



COL. C. B. ADAMS
PRESIDENT AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION
1921

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Annual Congress

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American Political Association

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Jacksonville, Florida

October 23 to November 1

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1921

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Central Office, 135 East 10th Street
New York

AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION
NEW YORK



E. ADAMS

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1925

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P R E F A C E

Nowhere else in America during the year is there a gathering similar to that of the American Prison Association Congress. This Congress is the largest annual gathering of its kind, with the exception of the National Conference of Social Work, which Conference does not deal solely with delinquency.

This volume presents the Proceedings of the fifty-first Annual Congress of the American Prison Association. It is a standard volume found in libraries, institutions, organizations, and is consulted as the official handbook of the American Prison Association.

There is no other volume where you can find gathered together the details of so many practical, up-to-the-minute activities, experiments, successes and problems, in the field of the treatment of crime and criminals.

The subjects of the papers are of the widest scope, many relating not only to the administration of prisons and the treatment of prisoners, but to probation, parole, mental deficiency, juvenile delinquency and other allied subjects.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors at Jacksonville on November 3, 1921, it was decided that the Proceedings of the 1921 Congress be edited by a committee of three, to be appointed by the President. This committee has given much time and labor to the preparation of the Proceedings. Because of the high cost of printing the space has necessarily been reduced and much that was said at Jacksonville has been omitted from the Proceedings. It is the reader's loss, and no one regrets it more than the members of the Editing Committee.

EDITING COMMITTEE.

SCHEDULE OF PRISON CONGRESSES—1870 to 1921

DATE	PRISON	PRESIDENT	SECRETARY
1870—October 12-18.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	Rev. E. C. Wins, New York
1872—January 21.....	Baltimore, Md.....	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.....	Rev. E. C. Wins, New York
1874—May 13-16.....	St. Louis, Mo.....	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.....	Rev. E. C. Wins, New York
1876.....	New York City.....		
1884—February 27-29.....	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	William M. F. Round, New York
1884—September 6-10.....	Detroit, Mich.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	William M. F. Round, New York
1885—October 17-21.....	Atlanta, Ga.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	William M. F. Round, New York
1886—November 6-12.....	Toronto, Canada.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	F. H. Wins, Ill.
1887—September 10-15.....	Boston, Mass.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	F. H. Wins, Ill.
1888—July 14-19.....	Nashville, Tenn.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	F. H. Wins, Ill.
1889—November 16-20.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	F. H. Wins, Ill.
1890—September 25-30.....	Pittsburgh, Pa.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	F. H. Wins, Ill.
1891—October 10-14.....	Baltimore, Md.....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1892—December 3-7.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Gen. Rueliff Brinkerhoff, Ohio.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1893—June 7-10.....	St. Paul, Minn.....	Gen. Rueliff Brinkerhoff, Ohio.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1894—June 16-20.....	Denver, Colo.....	Gen. Rueliff Brinkerhoff, Ohio.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1895—September 14-18.....	Milwaukee, Wis.....	Gen. Rueliff Brinkerhoff, Ohio.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1896—September 26-30.....	Austin, Texas.....	Gen. Rueliff Brinkerhoff, Ohio.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1897—December 2-6.....	Indianapolis, Ind.....	Z. R. Brockway, New York.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1898—October 15-19.....	New Orleans, La.....	Major R. W. McClaughery, Ill.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
*1899—January 21-24.....	Hartford, Conn.....	Major R. W. McClaughery, Ill.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1899—September 23-27.....	Cleveland, Ohio.....	Edward S. Wright, Pa.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1900—September 22-26.....	Kansas City, Mo.....	Joseph F. Scott, Mass.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1901—November 9-13.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Prof. Charles R. Henderson, Ill.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1902—September 13-17.....	Louisville, Ky.....	Henry Wolfer, Minn.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1903—October 8-8.....	Quincy, Ill.....	Charles T. Lewis, New York.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1904—October 15-19.....	Lincoln, Neb.....	Albert Garvin, Conn.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1905—October 21-25.....	Albany, N. Y.....	C. J. Collins, New York.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1906—September 14-19.....	Richmond, Va.....	E. J. Murphy, Ill.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1907—September 14-19.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1908—November 14-19.....	Seattle, Wash.....	Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Ontario.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1909—August 29-October 8.....	Washington, D. C.....	Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Ontario.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1910—October 14-19.....	Omaha, Neb.....	T. B. Patton, Pa.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1911—October 14-19.....	Baltimore, Md.....	Frederick G. Pettigrove, Mass.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1912—November 9-14.....	Indianapolis, Ind.....	James A. Leonard, Ohio.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1913—October 11-16.....	St. Paul, Minn.....	Rev. S. G. Smith, Minn.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1914—October 8-8.....	Buffalo, Cal.....	Joseph P. Byers, N. J.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1915—October 9-14.....	Buffalo, N. Y.....	Arthur Pratt, Utah.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1916—October 7-12.....	New Orleans, La.....	Dr. David C. Peyton, Ind.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1917—November 19-23.....	New York City.....	Rev. B. M. Spurr, W. Va.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1919—October 20-24.....	Columbus, Ohio.....	George W. Wickersham, N. Y.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1920—October 14-19.....	Jacksonville, Fla.....	Col. C. B. Adams, St. Charles, Ill.....	Rev. John L. Milligan, Pa.
1921—October 28-November 3.....		O. F. Lewis, N. Y.....	

*Adjourned Meeting. In absence of President F. H. Wins, New Jersey, presided.

THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION

ORGANIZATION FOR 1921.

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C. V. COLLINS, Troy, N. Y. 1906.	DAVID C. PEYTON, Jeffersonville, Ind. 1917.
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 SECRETARY—LEWIS E. LAWES, Warden State Prison, Osaing, N. Y.

ORGANIZATION FOR 1921

15

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ELMER E. SHATTUCK, Warden State Prison, Charlestown, Mass.
CHARLES E. LINSCOTT, Warden State Prison, Howard, R. I.
J. J. SULLIVAN, Deputy Warden State Prison, Stillwater, Minn.
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A. K. SANDERS, Warden State Penitentiary, Columbia, S. C.

Juvenile Reformatory Section.

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SECRETARY—MISS ANNA M. PETERSON, Bride Lake, East Lyme, Conn.

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DR. MARY B. HARRIS, Trenton, N. J.
CHARLES A. MCGONAGLE, Plainfield, Ind.
MISS KATE KOBELSPERGER, 547 Erie St., Toledo, Ohio.
GEORGE E. MARX, Marshallton, Del.

Pardon and Parole Officials.

PRESIDENT—THOMAS COWAN, Brigadier, Assistant Prison Secretary, 128 West 14th St., New York City.
VICE-PRESIDENT—JOHN MCCLURE, Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, Ill.
SECRETARY—DAVID MILLER, Brigadier, Social Secretary, 6 East 7th St., Chicago, Ill.

National Prisoners' Aid Association.

PRESIDENT—O. F. LEWIS, Gen. Secy. New York Prison Association, 185 East 15th St., New York City.
SECRETARY-TREASURER—REV. GEORGE B. NEWCOOMB, Supt. North Dakota Society for the Friendless, Bismarck, N. D.

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REV. C. E. BENSON, Chaplain State Prison, Stillwater, Minn.
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AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION**The Prison Physicians' Association.**

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT—DR. VICTOR V. ANDERSON, Nat. Com. for Mental Hygiene,
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B-1, Indianapolis, Ind.

OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. *The improvement of the laws in relation to public offenses and offenders, and the modes of procedure by which such laws are enforced.*
2. *The study of the causes of crime, the nature of offenders and their social surroundings, the best methods of dealing with offenders and of preventing crime.*
3. *The improvement of the penal, correctional and reformatory institutions throughout the country, and of the government, management and discipline thereof, including the appointments of boards of trustees and of other officers.*
4. *The care of, and providing suitable and remunerative employment for, paroled and discharged prisoners and probationers, and especially such as may have given evidence of reformation.*

OPENING SESSION

FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 28, 1921

COLONEL C. B. ADAMS, President of the American Prison Association, Presiding.

INVOCATION BY THE REV. J. T. BOONE.—Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee for hearts set upon the betterment of the unfortunate. With Thee no good thing is impossible. Make even barred windows and prison walls and shackles blessings in disguise, opportunities for sympathy and kindness and love from great souls. May the unfortunate be lifted body and soul into the light and life of brotherly love. When for darkness, these shall have light; when they shall have been divested of selfishness and filled with kindness and love, send them forth to teach and live the principles of the Great Teacher, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself." May Thy spirit hover over this meeting. May Thy will be done on earth. Keep these workers while away from home. Keep their loved ones as Thine own. We ask all in the name of our Lord and Christ, Who gave His Life to make known Thy Love. Amen.

HONORABLE DANIEL A. SIMMONS, Judge of the Circuit Court of Jacksonville, welcomed the members of the Congress to the City of Jacksonville.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION, COLONEL C. B. ADAMS, St. Charles, Illinois.—The American Prison Association is assembled in this beautiful city of the Southland for the purpose of discussing problems of crime and delinquency, and to get inspiration for the work of the future.

There are so many phases in this work of caring for the unfortunates who make up the population of penal and correctional institutions—problems of probation and parole; problems of prison labor, the utilization of that labor for the purpose of maintaining the prisons, keeping in mind the vocational value of this work to the prisoners themselves. Practically every man committed to prison will come out of prison, and he should go out better equipped to earn a living than when he came into the institution. There is the spiritual, mental and moral welfare of the prisoners to be considered.

This makes the work of physicians, psychologists and chaplains important.

We are here also to study the causes of crime and delinquency, the remedy for and the prevention of crime and delinquency, which is now apparently on the increase, but which we hope will possibly some time disappear altogether. Joseph Byers, in his address at the Oakland Congress, well said: "Crime control leads to the abolition of crime, failure to control crime leads to the abolition of law."

The real value that comes to us all in these annual meetings, is the touch of elbow, the personal exchange of ideas and the giving of each other's view points. The addresses delivered and the papers read are valuable, the discussion of these papers, important. However, they will appear in the printed Proceedings, and can be read and digested at our leisure. But after all, the real stimulant comes from meeting each other, renewing old friendships, and making new acquaintances. As we meet in hotel lobby, or break bread together, we give to each other of our experiences and observation, we tell of our plans and ideals, and how we are striving to attain them. We get the constructive criticism of our colleagues and out of these chats together comes much good and real inspiration for our tasks.

A year ago this Association met in Columbus, Ohio, and celebrated its Semi-Centennial. If the progress made in the next 50 years is as great as the progress of the first half of the century, the Association will have done much for country and humanity. There are many persons, particularly from the Southern States, who are here for the first time. They undoubtedly wonder what is the object of this Association, what has it accomplished, how will it be a help to us in our work. I would like to state briefly the objects of the Association:

1. The improvements of the laws in relation to public offenses and offenders, and the modes of procedure by which such laws are enforced.
2. The study of the causes of crime, the nature of offenders and their social surroundings, the best methods of dealing with offenders and of preventing crime.
3. The improvement of the penal, correctional and reformatory institutions throughout the country, and their government, management and discipline, including the appointments of boards of trustees and of other officers.
4. The care of and providing suitable and remunerative

employment for paroled and discharged prisoners and probationers, especially of those who may have given evidence of reformation.

Equally as important as the objects stated is the 1870 Declaration of Principles; promulgated by the founders of this Association fifty-one years ago. In the light of these principles, we should move forward to more progressive and greater things. Many years ago, Ex-President Hayes, one of the pioneers of this Association, said: "We believe society is so compacted together that Providence hath so ordained and doth so govern things, that, whether we would have it so or not, we must be, and are, our brothers' keepers. No man's family is safely entrenched against vice and crime, and the shame and wickedness to which they lead. Let the outcast and the criminal be forgotten or disregarded, and our whole society will suffer from the taint of human degradation. Like a blood poison, it will spread through and through the social system until it reaches the heart. This serious and mighty truth imposes a duty which no society can afford to neglect. Civilized society cannot neglect it and live. No well-informed Christian society ever will neglect it."

What is the community today doing to prevent crime and delinquency? We have built great institutions for the care and reformation of our so-called delinquent and criminal classes, but is the interest of the community in problems of crime, prisons and reformatories, greater today than when this statement was made? What interest does the community take in preventing boys and girls from becoming delinquents?

The community should take an interest in all boys and girls, particularly in so-called "bad" boys and girls, designated as delinquents. All agencies which the community has at its command should work continuously to save boys and girls from becoming delinquents. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

Houses of correction, jails, reformatories and prisons are expensive. The damage done to society by so-called criminal classes is far reaching economically and morally. It costs the taxpayers \$200 per year for each child, it is said, in order to maintain schools, and from \$300 up per year per inmate to maintain our penal institutions. For years we have been fighting delinquency and crime, largely through the police and the courts. We have certain institutions specifically for that purpose. Wonderful institutions, many of them, are for boys and girls, men and women, already gone wrong. What we need in this day of prevention is more institutions to prevent

boys and girls from becoming delinquents. Our schools, colleges, Sunday schools, Y. M. C. A., Big Brothers, Boy Scouts, Knights of Columbus, and hundreds of similar organizations, are doing a splendid work, but in spite of the efforts of these agencies, we are forced to increase the number and capacity of our jails, reformatories, prisons and hospitals for the insane, to provide for the increasing crop of human waste.

For a number of years, I have been in close touch with boys committed to several large institutions. For several years I came in daily contact with boys and men committed to reformatory and prison in one of our great industrial States. I am convinced that very few of the normal minded with whom I have come in contact, would have ever followed a criminal career if they had been brought up in a normal environment, under normal conditions. Causes of delinquency for which the community is responsible are:

First—Heredity: In considering the causes of crime, one is reminded of the statement once made by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, that if you would have a healthy child, you should call the doctor one hundred years before the child is born.

If that be a true prerequisite of physical health, then to secure mental and spiritual health, it would be desirable to make your prescription at least two hundred years in advance.

There is no doubt that heredity is a considerable factor as a cause of crime. Whether bad conduct is the result of inherent and primary qualities, or acquired characteristics, will perhaps always be a debatable question. Scientific men have never agreed that acquired characteristics could be transmitted, yet it would seem that many of the influences which result in crime, such as intemperance, for example, are purely acquired.

As a matter of fact, heredity in this connection is not a transmission of any definite qualities, but merely the tendencies in that direction, by reason of fundamental weaknesses of character, and the consequent inability to meet temptation and the issues of life.

Inherited qualities are perhaps most apparent to the worker with delinquents, when there is a conflict between the elements derived from the mother and those from the father. This conflict is enhanced in the large cities and great industrial centers, by reason of the diversified population. Inter-marriage between nationalities of widely differing heritage and ideals

probably has an important bearing upon the conduct of many in succeeding generations.

Second—Environment: It is difficult to separate the influences of heredity and environment, since the two are invariably intermingled. For instance, intemperance and ignorance come naturally from previous generations in which they have prevailed. But these qualities are often forced upon people by reason of poverty.

Another influence which operates against these children is the overcrowded conditions in certain sections of all our large cities. The records of the juvenile courts over a long period show that the largest number of our delinquents come from these crowded areas, out of all proportion to the total population of the city or town. The largest per cent. of crime comes from these congested centers, which also contain the greatest amount of poverty, and often times the largest foreign population.

Commercialized amusements, pool rooms, moving pictures, dance halls and unsupervised amusement parks, with their facilities for meeting in numbers, gambling, and the sale of cigarettes to minors, are contributing factors in the records of the delinquency of many boys.

The cheap hotels and lodging houses are other factors which cause much trouble, often affording an abode for runaway boys, and making separation from home easier. Here they associate with older men and often fall victims of various sex perversions and gross immorality. These hotels in all large cities are regulated by statute or ordinance, but rarely is there an attempt at enforcement. Where a city has contributory delinquency laws as a part of its juvenile court work, the court is more apt to enforce the law against these rendezvous of crime, than when the hearing is in the police or municipal courts. Violation of child labor laws in many of our cities and towns, and occupations such as selling newspapers at night, are other factors making for delinquency.

Organizations known as athletic clubs are frequently but camouflage for gambling, drinking and thieving forays. These clubs are often organized for political purposes, and because of this it is very difficult to discipline them, on account of the interference of politicians. Improperly supervised playgrounds or recreation centers often cause further complaint, and gross charges of immorality and other matters have been held against them. This is particularly true when the directors are

selected on the political basis, and have no qualifications whatever for the position.

The foregoing factors are apparently accentuated rather than prevented by our public educational system. The word "system" is used advisedly, since the too great uniformity of method seems to me to be the chief defect of our public schools. To deal effectively with a thousand children merely by mass treatment is impossible. It is all the more difficult in a city where these children have come from such different races, environment and previous training.

Provision should be made, therefore, so that each teacher may foster and guide the development of each individual child. Surely this is not asking too much, so long as we are expending twice as much in dealing with the crime problem as for the maintenance of our elementary school system.

Under the present wholesale method of education is it perfectly certain that a considerable number of children will fall behind their classes, and get "in bad" with their teachers and fellow students, and the teacher has no time to help them restore their good standing.

The result, expressed in the following quotation, shows very clearly how this system leads to delinquency and crime: "Anything that makes a child a laughing stock or a nuisance in school, where things have to go by rule; anything which makes him oversensitive, is enough to destroy his self-respect. And when that is gone, he feels that he may as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb, and is glad to be with others as bad as himself, who will not despise him."

A smaller number of pupils for each teacher, less politics in the schools of the large cities, and "rules" that have exceptions, and are not made a fetish, will make education more effective and productive.

When Henry M. Hyde, the publicist, said: "The greatest crime in America today is the wholesale manufacture of criminals," he did not refer to such indirect causes of crime as I have cited. He had in mind fundamental defects in our present method of dealing with offenders when apprehended. He referred to the "third degree" and other brutalizing police methods. He spoke of the typical county jail as a "school of crime." He cited the usual delays in the courts, and quoted Chief Justice Taft to the effect that "The administration of the criminal law in the United States today is a crime, and nothing short of a disgrace to our civilization."

A strong statement, but nevertheless, real progress has been made in criminal jurisprudence. It is true we still have de-

lays. Justice often miscarries and many injustices are done in the name of justice. State judges' associations, institutes of criminology, State attorneys' associations, congresses such as this, have brought about a uniformity of practice in the criminal courts. There is better understanding of the law violator and a broader view of criminal procedure by reason of the work of these great state and national conferences. An advance has been made in prison administration; wardens and superintendents are more progressive, more humane in management of institutions than ever before. We have the suspended sentence, probation and parole, the indeterminate sentence, all real prison reform. New prisons have been built with large and well ventilated cells, fine shops, well equipped libraries, laboratories, congregate dining rooms, well equipped school buildings, great farms. No longer do we have the lease system, and the contract system will soon be a thing of the past. Instead we have the state use or state account plan. As an incentive to industrial effort, a number of prisons are paying wages to prisoners, and out of these wages comes the care of his, the prisoner's, dependents. No longer are they to be supported by private or public charities, and thus be punished more than the prisoner himself.

Thus far I have spoken of the causes of delinquency and the best methods in use for the purpose of reclaiming the man who has fallen, and who has been sentenced by the court to pay the penalty for violation of the law. Many of us engaged in this work are justly proud of what has been accomplished. But has not the time come when more attention should be paid to the prevention of crime and delinquency? Much, of course, is being done by the organizations previously mentioned, but not enough to stem the stream which fills to overflowing our penal and correctional institutions. Every jail, house of correction, reformatory and prison stands a monument to society's failures, failure on the part of the community because the average citizen is not interested. He never saw an arrest, attended a trial, visited a jail or prison, or knew what became of those detected breaking the law. If he had ever visited the slums and tenements where human beings are herded like animals, the only playground for children the streets and alleys, no parks or beaches, nor "ole swimming hole" for them, no opportunity to engage in the sports that build a boy up physically and develop him morally and mentally—if he would visit these places, interest might take the place of indifference, for he would then see the breeding spots of crime and

delinquency and vice unspeakable, places for the existence of which the community is responsible.

What can the community do? It can do everything if once aroused. You remember well what was accomplished during the Great War. Everybody got together for a common purpose, each bent on doing his or her part for the men who were fighting for us, fighting to save the country. If we could have the same co-operation, the same spirit that was so manifested then, in this fight to save our boys and girls, the causes of crime and delinquency which have been pointed out would not exist. When the community with all the elements at its command really gets into action with that spirit of co-operation and *esprit de corps* which was so manifested during the War, and then only will delinquency and crime disappear.

The President: The President of the American Association of Public Officials of Charities and Corrections, Dr. Charles H. Johnson, will now address us.

Dr. Charles H. Johnson: Mr. President, and fellow members of the American Prison Congress. The subject of "the public official in the field of charity and correction" does not seem to be one that makes possible very lofty flights of imagination nor one that lends itself to extensive oratory, yet there is in this subject much that may be considered of importance and deserving of the deliberation of this Conference. There is no likelihood that the public official in this field will soon be dispensed with. On the contrary, with the increasing emphasis which states and the communities are placing on social work and institutional efficiency, it is more likely that there will be an increase rather than a decrease of public officials. There will always be a place for the private organization as there are many things that it may accomplish which can never be taken over by the State or which can not be taken over in their early stages. The private relief-giving organization, the private institution, the volunteer worker, or the worker paid from non-official funds all have their place and their relation to the public official should be one of co-ordination and co-operation.

There are three phases of the subject of the public official which it might be worth while bringing to your attention this evening. The first is the relation of the community to the public official. We are all well aware of the suspicion and distrust which many people have of a person who is known as a public official in any of the State or city departments and the fact that most of them are spoken of quite scathingly and

sometimes sneeringly. It is regarded as derogatory to a person to say that he has been in the public service for a number of years. He is then supposed to be a politician without any worth while means of support and referred to as one who is feeding out of the public crib. Perhaps the attitude can best be described by the well-known story of the man who went to a physician, stating that he had trouble with his head and would like to have it examined. The physician said "Well, as I am very busy, you may take out your brains and leave them here until I have time to look them over." This was done and the physician later made the necessary examination but the patient did not return. Finally the physician called him on the telephone and requested that he come and take his brains as they were lying around in the way. To this the patient replied, "I forgot all about those brains. You may keep them and do whatever you wish with them. I do not need them any more as I have a State job."

This attitude toward the public official is very unfortunate because while it prevails it is likely to become increasingly difficult to secure high-class men to accept positions as public officials. The salary usually attached to such positions is not attractive and if added to it there is the possibility of public stigma and baseless criticism, we are not going to have an increasingly efficient group of public servants. It is one of the unpleasant features of the political system of this country that the moment one enters public life, that moment all regard for an official's ability and uprightness is very often forgotten and he is unmercifully abused for political or other reasons. If the public service is to receive the attention from the best equipped persons, especially in the field of charity and correction, it will have to be treated with greater respect by the community. The relation, then, between the community and the public official should be, as far as the community is concerned, one of co-operation and sympathy and as far as the official is concerned, one of frankness and sympathy with the public.

The second phase of this subject which is worth while considering is the relation of the public official to the appointing power. In some cases this is the governor of the State, the mayor of the city or a Commission, the Legislature, or some Board. The relation is usually a political one and it is more than likely that in most cases appointments will be made from persons belonging to the party in power. Perhaps the day will come when this will not be so prevalent. There are even now, from time to time, cases where politics have not been

considered in the appointment of persons to particular offices. But if the political consideration can not be entirely discarded, is there not reason and justice in the demand that the man within the party who is selected for public office should have some particular qualification for the job other than political success in his ward or district. While this is true of public service in general, it is particularly true of the form of public service in which we as a group are interested. Other forms of public service may deal with things, but we are concerned with persons. The public servant engaged in the work of charity and correction on behalf of the community is dealing with humanity in its most depressing moments and heart-rending experiences. He needs many qualifications, but the plus qualification which he especially needs is the sympathy and understanding a man should have who deals with his fellow men who are destitute, broken in health, or who are in the process of being reclaimed from evil. I would therefore suggest that the relation of the appointing power to the public official should be one having regard for the peculiar qualifications needed in work of administering charity and correction and which may not be needed in any of the other public departments. Without these personal qualifications to begin with, the other abilities the individual may possess will not make it possible for him to fit in the job.

The third phase of this subject is the relation of the public official to his job. This is perhaps the most important of the three, because it is only as a man relates himself rightly or wrongly to the task which is given him that he succeeds or fails. There is one attitude that may be very easily adopted and in fact is along the line of least resistance and it is the attitude that having got the job, the particular thing has happened and there is not much else that matters. It is typical of the poem, that was not written by Tennyson or Browning:

"I wish I was a little stone
A sittin' on a hill,
With nothin' doin' all day long
But just a sittin' still.
I wouldn't eat,
I wouldn't sleep,
I wouldn't even wash,
I'd just sit still a thousand years
And rest myself, by gosh!"

The attitude of resting on the job has unfortunately been very often the attitude of people who have, after considerable effort, attained to a political position. In fact, it is the atti-

tude which has so often brought discredit and dishonor to public service. It stands out as against the attitude which men assume who are given a position in the mercantile or business world and who immediately on taking the job start in to justify their selection in the eyes of those who appointed them and endeavor to make good. The public official who has been given the important task of looking after the interests of the dependent and delinquent members of the community owes it to himself, to the public and to his charges to fit himself to do justice to them all. He will find that there is much to learn from what has been accomplished in other places and he will also find that there is much that should be done in his own community and the doing of it will give him great satisfaction. The education of a public official in charities and correction may be a very costly one to the State or city. The cost and the results will depend to a large degree upon his own perspective of the work that he has to do. There is another verse of much finer quality than the doggerel mentioned above and which was written by a great American teacher and diplomat, and which gives a better point of view for the work of the public official. In the words of Henry Van Dyke,

"Four things a man must learn to do,
If he would keep his record true.
Think without confusion clearly,
Love his fellow men sincerely,
Act from honest motives purely,
Trust in God and heaven securely."

Each one of these four principles may be applied to the work of the public official engaged in the fulfillment of the important duties committed to his care by the State or city.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 29.

WARDENS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Harry L. Hulburt, Warden State Prison, Jackson,
Michigan, President of the Wardens' Association, presiding.

ADDRESS

By PRESIDENT H. L. HULBURT, WARDEN OF THE MICHIGAN STATE PRISON.

The Prison Association of New York was founded in 1844. In 1867 Dr. Wines conceived the plan of creating a national association. A large number of officers of prisons and reformatories as well as others joined in with him in issuing the

call for a meeting at Cincinnati in 1870. It is pleasant to recall the fact that Governor Hayes of Ohio, who afterwards became President of the United States, presided over this meeting. At Cincinnati the National Prison Association was born. A committee of twelve was appointed to procure a charter for it, and proceed to organize the society.

At the St. Louis meeting in 1884 a number of Wardens were present, and they felt the need of a society by themselves where they could meet without reading formal papers, and could freely discuss problems of practical prison administration. They resolved to hold such a meeting at Chicago on December 9, 1884. Nearly thirty wardens and superintendents attended. The meeting lasted three days, and a committee was appointed by them to report the proceedings in printed form to the National Association and to call them together again if necessary at any time.

Out of this conference of officers of prisons and reformatories of the United States at Chicago grew the Wardens' Association for the Identification of Habitual Criminals which was organized at Detroit on March 8, 1887.

It was purely an official body, which did not even admit ex-wardens or ex-superintendents to its membership. This body met at Toronto on September 10, 1887, and voted to hold its meetings at whatever time and place might be fixed for the meeting of the Prison Congress.

It should be the duty of every warden and superintendent to feel free to discuss the questions of practical prison administration as the National Prison Congress is called together once a year, as the thirty wardens and superintendents voted to agree to this procedure; and if at Detroit in 1887 why not Detroit in 1922.

We have been given by the Secretary of the American Prison Association time to devote our thoughts to our papers, and today we are treating on the "Location of a Prison and its Surroundings."

LOCATION OF A PRISON.

By LEWIS E. LAWES, WARDEN OF SING SING PRISON, NEW YORK.

Of all the many problems that face a community in dealing with a criminal, perhaps none is more important than that of locating its prisons in a place which will best serve the interests of the State and of the criminal who, it must always be remembered, is also a part of the State.

The primary purpose of a prison, in law, and according

to the Encyclopedia Britannica, is the "compulsory confinement or detention of persons after arrest or sentence by arbitrary authority or process of law." One of the most important things, then, to be considered in the location of a prison is the safekeeping of the prisoners. It should be on a tract of land so situated as to make escape difficult and the guarding of the prison population comparatively easy.

While isolated points offer the advantages named, a prison, to be well located, must be near the large centers of population, from which a majority of its inmates come. The site must permit the safe and easy transportation of the criminal after sentence, and make possible the economical transportation of his maintenance and the raw supplies for the usage of his energy.

Near large cities land so situated is likely to be valuable for suburban residential purposes, and as soon as this element enters the question the isolation desired vanishes. The inhabitants of such a community invariably object to locating a prison in their midst, and thus render the selection of an appropriate site still more difficult and perplexing.

While the problems of safety in transportation and maintenance are important, they are, by no means, the only ones to be solved. Adequate and continued water supply must be made available and permanent. Satisfactory sewage and drainage must be obtained at a minimum expense in money and effort.

The next most important factor to be considered is that of employment of the prison inhabitants in useful labor. Here each State must meet its own particular conditions. In New York State 90 per cent. of the population of the prisons come from the large cities and 90 per cent. of the 90 per cent. come from the most congested districts of these cities. The more crowded a community becomes, the more likely that the abnormal will turn to crime as a means of livelihood. This being so, no greater service could be rendered to the criminal than to take him out of the crowded, vicious environment that engendered his crime and transfer him to a place where fresh air, open places and sunlight have ample opportunity to give such healing as lies in them. Employment at irrigation, farm work, and road building, that can be undertaken to advantage with reasonable security is desirable, but in large measure, also, where industrial productivity is sought for.

Prison products in many States, including New York, are regulated by law and may be sold only to the State or political sub-divisions thereof. In any event it is essential that prisons

with large populations must, in addition to quarrying, road building and farming, operate industries which may be carried on with profit to the State and at the same time train the operator in habits of industry and teach him something that will be of value upon his release.

In order to obtain and retain the services of competent officials, instructors and guards, their housing must be given careful attention. The right type of employee expects, and with good reason, to be able to secure decent living accommodations for himself and family. He also has a right to expect that his family shall have the advantages of religious and scholastic instruction in the immediate vicinity of his home. Many splendidly equipped persons have been lost to the institutions which fail to meet the foregoing requirements, and I am certain that institutional executives will agree with me in this statement.

DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS OF MILITARY PRISONS.

By COLONEL MALVERN HILL BARNUM, UNITED STATES DISCIPLINARY BARRACKS, FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS.

The first thing for me to do is to correct the title, "Disciplinary Problems in Military Prisons." We no longer have any military prisons. The War Department, by General Orders No. 67 of 1913, very wisely changed the designation from Military Prisons to that of United States Disciplinary Barracks. Many of the young men confined in the Disciplinary Barracks are there for desertion, sleeping on post while a sentinel, striking a non-commissioned officer, or for other purely military offenses. These are serious as military offenses, but are not so regarded by the civil law. Therefore, these young men should not be stigmatized as having been in prison, but only as having been confined at a disciplinary barracks.

As a Federal institution the Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth is often confused with the Federal penitentiary which is also at Fort Leavenworth. Both are located on the military reservation, but the Disciplinary Barracks is under the jurisdiction of the War Department, while the Federal penitentiary is under the Department of Justice. The confusion is no doubt increased by the fact that a good many military prisoners are sent to the Federal penitentiary, especially those who have committed more serious offenses.

One of our greatest disciplinary problems arises from the fact that our guards or officers, as they are generally called in State prisons, are enlisted men of the Army. They come from

the same source as the prisoners, that is, from the Army. A soldier on being assigned to duty as a guard at the Disciplinary Barracks may find several prisoners there, and possibly immediately under him, who were members of the same regiment with him in the service. While this would be exceptional, yet the guards come from the same walks of life, have been trained in the same school as the prisoners, have very much the same aims and desires, in fact, speak the same language, all of which tends to create a bond of sympathy which is bad for discipline. Fortunately it is solved to a very great extent by securing faithful soldiers as guards, and keeping them for a number of years, during which time their sympathies become entirely with the officers and not with the prisoners. With us an officer is not a guard in the same sense that he is at a State prison.

