

of development. Many cases are uniform in slowness while others vary a great deal; some slow up much more rapidly than others as has already been stated.

In connection with the first table of figures that was shown the question is raised as to the propriety of including idiots. On the other hand, we must remember that to a very large extent we have a selected group here. Dr. Mogridge stated that we probably have not more than five per cent of the morons. Would not the figures be changed very much if we did have? Morons are not usually discovered until twelve or fourteen years of age. The picture to me of the development of the feeble-minded is rather that these different types develop each in his own way very much as the physical side develops. Different families have different determiners of development. Just as it was determined before I was born that I should be five feet, ten inches tall, I developed that height and no farther. In the same way, probably, that determiner carries with it the determination of the rate of development and the time. This carries with it the fact that I should have been an average boy from birth. As a matter of fact I was very much under-size until I was fifteen or sixteen years of age. Then I shot up. Other cases are over-size. It may be a false analogy but it seems to me to illustrate the rate at which these cases develop.

MENTAL DEFECT AS FOUND BY THE FIELD- WORKER

BY MISS ELIZABETH KITE, *Vineland, N. J.*

The few remarks which I have to make are such as I can recall from a paper prepared to read at a convention of field-workers at Atlantic City last week. There seems to be an occasional criticism of the field-workers which Dr. Goddard has sent out that they think that everybody they see is feeble-minded. So many black circles and squares upon the charts may lead to this inference very often. As a matter of fact, the field-workers have a difficult problem in deciding between the high grade defectives and those of lower grade. Before going out from our institution, the field-worker is subjected to a training in the use of the Binet tests and in making accurate diagnosis which helps very much in the field work. If we did not have such a training, we would have no guide in going out among people who are not considered as normal-minded. Any one who has read the work of Binet in the original knows that in season and out of season he reiterates his injunction to those who go into the work of deciding mental states that they do not rely upon subjective means, complaining that that has been the method almost universally employed—simply the impression which the child makes upon the alienist or physician or teacher, and while he admits that the alienists and physicians who are in touch with the feeble-minded and the teachers who work with them do arrive at very accurate diagnosis, yet they are not able to give their reasons for the diagnosis, so that he insists that something definite be laid down for a working standard. He says that very little reflection convinced him that there is one thing in the human intelligence that is fundamental, which, if alone tested, would be all that would be necessary to enable one to decide this very important matter, and that thing, he calls the judgment. A person who has bad

judgment may measure feeble-minded persons and may possibly diagnose them as normal and some who are considered normal people have bad judgment, but if a person has good judgment and the examiner is able to determine this point, there is no possibility of such person being wrongly classed for good judgment alone places him in the rank of normal people. Now it has been this that has been forced upon our attention, and in going out into the field to decide upon the mental states of parents and relatives of the children which we have in the institution, we have always kept in mind this principle.

Another principle must be followed. I shall never forget the injunction which the superintendent of this institution gave just before I went out into the field and I do not think a better thing could be said to any field-worker upon such an occasion "Always leave the people you go to see a little happier for your being there." Now, in carrying out this idea over and over again when it seemed I was on the brink of getting some important bit of information, I would be reluctantly convinced that it wasn't the time, and I have left it for a more propitious opportunity. The most important thing is to leave them in a happy frame of mind, so they will be glad to see me again, and so I have striven first of all to develop the good feeling of the people. Now of course it has been impossible in going from family to family to make regular use of the Binet test. I never did test out a whole family but once and that was when I had grown familiar with them and I realized it was taken as a compliment. All the children were examined except one who was in school. The mother took me across the field, and she very proudly knocked on the door of the school room and with great importance said, "My children's getting tested and I want my Julia to come out." Of course Julia came out. She was somewhere between eight and nine mentally and her chronological age was between thirteen and fourteen. By judicious questioning, you can get a great deal of information without using a notebook, or the Binet test. In fact I have always made it a point to keep the notebook inconspicuous. Sometimes I draw a piece of paper out and say, "You are saying so much that interests me that I may

forget it. Would you mind if I put that down?" and immediately put it away again. Our motive is not in any way to bring publicity or annoyance upon the people, but only to get definite information concerning conditions as they exist.

