous as his wife wished, so he separated from her. An aunt of Scott's is in a state insane asylum; her husband is said to have mistreated her.

Scott's father sends no money home to take care of the boys. Before Scott was committed to the B. I. S., his older brother and younger brother lived also at the grandparents' home. The older brother is now with his father in Colorado.

Scott repeated grade one. He is now in the third grade. His I. Q. is about 100. His attendance was at first regular, but he came to school dressed very poorly, very unclean, and frequently with an offensive odor. The other children avoided him, and the teachers had to make him wash. The school helped him get books, clothes and school supplies and he was examined by a doctor, who

said his health was all right. He was a pitiable boy and his teacher says, "Life held nothing for him but misery--cold, dirt, and sometimes hunger." The teachers tried to get home cooperation but could not do so, and he remained dirty and unclean. He wanted love and sympathy and the things the other boys had, but his grandparents continued to scold, and his older brother was abusive and rough.

Scott decided to run away, and he has done so several times. He says "All the folks did at home was to nag and find fault, and I just couldn't stand it." His main source of trouble was more his brother than his grandparents. His brother kept "picking on him" and making him steal against his will. He was caught after stealing several articles out of some parked autos, for which he was placed on probation to his grandfather. After two days he broke probation by bumming a ride on a freight train and was committed to the Industrial School.

He has done very well in the Industrial School, Has received no demerits and is in the Boy Scouts and on the honor roll. He plays bells in the rhythm band, and he likes all sorts of games. He has made remarkable progress in reading since he started, and though he doesn't like to read much, he likes geography and the Bible and "things that are good for you." He doesn't like cowboy stories. In school he likes to do arithmetic. In fact, he thinks "you'd better like what you have to do" and he refuses to admit disliking anything in that category. He even likes to march but he

doesn't like it when the out-of-line boys kick him while marching. When he grows up he wants to be a judge so he can keep boys from being bad. He says he won't want to run away from home any more because his brother isn't there any longer. He has more than enough credits to leave, but his grandparents seem too poor to take him and he is waiting for a parole in a foster-family somewhere. He misses his grandparents very much, though he has no complaint against the institution.

Recommended treatment: The boy should have been placed in a foster-family. He was never enough of a delinquent to have been committed. When he is separated from his older brother who has got him into most of his trouble, but who has received none of the blame, and into a normal family, his prognosis is excellent. A little love and a few toys are all the treatment Scott ever needed.

10. Jack.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 100. Christian. Age at commitment 10. Age when studied,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Kleptomaniac. Committed for stealing almost anything he can lay his hands on, usually small articles, money, candy, etc. Father, a traveling salesman, was divorced from his wife when the boy was one year old. Step-father, a painter, now on parole from state penitentiary on charge of stealing. One brother, 12, is also in the Industrial School.

Jack's father and mother were divorced when Jack was a year old. His mother later married another man, a painter, who served a sentence in Lansing for stealing and who is now on parole. After his father left his mother, Jack lived with his mother until he was about five. Then he went to live on his uncle's farm in Wyoming for three years, after which he returned to his mother.

His mother is in very bad financial condition and Jack and his brother have always had a tendency to pick up things needed at home. He usually took things while he was with other boys, but he says they did not get him to do it. He has an I. Q. of 100 and has made average school progress. He is now in the sixth grade. He says he likes arithmetic, but that he is not very good in it. His teachers, however, say he is good in it. He was not truant very often, but most of his escapades took place before or after school. He began to steal candy and then later took some money from a restaurant, for which he was committed to the B. I. S. He takes little articles, and he lies when questioned about them. He readily admits most of his actions now, however, and tells the truth in a confidential talk about himself. He seems unable to control himself although he makes desperate efforts to do so at times. He often takes things he has no use for. He is very ambitious and has saved \$35 by working in the summer. He plans to use this money to buy books. He plans to keep on with his school work as long as he can.

In the institution Jack is not maladjusted. One teacher says

his mind runs to vulgarity, but another says he causes no trouble if he is pushed hard and not allowed to slacken up. He has a considerable amount of energy and is something of a leader. He seems well enough adjusted to his associates. He has about twice as many credits earned as he needs in order to be paroled, but his family cannot supervise him properly and doesn't want him back, so he is waiting for a farm-parole. He likes to raise chickens. He has received some demerits, but not many. He received 50 demerits once for wetting the bed and blaming it on another boy. He is very ambitious and anxious to have a high status and apparently this has caused many of his delinquencies. It probably lay also at the bottom of his refusal to admit wetting the bed.

His father writes him frequently, and his mother does the same. Both parents also send him packages of candy and similar presents. He has recited in one or two contests and taken part in one or two entertainments given by his company. He was on the honor roll for a month and has eaten at the orange table several times. He likes to read and see war stories and cowboy stories. He doesn't like to smoke much. He wants to get out, as he has been in the institution about two years, although he does not dislike it intensely. He wants to be a farmer when he grows up.

Recommended treatment: A psychiatrist should examine this boy. Some mental conflict may underly his apparent kleptomania. His enuresis may indicate masturbation or sexual ideation. He needs careful supervision which his family cannot supply. If he

is placed in a foster-home in which he is encouraged to save and to go to school and given definite tasks under close supervision, he will probably respond. The prognosis is good.

11. Chuck.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 80. Catholic.

Age at commitment,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Age when studied, 12. Mother mentally unbalanced. Family dependent on charity. Height 53", weight 58 lbs., at  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Placed on probation for habitual truancy. Broke probation in less than a month by running away. Committed. Father, a plasterer, always has an excuse to keep out of work. Mother washes dishes in a restaurant occasionally. Six brothers, 23, 22, 21, 14, 9, 8; two sisters, 19 (married) and 11. All children are now away from home except the two youngest boys.

Chuck's father is a plasterer, but he works very irregularly and always seems to have some excuse for not doing anything. The mother is talkative and irresponsible. She works occasionally in a restaurant. The family is on a very low economic level and has been known to the local charity organization for a long time. The nine children are on the street constantly. The parents have little conception of how to spend money when they get it and still less of how to supervise and educate their children.

