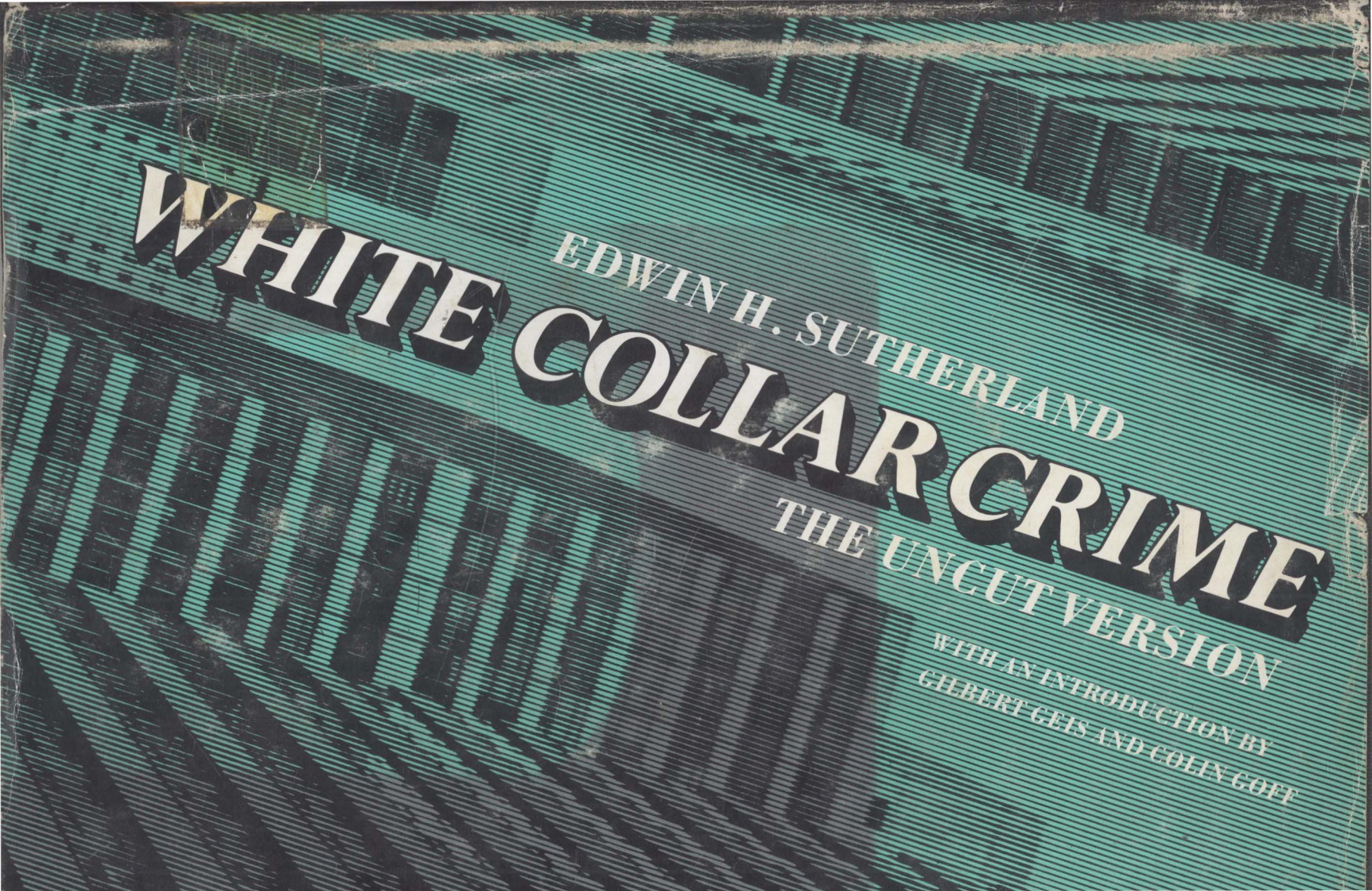
EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND
WHITE COLLAR CRIME
THE UNCUT VERSION
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
GILBERT GEIS AND COLIN GOFF

