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*This Journal, in association with other institutions of man, is devoted to the study and treatment of human beings arrested in development, to the prevention of arrests in human development, and to the creation of a society biologically and culturally sounder than that of the present. The particular scope of this Journal embraces the field of so-called feeble-mindedness, or of mental deficiency, or of the sub-average groups.*

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## CHILDREN OF OUR CHILDREN \*

BY MILDRED H. AINSWORTH, ELIZABETH A. WAGNER, AND ALFRED A. STRAUSS

OVER the past five years we have been collecting data on "Children of Our Children," that is, data on girls who were formerly residents of the Wayne County Training School and who have been paroled, have married and have children of their own. We regret that due to increasing case loads and frequent personnel changes in our Social Service Department we are not prepared to present at this time as complete, exhaustive and thorough-analyzed a report as we would wish. The reason for this, may we say, premature publication lies in the fact that we feel the need of a discussion of this type of material looking toward the planning of a post-war program of guidance for the mentally subnormal.

We shall report on 50 girls. They were the first 50 case-studies collected. They were selected on the basis of our records: first, they had been in the Training School for at least one year, and second, they had been away from the institution for at least ten years. We had had actual contact in the community with very few of these girls for any length of time. They were located through the records of the Confidential Exchange. There is a certain selective factor present in obtaining the status of these 50 girls: only those girls having

lived in the Detroit area and still living there and known to the Confidential Exchange could be followed up.

Forty-seven of these 50 girls are white, 3 are colored; 47 are married and 3 unmarried. They had been in the Training School from 1 year to 6 years, 11 months, the average length of residence being 3 years, 4 months. This average length of residence prior to return to the community is exactly the same as that for the whole population during the 18 years of the existence of the Training School. In chronological age this group at the time of admission averaged 14 years, 11 months, whereas the average of all girls admitted during the same years (1926-1932) was 13 years, 2 months.

The following graph (Figure 1) shows in the upper part the distribution of chronological age and mental age at the time of admission; the lower part shows the distribution of intelligence quotient and performance quotient at the time of parole. Before leaving the Training School the average intelligence quotient for the whole group was 68.2, which is within the range of the whole population; the average of the performance quotient was 82.7; the average school grade was 4.7 which is slightly higher than the ideal grade reported for the whole population according to Melcher-Patterson's study (2).

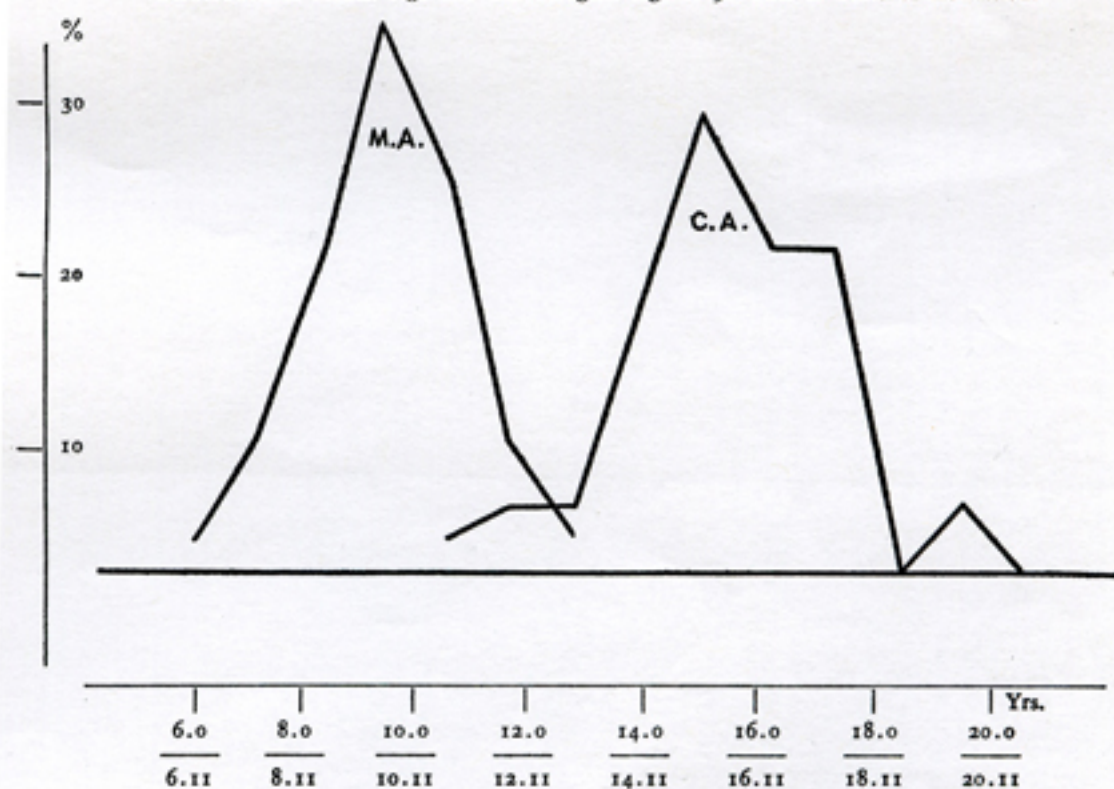
These 50 girls, of whom 47 are married and 3 unmarried, have 115 children now living, 64 boys, 51 girls; this is 2.3

\* From the Wayne County Training School, Northville, Michigan, Robert H. Haskell, M.D., Medical Superintendent.

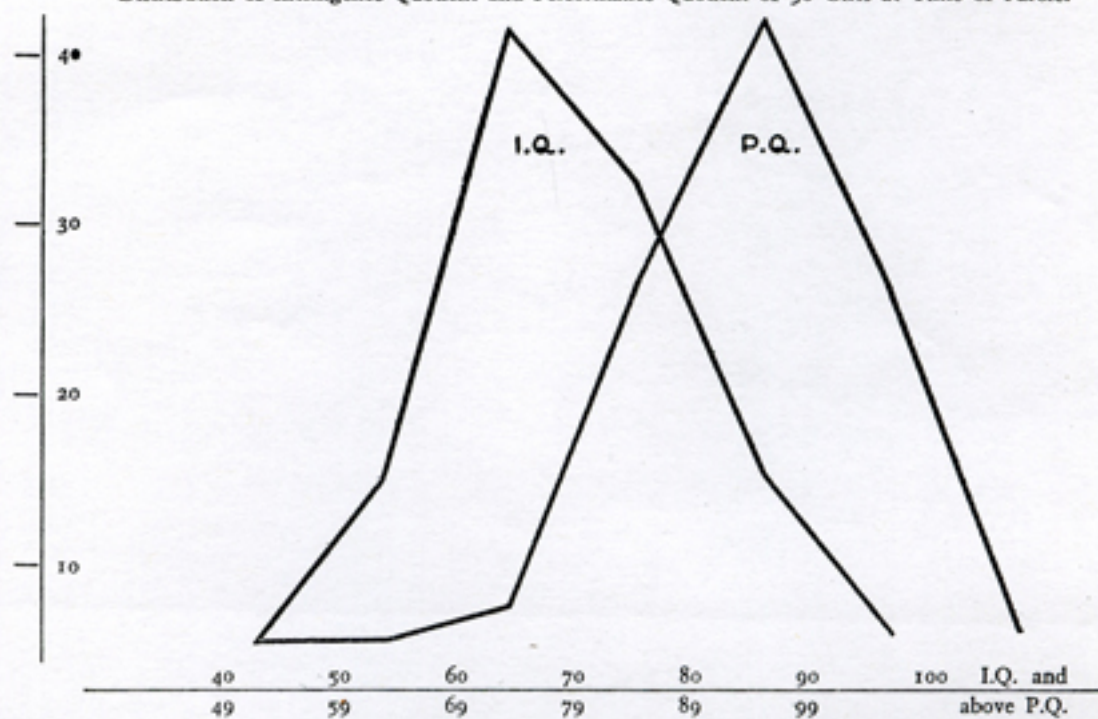
Studies in the Psychopathology of Childhood, and Mental Deficiency, supported by a grant from the McGregor Fund, Detroit. Report No. 68.

FIGURE I

Distribution of Mental Age and Chronological Age of 50 Girls at Time of Admission.



Distribution of Intelligence Quotient and Performance Quotient of 50 Girls at Time of Parole.





children per girl. The mean chronological age of these children at the time of the investigation (January, 1944) was 7 years, 4 months, ranging from one month to 14 years, 6 months. Ninety-three of them were born legitimately, 22 illegitimately.

The behavior, in general, of these children was rated according to the description given by their mothers on a three point scale: *poor, fair, no problem*. To have a little more definite estimate of their social development the visiting social worker was asked to use an abbreviated Vineland Social Maturity Scale. We used three questions for each age level of this scale.\* We do not know that this procedure is acceptable but it helped us to strengthen our clinical impression. The results on this usage of the Vineland Social Maturity abbreviated scale were distributed over a three point rating as they fell *below* chronological age level, *equal* to, or *above* chronological age level. The following table (Table I) presents the results of the ratings on behavior as

made by the mother's own judgment and by the use of this abbreviated Vineland Social Maturity Scale. Since we were particularly interested in the older children: we computed, in addition, separately, the scores of 65 children with a chronological age of 6 years and above.

Our procedure in the use of the Vineland Social Maturity Scale yields only the roughest estimate. Since we desire to be very conservative, we consider that only those children receiving a rating "above chronological age level" should be considered as normal in social intelligence; this means, approximately 40 per cent of all children. This result is in contrast to the judgment given by the mentally defective mothers, namely, that approximately 80 per cent of their children did not present any behavior problem.

The results of routine intelligence tests given by psychologists were available for only 13 children included in the study. Table II represents these results. We have added the test results of 2 children who were born before the admission of their mothers to the

\* See Appendix No. 1.

TABLE I  
RESULTS OF RATING

|            | On          |    |                                    |    |                         |                   |    |                                    |    |
|------------|-------------|----|------------------------------------|----|-------------------------|-------------------|----|------------------------------------|----|
|            | Behavior    |    |                                    |    | Chron. Age              | Social Adjustment |    |                                    |    |
|            | Total Group |    | Group Chron. Age 6 Years and Above |    |                         | Total Group       |    | Group Chron. Age 6 Years and Above |    |
|            | No.         | %  | No.                                | %  |                         | No.               | %  | No.                                | %  |
| Poor       | 7           | 6  | 4                                  | 6  | Below<br>Equal<br>Above | 13                | 11 | 8                                  | 12 |
| Fair       | 13          | 12 | 7                                  | 11 |                         | 52                | 50 | 30                                 | 47 |
| No problem | 88          | 82 | 54                                 | 83 |                         | 41                | 39 | 27                                 | 41 |
| Total      | 108         | *  | 65                                 |    |                         | 106*              |    | 65                                 |    |

\* For 7 and 9 children respectively data were not available.