Chuck's school record has been poor. He has repeated three grades, and has been absent 104 days out of 310. His parents

have known of his truancies but didn't or couldn't make him attend school and were not especially interested in supervising him.

Chuck's main offenses have been stealing, loafing, smoking and being a nuisance as well as a truant. He took no interest in his school work, and it seemed too hard for him. In school, his conduct was fair, but outside of school he was quarrelsome, and trouble-making. His I. Q. is 80.<sup>1</sup>

He stayed out late at night and with a gang of other boys started to steal. One of his brothers has once been in jail. He smoked a lot and went to picture shows and hung around pool halls and the Y. M. C. A. Finally, he was committed to the Industrial School. He says the boys who stole with him got another chance, but that he didn't, and he didn't think this treatment was altogether fair, but he doesn't worry much about it.

Chuck is a peculiar type of boy. His face is bright red, his eyes are squinty and wrinkled with a perpetual twinkle, and he grins incessantly. He laughs a great deal - usually when no one else sees the humor. He insists he is 13 and that he was born in December, 1918, but the records say December, 1919. He gives the appearance of being subnormal and his I. Q. is low, but one of his teachers says he does well in everything but arithmetic and that he is the best speller in the room and has a good memory. He is

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<sup>1</sup>The boy claims he is one year older than the records show. If this is so, his I. Q. drops to 75. The records are probably right.

only in the third grade, however.

His basketry teacher complains that he is a "smart alec" and wayward, so that she frequently has to "knock his ears down," and that he gets demerits continually. His third grade teacher, on the other hand, says he is a little peculiar because he grins so much, but that he gives little trouble and hardly ever gets a demerit. These contradictory reports merely indicate that the teacher is involved as well as the boy in the boy's behavior. He is undoubtedly abnormal in many of his personality characteristics.

He says that he liked to go to school but played truant for fun. He liked to go up town and smoke "snipes" that he found. He says he stayed out late at night about twice a week and couldn't keep awake in school. He liked to put chalk on the school floor and step on it for fun. He is especially fond of cowboy shows and wants to be a cowboy. If he can't be a cowboy, he wants to be a gambler. He has "shot craps" some and likes to hang around the pool halls in town and at the Y. M. C. A. He says he was usually with other boys when he stole, but that none of the others was punished as he was.

He likes his family very well and is working hard while he is in the institution so he can get back. He says he is going to go to bed and to school and not get into any trouble so he won't have to return to the institution.

He likes the officers all right and most of the boys, but he says some of the other boys get him in trouble though he never does anything to deserve it. He has 80 demerits, but he says he has

never really earned any, but that other boys have lied on him. He says that a boy at home got him into a lot of trouble the same way.

Recommended treatment: a psychiatrist is definitely needed to study this boy. He is mentally subnormal and apparently emotionally unstable.

Being more or less defective, he needs very close supervision either in a foster-home or institution. His parents should never have been permitted to have children as they have no conception of how to bring them up, and insanity seems to have appeared in spots throughout the family.

The Prognosis is only fair.

12. Lee.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 106. Nazarene. Age at commitment, 10. Age when studied, 11. Height 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", weight 72 lbs., at 10. A history of various offenses, including petty thievery and bicycle stealing. Father a factory laborer and perhaps bootlegger. Away from home much of the time. Grandmother diabetic. Mother works, but is now convalescent from illness. Serious antagonism between father and mother's mother. One small brother, 6, one older half-brother, illegitimate. Some charity.

Lee's mother was a trifle careless when she was a girl, and her eldest son, Lee's half-brother, is illegitimate. Her mother, who is diabetic, has an extreme aversion to Lee's father. Indeed, Lee

says they take turns chasing each other out of the house. The family has been extremely nomadic and Lee has spent a large part of his time in Colorado. The family moved out of one Kansas town in 1927, returned in 1928, left again in 1928, returned in 1930, left again in 1930 and returned in 1931. The father is away much of the time looking for work. He drinks rather heavily and is said to be a bootlegger. After Lee's commitment, the father started to work in a salt factory. Lee's mother also works and leaves the boys with her mother, who is ill and extremely irritable. The family is very poor, but, until the mother became ill, was able to be self-sustaining. Then it was forced to ask for charity. At the present time the mother is about well, and the family is in a house separate from that of the grandmother.

Lee's school record is good. He has an I. Q. of 106 and has never repeated a grade. He has done better than average school work in spite of his family's constant roving. He is now in the 5th grade and doing well-balanced work. His school attendance record has been excellent. He says he played hockey only once and was whipped twice for it, so he gave up the practice as a bad job.

Lee's troubles occurred almost altogether outside of school. He usually was alone in doing them, also. His grandmother attempted to keep him at home, and this added fuel to his father's antagonism. Lee didn't have a bicycle of his own, so he borrowed other boys' bicycles and rode them. He always returned them, but he got a whipping anyhow. He feels the whippings were deserved. He took \$2 from a store and tried to buy some gum, but the store keeper was

suspicious, and the boy was caught and committed to the B. I. S. He disliked the idea of going to the Industrial School very much and wanted to run away, but since he has been in the institution, he hasn't thought much of escaping; at least he hasn't tried to do it. He has had only 50 demerits, and likes the officers fairly well; he seems also to like going to school in the institution because he says its easier and "they help you when you can't do it yourself". He likes baseball and arithmetic and reading, especially animal and ship stories, but he can't find many books he likes in the school library. He is especially fond of Tarzan stories. He has sung once or twice in entertainments given by his company, but he does not participate actively in other things except that once he says he recited a "sissy piece" in a W. C. T. U. contest. He has a "girl" at home. His family writes him every week and his mother has been to see him. He wants to finish college and then be a railroad engineer or an aviator or "something else worthwhile", which means something lucrative. He likes to earn money very much and has a bank account of \$11.00 partly from his savings and partly from donations by his father. His father now is raising a vegetable garden and is going to get Lee a bicycle so he can peddle the vegetables. He has never had a bicycle before; that is his reason for having borrowed so many.

