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**THE CONTEST
AGAINST CRIMINALITY**

**INVESTIGATION
AND PROBATION WORK
IN SWEDEN**

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Preface.

During the year 1910 an association was formed in Stockholm called "**Skyddsvärnet**" (*The Protection Society*) for the purpose of assisting both public and private attempts at reclaiming and reforming released prisoners, those under suspended sentence, vagrants, habitual drunkards, prostitutes, and similar cases needing assistance. The Society, which has been granted a subvention from the State as well as from the Municipality, is under the patronage of H. R. H. the Crown-Prince of Sweden.

The following article, recently published in the first number of the periodical of the Society, chiefly relates to the work under my superintendence among those under suspended sentence.

At the close of the article will be found an instance of the preliminary investigation undertaken by the Society anent a case of suspended sentence, the forms available for this purpose, as also the cards distributed by the Society.

It would be a matter of great satisfaction to me if the work of investigation and probation commenced in Sweden could awaken interest in those who, in other lands, have engaged in the same field of labour, so that, in due time, *co-operation* might ensue between the Society and them, to the vast advantage of a far more comprehensive and effective work among the criminal class.

Stockholm in April, 1913.

Harald Salomon.



The contest against criminality constantly carried on by society has, in course of time, been fought with very different weapons. In the old days the main idea was cruel corporeal punishment, in fact there is scarcely any part of the body that was not subjected to punitive consequences: eyes, ears, nose, and tongue to the knife, the forehead to the branding-iron, the neck to the halter and the axe, the back to the whip, feet to the stocks, and the hand to the executioner's chopper, &c., &c. Later on there were prisons, often underground dungeons where the prisoners were left to perish. As an author declares: "Compared to the prisons of the Middle Ages, the gibbet was a mercy."

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, however, a change occurred thanks to the efforts of the English philanthropist John Howard who devoted his life to securing reforms in the management of prisons and prisoners and ruthlessly exposed the deficiencies of the system then followed. The result was an awakening, and by degrees it was conceded that the poor wretches thrown into prison were human beings and should be treated as such. It is merely from this time that we can speak of any rational treatment of prisoners.

Notwithstanding the more humane ideas of criminality and its punishment that began to permeate the penal codes of various countries, it was for some length of time deemed a natural consequence that each special crime should be followed by punishment or suffering, and only during the very latest decades has the idea gained ground that criminality is not solely dependent on individual but also on social causes, that crime is not entirely attributable to the character and disposition of the offender, but chiefly depends on the social conditions under which his childhood has been spent. The natural outcome of this opinion was a change as regards the manner of combating crime. It is now fully understood that

punishment is not the sole weapon we possess in fighting against criminality, but that in many cases other measures may be taken by society. Punishment is no longer deemed an act of revenge or suffering that must necessarily follow crime, but as a practical means of protecting society at large. When the security of the community is not affected, no punishment need be inflicted.

In legislation of more recent date the new ideas have found expression in so-called suspended sentences, when there is a conditional suspension either of the sentence itself (in Anglo-Saxon countries) or in carrying out the sentence given (on the European Continent). The criminal is placed on probation, and should he stand the test, no punishment is exacted.

The suspended sentence is designed to save the criminal from loss of liberty with its attendant sufferings and consequences, both for the offender himself and his relations, so as to give him the opportunity of redeeming his position in perfect freedom. The criminal is, however, often a weakling of little character, and the temptations in his path are many. As a rule he cannot be dismissed simply with a caution to keep within bounds for the future, since temptation so often overcomes him. It is therefore necessary to arrange protective supervision for those under suspended sentences, a thing that has been provided for at many places abroad, and which is also contemplated here in Sweden. The Court, when pronouncing sentence, appoints a suitable person as probation officer, who undertakes the supervision of the criminal conditionally released, affording him that support and assistance of which he stands in need. Thus the probationer is definitely reminded that there is a power he must obey, while at the same time he feels that society wishes to assist him to atone for his offence.

The probation work on the part of the Community forming the complement to the suspended sentence is, on the whole, an educational work of a very complicated kind. In this work two chief moments may be discerned. The one, disciplinary, is intended to exercise a certain control on the culprit. The other, and by far the more important moment, is the formation of character, the attempt to make the criminal not only

a law-abiding citizen but also an honest and good man. The fundamental principle with regard to this latter moment in the probation work is this: Just as criminality is chiefly fostered by association with lawlessness and vice, it may be combated with effect only by the offender being placed in close communication with the very reverse, rectitude and purity, with a real personality, man or woman, who by their example can wean him from his bad habits, learnt among former associates, and by close personal touch for some length of time assist the culprit in acquiring good habits.

It is in many respects very grateful soil that has been opened up for cultivation by the introduction of the suspension of sentence and the probation system. As a rule it is a question of treating the pick of the great army of wrong-doers, concerning whose rescue the very best hopes may be entertained. The work of rescuing them is carried on not within the narrow walls of an institution with its more limited possibilities but in the full flow of life, with all those possibilities that offer for anyone who *will* to break their way once more to a respectable calling. The conflict against criminality will thus be transferred to another and wider plane than previously. From being a question that, strictly speaking, simply affected a narrow group of officials, it has now developed to a question that concerns almost every individual in the community. The contest against criminality tends more and more to become the business of the entire community, a great social question, for the due solution of which we need the assistance of every good and available power.