WHITE COLLAR CRIME

THE UNCUT VERSION

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
GILBERT GEIS AND COLIN GOFF

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW HAVEN AND LONDON

Designed by Sally Harris
and set in Primer type.
Printed in the United States of America by
Vail-Ballou Press, Binghamton, N.Y.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Sutherland, Edwin Hardin, 1883–1950.
White collar crime.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. White collar crime—United States.
2. Corporations—United States—Corrupt practices.
I. Title.
HV6769.S93 1983 364.1'68'0973 82-48911
ISBN 0-300-02921-7

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

WHITE COLLAR CRIME

INTRODUCTION

Gilbert Geis and Colin Goff

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society—convened in Philadelphia in 1939 during the academic recess between Christmas and New Year—was held jointly with the fifty-second gathering of the American Economic Association. On December 27, at eight P.M., Jacob Viner of the University of Chicago, president of the AEA, addressed the assembled group.[1] Viner was followed to the podium by Edwin H. Sutherland of Indiana University, president of the sociological society.

Sutherland's talk was entitled "The White Collar Criminal,"[2] and it altered the study of crime throughout the world in fundamental ways by focusing attention upon a form of lawbreaking that had previously been ignored by criminological scholars. Sutherland's targets were several: First, he ridiculed theories of crime which blamed such factors as poverty, broken homes, and Freudian fixations for illegal behavior, noting that healthy upbringings and intact psyches had not served to deter monstrous amounts of lawbreaking by persons in positions of power. Thereafter, Sutherland documented in detail derelictions by corporations, concluding that their "rap sheets" resembled, at least in length and frequency, those of many professional predators, such as con men and bank robbers, persons who by choice prey upon the public. He focused on such representative corporate offenses as antitrust violations,

Some of this material was presented at the Conference on White-Collar and Economic Crime, Potsdam College of Arts and Science, Potsdam, N.Y., in February 1980, and published in the conference proceedings (Peter Wickman and Timothy Daily, eds., *White-Collar and Economic Crime: Multidisciplinary and Cross-National Perspectives* [Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1982], pp. 3–21).

1. Jacob Viner, "The Short View and The Long in Economic Policy," *American Economic Review,* 30 (1940), 1–15.

2. Edwin H. Sutherland, "The White Collar Criminal," *American Sociological Review,* 5 (1940), 1–12.

false advertising, theft of trade secrets, and bribery in order to obtain special privileges.

That inadequate attention had been paid to the crimes of the powerful was tied by Sutherland most particularly to the close relationship between the white-collar offenders and those in our midst who call attention to what they regard as especially heinous behavior. Newspapers, for instance, themselves skirting the spirit if not the letter of child labor laws by employing minors as delivery boys and girls and labeling them "independent contractors," would hesitate to highlight violations of regulatory laws by other business enterprises lest their own tactics come under disapproving scrutiny. The papers also depend upon advertiser goodwill and will be reluctant to bite the hands that feed them. Judges, often benefactors of political processes that are less than wholesome, understandably would see the business and professional violations of those who had attended the same colleges, belonged to the same churches, and lived in the same neighborhoods as they did as a good deal less serious than the street offenses committed so disproportionately by members of minority groups and others in dispossessed statuses. Sutherland insisted that the white-collar behaviors he detailed were criminal, not civil, offenses, and that the persons who committed them ought to receive the same kind of scorn and punishment that attends other kinds of property and personal crime. He regarded white-collar crime as in many instances more consequential than run-of-the-mill street offenses, insisting that it was more apt to tear at the core of a social system and render citizens cynical and selfish.