TABLE II  
RESULTS OF INTELLIGENCE TESTS

| No.                    | Child                   |      | Mother |                           |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------|--------|---------------------------|
|                        | C.A. at Time of Testing | I.Q. | I.Q.   | Type of Mental Deficiency |
| 1                      | 4-9                     | 84   | 71     | Endogenous                |
| 2                      | 4-11                    | 88   |        |                           |
| 3                      | 8-5                     | 73   |        |                           |
| 4                      | 3-9                     | 82   |        |                           |
| 5                      | 4-0                     | 79   | 55     | Undifferentiated          |
| 6                      | 3-3                     | 85   | 62     | Mixed                     |
| 7                      | 3-11                    | 94   | 56     | Undifferentiated          |
| 8                      | 5-6                     | 103  | 72     | Endogenous                |
| 9                      | 7-1                     | 85   | 65     | Endogenous                |
| 10                     | 7-4                     | 98   | 64     | Undifferentiated          |
| 11                     | 8-2                     | 128  | 72     | Undifferentiated          |
| 12                     | 9-10                    | 98   | 62     | Mixed                     |
| 13                     | 11-9                    | 95   | 70     | Undifferentiated          |
| Not included in study: |                         |      |        |                           |
| 14                     | 11-5                    | 106  | 83     | Undifferentiated          |
| 15                     | 14-9                    | 69   | 62     | Undifferentiated          |

Training School and who were not included otherwise in this study. We present these results without further comment. Their availability even is pure chance because with the exception of these 13 children none had yet come to the attention of any social agency, even the Detroit schools, where a testing program is in practice, and with one exception none has been known to be delinquent.

To unravel the threads which are woven into the picture called a child's life we have to look for the beginning. The background of the life of each of these children is tainted by an unfortunate heritage, called "feble-mindedness"; the environment in which they

grow up is overshadowed by a mentally defective mother. Let us analyze, therefore, the social and mental make-up of these mothers who once were girls under our supervision.

(a) *Family background.* We present in Table III the results of a rating scale in surveying the family background of the 50 girls studied. In this survey we rated on a three point scale,\* poor, fair, high, the physical environment in which the families of these girls lived, the educational level of the parents, the social "milieu" of the families. We have applied this same rating likewise to the socio-economic conditions of the

\* See Appendix No. 2.

TABLE III  
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF 50 GIRLS

|       | Environment |    | Education Level |    | "Milieu" |    | Situation Prior to Admission |    |
|-------|-------------|----|-----------------|----|----------|----|------------------------------|----|
|       | No.         | %  | No.             | %  | No.      | %  | No.                          | %  |
| Poor  | 18          | 36 | 32              | 64 | 40       | 80 | 22                           | 44 |
| Fair  | 20          | 40 | 13              | 26 | 6        | 12 | 11                           | 22 |
| High  | 12          | 24 | 5               | 10 | 4        | 8  | 17                           | 34 |
| Total | 50          |    | 50              |    | 50       |    | 50                           |    |



girls themselves preceding admission, because so many of them had been cared for outside the home by social agencies. The category *poor* applied to only 36 per cent of the cases in respect to the physical environment, increased to 64 per cent in respect to the parents' educational level, and to 80 per cent in respect to the milieu.

(b) *Reasons for admission.* Table IV gives the reasons for admission of these

TABLE IV

| REASONS FOR ADMISSION              |     |    |
|------------------------------------|-----|----|
|                                    | No. | %  |
| School Retardation Only.....       | 13  | 26 |
| School Retardation and Truancy.... | 11  | 22 |
| Delinquency: Sex.....              | 4   | 8  |
| Others.....                        | 1   | 2  |
| With Record in Juvenile Court:     |     |    |
| Sex.....                           | 18  | 36 |
| Others.....                        | 3   | 6  |
| Total.....                         | 50  |    |

girls to the Training School in addition to their mental defectiveness. As many as 22, or 44 per cent, were admitted because of sex delinquency.

(c) *Socio-economic status after parole.* The socio-economic status of these 50 girls from the time they left the Training School until they married was rated by the same scale as that used for the rating of the pre-admission period. Table V does not present the score of

TABLE V

CHANGE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS FROM PERIOD PRIOR TO ADMISSION TO PERIOD AFTER PAROLE UNTIL MARRIAGE

|                             | No. | %  |
|-----------------------------|-----|----|
| Change to better.....       | 26  | 52 |
| Remains in group: Poor..... | 6   | 12 |
| Fair.....                   | 9   | 18 |
| High.....                   | 9   | 18 |
| Total.....                  | 50  |    |

this rating but gives the number of changes which took place as shown by

comparing the pre-admission score and the after-parole score. Only 6 girls, or 12 per cent, remained within the lowest socio-economic level.

(d) *The marriage.* In the cases of the 47 married among these 50 girls, the time elapsed between the date of parole and the wedding date ranged from a few days to 11 years, an average of 2 years and 9 months; their chronological age was then on an average of 20 years. Table VI presents the distribution of

TABLE VI

AGE OF HUSBANDS AT TIME OF MARRIAGE

(Number which could be ascertained)

|                                       | No. | %  |
|---------------------------------------|-----|----|
| Husband younger: 1 year and more..... | 4   | 11 |
| Same age.....                         | 2   | 6  |
| Older: 1-4 years.....                 | 13  | 37 |
| 5-9 ".....                            | 7   | 20 |
| 10-14 ".....                          | 8   | 24 |
| 15-19 ".....                          | 1   | 2  |
| Total.....                            | 35  |    |

the differences between the husband's age and the age of the girl in the 35 cases only where we were able to obtain this particular data. One fact should be called to attention, that 46 per cent of these girls had chosen as their spouse a man between 5 and 16 years older than they were.

Twenty-three per cent of these marriages have already ended in divorce or separation. Seventy-four per cent of all girls were married once. Table VII deals with these details.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF MARRIAGES, SEPARATIONS, ETC., OF 47 GIRLS

|                                   | No. | %  |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----|
| Married: Once.....                | 35  | 74 |
| Twice.....                        | 9   | 20 |
| Thrice.....                       | 3   | 6  |
| Divorced and Separated: Once..... | 11  | 23 |
| Twice.....                        | 5   | 11 |
| Widowed.....                      | 2   | 4  |



More important than these problems, however, is the question: what kind of milieu did these girls offer to their children and how much of the improvement in socio-economic status which they achieved due to their institutional training was carried over into the married status? For the rating of this psychological and social situation we used two scales: the one as just described under (a) and (c); the other, a rating scale published by Bijou and Ainsworth a year ago.\* The results of these ratings are shown in Table VIII. Thirty-six per cent of the 47 married girls lowered their socio-economic status due to their marriage but only 7 per cent changed their social adjustment in the same direction. Due to their marriage 46 per cent lived under poor conditions (categories 2 and 5 in the table) but only 30 per cent of these girls could be rated to function as poor housekeepers and mothers. The same qualitative difference holds true in the rating of 18 girls divorced, separated or widowed.

(e) *Relationship between mother and*

\* See Appendix 3.

*child.* How many of the 115 children live with their mothers? Twenty-eight children, 19 legitimate and 9 illegitimate, or 24 per cent of the total number, live outside of the mother's home. The 9 illegitimate children and 8 of the legitimate ones are boarded away from the mother because of neglect or dependency. Eleven legitimate children live with relatives.

(f) *Delinquency.* Since 52 per cent of this particular group of girls had been admitted to the Training School because of sex or other delinquencies in addition to their mental retardation, it may be interesting to look into their post-parole careers. Only 2 girls, or 4 per cent, have become delinquent: 1 only has become a criminal sentenced to 10 to 30 years for robbery armed, the other was convicted of larceny. *None of them has become a professional prostitute.*

(g) *Previous sex delinquency and illegitimacy of children.* Will a pre-admission record of sex delinquency on the part of the mother be followed by an increase of illegitimate births in the post-institutional period? To answer

TABLE VIII

CHANGES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Three Periods: Prior to Marriage, During Marriage, and After Separation.

|                 | Prior to Marriage * |   | During Marriage |    |            |    | During Separation, Etc. |    |            |    |
|-----------------|---------------------|---|-----------------|----|------------|----|-------------------------|----|------------|----|
|                 | Soc. Econ.          |   | Soc. Econ.      |    | Soc. Econ. |    | Soc. Econ.              |    | Soc. Econ. |    |
|                 | No.                 | % | No.             | %  | No.        | %  | No.                     | %  | No.        | %  |
| 1. To better    | 26                  | — | 3               | 7  | 21         | 44 | 3                       | 17 | 4          | 22 |
| 2. Remain: Poor | 6                   | — | 5               | 10 | 11         | 23 | 4                       | 22 | 5          | 27 |
| 3. Fair         | 9                   | — | 9               | 19 | 6          | 13 | 6                       | 33 | 5          | 27 |
| 4. High         | 9                   | — | 13              | 28 | 6          | 13 | 1                       | 6  | 3          | 17 |
| 5. To worse     |                     |   | 17              | 36 | 3          | 7  | 4                       | 22 | 1          | 6  |
| Total           | 50                  |   | 47              |    | 47         |    | 18                      |    | 18         |    |

\* See Table V.



TABLE IX

| Child              | NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE PREGNANCIES     |                              |                                     |                   |                  |
|--------------------|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
|                    | Before<br>Coming to<br>Training School | After<br>Parole<br>Unmarried | Unmarried<br>Husband<br>Responsible | Extra-<br>marital | Post-<br>marital |
| Sex: Male          | 4                                      | 13                           | 7                                   | 2                 | —                |
| Female             | 3                                      | 9                            | 6                                   | 1                 | —                |
| Total              | 7                                      | 22                           | 13                                  | 3                 |                  |
| Where Living:      |  |                              |                                     |                   |                  |
| Dead               | 1                                      | —                            | —                                   | —                 | —                |
| With: Parents      | 2                                      | 8                            | 12                                  | —                 | —                |
| Relatives          | 1                                      | 6                            | 1                                   | —                 | —                |
| Adopted            | 2                                      | 2                            | —                                   | 2                 | —                |
| In: Institution    | 1                                      | —                            | —                                   | —                 | —                |
| Boarding home      | —                                      | 6                            | —                                   | 1                 | —                |
| Number of Mothers: | 7                                      | 17 <sup>1</sup>              | 13 <sup>2</sup>                     | 2                 | —                |

<sup>1</sup> 1 girl: one child before admission.

<sup>2</sup> 1 girl: one child before admission; one girl: one child unmarried.

this question one should include not only the incidence of illegitimate births but also the number of illegitimate pregnancies, i.e., when the child is born within seven months after the wedding date, as well as when the child is born by extramarital relationships. Table IX presents the data collected. Whereas 44 per cent of these 50 girls had a previous record of sex delinquency, 34 per cent gave birth to illegitimate children during their post-parole period. If one considers this figure together with the illegitimate pregnancies after leaving the institution a total of 31 girls, or 66 per cent, have to be reported. There are so many factors involved in analyzing such a statement that we present this result without any comment.

For those interested in the question of sterilization and prohibition of marriage of the feeble-minded, we present the following four cases. They demonstrate the "pros" and "cons" in this most controversial subject. It should be understood that the Wayne County Training School has not for several

years been active in a sterilization program.

We present *first* two case histories which would seem to indicate that the plans for sterilization or annulment of marriage were not warranted.

*Tessie G.* Born on July 17, 1908, in the United States of Russia-Polish born parents; was admitted to the Lapeer State Home and Training School on June 6, 1925, and was transferred to the Wayne County Training School on September 21, 1926. Her father was "totally illiterate" and the mother, while literate in Polish, never attended school. Sibling normal but two cousins feeble-minded. Tessie was described as being of "sunny disposition if not required to assume any responsibility," yet she was also said to have been cruel to the younger children, and she came to the attention of public agencies because of "incurability and untruthfulness."

The first psychometric test on Tessie was a Stanford-Binet given at the Board of Education on September 5, 1924, at which time she had an I.Q. of 46. A Stanford-Binet given shortly after admission at the Wayne County Training School showed an I.Q. of 56. Her last test given on July 24, 1929, showed an I.Q. of 54.



During her residence at the Training School Tessie was considered a stable but not too reliable individual. At the age of 21 an attempt was made to have her sterilized but the petition was denied in Probate Court. Several months later she was allowed to go home on parole, her assistance being very sorely needed in the home. At the end of six months we learned that Tessie had married, in another State, a young man of good parentage. She was two months pregnant at that time.