In Swedish legislation this need has to a certain degree been expressed. In the Law concerning the education of dependent and delinquent children dated June 13th, 1902, for instance, there are stipulations concerning the appointment of "kretsombud", a sort of probation officer, assistance thus being requested of zealous men and women for the fight against juvenile criminality. Furthermore, in the Act re Conditional Release of June 22nd, 1906, there is a stipulation that in the place of a sheriff's officer, magistrate, or public prosecutor, some other suitable person may instead be appointed as supervisor of a prisoner released from a penal institution, this

person having to superintend the conduct of the released prisoner as circumstances demand, and to attempt to encourage anything that may lead to the man's being reclaimed. In this case the assistance of the private citizen is requested in the important work of reclaiming released prisoners.

On the other hand, here in Sweden we possess no special stipulations re probation as regards those whose sentences are suspended. This defect, as also the need of an investigation of the personal circumstances of the offender previous to being brought before the Court for sentence, has received the attention of private individuals, and when the Protection Society (Skyddsvärnet) was formed in 1910, it included in its programme investigation of the cases for suspended sentences and the supervision of those liberated under such sentence, and, so far as it has been possible, the Society has tried to organize work in these departments and interest persons in various ranks of life. In this sphere of action in combating criminality the assistance of private individuals has been appealed to, and at present their response has led to the formation of a small group of volunteers, who are willing, without any pecuniary reward, to assist the Protection Society in carrying out the work in question.

The work of investigation undertaken by the Society has as yet chiefly concerned such offenders under arrest who have voluntarily pleaded guilty, and by law can be the receivers of suspended sentence, e. g., as a rule, first offenders who are not guilty of more desperate crimes.¹⁾ The work is mostly carried on in the following manner: The examination by the police being at an end and the police report ready for delivery to the Court before which the prisoner is to be brought, information thereof is given to the Governor of the Jail; at the same time a copy of the report being forwarded to me. The Governor of the Jail then sends to the arrested person in the cell two copies of a form set up by the Protection Society, with the intimation that the person under arrest is to fill up and sign both copies.²⁾ In this form there are

¹⁾ Applies only to such offenders as come before the criminal courts, e. g. those of 15 years and upwards.

²⁾ One is for the Court, the other is kept at the office of the Society.

queries respecting the circumstances under which he has been living and working, and opportunity given for a detailed account of his person and family, &c., &c. Furthermore he is encouraged to state the reason for and circumstances concerning the offence, and to give the name, address, and if possible the telephone call number of those persons who know most concerning his life and circumstances, and to note down what he may have to add with regard to his life's history and family relations. The form closes with a declaration on the part of the culprit that he is willing, should suspended sentence result, to place himself under the friendly supervision of the Protection Society for the time being until other commands reach him, and to follow the directions of the Society which may be given with a view to his probation. When these forms are filled up, I interview the culprit at the Jail, going through the forms and filling in matter if necessary. At the close of this interview a card is handed the prisoner, where among other things it is urged that should his sentence be suspended he should call on me some Thursday at the office of the Protection Society in order to consult with me respecting his prospects. Should he have a home in Stockholm, I call there in order to obtain a personal knowledge of the surroundings in which he has lived. The information afforded me in the home is later on controlled by other statements given by his employer, landlord, &c., &c., and, when it is a question of soldiers, by their superior officer, while as regards juvenile offenders, their schoolmaster, or teachers of religion are appealed to. Should the home be in the country, by writing or by telephoning to the Rector of the parish, the Bailiff, or other reliable person, I try to obtain the necessary information to the best of my ability. The result of my investigation is then recorded in writing and the report placed at the disposal of the Court.

The probation work has consisted in my seeing those under suspended sentences that choose to attend on Thursdays at the office of the Society, their relations, or other persons interested in the work, besides which, either I myself or some representative of the Society duly appointed as supervisor, visit the home of those under sentence. Those calling on me

at the office receive probation cards, containing among other matter the name and address of the person appointed as their supervisor, as also certain "Rules and Regulations" which they are advised to observe.

How the work proceeds will best be illustrated by giving some practical instances. My choice falls on three old cases where supervision was accepted and exercised voluntarily, and so long a time has elapsed since the sentence was pronounced that we are entitled to draw our conclusions anent the future.