Lee is well enough adjusted to the officers in the institution, but he is unpopular with the boys. He doesn't like them and is in frequent fights. He says if he can get extra credits by telling

on other boys he will do it. He also says that he always gets the best of the others in some way, if he can't beat them in a fight. He is not popular. His belligerence seems due to the general family atmosphere of antagonism and to the fact that he craves sympathy and recognition which he has not received at home.

Recommended treatment: now that the boy's family is in a better economic condition, and the father is away from his mother-in-law, the home should be pleasanter. The parents seem to be realizing a little more fully than formerly that Lee should have things that other boys have and a normal home environment.

A psychiatrist should study the boy's lack of friends of his own age. Home mental conflict may underly this maladjustment.

Lee has habits of industry and is very ambitious to make and save money. From a bourgeois standpoint, he is a model young man.

Had the home situation been improved, institutionalization need never have been resorted to. If the family remains at the previous economic and social level and retains its tense atmosphere, a foster-home might be preferable. The home situation seems sufficiently improved, however, to warrant a good prognosis.

13. Bill.

American. Father American, Mother Canadian. Urban.

I. Q. 85. Christian. Age at commitment,  $10\frac{1}{2}$ . Age when studied,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Weight 80 lbs., height 55", at  $10\frac{1}{2}$ .

Committed for stealing small articles from stores. Father a mechanic and blacksmith, etc. Work unsteady. Mother died shortly after Bill was paroled from B. I. S. Parents antagonistic and incompatible. Four brothers, 5, 10, 12, 14. Two sisters 16, 7. One brother in trouble for petty stealing. Bill's father has been a mechanic, carpenter, blacksmith, but his work is irregular. The family has had to depend on relatives and charity somewhat. Bill's mother often quarreled with his father and frequently threatened divorce. She died while this case-study was being made.

The children are also somewhat antagonistic and have rather irregular habits. One older boy has done petty thievery of various sorts. The family lives in a small house which is badly overcrowded. The four boys have been sleeping in a shed in the back of the house. The house is fairly clean and well-kept, however, and the neighbors are stable.

Bill's habits of eating, sleeping, and attending school have never been regular. His parents realized this somewhat and attempted to correct them but were not altogether successful. He is very irritable with his family and is also scrappy with other children. He is impulsive and either likes or dislikes a person at first sight. He is the slave of those he likes and an enemy of those he dislikes.

The children in the family have caused the local teachers a great deal of trouble and made them somewhat antagonistic. Bill had tantrums and temper fits as a child. His school record has been poor

and he has repeated some work. He was truant frequently. He is now in the 4th grade.

Bill's mother did the washing, baking, gardening, and housework for her family of nine. Consequently, she could not supervise Bill or the rest of the children very carefully. Bill got in with a neighborhood gang, but he says that it did not influence him very much.

He was truant often and began to steal small articles from stores. He sometimes turned these articles into cash and bought something he wished, but frequently he took things only to give them away. He says he usually did this by himself and that the other boys did not know he did it. His family whipped him when they found out what he had done, and paid for the articles or made him return them. He doesn't know why he stole except that he must just have been "ornery." He believes "crime doesn't pay" and he has resolved never to steal anything more because he doesn't want to be returned to the institution.

Bill has promised to quit stealing before but has had relapses. He admits his misdemeanors readily but is a littly sneaky and does not seem normal emotionally. He does not seem influenced for either good or bad by his relatives and friends unless he likes them very well. He used to go to Sunday School occasionally, but he says the words were too big for him to understand.

When he is grown up, he wants to be a cowboy and nothing else. He likes to see and read cowboy and historical stories, but at home

he didn't get to see many movies. He is an out-of-line boy at school, but does not participate in any other activities or have any other special status. He has never received any demerits. He attempted to escape, but was caught the same day. He likes the other boys in the institution, but he says some of them do things they shouldn't do, such as trying to escape, etc. He used to smoke but says he has stopped. He is very well liked by his teachers in the institution and he returns the liking, on the whole.

Since he has been paroled, he has been placed on a farm home in his community. Here he has done well.

Recommended treatment: A psychiatrist should study this boy to determine some treatment for his temper and stubbornness and general personal emotional instability.

The present foster-home placement is apparently a satisfactory adjustment. Bill is determined to do well, and if his foster-parents are patient, the prognosis is good.

A foster placement of the present sort should have been tried before commitment. Institutionalization seems to have been unnecessary.

14. Otto.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. unknown.

Salvation Army. Age at commitment, 9. Age when studied, 10.

Height 51", weight 53 lbs., at 9. Bad teeth. Committed for stealing various articles, such as tobacco, bicycles, etc.

Father a railroad section foreman until discharged for drunkenness; also has court record as bootlegger. Mother helpless at control and a poor cook. Father works for county charity. Five brothers, aged 2 to 13. One married sister. One brother, 13, also in B.I.S. Another boy also has a court record.

Ott's family is more animal than human. It is a very loyal family, however, and each member helps hide the others' delinquencies. The father was a section foreman and bootlegger with a court record. He was discharged by the railroad for drunkenness and has been working part time for the county to earn subsistence. The mother is a very poor manager and a poor cook. There is usually a smell of burnt food about the house. The children quarrel continually with their playmates. Otto had very little training in honesty at home and never has realized the significance of his petty thefts. He also was hungry much of the time and seemed dull in school; he is probably somewhat subnormal. The home conditions are poor, and the family moves about in low-rent neighborhoods. There are persons of low moral status usually living in the neighborhood or in part of the house. The two oldest boys have been placed in foster-homes on a farm by the local probation officer.

Otto's school record has not been good. At home he was in the opportunity room. He repeated one grade. He was defiant in his attitude and a ringleader among boys of his own age. He is

extremely stubborn and wants his own way all the time. He is the inseparable companion of his brother who is three years older, and his brother tells him what to do in every situation. Together they took bicycles from other boys and kept them about a week. Some of them they took apart. The older brother says he is responsible for Otto's being in the B.I.S. because he was the one who made Otto steal. Otto stole some tobacco for his brother. This was the offense for which he and his brother were committed. Otto doesn't smoke much himself, although he is starting.

In the institution Otto is fairly well adjusted and has improved remarkably, both in behavior and in school-work. He is in the second grade. His conduct is still a little streaky, however, and occasionally he becomes somewhat mean and defiant. He responds very much better to praise than to blame; he takes pride in his penmanship and likes to have the teacher write his name on the blackboard for good work.