At first the boy's family felt that the marriage should be annulled, but later they became reconciled. The young couple set up housekeeping and have lived a fairly normal life. They have had 3 children who are up to grade in school. Tessie says she is "not so smart" but her children are "bright." She is very good to them although she frequently "yells" at them. Her husband has his own print shop and the family is economically secure. They own their home.

*Eleanor C.* Born October 6, 1913, to American parents, the second of 3 children. Her parents were divorced and each remarried. Their economic level was good but they were described as "ignorant and non-understanding." Eleanor was shifted around frequently and after her parents' separation lived with her grandmother and then with each parent. She truanted from home and school, ran the streets and attended dances and went riding in automobiles with strange men and boys. In 1926 she had an I.Q. of 59. She had a slight goiter but otherwise was in good physical condition.

Here Eleanor adjusted well. She was fastidious about her appearance and conforming in her conduct for the most part. She was considered a follower rather than a leader. Her last Stanford-Binet was given on July 9, 1931, at which time her I.Q. was 60. Sterilization was recommended but never followed through.

Eleanor was paroled to her mother in June, 1932. She was irritable and difficult to deal with at first but gradually improved. She became interested in a young man who was described as "ignorant and cock-sure,"

but a steady worker from a good family. She married him in April, 1933, and they have lived together continuously since then. He has worked steadily and provided well for Eleanor who has been very happy with him. Recently they purchased a small but adequate home in which they take a great deal of pride. Eleanor says that she and her husband were disappointed because they had no children until October, 1942. The little girl born to them then appears normal and shows excellent care. Eleanor is an excellent housekeeper and a devoted mother. She is gracious and friendly and expressed genuine interest in Training School activities.

Eleanor is an exogenous type of child. Today, unlike 1933, we would not consider sterilization for a person of this type.

*Second* are two case histories showing the possibility that sterilization of the girl might have offered protection not only to the girl but to society as well.

*Sallie K.* Negress born on December 31, 1910, of American born parents. Was admitted to the Wayne County Training School on September 21, 1926, a transfer from the Lapeer State Home and Training School. I.Q. at the time of admission to our institution was 59. Her family was described as "devoted to patient but probably incapable of supervising her adequately because of lack of intelligence." The father was reported as serving a life term in prison for murder. Sallie had had an illegitimate child prior to her institutionalization and this child was also in Lapeer.

During Sallie's early residence here she was considered efficient and fairly stable. Her biggest liability was a "tendency toward excitable outbursts, at which times she was quite unapproachable."

In January of 1928 it was learned that during a vacation in the community the previous summer she had married and had become pregnant. In view of this she was paroled to her husband on March 23, 1928. They lived with the husband's mother in acceptable surroundings and were reported as happily married. The baby died at 7



months following the lancing of a growth on the jaw. In December of 1929 her husband lost his job and they applied for public assistance. During this whole year of 1929 there were complaints of "continuous drinking" and abuse on the part of the husband. The Domestic Relations Court was asked to take action. The husband was warned, but he continued the same type of behavior, was arrested for assault and battery on Sallie and in July, 1930, he was fined and ordered to pay a weekly allowance for family support. He complied with this order for a few weeks only. Sallie left her husband and obtained Welfare Aid, and moved herself and two babies to her sister's home. The following year, 1931, she had a third baby. When we contacted her at this point she asked for the protection of sterilization. The active community agency planned to file such a petition but the plan was never carried out.

For seven years Sallie lived with another man and then returned to her husband and had two more children by him. These children died in infancy. She is described by the worker who saw her recently as "looking about 45 years of age, fat and dull. Is a good housekeeper and seems fond of her family."

*Norma H.* Born in the United States on October 3, 1914, of Canadian born parents. Following her mother's death in 1924 she was placed in an orphanage for five months. She was frequently moved after that from the home of her father who had remarried to her grandmother's home and boarding-homes and back again. Norma did not get along with her stepmother as this woman was unsympathetic and neglectful of her duties to the child. When she entered the Training School in 1928 she had an I.Q. of 59 and an E.Q. of 67.

At the Training School Norma seemed happy and satisfied. She was dependable, pleasant, mild-mannered and likable. She was paroled to her father on October 25, 1932. At that time her I.Q. was 65 and E.Q. 66. Norma and her stepmother quarreled frequently and in July, 1933, Norma moved to the home of her aunt. In October, 1933,

it was learned that Norma was married to a former Training School boy whose I.Q. was 69. This boy's background was poor; his father was alcoholic, immoral and temperamental, a poor worker, a wanderer and was reported to have attempted suicide. The mother who was said to be mentally deficient, deserted the family.

At the time of her marriage Norma was 3 months pregnant. Her husband, who had truanted from the Training School, was in a Reforestation Camp. He was not interested in supporting Norma and annulment was considered, but was not carried through. Following her marriage Norma lived with her father and stepmother and later lived with her husband for a short time. Her husband was sentenced on November 13, 1935, to serve 14 years in Wyoming Penitentiary on a burglary charge.

Norma gave birth to two children after this. The fathers are unknown. One of these children later died and one is with relatives.

Norma has kept her oldest child, Carl, with her. She had Welfare assistance while in Detroit but since moving to Saginaw with her father she has been employed in a laundry. She is a poor housekeeper and has no control over Carl who presents many problems. When only 3 or 4 years old he set fire to his sister's clothing and she died as the result of burns. He set fire to buildings, injured other children, killed their pets, knocked a baby out of its buggy and had sex play with little girls. Carl was removed from nursery school because of excessive masturbation. On April 8, 1941, he had an I.Q. of 85. Carl was referred to the Michigan Child Guidance Institute by the County Agent. Foster home placement was not recommended as it was felt that few people could be expected to put up with his problems. Since the home had little to offer a period of institutional training was recommended.

Norma is an example of an endogenous child who probably should have been sterilized although this was never recommended for her.



## CLINICAL ANALYSIS

Mental deficiency is a biological problem in the widest sense. Strauss and his co-workers have presented before this association a series of studies differentiating two types of mental defect, the exogenous and the endogenous type. How far can this clinical differentiation be applied to the present investigation?

We computed the scores separately for a group of 12 girls who had received the highest and 12 girls who had received the lowest score on our rating scale of marriage success.

In the whole group of 50 girls there were 3 of the exogenous and 16 of the endogenous type. In the group of the 12 girls with the highest score on marriage success we found the 3 girls of the exogenous and 3 of the endogenous type. Whereas in the group with the lowest score of marriage success we found 6 girls of the endogenous type.

The number of this comparison is too small to permit of elaboration.

In Table X we have computed various aspects of the problems discussed in the paper where differences appear in respect to the group with the highest adjustment score, lowest score, and the group of 16 endogenous individuals. Scores on other items, not mentioned, do not vary. The three groups are therefore comparable. The number of separations and divorces is much higher in the group with the lowest score of marriage success and the endogenous group; the same is true in respect to illegitimate children and pregnancies. There is no problem in relationship between mother and child in the group with the highest marital adjustment but there is definitely a social problem in the other two groups. The rating of the child on the abbreviated Vineland Social Maturity Scale

TABLE X

COMPARISON BETWEEN 12 GIRLS RECEIVING HIGHEST SCORE AND 12 GIRLS RECEIVING LOWEST SCORE IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT DURING MARRIAGE PERIOD, AND 16 GIRLS OF THE ENDOGENOUS TYPE OF MENTAL DEFICIENCY

|                                      | Group I<br>12 Girls with<br>Highest Score | Group II<br>12 Girls with<br>Lowest Score | Group III<br>16 Girls<br>Endogenous Type |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Marriage                             |   |   |  |
| No. of marriages .....               | 12  | 16  | 18                                       |
| Children                             |   |   |  |
| Number .....                         | 30  | 28  | 42                                       |
| Ratio per mother .....               | 2.5                                       | 2.3                                       | 2.6                                      |
| Legitimate .....                     | 29  | 23  | 36                                       |
| Illegitimate .....                   | 1   | 5   | 6  |
| Illegitimate pregnancies (Table IX). | 5   | 12  | 13                                       |
| Living with                          |   |   |  |
| Parents .....                        | 30  | 20  | 37                                       |
| Relatives .....                      | —   | 3   | 2  |
| Boarding-homes .....                 | —   | 5   | 3  |
| Social Adjustment Ratings (Table I)  |   |   |  |
| Below } Chron. age .....             | 2   | 5   | 4  |
| Equal } .....                        | 14  | 13  | 24                                       |
| Above } .....                        | 10 (38%)                                  | 8 (31%)                                   | 10 (26%)                                 |
| Unknown .....                        | 2   | 2   | 4  |



reveals in the highest adjustment group a normal score close to the mean of the whole group of 115 children, this being 40 per cent. This rating is lowest in the endogenous group.

#### DISCUSSION

We have presented a survey on 50 girls who at one time residents of an institution for the training of higher grade defectives have lived away from the institution for at least 10 years and have had children. We have presented some data concerning these 115 children and have attempted to analyze some of the social and psychological factors involved as to these children and their mothers. We shall not try to formulate any conclusions as to success of training. However, there is one fact to which we call special attention: at the time these 50 girls were paroled from the institution there had not as yet been developed as intensive a community supervision program as we now prac-

| Age:  | 0-1 | 1-2 | 2-3 | 3-4 | 4-5 | 5-6 |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Item: | 3   | 27  | 35  | 47  | 51  | 57  |
|       | 8   | 28  | 38  | 48  | 54  | 58  |
|       | 17  | 34  | 41  | 50  | 56  | 61  |

tice. It is our belief that under more intensive community supervision the results of adjustment would be different. This leads us to the last point of discussion: why we presented our data. One feels that in these unusual times of war emergency much stress has been laid upon the excellent occupational record achieved by mentally deficient patients in their community rehabilitation. What our study has intended to present is: that these 47 married girls carried well the training they had received into their married life. It could

be shown that they married into a lower environment than had been provided for them at the time of parole. However, their good social adjustment as housekeepers and mothers had continued in spite of the adverse environmental influences. How much this change in the socio-economic status of the mothers has influenced and will influence the children we cannot say. It is our belief that this phase of protection and guidance of mental defectives falls within the responsibility of all social agencies in the local community.

The discussion of a post-war guidance program for our charges is urgently needed. For this coming discussion we have endeavored to present some concrete data.

#### APPENDIX

1. For the rating on social intelligence the following items of the Vineland Social Maturity Scale were used:

| 6-7 | 7-8 | 8-9 | 9-10 | 10-11 | 11-12 | 12-13 | 13-14 |
|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 62  | 66  | 72  | 75   | 78    | 82    | 86    | 92    |
| 63  | 69  | 73  | 76   | 80    | 83    | 88    | 93    |
| 65  | 70  | 74  | 77   |       | 84    | 89    | 94    |

2. The following descriptions were used:

a. For the rating on physical environment

*Poor:* Rural area: Complete neglect living in rundown shack.

Urban area: Any district known as delinquent or adverse to his social standing or representative of the lower standard of Detroit.

*Fair:* Rural area: small farm where signs of beginning neglect are evident.

Urban area: In business district or in a district representative of his social standing.

*High:* Rural area: An independent farm or privately owned home in small village.



Urban area: Any person living in what is termed a residential district.

b. For rating on educational level of parents

*Poor:* Mentally deficient or psychotic or illiterate or restricted schooling.

*Fair:* Sixth to eighth grade schooling or its equivalent.

*High:* High school or college training or its equivalent.

c. Rating on "milieu"

*Poor:* One partner deserted, delinquencies, inadequate environment due to changes in living conditions.