The War Department assigns the necessary Army officers, from the Commandant down, to duty at the United States Disciplinary Barracks. They are assigned to the various departments by the commandant, according to the needs. For example, one is assigned as executive officer, who with one or two assistants has the immediate control of all prisoners, their discipline and work; another has charge of the mess hall and kitchen; another has charge of supplies, clothing, transportation, machinery, tools, and another has charge of construction and repair of buildings, roads, water, sewer and lighting systems. There are the medical officers who not only look after the hospital and care for the sick, but serve on various boards such as the psychopathic and parole boards. There is the chaplain (one of the regular army chaplains), also an officer in charge of education and recreation, and an officer of the Judge Advocate's Department to review court martial proceedings and pass on legal questions. Then we have a battalion composed of prisoners who are striving to be restored to the Army as soldiers. This is commanded by an officer who has one or more assistants.

From the foregoing it will be seen that an officer at the United States Disciplinary Barracks is an officer of the Army performing some one of the above duties, while a guard is an enlisted man of the Army, guarding prisoners and assisting in handling them. The usual tour of duty for an officer is four years, although many are relieved sooner and occasionally one remains longer.

This constant changing of officers is a great handicap to good discipline, but Congress passed a law about 1910 prohibiting any officer of the Army from remaining on detached

service, *i. e.*, on any duty away from troops, for more than four years at a time. However, the custom of relieving an officer at the end of four years was in effect long before this law was passed by Congress. The evils of the custom are not as great as would seem, for all army officers are trained along much the same lines, so that one can assume the duties of another without great detriment to efficiency.

The problem of constant change also presents itself with the guards. We have a good many older non-commissioned officers who have been with us many years, and when their enlistment expires they re-enlist for the guards. But with the private soldiers, who constitute about seventy-five per cent. of our guards, this is not the case. When their enlistment expires they do not often re-enlist for the guard, for the duty is not popular with them. We must then apply to the War Department for replacements, and when the new men come they must be broken in to their new duties.

You may ask how we get rid of a guard before his enlistment expires when we find that he is not satisfactory? We cannot get rid of him for this reason alone, but must make the best use possible of him. If he commits any serious offense, such as going to sleep on post, he is tried by a court martial and probably dismissed from the service and sentenced to a term of confinement as a prisoner; fortunately this does not often occur.

When a guard proves inefficient in handling prisoners, we assign him to some duty about the guard barracks, such as cook, barber, or in charge of quarters, or assign him to duty in a wall tower where he does not come in immediate contact with prisoners. We could have him assigned to some other command and sent away, but the War Department would not send a good selected guard in his place, for good selected men are wanted everywhere. We do better to hold on to even an inferior guard rather than to be without any. We can use an inferior man as one of several guards that are assigned to a large gang of prisoners working outside. He is then under the immediate supervision of a sergeant and probably does fairly well.

The War Department has made much effort to send selected guards to the Disciplinary Barracks, by directing that the recruiting depots endeavor to get soldiers to volunteer for the duty who have re-enlisted. This question of volunteering keeps us from getting many good men, for the work with us is much more constant and exacting than almost any other

in the Army, and the character of the duty is distasteful to many.

You will ask why we do not pay our guards enough to make the duty attractive. In years gone by the guards were given additional pay, which largely solved the problem of getting good men; but Congress stopped that, so that now our guards get the same pay as other soldiers of the same grade. I am endeavoring to have the additional pay restored as the greatest factor in solving this trouble. The great majority of our guards are very efficient old soldiers who have been here for many years. They are the backbone of the guard and we try to make young men live up to their standards. The inefficient ones are few, but I mention them as one of the problems of discipline at the United States Disciplinary Barracks.

The other problems have to do with the prisoners and the character of their work. Just about one-half the prisoners (850 at present) work outside the walls. Of this number about one hundred-thirty belong to the Disciplinary Battalion, that is, are men who have been selected by a board of officers with a view to the restoration to the Army as soldiers.

Then there are the White Star Paroles, or trusties, about 200 in number, who work on the farm and about the post, without any guard. We also have about one hundred who work under overseers; we sometimes call them honor men. We aim to put them on their honor not to attempt to escape; in return for which they have no sentry over them, only an overseer, a Sergeant who may take 12 or 15. Without any weapon, not even a club, he marches them to and from their work, directs it, and keeps check that none goes away. It is found to be very stimulating to their self-respect not to have to work under a gun. Then there is the added hope of getting a white star parole, inasmuch as all of our white star paroles are first tried out as honor men. This leaves about 400 men that work outside the walls every day, being separated into various gangs for the general cleaning up of the post, for the two quarries, the brick yard, etc. The 850 that work inside the walls are easily guarded, so there are virtually no problems as far as the character of their work goes.

Our problems of discipline are different from those of State prisons and also different from those arising at State reformatories. It is believed that they are intermediate between the two. Our men are in no sense the criminals that are found in the former, nor are they like the youth of the latter. They are young men who have in the first place been selected to

go into the Army; in a good many instances they should not have been selected for the Army, for some had previous criminal records, some are mentally and some morally weak. The oftentimes hasty work of the recruit detachments has failed to detect these facts. Many are fine young men who found that they did not like the Army, so deserted; or young men who have gotten in with a bad lot and have committed some offense. Some are men who have been a number of years in the service and yet have made a mistake and gone wrong.

However, they are practically all here for short terms. It is a great exception for a man to remain more than two years. They are, therefore, going back into civil life as young men of the country. By keeping in mind the above facts, it is believed that we can arrive at the kind of discipline that should be maintained. These young men must be made not only to obey but to respect the authority that is exercised over them. It must not be too harsh and repressive. We do not want to send out young men who are broken or hardened in spirit. It must be of a type to appeal to their sense of fairness and justice. It must endeavor to build up their sense of self-respect and pride; also encourage in them hope and plans for the future.

There must be a large amount of rewards for good behavior, and finally it must be administered from day to day with the constant feeling that there is some good in every man, and much good in nearly all men. It must seek to touch this good, arouse it and get it to working for the man's betterment and, of course, thereby for the betterment of discipline. All possible of accomplishment, and no lower standard should be accepted.

We have the problems of the ugly men who, on arrival, feel that they do not care whether they get along well or not; after being one or two months in a different atmosphere, they nearly all modify their views and strive to get along. We have the weak mental cases. It is often found that they need hospital treatment rather than discipline. We have the moral perverts, who must be isolated and closely watched. Probably but little is accomplished with them further than to restrain them while they are at the Barracks. We have the very ignorant and vicious type who are without doubt quickest reached by getting them interested in learning.

Generally speaking, discipline is maintained by the three following methods:

1. By emphasizing the advantages accruing to the individual from good behavior. Keeping in the first class in

discipline, thereby enjoying the greater liberties, such as having tobacco, being allowed to attend the movies, striving to get on an honor gang and later to be made a white star parole; being allowed to go on home parole, and finally being granted clemency, if after due time they show that they have learned the two great lessons: First, that of self-control, and second, respect for constituted authority. When their conduct record shows that they have learned these, there is no longer any purpose in keeping them confined and they are recommended for clemency.

2. By punishing the unruly, putting them in second or third Class in Discipline; by taking away good conduct time; by sending them to the rock pile, placing them in solitary confinement on bread and water, or placing them in isolation for an indefinite period.

3. By trial by court martial when, if found guilty, a further sentence of six months, one year, or any period is added to their sentence.

DISCUSSION.

WARDEN GEORGE C. ERSKINE (Cheshire, Conn.).—Warden Lawes' paper on the selection of a site for a penal institution is sectional. In the South there are many reasons why an institution should be devoted to agricultural work. There are practically twelve months of the year for that work, whereas in the North there are from six to eight months. In the Northeast there is poorer land. That is not an agricultural but a manufacturing section. It is necessary to determine the type of the institution necessary in your own locality. After that, you may select more wisely your location. If it is to be a manufacturing institution or an institution devoted for the instruction of manufacturing, there is no real necessity of putting it too far out in the country. If you do, you have all the faults that Warden Lawes has, although 30 miles from New York is not a very serious handicap. Difficulties are multiplied as you go further away.

Many times people do not make the careful distinction that has been made this morning between the type of the individual that goes to the disciplinary barrack and the type of individual that goes to the penal institution. Some of the men in our State institutions from the Army are not of the same type as those who are committed to the disciplinary barracks for a breach of discipline or breach of military regulations. Sometimes we wonder if the court martial has dealt any more wisely in these cases than our States courts in

civilian instances. They may have picked up in the disciplinary barracks some of our worst types in juvenile institutions.

We have an occasional inquiry from the Disciplinary Barracks concerning the young fellow who has been very troublesome, who had a previous criminal record. Do you keep him there, or do you have him transferred or re-sentenced?

Colonel Barnum: We keep those men there. They have been enlisted in the Army, sometimes thinking they can hide themselves from punishment that awaits them, but we keep those men there. Presumably their offenses are not of the more serious type.

Thomas C. O'Brien, Commissioner of Prisons, Boston, Mass.: May I ask if they have two classes of offenders in the Disciplinary Barracks — Class A men restored to service; and Class B, who, after serving sentence, are dishonorably discharged?

Colonel Barnum: Yes.

Mr. O'Brien: Do you distinguish between military and civil offenses?

Colonel Barnum: No great distinction is made. We study the man's whole record from childhood. Our Psychiatry and Sociology Board send out letters, and we get the man's whole record from youth up. We aim to decide whether that man is worthy of being restored to the Army as a soldier. If we think they will not make good, we do not restore them. Of those restored, 90 per cent. make good and earn an honorable discharge.

Mr. O'Brien: What percentage of persons have previous criminal records before they reach you?

Colonel Barnum: I couldn't tell you exactly. Four hundred cases studied as they came into the Barracks and the Board that studied those cases showed that 5 per cent. of the men that we get there are habitual criminals; they have committed several previous crimes of more or less degree. About forty-five per cent. had committed some petty offenses previous to that; and about one-half were first offenders.

Mr. O'Brien: Was it the character of the man which determined whether he should be restored to military duty, or was it the nature of his offense? I understood, in 1917, from Colonel Rice, that if a man committed a certain class of offense he, by that act, was precluded from being returned to service.

Colonel Barnum: Yes.

Mr. O'Brien: On the other hand, a man might have com-

mitted a number of offenses known as military offenses and be later restored to service.

Colonel Barnum: The policy is not changed. When Colonel Rice was Commandant, men were sent there for serious offenses and they, no doubt, made that a determining factor. As we no longer get men with very serious offenses, that is not, as a rule, a determining factor.

Mr. Charles A. Blaney: If you found that a man is wanted in some penal institution for some greater crime, what becomes of him?

Colonel Barnum: When released from us he is turned over to that institution, and he will stand no chance whatever of being restored to the battalion.

Mr. Blaney: Besides your farms, you have factories, too?

Colonel Barnum: We have a tailor and shoe shop and what we call our utility shop; carpentry shop, tin shop, electric shop, steamfitting shop, blacksmith, where we carry on just the utilities necessary for the upkeep of our own institution.

Dr. Moore: We get a number of ex-soldiers or we get men who were in the service who have committed crime. They have been on furlough and committed a crime, they are lodged with us, and then we get a warrant. Now, is he taken to the Barracks uniformly because he has committed that crime, or is the punishment in the civil institution considered sufficient?

Colonel Barnum: No.

Dr. Moore: We have a number of such cases. The warrant is filled and they are being punished for this crime in the institution. They uniformly ask that we make an effort to have the warrant removed so that they won't have to go to the Military Barracks.

Colonel Barnum: If a man has deserted, and you release him for having committed some civil offense, we want to get him, of course, and try him for his offense of desertion, but the government itself has no agencies for doing that. We have to depend upon the civil officers, and the police of the cities. In some cases the War Department lodges a request to have that man turned over to the military when released, but he would be tried by a court martial for his previous military offense.

Mr. Brooks: Do you still use the open cells; that is, cells without bars for those in the disciplinary battalion?

Colonel Barnum: No. When the new cell building was built there were two wing buildings without the cell fronts,

but we have found that it is very necessary, in order to maintain discipline and good order, to have those cell fronts so every man can be locked in a cell, and we have just completed putting on those cell fronts. Men in the disciplinary battalion are locked in their cells at night. Those men in the disciplinary battalion a year ago were living entirely outside the walls. We had some cantonment buildings to which they were assigned and they lived outside the walls, and that was a satisfactory arrangement. I had to give it up because those barracks were required for military purposes. I am hoping this Congress will appropriate money to build another building, and then these men will go back in this cantonment building and live by themselves.

Mr. Thames, Chairman, Mississippi State Penitentiary Board: If we have a young fellow in our institution and he escapes and enlists in the Army, commits a crime there and he is committed to your institution, and we afterwards find that he is in your institution and make a demand on you for him, can you release him to us?

Colonel Barnum: We do. We would notify you in due time before his release so you can send and get him.

"SHOULD A PRISON HAVE FARMS?"

By J. S. BLITCH, SUPERINTENDENT, STATE PRISON FARM,
RAIFORD, FLORIDA.

In presenting a paper answering the question: "Should a Prison Have Farms?" in the affirmative, I can only base my assertions on actual conditions as they exist at the State Prison Farm, of the State of Florida, yet I can see no reason why similar conditions could not exist elsewhere.

The great majority who are sent to prison are misfits, and in order to return them to society useful and law-abiding citizens they must be rehabilitated. There is nothing that beats a trial but failure, and it is worth while going after, even though failure is the answer in some cases.

Proper reformation cannot be brought about by housing, and especially working a prisoner, where his every move and glance is a constant reminder to him that he is incarcerated. But how are you going to get away from stone walls, steel cells with barred windows, and workshops equally as well guarded and barred? The farm on a large scale, together with humane treatment, and the building of self-trust of the prisoner by trusting him, even to the extent of placing him in charge of a crew of his fellow inmates, as has prevailed

at Raiford from the day I first entered upon my duties there, is my answer. The humane treatment as practiced in the State Prison of Florida is not of the maudlin sentiment type, but is in keeping with good discipline of the common-sense variety.

When a prisoner first arrives from the jail his mind is very receptive to both good and evil, inclining toward the good. He has begun to realize the consequences of the reckless course that he has pursued, and this is the time to begin the process of rehabilitation.

At Raiford, the prisoner's first day's work is, unless he is a hospital subject, out on the farm, performing some kind of farm labor. It may be a little tedious to him for a while, especially if work has not agreed with him previous to his arrival in prison, but this soon wears off and he becomes a good worker, shows interest, and forgets to a great extent that he is restrained from going and coming as he pleases. This is all brought about by being placed in God's great outdoors where neither bars nor walls confront him, where he has pure fresh air in abundance, where he sees before him day after day vast stretches of land, on which grow crops that spring up from his labors. It begins to dawn on him that this is his handiwork, that he is actually accomplishing something. He soon discovers that by it all he has been made into a different being entirely, and in many instances weighs himself as he is now against his former self, and in finding the latter sadly lacking in all that is good, he casts it to one side. Of course, there are times when his old self may come to the surface again, but there is where his training will stand by and help him overcome evil.

I have but to cite any number of times when I have been within hearing distance of the dining rooms, dormitories and yards, and, my presence unknown to any of them, have overheard their conversations, the most of which have been about their work, and not, as one would almost expect, that of discussing new methods of reprisal against society. Some were predicting the yield of a certain crop, others suggesting what fertilizer would be needed to increase the yield of a certain other crop, still another highly elated over the progress that has been made in the particular field he has been at work in; and in all of these conversations they have spoken of the farm and its crops in terms of *our* farm, and *our* crops, and that we must use this method or that in order to make a good showing. This shows conclusively that they feel they are a part of the institution, and not slaves to it.

The theory might be advanced that this routine of farm labor day-in and day-out would prove tedious. Possibly it would, but to overcome any possibility of it becoming so, the reward for good and faithful service is promotion to any one of the affiliated industries of modern farming that not only better his working conditions, but also gives him many more privileges.

To be able so to interest the prisoner in farming that upon expiration of his sentence, or discharge through pardon or parole, he looks to the farm for work, will eliminate the chances of going wrong again. On the farm he is away from the gangsters of the city, that beckon and call to him at every turn, trying their best to get him to do wrong, more so than otherwise, if he is known to have served time in prison. He is also away from the so-called worldly pleasures, that he wants but can't get unless he steals in order to get them. Of course it is well known that all do not take to the farm, yet it is time well and profitably spent to be able to see some of them go that way.

The problem of feeding the prisoner, where a prison has a farm, is very much simplified and reduced, one is at all times assured of pure, fresh, wholesome food, which acts as both a contentment and health builder to the inmate.

Conducted along modern ideas, the prison farm acts as a pace-maker to the farmers and others interested in farming, in the State in which it is located. Its methods of farming are watched by all interested, and if successful are copied and sometimes improved upon, thereby placing the farms throughout the State on a higher plane, and increasing production. To have on the prison farm, thoroughbred cattle, both dairy and range thoroughbred hogs, poultry of blooded strain and other stock of a good breed sets an example to others that is followed to the good of the agricultural interests of the State in general. Surely this feature alone is an asset to any State, that is not to be snubbed at.

DISCUSSION.

Warden Devine: You have no guards in charge of those prisoners?

Warden Blitch: Yes, sir.

Warden Devine: No arms?

Warden Blitch: No, sir.

Warden Devine: What was your number of escapes in the past year?

Warden Blitch: In a population of 500, we have had 4 escapes this year, and we have a letter from a man in Georgia who states that he will be back soon.

Warden Devine: If the Warden from Raiford can explain the domestic ties of his institution that bring about that affinity between law and order and prisoners so that their retention can be secured, and if he can explain to the wardens of the various institutions of the country interested in maintaining prison labor on the farm and in retaining that labor without the expense of a large contingent of guards in proportion to the number of prisoners and the amount of labor, he will largely explain conditions that so far have been very inexpedient.

Warden Blitch: Organization and co-operation are the two rules.

Mr. Catlin: How many do you have who cannot work on the farms?

Warden Blitch: None. The State Highway Department has at present about seven hundred men. At Raiford we have about five hundred men and women—about sixty are women. We have a prison population of about one thousand two hundred. There are about six hundred county prisoners that the State has nothing to do with that are retained in their counties.

Mr. Catlin: Do I understand then of your 1200 you have about five hundred that you work?

Warden Blitch: Yes, sir.

Mr. Catlin: In other words, you have 700 that do not work on the farms?

Warden Blitch: We have 700 building roads.

Mr. Bashner: Is there any selection made between those who go on the farm and on the roads?

Warden Blitch: Raiford being the receiving station, we are allowed thirty-five Number One men; that is, physically fit men. The balance of our men are Number Two, and the women. Number Two's are men who are not able physically to take the shovel and throw dirt and that kind of work, but can do farm work. We handle every State prisoner there, and they are there from a week to ten days and thirty days. Those who go to the roads are under guards and guns and are chained. We handle them without guards, guns or chains. Very frequently they are hospital subjects, and there they are built up and put back on the farm, without guns, chains and guards.

Mr. Tetters (a prisoner): One fact is worth a thousand

theories. If you don't care anything about pedigree, you want the horse that can run. For over thirteen years I have been in the chain gang, a trusty. Mr. Blitch has a heart. He is a very busy man. He sweats, but he never sweats ice water. I tell you we cannot get along without heart in this business, and God give me a man that would die with enlargement of the heart rather than heart failure.

Mr. Bashner: Suppose we have a forger from the State of New York, who perhaps, drifted down into Florida and gets caught, with a long record behind him. Do you turn him out without a guard? Could you do it?

Warden Blitch: We do, but with all of this we have discipline. Men are checked out every morning in crews. There is a man over that crew. He is a prisoner and he is checked out in that crew. The worst men in State prison have been checked out and held there, and they would go to the State Road Department and escape from that Department with chains and guns over them.

Mr. Bashner: You put one good man with the rest?

Warden Blitch: We put a foreman who has worked up to the point of being able to handle men, and we put that man also in with a lot of trusties. I had a man tell me one day, who had escaped twice from Georgia State Prison, that it was an easy matter to escape under the guns, but when you are in a bunch of men and everyone looking after you, you can't get away very well.

Mr. Blaney: Will this work out in thickly populated districts, as in the North, where it is easier for a man to get away than down in this class of territory?

Warden Blitch: I hardly think so. I really believe in Florida where it more thinly populated than many of your places, the prisoners on the whole probably are better than yours.

Mr. Blaney: We, in Michigan, we have farms and we put honor men out on those farms without crews. We have objections from the farmers to those men being out without crews. Is this district where your men are uninhabited?

Warden Blitch: No, sir; we have people around there, and when I first went there and let the crews go, the people were incensed somewhat at it and said the prisoners would be running away from there, but it didn't materialize in that way. The Board was behind me in the work and had confidence in my judgment.

Mr. Blaney: This is a wonderful experience and it is working.

A Speaker: Do you have any trouble in holding the white men?

Warden Blitch: More than we do the colored.

A Speaker: I think some of these gentlemen who are finding it difficult to understand how you hold these men without guards are perhaps thinking of white men who have a good deal more initiative than the colored men. You could hold colored men, perhaps, when we couldn't hold white.

A Speaker: How many acres of land have you for cultivation?

Warden Blitch: We have in cultivation 4,000 acres. We have in the plan 18,000 acres, 15,000 acres of which are unfenced; the remainder of the farm, 4,000 acres, is under cultivation or in a pasture for the stock.

A Speaker: You have an average population of 500 to work that 4,000 acres?

Warden Blitch: Yes.

Warden Sullivan of Jersey City: At night time, how do you guard the prisoners?

Warden Blitch: Our men are checked in at night in the dormitories and those dormitories are locked and are guarded by prison inmates.

Warden Sullivan: They are not guarded by guards at night?

Warden Blitch: No, sir.

Warden Sullivan: What hours are required of your prisoners to work?

Warden Blitch: We work from daylight until dark. We give 1 hour's nooning. In the summer time we give from 1½ to 2 hours. We check in at night to be sure our crowd is there, probably a half hour before sun-down.

Warden Sullivan: Then what percentage of work in the day is required?

Warden Blitch: Every bit he can do. If he is hoeing, he must keep hoeing. If he is sick we take him to a doctor, and if he isn't sick we tell him to work.

Warden Sullivan: Have you a mode of punishment?

Warden Blitch: Yes, sir. Our punishment mostly consists of reducing privileges and ranks, not letting them attend picture shows and minstrels on Saturday nights.

A Speaker: All prisoners sentenced to Florida first come to you for observation at your farm?

Warden Blitch: Yes, sir.

A Speaker: You keep them from 10 to 30 days. You sort

out those whom you deem proper to work on your farm and transfer the rest to the Highway Department. Is that so?

Warden Blitch: The law says Raiford shall have 15 Number One men (that is, physically fit) and all the balance. We have the one-legged, one-armed, blind, halt, sick, tubercular, and all that class there. Yet there are many men who can do a day's work on the farm that the physicians say are not able to do a day's work on the road.

A Speaker: You pick out of those 1,200, 400 that you can practically make trustees of?

Warden Blitch: I have 15 only that I can pick. I have got to take the balance. It doesn't make any difference how bad they are.

A Speaker: What are your financial results?

Warden Blitch: We are practically self-sustaining on the farm. The farm is new. We have only operated about six years. We went into the wilderness and drained land, took the logs and trees off the land and put it under cultivation. We are not able to take care of our improvements which are going on constantly. We have considerable stock, a dairy, poultry plant. The dairy turns in from \$750 to \$1,000 a month, net; the poultry from \$75 to \$150 a month, and other industries that help that way.

A Speaker: Suppose a man with a previous criminal record and who has been convicted of some heinous crime is sent to you, do you immediately put him on the farm and trust him with the other prisoners promiscuously?

Warden Blitch: Just as soon as we can get his description and photograph, we check him out in that bunch. I go to the foreman of the crew and say, "John, you have got one new man or two men in this crew; look out for them."

A Speaker: We work about twenty or twenty-five men on the farm and my experience has been that there are never more than 10 or 15 per cent. of the men you can trust on the farm. Of course, the location would have something to do with it. It is not on account of severe punishment, because we do not punish men severely. We have no corporal punishment of any kind. It is surprising to me to hear your statement that you think that you would immediately give men with major offenses and possibly with long previous criminal records a chance to escape and repeat the offense again.

Warden Blitch: You don't understand it. That man has not the chances of escape that he has under the gun, because he is checked out into a bunch of trusties that will not let him go. You check out 300 or 400 people in a radius of 3

miles with swamps on either side of you, with two railroads running through your property; there are effective ways of escape, and yet I have told you we have only had 4 escapes out of that population and are only short 1 man now, and he is coming back.

A Speaker: The location of your penal farm, the isolation of your penal farm, in your judgment, has much to do with that as the system?

Warden Blitch: I don't know that I would say that. New River runs through our farm from the northeast to the southwest, and down that river from a half a mile to a mile stretches a forest of thick oaks and growth of that kind that men can jump into and get away. The Seaboard Air Line Railway and Coast Line Railway both practically run through that farm and stop on either side of us.

A Speaker: Do you depend as much on the reliability of your trustees, as you do of other prisoners?

Warden Blitch: Absolutely. I let them know that. I believe I could operate that prison within two miles of the city limits of Jacksonville as well as I could where I am.

Warden Lawes: What is the percentage of drug addicts that you have? We have at Sing Sing perhaps one hundred men who are drug addicts. Any man who is a drug addict will get the drug if he has to kill his mother, and even though they thought a good deal of you and of this wonderful climate of Florida, they would get their drug, and those men are very poor subjects to place out on the farm. They are not trustworthy, and they are the least susceptible to reformation of any. I wonder if in your problem, drug addiction enters in there? And one other question. Do you have capital cases?

Warden Blitch: We have drug addicts, but not near so many as you have. I have only about six or eight probably in the prison now, both men and women, and, as a rule, we work them on the inside. We have capital punishment in this State, but it is, in each of the counties by hanging.

A Speaker: How many months can you work on your farm?

Warden Blitch: Twelve months a year.

Miss Mary E. Hinkley, of Poughkeepsie: What is your occupation for women prisoners?

Warden Blitch: The white women sew and make new coats, and the colored women we put out in a garden patch. We have about fifty, and get about twenty-five as a field crew. The balance are afflicted and sick or they launder for the officials and for themselves only.

Miss Hinkley: Do you use steam laundry for the rest of the place?

Warden Blitch: No.

Mr. Blaney: How many attempts at escape do you have?

Warden Blitch: Last year we had 10 white and 4 colored men escape, with an average population of 500. The State Road Department, which had 125, under guards and guns, chains and so on, with an average population of 600, or 100 more than we had, had 78 escapes.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 29.

COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

JUVENILE COURTS—PRESENT AND FUTURE.

By EMMA O. LUNDBERG, DIRECTOR SOCIAL SERVICE DIVISION, CHILDREN'S BUREAU, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Although every State but two has legislation authorizing the establishment of special juvenile courts or juvenile sessions, the juvenile court movement is still in a relatively primitive stage. In the 22 years since the first juvenile courts were established the idea has taken root in every large city, but its extension into rural communities and small towns is largely a question for the future.

PRESENT STATUS.

Three years ago, in a survey covering the whole of the United States, information was secured from 2,034 courts authorized to hear children's cases; only 321 of these courts approached even the minimum of special equipment for children's cases, that is, separate hearings, regular probation service, and provision for recording social as well as legal information. In half the States, less than one-fourth of the population were within reach of courts with these special facilities. Several of them reported no special equipment in any court.

Only 25 per cent. of the population of this country live in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants; 55 per cent. live in rural areas. Yet, while juvenile courts or juvenile sessions were found in all the cities with populations of 100,000 or over, and in 70 per cent. of the total population living in cities of from 25,000 to 100,000, courts with special equipment for dealing with children were available to only 15 per cent. of the population of rural communities and to 28 per cent. of the total in cities of 5,000 to 25,000.

Disillusioning as are these facts to those who have regarded the juvenile court as an established institution, there is further disappointment in that in many of the larger and better equipped juvenile courts the work is still sadly inadequate. It has been comparatively easy to secure State laws authorizing special court organization, but to make such laws effective is a complex problem.

STUDY OF THE CHILD.

Miss Lathrop has said that the big contribution of the Juvenile Court was in making the child visible. Dr. Healy in his work has emphasized the child as an individual whose life and reactions must be understood if the trouble resulting in delinquency is to be corrected. And to this end the home conditions and environment, as well as the child's personality, must be understood.

Thorough study of the child's history, surroundings, and social reactions, and the resources of his environment, requires that the staff of the court assigned to this work must have the ability and time to evaluate the various factors, both in relation to causation and treatment. Besides being fair to the children, provision for social investigation often results in real economy of effort. In one case witnessed in a court where the investigations were usually quite thorough, the case had been continued from time to time over a considerable period. The child meanwhile remaining in the detention home because the regular investigator had been unable to make the preliminary study, and the few inquiries which passed for an investigation had failed to reveal resources in the family which would have enabled the court to make a prompt and satisfactory solution of the case.

With a staff of any size, it is necessary that supervision of the investigations shall be provided, and that the investigators shall be specially trained to recognize the points essential to an adequate understanding of the child and his environment.

The determination of mental level alone is of little value as a guide to the judge in determining what shall be done in a particular case. The child's reactions to his home, his school, and other environment, his emotional traits and mental habits, the early experiences which may have a hidden but serious effect upon his present conduct, must be understood. Herein lies the most constructive possibility of making the court a really effective instrument in the control and modification of conduct. But facilities for this comprehensive study of the

child are available in very few courts, and workers must be trained and plans must be devised for making such service available to the smaller courts as well as to the larger.

Even though there be a complete basic study of the child, the recommendations cannot be made effective unless the court has at its disposal a variety of methods of care suited to the needs. The more complete the knowledge of the child, the wider must be the range of dispositions available. In too many courts at the present time only two alternatives present themselves if the case is considered sufficiently serious to require more than admonition: A stereotyped system of probation, or commitment to the usual type of institution for delinquent children. It is not within the power of the court alone to provide the resources needed for successfully carrying on its work. We are only beginning to appreciate the possibilities of placing certain types of delinquent children in specially selected and carefully supervised family homes or in small institutions in which the usual disciplinary regime gives place to training designed to develop the greatest possible amount of initiative, self-reliance, and self-control.

PROBATION.

In most courts the probation staff is deplorably inadequate, as to numbers at least. The court must depend on the public treasury for its equipment, and economy usually governs appropriations of this kind. Probation, including investigation and supervision, can be effective only when the worker has a fair chance to deal with each case as well as he knows how. Probation fails because it is not properly applied; in all case-work we *know* so much better than we have a chance to *do*. The probation officer with one to two hundred children under his supervision might be able to do an effective piece of work with from half to a third of this number; he might, by making wise selection of those needing special attention, carry the whole group through with fair success. But if to this is added the task of making investigations and general court duties, the probation officer is not to be blamed if he fails to find time to get acquainted with the resources of the community and enlist them in his aid. He is like a physician, rushing around and dosing all his patients, who occasionally pulls one through a crisis, but never has the time to go into conditions thoroughly enough to restore them to normal health.

In one large court—and it is one of the most respected—we are frankly told: "Our staff can hardly make a beginning in probation work, they have so many other duties." In this

court the situation was faced, and an effort was made to utilize the volunteer probation services offered by private agencies and individuals. Frequently officers who have only half or even less of their time available for actual probation work are loaded up with cases on which they cannot possibly hope to work effectively. Now and then one finds a court adhering closely to the policy of placing on probation only the number of cases that can be handled properly by the staff. This procedure is at least as logical as limiting the number of children committed to institutions, having some concern for their capacity and type of work.

The problem, of course, does not end there. Some means must be found for giving the necessary attention to the residue, as well as eventually securing the staff needed for the conduct of the court's proper work. Perhaps the next 20 years may provide the means of doing all the work well; at present the alternative too often is doing all of it poorly or a little of it well. Probation is in theory an accepted principle; in practice, how wanting!

THE PLACE OF THE JUVENILE COURT IN A COMMUNITY PROGRAM.

In the larger cities where there are available social agencies equipped for child protection and constructive work with families, the task of the court is far different from that in communities where there is no organized social action for child protection. But even in large cities, courts are found that fail to see the possibilities of co-operation with existing agencies. These courts attempt to assume the whole job of protective and constructive work, as well as the duties of understanding the cases that come before them, discovering the treatment best adapted to the correction of each child and providing probationary supervision. One of the biggest needs is the ability of the court to recognize its place in the child-welfare program of the community, and to utilize the agencies available, and let itself be understood and used by them. The fault lies, perhaps equally, with both sides. The real danger in having the court assume too wide a range of preventive and constructive activities lies in the almost inevitable neglect of its own immediate field of work.