Case No. 1. An errand boy aged 17, whom we can call Charles, was arrested on the charge of burglary committed in collusion with another lad. He belonged to the usual type of hooligans that pass all their leisure hours in loafing about the town with other congenial spirits. During his school-days, however, he seemed to have been a wide-awake boy that was liked there, which is proved by the report of his teacher, which I requested in the usual way. The teacher's verdict was: "During the first few years of his school-time he was giddy-headed and rather too lively, so needed a good deal of supervision, so his first women-teachers found him very troublesome. Real bad conduct, or any bad tendency in a given direction never was observed by me, for which reason his conduct mark, by degrees, was raised to the very highest. He soon became the favourite of the class and I myself felt attracted to the playful, gifted, and invariably good-tempered boy, for which reason he became the object of special benefits, twice receiving a complete suit of clothes, and being sent summer after summer for three years to the country thanks to his teacher's intervention. . . . I certainly noticed that Charles was easily led astray, and was far too dependent on outer influences, and in this connection I must mention that, led astray by two other lads of another class, during his last term but one at school he was a party in pilfering goodies at a pastry-cook's in X-Street, the punishment meted out was a good whipping in school, a reduction of marks as regards morals, and the parents had to compensate what was pilfered. Subsequent to this offence and during the last term at school, Charles' conduct gave no cause for remark, so that I did not deem it necessary to brand him with a low mark but, when leaving school, he was given the very highest mark for conduct. Concerning his home nothing but good can be said. His father, from what his foreman told me, is a sober and industrious workman, his mother a good, but somewhat weak woman, who has for years been in bad health, and for several long periods confined to her bed."

The clergyman who had prepared him for confirmation and had known the boy and his family for years, deemed Charles weak, easily

led away, and fond of pleasure. The home he declared was good, though probably the father had been too indulgent with his son.

On visiting the home, it made a good impression on me.

With regard to Charles and his work I was told by his employer that the lad had been in the employ of the firm for about 18 months as errand boy with wages at 9 Swedish Crowns or 10/- a week, and had during this time given cause for no complaint whatsoever, it being specially impressed on me that he had invariably given account of every farthing received from the customers, a thing that was not the custom with errand boys in general. Certainly the manageress, who chiefly gave Charles his orders, deemed him heavy and slow, but in her opinion this was owing to his being, perhaps, too old for an errand boy. From what the manageress had heard, Charles had fallen into bad company, and she had warned him of the consequences, and added that if he wished to remain with the firm he must avoid bad company. If his sentence were suspended the firm was willing to again take Charles into their service.

On Dec. 20th, 1910, Charles was released under a suspended sentence.

His probation then began, and in accordance with the entries in the diary of the Society I find it proceeded chiefly in the following manner. On Dec. 22nd, Charles' sister, aged 19, came to me to express the thanks of the family. Declared that her brother was hindered by press of work at Xmas from coming himself. On Dec. 29th, both brother and sister came, and Charles expressed his gratitude. On Jan. 19th, 1911, both again appeared, and the youth, who wished to obtain other employment, was enjoined to turn to the registry office of the Protection Society. On Feb. 2nd, the sister announced among other things that Charles' conduct had as yet caused no complaint. In the evening he attended the meetings of the Salvation Army, and never remained out after 10 p. m. On Feb. 7th, I made enquiries from the firm with regard to Charles' conduct and heard that there was no direct cause of complaint received. The manageress, however, deemed he should have work where more discipline was exercised, as he was very lax and was fond of lounging about the streets with other lads. Charles called on me on Feb. 9th, and on 15th, I visited their home, where I found the father and sister in (the mother had been transferred to a hospital). Charles was at a picture palace. Of late he had often been at the meetings of the Salvation Army, and on one occasion "been on the platform". His sister believed he was a so-called cadet. Charles had called on his former teacher to express his thanks, and in other respects his conduct had been satisfactory. On Feb. 23rd, his sister announced that in spite of prohibition Charles had been seen in company with the lad who was his companion in the burglary, but on March 2nd Charles declared the lad had accosted him in the street and that he would try to avoid the lad for the future. On March 9th,

the sister reported that Charles had now begun to take up sloyd of an evening at the Sloyd School of the Salvation Army at X-Street, and that he never came home later than 10, sometimes remaining at home the whole evening. Later on, a slight conflict appears to have arisen in the home, since on March 23rd, the sister reported that without permission Charles had taken 25 öre (about 3d) from her money-box and 10 öre from her purse, left about on a chest of drawers, and in her opinion "It was not the first time he'd done so". Furthermore from his Savings Bank book, where he had had 24 Swedish Crowns, Charles had withdrawn 9, and later only made a deposit of 5 Swedish Crowns. The sister considered that her brother had no need of so much money, and that probably he had spent it in pleasuring. As a consequence of this report I called in on March 24th, found Charles at home, who confessed he had taken 35 öre belonging to his sister, but declared he simply took the money as repayment for bootlaces, &c. &c., which his sister had had at his expense. I reproved him for his conduct to his sister. On March 30th Charles informed me that he and another former schoolfellow intended taking service with a peasant in the country, where his schoolfellow had been placed in the summer during his school-days, and I told Charles to obtain his parents' consent and give further particulars about the matter. Lengthy negotiations were carried on later about this place, the sister calling on the former schoolmaster to hear his opinion. On my visiting the home on April 11th, I was told that Charles had of late been under the influence of bad comrades who wished to tear him away from home. After still further negotiations, Charles declared on May 4th that he had now declined the place in question, since his mother did not wish him to take it. (This was some slight victory since previously he had not placed much stress on his mother's wishes.) On June 22nd, Charles reported that he had been promised a place at one of our large mechanical works, and that on August 13th, he would tell me how things stood. As, however, nothing was heard from him on that date, I telephoned to Y. & Co. and was told that he was still in the employ of the firm. During the summer he had now taken the duties of his immediate superior for a time, and become far more wide-awake than before, and given complete satisfaction. The manageress deemed it was owing to the work interesting him more. Subsequently on Sept. 7th, Charles reported that he was still in the firm's employ, and on Oct. 5th the firm made a communication to the effect that Charles had been dismissed since he refused to drive a box to the railway station. Later in the day Charles came to see me and declared that the reason he refused to drive the box was that, as it contained paper, it was far too heavy, moreover, the clerk had annoyed him by repeatedly calling him "jailbird". On Nov. 11th the sister reported that Charles had now obtained a situation at the Works in question with a salary of 14 Swedish Crowns a week, and was