There has never been a time when I have not found people of old families in the community. It goes without saying that in the cities we haven't the advantage we have in the country. But with very little investigation you can find the part of the country from which the city people came, and then by going to that part of the country you will always find families who remember them very well, or possibly, their parents or grandparents,—but persons who at any rate will give you light on the source from which these particular individuals have sprung. As far as possible, unless I find a person of exceptional intelligence, sympathy and interest, I avoid letting her know just what I am after. I use all sorts of ways of getting at information because it is perfectly true that I am immensely interested in the farming, in the crops and soil, being something of a farmer myself. and in the country I never fail to ask questions that relate to the farm, and it is very easy. If you have a farmer interested in the amount of his stock or in the amount of berries and fruit he can raise upon given ground, it is very easy to lead him to talk about the settlement and to learn if he knows certain other families. In that way I have often led up to an interest which I have been able to emphasize by stating exactly what I was after, but only at the end of a long conversation as a rule, and when I was perfectly sure of my ground and realized the question would not make any trouble for this individual in the neighborhood. I would then delve into the subject fully. Then there is an immense amount of information to be gotten from county records and especially from family Bibles. Some of my most interesting histories have really been based on the records I have been able to get out of old family Bibles.

There are a great many difficulties. We, of course, are fallible and make a great many mistakes, but certainly as a rule our mistakes are not in naming as defectives those that in reality are so; but once more, the spirit of the institution of Professor

Johnstone and Dr. Goddard is the thing we remember to take with us, but especially to leave with those from whom we secure information.

Dr. Rogers: I would like to ask Miss Kite if she has ever been absolutely refused information.

Miss Kite: No, I can't remember any case where I have been absolutely refused because I have very seldom asked a question that could be refused. I have once or twice gotten into a critical situation. Once, I remember, I had gone in the afternoon to see a man and inquired first for his wife. Finding she was out, I went back in the evening. I had grown so used to being well received, and in this case being in a great hurry—it was a very bad part of the city—and finding the woman busy closing the shutters, I unfortunately asked at once if her husband was in, before I had gotten in touch with her and found what sort of a woman she was. I said, "It isn't really you I want to see. It is your husband." She had in the meantime come to the door and I was forcing my way in. She tried to keep me out. I kept going in and talking on very glibly. I said, "He has an aunt and uncle down here." By the time we got into the kitchen the storm broke. She said, "If you want to ask any questions, ask me for it is my husband you want to see and him you wont see." With that she shook her fist in my face and said, "I will have you arrested. I believe you are keeping company with him." (Laughter.)

DISCUSSION

Dr. Rogers: Does not the family as a rule like to talk about their relatives, and is it not very necessary to interview neighbors and other people not related?

Miss Kite: Yes, it certainly is true, and it has been of great service to get the wife talking about her husband's relatives. (Laughter.) I remember one old woman who said, "Well, you see the boy always was like his father."

Dr. Rogers: That is a common experience with people whom we interview at the institution when a new child is brought.

If he is brought by the father, all the troubles come from the mother's side, and if he is brought by the mother, all the troubles come from the father's side.

In the matter of determining mental intelligence, Miss Kite has already stated that the evaluation of judgment was especially important; I would like to ask her what concrete standard she uses for making this evaluation. Isn't it after all really a question largely as to whether they have been able to make a decent living and to maintain themselves on a social and economic equality, we might say, with the particular social group to which they belong? Assuming, of course, that such a group is not anti-social.

Miss Kite: I intended to speak of this before. The knowledge of the children here at Vineland is our standard. I am constantly holding up the individual whom I am judging for comparison with the children or child we have here from the same family, otherwise, it would be impossible in many cases to decide. For instance, I am reminded of the case of a particular child. She is constantly before me. I am bringing her brothers and sister up by her side. She makes a brighter appearance than they do. It is very seldom that I can come to the point where I can take a meal with the family but we can sit in a room with them and talk with them and that brings out their reactions. Knowing the child here thoroughly, one can note the resemblance and difference and can measure very well. The child I have in mind at this time I have studied a very long while. The mother I knew instantly was of lower grade than the girl. The girl was of lower intelligence than the girl we have here. Two or three of her sisters were about on par with her. Two little children test about normal but they have that about them which indicates they are not. They are now six and seven and test five and seven respectively, perhaps indicating that when they are eleven and twelve, they will be about with the rest of the family. That, of course, can only be told definitely when they are older. We have the test of them now at five and at seven years, and later, of course, it will be of great importance to test them again in order to realize the rate at which they have developed.