Perhaps the most concrete evidence of relationship between juvenile delinquency and social conditions is to be found in the large percentage of children who come from broken homes or homes from which some element of ordinary parental restraint is lacking. The total delinquency cases coming before seven

courts in a year—involving almost 11,000 children—showed 40 per cent. coming from homes in which death, desertion, divorce or separation of the parents had disrupted the family.

Analysis of the home conditions in the 60 per cent. of the cases where both parents were living in the home would undoubtedly show, as analysis on a smaller scale has done, that in a large proportion of these cases the waywardness of the children is directly traceable to absence of the mother from the home because of outside employment, or to other abnormal conditions in the home.

The treatment of juvenile delinquency is by no means just a matter of disciplining the child for the offense that brought him to the attention of the court, nor even of directing his conduct into the right channels. Either the court must itself assume the task of general social practitioner, or it must utilize agencies equipped for this work.

THE COURT AND THE SCHOOLS.

In answer to the question: "Is the juvenile court passing?" I would say that the work of the juvenile court has barely begun. The main reason why it has not advanced further is that the schools and other forces of the community that should engage in constructive child-welfare work have as yet undertaken so small a part of the duties and neglected opportunities that lie before them. Treatment of conduct disorders when they first appear, and of attention to those early signs of adverse home conditions which forewarn of neglect or delinquency—and the schools have the most strategic approach here—have been neglected until the children must come before the court. Then it becomes a matter of patching instead of preventing the damage. In some cities the courts have begun to react against having truancy cases brought before them which might be adjusted by the school departments themselves so that the schools have had to face the job of handling the situation in a constructive way. A most encouraging sign of what can be accomplished is found in the few cities in which harmonious co-operation exists between the school department and the juvenile court.

The type of work that can be done by school departments with conduct problems before they become serious enough to be referred to the courts, is illustrated in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Seattle, and St. Louis, which are among the cities having specially organized school attendance departments. In these cities the school department works in close co-operation with the juvenile court. The increasingly effect-

ive work of the school attendance departments in handling their own cases undoubtedly accounts largely for the decrease in the proportion of cases referred to the juvenile courts by the schools. In Minneapolis this decrease was from 15.2 per cent. to 9.9 per cent. in a 4-year period; in St. Louis, during 7 years, the percentage dropped from 17.4 to 3.4. In accounting for this decrease, a St. Louis court report says: "It is in a large measure due to the fact that the school authorities look on truancy as essentially a school problem, to be handled within the school system itself. Special classes for truant children have been established, and boys are being kept away from court and out of the industrial school."

And even more important work can be done by the school authorities in recognizing and dealing with other forms of conduct problems, and thus save the children from serious waywardness or delinquency. The socializing of school attendance departments, and connecting the work of visiting teachers, under whatever name it may be called, with workers who understand the problems of the child in the school and in his home and neighborhood are important steps in the program for the prevention and constructive treatment of delinquency. Such work by the schools will have a profound influence on the number and types of cases that will need to come before the juvenile courts for more drastic action.

The extent of the field covered by juvenile courts is often not recognized. In the popular mind the juvenile court deals with delinquent children, acting as a benevolent guardian, and setting the child on a path to an upright career. Practically all juvenile courts have jurisdiction over cases of neglect and dependency as well as delinquency; many also have jurisdiction over cases of desertion and non-support, abandonment, of adults contributing to the delinquency or dependency of a child, or accused of offenses against children; adults violating child labor laws; adoptions; and proceedings for the support of children born out of wedlock. There is a marked tendency toward broadening the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, and toward the further step of including this court in a larger court dealing with all legal problems relating to the family.

In dependency cases, especially, a large proportion of the children are below school age. For 4 large cities 37 per cent., 48 per cent., 40 per cent., and 47 per cent. respectively of the children brought before the juvenile courts because of neglect or dependency were under 7 years of age. Of children brought before the juvenile courts of 7 large cities be-

cause of delinquency, 56 per cent. were between 7 and 14 years, and 44 per cent. were 14 years and over.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES.

The extent to which courts handle cases informally, through the chief probation officer or another member of the staff, is especially suggestive of possibilities in rural communities, where there is likely to be long delay before a case can be heard formally by the judge. But there are many pitfalls in this kind of work, under both urban and rural conditions. The chief dangers are the possible neglect of the serious consideration of the difficulties of children in remote districts that is given to city children to whom the facilities of the court are more available, and the slighting of investigation necessary to show what is the wisest plan for the child.

Probation work must penetrate to every part of the county and State, and it must include thorough investigation of conditions as well as the supervisory work that is usually understood under the term "probation." In rural communities lies perhaps a greater and more helpful field for successful work by volunteer probation officers than in the cities. In rural communities the court must be brought to the child. In this regard, the circuit system in Utah and the referee work of the juvenile commissioners as provided in the North Dakota law offer suggestive ideas for the solution of a problem that has probably not been solved successfully as yet in any rural community.

In small towns and rural communities the judge and probation officer must be general practitioners, for agencies equipped to handle problems coincident with delinquency or neglect, or to provide care needed for the children who come before the court, are not available. Theories in regard to the advisability of thorough study of the child can be carried out with the greatest difficulty, unless there are available clinics in centers possible of access, or properly qualified physicians who are willing to give their services. In rural sections the question is not one of utilizing the resources of the community, but of the resourcefulness of the probation officer in finding ways of meeting the situations.

Recently there came to our attention the case of 10 little boys, all of them less than 14 years of age, and 2 only 7 years old, who had been committed to the National Training School for a violation of a Federal law. They were brought to Washington, a 200-mile journey, handcuffed, in the custody

of a local constable. According to the law of the State from which they came, no child under 14 years of age could be committed to jail; but these 10 boys and a 5-year old child, later released, had been kept in jail for 3 weeks, awaiting hearing. This story can no doubt be duplicated in small town and rural communities of many of the States, in spite of the very general legal prohibition against detention in jail of children under 14 years or 16 years.

Detention is one of the most difficult problems in connection with juvenile court work in rural communities. When cases are few and distances great, long periods elapse between hearings. In the absence of a detention home, or available institution in which a child may be placed temporarily, the probation officer must often care for children in his own home or make some other plan for emergency care. The method of providing care in boarding homes pending hearing, which has been used so successfully in connection with the Juvenile Court of the Central District of Boston, may be suggested as possible of adaptation to the needs of small cities and towns. Where the situation does not warrant the establishment of a detention home for the temporary care of neglected and dependent children, and delinquent children pending court hearing, it would often be practicable to arrange for a boarding home located in the county seat or other convenient center, to be ready to receive such children when the emergency arose.

The question is raised as the prevalence in rural communities of delinquency and dependency in comparison with that found in large cities. The only statistical measure that can be produced is based on the comparative numbers of children brought before courts in communities having various populations. The Children's Bureau study, previously cited, furnished figures of interest on this point. The ratios of the numbers of children brought before courts in communities of specified size, during one year, to the total population of the areas served were as follows:

	Number of children brought before courts per 1,000 total population.
Cities of 100,000 or over, or counties containing such cities	8.3
Cities of 25,000 to 100,000 population, or counties containing such cities.....	2.0
Rural communities and counties containing cities of 25,000 and less.....	0.7

It will be generally conceded, however, that the delinquency

or neglect that finds its way into the courts does not represent the entire amount of such difficulty in the rural districts. Where courts are not readily available, or where it is known that nothing of constructive value will result if a case is reported, no action will be taken. That the types of offenses committed in rural districts and the number of children who require the services of the court are not comparable with conditions existing in large cities, does not make it any the less urgent that the protection should be available for each child needing it, and that bad conditions should be eliminated.

SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

Recent developments in social welfare activities forecast rapid progress in the field of juvenile court and probation work during the next few years. In a few States probation commissions or other State organizations have for a number of years been active in raising the standards of probation work. Within the past year or two there has been notable activity in this respect in several States. Indiana has this year provided for a State probation officer and an advisory Juvenile Commission. In Georgia, the State Department of Public Welfare reports that its campaign for making the juvenile court law effective has resulted in the establishment of 77 juvenile courts where only 8 existed a year previously. In other States, child-welfare boards or departments have assisted juvenile courts in various ways; in one State a field agent was employed especially for work in co-operation with juvenile courts of small town and rural sections. In county child-welfare work promoted by State departments, Alabama, North Carolina, and Minnesota are being eagerly watched by other States that are attempting to find a way of making their child-welfare laws effective through county organization, in co-operation with central machinery provided by the State.

One of the most hopeful indications of the present day is the eagerness with which those engaged in constructive social work, public or private, welcome opportunities to exchange ideas and experiences, and to formulate common standards of work. The Child Welfare Commission movement is evidence of this, and is accomplishing much in improving the laws relating to juvenile courts and public provision for children in need of special care. A recent development following the Juvenile Court Conference held jointly with the National Probation Association last June, has been the appointment by the Federal Children's Bureau of a committee to advise and co-operate

with the bureau in considering the standards which should govern juvenile court procedure and methods. This committee includes judges, probation officers, specialists in child study, and representatives of social agencies co-operating with the courts, and is somewhat representative of various geographical sections.

Legislation, conference, and agreement upon fundamental principles and methods cannot make the juvenile court an effective instrument for child welfare unless those directly responsible for the administration of the courts translate such principles into practice. By enlisting the co-operation of the other agencies of the community and urging upon the home and the school their fundamental responsibility for the prevention of delinquency and the upbuilding of character, the juvenile court can become a constructive as well as a remedial force.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 29.

COMMITTEE ON PRISON ADMINISTRATION.

SHOULD THE PRODUCTS OF PRISON INDUSTRIES BE
EXCLUSIVELY USED IN INSTITUTIONS
SUPPORTED WHOLLY OR PARTIALLY BY THE STATE?

By ALBERT H. VOTAW, SECRETARY THE PENNSYLVANIA PRISON SOCIETY.

If I should be required to give a definite categorical answer to the question, suggested as the caption of this article, I would without any hesitation respond—"NO."

Shall we make the regulations connected with such products applicable to all of the 48 States of the Union? To be equitable, "Yes."

If the public institutions of any State, or of any political subdivision thereof, shall consume, absorb, or otherwise utilize the products of prison industries, it will be unnecessary to find a general market for such products; but it must be understood that the manufacture of prison-made goods should not be restricted to the demand from such institutions, if thereby the opportunity of the prisoners to regular employment is prevented. And I am beginning to entertain the belief that a law requiring public institutions to purchase prison-made articles

or produce is unwise and inexpedient. Afford the institutions every opportunity to purchase such goods; but do not make such transactions compulsory. Coercion is akin to penalizing. The unwilling purchaser is a poor patron. Evasion of the law is a constant occurrence.

What is the alternative? The open market. How can this be managed to the best advantage? In the first place, the competition with free labor is practically negligible. Possibly the number of convict laborers has the relation to the laborers outside the walls of one to one thousand. If a thousand sheep are grazing on a ranch, how much more clover would be left for 999 if one should be taken from the herd? In the second place, the men behind the stockade are our brothers, sons and fellow-beings. For the benefit of the community they are excluded from society, but that does not imply restriction from labor. They should be considered under the same obligation to earn their maintenance as before. It is our duty to furnish them with employment, as their privilege of choosing their form of employment is greatly restricted.

But before formulating any regulations or announcing any fundamental principles, let us call the roll of the States, and note the employments, and what disposition is made of the products of prison labor. Inquiries were sent out to the Superintendent of Federal Prisoners, and to officials connected with the prisons in the 48 States of the Union. We have answers, giving the required information on behalf of the Federal Prisons, and from 46 of the 48 States.

Alabama.—The lease system, for which the State of Alabama has been so severely criticized, will cease to exist January 1, 1924.

Prisoners are employed in a cotton mill and the product is sold in the open market. They are about to construct another cotton mill for the purpose of making cloth for shirts. In connection therewith a shirt factory is to be established. Other industries are in contemplation. The products of these industries are sold not only to public institutions, but in the open market anywhere. No difficulty is encountered in disposing of the products. It is expected that these industries will be self-supporting.

Arkansas.—Industries exclusively agricultural. Cotton only sold in the open market.

Arizona.—Farm products; the surplus above the needs of the State prison to be sold in the open market. They also produce cotton, but are holding it for better prices. Some prisoners have been employed on the highways. Prisoners,

who are not regularly employed, make horsehair and silver trinkets to be sold on their own account. It is intended in the near future to establish a manufacturing plant for making shoes for the State Prison, the Industrial School and the Asylum for the Insane. Here the farm products are for State Account; manufactured goods are for State Use.

California.—Furniture, clothing, etc., manufactured for State use. Jute bags, their greatest and most profitable industry, are sold directly to the farmers of the State, who must make affidavit that the goods are for their own use, and not to be resold. This plan is a modification of the State-account system. During the last two years the sales of these jute bags have averaged \$700,000 each year. Prisoners are detailed for work on the State highways, and have given satisfaction. At Folsom, 225 acres are cultivated at a profit of near \$10,000 annually, but there is no report of sales outside the institution.

Colorado.—No manufacturing industries for commercial purposes. Clothing is made for the inmates.

Connecticut.—About sixty-five per cent. of the inmates of the State prison working under a contract with a shirt manufacturing concern. The earnings of the inmates, according to the last published report, were over \$123,000, a sum which paid nearly one-half of the maintenance of the institution. In the Reformatory the automobile markers are made by the inmates with much profit to the State. The shirts made at the penitentiary are sold in the open market by the company which contracts for the labor of the prisoners, and no difficulty has been found in securing a market. At the Boys' Reformatory considerable revenue is derived from the sale of shop products and agricultural produce.

Delaware.—The prisoners make a cheap grade of pants for a New York firm, which has no difficulty in disposing of the output. There is a farm, from which most of the food for the institution is procured. The honor system is very much in vogue in this institution.

Florida.—General agricultural products. Used in State institution. Surplus sold in open market. The product now is about \$80,000, and is liable to increase. The marketing is unattended with difficulties. Some prisoners employed on the public highways.

Georgia.—No special industries. Most prisoners on public roads, engaged in making or repairing the roadways of the State.

Idaho.—Manufacturing shoes for State institutions. "We

contemplate making footwear to be sold in the open market." Some farming, quarrying and stone work.

Illinois.—In three State penal institutions may be found a variety of industries, and a corresponding lack of idle hours wasted by the inmates within the walls. Among the manufactures are furniture, shoes, fiber work, knit products, brick and building stone. Limestone is crushed and sold to farmers at one dollar a ton. In order to effect a compromise with free labor, only 40 per cent. of the convicts may be employed in making articles to be sold in the open market. They deliver stone to the Highway Department free of charge. The State printing is done at the reformatory. Furniture and knit products are sold to any buyers. The farm produce is for domestic consumption. The gross sales for the year ending June 30, 1921, were \$833,953. The profits estimated on these sales amounted to \$238,323. This profit takes into account only the operation of the industries. We have had no statement of the general expenses connected with the upkeep of the penal institutions, and with the maintenance of the prisoners, but would infer that, taking all things into consideration, the penitentiaries are conducted at a loss to the State. We desire, however, to commend the business management of the prison industries and the care to provide employment for all the inmates.

Indiana.—Prison industries are granite cutting, fiber furniture, shirts, shoes, binder twine, hollow ware, brick, tile, limestone products. The products are to be sold to State institutions but the surplus, frequently the *major part* of the product, may be sold in the open market. The principal industries in the State Farm for Misdemeanants, an institution to which those heretofore confined in the county jails for short terms are sent, are farming, quarrying and brick and tile making. This institution in 1920 returned over \$21,000 to the State Government. So far no difficulty has been experienced in disposing of the products.

Iowa.—There are two industries maintained in the State prisons of Iowa, the manufacture of butter tubs and of chairs. These have been sold in the open market, mostly in Iowa, but many firms outside of the State have been purchasers. They have recently had a little difficulty with factories making the same kind of goods on account of the general depression in business. At the reformatory, printing, binding and tailoring are considerable industries, the products being sold to other public institutions. In the year ending June 30, 1920, the sales of the various industrial departments were \$1,-

250,000, the net profit of which was estimated at \$45,000. For the same period the value of the agricultural products is given at over \$350,000.

Kansas.—The industries consists of coal mining, a brick plant, a twine plant, and farming. The coal and bricks are used by the State; the twine is sold in the open market. While they may sell some live stock, the products of the farm are mostly consumed at the State Prison.

Kentucky.—There are six companies which contract for most of the prison labor in Kentucky. Shirts, shoes, chairs, brooms and horse goods are manufactured. The State, naturally, is not concerned in the disposal of the products. Eight road camps employ 300 convicts, and for purposes of highway work the State has precedence over the contract companies in securing the men.

Louisiana.—On the State Penal Farms, sugar and rice are cultivated and sold in the market precisely on the same terms as such products from any other plantation in the State. They have an immense sugar plantation at Angola, capable of producing 135 barrels per day. The Louisiana State Penitentiary is self-sustaining, no money being taken from the State Penitentiary for maintenance.

Maine.—Prisoners are engaged in farming, making harness, brooms and wood-working. Products are sold in the open market when not used in the institution. Sales unattended with friction.

Maryland.—In this State some features of the old contract system remain. Under this plan, the penitentiaries of the State practically support themselves.

Massachusetts.—A pamphlet of 35 pages, issued by the Department of Correction of the Commonwealth, gives a descriptive list of goods made in the prisons of the State. This list contains aluminum articles (64 numbers), bedding (including mattresses, pillows, sheets, spreads, cases), brushes (14 kinds subdivided into 79 varieties), clothing (a large assortment, the descriptions occupying 7 pages of the catalog), shoes (16 kinds), oak furniture for offices and hospitals (we did not notice school furniture), flags and galvanized ware. This list is sent to all officials of the Commonwealth, counties, cities and towns. These officials must purchase the prison-made goods, if they can be supplied. The surplus may be sold to the public. I quote from the report of an official. "We have no trouble in marketing these goods, except occasionally some manufacturer of the same article complains that we sell goods below their prices. But it is our

endeavor, and the law requires, that we mark our prices according to the prevailing wholesale prices."

Michigan.—I quote directly from the concise report of Warden Hulburt: "We have a binder twine plant, monument shop, furniture factory, cannery, brick and tile plant, machine shops, wood shops, harness, shoe and tailor shops. Part of the goods are sold on the open market. Some of them are sold in the State institutions. It is a man-sized job the same as though running industrial plants outside. We have the same difficulties."

Minnesota.—In this State they do things. The prisoners manufacture binding twine, agricultural implements, and do some farming. Their net sales, according to the latest report on hand, were over \$5,000,000. Income over expenses \$594,000. Each man earned, over expense, \$538.36 for the year. They have paid the inmates \$188,000, a large part of which has been forwarded to the dependent families and relatives. These facts concern the State Prison at Stillwater. At St. Cloud Reformatory various industries are maintained, and the net profit on this account was over \$12,000 for the year ending July 1, 1920. So far as financial management is concerned, the Stillwater Prison is the most prosperous prison in the United States. They sell the twine and the farming implements to the general public and for the State account. They make little or no apology to the International Harvester Company, or to the various labor organizations. The men have their periods of recreation, and opportunities for further education are not denied. While it has been said by way of criticism that most of the men will not follow the same trade or kind of work they have engaged in at the State Prison, it also may be stated that the habits formed by a connection with a great and successful enterprise will be of vast benefit to them whatever they may undertake in the future.

Mississippi.—State account system, and no difficulty with the marketing. All convicts on farms, and the products are sold in the open market. The chief product is cotton. The net profit for the two years ending June 30, 1919, was \$1,309,405. The last two years may show a considerable decrease, as the value of the cotton crop has depreciated.

Missouri.—The products of prison industries are clothing, shoes, brooms and novelties made from scrap leather and cloth, thus using what might be the waste of the industries first on the list. Goods sold both to State institutions and to jobbers

at prevailing prices. Combination of State Use and State Account systems.

Montana.—No report has been received.

Nebraska.—The prison industries are farming, stock-raising, road-building and the manufacture of fiber furniture. Products are sold in the open market and to other State institutions. The labor unions have asked that such products be stamped. The Commission resists this. On account of the opposition, the broom factories, several of which were established in the State, have caused the cessation of the broom industry in the prisons. They have little or no trouble in marketing the prison goods, which they are now selling to the general public.

Nevada.—The industries of the State prison are connected with their own needs. They make nothing to sell outside of the institution. They have a ranch which furnishes much of the dairy products used in the prison. A new State prison is in process of construction, on which they avail themselves of the labor of prisoners.

New Hampshire.—Some form of contract labor is in vogue.

New Jersey.—The State Use plan has been in effect for several years. The catalogue of products made by the prisons of the State exhibits a large variety of prison industries. Among them may be noted printing, manufacture of shoes, clothing, furniture, tinware, iron ware; also agricultural products. In past years they have occasionally had some difficulty in marketing the products to the State institutions, so that some officials of the State have declared in favor of the State Account system for certain products. That means that they wish the privilege of selling certain specified articles in the general market. An official report states that the development of the State Use system and its successful operation depends upon:

1. Efficient management and effective co-ordination of the work of every department in the institution.
2. Proper classification and assignment of inmates according to mental age, physical fitness and ability to receive instruction.
3. A strict adherence to the merit-marking system, which provides a reward for effort, conduct and work.
4. The degree of efficiency exercised in the general physical care of the inmates in the care and cleanly condition of clothes, bedding, cells, shops and institution.
5. The proper feeding of inmates, preparation and distribution of food.
6. The strict enforcement of the disciplinary measures, as provided for in the merit-marking system, by loss of privileges and demotions.

7. The training and educational value of the industry, and the standards set for eligibility for employment in the industries. Employment in the industries should be made a privilege and an incentive for the prisoner to work out from the labor occupations, through the school and into the industries.

8. The establishment of graded wage-payments which will enable the inmate to earn an advance in wages, in accordance with the effort shown and progress made in the industry, or proficiency shown in work to which the inmate has been assigned.

New Mexico.—The prison industries in this State seem largely to consist of the manufacture of brick and lime. These products are sold in the open market, and they have no difficulty in disposing of their goods. The earnings of the convicts in 1919 were estimated at over \$52,000.

New York.—In the Empire State we find a high development of the State Use system. So far we have not learned that any prison-made product of this State can be sold in the open market. Some years ago we were informed that the various public institutions of the State were spending annually about \$20,000,000 for supplies, and that of this amount the prisons were manufacturing supplies to the value of \$1,000,000. A Prison Survey Committee, within the last year or two, has made an exhaustive report with regard to the prison industries and production. They criticise the unsanitary condition of many of the prison shops, the "darkness, dullness and cheerlessness of the atmosphere." They also fear that the work in which the prisoners are employed will not fit them for any service after they have left the prison. They insist that the State factory laws should be enforced in prison shops. This means that workers should not be subject to dangers to life and limb. They also believe that the production might be greatly increased, "because there is an abundant market for a much larger amount of prison products than are now manufactured." While they criticise some features of the work, they do not advocate a return to the old contract system. The present amount of production is but a small percentage of the potential market for such goods.

North Carolina.—No report has been received.

North Dakota.—The State Prison operates three industries; a twine and cordage plant, a brick yard and a 900-acre farm. The products of these industries are sold in the open market, on the condition that they must be sold within the State so long as there is a market in the State which will take care of the products. Goods may be sold to the State institutions, but at the same rate as to private parties. They have no difficulty in securing a market for their goods. This year

the prisoners made 3,000,000 pounds of binding twine, and the profits from the twine plant paid all expenses of the prison. Under date of September 7, 1921, they have a surplus of \$300,000 after paying for the cost of the installing of machinery, building, etc., in the twine plant.

Ohio.—A very brief report from Ohio states that prison products are sold under the State-use system. Some years ago a superintendent of one of the reformatories in that State told me that he could not dispose of any surplus of farm products to anyone except other public institutions, even though it entailed a loss.

Oklahoma.—A report regarding the prisons of this State states: "We manufacture brick, twine, automobile tags, shoes, work clothes, tinware, brooms, mattresses, wagons and other small articles used in the State institutions. We also farm something over three thousand acres of land now, and can vegetables and fruits for our own consumption, and make our own molasses. We supply automobile tags to the State Highway Department, and our brick and twine are sold in the open market. The other products are sold principally to the State institutions of this State, and our own use. Our selling organization is working smoothly and we have no difficulty in marketing our output."

Oregon.—Machinery for making raw flax straw into fiber gives employment to about fifty men. In the summer time they manufacture brick. Their farm of 400 acres provides employment for about twenty men. Produce is sold in the open market, and they have no difficulty in the sale thereof. Preferably they sell to other institutions, but are unrestricted. Evidently they do not have regular employment for all of their convicts.

Pennsylvania.—The State Use system is in vogue in this commonwealth. In the Eastern Penitentiary three-fourths of the prisoners are without employment. However, the building of the Western Penitentiary in the central part of the State, and the working of a large farm in connection therewith, have given employment to a much larger proportion than in the sister penitentiary in Philadelphia. In some of the counties of the State, prisoners have some form of employment, but idleness is the main defect of the prisons of Pennsylvania. Industries are shoemaking, hosiery, making automobile tags, and a few other minor things. Under a recent law, providing for the establishment of a Public Welfare Commission, which will embrace a bureau with special reference to the management of prisons, and the establishment of prison industries, we hope

that in the near future we can report great progress in the Keystone State.

Rhode Island.—The State prisons in Rhode Island are self-sustaining except for the salaries of the officials. The industries are shirt making, printing, manufacture of clothing and farming. In the open market they sell shirts, and have no difficulty in making sales. Farm products are sold to other institutions.

South Carolina.—In this State the leading industry is agriculture, which has been very profitable. Within the prison walls, they operate a chair factory, which is reported to be a successful enterprise. There is no restriction whatever on the marketing of the goods; neither do they have difficulty in disposing of their products.

South Dakota.—The principal industry is the manufacture of binding twine, which is sold in the open market. They have no difficulty in disposing of the product. The State prison is not yet self-supporting.

Tennessee.—The State owns coal mines and forest lands, operated at a profit by prisoners. The product is sold on the open market. In the main State prison the contract system prevails, and the profits arising from the various industries meet all expenses, and usually there is a large credit balance.

Texas.—The State of Texas operates 11 penal farms, and also a State Penitentiary. We have no statistics with regard to these farms. The main industry is the raising of cotton.

Utah.—The following report has been received regarding the prisons of this State: "At present time we are not maintaining any industry in our prison, outside of some miscellaneous work in the manufacture of hair goods, performed by the inmates of their own volition. We conduct a prison farm, which employs during the summer season some twenty-five or thirty of our inmates, and sometimes sell some of the product raised on said farm. I might say incidentally that until the present year a number of our convicts have been engaged in road building for the State."

Vermont.—"Our men here are employed at making shoes, the State receiving so much per pair from an outside concern for all shoes made, and these shoes are sold by this company in the open market. A number of our men are worked on the State Farm, and at State road building, this employment taking nearly half our inmate population at this time."

Virginia.—They have recently installed machinery for the manufacture of clothing and of wooden articles, and have also equipped an establishment for printing. Products are to be

sold to the other institutions of the State, and up to this time they have not succeeded in finding an enthusiastic market. In due time they expect also to establish a shoemaking industry. I believe the contract system has recently been abolished in this State.

Washington.—A report on prison industries of this State reads as follows: "We operate a mill for the manufacture of jute fabrics, the principal item of which is grain sacks. These are sold on the open market in competition with sacks manufactured by private corporations in this country and those manufactured in India. We are also manufacturing some of the clothing used by inmates of other State institutions, and expect within a year to be manufacturing all of the clothing used by the inmates of our State institutions. We have on the way to use machinery to equip a plant to manufacture shoes for the inmates of our State institutions. It is also the plan of our State Department of Business Control to install other industries at this institution, so that the labor of all our inmates will be used in some productive industry."

West Virginia.—The industries consist in the manufacture of shirts, whips, washers, pans and brooms, all of which may be sold in the open market; and they have no difficulty in disposing of the products, either within the State or elsewhere.

Wisconsin.—The following report has been received from R. M. Coles, Warden of the Wisconsin State Prison:

"The Wisconsin State Prison has been self-sustaining the past 7 years. The past 3 years the operation expenses exceeded the profits, but the profits of the preceding years would warrant us in saying the prison is self-sustaining.

INDUSTRIES.

(A) State Use—Farms:

1. Approximately 2,300 acres. Butter and cheese for State Institutions.

Canning industry supplying canned goods for State institutions.
Pork and farm products for prison.

2. Automobile license plates.

Making auto plates for State departments.

3. Printing department.

Printing for State departments.

(B) State Account System and Prison Use System:

1. Shoe industry.

Shoes for all State and county institutions.

Over production sold to jobbers.

(C) State Account System:

1. Binder twine industry.

This is the largest industry conducted by the State. The profits from this industry have made the prison self-sustaining.

Sold in open market.

*(D) Contract System:*1. *Hosiery*

Provides employment for a class that could not be trusted on farms and provides employment for surplus labor. Regulated and controlled by prison officials. Products sold in open market.

We have always been able to dispose of prison products. This requires the same careful business management as any other business corporation."

Wyoming.—Reports show that the manufacture of shirts is practically the only industry maintained in the State prison. This industry is administered under the contract system.

The Federal Government.—In all the Federal penitentiaries there are established industries which are similar to those operated and administered in the State prisons, but recently the Government has established a mill at the Atlanta Penitentiary for the manufacture of cotton duck, with the intention of selling the product to the Post Office Department, Navy Department, War Department and the Shipping Board. No goods are to be sold in the open market. Five hundred prisoners are employed in this mill, which is fully equipped with the latest textile machinery. The annual capacity is 4,500,000 yards under normal operation. Men who work in these mills receive a bonus. In the month of August, 1921, the bonus allotment was \$2,148.13, of which amount—

Sent to dependents.....	\$736.23
Paid to men at time of release.....	507.68
Credited to individual accounts.....	904.22
	\$2,148.13

The Acting Superintendent of Federal Prisons reports: "The record of the enterprise may be said to have demonstrated that a grade of goods may be produced which compares creditably with any made under outside conditions, and that such an enterprise possesses a value from an educational and exemplary standpoint, in that it inculcates a respect for legitimate business, and a confidence in the prisoner that honest toil brings proper recompense, besides teaching a lucrative trade."

We may "point with pride" to the increasing number of States which to a greater or lesser extent have adopted the State-account system. Ten years ago the drift of practice and opinion was in the direction of the State-use system, whereby convicts were employed in manufacturing articles, or raising produce, to be sold only to other public institutions of any

given State. Six States only are now reporting an exclusive adherence to this plan. They are among our largest States, namely: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, New Jersey and Idaho. In the latter State, however, we learn that soon a prison industry is to be established, the product of which is to be sold in the open market. In the State of New Jersey some of the prison managers are quite ready to introduce some features of the State-account system. Since the contract system has been abolished in so many States, the former objections of the labor organizations to unrestricted sale of prison products is largely obviated.

It will be noted that only seven States report the continuance of the contract system.

Twenty-nine States sell prison-made goods in the open market.

No State has reported the use of that method of human slavery known as the lease system, with the exception of Alabama, but we rejoice to report that this infamous method of employing prisoners will be abolished January 1, 1924.

In the State of Illinois but 40 per cent. of the prisoners may be employed in making articles for the open market. In the State of Pennsylvania this percentage was at one time placed at 35 per cent., but by recent statutes the open market is entirely forbidden in the State prisons. However, all prisoners may be employed in manufacturing goods for use in public institutions. On October 1, 1909, there were reported to be in the United States 2,900 *idle* able-bodied prisoners of whom 2,079 were in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The Keystone State shows some progress since that time; but deplorable conditions still exist. The percentage of idleness is still far greater in Pennsylvania than in any other State. Under the leadership of Mr. E. J. Lafferty, Chief of the new Bureau of Restoration, which includes within its scope the prison industries, we hope soon to have another sort of report to make. Already plans are under way to enlarge the shops at the penitentiaries and to increase production. Since 1914 a large penal farm of 8,000 acres has employed a large number of men from both penitentiaries.