*Fair:* Average home conditions in respect to racial or social group standards as known for our institutional population.

*High:* Above the average as rated by fair.

d. For rating on socio-economic situation prior to admission

*Poor:* As rated under a+b+c.

*Fair:* As rated under a+b+c and living with relatives.

*High:* As rated under a+b+c and removed from family by social agencies, in foster or boarding homes.

3. The following descriptions were used according to the Bijou, Ainsworth, Stockey, Rating Scale: (1)

*Poor:* Rating of 1:

A. Married—Totally incapable of performing the duties of a wife and/or mother.

This rating was assigned to girls who were totally incapable of maintaining a household because of a complete lack of responsibility. They actively rejected the duties of a wife and mother and were constantly in contact with various social and legal agencies such as hospitals, clinics, courts of law, etc. They indulged in unconventional activities, usually sexual.

B. Single—Totally dependent both socially and economically.

Girls were placed in this category if it was shown that they were incapable of supporting or taking care of themselves, were consistently in family embroilments, and committed many petty anti-social acts.

Rating of 2:

A. Married—Performs the duties of a wife and/or mother, though inadequately.

These girls managed their homes definitely below the level of adequacy despite outside aid or husbands' adequate income. They seldom became involved in personal, social or legal entanglements.

B. Single—For the most part dependent socially and economically on others.

This group worked sporadically but not enough to make any sizable income, became involved in minor difficulties, engaged in irregular marital practices or led a questionable life.

*Fair:* Rating of 3:

A. Married—Performs the duties of a wife and/or mother in a marginal manner.

They managed domestic affairs in a marginal manner, may or may not have required the aid of others, were satisfied with unkempt homes and untidy appearance of self and children. They stayed out of trouble for the most part.

B. Single—With occasional aid is socially and economically sufficient.

This group managed themselves but needed occasional aid and got into occasional difficulty.

*High:* Rating of 4:

A. Married—Performs the duties of a wife and/or mother capably.

These girls adequately managed their domestic affairs. If occasional aid was accepted it usually came from members of the immediate family.



B. Single—Practically independent both socially and economically.

This group was considered practically independent, rarely requiring aid of any kind.

Rating of 5:

A. Married—Performs the duties of a wife and/or mother excellently.

These girls competently managed domestic affairs, taking necessary responsibilities and maintaining congenial relationships between members of the family as well as friends and neighbors, and were good wives and mothers.

B. Single—Socially and economically independent and contributes to the welfare of others.

They were socially and economically independent, helped in the support of others, and were never or rarely ever in trouble.

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## RORSCHACH METHOD APPLIED TO TWO CLINICAL GROUPS OF MENTAL DEFECTIVES \*

By HEINZ WERNER

IN a series of previous investigations which we conducted at the Wayne County Training School, the attempt has been made to detect essential differences in the mental make up of clinical groups of feeble-minded children. It has been shown that children whose mental deficiency is related to an early acquired brain damage are impaired specifically in general functions such as perceptual integration, and conceptual thinking not to be found in mentally deficient children of the familial type.

Since the responses to Rorschach's inkblots involve perceptual and conceptual functions, one might expect that brain-injured and non-brain-injured children of the same level of intelligence should react characteristically different.

The two groups of mentally deficient children selected for this study were carefully matched as to chronological and mental age. They comprised each twenty individuals with a mean chronological age of fourteen and one-half years and a mean mental age of about ten years.

In the following, only results which reveal significant differences between the two groups will be mentioned.

### (a) *Differences in types of detail re-*

From the Wayne County Training School at Northville, Michigan, Robert H. Haskell, M.D., Medical Superintendent.

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sponses. The two groups differed highly significantly with respect to two kinds of details, viz., "tiny" details and so-called "oligophrenic" details. Responses to extremely small details such as little specks and almost invisible parts of a contour were practically absent with the brain-injured group, whereas 17 per cent of all the responses of the familial group referred to such quite inconspicuous parts of the blots.—We speak of "oligophrenic details" if the subject refers to a part of a figure commonly perceived as a whole. Feet, hands or other parts of the human body seen in isolation are such "oligophrenic" or "piece-like" responses. Oligophrenic responses are infrequent with children of the familial type but occur about four times as often with the brain-injured group. The oligophrenic responses seem to be related to the general symptom of perceptual disintegration, a symptom found previously in brain-injured children by Strauss and myself. I am inclined to interpret the frequent reactions to tiny details made by non-brain-injured children as an indication of the lack of understanding the task. If a subject attempts to interpret many tiny parts which cannot possibly be linked with definite objects he demonstrates that he has not grasped the problem at hand. This intellectual lack appears to be more characteristic of subnormality rather than of abnormality.



(b) *White space responses.* Brain-injured children gave significantly more responses based on the selection of white instead of colored and black spaces. Many of these responses indicate a reversal of the normal relationship between the dark blot figure and the white ground. Such responses are clearly related to the figure-background disturbance of brain-injured children revealed by us in previous tests. In these experiments line drawings such as a hat or a boat were presented to the children. If these objects were embodied in a clearly structured background of wavy or jagged lines and exposed briefly, brain-injured children, in contradistinction to non-brain-injured, perceived predominantly the background without seeing the object.

(c) *Movement responses.* Brain-injured children saw human figures and animal forms much more static than the non-brain-injured group. Non-brain-injured children gave about twice as many interpretations of human or animal forms in terms of movement than did brain-injured children. These results seem paradoxical in view of the well known fact that brain-injured children are motorically easily aroused, hyperactive. We have, however, shown previously that the perception of visual motion is impaired in brain-injured children. At that time we interpreted this impairment as a lack of organizing the successive positions of a moving object into an integrated whole. It is possible to go even one step further and interpret the lack of motion as an interruption in the synthesis of visual and kinaesthetic functions.

(d) *Color responses.* Brain-injured

children reacted much more strongly to color than the familial. The number of interpretations based predominantly or entirely on chromatic color was almost three times greater in the brain-injured group. This strong reaction to color agrees well with clinical experience; it fits into the picture of the brain-injured organism as being abnormally distracted by external stimulation. An important index on which the traditional interpretation of the inkblots is based concerns the ratio between movement and color responses. Rorschach-interpreters, such as Klopfer, find the ratio of the total of color responses (C sum) to movement interpretations significant for the ability of the individual to control its behavior with respect to the outside world. The more the sum of color exceeds movement responses, the more likely it is that the control is out of balance. The index M/C shows that, in brain-injured children, the total of color responses is three times the number of movement responses, whereas these two kinds of responses are more evenly distributed in the non-brain-injured group. According to this interpretation few movement responses paired with many color responses point to an organism whose inner restlessness or disinhibition goes together with distractibility from the outside.

(e) *Content of responses.* The brain-injured children saw significantly more often human figures; the children of the familial type saw more frequently animal forms. The high amount of Human-responses found in brain-injured children is in good agreement with the experimental and clini-



cal experience, that this type of children, in contradistinction to the other group, lives in a world in which human activities rather than inanimate objects, are the center of their reasoning to an inordinate degree. On the other hand, a high Animal per cent, according to the traditional interpretation, is a sign of clinging to the ordinary, the obvious; it exemplifies a narrow range of interests. It is, of course, quite understandable, that one should find this trend toward the obvious among children of the familial type. Brain-injured children, even of lower mentality, do not demonstrate such a tendency, simply because they are apt to make quite unusual interpretations.

(f) *Uncommon or "original" responses.* The fact just mentioned is brought out clearly if the uncommon responses are tabulated for each group. The brain-injured children gave a considerable number of responses which

are based on far-fetched, and even bizarre interpretations. The tendency to produce such strange ideas is a characteristic pathological trait of these children which we invariably found in our previous studies concerning conceptual thinking. Such so-called "original" responses are practically absent in the familial group.

To sum up: many characteristics in the responses to the inkblots distinguish clearly between the brain-injured and familial type of mental deficiency. A number of these signs, such as scarcity of movement interpretations, high amount of color responses, far-fetched responses, have also been found as a characteristic part in the reactions of brain-injured adults. Altogether, the results gained by means of the Rorschach technique adds weight to the already considerable evidence of specific psychologic differences between the two types of mentally deficient children.



# DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES AS CONCEIVED BY BOYS IN A SELF-DETERMINING GROUP

BY T. M. ROSSETTIE, M.S.

AND

ALFRED A. STRAUSS, M.D.\*

“AMONG the many questions addressed to those engaged in the care and training of feeble-minded children are the following: ‘How do you maintain discipline in your institution?’ ‘What are your methods of punishment?’

“Questions of this character are the first asked by the anxious parent; almost the first by the intelligent visitor.”

We quote this introductory remark from “Institution Discipline,” the first paper on this subject ever presented before this association; it was read by Dr. William B. Fish<sup>1</sup> from Lincoln, Illinois, in 1887.

Half a century later the questions remain the same; do the methods, too?

Let us follow for a moment what Dr. Fish has to say: “. . . Change of occupation, change of scene, quiet, and rest will often work wonders with a refractory child. . . . With our more intelligent boys and girls I have bridged over many hard places by kindly reasoning in the quiet of my office. . . . Sometimes a meal with the superintendent and his family has a wonderful effect in changing the current of a boy’s thoughts from

fisticuffs and trouble to spongecake and better feeling. . . . The simple fact of having ‘told the doctor’ often helps over a hard place. . . . There should be firmness shown as well as kindness; evil habits must be broken up. The child must feel the master’s influence, and recognize a will stronger than its own.”

This individualistic, may we say, patriarchic approach to disciplinary matters still has its value. Who would deny it?

During the last decade, however, in our special field a change has occurred in the approach toward disciplinary problems. This new approach, which we refer to, does not rely upon individualistic authority; this disciplinary procedure works through “group pressure”; its effectiveness has been demonstrated in a cottage in which “group autonomy” was introduced for mentally retarded boys within the Wayne County Training School.<sup>2, 3, 4, 5</sup>

In June 1935, Dr. Haskell established an experimental cottage in self-determined activity. In this cottage “the boys handle their own discipline problems. Once a week they have a cottage meeting in which they discuss any infractions of the cottage rules, which have been enacted by the boys with the approval of the administration of

From the Wayne County Training School, Northville, Michigan, Robert H. Haskell, M.D., Medical Superintendent.

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the institution, and decide upon the proper treatment of offenders. All matters of discipline and cottage operation are left to the group itself, though the administration retains the power of veto in case the broader aims of the institution should be lost sight of in any specific case. Since this is an honor cottage, the boys have certain privileges which those in the other cottages do not have. Thus, they are allowed to go anywhere within the 1,000 acres of the Training School property instead of being limited to the cottage area; they may go in small groups (up to five) to the neighboring town to movie pictures without being accompanied by an attendant, and they may smoke in the cottage club rooms. Discipline takes the form almost entirely of withdrawal of these privileges for a period of time. . . . There are no novel or spectacular punishments involving great personal inconvenience. . . . There is no corporal punishment in the institution. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

In addition to this first self-determining cottage, the Homestead cottage, a second one, the Elks cottage, was established one year later; a third one for colored boys, the George Washington Carver Lodge, was opened about a year ago.

If one discusses disciplinary problems in such a cottage set-up, one must define: what is meant by discipline? Redl<sup>7</sup> presents probably the most lucid discussion in respect to this problem. He distinguishes between discipline as synonymous with order and discipline as a means of education. The first is something which must exist in any kind of group living. Discipline

as a means of education, however, refers to "techniques, means, tools used in the process of establishing or maintaining the state of order meant under the previous point. Practically, this means we use the same word for statue and chisel. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

In applying these definitions to the problem of discipline in a self-determining group one must state that *discipline as "order"* is largely introduced and maintained by the institutional standards and rules. One may add that although it is discipline within the institution, it is not upheld by the old individualistic authority concept but rather by a democratic procedure. This new type of order includes, in nucleo, a step to the order existing outside the institution.