Sutherland labored for another decade following his presidential address to write his manuscript on white-collar crime, which fleshed out the details and the theoretical notions of his talk before the sociological society. The monograph was accepted and ultimately published (1949) by Dryden Press, where Sutherland had recently been appointed sociology editor. At the last moment, fearful that the volume was too statistical, Sutherland added the final chapter, on theory. Dryden, however, then demanded that the names of the companies be eliminated from the book. Its counsel insisted that Dryden would be liable for damages because the book called certain corporations "criminal" although they had not been dealt with under criminal statutes. At Indiana University too, Sutherland came under pressure from the administration to delete the names of the corporate offenders, in part, he believed, because the university feared alienating some of its wealthy business contributors. Sutherland agonized over the question of whether to make

the excisions. He often invited students and colleagues into his office to discuss the issue. Donald Cressey, one of those advisers and later Sutherland's collaborator, has recalled his reaction to Sutherland's dilemma:

> Had the original manuscript been published, and had a libel suit been initiated, then Sutherland's contention that the listed offenses are in fact crimes might have been tested in a court of law—a corporation might have argued that the statement is libelous because its behavior is not a crime, with Sutherland giving the arguments presented in his book. I was one of Sutherland's research assistants at the time, and I urged that the original manuscript be published for this reason, if for no other. However, my idealistic desire to see a scientific principle tested in a court of law was not tempered by any practical consideration such as having money riding on the legal validity of the scientific principle. This was not the case with either the publisher or Professor Sutherland.[3]

Sutherland finally acceded to Dryden's request, rationalizing his decision in part on the ground that elimination of the names of the offending companies, and of a chapter entitled "Three Case Histories," made the book more "objective" and "scientific." Persons who wrote to him after *White Collar Crime* was published requesting the names of the corporations did not get them; instead, they were sent citations to the relevant court cases. Sutherland, however, had looked into the question of when the statute of limitations would protect him from liability. It proved to be 1953. Sutherland died in 1950, and by 1953 McCarthyism was rampant. Criminologists by then had warily turned their attention to matters other than wrongdoing by persons with power.

White Collar Crime, absent the identities of the corporate malefactors and the case histories, remained in print for more than thirty years. It was translated into Japanese in 1955 by Ryuichi Hirano, now president of Tokyo University, and Koji Iguchi, and into Spanish in 1969 by Roso del Omo of the faculty of economic and social science at the Central University of Venezuela. The term *white-collar crime* was incorporated into the language of scholarly work overseas as well as in the United States. In France, it became *crime en col blanc,*[4] in Italy, *criminalitá in colletti*

3. Donald R. Cressey, "Preface," in Edwin H. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), p. vii.

4. André Normandeau, "Les Deviations en Affaires et la 'Crime en Col Blanc,' " *Review of International Criminal and Police Technology,* 19 (1965), 247–58.

bianchi,[5] and in Germany, *weisse-kragen-kriminalität.*[6] In the Netherlands, there has been a call for "a good Dutch word" to denote white-collar crime, and the suggestion of an offer of a prize for the best submission.[7]

In the United States, Sutherland's pathbreaking work had an immediate influence on the research focus of a number of young scholars. In 1953 Cressey published *Other People's Money,* a study of embezzlers imprisoned in federal penitentiaries;[8] Marshall Clinard carried out an investigation of the violations of the rules of the Office of Price Administration during the Second World War;[9] and Frank E. Hartung examined the pattern of cheating in the wholesale-meat industry in Detroit during wartime rationing.[10] Thereafter there was a hiatus in concern with white-collar crime, then a great surge during recent years. Today, there are several collections of scholarly articles on the subject,[11] numerous monographs,[12] and a number of proceedings of symposia devoted exclusively to white-collar crime.[13]

Not the least of Sutherland's achievements with this book was to add

5. Guiseppe G. Loschiavo, "La Mafia della Lupara e Quella dei 'Coletti Bianchi,' " *La Giustizia Penale,* 68 (1952), 336–44.

6. Markus Binder, "Weisse-Kragen-Kriminalität," *Kriminalistik* (Hamburg), 16 (June 1962), 251–56.

7. Jan van Weringh, "White Collar Crime, een Terreinverkenning," *Nederlands Tijdschrift vour Criminologie,* 11 (1969), 133–44.

8. Donald R. Cressey, *Other People's Money: A Study in the Social Psychology of Embezzlement* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953).

9. Marshall B. Clinard, *The Black Market* (New York: Rinehart, 1952).

10. Frank E. Hartung, "White-Collar Offenses in the Wholesale Meat Industry in Detroit," *American Journal of Sociology,* 56 (1950), 25–32.