He plays in the rhythm band and has recited in a contest or two. He says he is the best top-spinner in his company, but he couldn't demonstrate his ability inside because it was against the rules. One of the women living in the same building calls him "my baby" and gives him candy. He likes the candy but he doesn't like to be called "baby." He says he never talks back, however, either to her or to his parents. He likes to draw and to play games, and in fact there isn't anything he doesn't admit liking. He says his family is good to him and that they bought a used car and

came to see him. (The family is entirely dependent on charity.) He likes school but he would like to be in a higher grade - the third or fifth, preferably. He has received 85 demerits and has been on the honor roll for a month. He and his brother offer to bet that they'll never do anything to be sent back to the B.I.S., and they plan to be good when they get out.

Otto is a likable boy. He likes to talk and he thought I was a mindreader because I knew several things about his family without every having met any of his relatives.

When the boy is older, the probation officer plans to place him on a farm like that on which his two older brothers are already doing well.

Recommended Treatment: A psychiatrist should examine this boy. It would be especially valuable to find what special aptitudes he has to train, as he does not seem normal mentally.

His brother led him into all his delinquencies. A foster placement should have been tried. It would probably have eliminated the necessity of institutionalization, although the institution, by its regular routine, careful supervision, and plenty of food, has made a decided improvement in the boy. He needs a more normal home atmosphere, however, to do his best. The prognosis is fair to good.

15. Lucas.

American Negro. Parents American Negro. Urban. I. Q. 87. Catholic. Age at first commitment,  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Age at second commitment, 11. Age when studied,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Weight 55 lbs., height  $51\frac{3}{4}$ " , at  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Needs circumcision. Left little finger removed. Two fingers on right hand grown together. On probation for two years for truancy, stealing, begging, etc. Many court appearances. Finally committed as a last desperate hope. Father a janitor and gambler, now ill. Mother a house-cleaner, is immoral and also antagonistic to husband. Charity. Three sisters, 16, 8, 3. One brother, 14. One adult half-brother and one adult half-sister. One sister previously treated at Lansing for venereal disease. Uncle in state penitentiary for homicide. Boy is cousin of "Oscar" (see case study #16), who lives next door. Other relatives also have court records.

Lucas's mother comes from a respectable negro family.

She is a good worker and does cleaning for white women. She has some trouble with her husband; indeed, he recently hit her over the head with a coal bucket. She stays out at night a great deal. One of the men living with her daughter recently hit her in the eye and blackened it. Lucas's father is a janitor, but he gambles. He has a lung infection and piles and is unable to work. He was

in jail once for mistreating his wife. The family gets food and clothing from charity agencies. Lucas's eldest sister has never been married, but she has lived with various men. She was committed to the Girls' Industrial School, but needed treatment for venereal disease and was transferred to Lansing. She was paroled to her parents, but has not done any better than before, and is up to her old tricks. The other children have not given much trouble yet. Lucas's uncle is in the Lansing penitentiary for homicide. Some cousins on the mother's side have given much trouble in their school attendance, and one boy has been in the juvenile court for stealing bicycles. The family next door are relatives and "Oscar", case #16, is Lucas's cousin. The whole family constitutes a nest of delinquency. The members are all extremely poor and they live in a shack which is small and dirty.

Lucas's school record has been poor. He has missed 304 days out of 691 and has repeated several grades. He is now in the third grade. His hands bother him, and he lacks a left little finger, while the first two fingers on his right hand have grown together. Once in a while, he has had a crying spell for no particular reason. As a rule, however, he laughs and grins a great deal, and is very cheerful and friendly. He is very handsome, although small. He has a tendency to minimize the extent and seriousness of his delinquencies.

Lucas stayed out late at night a great deal, which perhaps was not unnatural, since his parents were never at home. He played

truant a great deal of the time and was never encouraged to go to school. His mentality is below average although perhaps this is the result of lack of encouragement as much as anything. He stole almost everything there was to steal, toy balloons, milk bottles, candy, food, money, etc., and he begged on the streets for whatever he couldn't steal. The money he used to buy candy or to go to a movie or something of the sort. For his various offenses he was placed on probation, where he remained for two years until committed to the B. I. S. He stayed in the institution for a year and then was paroled home. While on parole, he was taken up by the police twice, but the officials let him go. At last, according to his own story, he and several other boys were caught while he was merely watching them take some food. For this, he was returned to the institution after eight months of parole. He showed great improvement for a while after his first commitment, but after a few months on parole, he began again to play truant and steal.

He seems moderately well adjusted in the institution, but he says he doesn't like it very well, because the bigger boys slap the little ones and also make them do the "ups and downs" and keep their feet in the air, if the company officer isn't around. He also says that the big boys "shag" the little boys, although less now than they used to.<sup>2</sup>

He likes to sing very well and has won a medal in a singing contest, in Wichita, he says. He sings and recites occasionally

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<sup>2</sup> Lucas's company, the Negro company, is not segregated by size, but all the Negro boys, big and little, are dumped into it.

in contests in the institution. He also plays in the rhythm band. He likes to see cowboy movies, but in reading he likes geography, the Bible, and stories like "The Lost World." He likes girls, and his teachers say he always protects them in play; but he says he doesn't think he'll be married because he doesn't know that he'll ever be able to support himself, let alone a wife. He wants to keep on in school, though, because if he does, he thinks he will be able to get a good job when he grows up. He would prefer to be either an artist or a preacher. He drew me a picture of a pistol, which was better than average.

He has worked in a restaurant and has helped on a laundry truck at home. He kept some of the money and gave some to his family. He saved \$6 once, with which he bought some clothes.

He likes school, but has played truant because he likes picture shows better. He says however, that when he gets out he will be good and go to school and not do anything bad even if the other boys tell him to.

Recommended treatment: This boy is purely a product of his training. If he goes back to his family, there is little hope for him. If he is placed in a completely different environment in some foster-home, he will probably do well because his intentions are good. Had a foster-home placement been tried, institutionalization would probably have been unnecessary. The prognosis is good if he is removed from his old associates, otherwise very poor.