Mr. Sewall Key, who is the Acting Superintendent of Federal Prisons, declares that the effect of employing the prisoners in a substantial business enterprise, conducted under sound business management, from which they derive a share of the profits, has been noticeable in the improved morale.

To exploit the prisoners merely for profit to the State is a vicious policy, and has no reforming influence. To be en-

gaged in business undertakings, conducted sanely and successfully, whether for State-use or State-account, presents opportunities for development of skill and character of the workmen, and is desirable, whether considered from the economic standpoint, or for the corrective advantages.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 29.

JUVENILE REFORMATORY SECTION.

THE BOYS OF TODAY ARE THE MEN OF TOMORROW.

By H. H. TODD, SUPERINTENDENT STATE INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL, NEW YORK.

The citizens of these United States received a mental jolt in the laconic message from across the seas, "America, Wake Up." If the World War served no other purpose, it awakened in us an astounding realization of our short-comings, and showed us a condition of unpreparedness as to the efficiency of our man power and materials almost incredible of belief. The various plans of inducting men into the service produced no dearth of material, but it was quantity minus quality, and it set us back. The spirit of the day, however, brought forth individuals who were able to take this great mass of human material and by almost Herculean effort, in a comparatively short time, by drastic processes of elimination and a rigid application of the principle of the "survival of the fittest," to produce with characteristic American energy and zeal an organization whose power was felt in every quarter of the globe. This great mass of raw material not only lacked ability, but it lacked morale. Who was to blame? The men of today had been neglected as boys of yesterday, and the bill was high.

The World War showed thousands of our men wherein they were incompetent to "stand the gaff," and awakened in them a determination that their boys of today shall be different men of tomorrow, and that they, themselves, must seek a readjustment making for a better citizenship. The examination of body and soul too these men underwent is bound to spell a better present generation of manhood, and its effect upon the generation to follow should mean not only fewer neglected boys but fewer neglected girls as well.

When this government found that it could no longer subscribe to the theory that "we are too proud to fight," it had

to engage in war as a business. It soon became apparent that square holes were being filled by round pegs and that many of the pegs slipped through the holes. What happened? Men, whose profession is the study of men, were called together and they developed a human sorting machine. It should be to the interest of every child welfare worker, every social worker, and every institution worker to know what was accomplished and how it was done. The government has published in two volumes, entitled "The Personnel System of the United States Army," the results of their labors. Some startling figures are presented.

I quote from volume I, page 9, the following, which was typical of conditions elsewhere:

"Ninety-eight per cent. of the recruits sent to Camp Taylor from a certain district in Gary, Ind., could not understand the English language. Six per cent. of all recruits claiming trade skill actually had the proficiency of experts in their trade. About one-half of one per cent. of all the recruits were so stupid, so near the border line of intelligence, that they could not learn soldiering at all and had to be returned to their homes. Some recruits were cowardly shirkers, posing as conscientious objectors; others were really conscientious objectors, sane and sincere but determined; still others were equally sincere, perhaps, but so cranky and egocentric and unstable that they needed to be treated like borderline cases of insanity. At Camp Devins, Mass., and Camp Lewis, Wash., more than 20 per cent. of the soldiers, a surprisingly high fraction of the total, had the native ability and high intelligence required in Army officers. Thousands of the new soldiers were physically unfit to take the training in combat units until they had first spent some weeks in the Development Battalions."

Illustrations might be given ad infinitum showing the individual differences or variations of physique, temperament, mental alertness, knowledge, previous training, integrity, interest, skill, stamina and similar traits, every one of which contributes toward the determination of a soldier's place of greatest usefulness. What a wonderful formula for the youth of today or any other day. It is difficult to appreciate the tremendous task which confronted the authorities in sorting the chaff from the wheat, and then grading the wheat, at a time when time was priceless.

Commenting upon the type of men who were called upon to do this work, the report says:

"The Committee on Classification of Personnel was headed by a psychologist, Col. Walter Dell Scott, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the original members of that Committee were university psychologists, men trained for years in the observation and scientific study of human nature in its varied aspects. These scientists, like most Americans, knew next to nothing about war, but they did know men. They had concentrated their attention for years

on the measurement of human traits and the determination of capacities. They realized more acutely than others the magnitude and range of the differences between people; and they had certain elements of technique in the determination of abilities which they knew could be adopted to military requirements."

I will venture a prediction that the time is not far distant when psychological clinics will be general, and that intelligent parents will not only be willing but eager to submit their children for periodic tests suitable to their years, as a matter of parental satisfaction and precaution. When that time comes parenthood will have assumed a practical aspect that does not prevail today, and there will be fewer heartrending disappointments. Parental ambition may have forecast the church, the bar, or finance as Johnny's goal. The way may be shown to such parents before it is too late that this young hopeful would make a better blacksmith, pedagogue or politician. There would be fewer misfits and blind alley protégés. Qualities of leadership would be disclosed, inventive genius would be encouraged, and a safer and saner manhood would dominate.

If the State has the right to go into any home and take out any child for reasons sufficient unto the law, why does not the same authority make it compulsory upon the parent to produce his child at stated places and intervals for the kind of an examination that will disclose his weak points and bring out the strong ones? In these days the child sent to an institution cannot avoid this process of stock taking, so to speak, of his abilities or shortcomings. If this had happened to him in his earlier years he might have been saved from the institution. It is a common aphorism that the purposes of the juvenile court are to prevent, not to punish; to reform not to chastise. The truth is that the prevention of criminal tendencies in the young, and a noted English authority claims that we are all born with criminal tendencies, and the reformation of the juvenile offender properly rests on other than legal consideration.

In the annual report of the Juvenile Court of Syracuse, N. Y., for the year 1918, appears the statement:

"Our hope is that soon the Juvenile Court may cease to be a forum and become a laboratory where the wayward child is placed under the microscope of science, his heredity studied, his environment investigated, his mentality tested, his social disease diagnosed, and the appropriate treatment prescribed. The causes of juvenile incorrigibility are becoming definitely known. The large percentage of feeble-minded criminals indicates that if these individuals had been placed in proper institutions during childhood, this class of criminals would be largely eliminated.

Many are made criminals through improper environment, where ignorance, poverty, vice, brutality, lack of opportunity for healthful play, and other circumstances too numerous to mention, are potent influences."

But our system does not permit all of these things to be found out until after something happens, and then the buck is passed to the institution. It has been said that in order to get the best and most out of the State, one must be handicapped by being either anti-socially objectionable or physically unable to function the daily routine of life.

Victor Hugo said: "Open a school and you close a prison." This is a beautiful theory, but how many of us here know from personal experiences of social outcasts whose career originated in these self-same schools? More than one man behind the steel bars today can trace his first experience in wrong-doing to the school of his youth where the unsympathetic teacher with the vinegar aspect, the teacher who lacked tact and an understanding of the gospel of good fellowship, presided. You cannot blame a red-blooded boy, particularly if he is not book-minded, from wanting to get away from such an atmosphere. The kind of a school that forces a boy to adapt himself to the school curriculum, rather than to find out what the boy needs and adjust itself to meet his requirements, has sent more than one boy on his way to a life of deceit, chicanery and deception. This is not a general condemnation of schools for without them we would soon become a race of savages, but the art of school-teaching is a God-given gift, and the business of preparing and selecting teachers should be surrounded with such safeguards that it would be impossible for the temperamentally unfit even to gain access to the most sacred temple in the land, the schoolhouse. From the standpoint of the institution, its most serious obligation to its wards should be its school department. All possible pressure should be brought to bear upon legislative authorities to secure adequate funds for upon legislative authorities to secure adequate funds for hiring and retaining the best teachers available, teachers that have been singularly successful elsewhere. The academic department of an institution should never be a training school for inexperienced teachers, for the fact must not be lost sight of that the institution child is, in most cases, one everyone else has failed to do anything with or for, and expert aid in instruction, is his only salvation. Boys who are lost, are invariably those who have no backers caring a tinker's hurrah for anything beyond the service they can render and the money that they can turn in. This is especially true of the boy without parents or other closely related relatives. Any

plan for saving souls is expensive but the cost should not be considered, for a boy saved is a man gained, and we need men.

Much juvenile delinquency would be avoided, if in the early training of children, parents and other grown-ups would more often see things that children do from the child's point of view. We expect children to see things from a mature point of view, and we haven't gumption enough to realize that a boy is an embodiment of energy and must find outlet for the pent-up forces within him. It is a thoroughly natural process which we fail to recognize, and a boy's outbreaks are often due to a physiological cause which parents overlook, sometimes from indifference but more often from ignorance. A boy must have action, action, and more action, the literal interpretation of which is play, but limitations and restrictions are at once thrown around him by parental and municipal regulations, and trouble begins. The spirit of "wanderlust" is ever present, and it is not always under control even when childhood and youth are but memories.

Things of action and opportunities for action have strong fascinations for all boys. They love excitement, adventure, and danger—anything in which there is action. They are immune from fear, and they are practically incapable of appreciating consequences, simply because they are boys—immature, growing creatures. They balk at any restrictions which describe the limits of their activity. Boys take delight in pets because they are alive and can move. Boys guard with jealous care all sorts of animal life. A boy does queer and unusual things because he is a boy. He lives in his own world, a world that is filled with illogical ideas and strange notions. He craves companionships and associations which older people make light of, and the boy's fertile brain comes to his relief. Why not understand and sympathize with him instead of combating him?

We are daily coming to a realizing sense of the importance of play both for old and young. It is nature's most effective tonic. The playground of the majority of children, however, is the street and almost all crime is traceable to the street tuition, not only from the standpoint of play, but work, too. Child crime begins with playing in the street in violation of the law, and in forbidden places under conditions of trespassing. The first arrest is normally a punishment for attempt to play. This condition presses on a child's life in all the tenement districts and develops resistance on the part of the children. Not only are statutory crimes of fighting and stealing regarded as play by the children, but the more innocent

kinds of play, like baseball, are, in law, at times and in places regarded as a crime and punishable. This is not a defect of child character, nor a mere stupidity of law, but is a real condition, inherent in the fact that the street with its traffic, and the street front with its stores and windows, are the only playground of 95 per cent. or more of the city's children.

There is a period in every boy's life when he objects to being led or forced to do that which is contrary to his notions, or distasteful. It is not always an exhibition of parental intelligence to insist that children shall do certain things, simply because the parent thinks he must assert his authority. The same parent must not forget that his offspring is a pretty shrewd and accurate critic, and he must remember the injunction about "flesh and fowl" when he does something which is naughty. Boys are keen critics and reliable imitators, two very important elements in the education of the young and a continuous process with all of us. It is highly desirable, therefore, to utilize the duty from which we cannot escape by setting up a perfect copy for imitation.

Many a boy follows the gang because other boys do, and he is at once universally labeled a "bad boy." Someone has said that 50 per cent. of all boys are born to be failures, according to the standard that when a boy becomes a man of 40, he must have learned a trade, become self-supporting, be married, raise a family and vote honestly at election. Somebody else has added that, according to his standard, 75 per cent. are failures. Statistics show, however, that only 1 in 2,000 is predestined to be bad from birth, when all the fates are against him.

Now, what is to be done? First of all, the boy must be regarded as a human being entitled to certain rights and privileges which demand consideration. It is too long to wait until he is old enough to force himself on our attention before we begin to wake up to the fact that he is no longer an infant. He is not a "little man" as our ancestors were continually telling him that he must be, but a very different thing. The child is not a mind; he is a small active body of senses and muscles.

The boy must have an outlet for the animal nature that is in him. This means both work and play. A boy will work just as hard as he plays, provided he is not driven to it and kept at it. Therefore use every effort at your command for the establishment of playgrounds, whether privately or publicly maintained, and see that they are conducted by people who know how to enter into the spirit of play, who are boys themselves. There is a splendid field here for the

church. Open your gymnasiums and club houses to the boy who is on the outside. Go after him! Be careful, however, not to lay too much stress upon the advantages of religious association. All that you need to do is to be leaders, and the boys will follow. The average street boy has no place to go except that which he finds for himself. Put yourself in his way. In the common vernacular of the day "get next to him," gain his confidence, and he will let you find the place for him.

The great trouble with many church organizations today is that they don't want the so-called bad boy to come in for fear that he will contaminate the good children already in. Would the Master have limited his sphere of influence to those who need it least? Why wouldn't it be a charitable plan to get the wayward boy in some way under the protection of the church and let him become "contaminated" with some of its goodness? A very large percentage of our churches make the fatal mistake of having "open house" on Sunday only. Not a day should pass that its doors are not open. Why shouldn't the clubhouse idea prevail for the young? Why shouldn't the church be a community center? Why shouldn't the church include in its equipment a moving picture outfit, bowling alleys, billiard and pool tables, and rooms for other games? Some critical minds will say that you are inviting the young to learn games that are inseparable from places that you would not want your son to patronize, and having learned how to play they will become frequenters of these objectionable places. Such diversions are sometimes considered as sinful practices because they are usually an adjunct of a saloon. To my mind this is all nonsense. The surroundings and environment which one puts about him are the sinful features, not the games.

Recreation is as necessary for the boy as oil is for an engine. Neglect properly to lubricate any mechanical contrivance and what happens? You know, especially if you own an automobile. And so with the boy. His recreation needs just as much thought, planning and supervision as any other phase of his development.

Every boy likes a chum. Such a person he will take into his confidence, if he gets into difficulty, much more quickly than he will his parents. I am thoroughly convinced that if every grown up would take under his protecting wing one boy, the troublesome boy proposition would be very near a solution. Make yourself a big brother to some boy who needs help, cheer and guidance, and interest some friend to do like-

wise. Follow it up on the endless chain plan. Your reward will be the satisfaction of actually having lived the Golden Rule, and the boys of today will be men of tomorrow, into whose hands the destiny of the future can be entrusted with safety.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 29.

PRISON PHYSICIANS' SECTION.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF AN
INSTITUTION FOR THE SEGREGATION OF
DEFECTIVE DELINQUENTS.

By WALTER N. THAYER, JR., SUPERINTENDENT INSTITUTION FOR DEFECTIVE
DELINQUENTS, NAPANOCH, NEW YORK.

The Institution for Defective Delinquents at Napanoch, New York, which occupies the plant formerly used as a reformatory, represents the first effort on the part of any State or government to segregate this type of offender under conditions designed to safeguard society as well as to afford special advantages for his care and training.

It seems a far cry from the murder of an Austrian nobleman to the abandonment of a New York Reformatory; from the declaration of war by Germany to the establishment of an institution for defective delinquents in New York State; but the fact is, that if it had not been for these events, the reformatory would not have been superseded by the last mentioned institution, at least not at this time.

The summer of 1914 found New York penal and correctional institutions full almost to capacity, with every indication that old institutions would have to be enlarged or rebuilt and new institutions constructed to care for the ever-increasing number of delinquents. Industrial conditions throughout the country were at a normal level, and the usual number of defectives and delinquents were failing to live up to the standard set by society, and taking the usual method to augment their earnings with the usual result that many were committed to institutions.

In July, 1914, occurred the Serbian tragedy. Europe was at war; her factories and farms ceased production except for war purposes, and the United States was called upon to supply the deficit. Then ensued in this country an era of marked industrial prosperity, with high prices for labor and its products.

With the increase of industrial prosperity in the United States came a proportionate decrease in the number of commitments to penal institutions, a reduction always noted in highly prosperous times. In 1917, when the United States entered the war, it became even more marked, as every man of service age who approached the normal in mentality and physique was inducted into the Army or Navy, while the defective individual seemed to be able to secure work at high wages regardless of his inefficiency.

No marked change in this condition was apparent up to December, 1920. High prices for labor continued, and the unskilled and defective still found highly lucrative employment. The high rates of compensation lessened the economic stress of this type of labor, and made less frequent its resort to criminal acts for the purpose of acquiring the means with which to enjoy the standard of living desired.

At this time, the prisons and reformatories had a population equal to about one-half their capacities, and the impression became current in some quarters that the world had undergone such a change as to make it doubtful whether we would ever again need all the facilities of which we were possessed to house and care for the delinquent. It was but natural, therefore, that the New York State legislature of 1921, should seriously consider the closure of several of the State institutions and the transfer of their populations to other institutions of similar character.

The Eastern New York Reformatory at Napanoch was one of the institutions selected for closing. Its population was at such a low point that it could easily, even advantageously, be absorbed by the larger institution at Elmira. This would leave empty a modern institution of about five hundred capacity, but would enable the State to make an apparent saving of over \$150,000 in 1921-22.

For a number of years, the Commission for Mental Defectives, the State Commission of Prisons, the State Board of Charities, and other bodies of similar character had advocated the establishment of an institution for the segregation of mental defectives of the delinquent type, having in mind the relief not only of the reformatories and prisons, but also of the schools for mental defectives in which a considerable number of mental defectives of criminal proclivities were incarcerated. In one of these, located at Rome, were no less than 125 male defectives of the delinquent type over 16 years of age, who presented a difficult problem in management, occupied space that might be used for the care of the

non-delinquent type, and were a constant menace to the peace and safety of the other inmates, and of the institution itself. This group was composed of thieves, sex-delinquents, firebugs, assaulters, etc., and Rome had no safe place for their custody and treatment. Not only was this true, but the Rome School was crowded by several hundred inmates beyond its capacity, and application had been made to the legislature for funds for the purpose of enlarging its facilities for the care of these unfortunates.

Reports from State penal institutions seemed to show that from 10 to 15 per cent. of their populations might be classed as defectives, and that of this number quite a proportion should be segregated. The great stumbling block in the plan for the segregation of the defective delinquents had always been the cost of building an institution to accommodate them. In the proposed closing of the Eastern New York Reformatory, the Commission for Mental Defectives saw an opportunity to realize their ambition without the expense and delay contingent upon building a new institution. They immediately began working with that end in view.

These facts were presented to Governor Nathan L. Miller, whose long experience on the Supreme Court bench prior to his election to the office he now so ably fills enabled him to grasp at once the importance of the matter, and secured his co-operation in the passage of the measure establishing the new institution.

The law creating the Institution for Defective Delinquents provides that male defectives of 16 years of age, or over, who have been charged with, arraigned for, or convicted of a crime, may be committed to the institution directly by the courts or transferred to the institution from other institutions. Also that any male convict, unless under sentence for murder in the first degree, who is determined to be a mental defective may, with the consent of the Commission for Mental Defectives, be transferred to the institution at Napanoch.

The standard type of commitment blank used by the courts comprises a petition by the officer in charge of the prisoner, and a certificate of mental defect to be completed either by two regular examiners in mental defect, *i.e.*, physicians certified as qualified by the Commission for Mental Defectives, or by one such examiner and a qualified psychologist.

It is a difficult matter to define the exact amount or degree of mental defect which should exist to qualify an individual for admission to an institution such as this. We have tentatively established the mental age limits of these cases at 3

and 10 years or 0.79 and 0.62 I.Q., and feel that a case not falling within these limits should show some very special reason for admission. This minimum intelligence limit should exclude all cases below the grade of imbecile, while, with a maximum intelligence of not more than ten years, it should be possible to demonstrate a certain degree of mental defect to the court for the purpose of recommitment, or in the event of habeas-corpus proceedings.

The law, as now placed upon the statutes, makes no provision for the psychopath *per se*. This individual cannot be indefinitely detained, and must, if under sentence, be paroled or discharged at the expiration of his sentence. The psychopath differs from the mental defective in being a mental deviate rather than intellectually defective. For this reason it is possible that he may be a more favorable case for rehabilitation. That some provision for the custody and training of this unfortunate class should be made, would seem to be self-evident. But, unfortunately, it is much more difficult to demonstrate to the non-medical mind the condition of constitutional inferiority than that of mental defect, and until diagnostic tests that will accomplish this are devised, there is very little hope that the courts will commit these individuals for an indefinite period. Should this result ever be attained, it would seem that an institution, comprising in its curriculum an educational course, together with training in higher-grade trades, and with perhaps a more exacting disciplinary regime, would do for some of this class what we hope to accomplish for a percentage of the defective delinquents.

The plans of the Institution for Defective Delinquents comprehend a thorough psychiatric examination and classification of the inmates for the purpose of work-assignment and training, and as a guide for parole selection. At present the Binet intelligence tests and Porteous performance tests are used. It is expected that a large number of the inmates committed to the Institution for Defective Delinquents will spend the remainder of their days there; that many will never arrive at a condition of industrial efficiency and social adjustment warranting their parole or discharge. It is, however, also presumed that a certain percentage will become trained in habits of industry and obedience to an extent which will make them more or less self-sustaining, and enable them to adjust themselves sufficiently well toward society to justify a parole or provisional discharge.

The law, therefore, provides that:

“* * * when in the opinion of the superintendent an inmate

becomes reasonably safe to be at large, and it is determined that his relatives or friends are able and willing to comfortably maintain him without further public charge, the said inmate may be paroled; provided, however, that a convict received from a penal institution may not be paroled prior to the date he might have been paroled had he remained in prison."

If a convict confined in such institution as a mental defective is found to be a dangerous person, or otherwise unfit or unsuitable to be cared for in said institution, before the expiration of his sentence, he may be returned forthwith to the institution from whence he come. If committed by a judge and found unsuitable, he may, with the approval of said judge, be discharged.

The ability to return unsuitable cases to their sources of origin is, in our opinion, a very valuable one. Human nature is the same the world over, and the temptation to unload our difficult problems on others is almost universal. This provision of the law supplies a remedy, should idiots or psychopaths be transferred or committed to the institution either by mistake or to lessen the institutional problems of others.

The New York State Mental Deficiency law requires the superintendent of an institution for mental defectives to be a physician. The law creating the Institution for Defective Delinquents invested the State Commission for Mental Defectives with managerial powers and constituted its members a Board of Managers for the institution. In so doing, it created an independent institution on the basis of other institutions for defectives and entirely separate from the reformatories and prisons. The Board of Managers meets monthly at the institution and exercises a close supervision over its affairs.

The Institution closed its reformatory career May 31, 1921, and opened as the Institution for Defective Delinquents on June 1, 1921. On June 6th, the first contingent of the new population—a transfer of 58 men from Rome State School, arrived. In all, we have received from:

Reformatories	20
Prisons	113
State Schools for Mental Defectives.....	119
House of Refuge.....	8
New York County Penitentiary.....	17
Dannemora State Hospital.....	9
Courts	15
Total of.....	301

There have been discharged by:

Court order.....	1
Paroled	2
Transferred as not defective.....	8
Transferred to insane hospitals.....	2
Leaving a population on October 19th of.....	288

We have, therefore, at Napanoch a population made up of defective delinquents definitely committed as such by the courts, of defectives transferred from penal institutes (the latter being under sentence), and of individuals of delinquent type transferred from State schools for defectives. In this aggregation we find mentalities ranging from that of high-grade moron to low-grade imbecile. Those of the moron type are almost always prison transfers; the court commitment cases are usually imbecile, with an average mental age of approximately seven; while those received from the State schools for defectives will range between three and seven Binet age with an average of perhaps a five-year mentality.

The reformatory had been in a great measure constructed by inmate labor. The work of construction, together with that of the institutional farm, and the work incidental to all institutions, had comprised all the labor activities. It will be readily admitted by those familiar with defectives that the type of men being cared for at present are incapable of carrying on construction work, *i.e.*, brick laying, steel erection, etc., so this source of employment, except for the number of men who can be used at the low-grade labor in such work, is closed to us. The farm work can be done, as can also by far the larger portion of the incidental work. There remains then to be found occupation for a large number of low grades at some new industry, that is, new to Napanoch. Some of the industries proposed are broom, basket and mattress making, and as rapidly as possible, one or more of these industries will probably be installed.

During the coming winter we expect to employ a group on our woodland, cutting pulp wood and reclaiming waste land. For our outdoor activities for next year, we hope to establish one or more colonies somewhere in the vicinity of the institution, and at present have under consideration a farm colony and a reforestation colony. The farm colony will in all probability be within five miles of the institution. The reforestation colony, in the Catskill Mountain Park about twelve miles distant, will be taken up in co-operation with the State Conservation Commission. The work proposed comprehends the planting of seedlings furnished by the Commission in beds

prepared for them, and the cultivation and eventual transplanting of the small trees on adjacent land in the park.

And now as to our aspirations, our hopes. Any plans for the training of the defective delinquent must, it would seem, take into careful consideration the material with which one has to work. The defective delinquent is an individual of defective mentality, of anti-social or delinquent traits. He is usually the product of faulty or defective heredity combined with faulty or vicious environment. These factors presuppose either the *absence* of proper restraint and training during the plastic years of childhood, or the *presence* of vicious training, either at home or in association with criminals, psychopathic individuals or defectives. The very definition of mental defective presupposes the inability of the individual to support himself in a lawful occupation by his own unaided efforts, and a degree of dependency upon others. This dependency may be either in the matter of securing a bare livelihood or in the direction and management of his affairs.

Conceding the above, what can the Institution for Defective Delinquents hope to accomplish?

1. The removal of a difficult element from correctional institutions, and the prevention by indefinite custody of the recidivism so common among this class.

2. The removal of a dangerous and irresponsible element from the State schools for defectives, making these schools more safe, and capable of better work with the non-delinquent defective, and the latter less liable to corruption by the delinquent.

3. The care of the delinquent defective in an institution of a safer type of construction, thereby preventing escapes.

4. If possible, the training of a certain percentage of the defective delinquents in habits of industry and obedience, thereby, perhaps, rehabilitating them in civil life.

If we can accomplish some of these things and perhaps add a mite to the knowledge of the world concerning the care and management of the defective delinquent, the institution will have justified its existence and the work will have been worth while.

NEW YORK PLAN FOR DEFECTIVE DELINQUENTS.

By WILLIAM C. SANDY, M.D., PSYCHIATRIST STATE COMMISSION
FOR MENTAL DEFECTIVES.

There is an increasing realization of the importance of mental deficiency as a factor in delinquency. The true significance of this relation is frequently not well understood. It is incorrect to picture the defective delinquent as a "born criminal." Such a viewpoint is really a libel on mental de-

ficiency. While there may be isolated cases in which a mental defective appears to manifest delinquent traits from his earliest days, perhaps even in spite of earnest efforts of guardians to counteract these, environmental factors as a rule largely determine the delinquency. The defective is not primarily a criminal, nor necessarily predestined to become one. He is always a child. If not recognized as a defective and properly safeguarded early in his career, faulty habits are apt to be formed and fixed, and evil associations made. He becomes the prey of shrewd criminals of normal intelligence, an easily pliable tool.

It is quite apparent, therefore, that institutional care is not the sole way of meeting the problem of the defective delinquent. There are other methods, both prophylactic and therapeutic, which are highly important. This paper outlines existing facilities in New York State, with a brief consideration of the outlook for the future.

In any comprehensive program for the defective delinquent, as well as for the ordinary mental defective, measures must be taken for the early identification of such individuals, because then it is possible to begin the formation of good habits and to train in accordance with limited capacities. Children of school age are at a period most susceptible to such training and the responsibility for making the necessary provisions rests largely with the educational authorities. It is astonishing how dilatory educators are in this regard, especially in rural communities. Inaction would not so often be excused on the grounds of the cost of providing such facilities if it were realized that the feeble-minded become a so-called menace only as the result of neglect of early training and effective supervision.

Consideration of the mentality of all children entering school and subsequent training in accordance with capability is logical and an ideal to strive for. In the absence of any such routine procedure by the schools, outpatient clinics comprise one of the best means of finding mental defectives early and recommending special training, treatment or other measures for their welfare. The Commission for Mental Defectives has regarded clinics as one of its most important activities and, in co-operation with a number of State agencies, has established facilities as rapidly as limited personnel and funds will permit. Medical consultants and psychometric examiners are supplied by the Commission, the State hospitals, State schools for mental defectives, and the State Board of Charities. Whenever it is possible to secure qualified per-

sons, local consultants are utilized. Extensive newspaper publicity is carried on by the State Charities Aid Association. The American Red Cross and many local welfare organizations assist in various social service capacities.

Clinics are held in general hospitals, Red Cross rooms or other places where the public would not hesitate to come in search for ordinary medical advice. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, there have been clinics in 28 different localities, 15 of which occurred regularly, every month or oftener. There were 182 clinic sessions of from 2 to 8 hours each, and over 750 new cases have been seen. Both children and adults are referred for examination by the schools, physicians, charitable organizations, courts, relatives, and through publicity. Many of the children are the so-called problem cases, those showing conduct disorder indicating anti-social tendencies and maladjustment to environment, not unlikely potential criminals. They are carefully examined, a diagnosis reached if possible, and advice given. Most frequent recommendations are special classes, supervision, treatment of various kinds, including modification of environment, and commitments to institutions. They are advised to return periodically so that the clinics provide a degree of continued supervision. Practical and outstanding features of the clinics have been the large proportion of children seen who are within the school age, the number of high-grade cases, and the few which are deemed to require immediate institutional care.

The value of clinics, however, depends to a large degree upon the amount of after-care. It will be a waste of time to find indications for treatment or remediable physical defects, to suggest changes in habits or environment, to advise special methods of training or other disposition if there are no agencies to see that such measures are carried out. In an attempt to establish State-wide extra-institutional supervision, four field agents were granted the Commission by the Legislature of 1920. These young women, college graduates, combining the experience of psychologists, teachers, social workers and psychometric examiners, are well equipped to conduct the follow-up work of clinics. Their activities during the first seven months have been mostly connected with mental defectives over 16 years of age, the so-called graduates of special classes. During this time, 716 visits were made, half of these being first visits. They investigated all phases of home supervision, the physical care, the employment and the possible need for institutional commitment. Besides acting as psychometric

examiners, they will follow up all cases seen and endeavor to have the clinic recommendations carried out.

Supplementing the necessarily limited activities of the four field agents, the Commission has to utilize, so far as possible, the assistance of workers of various official and private organizations, all of which are also engaged in other important work. In many localities, gratifying results have been obtained in clinic cases through the enthusiastic co-operation of special class and visiting teachers, public health nurses, child-welfare workers, parole agents and representatives of other local organizations.

In New York State, the establishment of special classes is mandatory wherever twelve or more mental defectives are found. Where such classes exist, the accomplishments are often truly wonderful. Special classes are not mere places of segregation. Where the desired results are obtained, the teachers are qualified above the average, and special attention is given to the formation of good habits, overcoming or ameliorating special defects as those of speech, manual work such as wood-working, weaving, sewing, cooking, etc., general physical training and the development of any special aptitude which may be discovered such as musical ability. In this way, there results considerable supervision up to the age of 16.

Aside from the question of added expense, local boards of education often explain delay in compliance with the regulation about the formation of special classes by the scarcity of qualified teachers. Realizing this, Dr. Bernstein has since 1913 conducted at Rome summer courses for teachers and others who may desire experience in training and caring for mental defectives. These courses are very practical, consisting of actual work with mental defectives under the supervision of the staff of the Rome State School and lectures on various related topics by recognized authorities.

The State Schools at Rome, Newark, Syracuse and Letchworth Village, Thiells, are theoretically open for the reception of delinquents under 16 years of age. This is in practice true at Rome, and to a less extent at Newark, the latter receiving only women. Syracuse, however, usually accepts only children of school age who are of a sufficient mentality to give promise of some progress in school work. Letchworth Village is still in the formative period and is not yet prepared to keep children with decided delinquent tendencies. The methods at the Rome State School are rather typical of what one should expect. Here defective delinquents under sixteen of both sexes are received and may be held indefinitely. Custodial

care of a permanent character, however, is not the sole or even main object. Facilities for training are at hand, and an effort is made to develop each child according to his capacity. If after observation the defective delinquent appears to be worthy and qualified, he may be admitted to one of the numerous colonies, where he may participate in part-time, extra-mural work. If the colony life is successful, this may possibly lead to parole and rehabilitation under supervision.

In making special provisions for defective delinquents over sixteen years of age, New York has recently taken a distinctive and most progressive step forward. At the reformatory for women at Bedford, a special division for defective delinquents has been established by law. To this may be transferred defective prisoners from penal institutions, and such women may be committed directly from the courts and other institutions not of a penal character. The Commission has powers of inspection and consultation.