getting on nicely, handing over his wages in the home, and being given a trifle on a Saturday, not being out so much of an evening as before. On Feb. 8th, 1912, the sister reported that Charles was still doing well. On Oct. 27th I went to see the family in the evening, and found them all at home. Charles was employed in reading a magazine. He told me that owing to a decrease in the orders flowing in to the Works, he was not at present engaged there, but had other employment for which he received the same payment of 2.50 the day. In the spring he hoped to be back again at the Works. No complaint was made against Charles by his relations, and on Nov. 7th his sister reported that Charles was still going on well, and was attentive to the invalid mother. Of late he has become interested in dancing, also in young girls, and given his sister dancing lessons in their home. Girls sometimes call in to entice Charles to go to dancing halls, but when the sister is at home she sends them about their business.

The supervision exercised in this case has certainly not been so very stringent (during a period of two years I have not found time to visit the home on more than four occasions), but I believe it has had the effect of impressing on the boy that someone was watching his actions. This in some degree may be considered as contributing to the fact that, as far as we can judge, the former hooligan has become a capable and comparatively staid workman.

Case No. 2. Unfortunately a very usual case of a young, capable woman, whose husband A. is a drunkard. His offence was pilfering articles of food which he had disposed of in exchange for drink.

On visiting the property where the couple had their home I was informed by a neighbour that the wife, with an infant of but a few months, for the present was living with A.'s father, who had a small shop in the immediate vicinity. The neighbour's wife told me that the wife was considered a good manager and a careful, respectable woman, whereas the husband would often return home intoxicated. On looking in at the shop mentioned I had an interview with A.'s wife, as also with his aged father and a step-mother, who all declared that A. was fond of liquor but otherwise they had no cause of complaint concerning his conduct. The father related that his son had always been well-behaved during his childhood and early manhood, though he had shown a precocious taste for malt liquor. His employer stated that the man was extremely careless and of intemperate habits, in fact would long ago have been dismissed, had it not been for the distress dismissal would cause his wife and child.

In the report made out for the Court by the Protection Society it was noted that his working out his sentence would in this case induce consequences of injurious nature as regards his duty of providing for his wife and child, since the young woman, the child not being weaned, could scarcely contribute to her keep by working away from home.

From the jail, A. wrote his wife a letter in which he expressed his sincere repentance, writing among other things: "From this moment I will never touch strong liquor of any kind". This letter was sent in with the report to the Court.

On Feb. 23rd, 1911, he was let out under a suspended sentence.

The same evening the couple attended at the office of the Society, expressing their great gratitude for the successful issue of the case. They were, however, greatly in need of assistance from the Society since the man had no work and both the landlord and the owner of their furniture (which had been purchased on the instalment system) demanded immediate payment of dues or they would be ejected from their dwelling and lose their furniture. To obtain regular work for the husband at the moment was found impossible at that season, and want became an inmate of the home. The couple then received a loan for the payment of the rent, and I obtained a reprieve as regards the instalments for the furniture. Relieved from the more pressing burdens of debt, aided by the Society the man sought work and finally succeeded in obtaining something to do. So far as the probation work was concerned from February to June, 1911, one or other, or both the parties had attended almost all my "evenings", and on one of the earlier occasions when the wife appeared she gave me the glad tidings that her husband had entirely abjured spirits from the date of his discharge. On one occasion he had turned out from his home two former boon-companions who had wished him to join them in a spree. On April 20th, the wife informed me that her husband even gave up his so-called "coffee-money", handing his wife the 16 öre daily. On June 1st, the man announced that he had now the promise of a good place at an estate in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, but that the difficulty was not only the transference of the agreement re the lodging in town, which was valid till Oct. 1st, but also that the owner of the furniture would not allow of its being moved from the capital. However, when owing to the representations of the Society, these questions were satisfactorily arranged, the man took up his duties on the aforesaid estate, where he got on very well. He had a salary of 70 Swedish Crowns a month, in addition to free houseroom, light, and fuel, and, moreover, had opportunities for making more money. On Feb. 29th, 1912, the wife was in town and repaid me part of the loan received. On Oct. 20th, 1912, the wife informed me on the 'phone that everything was progressing satisfactorily. Her husband, who still refrained from drink, had just returned from a course which he had passed somewhere to gain competence so as to become a foreman. The owner of the estate had assisted them to pay for the furniture so that now but 6 Swedish Crowns remained due, and they hoped soon to be able to clear off their pecuniary debt to the Society. She hoped I could some day find time to come out and see what a nice place they had.