16. Oscar.

American Negro. Parents American Negro. Urban. I. Q. 95.

Baptist. Age at first commitment, 8. Age at second commitment,  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Age when studied, 10. Weight, 78 lbs.,

height  $54\frac{3}{4}$ " at 8. Committed for stealing and begging.

Paroled after fifteen months. Parole broken after two months

for stealing food, etc. Father, an ex-service man, is a

restaurant proprietor, bootlegger and gambler, now seriously

ill. Mother works but is incapable of truth-telling. Also

ill. Family partially dependent on charity since 1917.

Serious antagonism between husband and wife. Mother's

family by previous marriage now in institution. One sister

of Oscar reported immoral at age of 13; five brothers, 12,

11, 4, 2, three months, one being also in B. I. S. Family

lives next door to "Lucas" (case 15), whose family are cousins.

Oscar's father is a restaurant proprietor. He is often in

jail for bootlegging and gambling. The mother is a good worker and

cleans for white women, but is an habitual liar. The parents

fight often and threaten divorce. The family has been on charity

records since 1917, and is one of the most hopeless the local agency

has had. The Public Health Association of the community has threat-

ened to break up the family several times but has let it drift on.

Oscar has five brothers and a sister. The girl stays out

nights with men, and an older brother is in the Industrial School

with Oscar. The home is very poor, but the mother keeps it fairly

clean.

Oscar's school record has been average and he has not repeated any grades, but he has missed some school. He is sullen and suspicious and is seemingly sensitive to the impression that others look upon him as bad. He also has feelings of inferiority, which he loses to some extent by doing creative work, such as dramatics and story-telling. He responds to praise fairly well, but he feels no one expects much from him and has a rather hopeless outlook.

He says he started stealing about five, when another boy made him take some baseballs and basketballs from a store. He has stolen many other articles since, especially food. He also begs continually and asked me for a mouth harp in the same breath that he said his mother had told him not to beg any more. He seems to have been hungry, because most of his begging and stealing was for food. At the age of eight he was committed to the B. I. S. against the protest of the superintendent, who asked the judge to give the boy something to eat instead of a sentence. The judge replied that the boy was a nuisance with his begging and other delinquencies and refused to reconsider his commitment, so Oscar was confined for fifteen months, when he was paroled home. After two months at home, he was re-committed for stealing more food. He says he has never stolen by himself, but always with other boys. He says he was "hard-headed" and wouldn't obey his mother, and that that was the reason he had to return to the institution. He says he got enough to eat at home, but this is perhaps more family loyalty or lack of memory than strict truth.

He is now in the third grade and doing "E" work. He still is a little sullen, and the other boys say he "cusses" them, but he is wide awake in class, sings very well, and is good in reading and spelling. He is also very good in drawing.

He is called "yellow chippie" by some of the other boys as a taunt because he lets the big boys "shag" him.

He is voluble in conversation and a little incoherent; he tries to impress his listener with the fact that he is going to be good, and this is usually the preliminary to a request for some article he wants. He says he has received no demerits, but this is not true. He does not have many on this trip, but he received 200 for immorality during his first commitment.

Like almost all of the Negro boys, he has never tried to run away, although he would like to get home, and he thinks the officers are fair; he likes the other boys except that some of them are "hard-headed" and won't obey as they should.

He has worked for his father at home and various jobs around town and given the money to his mother. He says he has never stayed out late at night, but this is not true, according to a local social worker.

He claims he is thirteen years old and that he was born two years before the records show. These two statements are incompatible with each other.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>If Oscar is 13, as he claims, his I. "I" drops to about 74. If born two years prior to the records as he also claims, it is 79. The records are probably correct in this case.

He says he is going to be obedient and good when he gets back home, so that he won't ever be sent back to the Industrial School.

Recommended treatment: the family is unable to care for or supervise the boy, and a foster-placement is desirable, as the home neither knows nor teaches any standards.

A psychiatrist should examine the boy to determine the extent of his sexual ideation. He seems to have submitted passively and largely through fear. His begging is habitual, but if he is provided with food and playthings that other children have, perhaps it will stop. If he is returned home, the prognosis is poor. If he is placed elsewhere, the prognosis is fair.

17. Blueberry.

American Negro. Parents American Negro. Urban. I. Q. 93.

No religion known. Age at commitment,  $8\frac{1}{2}$ . Age when studied,  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Weight,  $64\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., height 49 inches at  $8\frac{1}{2}$ .

Committed for association with vicious, immoral and criminal persons, for begging and stealing, and for "incurability."

Father, a laborer and gambler, with a jail record, has one arm amputated. Mother deserted husband and children to run off with another man. One brother, 14, and one sister, 12.

The local agency did not furnish any data concerning Blueberry, and his own story is the only clue to his home conditions. It sounds a little too romantic to be true.

Blueberry's father was so indifferent to his family's welfare and gambled so much that his wife, who worked hard to support her family, finally yielded to the lures of another man, who drove her away in his auto to Bartlesville. Since that time, her husband has wished for her to come back and be forgiven, but she is afraid he will shoot her.

Blueberry's father has been in jail five or six times, but only for wrecking cars, etc., and not for stealing. He gambles at cards but not at dice. He doesn't steal, but a lot of people steal from him; he lost fourteen suits, a fur coat, and a lot of his children's clothes that way, according to Blueberry. He had his left arm amputated in a cement factory, but since the accident he has learned to use the typewriter with one hand. He has received charity often, and the children begged to help out. They very seldom had enough to eat, but Blueberry says his father always made him eat first and would take what was left if there was anything. The boy often went hungry and ate out of garbage cans and wherever else he could find food. One day a Mr. Taylor found him eating refuse and took him home where Mrs. Taylor fed him, and a white boy gave him a boat and some other presents.

Mr. Taylor was a "Catholic preacher," and he and his wife made Blueberry go to Sunday School for the first time. Blueberry didn't like Sunday School "because of all the dead people." This may refer to statues. It is difficult to see how Mr. Taylor could be a Catholic preacher and have a wife. Perhaps he was an

Episcopalian. Anyway, he took Blueberry into his home and gave him some chores to do for his keep.