11. M. David Ermann and Richard J. Lundman, eds., *Corporate and Governmental Deviance: Problems of Organizational Behavior in Contemporary Society,* 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Gilbert Geis and Robert F. Meier, eds., *White-Collar Crime: Offenses in Business, Politics, and the Professions,* rev. ed. (New York: Free Press, 1977); John M. Johnson and Jack D. Douglas, *Crime at the Top: Deviance in Business and the Professions* (Philadelphia; Lippincott, 1978). See also J. T. Skip Duncan and Marc Caplan, *White-Collar Crime: A Selected Bibliography* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, 1980).

12. See, e.g., Herbert Edelhertz and Marilyn Walsh, *The White-Collar Challenge to Nuclear Safeguards* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1978); Robert K. Elliott and John J. Willingham, *Management Fraud: Detection and Deterrence* (New York: Petrocelli, 1980); Pawel Horoszowski, *Economic Special-Opportunity Conduct and Crime* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1978).

13. See, e.g., Herbert Edelhertz and Charles Rogovin, eds., *A Strategy for Containing White-Collar Crime* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1980); "Symposium on White-Collar Crime," *Temple Law Quarterly,* 53 (1980), 975–1146.

the term *white-collar crime* to the American vocabulary. Take the phrase's usage in the *New York Times,* for example. A judge is reported to have assailed the growing number of programs under which nonviolent as well as "white-collar criminals" are sentenced to perform community service work as an alternative to prison.[14] Attorney General William French Smith sets forth his office's priorities as targets: first, violent crime, closely followed "in due course by white-collar crime."[15] The United States Attorney for New Jersey tells a congressional committee that "white-collar crime" is a "cancer which is eroding society from the inside,"[16] and a story detailing an offense involving knowing possession of stolen bonds carries the subhead: "White-Collar Crime is Easy."[17] So common is the usage that a defense lawyer pleads for a light sentence for his client by insisting that he ought not to be regarded as an ominous Mafia leader but rather should be treated in "conformity with people who have been convicted of a white-collar crime."[18] There now also exists a comic book providing renderings of the histories of the more infamous corporate crimes. The news story reporting its publication is headed "White-Collar Villains."[19] Overseas, a headline in Australia from the *Sydney Morning Herald* points out that the State Attorney-General of New South Wales "Predicts Rapid Increase in White-Collar Crime."[20] Most people, seemingly in most places, now have come to understand the meaning of the designation that Sutherland in this book placed upon perpetrators of a variety of criminal and regulatory offenses that are related to their business or professional position.

Readers who compare the present volume with the 1949 edition will be struck by the sense of authenticity that pervades the unexcised text because of the inclusion of the corporate names and the case histories. The book had been written to highlight such information. Beyond his own assiduous plowing of library materials, Sutherland had gathered

14. Joseph P. Fried, "Judge Assails Alternative Sentencing," *New York Times,* Feb. 21, 1982.

15. Robert Pear, "Smith Seeks Effort on Violent Crimes," *New York Times,* Jan. 16, 1981.

16. Alfonso A. Narvaez, "White-Collar Crime Deterrents Urged," *New York Times,* Dec. 2, 1978.

17. John H. Allan, "The Case of the Albuquerque Eights," *New York Times,* June 11, 1972.

18. Gay Talese, *Honor Thy Father* (New York: World, 1971), p. 479.

19. "New Comic Book Portrays Corporate Crimes," *Arizona Republic,* Feb. 25, 1973.

20. *Sydney Morning Herald,* Feb. 2, 1979.

his data on white-collar crime by hiring graduate students for about $60 a month from a university grant to record all decisions made against a corporation or a group of companies. Each decision was copied verbatim by the student and sometimes annotated by Sutherland before being placed in an appropriate file. The original materials can still be seen in the Lilly Library at Indiana University. Not only does this book restore the Sutherland study to its original state, but the material included permits further investigation of the criminal (or law abiding) careers of the corporate offenders, perhaps by using data such as those provided in *Corporate Crime* by Clinard and Peter C. Yeager,[21] and the similar but briefer documentation of big business violations published by *Fortune.*[22]

Besides the matter of identities and the case histories, there are a number of minor differences between the shortened version of *White Collar Crime* and the present text. In the Dryden edition, Sutherland remarked that he had excluded public utility, transportation, and communications companies from his roster of the top 70 corporations in the country, as well as "the corporations in one other industry." Here he identifies that other industry as petroleum; why he altered the original language is not clear to us. Also, a phrase describing corporations as "rationalistic, a-moral, and non-sentimental" was eliminated from the 1949 version, very likely as part of an attempt to render the book less polemical.