Dr. Rogers: These cases that appear to test as normal afford illustrations of the doubtful point discussed in connection with Goddard's paper concerning the possible slowing down of mental evolution.

What do you do in the matter of recording heredity of disease? Where the parents, grandparents or some collaterals have died of cancer, for instance? Of course to handle such features fully requires special training for that purpose, but how much can you do?

Miss Kite: We get whatever medical history we can from the family itself and from the physician, but of course, that has never been emphasized with us. At least I haven't in my work emphasized it. It has not been required of me so much as the social aspect of the cases. It is the question of citizenship that is constantly in my mind going around to these people, the question of whether their bad ways of living are due to lack of intelligence or whether to environmental causes, whether there is really the capability of citizenship there and of the training of children to make good citizens. That is really the final test in a democracy that ought to be put to every individual because if he is to have the right of citizenship he should have the ability.

Dr. Rogers: That is right. Reactions to social and economic environment must be considered first. Of course, there are many hereditary diseases and abnormalities that have no apparent relation to the causation of mental deficiency. Their study is to an extent a side issue but we all hope for the time when the field surveys of these things can be carried on to supplement laboratory work. It would seem worth while at least to record as many such conditions as are found, being careful to have authoritative evidence as far as possible to the diagnosis.

Miss Kite: That is exactly what we are trying to do now. We want an analytical view of every individual defective, including as many facts about him as we can obtain.

A Member: It has occurred to me, in connection with the reference made to the family Bible, that it would be a good idea child's life during infancy and early life. There are little gift to encourage mothers to keep a simple but regular record of her

books, you know, for recording the birth of children, when they cut their first teeth and so on. Could this record not be elaborated so that it would include a memorandum of defects, because in the near future children are going to be studied along these lines. Perhaps as an association we might suggest suitable records, not too elaborate, or certainly they won't be kept. There might be six questions or ten or twenty questions as the case might be. It would be valuable for many reasons in after life.

Dr. Goddard: It may be interesting to know that J. Madison Taylor of Philadelphia is preparing a book just on that line. I am not sure he has anticipated the points you speak of but at least he is working on something of that nature.

Dr. Fernald: I would like to ask Miss Kite how she manages to ascertain the exact mental condition of ancestors or collaterals, as to whether they were mentally deficient or were cases of terminal dementia or cases of dementia with termination leaving them on a lower plane. I should think it would be very difficult after the lapse of a generation to even approximate the facts. When I see the difficulty we have of making a diagnosis of cases before us I should think the difficulty would be increased when they belonged to generations that have passed. Not many of the published histories by Davenport and Goddard go back into revolutionary times.

Miss Kite: Of course, there are really but very few cases where we have endeavored to study the mentality of a person who has been dead seventy-five years, but still there are a few such cases, and of course the study has involved, I might say—not years—but certainly over a year of most intense investigation and questioning literally hundreds of people and going into records and leaving absolutely no stone unturned I could find in the way. For instance, take the one case now quite well known, (the "Kallikak" case), the revolutionary soldier whose child was the great great grandfather of one of our cases here. He himself died in 1860, his mother died in 1842. Now the information about his mother—I grant it is involved and her mental condition must be in a measure assumed for there is little direct proof for putting her down as feeble-minded because I can get no one who remem-