*Discipline as a means of education* is exercised by the boys themselves, the means being mainly the deprivation of privileges or rewards. There are two ways in which the loss of privileges is effected, first, the loss of certain or all privileges by one boy by autonomous group action, and second, the loss of privileges by the whole group if the larger part of the group is involved in some form of misdemeanor. This latter form is enacted upon representation by the administration that the group as a whole has failed to live up to proper standards. The administration has insisted upon this kind of "punishment" occasionally because by those in group education it is felt that the loss and the renewal of privileges to a group as a whole works best against habituation, routinization and automatization of the social code existing in selected groups. Adult leaders in the cottage as well as



the boys should be confronted from time to time with the problems their particular social situation as a "self-determining group" involves.

The existence of self-determining cottages over a period of years has given the administration much opportunity to observe reactions of mental defectives which are most similar to those one expects in the community. During all these years it has never become necessary to close one of these cottages, although unfavorable and difficult situations sometimes arose. This type of cottage life established on an experimental basis has proven most valuable in the institutional routine.

Nevertheless, from time to time it is necessary to make an inventory of success and failure of our training procedures to investigate the "status of affairs" and to review them critically.<sup>4</sup> This is the original reason for writing the paper which is presented today.

During the years of the existence of these self-determining cottages two problems were of our utmost concern: (1) How far have these mentally retarded boys conceived the idea of self-determination? (2) Are the moral values of good citizenship which we attempt to teach and train understood and accepted by these boys and do they carry them over in their own minds?

An investigation of discipline may become a most important key to the analysis or the understanding of these boys on those moral values which are the goal of our training program.

Discipline defined as means of education must be related to two factors within the self-determining group. The group must be aware of a rank order,

of degree of seriousness of misdemeanors and must possess a fair evaluation of the importance of the various privileges. A minor infraction of a cottage rule should be regarded as less serious than disobedience toward an institutional regulation. The first type of misdemeanor should be "punished" by loss of a privilege which is felt less than in the second case. Only if the boys have learned to balance out seriousness of misdemeanor and severity of punishment, i.e., the value of a privilege, only then may we expect them to be masters of their self-determination. We well realize that this requirement is a goal far away. But it is this goal which the boys must approach as nearly as possible. The first report of our investigations is, therefore, concerned with only two questions: (1) What do the boys of a self-determining cottage consider as misdemeanors and what is the rank order of seriousness? (2) What do these boys consider as privileges and what is the rank order in their evaluation?

To answer these questions it was decided to use the questionnaire-interview method. Knowing that these children are handicapped in writing and reading they were questioned in an interview to decide which one of 28 statements of misdemeanors they considered as most serious. The statements (See Table I) were arranged in seven groups of four statements each. The boys were first asked to choose the two worst misdemeanors from each group and then to choose one of the two. From the seven statements thus selected the boys were asked to select the most serious one. A similar method was em-



ployed for the evaluation of privileges: this list contained 16 statements (See Table II).

TABLE I

## STATEMENTS OF MISDEMEANORS

1. Going to movie in town more than twice a month.
2. Taking more than one's share of food.
3. Out of bounds to see girls in the institution.
4. Failure to enter complaints at cottage meetings.
5. Smoking without permit.
6. Late for school, work, etc.
7. Wearing hard shoes in cottage.
8. Late to meals.
9. Stealing small personal items in the institution.
10. Leaving grounds and stealing.
11. Careless use of Training School clothes.
12. Stealing other boy's home clothing.
13. Not going to church in institution.
14. Complaint from school.
15. Complaint from job assignment.
16. Not doing cottage work.
17. Fighting.
18. Sex with another boy.
19. Beating another boy.
20. Muscling.
21. Dirty or sloppy in appearance.
22. Foul language.
23. Impudence to an adult.
24. Lying to one in authority.
25. Truancy.
26. Contacting girls in town.
27. Forging orders on clinic slips.
28. Loitering in town after show.

TABLE II

## STATEMENTS OF PRIVILEGES

1. Having parties and inviting staff members.
2. Shopping at clubroom.
3. Gymnasium in evening for sport.
4. Swimming pool in evening for sport.
5. Having special parties and inviting children.
6. Going to school unescorted.
7. Hiking unescorted.
8. Shows in town unescorted.
9. School movie shows unescorted.
10. School entertainment programs unescorted.
11. Electing own job boss.
12. Electing own chairman and council.
13. Radio in the evening after 8:00 P.M.
14. Having no night attendant.
15. Helping decide one's guilt and punishment.
16. Later bed hours.

However, before this questionnaire-interview took place, it was necessary that these boys should feel as free as possible in making their choices.

Everyone in our field knows how susceptible to verbal comments by adults, to routine experience, etc., our children are. One has to be extremely critical of taking judgments of mental defectives at their full face value. To counteract this condition we attempted to break up their routine, to loosen up their rigid minds, or shortly expressed, to disinhibit them. We recognize that the influence of the adult interviewers has an unknown effect.

The interview for the experiment proper was postponed for a period of two weeks during which time the boys of this self-determining cottage were left without any interference by the two adult supervisors. The two adult leaders stood aloof except to correct gross misdemeanors; however, it did not become necessary to interfere during these two weeks. To be sure that disinhibition and disintegration had taken place during this time, the Moreno technique<sup>6</sup> for the measurement of group cohesion was applied at the beginning and at the end of this period. Furthermore, the two adults independently judged the behavior of the group in respect to personal hygiene and cottage cleanliness. A five point scale was used by which a judgment of five points was given for the status at the beginning of the observation period and one point for the most "deplorable" condition of personal and cottage cleanliness. In addition a simple record was obtained by observation as to the observance of one minor cottage rule; i.e., the boys in this cottage had agreed not to wear hard shoes or overshoes when in the cottage because of the difficulty in keeping the linoleum floors clean. The fol-



lowing table (Table III) presents the data of the two weeks observation.

TABLE III  
RATINGS ON GROUP BEHAVIOR

- (a) Personal hygiene rated on five point score; beginning level 5.  
(b) Cottage cleanliness; beginning rating 5.  
(c) Number of boys disobeying cottage rule: not wearing hard shoes.

|           | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|
| Sunday    | 5   | 5   | 2   |
| Monday    | 5   | 5   | 3   |
| Tuesday   | 5   | 5   | 5   |
| Wednesday | 4   | 3   | 7   |
| Thursday  | 3   | 3   | 10  |
| Friday    | 3   | 3   | 16  |
| Saturday  | 1   | 3   | 13  |
| Sunday    | 4   | 1   | 24  |
| Monday    | 4   | 3   | 3   |
| Tuesday   | 3   | 3   | 15  |
| Wednesday | 2   | 3   | 18  |
| Thursday  | 1   | 1   | 20  |
| Friday    | 1   | 1   | 18  |
| Saturday  | 1   | 1   | 20  |
| Sunday    | 4   | 3   | —   |

The following data acquired through the application of the Moreno technique shows that the group became more disinhibited during the preliminary two weeks period. Each boy in the experimental group was asked three questions.

The first question was: Who are your three best friends within the institution? It has to be remembered that the group is guided by a council of five boys who have executive responsibility for discipline and planning group activities. The answers to this first question at the beginning of the two weeks period showed 28 per cent of the choices

The second question was: If you could take one boy of this group on vacation, whom would you choose? On the first application 30 per cent of the choices fell to the council members and dropped to 10 per cent at the time of the second questioning.

The third question was: If we were to vote one boy out of the group, who should it be? Two "scapegoats" were especially prominent in the selections, the one receiving 4, the other 5 votes against him. At the end of the experimental period these two boys received 11 and 2 votes respectively. Out of a number of 30 votes 9 unfavorable votes increased to 13.

According to the result of the test on cleanliness and obedience, and the Moreno analysis, one can assume that the group as a whole was more disintegrated and disinhibited after the two weeks "laissez-faire" period.

In addition to these preliminary "tests" data were collected on aggressive behavior for the whole group according to a technique described by McCandless.<sup>3</sup> The two adult leaders in the cottage and the vocational supervisor served as raters; reference to the results will be made later.

In the following summary are the psychological data concerning the experimental group in the Elks cottage.

|                                    |                                |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Number of boys                     | 30                             |
| Mean chronological age             | 15-1 ranging from 13-7 to 16-8 |
| Mean mental age                    | 10-2 ranging from 6-10 to 12-8 |
| Mean I.Q.                          | 74 ranging from 49 to 93       |
| Mean school grade                  | 4.2 ranging from 1.9 to 5-7    |
| Mean Performance Q. (Grace Arthur) | 79 ranging from 58 to 124      |

concentrated around the five members of the council; at the end of the period only 10 per cent of the choices fell to these five boys.

At the end of the two weeks period the questionnaire-interview took place in the manner described above. The following table (Table IV) presents the



TABLE IV  
RANK ORDER OF MISDEMEANOR

|                                    | Whole Group | Aggressive |       | I.Q.    |        |
|------------------------------------|-------------|------------|-------|---------|--------|
|                                    |             | Most       | Least | Highest | Lowest |
| Sex with another boy.....          | 7           | 3          | (x)3  | (x)4    | (x)—   |
| Not going to church.....           | 5           | 2          | 3     | 2       | 1      |
| Leaving grounds.....               | 3           | 2          | —     | —       | 2      |
| Truancy.....                       | 3           | 1          | 1     | 1       | 1      |
| Contacting girls.....              | 3           | 1          | —     | 1       | 1      |
| Going to movie more than once..... | 2           | —          | 1     | 1       | 1      |
| Smoking without permit.....        | 2           | (x)—       | 1     | —       | (x)2   |
| Lying to one in authority.....     | 2           | —          | —     | —       | 1      |
| Stealing small personal items..... | 1           | —          | 1     | —       | 1      |
| Taking more than one's share.....  | 1           | 1          | —     | —       | —      |
| Impudence.....                     | 1           | —          | —     | 1       | —      |
| Stealing boy's home clothing.....  | —           | (x)        | (x)   | —       | (x)    |
| Out of bounds.....                 | —           | —          | (x)   | —       | (x)    |
| Number of boys.....                | 30          | 10         | 10    | 10      | 10     |

statements which were final choices of most serious misdemeanors. The numbers designate how many of the boys chose the statement. The whole group was also divided into three subgroups with respect to the results obtained by the aggression scale and according to the rank order of their respective intelligence quotients. The upper ten and the lower ten of each category (aggression scale and I.Q. respectively) were tabulated separately. To amplify the results those statements were included which were designated as choices by at least 50 per cent of the particular subgroup—marked by (x) in the table.

It is of interest to present those items which were not chosen (\*) at all by the different subgroups (Table V).

In analyzing the foregoing results one finds that boys have recognized the seriousness of certain misdemeanors, particularly in an institutional environment. Sex—aggression rates highest; this does not imply that it is the most frequent misbehavior; it only means that the boys are well aware of our institutional standards. The second choice "Not going to church" we cannot explain; there may be many reasons for it. The third choices are equal in significance: actions of leaving the institution. This is followed by breaking an institutional regulation, smoking, then lying and cheating, and last, impudence and stealing.