There are only sparse clues regarding the route by which Sutherland came to the study of white-collar crime and to the labeling of the topic that he had chosen to investigate. He was fifty-six years old at the time of his presidential address to the American Sociological Society. Little in his earlier work would have prepared the audience for his strong indictment of the practices he discussed. Sutherland was best known at the time for his writing of a very highly regarded textbook, *Criminology,* and for tightly argued essays on the need to employ scientific methods for dealing with criminal offenders. Nor would that earlier work have allowed anticipation of the occasional expressions of indignation and vituperation that he allowed himself when discussing white-collar crime. Note, for instance, this example from the pages that follow:

21. Marshall B. Clinard and Peter C. Yeager, *Corporate Crime* (New York: Free Press, 1980).

22. Irwin Ross, "How Lawless are Big Companies?," *Fortune,* Dec. 1, 1980, 57–64.

> [T]he utility corporations for two generations or more have engaged in organized propaganda to develop favorable sentiments. They devoted much attention to the public schools in an effort to mold the opinion of children. Perhaps no groups except the Nazis have paid so much attention to indoctrinating the youth of the land with ideas favorable to a special interest, and it is doubtful whether even the Nazis were less bound by considerations of honesty in their propaganda.[23]

This seems surprising from a person who is uniformly described by those who knew him well as "imbued with sincerity and objectivity," "soft-spoken," a man of "paternal wisdom" who "never taught in terms of sarcasm, ridicule, or abuse."[24] Jerome Hall, a colleague of Sutherland's at Indiana University, observed that Sutherland was "distinguished by an attitude of extraordinary objectivity and thorough inquiry maintained on a high level" and was an individual who "knew how to keep his feelings and personality from intruding into the discussion."[25]

Obviously, Sutherland harbored some very deep feelings about white-collar crime, feelings which he was willing to let loose at times, and feelings that did not mark his other professional work. Some hint that he was angered by the selfishness and greed he believed underlay white-collar offenses particularly can be found in correspondence that he exchanged in late 1942 with the secretary-manager of the Hoosier Motor Club in Indianapolis, a man who had advocated that state residents petition their congressional representatives to vote to postpone national gas rationing. Sutherland found the arguments put forward in support of the proposal "absurd" and pointed out that its proponent and those he represented had a "financial interest in promoting the driving of automobiles," and that they were "placing personal interest ahead of the national interest." In fiery tones, Sutherland concluded:

> This is an effort to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war and is subversive. I feel that the government is entirely justified in sending the F.B.I. to investigate you. They may find that your action is directed from Berlin, or they may find that it is merely selfish interest in your own welfare; the effects are the same.[26]

23. Edwin H. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime* (New York: Dryden, 1949), p. 210.
24. Howard Odum, "Edwin H. Sutherland, 1883–1950," *Social Forces,* 29 (1951), 348.
25. Jerome Hall, "Edwin H. Sutherland, 1883–1950," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 41 (1950), 394.
26. Edwin H. Sutherland to Todd Stoops, Nov. 13, 1942.