The reformatory at Napanoch has been designated as an institution solely for male defective delinquents over sixteen years of age. It is under the control of the Commission for Mental Defectives as a Board of Managers. To Napanoch may be transferred defective prisoners. Prior to the expiration of their sentences, they will be committed as mental defectives and as such held indefinitely. Defective delinquents from civil institutions or from courts may be committed directly to Napanoch. Permanent custody, however, is not the only possibility. Various kinds of training, primarily of a manual nature, will be utilized. Careful examinations may bring to light remediable physical defects or specific indications for treatment. Proper cases may eventually be paroled, but not before they would have been entitled to parole if in an ordinary penal institution. Final discharge is even conceivable in cases that have been trained, kept under observation for a considerable time, paroled successfully or otherwise definitely determined to be suitable for such disposition. The particular and obvious advantage of both the special division at Bedford and the institution at Napanoch is the ability to keep in custody indefinitely, and permanently if necessary, defectives who are confirmed criminals. They will no longer be released periodically to prey upon the public after a brief and useless stay in a corrective institution.

For the future, the Commission expects to extend the clinics and to increase the State-wide extra institutional supervision. Whether the latter will be by means of more field agents granted by the legislature to the Commission, or

whether more and more dependence will have to be placed upon local and volunteer agencies, cannot at present be determined. There may be a different allocation of the institution at Napanoch, perhaps placing it in the prison department. There has been endless discussion and decided difference of opinion as to the proper department for such an institution. One group advocates a separate institution for defective delinquents; another, a section set apart in an ordinary institution for defectives; still a third, a section set apart in a penal or corrective institution. Probably the ideal is a separate institution as at Napanoch, but more corrective institutions may develop divisions similar to Bedford, as there are rather numerous vacancies which might be placed to this use. In any case it seems that the direction of such an institution or division should remain under a physician with neuropsychiatric experience. The possible therapeutic aspect must not be lost. A psychiatrist is competent to cope with the prevalent behavior difficulties.

Measures should be taken to increase the facility of transfer from one type of institution to another. In many instances inmates develop characteristics or conditions, often temporary, such as episodes of insanity, which make desirable transfer to some other kind of institution. The cumbersome methods of transfer or recommitment usually necessitated by law should be simplified so far as possible. Much of this will result in New York with the establishment of the proposed central examining and classification bureau, or clinic, of the prison system.

There is an important relationship between mental deficiency and delinquency; not that the defective is a "born criminal" but rather that he is more liable to develop bad habits, make evil associations and become the tool of others unless found early, trained and kept under supervision. In this regard, the educational authorities have grave responsibility, as children of a school age are at a period most susceptible to proper habit formation and training. Provisions for defective delinquents are not, therefore purely custodial care in an institution. Most important is what can be done in a therapeutic or preventive way.

The New York plan includes clinics for early identification and advice; special classes in the public schools for training and supervision up to the age of 16; field agents and others to supervise those over the age of 16; institutions for training, and custody for both those under and those above 16 years of age; facilities for possible colonization; parole

and rehabilitation in suitable cases, with it may be, eventual discharge; facilities for the training of those who teach and care for defective delinquents.

By such methods, defectives are protected and prevented from developing the distressing complications of delinquency; and those who have become definitely delinquent may be held in custody or under supervision, no longer being released after a brief and useless stay in a corrective institution.

SATURDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 29.

GENERAL SESSION.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION, COLONEL C. B. ADAMS, presiding:

I have been attending the sessions of the American Prison Congress for a number of years, and the sectional meetings that have been held today in numbers and interest equal or show a better attendance than any meetings that the American Prison Association has had for a number of years; and not only the attendance, but the interest manifested in all these meetings has been remarkable.

I want to announce two committees—the Committee on Organization and the Committee on Resolutions.

Committee on Organization, Chairman Thomas C. O'Brien of Massachusetts; Charles A. Blaney of Michigan; Major Lawes of New York; Dr. Hastings Hart of New York; Miss Maude Miner of New York; Mrs. Frances Morse of Minnesota; Dr. Kenosha Sessions of Indiana; Hon. C. A. Badgley of Minnesota; Dr. Emory Lyons of Illinois. The Committee will meet at 11.30 a. m. Monday.

Committee on Resolutions: Chairman, F. A. Whittier of Minnesota; James Devine, Warden, State Prison, Utah; Hon. R. W. Post, Member, Board of Managers, State Prison of Connecticut.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TREATMENT OF PERSONS AWAITING COURT ACTION AND MISDEMEANANT PRISONERS.

By HASTINGS H. HART, LL.D., CHAIRMAN.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

This Committee holds the opinion that no subject to be considered by this Congress is of more importance than the treatment of persons awaiting court action and misdemeanor

prisoners. In the first place they far outnumber all other persons who come under the consideration of the penologist. The census of 1910 shows that about ninety-two per cent. of all sentenced prisoners were misdemeanor prisoners committed to county jails, workhouses, and houses of correction. This makes no account of prisoners awaiting trial. The United States Census Bureau did not deem it necessary to enumerate this important class of prisoners. In the second place, the two classes of prisoners considered by this Committee presumably include those who are most reformable, because it includes those who are imprisoned for the first time.

We believe that society ought to expend its most earnest efforts in behalf of those who are not yet hardened in crime. Everyone recognizes the difficulty of reclaiming those who have become fixed in criminal habits. The hope of reforming a beginner, in the early stages of wrongdoing, is five times greater than the hope of reforming one who has become experienced in crime.

In 1833, nearly ninety years ago, De Tocqueville published his book, "The Penitentiary System in the United States." In commenting on American jails he says (pages 153-154) :

"Prisons were observed, which included persons convicted of the worst crimes, and a remedy has been applied where the greatest evil appeared; other prisons, where the same evil exists, but where it makes less fearful ravages, have been forgotten; yet to neglect the less vicious, in order to labor only for the reform of great and hardened criminals, is the same as if only the most infirm were attended to in a hospital; and, in order to take care of patients, perhaps incurable, those who might be easily restored to health were left without any attention. The defect, which we mention here, is felt in America by some of her most distinguished men.

"Mr. Edward Livingston attacks this defect with great force: 'After condemnation, there can be no association but of the guilty with the guilty; but, in the preliminary imprisonment, guilt is associated with innocence.'"

On page 155 he speaks of a prisoner in Baltimore where

"In order to be humane toward prisoners they are allowed to corrupt each other."

The conditions which De Tocqueville and Livingston criticised ninety years ago still prevail in most of the county jails of the United States.

The prisoner usually has his first experience behind the bars in a jail, and that is the time of greatest opportunity for his reclamation. He has received a shock; he realizes for the first time the inevitable consequences of his reckless course. That is when the sheriff, the jailer, the doctor, the psychi-

atrist, the social worker, the religious teacher, and the prisoner's aid society should unite their wisdom and their efforts for his redemption.

These propositions seem to the Committee self-evident, yet for 50 years past penologists and philanthropists have expended their efforts chiefly upon State convict prisons and felons convicted of high crimes and misdemeanors, and have almost unanimously neglected the prisoner awaiting trial and the short-term prisoner.

This fact is illustrated even in the most recent and hopeful movements for jail reform. The State of Indiana no longer sends misdemeanor prisoners to county jails except those serving sentences of 30 days or less; but thus far has developed no program for the improvement of the unconvicted prisoners who are still confined in county jails. An active campaign is being prosecuted in Massachusetts to have the State take over the control of all misdemeanor prisoners who have heretofore been sent to county jails, but the proposed law makes no reference to the prisoners awaiting trial.

There are honorable exceptions to this indictment. We recall such names as the older and younger Wines, Z. R. Brockway, Warren F. Spaulding, General R. Brinkerhoff, Dr. A. G. Byers, A. O. Wright, Alexander Johnson, Amos W. Butler, and Charles R. Henderson, and we recall the active efforts of the State prison associations of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland; yet the fact remains that only a fraction of our endeavors have been expended upon this most hopeful field.

SCOPE OF THE COMMITTEE.

This Committee deals with the treatment of two distinct classes: first, persons who are detained awaiting the action of the courts, and second, persons sentenced to short terms of confinement for minor offenses against the law. These two classes are both assigned to this Committee, not because they belong together but because for generations the American States have been accustomed to consign them to the same prisons and subject them to the same treatment.

ACCUSED PERSONS TO BE TREATED AS IF INNOCENT.

Under the Constitution and laws of the United States and of the several States, persons awaiting court action are either actually innocent or presumed to be innocent, for it is a well-established principle of American jurisprudence that every person accused of crime shall be deemed to be innocent until

he is proved to be guilty. As a matter of fact, a large number of the persons awaiting court action are actually innocent of crime. In many cases their innocence is plainly proved in court and they are acquitted of the charges made against them. Among the innocent are included witnesses, who are held for the benefit of the community in order to insure their testimony in important cases; insane persons, who are simply sick persons and who ought to receive hospital treatment; and debtors of whom, notwithstanding the general prejudice against imprisonment for debt, a small number are still found in the jails of a number of our States.

The multitude of persons awaiting court action includes also a great number of children awaiting action of the juvenile court. Most of these children await their trial in their own homes or in special detention homes for children; nevertheless, a considerable number of children under sixteen years of age are still found in county jails, notwithstanding the fact that the laws of most of the States prohibit the confinement of such children in any prison or other place where adults are confined.

The principle that persons awaiting court action are to be treated as if they were innocent is by no means a legal fiction. It is taken very seriously in some of its aspects; for example, it is universally recognized by sheriffs and jail officers that persons awaiting trial cannot be compelled to labor. In the New York City jail, known as the Tombs Prison, 600 or 800 prisoners awaiting trial are kept in idleness, and 60 or 70 prisoners are transferred to the Tombs Prison from the House of Correction to do the domestic work at the Tombs, while the prisoners awaiting trial are kept in demoralizing idleness, though a few prisoners awaiting trial are allowed to do domestic work by their own request.

The principle that persons awaiting court action are not to be regarded as criminals is demonstrated by the universal practice of releasing such prisoners, except those accused of very grave crimes, on bail, usually in a moderate sum not exceeding \$1,000. This bail is furnished in the form of credit. A friend of the prisoner, or a bonding company, simply executes a bond agreeing to pay this sum in case the prisoner shall fail to appear when his case comes up for trial. When such a bond is given the prisoner goes at large and transacts his ordinary business until the time of his trial; but if he is unable to give bail he has to go to jail.

Commissioner Sanford Bates, of the Massachusetts Department of Correction, in reviewing this report writes:

"As a practical matter I think it should be observed that the necessity for detaining persons in jail today is nothing like what it was when the jail system was inaugurated. The improved methods of identification, the practice of releasing respectable suspects on their own recognizance, has diminished the number of decent people who are obliged to stay in jail. Fewer men who would really be contaminated have no friends or interested persons who will not go surety for them. One practical suggestion for the solution of the problem of the persons awaiting court action might be the liberal extension of the bail system."

THE MISDEMEANANT CONVICT NOT TO BE TREATED AS INNOCENT.

The misdemeanor prisoner stands in a very different relation to society from the prisoner awaiting trial. He has been convicted of a crime and is sentenced to punishment. He is subject to labor without compensation and to such reformatory discipline as the law may provide. It is the intention of the law that his treatment shall be such that he shall feel that the way of the transgressor is hard and shall be deterred from future wrong-doing.

While it is true that the misdemeanor prisoner is a convict, sentenced to punishment, nevertheless the law discriminates sharply between the felon and the misdemeanor. The felon is sentenced usually to a State prison for a term ranging from one year to life. The misdemeanor is regarded as a petty offender and is sentenced to a jail or a house of correction usually for a period extending from one day to sixty or ninety days, and seldom exceeding one year. Moreover, and more important, the sentence of the misdemeanor prisoner is usually alternative between a fine and imprisonment. He is ordered to pay a cash fine of \$5, \$10, or more—usually less than \$50. This fine may be paid from his own pocket, from the earnings of his wife, or by some employer who desires his services, but in any case he goes free, without prejudice. If he is unable to pay his fine, he must serve his prison sentence.

It appears, therefore, that the misdemeanor who is sentenced to "fine or imprisonment" is in reality a prisoner for debt, confined simply because he cannot pay a small sum of money. It appears reasonable, therefore, that while his brief imprisonment should be sharp and deterrent, it should be less severe than that of the individual who has been guilty of a grave crime.

The United States Census of 1910 reported misdemeanor prisoners serving sentences as follows:

In county jails.....	19,861
In workhouses and houses of correction.....	9,968
Total.....	29,829

It appears, therefore, that exactly two-thirds of these misdemeanor prisoners were found in county jails, where they were confined usually in immediate contact with prisoners awaiting trial, living under identical conditions, eating the same foods, breathing the same air, and associating in idleness with the same individuals.

PAROLE LAWS FOR MISDEMEANANT PRISONERS.

Mr. E. R. Cass, Assistant Secretary of the Prison Association of New York, a member of this committee, has recently made a summary of all the parole laws of the United States. From this summary it appears that 9 States have parole laws which may be applied to misdemeanor prisoners; though, as far as we can discover, in most of these States, the privilege of parole is largely restricted to felons and, apparently, the parole of prisoners sentenced to county jails for misdemeanors is almost unknown. In Wisconsin a small number of prisoners have been released from county jails on a quasi parole under the Huber law.

The following statement indicates how the parole laws are applied to misdemeanants in these 9 States:

In Connecticut, misdemeanants may be committed to and paroled from the State reformatory.

Idaho has an indeterminate sentence law, with a year for the minimum for almost all crimes. After serving the minimum period a parole may be granted at any time.

In Illinois, misdemeanants may be committed to and paroled from the State reformatory.

In Kansas, the governor has power to parole "in any case of crime," from any place of imprisonment, upon condition that application shall be made to the governor and notice of hearing published for thirty days * * * in the official paper of the county from which the prisoner was sentenced.

Massachusetts has special parole rulings for the State farm, prison camp and hospital.

In Michigan, misdemeanants may be committed to and paroled from the State reformatory.

In New Jersey, misdemeanants may be committed to and paroled from the State reformatory.

In New York, misdemeanor females, between the ages of 16 and 30, may be committed to and paroled from the State reformatory for women at Bedford or the Western House of Refuge at Albion. The Elmira Reformatory receives male prisoners committed the second time for a misdemeanor with a maximum term of 3 years and opportunity for parole after serving about thirteen months.

The City of New York has an indeterminate sentence law under which misdemeanor prisoners committed to the city penitentiary, workhouse, or reformatory may be paroled at any time after being sentenced. This power rests in a parole commission of three salaried and two ex-officio members.

Apparently these 9 States are the only ones in which authority to parole misdemeanor prisoners exists. In the State of Delaware, Vermont and Wisconsin there are laws permitting sheriffs to find employment for prisoners at wages outside of the walls of the county jail; but these are not properly parole laws.

THE PARADOX OF THE COUNTY JAIL.

There is an extraordinary paradox in the conditions of the county jail: given the same building, the same room, the same surroundings, the same food, the problem is to make the confinement for one inmate a humane and easy detention, and for the other a severe and bitter punishment. You say, it cannot be done; but it is done every day in the county jails throughout America. The trouble is that we give the humane and easy detention to the wrong prisoner, and we give the severe and bitter punishment to the wrong prisoner. The tramp, the vagabond, the petty thief does not mind bad air, filthy floors, or even verminous bedding. Give him, in winter, a warm room, plenty of food, a pack of old greasy cards and the society of others like himself, and he is entirely happy. He may even steal to get back into these comfortable conditions. But take a man of cleanly, decent habits, with some remnants of self-respect. Confine him in a steel cage where he is exhibited like a wild beast in a menagerie; give him no change of underclothing (as in the Cook County jail in Chicago; and the New Haven jail in 1917); lock him up from dark until daylight with five other prisoners in a cell 6½x10 feet; compel him to listen day and night to the vilest language in the thief's dialect, and to associate in idleness with the worst criminals in the county. Can you conceive of a worse punishment for a fairly decent man this side of perdition? Yet this is the prisoner who is entitled to humane and comfortable detention.

SOME TWENTIETH CENTURY JAILS.

Such conditions are not simply exceptional and occasional, they are found in hundreds of jails in all parts of the United States.

Physical Condition of Jails.—As we have previously remarked, the efforts to improve the physical conditions of jails have thus far reached only a part of the county jails. One reason for this is the fact that most of the jails are built of stone, brick, iron and steel—enduring materials. County commissioners have been very unwilling to tear down a solid fireproof building and erect an entirely new structure.

Another obstacle in the way of improvement of jail architecture has been the fact that very few architects have made a specialty of jail planning. Jail architecture has fallen very largely into the hands of a few professional jail-building firms. Some of these firms have had a sincere desire to build good jails, but they have been compelled to bear in mind constantly the commercial side of the business—what kind of a jail can be sold.

In the minds of the sheriffs the chief point has been security—what kind of jail construction will hold the prisoner most securely with the smallest amount of watchfulness on the part of the jailer. The ingenuity of jail builders has been expended upon tool-proof material, locking devices, double doors and steel cages, all of which are expensive. County commissioners have demanded low costs, and these have been secured by arranging for two to six prisoners in each cell, by constructing inside corridors three to six feet wide, and by minimizing bathrooms, hospitals, departments for women, and rooms for witnesses.

Intelligent sheriffs and inspectors have urged the location of cells against the outside walls, but they have been vigorously opposed because of increased cost of construction and greater liability to escape.

New York Jails.—In the State of New York, where the State Prison Commission and the Prison Association of New York have worked for 50 years to improve jail conditions, the State Prison Commission recently classified the jails as follows: "good, 39" (of which 4 are classified as "very good"); "fair, 18"; "bad, 9." From this statement it appears that 59 per cent. of the jails are classified as "good," while 41 per cent. are classified as "fair" or "bad." The Commission has been hampered by the dilatoriness of the county authorities in making changes which it has recommended. In some cases the Commission has instituted legal proceedings to secure such improvements.

In Illinois the State Board of Charities endeavored for 50 years to improve the condition of the jails, and every 2 years they published descriptions of the jails, setting forth their bad construction, their lack of classification, their lack of discipline, and their demoralizing and destructive influence. In 1920, at the end of 50 years, the State Department of Public Welfare made a careful and elaborate study of the county jails of the State and they reported as follows:

"Illinois has 20 county jails which may be classified as good; 19 as fair; 41 as very poor or bad; 21 as unfit for use. The inspector remarked:

'With 39 as good or fair, and 62 as very poor or unfit for use, it is easy to see that a man sent to jail has few chances of being detained in a decent place.'"

The inspector described the Hamilton County Jail as follows:

"The Hamilton County Jail is a disgrace to the county, to the State to the country, and to modern civilization. * * * The outside layer of this dungeon is an old brick building. Inside of the brick building is a smaller, one-story building, constructed of steel (or iron) plates. * * * It was found impossible to get around without penetrating cobwebs of many years' accumulation, and it was very evident that no one ever pretended to go around the filthy narrow passageway. * * * There is a small space between the bare ground and the iron floor of the jail. This is where the sewage of the jail goes and where it stays. * * * There is a hideous high board fence built around the windows, enclosing a small, disorderly, weed-grown yard. There was one prisoner in the jail, June 20, 1919, * * * destined to be detained in this indecent place for several months."

The Hamilton County Jail divided the honors as the "worst jail in the State" with the jail of Union County, which was described as follows:

"It is dark, damp, unsanitary, inhuman. * * * It had been fumigated two weeks previously to try to rid it of body lice. * * * The stone floor was very dirty. In one corner is a funnel-shaped hole that is used as a toilet. The men sit all day on the beds in this dark cell. * * * The prisoners are not allowed to burn the electric light except at meal time or when given special permission. * * * A narrow barred slit that is cut near the ceiling in the thick stone wall lets in a flicker of light or air."

Of the Cook County Jail, in Chicago, the inspector said:

"Except for the high standard of cleanliness of the woman's department it is difficult to find any good points about the Cook County Jail. It is recognized as an insanitary, dark, overcrowded institution that is a disgrace to Cook County. It could not be made a decent place to keep men. * * * Cook County does not furnish jail clothes for prisoners. They may have access to laundry tubs once a week. * * * Men who have relatives or friends on the outside have change of clothing brought to them. Those who do not manage the best way they can. They may wash their clothes, dry them, and put them on again. They may also borrow from cell mates. * * * There are two or three men in each small cell. It is impossible to distribute the men according to their habits of cleanliness or decency. Twenty hours of each twenty-four must be spent locked in the unsanitary, dirty, crowded cell.

"The boys' schoolroom is a large corner room on the top floor of the building where boys under 19 spend the four hours that they are not locked in their cells. * * * One guard is in charge of this room. * * * As it is impossible to classify these boys except as to age or by the exclusion of one known to be especially vicious, the companionship fostered in this place is a very bad influence in the lives of these boys. But the use of this place as an 'exercise room' is preferable to

putting them in with other prisoners. * * * Here as in every other part of the jail—and as in every county jail of the State—is seen the greatest evil of the jail system, the absolute idleness enforced upon prisoners by the law of the State.”

Indiana Jails.—In Indiana an efficient Board of State Charities has labored for the improvement of county jails for the past thirty years, but some bad conditions still exist. For example, the Board of State Charities, in 1899, described the Brown County Jail as follows:

“This is the last surviving remnant of the log jail architecture of the earlier pioneer times. It is two stories, built of hewed logs, and the entrance is by stairway to the second floor.”

In the 30th annual report of the Board, in 1919, we read:

“The Brown County Jail is a log building but no longer used except in emergency until prisoners can be transferred.”

The report says further:

“The county jail is the oldest institution in the State. Many of the buildings are old, poorly planned, and unsanitary, making it possible for them to be a menace to the health and morals of prisoners confined therein.”

Twenty-five jails are named as belonging to this class. The report continues:

“Several jails are without the modern facilities for bathing. * * * Sheets and pillows are provided in some institutions. Where the latter are used the beds and bedding are usually better cared for. The wasteful practice of allowing bedding to become filthy and then burning it is not uncommon. * * * Prisoners are fed upon a per diem allowed the sheriff. * * * The larger jails have separate kitchens, and sometimes the food is poorly prepared and insufficient in quantity. * * * Prisoners are required to wear whatever clothes they have on unless friends or relatives supply others. * * * The prisoner who on leaving the jail must wear clothing he has worn during confinement is often seriously handicapped because of insufficient, badly worn, often ill-smelling clothing.

“Idleness, vice and immoral practices are common in county jails because supervision is exceedingly limited and no employment is furnished. * * * Fortunately, the law now requires all misdemeanants having a sentence of more than 30 days to be sent to the State Farm. Others with shorter sentences may be sent there at the discretion of the judge. Proper employment is provided for them there. The law requires that women whose sentences are for more than 90 days * * * shall be sent to the Correctional Department of the Women’s Prison. The confinement, care, and supervision of women in the jails is usually poor. * * * The care and supervision is often left largely to the jailer. A few of the larger jails have a woman officer in charge of the woman’s department.

“Except in the more modern jails there are limited facilities for classification of prisoners. Young men are confined in the same department with hardened criminals. * * * The jail should not afford an opportunity for the education of the young in immorality, vice, and crime.

Attention is called to the practice of confining insane persons in jails. Patients were found in 20 jails. In Madison County Jail there were 9 insane at the time inspection was made. Two of these had been confined there for more than 2 years, 1 for 20 months, 2 for 1 year, and 4 from 1 to 3 months, * * * The care of insane patients in the jails is poor. Such institutions are not meant for the care of sick people. * * * The State should secure a more sane and humane method of caring for these unfortunate sick patients pending their admission to State hospitals."

Maine Jails.—In Maine the report of the State Board of Charities for 1915 contained the following statement relative to the Penobscot County Jail at Bangor:

"Conditions are decidedly bad. * * * There were on the day of the inspection 106 prisoners, necessitating the placing of 3 or even 4 men in some of the cells * * * and none of them should have more than 1. There are 2 women's cells, properly provided with lavatory and hopper, each of which might comfortably care for 2 women, but on the day of inspection they contained 5 women each. The women's cells are so located that they are inaccessible without going through the men's corridors. This is given as one reason why the jail is without a matron; that it is difficult to get the right kind of woman to traverse these corridors."

The report stated that the use of striped prison uniforms for all prisoners had been discontinued, but a gray uniform had been substituted.

California.—Dr. Stuart Alford Queen, Secretary of the California State Board of Charities, published a book in 1920, entitled "The Passing of the County Jail." We make the following quotations with reference to California jails:

"Imperial County Jail consists of one room with a single cage of 4 cells, each about 7x9x7. There are 4 bunks in each cell, accommodating in a very crowded manner 16 prisoners. However, we have counted 30 men in this cell room, and are informed by the sheriff that it has held as many as 44 at one time. There is 1 toilet in the corner. This was stopped up at the time of one inspection and sewage was running over the floor. * * * Most of the prisoners sleep on the floor or on top of the cage.

"San Joaquin County Jail * * * is fireproof but not sanitary. The windows are narrow slits, completely covered with armor plate steel, through which are bored round holes about an inch in diameter. The light is so poor that it is practically impossible to read even in the middle of the day. The vermin, instead of being kept out by examination of incoming prisoners, are sprayed with anti-germine, the odor of which pervades the entire jail. The law regarding segregation is not complied with. Witnesses, men awaiting trial, and those serving sentence are sometimes kept together in the basement cells where there is not even a particle of furniture, not even the conventional wall bunks. They sit and sleep on the cement floors, over which are spread dirty mattresses and blankets.

"Bad as the physical conditions in county jails may be, they are less of a problem than that aspect of the situation which might be referred

to as prison discipline. One key to the difficulty lies in the fact of enforced idleness. * * * The great majority of convicted men are simply locked up in cages like wild animals. They may twiddle their thumbs, they may exchange stories of criminal experience, they may gloat over perverted justice, they may brood over wrongs done them by society, or they may sit in pious penitence. In 1916, only 15 out of 58 county jails provided anything like regular work. * * *

"This enforced idleness combines with a crude congregate system of handling prisoners to make discipline a farce. As an abstract proposition who would think of locking a lot of men in an empty room and expect them not only to behave but to improve themselves? Yet this same impossible result is presumably supposed to come from a jail sentence. As a matter of fact, something very different happens. * * * Where women prisoners are handled by male officers and where male "trusties" are given access to the women's department, there is at least no assurance that immoral practices are not indulged in.

"Another feature of jail life is the 'Kangaroo Court.' This is an organization of prisoners for the purpose of holding mock trials. As a form of self-government and as a means of enforcing cleanliness and order in congregate jails, it is not altogether bad; but it has possibilities of injustice which make it an institution to be condemned. Following are 2 of the 8 'Rules of the Kangaroo Court' of Kern County, California: 'I. All persons entering here shall be searched by the sheriff of the 'Kangaroo Court,' II. The judge has the power to fine an inmate from 1 to 5 dollars, to be used for tobacco and sugar for inmates.'"

Alabama.—Alabama has a "State Prison Inspector" whose special duty it is to improve the condition of county jails, and who has the power to condemn any jail which does not conform to proper standards. Under this system the condition of the Alabama jails has been greatly improved. In this report for 1918 State Inspector Glenn Andrews, M. D., says:

"During the time covered by this report * * * the sanitary condition of the jails generally has been found better than ever before. It has, however, been necessary to criticize a number of the sheriffs for their lack of attention to the jails."

Dr. Andrews reports 16 jails out of 75 as "not conforming to the requirements of the law" and therefore condemned; he reports also 8 "jails conforming to the requirements of law in some respects but for good and various reasons should be condemned." This means that one-third of the jails of the State were or should have been condemned in a State which has made marked improvement in its jail conditions.

Dr. Andrews called attention to the remarkable decline in the jail population. The average number of prisoners in county jails, during the years named, was as follows: 1915, 1,413; 1916, 1,102; 1917, 898; 1918, 600. This represents a decrease of 58 per cent. in three years upon which Dr. Andrews remarks:

"Several reasons are assigned for this, viz.: prohibition, improved methods of court procedure, emigration of a large number of Negroes,

the army draft, enforcement of the vagrancy laws, thus dispelling idleness, farmers and others making bonds for prisoners in order to procure their labor, etc."

South Carolina.—The State Board of Charities and Corrections, about five years ago, adopted a scoring system for county jails, chain gangs, and almshouses, at the same time instituting a campaign for the improvement of the jails. Under this plan there has been a marked improvement in the condition of the county jails of the State. Out of a possible 1,000 points, the average scores were as follows: 1917, 640; 1918, 659; 1919, 671. In 1919, out of 45 jails, 7 jails scored about 750 points and 9 scored below 600. Twenty jails scored above the average and 23 below it.

Notwithstanding the recognized improvement, the secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections reported in 1919:

"A great need in most of our South Carolina jails is a better arrangement for the separation of adult and juvenile prisoners. The Act * * * of 1912 distinctly requires that no juveniles shall be incarcerated in the same room with adult criminals, but this law is disregarded at will by at least 60 per cent. of our county officers. * * * Recently we saw 8 or 10 adult Negro men, 1 white man, a Negro girl about grown, and a little Negro boy about twelve years of age, all in one room, grouped around the only fire in the building. * * * We have seen numbers of jails containing adults and juveniles together in the same room, and we have actually seen this mingling allowed in 1 or 2 jails that had entirely separate quarters provided for boys. * * *

"There are 17 jails in South Carolina which may be classed as 'fire traps,' and several others in which the fire risk is more or less serious. * * *

"We have a number of jails which are totally unfit to house human beings for long periods of time. There are 3 or 4 of them in which it is necessary to burn a light in the day in order to read a newspaper, and several of them are ventilated by narrow slits in the walls rather than by windows. We have 2 jails which were built in 1823."

The foregoing instances, which might be duplicated in many States of the Union, are given to illustrate that, notwithstanding the efforts of prison reformers for the past fifty years, and notwithstanding the great improvement of conditions in many county jails, the county jail system of the United States, as a whole, continues to be disgraceful, and that it is generally true throughout the United States that prisoners awaiting trial, all of whom are either actually or constructively innocent, are subjected to conditions far more severe than those which prevail in most of the State prisons and State reformatories for convicted felons; that their health is endangered; and that they are often exposed to the most disagreeable and sometimes indecent conditions.

But the worst reproach of the jail system is that prisoners awaiting trial, many of whom are young and inexperienced, are exposed to the most debasing and corrupting influences, and are kept under such conditions as destroy their self-respect and subject them to blackmail and persecution by prison associates after they are discharged.

ELIMINATION OF ENFORCED ASSOCIATION IN IDLENESS.

The real crux of the jail question is how to obviate the pernicious effects of the enforced association of prisoners of all sorts and descriptions in idleness. Secretary A. G. Byers, of Ohio, for many years advocated the separate detention of each jail prisoner in his own cell, on the ground that the evils of separate confinement were infinitely less than the evils of corrupt association. He secured the enactment of a law compelling the separate confinement of prisoners in the jails of Ohio whenever the construction of the jail would permit, and he secured the erection of at least 10 or 12 jails with this end in view. A similar law was enacted in the State of Minnesota. The separate confinement of prisoners prevailed in a good many individual jails in different parts of the country. There is much to be said in favor of this plan, but it is practically impossible to secure its enforcement because of the popular prejudice against solitary confinement.

THE VERMONT PLAN.

Sheriff Frank Tracy, of Montpelier, Vermont, will describe in this Congress the plan which has been pursued in Vermont for the last 13 years, under which the sheriff finds outside jobs for nearly all of his prisoners,—both those awaiting trial and those serving sentence,—in the vicinity of the jail and usually with farmers, but often with other employers. The prisoner goes to work in the morning with his dinner bucket, does a day's work, and returns at night to sleep in the jail. He remains constantly in the custody of the sheriff, who collects his wages, deducts one dollar per day to reimburse the county for his keep, and pays the remainder to his dependent family, or, on discharge, to the prisoner himself.

Under Sheriff Tracey's plan multitudes of prisoners have paid their way, earned money for their families, and have made good after discharge. The number of escapes has been negligible—less than one-fourth of one per cent. The plan is approved by the community.

IMPROVEMENT OF JAIL CONDITIONS.

Faithful and persistent efforts have been made for more than fifty years for the improvement of jail conditions by such organizations as the prison associations of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in the East, together with such organizations as the Central Howard Association and the Society for Friendless in the West. Similar efforts have been made by the State prison commissions of Massachusetts and New York, the Department of Public Welfare of Illinois, the State Prison Inspector of Alabama, and the State Board of Public Welfare in South Carolina. Jail conditions have improved greatly in the States of Alabama and South Carolina.

The improvement, however, has been for the most part along lines of physical and sanitary conditions, but thus far little has been accomplished in the way of organized reformatory work for non-convicted prisoners.

INSTITUTIONS FOR MISDEMEANANT PRISONERS.