The item stealing within the institution is probably one of the most inter-

TABLE V  
STATEMENTS OF MISDEMEANORS NOT CHOSEN

|                                    | Aggressive |       | I.Q. |     |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------|------|-----|
|                                    | Most       | Least | High | Low |
| Stealing small personal items..... | •          |       | •    |     |
| Forging orders on clinic slip..... | •          |       | •    |     |
| Wearing hard shoes in cottage..... | •          |       | •    |     |
| Fighting.....                      | •          |       | •    |     |
| Careless use of T. S. clothes..... |            | •     |      | •   |
| Impudence.....                     |            | •     |      | •   |
| Failure to enter complaints.....   |            |       |      | •   |



TABLE VI  
RANK ORDER OF PRIVILEGES  
Last Choices

|  | Whole Group | Aggressive |       | I.Q. |     |
|--|-------------|------------|-------|------|-----|
|  |             | Most       | Least | High | Low |
| Going to shows in town unescorted.....       | 19          | 6          | 6     | 5    | 7   |
| Going to school unescorted.....              | 3           | 3          | —     | 1    | —   |
| Electing own chairman and council.....       | 3           | —          | 2     | 1    | 2   |
| Having parties and inviting staff members... | 3           | 1          | 1     | 2    | 1   |
| Having parties and inviting children.....    | 1           | —          | —     | —    | —   |
| Gymnasium in evening for sport.....          | 1           | —          | 1     | 1    | —   |
| Number of boys .....                         | 30          | 10         | 10    | 10   | 10  |

esting ones. Though it has been chosen by the group as the least serious one, which certainly is not in accordance with our standards, it seems quite legitimate to reason that this might be due to the predelinquent inclination of our children, displayed before admission to the institution, especially of those in the borderline group. This reasoning is substantiated if we compare the score on this item in our subgroups. Stealing of small personal items was the last choice of only the least aggressive and the lowest I.Q. group; this is even more significant when the list of statements which have not been chosen are studied. The high I.Q. and the most aggressive group did not consider this item even in their first elimination. The impression is strengthened if a similar item of predelinquent behavior like forging a signature on a clinic slip is considered; here, also, the most aggressive and the highest I.Q. group did not choose this item at all.

Time does not permit us to go into further details. The point we want to stress is this: On a multiple choice test given in a questionnaire-interview situation, statements concerning misdemeanors are ranked according to seriousness of misbehavior in an adequate

fashion by these boys in a self-determining group. Discrepancies between their judgment and our moral standards can be explained on the basis of differences in the personalities of these boys, which are formed by past experiences and not readjusted yet sufficiently, even in this highly specified training process of self-determination.

This observation may lead us to the interpretation of the following table (Table VI) containing the results of the experiment with respect to judgments on privileges.

This test was given to investigate the evaluation of privileges. The following table (Table VII) presents certain statements from the third group of privileges which were chosen by the boys on their first choices.

In reviewing these two tables one may assume that the privilege of going to the neighboring town for a movie is the most highly regarded favor. This is followed by a more moral attribute of self-determination: the election of a council and a chairman. In the first choices this last item is only slightly more appreciated than the privilege of later bed hours.

The picture of what is in the mind of these boys becomes more revealing



TABLE VII  
STATEMENTS OF PRIVILEGES  
First Choices

|  | Whole Group<br>% | Aggressive |            | I.Q.      |          |
|--|------------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------|
|  |                  | Most<br>%  | Least<br>% | High<br>% | Low<br>% |
| Electing own chairman and council.....         | 30               | 30         | 30         | 30        | 30       |
| Electing own job boss in cottage.....          | 10               | 5          | 15         | 5         | 10       |
| Helping decide one's guilt and punishment..... | 10               | 5          | 10         | 10        | 0        |
| Having no night attendant .....                | 10               | 30         | 0          | 15        | 10       |
| Later bed hours .....                          | 20               | 15         | 20         | 20        | 35       |

when we attempt to interpret the reactions of the subgroups. The most aggressive group in their last choice—9 out of ten—decide to consider the privilege of "being unescorted" as the most important item. The same group appraises the election of a council of their own as highly as "having no night attendant," an item which plays no rôle for the least aggressive group and is of small importance for the two I.Q. groups. For the low I.Q. group the later bed hours plays an important part in their estimation more than the institution of a council, and the possibility of being judged by their own fellows does not impress them at all.

In summary one may say that the group as a whole has responded satisfactorily to the privileges, concrete ones as well as more abstract ones, privileges granted with the goal of self-determination in mind. Different personalities have not responded well, one might say probably within the range which might be expected, but this result cannot satisfy our endeavor of training good citizenship.

This clinico-psychological investigation was not intended to fulfill the requirements of a research paper. Its intention was to gain an impression about our own activities, their worth-

whileness and the factors which need improvement. It is the recording of daily-life events in a more accurate experimental situation in which we were primarily interested. The results of the observation raise more questions than they answer. Some impressions gained have already led to changes in the procedures of self-determination. For example, greater stress has been laid upon the introductory period of the weekly meetings; the adult leader takes more active part in the discussion of misbehavior, and its general importance in the institutional environment in particular and in community life at large. Special emphasis has been placed upon the understanding of the lower I.Q. group. A boy of lower I.Q. or verbal paucity may choose another boy of the cottage as his defendant, better expressed as his speaker or his "friend of the court." It is astonishing to observe how much better an inexpressive child can explain to his confrère his intentions and motives than to the group at large or to the adults.

We shall repeat this experiment again and hope to report then more accurate and statistical results.

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# THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN MENTAL DEFICIENCY AN APOSTROPHE TO THE MEMORY OF A NOBLE AMERICAN

BY ROBERT H. HASKELL, M.D.

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THE American Journal of Psychiatry is issuing this month a Centennial Edition as a part of the centennial celebration of the founding of the American Psychiatric Association whose meeting follows immediately these sessions. Asked by its Editor to contribute an historical sketch of trends in the field of mental deficiency in America for this same hundred years I have had the need to study as intimately as could be under war time limitations of effort the published story of this experience. This study has included among other things the review year by year of every number of the American Journal of Psychiatry and its predecessor journals for this hundred years and every number of the American Journal of Mental Deficiency and its predecessors since the founding of this association in 1876.

This study has forced me to believe that our Association on Mental Deficiency has lost an opportunity to further the greater interests of its field by neglecting to nurture the traditions possible out of its earlier history. Itard is a name familiar to anyone who has ever read a book touching on the early history of work with the feebleminded and Seguin, even in his Paris period, likewise. The same could be said for Guggenbuehl in Switzerland; for Saegert, probably, in Germany; for Conolly, certainly, in England. For

America, who? I ask you, who? As you consider the early days of your specialty in this country what American name is there that suffuses you with expanding warmth of pride in its history?

I question whether, except for a very small favored few, the name of Samuel Gridley Howe in our field would strike even a feebly responsive chord. This seems most regretful. Permitting this name to drop into desuetude, so far as our field is concerned, is not only disrespectful to a degree not becoming the dignity of our association but, more important, by casting aside the glamour that might accrue from the development, to its proper proportion, of the tradition of this most heroic American character as the true original creator of our field in America it appears not impossible that we have materially hampered the fullest fruition of our efforts. Samuel Gridley Howe's labors in the wide field of philanthropy and public affairs have made him an almost legendary character and yet we have almost spurned his name.

This Association was founded in June 1876. Its Proceedings began publication almost immediately, 1877, following the first session at which papers were read. I have gone through the first ten years of these Proceedings page by page for every reference to Dr.



Howe. In the minutes of the initial organization meeting in June 1876, no mention is made of his name although his death had occurred not six months previous.

In the 1878 meeting Dr. Shuttleworth of the Royal Albert Asylum, Lancaster, England, presented in absentia a paper on Intemperance as a Cause of Idiocy. He stated baldly that the paper originated out of the influence created in England by "the oft-cited Report of the Commissioners on Idiocy appointed to Inquire into the Condition of Idiots within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The statistics quoted there are so much relied on"—in England. Dr. Hervey B. Wilbur at the same session, in a paper on the Relationship of Speech or Language to Idiocy, made only passing mention of Howe's name. The year before, in a paper on the Classification of Idiocy, Wilbur hadn't even mentioned Howe's ideas on classification, modern as they would strike any critical reader today.

In the 1884 Proceedings Shuttleworth again had a paper included, prepared originally for the International Health Congress in London that year, entitled the Health and Physical Development of Idiots as Compared with Mentally Sound Children of the Same Age. His sole American reference is to "the late Dr. Howe who investigated the histories of 574 idiotic persons in the State of Massachusetts." He cited as his source Dr. Howe's *Causes of Idiocy* and he closed his address with a significant quotation from Dr. Howe: "In a well-managed institution the intelligent visitor will find a species of educational laboratory where experi-

ments may be tried, to the advantage of teachers and pupils of every grade."

In the 1886 Proceedings the President of the Association said, "Conspicuous among the few pioneer philanthropists who sought the welfare of the despised idiot, and whose memories Americans cherish, were Dr. Edouard Seguin, of Paris, with whose efforts and history you are all familiar, and the lamented Dr. Wilbur, whose life work is spread upon the records of our journals. . . . In 1839\* public and private facilities for the care and education of this neglected class began to be provided for in Europe and the United States. In our own country, Massachusetts took the initiatory step; Dr. H. B. Wilbur opening a private school, at Barre, Massachusetts, in July 1848 . . . and Dr. Samuel G. Howe opening and organizing the State Institution in October of the same year at South Boston." Mrs. Brown the same year made some minor reference to temporal relations of Dr. Howe's work to the Barre school.

In other words, in the official Proceedings of this Association covering the first ten years of its existence, a period identical with the first ten years after Samuel Gridley Howe's death, there are only two material references to his name and his work and each of them, if you please, was made by an internationally famous ENGLISH worker in this field who honored Dr. Howe's masterful, even though so quickly discarded, contribution of 1848 as "oft-cited" in England.

The technical contents and the tech-

\* Actually, in 1839 Dr. Howe was already laboring with a feeble-minded blind pupil in his Perkins Institution, the first of several such attempts before his special venture.



nique of this trail blazing state-wide research in mental hygiene of a century ago I shall not touch here. But to show you the temper of the man, let me quote the closing paragraphs of what his English colleague respected as this "oft-cited report."

"Massachusetts admits the right of all her citizens to a share in the blessings of education; she provides it liberally for all her more favored children; if some be blind or deaf, she still continues to furnish them with special instruction at great cost; and will she longer neglect the poor idiot,—the most wretched of all who are born to her,—those who are usually abandoned by their fellows,—who can never, of themselves, step up upon the platform of humanity, will she leave them to their dreadful fate, to a life of brutishness, without an effort on their behalf?

"It is true, that the plea of ignorance can be made in excuse for the neglect and ill treatment which they have hitherto received; but this plea can avail us no longer. Other countries have shown us that idiots may be trained to habits of industry, cleanliness and self-respect; that the highest of them may be measurably restored to self-control, and that the very lowest of them may be raised up from the slough of animal pollution in which they wallow; and can the men of other countries do more than we? Shall we, who can transmute granite and ice into gold and silver, and think it pleasant work,—shall we shrink from the higher task of transforming brutish men back into human shape? Other countries are beginning to rescue their idiots from further deterioration, and even to

elevate them; and shall our commonwealth continue to bury the humble talent of lowly children committed to her motherly care, and let it rot in the earth, or shall she do all that can be done, to render it back with usury to Him who lent it? There should be no doubt about the answer to these questions. The humanity and justice of the legislature will prompt them to take immediate measures for the formation of a school or schools for the instruction and training of idiots.