In this case, as in the first, the supervision was not very stringent, and that success crowned our efforts must be ascribed to the fact that we had such good assistance from A.'s wife, as also that A. himself was rather a good-natured fellow. What he needed was a powerful awakening. This was provided by the arrest, trial, and sentence, and to a certain degree by feeling he was subsequently under probation.

Case No. 3. A prostitute, named Anna, cautioned as a vagrant, and married to an habitual drunkard, had robbed a countryman of his watch at an hotel of ill fame. This seemed at first to be a perfectly hopeless case.

Under the letter g) in the form delivered her in the cell, which by a prostitute of the ordinary type would assuredly have been left blank, Anna had written: "My husband fell ill and was in hospital, later on, strike and lock-outs have made us be behindhand both with rent and other payments which has caused me to be unfortunate and again fall into the hands of the Police. Otherwise I have nothing to say with respect to our family affairs but that we have not quarrelled but helped each other as well as we could, and from the bottom of my heart I hope I may get free, so that I can turn over a new leaf. I need not earn my bread on the streets, as I have an elder sister who would welcome me in her home and allow me to work there. I only wish some good soul would help me to get free."

There was something in this that strongly appealed to me. I called on the sister, Mrs. X., married to a former manufacturer, and learnt theirs had been a large family, of which six were still alive, and all had got on fairly well. Anna herself had managed very well at the places she had had. She was a good worker and had been much appreciated and liked by her employers. About six years ago, when Mrs. X. and her husband were living in the country Anna had lived with them and assisted in all the work of every kind in the home, and all her work had been satisfactory. When the couple moved to Stockholm Anna had accompanied them, and had there married Y., a workman, whom she had known since childhood. At first the match appeared a happy one. The husband, subsequently, had for some time been out of work, and from what Mrs. X. had heard, had then driven Anna from home in order that she might obtain a living for herself and husband on the streets. Subsequently the husband had sunk lower and lower, and to the best of her belief was now an irreclaimable habitual drunkard. The fact that Anna had gone astray was in Mrs. X.'s opinion entirely owing to the husband, as, by nature, Anna was endowed with a good and kind heart. She was "awfully good-natured" and extremely sensitive to kindness shown her.

On calling at the Y.'s home I was told by a neighbour that the day previous the husband had had an attack of Delirium tremens, and at once been taken to hospital, a statement that I afterwards found to be correct.

On the aforesaid form Mrs. X. had noted: "Should my sister be released on a suspended sentence, I am ready and willing to give her all the help or assistance she may need, and am prepared to receive her in my house and allow her to assist in any work occurring in the home until some other suitable place or employment may be found for her."

On Feb. 10th, 1912, Anna was conditionally released under a suspended sentence.

On March 23rd, I telephoned to the sister who reported that Anna had "worked so wonderfully well", and managed everything to their satisfaction. She had not had time to attend at my office, as she had had so much to do. Their mother had fallen ill and Anna had during the whole time managed the mother's business to the entire satisfaction of the customers. Anna was all right so long as her husband was in hospital, but on his being discharged no one could say what would happen, as, in spite of all that had happened, Anna was attached to him. On April 16th, I was informed that Anna was still going on very well. Her husband was now discharged from hospital, and the couple were once more to live together. On June 13th, I received good news of the couple, as Anna's mother reported that Anna still helped her, that everything was progressing satisfactorily, moreover, she had the joyful tidings to impart that her son-in-law was now a teetotaller. He had obtained work, and his employers were contented with him. On Oct. 10th, Mr. X. imparted that Anna and her husband had moved together to the home of Anna's mother and unmarried sister, and that they had a nice little home. Anna was managing very well, and her husband "scarcely touched a drop of beer, now". Very soon, however, a change occurred. Mrs. X. informed me on Oct. 30th, that about a fortnight previously the husband had commenced returning to his former manner of life. I at once started for the Y.'s home, but the husband refused to admit me. Anna and her mother, with whom I conversed in the passage, related the following story: For about 7 months Y. had worked properly and punctually handed over his wages to his wife. During the whole time he had kept sober, since his master was very particular as to sobriety. Evening after evening, when work was over, he had hastened home from his comrades, in order to escape the temptation of spending the evening out. Owing, however, to a reduction in the number of workmen, he had been forced to leave that place and obtained another with an employer who, himself a tippler, had caused the man to once again take to drink. The husband had himself declared he could not do without liquor, and on one occasion spoke of the likelihood of his once more being in hospital. That day he was in a very bad temper, and no one could get on with him. Anna bitterly complained of the possibility of perhaps seeing her nice little home utterly dissipated in time. She herself had to almost run home night after night from