Blueberry's school record is not known, but his teachers say he is above average intelligence. He is in the second grade but does third grade work in reading, and he is the best reader in either of these grades. He says so, and his teacher also says so. He has especially good expression and enunciation in reading. He tutors "Gene" (see case #2) with his arithmetic, and that keeps both of them out of mischief temporarily.

He is a great disciplinary problem, however, and receives a whipping at least once a day. His basketry teacher expects him to be the worst criminal in the world at eighteen, although she says, "You can't help liking him. He's the cutest--and meanest--kid you ever saw." Another teacher says he is very slippery and mischievous and doesn't mean to steal, but does it almost without realizing it. He is not a good sportsman and is jealous of others who receive praise. He doesn't hold any grudge when disciplined, however, and always says he is sorry afterward.

He refuses to admit that he has ever done anything wrong and says that he was sent to the B. I. S. Because he didn't have a good home. He says he is a good boy and wants to be a good man when he grows up. He plans to be a printer. He admits knowing many bad people at home, but he says his parents told him not to steal and that he has never done so. His mother sends him boxes of things he likes, and he wants to live with her when he is paroled, although he likes

his father too. He says he likes farming and knows how to milk. He says he has smoked only once in his life.

He is by far the smallest boy in the institution and is rather a pet for the officers. He likes all the officers except one who slaps him too much. He believes the institution has done him good, but he doesn't like it and asked me to get him out. He had about two months more at the time, but he said he wouldn't stay that long. He says his mother will come get him whenever he writes her to.

He has won three medals for reading and singing. He is not in any band, however. He contradicted himself about being on the honor roll and also about having received demerits. First he said "yes" and then "no." He has received 240 demerits, which means that he has had about a month added to his original sentence.

He doesn't like the other boys because he is the smallest of all and they pick on him and lie about him, according to his own statement. He says one boy in his company has gonorrhoea and that homosexuality is almost universal. He has never had anything to do with it, however, he says. He has a great deal of sexual knowledge, however.

Recommended treatment: a psychiatrist should examine him to determine the extent of his sexual ideation and whether he is telling romantic stories about his home life or is trying to practice deception or is merely telling the truth, however fantastic it seems.

The boy's mother is very hard-working and seems to have had good reason to desert her husband. If she can support Blueberry and supervise him closely, he should be placed with her.

Otherwise, a foster home-placement seems desirable. The institution has done good, but it may not have been altogether necessary. The prognosis is fair.

18. Guy.

American Negro. Parents American Negro. Urban. I. Q. 85.<sup>4</sup>  
Methodist. Age at commitment, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Age when studied, 14.<sup>4</sup>  
Weight, 83 lbs., height 59 inches at commitment. Placed on probation for illegal entry. Probation broken after one month for another illegal entry and stealing from several stores. Another illegal entry was made two weeks after the second offense and prior to commitment. Father, a preacher, wanted for bad-check and wife-and child-desertion charges. Now A.W.O.L. from family. Mother not altogether honest. Family a charity case. One brother, 17, and five sisters, 19, 16, 11, 4, 2.

Guy's father is a Methodist minister. He brought his family to their present location in 1929 and then left for the Methodist conference, and has not been seen since. He sends a little money occasionally, however. He had previously been forced to leave the last town he lived in for passing bad checks. In addition to his preaching, he has worked as a laborer. His wife

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<sup>4</sup>Records show Guy to be 12 years old. If so, his I.Q. is 100. He claims to be 14. If so, his I.Q. is only 85. The records seem to be wrong in this case, and the basis of this case-study is that the records are wrong and the boy right.

is some connection--her aunt is the husband's stepmother--and the two families are intermarried. There is tuberculosis in the mother's family.

When the family first became known to the local charity organization, the mother, her seven children, her two sisters, and her step-mother-in-law all lived together in a three-room house. At the present time the mother and six children live in a separate house which is in fair condition but in the worst neighborhood in town. The family is very low financially, and the mother has no work. She is not considered very honest.

Guy is not a leader but has fallen in with a gang of other boys, and the others have often led him into mischief. He is a trouble-maker and a fighter. He was so troublesome on the school bus that the others forced him to walk home many times. He is accustomed to lie out of his difficulties if possible. His mother says, however, that he is very "dutible" and that he fights no more than any child.

His school record has not been good, although his attendance was fairly regular up to the last semester before commitment, when he began to be truant. He has repeated several grades, and his record has been poor to low-average. He is now in the sixth grade. Before commitment he didn't care for school and made little effort to do good work.

The first time Guy ever took anything was at the age of five, when he and some other boys borrowed a bicycle. They returned it.

He said his mother tried to keep him away from other boys who were getting him into trouble. Since this incident, he has stolen a good many things, mainly "for fun." He never did anything by himself but was always with other boys; usually they watched while he stole. When he was 12, he was brought before the juvenile court for hopping busses; he was let off with a lecture. A year later he was caught pilfering a laundry. A month later he and several other colored boys were caught stealing fruit and vegetables from several stores. All the other boys were older. Two weeks later he was again caught stealing with some other boys, who took \$47 from a warehouse. Guy says he was going to give the money to his mother but was caught before he had a chance to do so. For this last offense he was committed to the Industrial School.

In the institution he seems fairly well adjusted. He believes the officers are fair, and he likes the boys except for two who are spies for an officer. One of these two is "Lucas" (see case #15) Guy's teacher says he is very dependable in school and a little faster than the other pupils to grasp something. He is something of a leader now and has improved greatly, but he still needs very close supervision. He responds well to personal attention, but is not yet ready to do things on his own initiative.

He is not a very good singer, he<sup>s</sup> says, and he has recited in only one contest. He once won a medal for chinning himself fifteen times. He likes to read and to go to the movies, if they are cowboy stories. He plans to be a farmer but would very

much like to be a cowboy, too. He says he used to fight boys for lying about him but that he has stopped now; he also says that he liked school at home and that the principals and teachers were good to him. He likes Sunday school. He is an out-of-line boy for his grade at school.