bers her, though I found several people who remember that their mothers recognized something about her different from other women and they talked about her a great deal. Now that alone would not have so much value if it were not considered in connection with known members of the family—this particular family, where there are so many dead members marked as defective, who have made such a profound impression on the whole neighborhood where they lived. They lived back in the mountains on a ridge and lived there for several generations. The old man died in 1860, somewhere about eighty or ninety. His mother had lived there before him and died between the ages of eighty or ninety in a cabin a little further back in the woods. There are people living there now whose family had heard of those people though it was a long, long while before I found the people who could give me definite information. In fact when we started on the investigation we had no idea that the girl down here had any remarkable history. It was only little by little that it began to open up. Finally I found that her grandfather had twenty brothers and sisters, and that of those twenty brothers and sisters there were four or five living today in a certain city in this state. I knew the name, of course, and looked in the city directory and found a great many of that name, because, I found out afterwards, they belonged to the legitimate branch of the family. They were lawyers, doctors and so on, but I found the name also in one or two of the nearest towns and I went to look them up, to see if they could tell me something about their ancestors, and found I had struck the right line. When I had gotten the right persons it was the easiest thing in the world to have them tell me the names of their brothers and sisters. I don't remember the excuse I had but I found something which was satisfactory and they told me the names. When I came to look up the families after I got the addresses of one or two, I soon found other sources of information. For instance, I came to one woman who was living apart from her husband, not divorced but living apart from him, and the moment I heard that fact I thought that probably she was a normal woman and I could learn some important facts from her. She was only too thankful to find some one who

had a sympathetic nature to whom to pour out her grievance. She was a woman of intelligence but of no education whatever. She said repeatedly, "I wish you could find out what ails that family. I don't believe there is another one in New Jersey that has done so much harm." She told me she had lived with her husband until she had a family of six children and that all were normal except the youngest child who was incorrigible and has since been killed by riding on a freight car on a railroad, much to the benefit of society. She said that she didn't know what *was* the matter with her husband, she knew nothing about defect when she married him. If he had been a drinker simply, she would have forgiven him, but he simply wouldn't work and he sat around and did nothing and she had to support him and the children and she decided that she would do better to leave him and support the children herself. I haven't been able to find him. I have traced him all over the country. He was for a time in a gypsy camp where he posed as the husband of the Gypsy Queen. There was a murder committed in the vicinity and they fixed it upon him. They finally found his wife in T——— and she said he didn't have enough mentality to commit a crime and he was cleared of it. After leaving the Gypsy camp he was married to a woman who was his first cousin and the shadow of the church spire fell upon the house where she was struggling along with her six children. The minister who married them was the only one who didn't know he was a married man. In less than two years he was living with another woman and she with another man and another minister married her in less than three years to a man up the country. That gives you just a little idea of how those people are living. Now going back of that, I found old people in the neighborhood who gave exactly the same story of the previous generation. One person told me about this great great grandfather that when she was a girl she used to be called to the window to see this old man. He went by the name of the old "Horror" and she described him—how on election day he came down with a new set of clothes and he was for anybody who would give him a drink. Another one told me this characteristic story. Of course his beverage was his best friend, and near-

ly every farmer had a barrel of cider on his porch. One old farmer used to take particular delight in entertaining the old fellow. He would let him drink as long as he wanted to, and on one occasion he drank until he toppled over and the old farmer chuckled and said, "I always knew them steps of mine did need fixing." The old fellow thought of course they were what had caused his fall. Stories of that kind told by people who are not telling them for any purpose, simply talking about old times and memories, certainly give a good picture of the mentality of these individuals, taken in conjunction with what we know of their descendants. Four of his children, Old Moll, Old Sow, Old Kate and Jane bear a description in the neighborhood that makes their classification certain with their children who are living today.

Dr. Fernald: We are glad that Miss Kite is not on our trail.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Delinquent Child and the Home. SOPHONSBBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, Ph. D., and EDITH ABBOTT, Ph. D., *Directors of the Department of Social Investigation, Chicago School of Civics and Philantliropy, with an Introduction by Julia Lathrop, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, New York. Charities Publication Committee, 1912.*

This book gives the results of an exhaustive study of juvenile delinquency in Cook County, Illinois. The juvenile court records furnished part of the data. This was supplemented by a more careful study of the homes and families of 584 boys admitted to the court during 1903, and of 361 girls of the State Training School. In these family studies the homes were visited, and all the information gathered that was possible by interviewing and observation. The analysis of these data is given in ten chapters, arranged and dis-