her work, since her husband wanted his food ready at a certain time, otherwise there was the risk of her being ill-treated by her husband. On Oct. 31st, I telephoned to Anna, advising her to try and persuade her husband to see Dr. B. and be examined. On Nov. 2nd, I received intimation from Dr. B. that the man had been to see him the day before, evidently being aware of his condition, and had been again remitted to hospital. On enquiry I learnt that the man really was at the hospital. On Nov. 3rd, Anna came to see me, and told me she came from the hospital where she had seen her husband, who was now grateful, and declared he intended looking me up when discharged from hospital. On Nov. 9th the man was discharged from hospital, and on 14th, he appeared at the office and thanked me for all trouble taken, telling me he was at present working for the builder in whose employ he had previously been for about seven months. He was however anxious lest this work, where he was protected from the misuse of liquor, should come to an end. On Nov. 15th, I happened to have some other business with the builder in question, who promised to keep Y. so long as it were possible. He himself laid stress on the fact that his workmen knew very well that they would at once be dismissed in case they were the worse for liquor.

In this case the woman under suspended sentence has probably been reclaimed, as there is no reason to fear any relapse on her part. Whether the man can be rescued, time alone can prove.

I have simply cited such cases as were a success; naturally, some cases have proved failures, and sometimes all trace of the person sentenced has been lost. When estimating the work of the Society, account must be taken of the great difficulties against which it has had to contend. One of the greatest of these obstacles which moreover still exists, is that the Society is not allowed to commence its investigations until the Police investigation is at an end, and the report is ready for transmission to the Court. Owing to this fact the Society has a very short time at its disposition, often but a single afternoon.

As regards the supervision, owing to there being no Law on the subject, it must entirely depend on the basis of its being accepted voluntarily. If the person under a suspended sentence refuses to follow the advice of his supervisor, the probation officer has no means of compelling obedience. The work has at present its chief importance as regards those under suspended sentences who really wish to be reclaimed, but are themselves devoid of the necessary strength of cha-

racter for the purpose. Here the supervisor steps in supporting and assisting their feeble efforts, and is often able to do good work.

The question of Juvenile Offenders is far more difficult, as in their home they have often become accustomed to a certain amount of licence. In this case the need of certain disciplinary measures is very apparent. A Law is sadly needed that would render it possible for the Court to prescribe certain conditions to be observed by the person under sentence, with the risk that the Court can declare the suspension of sentence forfeited after due report received from the supervisor.

It is really much to be desired that a similar enactment should be passed in the near future. In the meantime we must not merely fold our arms but continue on the path already trodden. Some useful work may certainly be done, — some has, I think, already been accomplished — even within the limitations of the present Law. But that this work may have full effect it is necessary to awaken general interest in the question concerned. Formerly, when the struggle against vice was entirely confined to penal institutions, it could scarcely excite surprise that no interest was felt in the matter. Now, however, conditions are changed. The conflict has been transferred to a wider field. The struggle is no longer a conflict against the criminal, but rather a battling with him against the evil inclinations of his inner man, and very often against the wretched surroundings in which he lives. It is a struggle against lack of work and of suitable lodgings, against drink and laziness, vice and love of enjoyment. In this struggle we can each take our part, and we ought to do so, we who have enjoyed the sunny side of Life. Both our education and our breeding render this a duty. We have no right to remain idle and look on calmly when a criminal, who really wishes to improve, sinks because none will extend a helping hand to him. It may be answered that for an effective carrying on of war both technically trained officers and well-drilled privates are necessary. But these means of defence are not sufficient when danger is at hand. Then all the private citizens, the conscripts, are called out. The same rule holds good where fighting against crime is concerned. In this case,

too, special persons trained for the purpose — the police, judges, and prison authorities — are necessary, but they do not suffice to bring the matter to a satisfactory issue. Here again the assistance of each private citizen is requisite. It is of course desirable that they, too, obtain a certain amount of training, but on the great field of battle now in question, there are so many occasions when, in order to gain the victory, one quality above all others is needed, viz. *love of mankind*, and in this we may surely all unite for the good cause.

Just lately a wave of enthusiasm has swept through the realm of Sweden. A national subscription of unique extent has been made for increasing our defence against foreign foes. Is it not time we should reflect on the means of strengthening our defence against intestine enemies? More especially against that foe daily assailing our peace whose name is criminality. What is chiefly needed is not money, though pecuniary support is certainly required, but personal effort from men and women who are willing to give something of themselves, sacrifice some small portion of their leisure, and take an interest in the important social work in question. Nobody has the right to draw back from selfish motives who can be of any assistance in this work, for, as a matter of fact, this is a question of defence where every subject, whether man or woman, should take his stand in the ranks.

SKYDDSVÄRN
LÄSTMAKAREGATAN 6

Office hours 9—4 weekdays.

Brought before the Court on
March 27th, 1913.

Sentenced on *March 27th, 1913;*
3 months imprisonment; sen-
tence suspended.

Probation Officer:

Preliminary Investigation

re *Sune Wild*¹⁾
born *June 14th, 1897,*²⁾; occupation
accused of *larceny.*³⁾

A) Queries to be answered by the accused.

a) Re Person.