He hears from his mother occasionally but can't remember his father very well. He doesn't want to go home when he is paroled but would rather go on a farm foster-placement. He has wanted to work and save money but has never been able to do so because no work was available. He feels sure he will be able to keep out of trouble when he is paroled.

Recommended treatment: a psychiatrist should examine Guy to see why he is belligerent. Some emotional instability seems present.

The boy is rather easily influenced and does well only under close supervision. He does not want to return home but would prefer a farm-parole. His family is not able to support him. If he is placed on a farm under supervision, given definite work to do, encouraged in school, and removed from his previous companions, the prognosis is fair to good, although the boy's age is a little against him.

19. Harvey.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 94. Methodist. Age at commitment, 10. Age when studied, 11. Height  $55\frac{1}{2}$  inches, weight  $66\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., at 10. On probation for several

thefts. Probation broken after seven months, and the boy committed for stealing his foster-family's car and driving it into a ditch while on the way to New York City from western Kansas. Father and mother unknown. Boy adopted by foster-parents who then separated and were divorced. Foster-mother remarried. Foster-father removed to Colorado. No other children known.

Harvey's real parents are not known. He was adopted by a couple who later were divorced. Part of the time Harvey lives with his foster-father, a potato-farmer in Colorado; the rest of the time with his foster-mother, who has married a grocer since her divorce. Harvey has moved about a great deal and has lived with various persons for short times.

His school record has been poor. He is now in the fifth grade, but his teacher says that he appeared over-promoted and was dull and seclusive. This teacher had him as a pupil only a little over a month, however, during which time he was absent about half the time.

His foster-mother was not able to control him very well, and he was placed on probation for stealing a bicycle and miscellaneous articles. He occasionally took his step-foster-father's car to drive around and once took a bicycle. He was placed on probation for this, but after seven months he had an impulse to go to New York City, so he took his foster-family's car again and started out. After about twenty miles he ran the car into a ditch and was

caught. He was committed to the Industrial School, but his commitment papers were so "incoherent and inadequate" that the institution hardly knew why he was there.

He does not care much for the Industrial School, but he seems to have improved in it. He is still very impulsive and he has tendencies to steal, but he is doing good school work and is obedient while in class. Outside of school he is frequently irresponsible and impulsive. His I. Q. is 94.

He does not participate very much in the institution's activities but he has taken part in recitation contests. He likes to read cowboy stories and to play marbles. He likes to fight boys he can whip, and he admits that occasionally he picks on girls. He says he has played hookey only once.

He doesn't know much about New York or any other big city but he still wants to get there to find out what it is like. He likes his foster-mother, but he wanted to get away by himself when he started on the trip that caused his trouble.

He wants to be a farmer like his foster-father and believes he would be better off on his foster-father's potato-farm than with his foster-mother because he can keep out of trouble on a farm more easily. He likes both foster-parents equally. His foster-father has two young boys with him.

He has sold papers at home but hasn't saved much money. He gave a little to his foster-mother, however.

He has about two-thirds of his credits earned. He has tried to escape from the institution twice, but has been returned the same

day each time. His teacher believes that as soon as he learns to control his impulsiveness, he will be all right.

Recommended treatment: a psychiatrist should examine Harvey to try to find a possible substitute for his Wanderlust. His stealing of his foster-father's car was a mere incident to his desire to get to New York. His bicycle-stealing was probably due to the fact that he wanted a bicycle and had none.

He seems to have been well-adjusted on his foster-father's farm and probably that is the best place for him. If he is encouraged to go to school and supervised patiently, he should get over some of his impetuosity. The prognosis is fair.

20. Buddy.

American. Parents American. Urban. I. Q. 83. Salvation Army. Age at first commitment, 8. Age at second commitment, 10. Age when studied, 12. Weight, 58 lbs., height 51 inches at 8. Large tonsils. Signs of malnutrition. Enuresis. Slightly low blood pressure. Slight flatfoot. Flat chest. Committed for breaking windows, throwing rocks, etc. Paroled to bootlegger-farmer after fourteen months confinement; returned for replacement when foster-family became public charges upon the conviction of the foster-father. Father, with police record, unemployed. Mother died of brain tumor three months prior to boy's first commitment. Father remarried to woman said to have been in Woman's State Farm at Lansing. Two other

other brothers also in B. I. S.

Buddy's father spent most of his time fishing while the three boys went unsupervised. The boy's mother died three months before Buddy's commitment; her death was very unsettling emotionally, and it also removed all supervision from the children. The family lived in a shack on a river bank for a while. Later it moved to a four-room house. While there, the various members caught whooping cough and were destitute. The teachers of the school took up a collection and furnished the family food for the winter. The home had a stove, two beds, one chair and some boxes. The boys all slept on one of the beds on some quilts without any mattress.

After Buddy started to school, the family owned a small house which it traded for an auto. Then it moved to another town where the mother died. The family then moved back.

Buddy learned well and did not play truant in the first grade, but his family moved away shortly after he enrolled. When he returned, his mother was dead and his older brothers got him to go with them while they ran wild and caused trouble. They threw stones at the neighbors' houses and threw mud at washings hung out to dry. All three of the boys were then committed to the Industrial School. After fourteen months in the institution, Buddy was paroled to a farmer, who after nine months, was arrested for bootlegging and sent to jail. Buddy was then returned to the institution for replacement and has been there for two years waiting

to be paroled. He is now in the fourth grade.

Buddy is mentally subnormal and emotionally unstable. He cannot keep up with his class because his I. Q. is only 83. and he seems to have little control over his actions. He is an excellent reader but subnormal in everything else and very poor in arithmetic. He talks out loud in class almost constantly, and he is nervous, batting his eyes violently, especially when he is excited or angry. He used to get eleven or twelve bad marks a day for talking out in school but has shown some improvement and now gets only three or four. He does not do very good work with his hands.

He likes to read very well, especially cowboy and detective stories. He likes cowboy and comedy movies.

He seems to be fairly well adjusted to the institution and likes all the officers but one, "who slaps too much." He plays the triangles in the rhythm band. He has also participated in recitation contests.