Sutherland wrote the letter as a private citizen; he did not use Indiana University stationery, and he gave his home address. The secretary-manager replied with a flood of literature and the observation that Sutherland owed him an apology for "probably the most insulting . . . letter I have ever received."[27]

Sutherland quickly recanted on the personal attack, though he did so in a letter which launched a further assault on the motives of the Hoosier Motor Club. "I apologize for the personal reference in my former letter," Sutherland now wrote. "My letter was written in anger against your movement but I know nothing whatever about you as a person and had no justification in making personal statements about you." But he would "retract nothing . . . regarding the organized effort to delay the rationing program" and insisted that when rationing came, as it most surely would, "all of the literature you are distributing will encourage the blackmarkets and crookedness which you so freely predict."[28]

Despite his intense support of government control of gasoline consumption during wartime, Sutherland fundamentally was an advocate of free enterprise. He believed, however, that the government had to regulate economic affairs in order to maintain fair competition. Otherwise, corporations would engage in cutthroat predatory activity to the disadvantage of consumers. Sutherland's economic views are represented in a paragraph in an unpublished article regarding the A & P food stores:

> Free enterprise can be maintained in a society only if the economy is controlled by free and fair competition. When free and fair competition breaks down, the society must control by legislation either in the form of regulation or of public ownership. A & P is an illustration of the corporations which have grown big because of profits acquired illegally. If the illegal practices of this corporation continue and expand, they will ruin the independent grocers. . . . A & P . . . has attained its ambition of 25 percent of the grocery trade in many communities. . . . They may raise their sights to 40 percent or 60 percent and then expand to other communities. This would be similar to socialism except that the public would have no

27. Stoops to Sutherland, Nov. 15, 1942.
28. Sutherland to Stoops, Nov. 16, 1942.

voice in the industry. . . . A & P . . . is driving the United States . . . away from free enterprise into a socialistic economy.[29]

Just as his work on white-collar crime was a striking departure from both the content and the lack of emotional involvement that marked Sutherland's earlier work, the term *white-collar crime* itself represented an initial usage both for Sutherland and for the field of sociology.

In a speech at DePauw University, Sutherland would say that he had been collecting materials on white-collar crime since 1928,[30] though there are virtually no published clues to his interest in the subject before the presidential address. In a 1932 article advocating the use of the concept of *culture* for understanding the crime patterns of immigrants, Sutherland observed in passing that his idea "certainly does not explain the financial crimes of the white-collar classes."[31] And in a 1936 book, written with Harvey J. Locke (one of Sutherland's very few collaborators), the term *white collar worker* is used as a classificatory category to distinguish those residents of Chicago's shelters for unemployed men who had been "professional men, business men, clerks, salesmen, accountants, and men who previously held minor political positions."[32] Obviously the terms *crime* and *white collar* were prominent in Sutherland's professional vocabulary. Their linkage first surfaced in the 1934 edition of Sutherland's textbook in criminology when he used the term *white-collar criminaloid.* (*Criminaloid* was a coinage of Edward A. Ross, employed to designate "those who prosper by flagitious practices which have not yet come under the effective ban of public opinion."[33]) In the present book Sutherland points out in a footnote that he means to employ the term *white collar* in the sense that Alfred A. Sloan, Jr. did—that is, "principally" to refer to business managers and executives. (Oddly, Sutherland, who was a meticulous scholar in such respects, in-

29. Edwin H. Sutherland, "A & P, Propaganda, and Free Enterprise," unpublished manuscript in possession of Karl Schuessler, Department of Sociology, Indiana University.

30. Edwin H. Sutherland, "Crime of Corporations," in Albert Cohen, Alfred Lindesmith, and Karl Schuessler, eds., *The Sutherland Papers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), pp. 78–96.

31. Edwin H. Sutherland, "Social Process in Behavior Problems," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 26 (1932), 59–60.

32. Edwin H. Sutherland and Harvey J. Locke, *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men: A Study of Unemployed Men in Chicago Shelters* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1936), p. 62.

33. Edward A. Ross, "The Criminaloid," *Atlantic Monthly,* 99 (1907), 44–50.

correctly cites the title of Sloan's book, which actually was *Adventures of a White Collar Man,* not *An Autobiography of a White Collar Worker.*[34])

The term *white-collar crime* served to focus attention on the social position of the perpetrators and added a bite to commentaries about the illegal acts of businessmen, professionals, and politicians that is notably absent in the blander designations, such as "occupational crime" and "economic crime," that sometimes are employed to refer to the same kinds of lawbreaking that occupied Sutherland's attention. For Sutherland, intent upon both pressing a political viewpoint and invigorating theories of criminal behavior, the phrase *white-collar crime* proved to be a particularly felicitous choice.