1. Were you born in wedlock? *Yes.*
2. Have you been an inmate of orphanage, reformatory, or other similar establishment, or been boarded out by the Parish? *No.*
3. Which Board School have you attended? *I have passed 4 classes in a State College, and V. & VI. in the Ö. E. Gymnasium.*
4. Give your latest class teacher's name? *N. N.*
5. Have you received any further education? *I have been on the training-ship A. R. for two summers.*
6. Who prepared you for Confirmation? *I have attended this year's Confirmation Class held by Dr. S. F. (Rector of the parish).*
7. Have you received a caution for vagrancy, or been sentenced to compulsory work?

¹⁾ Name and address of delinquent are naturally fictitious.

²⁾ Cases concerning children under 15 are not brought before any Court at all but come before the »Barnvårdsnämnden» (answering to the Juvenile Court).

³⁾ Taken money at different times, amounting to the sum of 610 Swedish Crowns, as well as a bank-book and other things.

8. Have you been fined for drunkenness? How many times?
9. Are you a teetotaler? *No, but I feel no craving for drink.*
10. Are you perfectly well, and able to work? *Yes.*
11. (Question to young offenders aged 15 to 18) Do you smoke cigarettes? *Yes.* At what age did you commence doing so? *At 12 years of age.*
12. How do you pass your leisure hours? (Mostly at Music Halls, Picture Theatres, in the streets, at home, engaged in sport, &c., &c.) *Mostly at home.*

b) Re Family Relations.

1. State parents' names? *Frederic Wild and Anna Wild, formerly Smith.*
2. Is either of them deceased, and if so, when? *Both are alive.*
3. Give present address of parents? (Father's or mother's)? *116, Tegnér St.*
4. Have you had step-parent or foster parents, and if so since when?
5. Have you any brothers or sisters living in Stockholm? (If so state name, address, and telephone call number). *I have three brothers aged 2, 12, and 14, also two sisters aged 6 and 10.*
6. Are you married? (A widower, widow, or divorced)
7. Are you living with your wife (husband)?
8. If not, give reason?
9. Have you any children in wedlock? How many?
..... Their age?
10. Are you cohabiting with any other woman (man)?
11. Have you any children by her (him)?
12. Have you or any of your family (father, mother, brother, sister, or child) received pecuniary assistance or other relief from the Parish, or private charitable association?
.....
13. If so when and to what extent?

c) Re Residence.

1. State your latest dwelling place? *116 Tegnér St.*
2. Were you the tenant? How large was the dwelling?
3. Were you a lodger? *Yes.* With whom did you lodge? *With my parents.*
4. Did you live at an hotel? Which then?
5. What rent did you pay?
6. Give name of landlord, his address, and telephone call number?

d) Re Work.

1. When did you enter your first situation?
2. What was your calling?
3. In which branches have you since found occupation?
4. Name your employers, (their addresses, and if possible telephone call number)
5. What salary (wages) have you enjoyed of late?
6. Were you unemployed when you committed your offence?
.....
7. If so from what cause? (dismissed; hands reduced owing to work being slack; threw up work in consequence of poor pay, discontented with foreman, fellow workmen, &c., &c.)
8. How long have you been unemployed?

e) The Cause and Circumstances of the Crime.

1. The cause of the crime? *The longing for money.*
2. When committing the offence were you sober, slightly intoxicated, or so drunk that you do not remember anything of the occurrence? *I was sober.*
3. Were you in want when you committed the offence? *No.*

f) State name and address (if possible telephone call number too) of any person that knows most about yourself and family relations.

(Preferably somebody in an official position, for instance rector of the Parish, sheriff's bailiff, teacher, &c., &c., or else an employer, landlord, or neighbour.)

Dr. F., 3, Fredrikshofgatan, Mr. E. T., 5, Birger Jarlsgatan, and Captain E. S., Alberget 4. b. Djurgården.

g) Note below what you may have to add concerning your life and your family relations.

My family relations are very good. Both Father and Mother are kind and pious, having done all they could to make me good, but I am of a bad disposition and have easily been led astray. I have been expelled from the N. E. School and J. School. I was to have entered my name at St. Katherine's School this spring as an outsider, for the purpose of passing the practical »realskola» examination.

I hereby declare that the above statements are in accordance with truth, and that should a suspended sentence result, I am willing for the time being until other orders are given me, to stand under the friendly superintendence (probation) of the Protection Society, and to comply with the directions that the Society may give me in respect to my conduct.

Stockholm this 22nd day of March, 1913.

Sune Wild.
(Signature.)

Re *Sune Wild*,
accused of *larceny*.

B) Investigation made by the Protection Society's Representative.

From the father of the accused an account in writing has been forwarded me concerning the character, circumstances, &c. &c., of the prisoner, which accompanies this statement.