"The benefits to be derived from the establishment of a school for this class of persons, upon humane and scientific principles, would be very great. Not only would all the idiots, who should be received into it, be improved in their bodily and mental condition, but all the others in the state and the country would be indirectly benefited. The school, if conducted by persons of skill and ability, would be a model for others. Valuable information would be disseminated through the country; it would be demonstrated that no idiot need be confined or restrained by force; that the young can be trained to industry, order and self-respect; that they can be redeemed from odious and filthy habits, and that there is not one of any age, who may not be made more of a man, and less of a brute, by patience and kindness, directed by energy and skill."

Samuel Gridley Howe doesn't need adoption by this association to gain even ephemeral reputation. He long since won undying fame in every civilized land on the face of the globe. His teaching of Laura Bridgman alone earned him that.



Add to Laura Bridgman, his six years' participation immediately following graduation in medicine in the struggle of the Greeks to free themselves from the Turks, now Surgeon in the Greek army, now *Idiotes* to save his neck, now Surgeon-in-chief to the Greek navy; interrupting his share in the fighting to return to this country for a few months, a propagandist, to raise \$65,000, in the 1820's mind you, for Greek relief and upon his return creating an entirely novel pattern of distributing that relief that would do credit to the best of present day public works and public relief administration:

His equally enthusiastic abnegation of self and medical and surgical prospects, upon his return to this country in 1830, by espousing the cause of education of the blind, a totally unknown field in this country; follow this career through; the creation of the world famous Perkins Institution for the Blind; his single-handed efforts, almost, in the creation of similar schools for the blind in seventeen states over the Union; his revolution of printing methods for the blind; his successful struggle for the creation of the subsidized printing establishment for the blind now known as the Howe Press:

His precipitation in those early days of the quarrel on articulation vs. sign teaching of the deaf and the winning of it; his activity in the creation of the Clark School for the Deaf in Northampton:

His aid and support and guidance of Dorothea Dix in her efforts for jail, prison, and insane asylum reform:

His participation and leadership with Horace Mann in the reform of public

education in Massachusetts, a movement which spread over the whole country:

His interruption of a post-graduate visit in Paris to carry, at Lafayette's selection, American-raised relief funds to the Poles beyond the Vistula, then in insurrection against the Germans, a totally successful venture even if it did end in several weeks painful residence, incommunicado, in a German prison:

His activities in behalf of Kossuth then in this country seeking moral support and financial aid for Hungary in its efforts to free itself from Austria:

His objections to a state law prohibiting factory owners from working their employees longer than 10 hours a day; not that he thought they should work longer than that, but his conviction was that such a law might be construed to mean that the conscience of the state felt that 10 hours a day was the proper day's work whereas his convictions were that 8 hours, and perhaps even only 6 hours a day was long enough for any factory worker to labor (mind you, this was in 1852):

His fight against slavery, beginning in the '40's, even to the extent of being an active member of a Vigilance Committee:

His increasing participation in the national arena in the movement to guard against any extension of the number of slave states, culminating in some participation in John Brown's ill-fated activities:

The Civil War now on, his membership in the federal Sanitary Commission; in the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission:

Again to Greece, at the age of 65, to



aid them during the Cretan Revolution: and

Perhaps greatest of all, the planner and the first executive officer of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities:

During all this period, from 1863 almost to his death, the active Superintendent of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, the Superintendent of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth (without pay in this position, if you please), a trustee of a state mental hospital and of a great metropolitan general hospital.

In 1903, twenty-seven years after his death, a period when most of our board members will long since have forgotten about our efforts, The Waverley State School board recorded in their annual report for that year the following:

"It's hard to realize that but two generations have passed since Dr. Howe first raised the cry 'A man overboard' nor do we realize how far that voice has reached, or that its echoes will go on forever.

"This School is indebted for its existence to Dr. Howe. Looking back through the annual reports and the unlimited appendixes printed with them, we find that before his decease he had considered most of the contingencies which might happen, and which have happened, in the life of our institution. . . . The School has been conducted as nearly as possible along the lines laid down by him."

In 1908 Walter Fernald wrote of his predecessor: "I consider that his work with the imbecile is truly the chief jewel in his crown. The other things he did other men might have done, but

he alone among the philanthropists of that time was able to see the need of this work and to realize its possibilities."

I was much interested in what Shuttleworth had in 1884 called the "oft-cited" report of the Commissioners on Idiocy appointed (in 1846) to Inquire into the Condition of Idiots within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Some 10 years ago I had become aware of the existence of such a report from a commentator's item, written at the time of its submission to the Governor, by John Greenleaf Whittier under the caption of "Peculiar Institutions of Massachusetts." The University of Michigan Library yielded me a publication in Edinburgh in 1858 titled "The Causes of Idiocy" by Dr. S. G. Howe. This brochure was the source of Shuttleworth's information. This brochure turns out to be the reprinting, by a private English foundation, 10 years later, of the "oft-cited" report of the Massachusetts Commissioners on Idiocy, and abstracts of certain later reports, by Dr. Howe. In America this "oft-cited" original report lies buried completely in Massachusetts' state documents.

Through the intervention of Ransom Greene, his Board of Trustees has made it possible for me to read the History of (Dr. Howe's child) the Walter E. Fernald State School from its inception in 1848 down until 1940, as compiled by Dr. Anna M. Wallace. I am made aware of his Board's plans properly to celebrate its Centennial.

My sole purpose today is to start this Association on its way to correct its shortcomings of the past, by the reprinting *in toto* for the meeting of 1948



of this most remarkable document in the whole world at that time in the entire field of Mental Hygiene, the, in England "oft-cited" but in America totally forgotten, Report of the Commissioners on Idiocy appointed to In-

quire into the Condition of Idiots within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as written for the Commissioners, by the man who sired the entire American movement in Mental Deficiency, Doctor Samuel Gridley Howe.



## PRINTING FOR THE HIGHER GRADE MENTAL DEFECTIVE

BY JAMES D. WARREN

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THE conditions under which the letterpress printing course is given to the higher-grade mentally defective boys at the Wayne County Training School are unusual in several respects. First of all, the course is presented to unselected groups. This means that the training must be adapted to meet the needs of boys with varying abilities and interests, the only respect in which the groups are homogeneous being age, with a range from twelve and a half years to fourteen years. Furthermore, by the time a boy is placed in the print shop, he has been given training in a number of other handwork rooms, and following his placement in the print shop, he receives instruction in sheet metal and machine shop before leaving school proper at the age of sixteen. Because of this advancement through the various shops, the turnover in enrollment is considerable.

Actually the average period of enrollment during the school year 1942-43 and during the present school year has been from seven to ten months. The normal enrollment of regular class members averages twenty. The morning class receives instruction for one half day which amounts to two and one half hours per day for five days a week. The afternoon class receives instruction for one hour and fifteen minutes. A major part of the group is then sent to a handicraft room, while eight or nine of the better members remain in the print shop for another

hour and fifteen minutes. The average school boy receives a total of two hundred and forty hours of instruction.

Along with this set-up we have to consider the ever-present factor of production responsibilities. In addition to several selected, slightly older, "working" boys, who are given vocational training in printing, many of the more capable class members receive training in actual production work by "doing" production work.

The boys are launched upon their printing course by an acquaintance tour of the shop with an explanation of the machinery and tools and the purpose of including printing in the boys' training. After this introduction a brief outline of the course is given, and it is explained what is expected in the way of accomplishment.

With this introduction the student starts on a definite course of study. His first assignment is to make a drawing of the type case, a drawing which is to be used in the student's future work. When a suitable drawing has been completed, the instructor gives the student an empty type case, into which he is to place pieces of type in their respective boxes. The importance of placing the a's in the "a" box, the d's in the "d" box, etc., cannot be emphasized too strongly, as the future success of the student in printing depends to a great extent on this phase of the work. Each student is thereby afforded an equal opportunity to succeed, as all



must begin with an empty type case. When a sufficient amount of type has been correctly placed in the case, the student is ready to set type to print.

From this point on, the work progresses by "jobs." Each assignment in type setting or composition is considered a "job." With this method, a record of each student's attainment is made on a chart posted on the bulletin board, so that it serves as a stimulus as well as a record of each boy's standing. Further, each boy keeps a personal record of each assignment completed, as a copy of each job he does is kept in his own notebook. This is something in which most boys take considerable pride. The jobs begin with the most elementary type of copy, the first job being to set and print the alphabet; the second, the boy's name. To carry out these beginning lessons, only the simplest of material and tools are required; viz., composing sticks, type, and proof press. As the student progresses to the more difficult jobs, such as setting and printing posters, mottoes, poems, etc., the problems become more complex and involved. When job No. 24 has been completed, the student is instructed in the use of a Gordon Power Press. This seems to serve as an incentive, as the boys feel that they are really doing printing when they operate the power press.

By the time a boy has successfully completed job No. 24, he has attained a basic foundation in printing and can be used successfully on some of the more simple production forms. After such an elementary foundation has been obtained, the most important factor is experience and more experience with

"setting up" and completing an entire form. This is very vital training, not only because each form or job has new problems to solve, but also because it gives the student actual work, similar to that in a commercial shop.

It is apparent that under the conditions described, few of the boys enrolled will advance very far in the learning of print shop processes. The boys selected each year for vocational training in the print shop have a much better opportunity. These boys develop to the point where they can be expected to become successful as helpers in a commercial establishment. But the development of these two or three successful vocational specialists, although in itself important enough, cannot serve as the major purpose of a program involving almost twenty times that number of boys. The question arises: What values do the majority of the students receive from instruction in printing? One answer is that print shop instruction is particularly suited to develop habits and attitudes, as well as certain skills, all of which are important in the boys' adjustment to other situations.

One of the first objectives is accuracy. This one requirement stands out above everything else. The first assignment, as mentioned above, is to learn the type case and by so doing, make certain that the letters are placed in the boxes correctly. If this is done in a slipshod manner, there is no future in type setting for the student, as this demand for accuracy is found at every turn. Not only is accuracy required with regard to placement in the type case, but also in the care required to return the materials, such as leads, to



their proper places. But even more important is the perfectness required in the setting-up and printing of the copy. Just a few things that must be letter perfect are spelling, punctuation, spacing, uniformity of form, and font. Many times students, when errors have been noted in their copy, have made the remark, "Does this have to be so perfect?"

Patience is another important requirement. In no other shop do the boys have to learn the manipulation of such minute pieces of material which present difficulties equal to those encountered in setting type. Time after time, the type will fall down before the student learns how to place it correctly into a composing stick side by side and line by line. There are many incidents of beginners trying to make a line of type "behave" instead of having it continually fall out of place. Some have seemed on the verge of defeat, but with encouragement, they have retackled the job and succeeded, thereby acquiring more patience or stick-to-itiveness.

In addition to accuracy and patience, the habit of neatness is closely integrated with printing. All work must be entirely free of finger marks, ink smudges, and filled-in letters. The printer must wash his hands many times through the day, so that the student is more or less forced into the habit of cleaning up, in order to have his printed sheets turn out free of all marks.

Besides training for the acquisition of the above desired qualities, printing serves as a good exercise in the manipulation of the fingers. The fingers each

day become more adept at picking up the unusually small pieces of type and placing them correctly in the composing stick. Closely allied with this ability of finger movement is the correlation required between the hand and the brain. It is not implied that little concentration is necessary in other industrial classrooms, but setting type demands steady application and effort.

Still another advantage to be gained from printing is along academic lines. When the boy works continuously with the type, the shape and outline of letters and numbers become more vividly entrenched in his mind. Where he has difficulty with certain letters, oftentimes a few months working with type will clarify the characteristics.

Another way in which printing aids in academics is in the spelling of words. It is interesting to note that in each class there is at least one member who cannot read, yet can set type correctly letter by letter. When asked to read what he has printed, he is unable to do so. Because each letter has to be set and "thrown back" into the case individually, the spelling of the word is much more firmly fixed in the child's mind.