He has not tried to escape in the three years he has been in the institution, but he says if he did, he would go to hide at the house of a preacher in a nearby town, who is a bootlegger and who delivers all his sermons drunk. Apparently, every person Buddy has met has a police record of some sort. When he was on his first parole, his foster-father whipped him frequently and mistreated him.

He now has 260 credits and is having a race with his brother

who has 268. He doesn't know when he will be paroled again. He would like to be a farmer.

Recommended treatment: a psychiatrist should examine Buddy to determine the causes of his emotional instability. His enuresis may indicate autoeroticism, but it does not seem to.

The boy was admittedly sent to the institution for a home and little else. His delinquencies were few, and they were due mainly to his older brother.

The type of parole-placement, in which he was paroled to a bootlegger and drunkard, is a bad example of the inadequate parole system of the institution. The present parole agent was not connected with the case, of course.

The boy seems defective, but he is capable of some improvement and in an environment not too complex for him, under careful supervision, he should be moderately well adjusted. A good farm foster-home should justify a prognosis of fair.

A brief summary of the salient factors in these twenty cases is made in the following table.

Table X. Factors in the Case-Histories of Twenty of the Youngest Inmates of the B.I.S.,

Case	Age	Age at 1st Commitment	Age, 2d Comm.	Age, 3d Comm.	Grade	I.Q.	Charity Recd. by Family?	Father			Mother			# Bro
								At Work	Dead	Away from fam.	At Work	Dead	Away from fam.	
Robert	11½	8½	10		5	109				Penitentiary		X		3
Gene	10½	10			1	86	X		X		X			3
Darius	10	9			4		X		X		X			1
Clyde	13	10½	12	12½	3	77		X						2
Richard	12½	9	11		4									5
Vincent	12	11½			4			X		X	X			0
Arthur	11	10			4	110		Unknown					X	0
Jerry	10	9½			4	105		Some				X		0
Scott	12	11			3	100	X	X		X		X		2
Jack	11½	10			6	100		X		X				1
Chuck	12	11½			3	80	X				X			6
Lee	11½	10			5	106	X	XX			X			1
Bill	11½	10½			4	85	X	X				X		4
Otto	10	9			2		X							5
Lucas	11½	9½	11		3	87	X				X			1
Oscar	10	8	9½		3	95	X				X			5
Blue-berry	9½	8½			2	93	X						X	1
Guy	14	13½			6	85	X			X				1
Harvey	11	10			5	94		Unknown			Unknown			
Buddy	12	8	10		4	83	X			X		X		2
Averages	11.4	9.9	10.5	12.5	3.8	93								2.2
Totals							12	7½	2	8	7	5	3	

\* Foster-brothers. \*\*Deceased brothers.

As Revealed by the Present Survey

# Sisters	Living With					Court Record in Fam.	Immorality Known in Fam	Drunk-ness Known in Fam	Health of child	Tru-ancy	Fam-ily Anta-gonism	Misc. Fac-tors
	Both Parents	Father	Mother	Rela-tives	Foster Parents							
2					X	X			Fair		X	Sex Conflict
1			X			X	X	X	Good	X		Speech Defect
1 0 <sup>1***</sup>			X			X			Fair	X		Mech. Ability
3	X					X	X		Needs Glasses		X	Tan-trums
7 -1****	X								do.			Poverty
2			X			X	XX		Normal	X	X	(Negro) Very Honest
0				X			X		Good	X	X	Trivial Offense
4		X							Fair			Brother Abusive
2				X		X	X		Good	X	X	Klepto-mania
0			X			X			Good			Emotional-ly abnormal
2	X								Good	X		Lacking Care
0	X								Good		X	Stubborn
2	X					X			Fair	X	X	No home Standards
1	X					X		X	Fair	X		(Negro) Del. Fam.
3	X					X	X	X	Fair	X	X	(Negro) Mother de serted
1	X					X	X	X	Fair	X	X	(Negro) Father de serted
1		X				X	X	X	Good		X	Very Impulsive
5			X			X			Good	X	X	Emotion-ally ab-normal
0				X	X				Fair	X	X	
0		X				X			Poor			
1.8												
	8	3	5	2	2	14	8	5		12	12	(5 Negro)

\*\*\* Foster-sister. \*\*\*\* Deceased sister.

The intelligence quotients for sixteen of the cases average 93 or "low normal." If the average seven-year-old boy be considered as belonging in the first school grade, the eight-year-old in the second grade, and so on, the average school retardation is one year.

In twelve cases the family depended on charity somewhat and in no case was the family on as high an economic level as \$2500 a year or more. The average number of full-siblings alive in each family is four in addition to the boy studied, not counting half-siblings or deceased children. In only eight cases was the child living with both parents, and in only two of those cases was the family not definitely receiving charity. In the other two cases the family was subsisting on a very low economic level.

If we take as a "normal" family one in which the father receives an average income of, say, \$1200 a year, the mother does not have to work outside of the home and is with her family, and the parents are not overly antagonistic or immoral, then not a single case of these twenty has come from a "normal" home.

The reader should be warned not to draw conclusions too readily from these statistics. The sample is too small for accurate generalization. As a qualitative index of home conditions, however, the figures may prove valuable.

It is impressive, in almost every case of the twenty studied, that the greatest reason for commitment to the Industrial School

seems to have been a desire by the committing judge to find a good home in which the boy will have a chance to be well-supervised, to have food and clothing and encouragement to go to school. It seems to be true that it is something of a toss-up with a judge as to whether he should commit the boy to the Industrial School or send him to an orphan's home. In very few communities is it true that adequate mother's pensions, child guidance, or, as a last resort, foster home-placement, present themselves to the judge as methods holding more promise of effective treatment than institutionalization, which is rigid, brief, and artificial.

In short, the problem seems to be what to do before commitment and what to do after parole in order to lessen delinquency.

The whole group of cases studied has raised the question: Is the Industrial School a method of treatment for delinquents or is it merely a good strong place on to which to pass the responsibility of delinquent treatment? Does it have effect as a cure and preventive or is it merely something with which to avoid an embarrassing local problem?

The answer to such a question is not an easy one and perhaps it deserves considerable further research; but it is surely one of the major criteria for judging the effectiveness of the Kansas system of treatment for male juvenile delinquency.

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