The subject of county farms and chain gangs for misdemeanor prisoners will be covered by the papers of Mr. H. C. Brearley, Assistant Secretary of the South Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, and Mr. Charles A. Clark, Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners of Jacksonville, Florida.

Mr. Sanford Bates, Commissioner of Correction for the State of Massachusetts, will discuss the proposed legislation in that State for the abolition of the jail as a penal institution and the substitution of district workhouses under the care of the State.

WOMEN AND GIRLS AWAITING COURT ACTION.

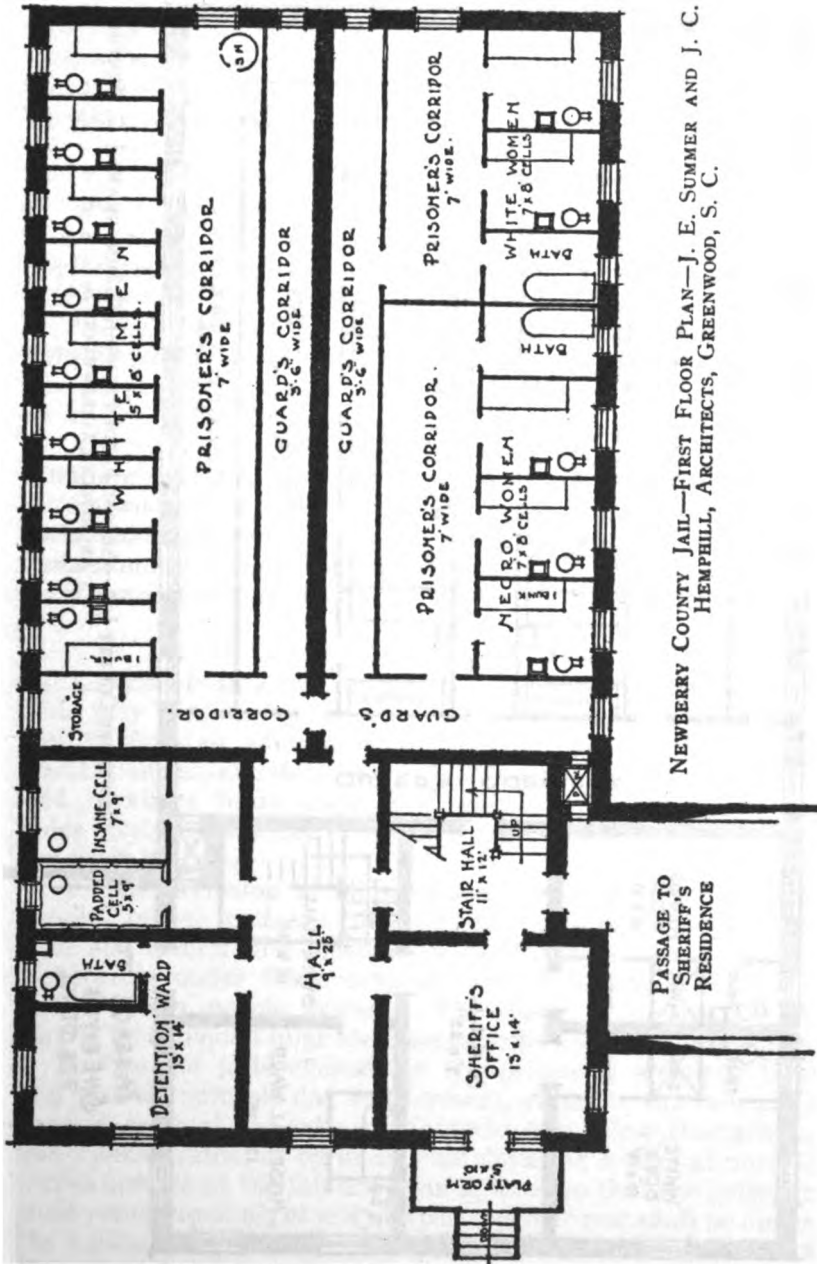
The confinement of women and young girls in the common jail has been a scandal for generations. It was the general practice to keep female prisoners under the exclusive care of male officers; and for young girls to be locked up in the same compartment and often in the same cell with vicious, depraved and diseased women.

In recent years laws have been enacted in most States forbidding the keeping of girls under sixteen in jails, and jail matrons have been provided in most of the large cities. Yet it is a common thing in the smaller jails (and in some larger ones) to have no jail matron. Sometimes the matron is off duty at night and the jailer carries the keys to the women's department.

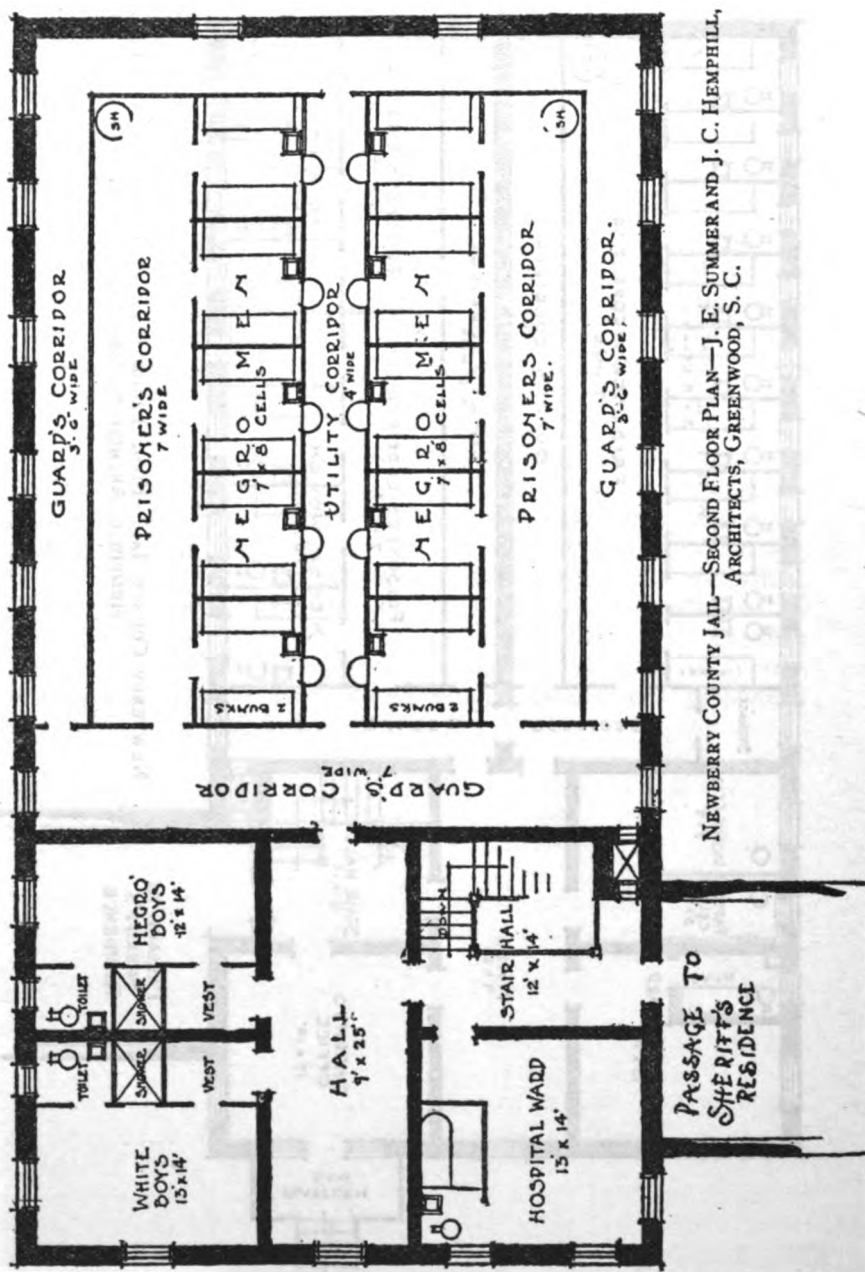
Many recent instances might be cited. In the New Haven County Jail, in 1917, 40 women associated in idleness without any classification. The two matrons went off duty at 8 p. m. and a woman prisoner was in charge until morning. In the Penobscot County Jail at Bangor, Maine, in 1918, 2 small cells contained 10 women. The only access to the women's department was through the men's cell room where prisoners were visible in various degrees of undress and no matron was employed. In the Palm Beach County Jail in Florida, in 1919, a negro woman occupied an unscreened cell in full view from the entrance corridor. Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Miss Maud Miner, and Mrs. Mina Van Winkle will discuss modern and decent methods of caring for women and girls awaiting court action.

THE NEGRO OFFENDER.

The problem of the prisoner awaiting court action and the misdemeanor prisoner serving sentence is complicated, especially in the southern States, by the disproportionate number of negro prisoners. If proper classification is maintained it involves the creation of a number of distinct departments. This difficulty has been met in the jail of Newberry County, South Carolina, by making 9 distinct departments, in order to separate men, women, sentenced prisoners, sick prisoners and those awaiting trial.



NEWBERRY COUNTY JAIL—FIRST FLOOR PLAN—J. E. SUMMER AND J. C. HEMPHILL, ARCHITECTS, GREENWOOD, S. C.



NEWBERRY COUNTY JAIL—SECOND FLOOR PLAN—J. E. SUMMER AND J. C. HENPHILL,
ARCHITECTS, GREENWOOD, S. C.

The subject will be discussed by Secretary G. Croft Williams of the South Carolina State Board of Public Welfare. It will be discussed incidentally in the discussion of county jails, county farms, and chain gangs by Mr. H. C. Brearley, of South Carolina, and Mr. Charles A. Clark, of Florida.

CHARACTER BUILDING IN JAILS.

Mr. J. F. Wright will discuss the possibility of organized work among jail prisoners for character building, setting forth some practical efforts in this direction which are being made by the Pathfinders of America.

In the past the American Prison Association has dealt with this subject only occasionally. The subject was omitted from the program of the Association at one time for 9 years and at another time for 5 years.

Your Committee respectfully recommends that there be a standing committee on the Care of Persons Awaiting Court Action and Short Term Prisoners; the scope of this committee to include jails, lock-ups, police stations, detention homes, and institutions for short-term prisoners.

Your Committee offers for consideration the following:

OUTLINE OF A JAIL PROGRAM.

1. The elimination of political control of county jails. This may be done by relieving the county sheriffs of responsibility for jail administration and making the jails State institutions administered by a State board; by making jailers and turnkeys State employees, selected under civil service rules solely on account of fitness; and by establishing schools for their training.

2. The exclusion of all sentenced prisoners who are sick people, insane patients, debtors, and children from county jails and committing misdemeanants to State farms or district farms under State control with reformatory discipline and a State parole system. The State probation system should be extended to misdemeanor convicts as well as felons.

3. Use the jails exclusively for prisoners awaiting trial and provide suitable day employment, either in the jail, as is done in some of the jails of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, or by finding employment by day at normal wages outside of the jail but near at hand so that the prisoner shall return each night and sleep in the jail, and shall be under the constant supervision of the jailer in accordance with the Vermont plan which has been successfully pursued for 15 years by Sheriff Tracy at Montpelier, and has been followed

with some modification with a fair degree of success in Windham County, Connecticut, Newcastle County, Delaware, and Rock County, Wisconsin. The prisoner awaiting trial cannot be compelled to work, but should be permitted to work under the conditions above suggested. Those who decline to work should be separately confined in their own cells, as is required by law in Minnesota and Ohio, in order to prevent corrupt association.

4. Development of rational plans for the intellectual and moral improvement of jail prisoners in such ways as were developed 20 years ago by the John L. Whitman Improvement Association, composed of prisoners in the jail in Cook County, Chicago. It is suggested that such plans might be developed by trained jailers through co-operation with such local organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association.

5. By provision for suitable religious services and recreational plans, which should be directed by intelligent and judicious people approved by the jailer.

6. By systematic and adequate plans for obtaining employment for discharged prisoners.

Respectfully submitted,

HASTINGS H. HART,
Chairman.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 30.

MASS MEETING.

MR. MARCUS FAGG OF JACKSONVILLE, SECRETARY OF THE LOCAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen; Folks from Jacksonville. I am tickled to death just to have the opportunity to say a few words of appreciation on my part and on the part of the Committee in Jacksonville for the wonderful service the people of Jacksonville have rendered to us in making the arrangements for this convention possible. I didn't know I was going to have a chance to do this this afternoon. They insisted on my coming on the platform and I didn't even guess they had some ulterior motive, but, after all, I am really delighted to have this chance, because I do believe the people of Jacksonville have gone a bit out of their way to make this conference feel at home, and that they have ex-

tended to you some of the genuine Southern hospitality I have loved so much these 11 years it has been my privilege to serve. We have made these folks feel they are really and truly welcome in Jacksonville. It has been my privilege to serve more than one function during the 20 years I have been in social work, and it has never been my privilege to serve so fine a group of people as the men and women who compose the membership and the officers of the American Prison Association.

I am not representing the Mayor particularly, but inasmuch as he is absent, I am going to assume the authority, Mr. President, and say to you in behalf of the people of Florida and the people of Jacksonville, particularly, that we are delighted to have you here, and any service we may have rendered in making you feel at home and in giving you suitable places for your meetings and any other services rendered, have been done out of the gladness of our hearts.

THE PRESIDENT:—It is a great pleasure to introduce Honorable Warren T. McCray, Governor of Indiana, who will speak on The Human Harvest.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens: I come to you today at the solicitation of my good friend, Dr. Butler, who has labored so long with you in these important conferences, and to whom we in Indiana owe so much for the work that he has done in helping solve these difficult problems.

THE HUMAN HARVEST.

By GOVERNOR WARREN T. MCCRAY OF INDIANA.

I do not wish to be understood as being one who presumes to speak with authority on prison questions.

What I have to say will be in the nature of my own observations, and may sound to those of my audience who have had years of training in this important work as immature or perhaps amateurish.

To me, environment of this kind forcefully suggests the contrast of the life of those unfortunates who must live in the dark shadows of prison walls. Under the old system of management we were led to believe that their life was filled with hopeless and unending darkness, but, under the beneficent teachings of this enlightened age, we have changed this in many places until prison life is receiving its just portion of enlightened progress. Is crime increasing and if so, why? This is a question that constantly suggests itself to

those who are interested in social problems. It is difficult, indeed, to answer the question correctly. New crimes are continually being defined by statute. Each succeeding legislation in every State adds to the number of possible offenses. Modern inventions have contributed their part to the increased number of statutes and their corresponding violations. No one can tell what new law may be necessary for the proper control of air craft, or what regulations may be required to safeguard the operation of wireless telephones and telegraph when those strange sciences are fully developed.

Every student of penology knows that crimes vary according to locality, and that the moral atmosphere of the various communities has much to do with the amount and character of its law violations. From some localities many commitments are received, from others few. Local and business conditions have a great deal to do with the amount of crime. It is the universal rule that business depression and lack of employment contribute to delinquency. The adoption of the prohibition amendment to the constitution has had a most wholesome effect upon crime in general. The contrast between the effect of the present liquor laws and the condition prior to their adoption is remarkable. In the State I represent the admissions to our county jails averaged 21,000 during the past 3 years, as against 41,000 annually for the 3 years immediately preceding their passage, a reduction of almost 50 per cent.

There are definite reasons why some seed are worthy of propagation and are planted and cared for, while others cannot germinate, or do so only to die or give poor yields. The good seeds are produced by good, strong parents, are grown under favorable conditions with an opportunity to develop without being crowded, are properly nourished and cared for after harvest in a way to prevent deterioration. The wise farmer is continually at work to produce better seeds. His fanning mill is the first step in this development, and his aim is to reduce the amount of poor, weak seed to the minimum.

Unfortunately there is no set of rules or methods by which it is possible to separate at all times the good human beings from the bad. Much progress has been made, however, and today we are in a better position to determine why we have criminals than we were a generation ago. The underlying problems have been the subject of sympathetic study and scientific inquiry by philanthropists, and many of the most capable men of this and other nations have given their lives to the work. There could be no nobler calling. What service

can be greater than that of helping those who are not capable because of unfortunate circumstances, to help themselves? What calling more worthy than that of investigating the causes which breed criminals and applying remedies which prevent crime? To elevate the lawless to law-abiding citizens, to make an asset of that class which is a menace to society, is worthy of our best time and thought.

As the farmer strives to improve his seed and livestock by eliminating the causes that are responsible for inferior quality, so must we strive to determine and eliminate the causes which lead men and women to pursue lives that hamper the progress of society and bring them, finally, behind prison walls. Heredity and environment, in both cases, are the factors to be dealt with.

Heredity is largely responsible for insanity, feeble-mindedness, and physical defects—all contributors to crime. From our reformatories for men and women comes the word that about one-third of their inmates are mentally defective and most of these feeble-minded. And this strain will carry on indefinitely. What are we going to do about it? We are taught in Holy Writ that we should bear the burden of the weak. How are we going to bear the burden of the feeble-minded? How long shall we be able to bear it at the present rate of increase?

The feeble-minded children are usually affectionate and are easily led to do good as to do what is bad. They can be trained to good habits or to evil habits, depending upon the instruction they receive.

Our information further is, that many of the population of institutions are illiterate. One-half of the total have not reached the fourth grade in the public schools. Sixty-five per cent. come from broken homes, homes into which death or separation for some other reason has entered. Almost as many have never attended church or Sunday School. Half of them were unemployed when the offense for which they were sentenced was committed. This is the story the northern reformatories bring to us. Let this fact be indelibly impressed upon our minds! To the environment which causes crowded living conditions, unhealthfulness, destitution, idleness, or the forming of bad habits, can be traced a multitude of wrong doings.

But there is hope for the poorly born, and those who must live in an environment conducive to evil doing. There is abundance of evidence to show that children who, judging from their parents, might be expected to develop into law-

breakers, will, when brought up in favorable surroundings, become law-abiding useful citizens. We hope that illiteracy, which accompanies lawlessness, will become a relic of former days, as our schools reach out into the highways and by-ways of every community. In Indiana we have a compulsory school attendance law. All children between the ages of 7 and 16 must attend school regularly, except when mentally or physically unfit, or when temporary absences are granted on request of the parents.

The temptation to live beyond one's means has led many people to commit various forms of crime, but I hope that the recent nation-wide thrift campaign will have untold value in relieving that situation. Idleness and lawlessness usually go hand in hand. People who have formed industrious habits will want to work for a living. If they have not been led to form such habits, they will try to get their living by lawless means, with the least effort. The man who is busy is contented—he has no time nor desire to deviate from the law. He seeks the society of his fellow workmen, who are also law-abiding, rather than the society of law violators. In prisons as well as out of them, the effect of work is the same. Prison officials realize the advantages which come from having prisoners kept busy in useful occupations.

We feel that we have been very successful in the management of the penal institutions in Indiana, and our success can be attributed chiefly to the fact that we have broad-minded, big-hearted superintendents who keep the inmates of the institution busy. The opportunity to engage in interesting pursuits is of untold benefit not only to those sound in body and mind, but also to those committed to the hospital for insane criminals. In that hospital, last year, the patients produced a quantity of shirting, sheeting, toweling, socks, mattresses, rugs and many articles for use about the prison, valued at \$6,397.08. In their garden of a little less than an acre, these insane men raised vegetables, melons and grapes valued at \$906. And who would dare say that they were not better physically and mentally as a result of their labors? In all the institutions in the State the prisoners enjoy their work. Time hangs less heavily on their hands, and they are really made happy over their accomplishments in spite of their surroundings. They are taught trades which prepare them for useful lives after their prison term has expired and the products made while behind the walls become a source of revenue to the State.

In Indiana misdemeanants receiving a sentence of more

than thirty days are committed, men to the Indiana State Farm at Putnamville, and women to the correctional department of the Woman's Prison. The latter is the class that have served sentences in county jails prior to the establishment of these institutions.

What is the effect of prison life upon these people? When received they are given a physical and mental examination. The figures from Indiana where the indeterminate sentence and parole law has been in operation 24 years may be of interest. Fourteen thousand five hundred prisoners have been released under supervision. Only 27 per cent. violated the conditions of their parole. This is indeed a remarkable record.

A few years ago our State Legislature enacted a law which provided for the establishment of a penal farm. This institution now consists of an open, unwallled prison of 1,892 acres, very extensive in its farms, quarries, woodlands and orchards. It is a busy place, where the spirit and discipline are good and escapes are few. Almost everything needed for the subsistence of the institution is produced. Farming, gardening, dairying, and the manufacture of stone products, clay products, willow ware and clothing, besides the necessary activities of the service departments, keep the men steadily occupied.

It is far easier to state the general causes of wrong doing than to discover the remedies and apply them.

If I were to sum up in one word the remedy to reduce criminal and lawless classes, that word would be *training*. Training for the illiterate, homeless, thriftless, churchless and idle corresponds to the cultivation and care the farmer gives his seed. The faithful tiller of the soil plants his best seed, and by careful cultivation, reaps a good harvest. Without cultivation, even though he planted good seed, his harvest would be small. Without good training, even the best-bred children cannot be expected to develop into manhood and womanhood with a proper respect for the law. It is just as natural to suppose that unhealthful moral environment will corrupt a well-born child as it is to suppose that a child born of lawless parents and brought up in a Christian, law-abiding home will develop into a citizen who respects all laws of God and man. Of course there are exceptions in both cases, but examples are plentiful to show that correct training, especially early in life, builds the foundation that enables individuals to withstand temptation to break laws.

To judicious training can be credited the development of a

strong will-power, the formation of good habits, and a mode of living essential to best citizenship. Training coupled with the removal of temptation to do wrong makes the prescription more complete. Attempts to train an individual under conditions where temptations are always present may be unsuccessful.

The removal of temptations that breed lawlessness are under our control in many cases. This line of endeavor should receive our most earnest and co-operative attention. Again I refer to nation-wide prohibition as offering a striking example of the benefits which come from the removal of temptation and the accomplishments of united effort. When our government removed the saloon and its ever-present temptation to drink it took away the greatest factor contributing to misery and lawlessness the world has ever known. Following the enforcement of the Volstead Act there has been a marked reduction in crime in all parts of the country.

All will admit the good influence of the home, school and church, but frequently the latter is not given the credit to which it is entitled. The church has a far-reaching effect on a community, benefitting not alone those who are included in its membership. Invariably the community which takes pride in its churches has a large percentage of law-abiding citizens. Parents who do not attend church will move into a locality surrounding a progressive church in order to bring up their children, even though they may not give to it the credit for uplifting the moral tone of the community. Compare the parts of any city which are with and without churches. It is indeed difficult to conceive a community nowadays which is entirely without church influence.

There have been many attempts to establish some means to identify individuals, the object being to determine certain physical marks which were characteristic of all criminals. It has been stated that so many men who have committed crimes have certain peculiarities in the shape and size of their heads. If these physical deviations have even a casual relation to their conduct, since the heads cannot be altered, the criminals would therefore be without hope of reformation. But the heart has more to do with the matter than the conformation of the head, and though it is impossible to give a man a new head free from the objectionable shape, it is possible to give him a new heart. Renew the spirit of the culprit, cultivate a desire for law-observance and the chances are favorable for his return from wrong-doing. Give the criminally inclined a new heart and he will resist the temptation to be lawless.

THE NEXT TEN YEARS.

By DR. CHARLES H. JOHNSON, SECRETARY STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES,
ALBANY, N. Y.

You realize that the subject which has been given me has been assigned by the Program Committee. I have no prophetic power. I wasn't the seventh son of a seventh son, nor was I born with a caul over my face, nor have I ever had a crystal bowl to look into, so I cannot forecast anything regarding the future, except by reference to the past. It is very gratifying that what has been said regarding the past developments gives us a very definite and a very satisfactory basis to forecast the future.

A great deal has been done in the past 50 years; and we can hope and believe that much more will be accomplished in the future 10 years than was accomplished in the past 25 years.

Now, in looking out into the future with our better means of communication, and of education, we can expect that within the next 10 years there shall be considerable progress and development in these fields in which we are so tremendously interested.

Like Ancient Gaul, I should like to divide what I have to say into 3 parts which may make it easier for you to remember and also for me to remember. In the first place, I sincerely trust that the next ten years will show a development that will take the discussion and treatment of our social problems out of the rather foggy and murky atmosphere of sentimentalism and place it on the solid ground of justice and reason. We have been too much inclined to discuss our social problems in the light of sentimentality. In fact, there are people who depend upon their emotions for all their good deeds. They are doing good deeds because they feel like it. Some particular physical condition, perhaps, is producing a degree of emotionalism which they satisfy by partaking in good deeds. But we cannot keep our progress on these particular lines if we are going to have them on the shifty basis of mere sentimentalism or emotionalism. We must have a more solid understanding and reason for the things we are doing and the things we are advocating.

As far as the prisoner is concerned, he ought not to be idolized, and he ought not to be ostracized. Both are equally unjust and equally unfair. There are those who have held the prisoner up to us as a miserable, abject individual, who has

no fault of his own, a result of social injustice to be pitied and coddled until he becomes an object who worships himself and expects everybody else to bow down to him. That has never done a prisoner any good. There can never be very much progress by having a man place himself in the wrong relationship to society or the wrong relationship to his own past. He ought to be conscious of the fact that he has transgressed the laws of the community, and any sort of administration or any kind of a philosophy of crime or its treatment which makes a man live a better life—I mean as far as creature comforts are concerned, and that tells him he is not to blame for what he has done, is doing that man a great injustice. Men who have transgressed the laws should realize that they have committed a crime against the community. They have made innocent people suffer. They have done the things that are wrong, and, as it says in the Good Book, "he who breaketh a hedge, a serpent shall bite," and the man who breaks down the hedges of the laws of society, must expect that the serpent of punishment is going to catch him and bite him.

Now, there is a good deal said about love. I sometimes wonder how much a man desires to be loved by other men. I sometimes wonder how much a prisoner is longing for the love of the warden. I cannot imagine a prisoner walking up and down the prison yard with a daisy in his hand and pulling off the petals, saying, "He loves me; he loves me not." If I found a prisoner doing that sort of thing, I think I would lock him up for his own safety and for the safety of others. The men in prison are not asking for anyone to weep over them. They ask for a fair deal. They want to feel that the "Big Chief," is going to see that the treatment they receive is such that they are entitled to receive in every particular human phase. Not for a moment would we eliminate the feeling of kindness and sympathy and good-will, but any philosophy in the treatment of the prisoner which is based on the idea of overwhelming love and kindness and sentiment and "Don't hurt his feelings, and don't do anything that is going to make him feel bad," that sort of philosophy is going to react in making crime more desirable and the punishment less feared.

On the other hand, the prisoner is not an object to be ostracized. As far as the community is concerned, a great deal of injustice has been done by the community who refuses to receive him after he has paid his debt to the law. Men come out of prison who have made good, who are determined to make good out of prison, and what do they find? They find a

cold world, that has no place for them, and will not receive them kindly. There are many men and women here this afternoon who can testify to the difficulty of getting the released prisoner a job, because men and women in the community are afraid to receive the individual who has done time in the prison.

Now, we cannot treat our great social problems on the basis of either excessive sentimentality of love or excessive hatred. Neither will accomplish the result we so greatly desire. You cannot feel toward the institutions of your State and your City any other feeling, in justice, than that of co-operation and willingness to help those who are carrying out the work in those institutions. The institutions, both prisons and others, suffer from their failures. You judge them by the men who do not make good. Boys come out of a reform school and men out of prison who walk the paths of rectitude and who become good citizens of the community. You never hear of them, but you judge your institutions by those who go wrong. Do you consider that you give the head of an institution the hardest and toughest job that can be given to any human being? You take men, women, boys and girls out of the community, upon whom every effort has been put, by the church, the school, the settlement, the probation worker, the Boy Scout leader, the social worker, the home and the neighborhood, and then put them into an institution, either for young or old, and you expect the institution by some mysterious hocus-pocus to make them into fine citizens within a few months or years. You ought to give to those institution men and to those who are working with this difficult problem all the encouragement and inspiration you can give, and let them feel that back of their efforts there stands an enlightened community that will not be carried off its feet by sentimentality or overkindness or by hatred.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the second thing in the next ten years which will be developed in our life will be a decided determination to begin at the beginning. All the institutions in the world are not going to solve our social problem. The very best prison, with the finest tennis courts, and the loveliest baths, and the most beautiful handball court, and all the pool and billiards, is not going to solve the problem of crime. The luxuries will not solve the problem of poverty. If we are going to solve these great social problems, we have got to begin with them long before the prison door or the institution door is reached. These prisons and institutions can take the person who is sick and attempt to make him well, but that does not

affect the breeding spots of the disease outside in the community. We, as members of the outside world, must assume a social responsibility for the clearing up of these places and these habits and these customs which bring about crime and poverty and pauperism and other anti-social conditions. There are various things that cry to us for relief. The child in your State is the crux of the whole situation.

I was connected for a time with a prison, and while in that prison we built a new death house. After the death house was finished, before anybody came in, I very often sat in there and tried to meditate. It is a rather gruesome place to meditate. And yet it is perhaps a very helpful place in which to meditate occasionally. I began to try to imagine where are the men, and women possibly, who are going to come into this building. Where are they? When I went to Sunday School, they used to have preachers and missionaries who would tell us there is some boy who is going to become governor of the State of New York, or the president of the United States, or mayor, and we all believed him, and we all hoped for it. There are future governors in the Sunday Schools in the cities today, and there are future congressmen, and future senators, and future leaders of industry and commerce. But where is the prostitute of 20 years from now, or 15 years from now? Where is the murderer; where is the thief; where is the burglar of 15 or 20 years from now? In some mother's arms today, in some part of your city today, somewhere, those future criminals and law-breakers, our boys and girls are on the streets or in the homes. You don't know and I don't know where they are this minute, but we do know this, that it is our duty and responsibility to tackle this problem of crime at the beginning, and the beginning is the boy and girl in the street of the city, and to see to it that our social and municipal structure is so arranged that every boy and girl in Jacksonville or in the State of Florida is going to get a fair chance to have a clean healthy body, a suitable education, a proper playground opportunity in his youth, a chance for protection against the enemies of boyhood and opportunity to grow up with at least a chance to be a good and useful citizen of this commonwealth. That is our opportunity.

You know we often talk about the business prospects of the city in terms of factories, railway terminals, and seaport facilities. It remained for a city of the South to set a new example. A Southern city not very many miles from here through its Rotary Club offered a reward of \$250 to any city that would prove it was the best city in which children could

grow up, and that set a new standard for a municipality. The cities competing for that prize had to show what they had in the way of playgrounds and educational facilities, children's clinics and the other things that make children healthy and happy. And what better things could be said about Jacksonville, what finer things could be said about Florida, than that it is a place where boys and girls are protected, that it is a place where children get a chance to grow up to honest, clean, upright, lives because the community is making it possible for them to do so? We ought to tackle this great problem of ours at the beginning.

We have better and better institutions, but all these institutions are never going to wipe the disease out of the community. If there were in this town a typhoid fever epidemic, what would happen? You would not build a group of new hospitals; you would not spend your time discussing each patient. Your sanitary officers would go out into the community and find the bad water or the bad milk supply or where the house-fly perhaps was polluting the community. You would get at the cause of that typhoid fever and clean it up. Now, when boys and girls get into the school for delinquency from Jacksonville or other places do we sit down and think and talk it over? We simply take it as an accepted fact and try to make our juvenile courts better, and try to make our reform school better, and try to improve our jails without going back to the polluted source,—the neighborhood, the home, or whatever it may be, defective education, or defective pleasures which the child is being subjected to.

In the third place, and the last place, it is to be sincerely hoped that during the next 10 years we shall see to it, as has been emphasized already here this afternoon, that all the institutions shall become salvage depots, that they shall become places where men and women, if it is humanly possible, shall be saved. The Salvation Army has shown us what can be done in the way of salvage in material things; the great captains of industry have shown us what can be done from the old refuse pile, and some of the by-products of the great commercial institutions are more valuable than the original product. The job of the institution is to take, by the help of God and help of science and of all that humanity can contribute, these individuals that come to it and attempt to re-make and reform them and send them with some degree of usefulness into the world, and this can only be done by a proper material environment. There is no reason why men sent to prison should be cooped up in uninhabitable cells or put in places

where their health is in jeopardy. The State may rightly take a man's liberty away from him, but it has no right to put him in an environment where his health breaks down. There should be a proper environment, healthy, clean, sanitary, for the men who are set apart from the community. There should be given the therapy of labor, for in the last analysis, there are few things that accomplish better results in the restoration of the human soul than the good old-fashioned medicine of a hard day's work. There should be given, in addition, the possibility of individual treatment. At least, the individual should not be lost in the mass, and should have an opportunity to receive such treatment as his particular malady or form of malady may require. It may be heredity. You know we all believe in heredity, every man, until his son begins to act like a darn fool, and then he stops believing in it. It may be heredity. It may be other things. It may be mental deficiency. There may be a whole series of causes, but treating the individual in the institution in the mass, making him go through, if not a physical lock-step, a mental and spiritual lock-step, is never going to bring any healing to his soul. The institution must have the equipment, and we must plead with our governors and with our legislatures to clean out of the institutions the old, antiquated equipment, and give the wardens and superintendents something to work with as they try to reclaim men.