What is there in Sutherland's heritage that helps to locate his work on white-collar crime in terms of his time and personal experiences?

Details of Sutherland's family background are readily recaptured. In 1935 his father, a Baptist educator and minister, then eighty-seven years old, completed three book-length manuscripts, one of them an account of his own life. The typescripts were deposited by their author in the library of the Baptist Historical Society in Rochester, New York.

A reading of these materials, as well as Sutherland's own work, indicates that both father and son were intellectually demanding, sharply critical of the work of colleagues which failed to meet their rigorous standards, as well as unstintingly self-critical.[35] Most prominently, there is a religious commitment that, at its best, demands that the ethics of Christianity be maintained in human and business relationships. At times, the tone of Sutherland's work on white-collar crime is reminiscent of the preaching of outraged biblical prophets. There is a theological insistence that something other than strict legal denotation demark the realm of acceptable behavior, a matter that would involve Sutherland in considerable debate with those who adhered more firmly to lawbook codes as the only criteria by which criminological judgments should be made.[36] In the fourth edition of his textbook, *Principles of Criminology,* published in 1947, Sutherland went so far as to argue that

34. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., and Boyden Sparkes, *Adventures of a White-Collar Man* (New York: Doubleday Doran, 1941).

35. Edwin H. Sutherland, "Critique of Sheldon's *Varieties of Delinquent Youth,*" *American Sociological Review,* 16 (1951), 10–13; George Sutherland, "Reminiscences," manuscript (Rochester, N.Y.: American Baptist Historical Society, 1935), p. 19.

36. Edwin H. Sutherland, "Is 'White-Collar Crime' Crime?" *American Sociological Review,* 10 (1945), 132–39.

the definition of white-collar crime should include behaviors which "are not even a violation of the spirit of the law, for the parties concerned have been able by bribery and other means to prevent the enactment of laws to prohibit wrongful and injurious practices."[37] The abuse of power constitutes for Sutherland a kind of behavior of uppermost importance, deserving of special scrutiny. By Sutherland's account, for example, "a murder committed by a manufacturer in strike-breaking activities would be a white-collar crime."[38]

Sociologist Jon Snodgrass has pointed out that "Edwin Sutherland grew up to love bridge, golf, cigarettes, magazines, movies and jigsaw puzzles," and that he was not particularly religious as an adult, despite his family background. But he remained, Snodgrass notes, "a man of compulsive virtue and integrity. . . . While he may have given up the orthodoxy of his Baptist upbringing, he never lost its scruples."[39] Edwin's father was religious about his Baptist faith; Edwin retained the ethics of his upbringing and became religious about his sociology. *White Collar Crime* fuses these twin elements of Sutherland's personality and patrimony.

We have located only a few hints regarding the nature of the father–son relationship. Relatives testify that George Sutherland was a stern disciplinarian, but they believe that Edwin, something of a favorite, was more indulged than the other children.[40] In one of his writings, Sutherland discusses "professions in which the problem is to control human behavior" and offers as examples of such professions precisely the four occupations his father had followed: "salesmanship, teaching, preaching, and social work."[41] In *White Collar Crime* Sutherland observes caustically that "in the earlier years the religious journals were notorious as accessory to misrepresentation in advertising"; his father several times was responsible for publication of such newspapers, including the *Nebraska Baptist.*[42]

Throughout his life Sutherland was extremely reticent in regard to

37. Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology,* 4th ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947), p. 37.

38. Edwin H. Sutherland, "Crime and Business," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 217 (1941), 112.

39. Jon Snodgrass, "The Gentle and Devout Iconoclast," in Snodgrass, "The American Criminological Tradition: Portraits of Men and Ideology in a Discipline," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972, p. 223.

40. Ibid.

41. Edwin H. Sutherland, "Crime and the Conflict Process," in Cohen, Lindesmith, and Schuessler, eds., *Sutherland Papers,* p. 109.

42. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime,* p. 126.

discussing personal matters and rarely mentioned his upbringing to associates. At one point, though, in a letter to Luther Bernard, who had been a fellow graduate student at the University of Chicago, Sutherland noted, perhaps sarcastically, that he hoped he would come up to the religious standards at William Jewell College, where he had been employed, since his father was "a praying man and may lead me through the difficulties."[43]

The pattern that shows itself is familiar: a strict father with children who rebel to the extent of casting aside some of the more superficial aspects of the parent's behavior and values. As grown men, Sutherland and his brothers would sneak away from their parents' house during visits in order to enjoy a cigarette, undoubtedly finding the need for secrecy either silly or stupid. But the father's fundamental attitudes and commitments permeated the ethos of the son. At one point, with the bluntness and immodesty that characterized him, George Sutherland said of one of his jobs: "I was asked to withdraw from the teaching force of the college for the reason that my personality was so striking and impressive that no president could stand up against me."[44] Edwin Sutherland would never have lapsed into such public conceit, but the impress of his father's strong personality was bred into him; so were the sense of righteousness and toughness. Psychiatrists might insist that Sutherland's work on white-collar crime contains strong oedipal traces: the hostile son turning against the strong and omnipresent father, represented by the powerful corporations. Be that as it may, there is no questioning that the emotional roots of *White Collar Crime* lie deep in the midwestern soil of Sutherland's early home life.

The independence of the frontiersman also constituted an essential aspect of Sutherland's heritage. In his study of homeless men in Chicago, Sutherland points out how migration from the protective rural countryside into the jungle of the city had been disconcerting for so many shelter residents.[45] Later, he would write that he "loathed Chicago as a place in which to live."[46] The ruses and rudeness, the predation and pitilessness—all must have been unnerving for the Baptist

43. Edwin H. Sutherland to Luther Bernard, Nov. 24, 1912, Luther Bernard Papers, Pennsylvania Historical Collections, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.

44. G. Sutherland, "Reminiscences," p. 177.

45. Sutherland and Locke, *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men.*

46. Edwin H. Sutherland to Dean Johnson, Mar. 30, 1930, Bureau of Social Hygiene, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, New York.

minister's son from Nebraska when he first came to the big city. The novelist Willa Cather, raised in a Nebraska rural setting in about the same years as Sutherland, would find the city exhilarating. Cather, of course, was different—a creative artist and a lesbian, who found the freedom of metropolitan life liberating. For Sutherland, the immorality and self-interest of impersonal predation, the target of *White Collar Crime,* were singularly identified with the large financial enterprises located in the centers of the big cities.

Sutherland's mixture of rural integrity and self-reliance, his combined fear and scorn of city-bred sophistication, and his zeal for social reform were characteristics he shared with a large number of the early leaders of American sociology. In time, Sutherland was indoctrinated by the prevailing imperatives of the sociological trade into the ethos of "scientific" objectivity. His writings are unsparing in their exposure of the false syllogism, sloppy logic, the unsupported inference, and the generalization rooted in fancy rather than fact. But behind this lay his Nebraska Baptist heritage, a heritage that would break through as well, combining with his scientific imperatives when Sutherland in his later years came to study and to write about white-collar crime.

Most of Edwin Sutherland's formative years, up to the age of twenty-one, were spent in Grand Island, Nebraska. This city, which had a population of about 6,000 in Sutherland's time, owed its original growth to a favorable position as a railroad distribution point. It is located almost in the center of the United States and was founded in 1866 (less than two decades before the Sutherlands arrived), partly in the quixotic belief that its location would persuade the federal government to place the national capital in Grand Island.[47]

Sutherland's great-grandparents had migrated to Canada from Scotland about 1840 and settled in the fishing and lumbering village of St. George, New Brunswick. George Sutherland, Edwin's father, was born there in 1848. In the 1850s depressed economic conditions drove the family to settle on a farm on the outskirts of Eau Claire, Wisconsin. From his mother, George Sutherland acquired a strong religious sense; from his father, a fervid antagonism toward liquor, "the great corrupter of mankind."[48] A maternal uncle, Peter McVicar, may have helped point

47. Federal Writers Project, *Nebraska: A Guide to the Cornhusker State* (New York: Viking Press, 1939), p. 163.

48. G. Sutherland, "Reminiscences," p. 155.