Not only is the student thus helped in spelling, but he becomes more cognizant of punctuation. Only a small number of mentally deficient children are at all familiar with punctuation, so that as the student's work is proofread and checked for all markings, he cannot help but notice the signs, which quite naturally arouse his interest. An excellent opportunity is thereby afforded for instruction in the purpose and correct usage of punctuation.



...is that printing also includes a general survey of the more common printed forms, such as newspapers, magazines, books, letterhead stationery, requisitions, receipts, etc. Not only does this give the pupils added knowledge as to use, but it seems to make them more appreciative of the value of such printed material, since they know something of the involved process necessary to print such items. When a simple form requires several proofreadings, one can realize the complexity of printing a Bible, for instance, where perfection is an absolute necessity.

Since printing does require some manual ability and some children have very little interest along such lines, there are several other aspects of printing to engage their attention. One of the most worthwhile is the linoleum block work. This affords an excellent opportunity for children to develop in the artistic area. An added incentive is created since the most artistic and most appropriate drawing is used as the block for the Christmas and Children's Day Programs. Much care is required

good, clean-cut picture.

To summarize, there are many values to be gained from instruction in printing; viz., accuracy, patience, neatness, better finger manipulation, better knowledge of letters and numbers, spelling and punctuation, better acquaintance with printed forms, and encouragement of artistic ability. Thus, even the less capable students are benefited, although they will never make a compositor or press operator or even a helper in a commercial printing establishment.

Another reason that printing instruction is extended to all boys is to satisfy exploratory-vocational ends. Having contacted all boys, the printing instructor is in a position to influence those who are talented and apt toward selection of printing as a vocation. From these avocational groups of younger boys, the instructor picks vocational prospects, and intensively trains these few for community placement. In this respect the print shop is one of the Training School's most productive assignments.



# RELATIONSHIP OF SPECIALIZED VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT IN HIGHER GRADE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE BOYS

By D. C. MAGAW

AND

L. C. SULLIVAN

*Wayne County Training School, Northville, Michigan*

THIS discussion of institutional vocational training and its community value for former Wayne County Training School boys is presented seventeen years after the opening of the school. During this period twenty-two hundred children have returned to the community following training, of which number many have succeeded surprisingly well. The relationship between vocational training within the institution and performance in the community is now reviewed. We will discuss some of the values which can reasonably be attributed to a preparatory period of training in vocational skills given while the boys were in residence at the school.

"The Training School admits only mentally defective children above the level of the idiot and imbecile, who are already showing signs of inability to meet adequately the demands of community living that, if not corrected, may serve to make the individual a continuing custodial charge. Both sexes are admitted. Ages on admission range from eight to sixteen years."

Following a period of several years custodial training the majority of these children are returned to the community under continued Training School supervision. During those years health,

social, recreational, academic and vocational training programs have each had their useful part in the preparation of the child for his return to the community.

It should be stated at the outset that success in the community, following the child's stay at the school can never be totally attributed to any one single influence or to any isolated activity which helps make up the total Training School program. The overlapping of influence is so indefinite that the authors will, from the start, readily credit every organized activity with its share in the community success of our children.

There are some relationships between community job success and institutional vocational training which can be pursued with interest. By rather careful, objective means a sizeable number of the more successful former Training School boys were listed. Likewise a number of the less successful boys were also selected. The groups were fair cross sections of the type which the institution trains; therefore, we assume that the findings are at least informative and reasonably accurate. The conclusions which follow were based on considerable gathering of record and



much matching of fact. We platted the detailed experiences of many boys while within the institution, as well as in the community placement which followed. We searched for common denominators, or for training experiences which all successful boys might possibly have had within the institution. Likewise, we searched for factors which might have been omitted in the training of some of the less successful.

A factor which had direct and useful value was the wide variety of occupational experiences our boys had in their institutional period of training. These boys are offered a large assortment of sound and saleable occupational experiences. By tryout and guidance it is quite possible for every boy to have manual experiences in keeping with his natural interests and abilities. Generally, the boy's training is secured under the guidance of a trade journeyman. He is placed under the direct supervision of a tradesman and works one-half or full day periods, depending on his age and development. He is benefited by doing useful and needed work. During an occupational training period of several years a boy may have had, as he leaves the institution for community placement, four or five sound and useful occupational experiences under that many tradespeople. The boy leaves the school with a surprising amount of knowledge regarding the fundamentals of work, as it is done in a number of indispensable community activities. He has worked with tradesmen; he has seen things done; he has associated with a number of influential personalities and he has confidence in his ability to be successful

in the community. Thus fortified, most boys are reasonably sure of a degree of success.

An example of the value of assorted manual experiences during institutional training might be cited. One boy among the group studied left the school for community placement having had a number of occupational assignments, each of five or six months duration. This boy had farm experience, garage experience, store experience and janitor training. His early community history was not different from that of many of our boys. He had a number of community jobs, living during this time in a boarding home for boys, with our Training School supervision continuing. During a heavy snow storm he and other boys from the home were hired by a large auto sales agency to clean sidewalks. During the resulting conversation with this temporary employer this boy was asked if he knew anything about car repair. His answer did lead to a tryout in the repair department with very successful continued employment following. Generally, as in this case, we found that basic skill and knowledge sufficed to gain a tryout with the employer. It must be added that the skills which this boy did have, were sound and he appeared to the employer to have sufficient manual foundation to warrant an investment in training. Similar instances of successful boys could also be cited.

It has been the social workers' experience that a direct carry-over of skills acquired during institutional training is probably most noticeable in farm work. Lads who have been given a thorough



grounding in farm skills can take over as a farm helper in short order. They are preferred to normal boys without equivalent training. However, carry-over need not be as direct as this or as direct as in the case of the garage helper cited above. Similar use of skills learned is found in other occupations such as restaurant work, bakery work, etc. We have had several successful cooks in one of our better hotels in Michigan receive their start in our institution. Relatively broad vocational experience has socialized the boy and taught him the importance of a job and good work habits. The chances are very good that he will make out well vocationally even if he has not had training for the specific task he is doing.

In a case analysis we find a chap, trained in farm work and printing, who performed exceptionally well for two years on farms. He has since been employed in a large automobile plant factory and now is a stationary fireman in a neighboring institution. Another lad trained in carpentry is one of the better cooks in a well known hotel in this area.

The suggested series of work experiences, each lasting perhaps from three to six months depending on the occupation and the boy, seems to be a workable training plan for a majority of the boys. Not only will it meet the needs of the employer who will be willing to complete the training in his establishment, in his own specialized manner, asking only that the boys have good work habits and preferably also such basic tools skills as may be useful. The plan also fits admirably an adolescent boy's desire to take samplings of a

number of activities. The youth's often repeated request to change jobs is probably indicative of nothing more than an adolescent exploratory urge. It appears that very few boys fourteen, fifteen or sixteen years of age, are ready for specialization in a trade. Beyond this age, specialization is increasingly indicated, but not for younger boys entering a period when they have only a desire to know *how* work is done. This must not be confused with their desire to work, as adults understand the term. Their interest is exploratory, with perhaps an urge to sample man's work at the side of a tradesman. It is natural to expect them to request another manual assignment as they satisfy adolescent curiosity. Obviously the best occupational training program is built around and gives cognizance to this truth. We need only turn to the highly successful and intriguing merit badge work used in the Boy Scout movement to substantiate this belief. In this work, boys of the age being discussed can pursue nearly unlimited areas, sampling each briefly but to the limit of each boy's changing fancy. Later many return to past occupational areas for further samplings and experience, with perhaps specialization following. This opinion is contrary to the often voiced complaints of tradespeople and those associated with the administration of vocational training programs for the mentally retarded. Their composite opinion is often that boys should be held without deviation to an assignment in order that they may develop the desired stability and skills.

As might be expected, we found that personal relationships both within and



outside of the institution had a strong bearing on the success of these boys. For instance, every boy naturally is associated with a number of adults. Many boys become strongly identified with certain teachers or tradespeople. Contemplating the values of these close associations, we reviewed records and traced back the associations which a number of boys had had during their training. For the purpose of comparison we now charted the employers, teachers and tradesmen in three general groups. In the first group we listed those adults who were by nature exacting, methodical and excellent in the execution of their assigned relationships with boys. In the second group we placed those adults who were somewhat lacking in tartness and crispness of personality, and also appeared to be less capable and less exacting from a trade standpoint. In the third group we placed those individuals of less stable personality, often lacking in natural manual skills, knowledge and sureness of work execution. It probably is not coincidence that many boys rated most successful in the community had had generous training periods with tradespeople of the first description. Nor is it coincidence that boys failing in the community are those boys who for the most part failed to make an enduring rapport with any trade person, especially those of the first two groups. We, therefore, attach much significance to the educational worth of the very best, carefully selected, superior adults in whose hands we place our boys for vocational training. We should, however, not deny that a boy's opportunity to share in the superior vocational pro-

grams depends to some extent on his ability, reliability, and personality traits.

Another valuable experience in the vocational training of boys we found to lie in prepared community appearances of certain boys participating in animated, working exhibits. The Vocational Supervisor for a number of years has taken boys to state fairs, expositions and other public gatherings to perform certain skilled, mechanical processes in the booth before large crowds. In the review of the 139 boys, those boys who had had the benefit of this experience seemed to have made remarkable community success. We are certainly of the opinion that the intensive instruction offered a few weeks prior to the showing, coupled with the thrill of performing successfully before thousands of passing fairgoers, give a boy an assurance and confidence he can get in no other manner to the same degree. All community contacts and industrial trips, properly conducted, serve much the same purpose. They lift the restricted horizon of the institutional boy and give him reason to make a more purposeful use of his period in training. He sees the value of his training.

Two very outstanding boys had the benefit of this experience. Both boys had years before been trained, by very intensive instruction, to take part in an interesting mechanical display put on by the Training School at county and state fairs. Later, as these boys left the Training School, they were accepted for training by a large industrial trade school. One boy in due course of time became a foreman in a tool-making shop of an auto plant. His earnings



were in excess of one hundred dollars per week during depression years. The other boy, as he finished his training, finally took his place in the steel rolling mill of that company turning the rolls used in milling steel. His is a job requiring extreme accuracy and care. He has been correspondingly well paid and now appears as totally self-sufficient as any normal young man of that age. The beginning of success for these two boys, and many others, we attribute in part to the highly beneficial community contacts.

Another boy, a non-reader with the resulting school and social disturbances, was given a tryout on a large spinning lathe during the preparatory period before a state fair. Mike needed only fundamental teaching to convince us that his was a natural talent. His exceptional skill, and his very outstanding personal appeal, quickly made him a star performer in the display booth that year. Mike entertained large crowds at a number of fairs and expositions. Employment opportunities grew out of his appearance at these public places. Mike, attention taken off his reading and academic disability, tasted a high degree of success in a craft at which

many adults fail. With this discovery of his talent, and their worth well exploited and proven, he made rapid social readjustment and for a number of years was employed with a traveling exhibit of household appliances visiting stores in all of the larger cities in the country. We assume that his public contacts, and the discovery of his very exceptional skills, had much to do with his later success.

In conclusion, this review of the community value of institutional vocational training mentions only in part the positive influences exerted. This study by no means has been exhaustive, nor is it completed. The discussion deals only with three of an increasing number of interesting conclusions. First, that a large and varied number of manual activities are necessary in the institution as a training and guidance medium. Second, the personnel, especially those serving in any capacity as instructors, exerts the most profound influence in the later success of boys. Last, because of the isolated nature of institutional life, every effort should be made to increase and maintain live community contacts during the boy's period of institutional training.