The institution's object cannot be the object of punishment, revenge on the part of the society, or retribution. The object must be, as we heard this afternoon, the remaking, the saving of this that seems to be something thrown on the junk pile; saving it and making it useful in a degree to humanity.

These things may be accomplished in the next 10 years, and shall be accomplished in the next 10 years if we all get together on the job. I heard of a minister who had a large city parish and he was out in the country spending his vacation and they asked him if he would speak in the village church. So he set out one Sunday morning with a 9-year old boy and walked up to the church and he found on the front of the church a little box and this box said "Free-Will Offerings," and the minister pulled out 50 cents and dropped it in the box, and they went in the church and the minister preached and when the service was over and all the congregation had dispersed one of the elders said, "Now, Dominie, we are very poor people; we haven't much to give; we usually give whatever is in the free-will offering box." So they marched up to the free-will offering box and the deacon opened

it and found 50 cents and he gave it to the preacher, and the preacher put it in his pocket and he walked home with his little boy. As they were walking across the field, the little boy was thinking over this matter very seriously and finally said, "Father, say if you had put more in that box, you would have got more out, wouldn't you?" Now, if you will put more in this box you will get more out. If you will put more conscience, more social consciousness; if you will put more humanity, more commonsense; if you will put more money and consecrated effort into the social problem, the institutional problem, the whole thing together, you will get more out of it in the next 10 years.

SUNDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 30.

GENERAL SESSION.

The President:—A year ago at Columbus, Ohio, a resolution was adopted by the Congress to the effect that at the Sunday evening meeting memorial services would be held for the members who have passed away during the year. Brief memorials have been prepared and will now be presented.

ZEBULON REED BROCKWAY.

By FRANK L. CHRISTIAN, M.D., SUPT. ELMIRA REFORMATORY.

Although the prison service of Mr. Brockway began at the early age of 20, it was not until he was 34 years of age, and after he had been placed at the head of the Detroit House of Correction, in 1861, that he actually commenced to develop his theory of a model institution for the young offender; and it was here that he initiated the idea of combining employment, education and religious influence, in an effort to socially and industrially rehabilitate the youthful delinquent. Mr. Brockway's plan, based on reformation rather than punishment, had never been tested in America, and during his incumbency in Detroit he gained knowledge and experience, valuable in his later work at Elmira.

Mr. Brockway's chosen lifework may be said to have commenced with his position as clerk and transfer officer in the Wethersfield prison, and it continued with his acceptance of the appointment as deputy warden of the Albany County Penitentiary. This institution soon became well and favorably known, and its system and methods were widely copied. Here the inmates were actively employed making articles for sale in the open market. This was a step in advance of the old-time

prison, in that it afforded to a limited extent opportunity for the formation of habits of industry and the acquisition of industrial knowledge and skill.

The new Monroe County Penitentiary was being built, and upon its completion, Mr. Brockway, then but 27 years of age, was chosen its first superintendent.

Following his success in the Monroe County Penitentiary came his work in Detroit. By this time Mr. Brockway was becoming widely known and prominent in prison affairs. It was at this period that he worked zealously for the establishment of the indeterminate sentence. The "three-year" law which through his efforts was enacted in Michigan in 1870, was substantially the first indeterminate sentence act to be placed upon the statutes of any State in America. During the same year he advocated the enactment of a somewhat similar law for the State of New York, but it suffered defeat in the Legislature. Years of education and enlightenment were necessary to the accomplishment of his cherished purpose, but success eventually came.

In 1876, Mr. Brockway was summoned to become the first superintendent of the reformatory at Elmira, and here the greatest period of his lifework began. At this reformatory he firmly established the indeterminate sentence and parole. Here he established a system of education, including trades instruction, physical training and moral and ethical development, which has remained a standard to the present day. The institution to this day is referred to by former inmates as the "College on the Hill." Brockway and the Elmira reformatory seemed to belong to each other; distinguished visitors from all over the world came to meet the man and to learn of his methods and his institution. Books in all languages, on penology and criminology, devoted much space to Mr. Brockway and the institution he had developed.

At the annual sessions of the Prison Congress he was for many years a conspicuous figure, and in its deliberations he was always a recognized leader. Mr. Brockway was its President during the year 1898. His interest in its affairs never abated. The papers written by him for its sessional programmes were read before the association when the infirmities of age precluded his attendance at the meetings, and on these occasions formal greetings were always sent Mr. Brockway by action of the Association. One of his most noted papers was read before the association in 1870. This advocated the adoption of the indeterminate sentence, and was written during his

incumbency at Detroit. It was entitled "An Ideal Prison System for a State."

Mr. Brockway had a masterful personality, as all with whom he came in contact will attest. He was a tireless worker, and liked to see others constantly and profitably employed. He possessed the faculty to see the direction in which progress should be made, and knew how to secure co-operation of others and the personal force which contributes so materially to success.

He was gifted with the ability to develop not only his own ideas, but he also improved the ideas of others so effectively that the institutions with which he was connected in Albany, Rochester, Detroit and Elmira were not only successful but were always decidedly in advance of other penal institutions. Mr. Brockway was a theorist, but he was also a capable and efficient executive.

He retired from the superintendency of the reformatory in 1900 at the age of 73. The remaining 20 years of his life were fully occupied. He read and wrote almost constantly, maintained an extensive correspondence, and published his book: "Fifty Years of Prison Service." He was mayor of Elmira for a term, and also president of the board of managers of the Arnot-Ogden Hospital. Visitors to the reformatory were always interested in its founder, and eager to meet and converse with him at his home in Elmira. Two days after the closing of last year's Congress, at which time we sent him our accustomed greetings, we were informed of his death.

Z. R. Brockway was the dean of American penology, the outstanding figure in this field of endeavor, and the man whose vision was more than a half a century in advance of his contemporaries.

MAJOR R. W. McCLAUGHERY.

By ALBERT GARVIN, HARTFORD, CONN.

Major R. W. McClaughery was born in Fountain Green, Illinois, on July 22, 1839, and died November 10, 1920, in Chicago. He graduated from Monmouth College in 1860, enlisted in Company B, 118th Illinois Volunteers on August 15, 1862, and was mustered out with the rank of Major, October 13, 1865. He was appointed warden of the State Penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., on July 21, 1874, and resigned in 1888 to become general superintendent of the Pennsylvania Industrial Reformatory, which institution he opened and organized on May 1, 1891. He was appointed chief of police of Chicago in 1893.

Later he became superintendent of the reformatory at Pontiac, Ill., and remained there until called back as warden at Joliet. From July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1913, he was warden of the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, and this great prison was constructed under his supervision.

Major McClaughery represented the United States at the International Prison Congress held in Paris in 1895 and at that time, by invitation of the Home Secretary in Great Britain, inspected the British and Irish prisons. While at Joliet, he introduced the Bertillon method of identification and later the fingerprint system which resulted in the establishment of the National Bureau of Identification at Leavenworth.

Major McClaughery was president of this Association in 1899; was by nature and education splendidly equipped to fill the many positions that he held; resourceful, tactful; always accessible to both subordinates and prisoners, who knew that they could speak freely and frankly of their troubles, knowing that the fairest consideration would be given to them. He stood as a beacon light to better methods and was the first warden to apply the principle "live and let live" to prisoners. He had few equals as a prison administrator. His advice and counsel were sought by many managers of institutions throughout the country and he gave to them the best he knew. His great ability, kind heart and strong Christian character will make him long remembered as an ideal warden.

His work is finished. What a splendid record he leaves to the student of penology! After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well!

FRANK L. RANDALL.

By F. A. WHITTIER, STILLWATER, MINN.

Frank L. Randall was born at the then frontier Government post of Fort Ridgley near New Ulm, Minnesota, on September 30, 1856. His father, Major B. H. Randall, was a native of Vermont and his mother of Pennsylvania.

He received a common school education at St. Peter, Minn., and one year in College at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. His legal training was not the usual law course of today, but hours of study in the office of a lawyer and judge while he held the position of County Superintendent of Schools. He was admitted to the bar in 1879, practiced a year at Tracy, then formed a partnership with Ex-governor John Lind at New Ulm.

In 1886 he removed to Winona and was a partner there of James A. Tawney, who was afterwards prominent as a member of Congress. He was later associated with his brother

Richard, at Winona and was prosecuting attorney of Winona County for some years. He was married to Miss Winona E. Pierce in June, 1886. His wife, two daughters and one son survive him.

In 1898 he was appointed by Governor Lind a member of the Board of Managers of the Minnesota State Reformatory and in 1900 became superintendent of that institution which position he held until 1913. In June of that year he was appointed by Governor Foss of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Board of Prison Commissioners of that State. Later the title of the position was changed to that of Director of Prisons. Owing to ill health he tendered his resignation, but it was not accepted, and he spent some months in the South, returning to his work later; but being unable to continue, he finally resigned on September 20, 1916.

His heart which beat for everybody had protested at its load and he was barely able to hold on to life by exercising great care. The end came at Minneapolis on August 5, 1921.

When he was 8 years old, the community in which he lived was besieged for about a month at Fort Ridgley by the hostile Sioux Indians. He helped to make the history of Minnesota, and was an authority on the early history of his native State.

He was a delightful companion, and of the kind whose companionship was helpful. His fund of anecdotes he drew on freely. These, punctured by his keen wit and quaintly told, added force to his arguments. Always a gentleman, he was admired because of his ability and loved because of his character. Hatred was entirely absent from his make-up. His life was one of devotion to his family and friends. He was a valuable member of this Association and thoroughly enjoyed these annual meetings.

He could be turned to and relied upon for counsel and advice. He had the happy faculty of expressing himself tersely, yet he was not easily misunderstood. He is gone, and in his going this Association lost one of its most genial, helpful, clear-headed, self-sacrificing members. Our hearts are saddened, and the memories of his love and friendship fall as a benediction upon those he has left behind.

PERCY WARDSWORTH ALLEN

By THOMAS C. O'BRIEN, COMMISSIONER OF PRISONS, BOSTON, MASS.

In the midst of his labors, Percy W. Allen, superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory, passed from this life on

January 4, 1921. For 25 years Superintendent Allen had been identified with the reformatory as clerk, deputy and superintendent.

In 1892 the late Superintendent Joseph S. Scott, well known to the older members of this organization, appointed Mr. Allen clerk at the Massachusetts Reformatory, and on January 1, 1904, he was promoted to the position of deputy, which position he held until 1916, when he became superintendent. His record in the public service was without blemish. It is doubtful whether the State ever had a more efficient, capable or trustworthy servant. To his subordinates and to the "boys" his loss is great. His home has lost a loving and dutiful husband, and the community a broad-minded citizen of the highest ideals.

EDWARD A. FULLER.

By H. K. W. SCOTT, WARDEN CONNECTICUT STATE PRISON.

Edward A. Fuller of Suffield, Connecticut, died at his home February 15, 1921, at the ripe age of 79. He was from the first a strong supporter and an ardent friend of the American Prison Association. For years he was a regular attendant at its congresses, an interested critic of its spirit and endeavors, and a thorough believer in its power to lift prison administration out of its previous misconceptions into an atmosphere charged with the spirit of rational helpfulness in behalf of those who had found their way behind prison walls. He soon won the confidence of the Association and became a member of various committees, serving them all with fidelity, and for a term was its treasurer.

Mr. Fuller was a man of large influence in his native State, trusted at home with important civic duties and called to State office where his natural abilities fitted him for serious duty. He was a veteran of the Civil War and at the time of his death a director of the State's Home for Old Soldiers. He was interested in large financial corporations, a Mason of high degree, and a citizen who found time to divide his private with his public interests. But we here have to do with his prison connections.

He was made a director of the Connecticut State Prison in 1900, assuming his duties on March 13th of the same year, and continued in that office until the hour of his death. He was elected president of the board in 1911, and held that office until his voluntary resignation in 1915. In 1901, upon the enactment of the parole law, he was made chairman of the

Board of Parole and continued in that office until 1915, when he voluntarily resigned.

During his connection with the State prison he was a frequent visitor, inquiring diligently into the management, personally interviewing inmates and gathering information for the use of his associates. His study took him more and more into the group of men who were seeking to find a better system of control than was contemplated under the punitive system, and it was in large measure due to his liberality of judgment and talent for understanding that the Connecticut institution outgrew its old traditions and at the same time carried with it the confidence of the general public.

CLARENCE E. RICHARDS.

By ALBERT M. SAXE.* CHICAGO, ILL.

Clarence E. Richards was born in Jackson, Michigan, February 22, 1865. In 1870 the family moved to Butler County, Kansas, where his father homesteaded 160 acres of Government land. In 1881 the family left the farm, moving to Eldorado, the county seat, where Clarence Richards completed his schooling. In 1886 he became assistant engineer in charge of buildings and bridges for a branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad.

In 1889 he entered the employ of Edward Anderson, one of the older architects of Cincinnati, Ohio, continuing with him as draftsman and superintendent for two years. He then went into partnership with his brother, Gary F. Richards, beginning business in Newark, Ohio, in 1891. In 1893 he became superintendent of construction for the firm of Yost and Packard, Architects, at Columbus, Ohio. In 1899 he organized the firm of Richards McCarthy & Bulford, Architects, at the head of which he remained until his death.

During the period of over twenty years that Mr. Richards was engaged in the practice of architecture in Columbus, the firm with which he was connected, became well known throughout the Central West, designing and superintending the construction of many commercial and public buildings in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Kansas and Texas. The firm of Richards McCarthy & Bulford was given the commission for planning the New Penitentiary for the State of Ohio to be located at London, Ohio, and much of the last five years of Mr. Richards' life was given to the study of the problems of modern prison architecture.

*Read by Henry W. Tomlinson.

Mr. Richards bore a high reputation in his profession and in the business world in general and was a member of many clubs and societies. He was a member and served a term as chairman of the Committee on Prison Architecture of the American Prison Congress.

THE PRESIDENT: Tonight's session is held under the auspices of the Chaplain's Association, a very important division of the American Prison Association, and it is my very great pleasure to introduce the president of that association, the Reverend William D. Beall, Chaplain, Maryland Penitentiary at Baltimore.

THE PLACE OF THE PREACHER IN PRISON REFORM.

By REV. WILLIAM D. BEALL, CHAPLAIN MARYLAND PENITENTIARY.

It is but natural that preachers should view prisons and prison reform in relation to their own calling, and should magnify the place of the preacher therein. But indeed it is a matter that needs not to be magnified. The preacher has always been prominent in all reforms. This has brought upon him much criticism and censure. The reformer must always be in advance of his age, and therefore must come in for criticism and even vituperation; but after awhile his fellows accept and finally glory in his work. That prison conditions needed reforming is not an open question. No wonder, then, that these "turners of things upside down," should find an inviting field for their endeavors to bring things "right side up."

Then too, this work is in the very charter of Christian preaching. Of the founder of Christianity it was said:

"He hath anointed me to preach good tidings, to proclaim liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

To furnish a list of the names of preachers who have been interested in or had a part in this work, would be almost to catalog the Christian ministry from the time of its Founder with His name heading the list in letters of living light.

I will not presume to select some names to the exclusion of others, who though not less faithful and earnest, have been less brilliant, or less known, because laboring behind the scenes. But, I am sure I may with all propriety refer to those who laid the foundations of this association. I may remind you of that man in whose burning heart and fertile brain was born the American Prison Association, with all its possibilities. Dr. E. C. Wines was a preacher, an ordained minister of the Gospel, as was his son who had so much to do

with the continuation and the success of his father's work.

I desire to name three great preachers who have preached the gospel of prison reform as eloquently and as effectively as any have ever done. I want to present these three to you in the words of Dr. James A. Leonard, himself a great Christian preacher, though not of the ecclesiastical variety. At the Prison Congress of 1912, in my own city of Baltimore, Dr. Leonard thus grouped and characterized this trio of Christian preachers:

"Our beloved Dr. Henderson brings scholarship, practical research, and the result of wide travel in many lands; and transmutes it by his personality so it becomes a matter of profit and blessing to us all. Dr. Smith comes from his University, and his studies and his investigations, and gives us much food for thought and reflection. Mrs. Booth comes to kindle our interest by her enthusiasm for the evangelization of the world and her loving insistence that the Master can and does save to the uttermost."

Dr. Smith presided at the first Congress I was privileged to attend, namely, that held in St. Paul, Minn., in 1914. Perhaps it was because it was my first, that it seemed so inspiring, informing and enjoyable to me. Dr. Henderson I also saw here for the first time, and I enjoyed and admired his public efforts, but what I carry with me as an enduring memory is the experience of one morning in the dining room of the Hotel St. Paul. Dr. Henderson came in and joined us at our table, and entertained us for quite an hour with the most interesting and informing conversation I have ever listened to. Since that morning I have felt that I could thoroughly understand James A. Garfield's definition of a university, Mark Hopkins at one end of a log and a student at the other end. What shall I say about the other member of this trio? Perhaps I need do no more than quote the words of one who was called upon to respond to the toast—Woman. He responded thus: "Woman! She needs no eulogy, she speaks for herself." Mrs. Booth, who, thank God, is still with us, has already spoken for herself. And more than that, her work, her loyal, self-sacrificing, monumental work in the cause of prison reform, and reform of prisoners, speak eloquent volumes for her.

And now I shall close this part of my address by mentioning one more name. I refer to him of "Red Shawl" fame, our genial, scintillating, sane, and sympathetic Archdeacon Spurr, whose work furnishes an illustration of what a preacher can do in prison reform, and an example of how to do it.

I propose that we consider two questions. First: What is the rightful place of religion in prison reform? Secondly: What place has religion had in it?

The answer to our first inquiry will depend upon how we define prison reform. True prison reform is the reformation of prisoners. Better buildings or conditions, more and better food, increased privileges, or lessened privations, are not really prison reform, nor can they bring it about; they may make the work of reform easier, but they cannot do the work of re-form-ing men. It has been demonstrated outside of prison, as well as inside, that you cannot make bad people good, immoral people moral by changing their environment. The thing that makes criminals is their wrong attitude toward society; they have an inordinate desire to gratify themselves. We may say of the criminal he is not subject to the laws of his fellow-men, neither indeed can be. There must be a radical change, not only in his surroundings, but in himself, and this can only be wrought by the power of religion.

You cannot reform a bad man by making his surroundings more agreeable. A deeper, more radical work than this is needed. Most prisoners have a wrong attitude toward their fellows and toward crime; they place themselves in the center of things, and think all things should come to them. As our own Dr. Smith has said: "A criminal is a man who declines to accept the social judgment." Instead he sets up his own judgment, and wants to be a law unto himself. Resolved to its original principles, all crime will be found in the last analysis to be rooted in selfishness. And the only thing that will transform the selfish brute, and the criminal into an altruistic citizen, is the power of the Christian religion.

I bring to you the testimony of those whose authority we will all acknowledge. I summon these witnesses from the Annals of the American Prison Association for two reasons. First:—because the most prolific period of prison reform has been the last 50 years, and the men who have devoted most thought, time, and energy to this work have lived and worked during that period. Second:—because that testimony is most available, and will be accepted by all present.

Let us go back to the Declaration of Principles of 1870. Section IX of the Declaration as adopted, contains this deliverance:

"Of all reformatory agencies, religion is first in importance, because most potent in its action, upon the heart and life."

This was also adopted, in identical form, by the International Penitentiary Congress at London in 1872. Most of us know that the original draft made by Dr. Wines, F. P. Sanborn and Mr. Brockway and adopted by the committee of arrangements was much fuller, containing not only the bare

statement of belief, but, as Dr. Wines says: "A short, incisive, pithy argument in support of it." The arguments for purposes of brevity were omitted in the final action. I give you the paragraph as it came from the great mind of Dr. E. C. Wines:

"Of all reformatory agencies, religion is of first importance, because most potent in the influence upon the heart and life. We have a profound conviction of the inefficacy of all measures of reformation, except such as are based on religion; pervaded by its spirit and vivified by its power. In vain are all devices of repression and coercion, if the heart and conscience, which are beyond all power of external restraint, are not touched."

Let us pass on to the Congress of 1873 held in Baltimore, Md. Governor Seymour, president, in his remarkable address said:

"There is a prevailing idea in our country that the spread of knowledge will prevent crime. No one values knowledge more than I do; but it is no specific for immorality and vice. Without moral and religious training, it frequently becomes an aid to crime. Crime has its origin in the passions, which live in every breast. To reform convicts, their hopes must be aroused and their better instincts worked upon."

Two more brief testimonies from this same Congress of 1873. Colonel Burr, Warden of the Ohio Penitentiary, said in his speech:

"There is only one thing that can really reform criminals, and that is the Christian religion, the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit, and salvation through Jesus Christ."

Mr. H. Thane Miller, also of Ohio, said:

"The only hope of the criminal is in a change of heart."

At the Congress of 1891 at Pittsburgh, Pa., Col. Gardiner Tufts, Warden of the Massachusetts Reformatory, said:

"I believe in preaching. The Chaplain can go to men as no other man can go to them. Say what we will, do as we may, we all know that men get into frames of mind when nothing else but spiritual enlightenment will do."

At this Congress there was a remarkable deliverance by Rutherford B. Hayes, for many years president of the Association, and afterward elevated to the Presidency of the United States.

"I am decidedly impressed with the importance of the Chaplain's work. The large majority of men with whom we have to deal in prison are men who, by their education, their training, their opinions, perhaps you may call it their superstitions, are of such a character that it is simply impossible to do the best work that can be done in prisons without the influence and appeals of religion. I suspect it must be found by

all that have this work at heart, that there is a large majority of the convicts in all prisons and reformatories, who can be more effectually reached by the appeals of religion than in any other way."

Two testimonials from the Congress of 1899, held in Hartford, Conn.; the first is from Dr. Hartraft, the preacher of the annual sermon:

"Self-gratification at the expense of righteousness, this is the element common to all (crime). The bottom of the difficulty is moral, and the only hope for a genuine reformation is not biological or psychological or circumstantial or climatic or economical, but ethical."

The Rev. H. H. Kelsey, of Hartford, said:

"If the purpose of the prison is to restore as well as to punish, then the chaplain and the work he represents are not second to any department of the prison."

I present the testimony of another clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Floyd Tomkins, of Philadelphia. Preaching to the Congress in that city in 1902:

"Brothers, we are dealing with a great problem. There have as yet been found no economic laws to apply absolutely to its solution, we are feeling our way. But there is one great truth—not a theory, but a divine inspiration—which never fails. There is one principle upon which we can always rely, and no mistake or failure can frighten us. The religion of Jesus, which is the religion of mercy and hope, has never failed. It is the one great power to tell us what to do, and the *prisoner* what to be."

In the reports of the Association at this period, I note one character that seems to stand out as a great rock. I refer to Gen. Brinkerhoff. In his response to the address of welcome at Louisville, Ky., in 1903, he closed thus:

"Last and greatest of all, however, in my judgment, in our outlook in the future, in the redemption of the criminal, is the religious factor. This is not the first time I have presented this topic to the Prison Congress, but I want to put it on record again, with added emphasis; that if we are to make any commanding progress in the reformation of prisoners or in the prevention of crime, or in the betterment of mankind, we must utilize more fully than we have heretofore the religious element which is inherent in the universal heart of man. You may call it superstition if you will, but yet the fact remains that man, although he may be a mere animal, 'whose little life is rounded by a sleep' and ends with the grave; nevertheless he is the only animal whose life is governed by what he believes, and who rises and falls in accordance with his ideals. Personally, I am a Christian of the Apostles' Creed, but for the purpose of this argument, I do not insist that Christianity is the only religion worthy of attention. What I do insist upon is that religion is inherent with every man. By religion I mean the realization and dependence upon and responsibility to an invisible power outside themselves, which says: 'thou shalt,' and 'thou shalt not,' and to that sense we must appeal more largely than we do in dealing with the prison question."

Again in 1905:

"To one familiar with the sessions of the Congress since its organization it is easy to indicate what its convictions are, and I will enumerate a few of them. Take, for example, the moral and religious care of prisoners; the members of the Congress believe in both with absolute unanimity. They know that prison reform as now understood in the world is the outgrowth of Christianity, as certainly as the oak is the outgrowth of the acorn, and that all future growth and progress must be rooted in the teaching of the Divine Nazarene. During the generation now closing, through the false views of science, material life has been exaggerated and the spiritual discredited to a greater or less extent to the serious injury of society as a whole; but fortunately this phase of education is passing away, and science has become the bulwark of religion instead of being its assailant. Therefore, it is the religious sense which science now recognizes, and ignorance alone ignores, that we must utilize as the most potent factor in the regeneration of men."

Later in the session of the Congress of 1905, this statement was made by Bishop Fallows of the Protestant Episcopal Church:

"I have little confidence in any effort to reform criminals, except through spiritual power brought to bear upon the lives of these men. We cannot divorce the ethical from the spiritual; to take the ethical simply is taking the instrument of reformation at the wrong end. There must be the new life."

The following year (1906) at Albany, N. Y., Bishop Boan said:

"When a criminal is condemned and sentenced and his punishment begins, only the power of religion can reach him to convince him of his sin, to convert him from his habits, to reach the motives of his life, to change the tendencies of his will, to form in him new habits, to give him spiritual help by which his conscience may be enlightened and his character changed."

So much for the testimony of the churchmen. I want now hurriedly and briefly, to give you the testimony of some who have been heads of great penal institutions.

James L. Scott, Superintendent of Elmira Reformatory, at the Congress of 1906:

"I believe that Christianity is the greatest moral force in the lives of men today, because it has humanity as the basis of its ethics. It has come down through the years as a forming, and transforming, and re-forming force in the lives of men; and I believe it is to go on through the ages."

W. H. Whittaker, then of Indiana, at the same Congress:

"I consider the office of chaplain of such an institution (i. e., reformatory) of equal importance to the assistant superintendent, and I believe that greater good can come from the efforts of a chaplain who understands his business than can come from the efforts of any other officer not excepting the superintendent."

Warden Haddon, of W. Virginia, at the same Congress:

"Religion ought to be a mighty factor in correct prison discipline. If good men need religion certainly bad men need it much more."

James D. Reid, of Michigan City, Ind., in a masterly address on reformatory methods in States prisons, sums up thus:

"I desire only to add that the mighty motives, the pervasive influences, the abiding principles, for the reformation of any sinner, inside of prison walls or out, must be based on the recognition of Almighty God, and a sense of accountability to him."

T. B. Patton, of Huntingdon, Pa., at Richmond, 1908:

"Religious instruction and its importance cannot be too strongly emphasized."

At the Congress of 1913, Dr. James A. Leonard, in his address as president, said:

"I have seen many men go out from reformatory institutions, who because of deterrent influences, increased intelligence and higher industrial ability, have refrained from committing crime; but I never knew one to go out in the world who did righteousness and abounded in good works, who had not first experienced a broken and a contrite heart, made clean by the same process invoked by the Psalmist."

Dr. A. C. Hill, of the New York State Department of Education, Indianapolis, 1913:

"The chief reliance in the efforts to reform is the religious instinct in man. Unless the soul is in some way touched by Divine power moral disease cannot be cured."

Dr. Moore, of New Jersey:

"Beside religion everything else we try to do is a cipher."

At St. Paul, in 1914, Dr. Cabot was quoted as saying:

"We are worse than foolish, we are insane if we do not, in our social uplift, call to our aid the greatest of all agencies, i. e., religion."

I close this mass of testimony with a statement of a living witness, one whom we all delight to hear, and delight to honor. The Congress of 1915 was presided over by Mr. Joseph P. Byers, and in his address he gave expression to a hope that we all should share:

"We have been spending our efforts very largely to improve the physical and the mental. Let us hope that we shall finally reach up and into the spiritual, which is the final step in all our work to recreate in man, not only the image, but the attributes of his Maker."

As I approach the other question: "What has been the place of religion in this work?" I am reminded of two ideas that

seemed to pervade the Columbus meeting. In his opening speech, Mr. Burdette J. Lewis sounded the keynote, "Have we kept the faith?" The other idea found expression in the titles of all the addresses at the semi-centennial banquet on Saturday evening. Each title set forth some phase of the work, "In the light of the 1870 Declaration of Principles."

As President Wickersham well said of the Columbus meeting: "This meeting has not been characterized by self-congratulation, there has been a confession of short coming." I fear there must be confession of shortcoming in keeping the faith also.

Certainly there can be no question as to the important place given to religion in the beginnings. And this continued for a long period, and will be further apparent upon a careful study of all the reports of the Prison Association. For very many years one of the outstanding features of the Congress was the annual sermon. The custom was to convene on Saturday evening, and on Sunday morning the sermon was preached by some prominent clergyman, and the delegates attended in a body. This good custom continued, I think, until the meeting in New Orleans in 1917, since when it has been omitted. This has been one indication of a lessening value being placed upon religion. I think we have come to value more, and to emphasize more, some other things, at the expense of religion. Gen. Brinkerhoff, in a statement already quoted, referred to the fact that: "because of false views of science, there had been a tendency to exaggerate the material and to discredit the spiritual, but that condition had changed and science had become the bulwark of religion." This is perhaps true in the world at large, but I believe that a condition similar to that indicated by the General, has grown up within the Association. So much stress has been laid upon the material, the physical and mental aspects of the problem, that the spiritual has been, not exactly lost sight of, but greatly minimized.

I have no fault to find with our scientific friends, and no quarrel with their propaganda. I do not say that we have thought and talked too much about the material side, but I do say we dare not forget that our problem has a spiritual side also. "These things ye ought to have done and not left the other undone." These men have souls as well as bodies and minds, and it is the soul after all that is the seat of action.

Anyone interested could not fail to see a growing spirit of indifference toward the religious aspects of the work. This spirit may have worked without conscious intention on the

part of those in authority, but that it has been at work cannot be successfully contradicted. This spirit found its climax, I think, in the session at New York in 1919, where no sermon was preached to the delegates, no effort made to interest the churches in the program of the Association by having delegates fill the pulpits of the churches, and no arrangement made for the presentation of the chaplain's work at a general session, as had been the time honored custom.

But the pendulum had swung too far, and there was a noticeable reaction at the Columbus Congress of last year. It was remarked by a number of those who were watching the meeting from this angle, that at no Congress of recent years, had religion had such large and generous recognition.

My colleague, the Chaplain of the Maryland House of Correction, and I were listening to the address of the Chairman of the Committee on Prison Architecture. I think it was on Monday night, and we were delighted to hear this speaker's reference to the place of religion. He placed the Chapel in the center of the prison group, "because religion was the heart of the prison question."

"I *do* believe we are coming back to the 'faith of our fathers,' and are seeking the old paths. We *must* do this, we cannot afford to do other. If what our fathers and predecessors have told us is true, then this is the thing of supreme importance. Let us not permit any warden or superintendent or prison official to come to the meetings of the American Prison Association, and go away feeling that religion is of little value. Let us not permit any chaplain to go away feeling that his work counts for little, that he is a necessary adjunct because of public opinion, or to keep up the custom but is of slight value in the great scheme of prison reform.

"Oh! my brother chaplains, ours is indeed an important, yea the supreme work; we are dealing not only with mortal bodies, but immortal souls. What a privilege is ours to have a part in the regeneration of men, in the only way it can be brought about. For nothing else *can* do this work, the most that can be done by others is to remove obstacles and hindrances from our way, to create better conditions for us to work in. As Dr. Hill, in words already quoted, has said: Unless the soul is touched by Divine power, moral disease *cannot* be cured.'

"Yes, ours is a high and holy privilege, but let us not forget, that, with privilege comes responsibility. We do enjoy exalted privilege, but God will hold us responsible for any failure to measure up to our highest possibility. Viewing our task in

this light we may well ask: 'Who is sufficient for these things?' This is no task for the half hearted, the indifferent, the seeker for an easy berth. It is a task that calls for men, and for men energized by the Spirit of God, and for the best that is in such men. May God give us to see our high privilege and help us to measure up to our great responsibility."