Dr. I. L.,¹⁾ a friend of the lad's mother since her youth, and who, moreover, knows the family well, told me in the course of a conversation I had with her, that in her opinion the reason why the accused had gone astray was not simply or even chiefly that his tendencies were bad, but was mostly attributable to mistaken treatment in his home. The mother was certainly a good woman and well-intentioned, but, more especially in the earlier years of the boy's life, had been childish and inexperienced, moreover, as regards this child, had been devoid of the psychological insight so important for a rational education. The father appeared in all essentials to give way to the mother. The accused was the eldest of the children, and the young mother did not appear to have had the same tender feelings for her first-born as were later awakened for the other children in an extraordinary degree. Later on, he was made the object of naive educational theories rather than for real maternal affection. When another son was born who proved very delicate, all the mother's love was lavished on the younger brother, while great demands were made on the elder son, often far beyond his years. This unfavourable and peculiar position continued when the family increased. The contrast in the treatment bestowed on

¹⁾ One of the lady-doctors practising in Stockholm.

him and his brother but 15 months younger must have had a bad effect on the elder child. The mother often with a certain pride declared to other people how »very reliable» her eldest child was, but the boy himself seldom received any acknowledgment, and no sign of affection was ever shown. As all the children, the accused was of a sensitive disposition, at heart, but his feelings had not been laid in open day since they had found no response on the part of his parents. One special trait in the character of the accused was his kindness and willingness to help the younger members of the family, but he had not received the very slightest notice of this fact. He had systematically been treated in a very different manner to the other children, often with strictness, but perhaps, still oftener with »nagging», which had irritated the boy. Dr. L. had often actually felt pained on seeing the unsuitable treatment meted out to the boy, and wondered what the consequences would be. From motives of delicacy, she had, however, not expressed her opinion on this point, a thing, which Dr. L. now, when the boy's welfare was at stake, could not help mentioning. A matter that contributed to what had occurred was doubtless the very low state of funds at times experienced in the home, and consequent depression of the spirits of the family. During such periods, according to the statement of his mother, the accused had always become nervous, unable to remain quiet at home, so gone out, and Dr. L. herself had noticed a sensible alteration in the boy's appearance and manner. His otherwise open and reliable countenance had become shy and reserved, his active, wide-awake manner was changed to hopeless indifference. Barring this last occasion, it had been during these periods of depression in the family that the purloining had occurred. Finally Dr. L. wished to lay stress on the very remarkable fact that the accused had invariably given satisfaction when away from home. Dr. L. declared it to be her firm opinion that the lad should be removed from home, and fully endorsed a proposal made by the father that the son should go to sea for a lengthy period under suitable guidance. On the other hand Dr. L. was decidedly against any plan of putting the lad in a reformatory, — and naturally still less in any penal institution —, since such a treatment would assuredly act de-

pressingly and not prove satisfactory for a youth whose feelings were sensitive.

The preceding account has been shown to Dr. L. in rough draft, and she declares it to be a correct statement of her opinion.

The father of the accused has handed me nine school certificates issued for the accused, two certificates from the training ship A. R., where he spent two summers, one certificate from his Rector and teacher of his confirmation class, Dr. S. F., as also communications from his teachers, N. N. & X. X., and finally two letters from the Rector of a country parish where the lad had been boarded at the Rectory, addressed to the father. All these documents are enclosed as riders to this report.

Furthermore I have had a long conversation with Captain E. S. in command of the training ship A. R., who expressed himself in very favourable terms as regards the accused, and gave his opinion in the enclosed testimonial.¹⁾

Stockholm this 24th day of March, 1913.

On behalf of the Protection Society:

Harald Salomon.

¹⁾ At the trial documents were laid before the Court to prove that should a suspension of sentence be accorded, the accused would in all probability be allowed to accompany the training-ship S. on a three years' voyage in foreign waters and thus acquire further proficiency in seamanship.



Card

(left to the prisoner at the interview in the prison).

›To the helpseeker!

Should you be released under a suspended sentence, you should apply to Mr. Harald Salomon, at the office of the Protection Society, in order to consult with him concerning your prospects. He is at the office of the Society, 6, Lästmakaregatan, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. on Thursdays, when your relations, friends, or persons interested in you are welcome. If you are hindered from appearing at that hour, you can apply during ordinary office hours, and turn to any of those persons belonging to the Society who may be on duty.

Even should you not be released under a suspended sentence the Society will try to assist you on your release from prison by obtaining work for you, if you so wish and desire.

Remember that the Society really wishes to be *your friend*, to whom you can turn in full confidence for advice and assistance.›

Stockholm. P. A. Norstedt & Söner 1913.

Probation Card.

›To

You have been accorded release under a suspension of sentence, an opportunity being thus afforded you of proving that it is your firm intention to lead an honest, respectable life for the future. In accordance to your own assent you will for the present, and so long as you need it, be under the friendly supervision of the Protection Society, and as the Probation Officer the Society has appointed

address:
who really wishes to stand by you and *be your friend*, and to whom you may apply in all confidence for advice and assistance. In your own interest the Society trust you will observe the following

Rules and Regulations.

- 1) Work and lead a respectable life.
- 2) Avoid bad company.
- 3) Drink no spirits.
- 4) Duly inform your Probation Officer of any change of dwelling.
- 5) Let your Probation Officer know if you fall into difficulties of any kind.
- 6) Follow the instructions which may be given you by the Probation Officer.

Stockholm this day of 1913.

Harald Salomon

In charge of the Investigation and Probation
Department of the Society.

N.B. Bring this card with you when calling of the Office of the Society.›