ADDRESS BY MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.

However hopeful and inspiring may be our views of things accomplished—however strong our faith in our God-given mission—the fact remains that the great prison field is a difficult and arduous one to cultivate. All that is best in spiritual effort is surely needed there, and the exercise of the keenest common sense and the practical application of the most earnest faith are absolutely necessary. It calls for untiring patience. It demands a big, clear vision, not only of the needs of the present, but of the possibilities of the future. Above all else it surely requires the inspiration of an unshakable faith both in the redeemability of human nature and the power of Grace Divine. It demands the man of God walking in the light of divine assurance with a heart filled with divine compassion and a mind keen enough to read beneath the unhappy shell of human weakness, and with eyes to see the hopeful possibility in each poor, groping soul that becomes his sacred charge.

I thank God that in the past 25 years of my ministry in this great field, I have known such men among our chaplains, and every man in this important office can become such under the influence and through the molding of his Divine Master. Such a work as we have undertaken must bring to us a very humble realization of our own weakness. Constantly, we are made to feel how weak are human hearts how prone to err is human judgment, and how much we long to accomplish that proves beyond our powers. But surely this realization must cast each one of us in desperate need upon the strong arm of divine help that will not fail us.

One very consoling realization about our field is the fact that it is a needy one. I often feel that when a pastor looks down upon his prosperous, well-clothed, well-fed, perfectly satisfied pew-holders, he must sometimes yearn for a sight of a heartbroken prodigal on his knees in despair and abandonment. It is good when you have a message to know that you are delivering it where it is of vital moment. There is a passage in the scripture in which our Lord speaks of the fields white to the harvest. I never fully realized the clear and pointed meaning of

those words until my beloved sister, Florence Barclay, told me of an experience she had in her visit to Palestine many years ago.

She told me how one afternoon, seated at the well, she was reading her Bible and reviewing the story of Christ's Conversation with the woman of Samaria. After her departure to the city to spread the news of this wonderful teacher, His disciples came to Him and pointing towards the city of Samaria, which can be clearly seen from that position, He exclaimed, "Behold! The fields are white to the harvest!" I think it has generally been thought that that was just an image of speech and that pointing to the fields of ripening grain, our Lord likened them to the field of spiritual work. But He was always so accurate and it was an unmistakable error for ripening fields of any grain are always yellow or brown. Why should He, whose similes were always so perfect, have called them white? As my sister looked toward Samaria, there came to her the vision of that His eyes had seen for from its gates were pouring crowds of men and they were clad as the Samaritans always are in white. They wear no color and their garments from head to foot are white. The woman had spread the tidings, "Come, see a man, which told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?" The people of the city hurried forth to see this great teacher, and so, as He pointed towards the city, it was not the fields of grain He saw, but fields literally white with the hurrying throngs of eager souls who also would seek the great Prophet who sat by the well.

As we look over the field within the shadows we too can see a crowd of living, human souls, many of them eagerly groping to find the better way and tread the path that will lead them from the crooked, hideous past to the Great Teacher who can give to them the Water of Life.

One of my people reported to me not long since that he went to hear a speaker on prison reform, supposed to speak with authority concerning the men within the walls. He commenced his remarks with this statement: "You might just as well try to raise roses in a dark cellar or drown a duck by pouring water on its back as to talk religion to a man in prison." I certainly am thankful that after talking religion to men in prison for 26 years, I can utterly refute such a statement as this. It need not be thought that because a man is in prison there is no spiritual possibilities in his soul. I have found a tremendous eagerness for any thoroughly sincere, spiritual message. I have received thousands of letters showing an earnest striving after better things, and personally know

hundreds of men who have stepped out into a new life through their prison experience. I am certain that what I say can be endorsed by every chaplain connected with this Association. When one faces the situation and realizes the importance of dealing with these men in the most thorough and practical way, I think it will be conceded without a shadow of uncertainty that the essential foundation of all true prison reform or prisoners' reform must be a real, deep change of heart. When you take your poor, battered, old watch to the jeweler to be repaired, it is good to have the hands tightened up, the stained face cleaned, the dust blown from the works, the old case polished, but what good are these things if the main-spring remain broken? That is how I feel about the lives of these men. It is fine to teach idle and wrongly used hands to work; it is splendid to drill and teach them discipline; it is excellent to polish off the rough and gross manners, blow away their misconceptions of life, educate their minds and physically develop their warped bodies, but to what avail unless you reach the heart and soul of the man? We must lift from earth-bound degradation and weakness to the divine level to which God ordained their souls, these men who have come to us for inspiration.

People talk of the old-fashioned views of religious life as if they were out of date, and they have many new theories and creeds and beliefs, but there are some fundamentals to which we must all return whether we be Hebrew, Catholic or Protestant, or whatever may be the label of our belief. In my work, it has always seemed to me that the first and foremost necessity to all thorough reformation must be *repentance for the past*. Unless a man knows that he is sick he will not seek a physician; unless a man loathes his sin he will not abandon it; unless he realizes his weakness he will not seek strength to combat it. There is nothing to my thinking more dangerous than for people with kind intent and a misplaced sympathy to go within prison walls and convey to the boys the impression that they are injured innocents, that the world owes them a debt, that through no fault of their own they have fallen by the wayside through cruel hard luck. Some there may be in every prison of whom this is true, but we know that the vast mass of men in prison are suffering for grievous offenses against their God, their loved ones, their own manhood and against society at large. This knowledge need not rob us of sympathy for them, the sinner should appeal more to our Christian charity than the injured innocent. We readily admit that many of them had bad environment, poor training,

hard knocks and pernicious companionship. We can realize and give them credit for their handicaps, but all the same we must not rob them of the soul relief which came to the prodigal when from a sincere heart and on humble knees he cried, "Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." Let us not through sentiment try to save them from the vision-clearing tears of repentance, for believe me, no man can see God or read His purposes for the future until such tears have lifted the scales with which the evil past has blinded him. Let me tell you two stories in contrast.

The first man was a burglar by profession and recorded as an habitual criminal. Warden Sage and the officers of the prison told me of his bad prison record. He was especially foul-mouthed, ignorant, cross-grained, unattractive in face and manner, and marked by the evil past. His first arrest had been for theft when he was 7 years of age; his knowledge of life was a knowledge only of the underworld and the prison cell. He had had little education, absolutely no religion, and his only friends and associates were the criminals with whom he worked. He was converted at our first meeting in Sing Sing on May 24th, 25 years ago. As he marched from the chapel, tears streamed down his pale, haggard face. Officers told me that they wondered what new game he was planning—that he could be sincere did not strike them as possible; but time told the story, and in 6 months all Sing Sing talked of the wonderful change in his life. His face shone with a new brightness, his lips were cleansed from evil words, and his simple, sincere faith was an inspiration to all who came near him. I remember one letter he wrote me that showed how he was being taught of God. He had been reading his little Day Book and on his knees was thanking God for all He had done for him in forgiving love, when suddenly the thought of a man he had long hated crossed his mind like a dark shadow across the sun. The man had wronged him, sworn falsely against him, and he had taken an oath to get even in revenge. He had waited and longed for his freedom during the years of imprisonment, looking forward to the day when he might go forth to seek his enemy and square the debt, even if it meant going to the Chair as a result; but as he knelt there in his cell there came to him a revelation and the sudden thought that he who had been forgiven so much must also forgive. This he did fully and freely, and in his letter he assured me that he would forget his grudge and let his enemy go in peace should they ever meet. He loathed the past, he realized how

evil had been his life, and he now sought to pattern his daily experience after his Lord's commands.

He was one of the first men to come to my first Hope Hall in New York. He made a splendid record there. I found him a position with a well-known business firm in New York. He was employed by a personal friend of mine who told me that he had no faith in ex-convicts, but had faith enough in my work to stand by me and give the man a trial. His record there so won his employer's confidence that it opened the door to many other men in prison. He remained in that position for years until his employer went out of business. Then he took his second place where he stayed until the time of his death, which made a record of 22 years of good hard work and fine Christian living since his discharge from prison. He married, made a good home for his wife and was a wonderful father to his two little girls, but best of all, he was always a winner of souls and I cannot tell you how many poor derelicts safely found harbor through his loving guidance.

He came into my office one day with something on his heart that he wished to share with me. He spoke with much feeling and with tears in his eyes of a novel Sunday school class he had started. He was responsible for watching the factory on Sundays. After he had gone his rounds he would go and sit on the broad stone steps that led down the street. The factory was in one of the populous tenement districts of the city and as he sat there he watched the swarming crowds of little children playing, quarrelling and lounging in the streets. His heart went out to them for he had been a child of city streets himself. He knew that when some of them crept back to their homes at night, there would be no welcome, but curses and cuffs, and perhaps they would be cast out again. He said with deep feeling, "I know where they are going. Many of them are bent right straight for the road I took, and God helping me, I am going to stop some of them." He told me how he called them up to the steps and as they crowded around him, he would talk to them as only a boy of the streets could talk in language they understood. He would tell them how good God had been to him, and in his own simple way would preach Christ's gospel of love and tenderness. As I thought of that novel Sunday school class on the factory steps Sunday after Sunday with the little, ragged children around the one-time burglar, it seemed to me that the very angels in heaven must have envied him the chance and that good must surely come of it. One of those little children whom he reached years ago is today a very trusted and helpful worker in one

of the big Volunteer Headquarters. He has become a splendid man, is married and has a happy home, and his inspiration came from that one-time burglar.

I almost hate to give you the contrast after that story, but we all of us know that there must be disappointments sometimes in such work as ours. The other man was a man who came of a splendid family. He had had a fine education, he was specially talented. He was introduced to me by the warden who was deeply interested in him. I promised to look out for his future. In our talks together, he told me frankly that he had been a fool, he recognized his folly and he would laughingly say, "Little Mother, I do not take much stock in religion. I have my own code of ethics. I have learned my lesson and they will never get me again. It does not pay to be crooked and to be a fool, so I am going to go straight." I welcomed him on his discharge and found him a splendid position with a personal friend of mine. He communicated with his own people and money was advanced for his start in life. He had a beautiful home to live in; he was introduced to fine people who treated him as an equal, shut the door of the past and welcomed him as they would any other young college man. He associated with gentlemen and was treated as a gentleman. For some time he went right. He married very unwisely, a girl who could prove no help to him. He became careless in his work. He proved ungrateful to those who had helped him; he was very extravagant in things he wanted for himself; he forgot his debts and obligations. He drifted away to the west and got into schemes, which to say the least of them, were shady. I have no proof that he is back in prison, but I know that he deserted his wife and went off with some girl to parts unknown, and I have had in my own mind to write him down as a disappointment and a failure. His ethics were not sufficient. There had been no real change of heart so that the aid given him, the sympathy, the friendship, the new work, the new life, were not sufficient to make him a success for the future.

Let me again say most emphatically that we must get to the root of the matter; arouse the conscience, appeal to the heart, lay bare the soul of those with whom we deal if we should help them out of the past into a new life. Let me close with a little incident that came to me as an inspiration as I stood on the rim of that greatest and most glorious of nature's wonders—the Grand Canyon of Arizona. I had been watching the sunrise. I had seen the wonderful rosy light creep down the great dark, purple canyon below me. The spires of those

great rocks had blazed to coral, amber and poppy hues. Looking down into the far depths, something of the stupendous grandeur of the scene had found its way into my own soul, and for a long hour I watched that creeping column of light pushing back the shadows and the darkness far below. Thousands and thousands of feet of sheer rock were beneath me. Suddenly, far below, I saw a flock of tiny birds rise from a crevasse in the rock and fly boldly over the abyss, towards one of the great pinnacles on which the foot of man has never trod. They were so tiny at that distance that, as the sun shone upon their wings, they looked like a flight of little white butterflies. As I thought of the appalling chasm beneath them and realized that no skill of man had ever spanned it, that one false step would hurl us into eternity should we come too near its edge, I looked again with interest at the little birds who with absolute fearlessness and certainty of their safety flitted across happily to their feeding grounds on the opposite crag. Then I thought of the Angel Trail that at infinite expense and tremendous patience and labor had been cut in the rocky canyon side. I had seen tourists set out on that difficult descent, with mules and guides and ropes and special dress that would make the descent possible. I had seen them spend hours of toiling effort to get down to the level beneath, and I had seen them worn and weary drag themselves up again after many arduous hours. How different the passing of the little birds from crag to crag, from the highest peak down to that valley thousands of feet below! But we all know the secret—the bird has wings. So can it be with us. There are depths to fathom; there are heights to climb; there are roads that with human strength alone would be overwhelmingly difficult; there are obstacles in our path that might seem insurpassable, but we, too, have wings, and the wings of the soul are faith and prayer. Let us launch into our work with the realization that borne up by these we can face our future difficulties and rise God-ward as He Who gave us His great gift would have us rise.

And now let me quote a verse which I happened to read just the other day and which I think we can all take as ours.

"I will make Hope and only Hope
My horoscope.
The somber, brooding clouds of discontent
Oppress one's spirit like a throbbing pain.
One frets and mourns in one's environment,
But with a look ahead, I sing again.
I will make Hope and only Hope
My horoscope."

MONDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 31.

WARDENS' ASSOCIATION.
THE SOCIAL SIDE OF COMPENSATION OF
PRISONERS.

By J. O. STUTSMAN, SUPERINTENDENT OF DETROIT HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

A cursory study of the compensation of prisoners would seem to indicate that this is a purely economic problem. But it is also a social problem and has to do with every phase of reformatory influences employed in the handling of men who have violated the law.

If absolute justice is to be given to prisoners whom the State seeks to rehabilitate, no institution has the right to rob the man who is being so treated of any opportunity to provide for himself a fund which he can use to assist him in establishing himself in the business world after his release. When the State destroys a prisoner's power to support his family, it should assume the responsibility for the welfare of his dependents. It is unscientific to sentence a man to a period of hard labor, primarily to turn a profit into the State treasury, while the prisoner's home is neglected to the point of being broken up and the children uneducated. One of the great defects of prison management of the past has been that the prisoner—a ward of the State—was subjected to abject slavery, with no opportunity to help himself or his dependents. It is not an ultimate saving to the State, because it sends the man out of prison discouraged and hardened, sometimes to the extent that he is driven to subsequent crime at a greater public expense than the amount gained by his labor in prison.

As a matter of common justice, the State ought to pay to the prisoner at least that portion of his earnings, which exceeds the cost of his maintenance. Better production, better discipline, and higher morale, will more than justify the outlay of money.

Dr. William Healy has said:

"One of the most appalling discoveries made in a study of offenders is that in attempting to protect itself, society so frequently ends by making matters worse. All sorts of punishments must be safely guarded if they are to have no ill effects."

The law of 1699 provided that men be kept at work during their imprisonment; and that no person who was able to work should be chargeable to the county, but should be allowed for

labor the sum of 8 pence out of every shilling earned and the over-plus of their earnings. If such persons were heads of families, the whole profit and benefit of their labor, or so much thereof as the court of general sessions of the peace should think necessary and direct, should be for the relief and support of such prisoners and their families.

The early Pennsylvania plan for paying prisoners apparently was a part of the general humanitarian movement that was afoot in Pennsylvania in the latter part of the 18th century. The separate system of confinement dates from 1864. The prisoner was shut up in a room where he had his loom or his shoe-bench at hand, and was at liberty to work as long as he pleased, to rest when he was tired, knowing that if he did more than a fair day's work, the surplus would be placed to his credit and to be at his disposal when he went out.

"In this penitentiary was taught a trade such as shoe-making, cane-seating, cabinet-making and weaving. Those who learned the trade were allotted a moderate task. After this was accomplished they were credited with 'overwork.' Some individual prisoners on their discharge (before 1862) were paid upwards of \$250, which stood on the books to their credit."—*Weyand*.

Under a law of 1833, convicts were to receive wages, and an act of 1901 required that when a county prison board permitted work to be done on the streets of the borough in which the jail was located, that borough should pay the county treasurer 35 cents a day. Finally, in 1913, an act was passed providing that the wages (65 cents a day) earned by prisoners who were committed for non-support should be payable to certain dependents.

The first individuals to advocate the paying of wages to prisoners for their labor were Villain, Archbishop Whateley, and Alexander Maconochie.

Villain, who was connected with the prison at Ghent in the latter part of the 18th century, allowed prisoners a percentage of their earnings, part as their own to expend in the prison; part to be retained for them at their discharge.

Under the administration of Archbishop Whateley of Dublin in 1832, it was recommended that prisoners be given a labor sentence, which allowed them compensation for a portion of their work. Instead of being sentenced to confinement for a fixed period, they should be sentenced to earn, such a sum of money as might be judged sufficient to preserve them on their release from immediate distress.

Captain Alexander Maconochie, on Norfolk Island, gave every man a small garden and encouraged him to raise pigs

and poultry, thereby improving his ration and still more infusing into him, by the possession of earned property, a greater respect for property.

The following States have enacted laws which provide in various ways for the remuneration of men who are engaged in work during the time of their imprisonment: Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and the Territory of Hawaii.

The following States have added to this system various provisions for the pensioning of wives and children of men who are incarcerated, viz: Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota and Wyoming.

In other States it is probable that in isolated cases allowances are granted from the mother's pension fund or State aid fund to the wives and children of convicts. This is not to be regarded however, as wages for prison labor.

The amounts allowed in most States are wholly inadequate. Most of the States provide that any convict who has conducted himself properly during his imprisonment, may receive from the warden, at the time of his discharge, a stipulated sum of money, decent clothing, and money equivalent to the carfare to his place of residence. This is more of a bonus than compensation for labor, and has the possible effect of impressing on the mind of the prisoner that he is the recipient of charity.

Some time ago a famous institution in the United States was complimented for the stimulus given to the prisoners by the payment of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents a day to each! The munificent sum of $1\frac{1}{2}$ a day totals \$4.69 for an entire year's work, yet it is said that it secures higher morale and better labor from its prisoners because of the payment of a sum less than some laborers earn in a single day in free life.

We recently received answers to a questionnaire from 60 United States penal institutions for adult males. Twelve reported that the State-use system was in effect; 11 reported that the contract system is employed; 22 reported the State-account system in use, at least partially; 6 have a combination of State-use and the contract system, and 9 have a combination of the State-use and State-account systems.

Twenty-seven institutions do not pay a daily wage to all

prisoners; 6 of the 27 pay small sums for overtime work. A few pay some money to men on road work or outside work.

Twenty-seven institutions pay wages to all prisoners. Of the 27, 6 also pay for overtime work; 14 pay for maintenance work also. The amounts for maintenance work are usually less than for productive work. In only one instance was there a distinction as to the pay of men with or without dependents. In 2 cases mention was made of the fact that married men, or those with dependents, were given preference in assignment to pay jobs. In 6 the pay for all prisoners is 10 cents per day (fixed by statute). In one State, the statute fixes the daily wage at $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per day. Satisfactory information regarding State aid or mother's pension assistance did not appear in the answers.

There is a very large range of wages paid, which fact is illustrated by the following. In Delaware, the daily wage average is 16 cents; in Minnesota the daily wage average is 38 cents; in Nebraska the daily wage varies from 10 cents to 25 cents; North Dakota pays a daily wage of 25 cents for all; Pennsylvania Industrial Reformatory wage varies from 20 cents to 30 cents a day; Cuba (Castillo del Principe) pays 50 cents per day on contract labor, and 30 cents per day on State-use employment.

Nineteen prominent institutions, selected as the very best from the standpoint of wages paid, report a total amount of \$700,741 paid to 15,834 prisoners, or an average of \$45 per prisoner for a period of one year. Three or 4 States and a few city institutions pay money to families of men serving time for non-support. Kansas pays no money for maintenance work, but pays \$1.50 for each ton of coal mined in excess of the task of 9 tons per week. Ohio State Penitentiary is one of the few institutions reported which make any distinction between men with and without dependents. There are flat rates for the various jobs. Men with dependents are assigned to jobs paying 3 cents to 5 cents per hour. Those without dependents are assigned to jobs paying 1 cent to 3 cents per hour. Vermont State Prison pays no regular wage-rate but a few trustees, usually married men, are allowed to work outside. Their share of their earnings on the outside is 90 cents per day.

The majority of prison officials seem to be giving no thought to the right of prisoners to a wage allowance. As a rule, wardens who do not pay wages see no need of paying any. Those who pay a small sum seem to be satisfied. Wardens paying comparatively larger wages are dissatisfied with the

small amount they are able to allow. It is a strange fact that in all these institutions, whatever system is employed, the morale is always "very good." Has anybody decided just what constitutes a "very good" morale?

By way of summing up the impediments encountered in the various institutions to a profit-sharing plan which would be of any very great benefit, we find that in some institutions a large portion of the prisoners are not employed in any kind of productive labor. In some other institutions the industrial objective seems to center in vocational instruction; in a few others the contract or the State-use system makes it difficult to provide enough funds for the remuneration of the individual prisoner, as the amount usually received for the labor of a prisoner is not sufficient for his maintenance. It would therefore be difficult under the diverse system employed to work out a general plan of compensation. Each prisoner, of necessity, has an individual problem.

The ideal system of prison employment for the purpose of sharing profits with the prisoner seems to be the State-account system, as the profits from this kind of labor are usually better and there is more flexibility in the handling of prison labor in the industries. A combination of the State Account system conducting a variety of industries, and a well-organized plan of vocational training, might well be developed so as not only to provide means to support the prisoner and to pay him a portion of the profits, but also to fit him for some trade on the outside. Three qualifications are necessary to scientific prison industry; first, the work should be constructive; second, it should be interesting; third, it should be instructive. Without these three essentials the labor of prisoners falls short of the proper objective.

The ideal would be to provide a thorough vocational test for every prisoner who is employed, which would show clearly his aptitude for his work; instruct him on the kind of work that he is assigned to do, inspire in him a pride of achievement; analyze the tasks or jobs to which he is assigned, with a thorough understanding of the psychological value of each operation to be performed, and offer a maximum incentive to the perfection of effort. The ideal would be to pay full wages and deduct the cost of maintenance. How can we secure from the prisoner the same conscientious efficient service that he would give to a position in free life?

In the actual management of prisons we are confronted with many financial and administrative problems. There is a popular demand that any prison should be self-supporting,

because there are so many men within the walls capable of supporting themselves. Possibly it could not be expected that all institutions provide such remunerative employment that everyone in prison would be able to earn his own maintenance and at the same time furnish autonomous support for his family. Popular prejudice against prison-made goods often makes it difficult to conduct the most profitable industries by prison labor. Many conditions inside the prison, such as the immense labor turnover, the large number of unskilled and unemployable men, the large proportion employed on non-productive tasks, and often the lack of incentive and inadequate equipment, make such a large income practically impossible. If we should establish the standard rate of \$500 minimum to support an average family in a modest manner, with the prison population of 1,000 men, it would be necessary for the prison industries to make a net profit of \$500,000 a year, to make such a plan possible.

At present the prisons which pay the highest wages to the men can pay only a fraction of this sum to the individual prisoner and his dependents. Only a small amount will be earned by the prisoner to supplement the earnings of productive members of the family. The family should be kept from disintegration, and this could be done by providing a small portion of the family budget, but the prison industries are not sufficiently remunerative to do it. It would be money well spent if the deficit be made up by the State. Such an expenditure would be warranted in the future rehabilitation of the men who are trying hard to make a new start in life.

If we are to expect real co-operation on the part of the prisoner, other and more important forms of compensation must reward him for faithful service. A man will be helped in prison mostly through his work; and the prison management should provide such incentives as remuneration for service, so as to enlist his best efforts. How shall we compensate a man who is being reformed so that he will not feel that he is wasting the period of his incarceration with no return for his efforts or time?

A standard welfare program for a penal institution is intimately interwoven with the necessity of some kind of a system for the remuneration of prisoners and the support of their families. Such a department should devise facilities which would single out the individual, analyze his needs, and better fit him for life outside.

Some penal institutions conduct various welfare activities, but the majority very few. We do not have adequate correc-

tional treatment, because none of us has a definite conception of what a perfect system should be. We do not check up to see whether the moral stimulus which we hand out in bulk form is assimilated. If we provide inspirational lectures and religious and educational opportunities, we assume that we have done all that can be expected of us. If the man is not reformed, it is not our fault; we have done our best.

How shall a man know that his individual case is thoroughly understood by the prison management? How shall we best combat the prejudice that some men get special consideration because they have a drag with the officials? How can we check up the work of a man so as to know whether or not he has done the amount and quality of work that is creditable for one of his capacity? On the outside, the man who does not make a proper return for his time is summarily discharged, but we cannot discharge the man inside the prison until his sentence has expired.

We do not get the best results, because we do not know what results to expect, and have not organized our systems to cope with the individual character of the offender.

The Detroit House of Correction has been and is highly re-ously trying to develop a workable welfare program which will bring tangible results. We do not claim to have solved the problem or that our system is in any sense ideal, but we are studying the individual prisoner and trying to supply in his life those things which will awaken him to a conception of his responsibilities.

The Detroit House of Correction has been and is highly recommended by the citizens of Detroit because, besides supporting many families of prisoners, it paid a profit into the city treasury, but little effort was made to use this profit for the rehabilitation of the men.

The institution paid a total of \$62,000 to prisoners last year, of which amount \$22,000 was paid to the families of men in 498 monthly payments, which would average \$44.58 per month for each family. A total of \$40,000 was paid to individual prisoners. We are trying to increase the efficiency of the industries so as to be able to pay more. It is now the purpose of the management to pay all surplus earnings to the men and women who by their labor have produced them.

The institution also supports 5 welfare officers who employ their entire time in matters of a social nature pertaining to the prisoners and their families. Without proper direction, many families thus subsidized would squander their earnings.

In some cases no money should be paid to relatives fully able, but making little effort to support themselves.

The following case-report of the Welfare Department is an example of "case work" recommending relief:

"Superintendent:

"Dear Sir—

Re — S ——— M ———	Lyula	36
	Milava	30
	Mike	9
	Sam	6
	Rada	1

"On April 16th man was arrested for carrying concealed weapons and sentenced on April 21st to the House of Correction for 90 days. Our investigator was of the opinion that man was only technically guilty of the offense with which he is charged and if possible an effort should be made for his release. Considerable time was expended by him in trying to find a friend by the name of Sam S——, who would probably pay the man's fine, but he was unsuccessful in locating him.

"Family purchased their home on September 28, 1920, for \$7,900, paying \$500 down and agreeing to pay \$50 per month. Nothing has been paid on the house since October, 1920. The family are living out their equity in their home and expect that they will have to move as soon as this has been used up in rent. For the last seven months the man has not had steady work, but has been able through odd jobs to get sufficient money for food. The house is very sparingly furnished, and the children are in need of clothing. In the meantime the woman has been receiving money from neighbors with which to purchase food.

"We would recommend that relief be extended by the House of Correction. The following is an estimate of their requirements:

Food	\$22.80
Clothing	19.25
Household Sup.....	5.98
Light	.87
Extras	3.00

Total..... \$51.90

"We would suggest that relief for the first month amount to about \$60 to enable the family to purchase clothing for the children, and for the following two months relief can be reduced to \$45 per month."

The Commissioners almost without exception follow the recommendations of these reports and authorize the payments.

The Social Department supervising the family welfare has a great effect upon the morale of the prisoners. Efforts on the part of officials to see that the proper social agencies, such as hospitals, schools for the blind, deaf and dumb institutes, etc., are caring for the dependents of the prisoners, are to the prisoner a strong proof of the good intentions of the management. While a man is worried over the fate of his dependents, he is in no state of mind to be assisted by any kind of

reform activities. Close co-operation with all the government departments and private social agencies for family rehabilitation is very essential. In deserving cases of alienation the prison officials have an opportunity to work for family reconciliation.

One of the highest objects to be obtained through the welfare department is to surround the prisoner with conditions approaching as nearly as possible normal life on the outside. The welfare department should supervise all expenditures of their personal money or earnings and it should strive to protect prisoners from sharp practices on the part of persons who would defraud them.

This welfare work extends into matters pertaining to their personal health, providing religious services and Bible classes; supervising distribution of religious periodicals and literature. The department has charge of providing suitable education. First, that which is cultural; second, that which pertains to character building; and third, that which fits the prisoner to earn a livelihood after his release.

They supervise a prison library, and by agreement with the public library secure books of a technical nature, or any other helpful character. Speakers of merit are engaged to present messages of inspiration, and open forums are conducted. A prison publication is printed, which gives the men an opportunity for self-expression.

The welfare department provides normal recreation including athletic sports, community singing, quartets, bands, orchestras, motion pictures and a variety of programs of home talent "stunts," including amateur theatricals, minstrels, and concerts. These advantages are aided very materially by the funds available to the individual, provided for the most part by his earnings.

The institution store enables the men to expend a limited portion of their earnings for personal wants such as candy, cigars, and fruit. It carries a supply of cotton and silk floss, and other accessories used by the men and women in making fancy articles at odd hours in their cells. These are sold to the public for the sole profit of the prisoners who make them.

Vocational training increasing the earning power of the men is of great value. First, have a thorough vocational test made, which will show the aptitudes for various kinds of work, inform the prisoner as to the good and bad features of the lines of work that interest him, correcting mistaken notions. If the prison affords opportunities for experience along the line of work best suited to him, the prisoner should

be placed on the waiting list for assignment to it. Helpful books should be secured on almost every line of industry, and he should be encouraged to improve himself in his leisure time.

A Michigan law provides that the prisoner can reduce the minimum of his indeterminate sentence 5 days per month for 100 per cent. efficiency in work.

The man's principal means of expressing his distinct personality is through his work. The regular performance of first-class work stabilizes his character. In it he can be honest or dishonest, painstaking or careless, economical or extravagant.

The character of work accomplished, and the energy and efficiency displayed should be rewarded, and certain jobs requiring skill and efficiency should be paid proportionately higher than those requiring less skill.

We are considering the advisability of establishing a personnel department for the purpose of working out more thoroughly this system of grading, the responsibility of which will rest in the social service department, but will be conducted chiefly by the highest-grade men we have in the institution. The prisoners now make out job tickets and weekly pay-sheets under the direction of an intelligent officer, and in some activities piece work is allowed. Thus a careful analysis of the entire personnel and the industries will be accomplished in the process of supplying a just and adequate compensation.

There are few, if any, prisons in the United States that are so efficiently organized and conducted as to pay the prisoners anything approximating an adequate amount to enable them to support their dependents and to start them out in life in a self-respecting manner after they have served their prison sentence. The character of the prisoner may be made or broken in proportion as he is assisted while he is in prison by proper remuneration and proper direction of the expenditures of money earned. Any well-organized plan for the remuneration of prisoners should be augmented and directed by an adequate social welfare department which would assist the men in directing their expenditures and making the best use of their earnings after they have earned them. It is highly advisable that a scientific study be made by this Congress to seek to standardize the important question of compensation for prison labor and to recommend the efficient organization of every institution toward the proper distribution and use of funds thus earned.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

BY WARDEN JOSEPH Z. TERRELL, WEST VIRGINIA PENITENTIARY.

The subject of prison discipline covers such a wide field, and its application and enforcement depends so much on local and varying conditions, that it would be futile to even suggest a uniform system. What would be successful in one State might mean failure in another. The need of a reasonable amount of discipline in every penal institution, however, is recognized by all who have had experience in that line of work. There can be too much discipline or not enough, and one extreme is as bad as the other. How rigid the discipline should be and the kind of punishment necessary to enforce it is a question that honest men differ about, and it is not the purpose of this paper to criticise those who are not in agreement with our conclusions.

Such forms of discipline as the lockstep and silent system, prohibiting inmates to talk, compelling them to fold their arms and look another way when strangers are around; giving them no privileges and using such methods of punishment as the whipping-post, buck and gag, the dungeon and water-cure, are not only unnecessary, but tyrannical and have no place in this enlightened age. The use of such disciplinary methods can have but one effect—to create in the heart of every inmate a feeling of bitterness and resentment against society in general and the law in particular, and instead of turning him out of the penitentiary a better man, he will, in nine cases out of ten be harder to handle than ever before.

We must not, however, go too far in the other direction, advocated by some reformers who would institute what they call prison democracy and have the inmates govern themselves by committees and use them as guards, a policy that to our mind is both harmful and impractical. Between these two extremes there is a reasonable and common sense course to follow, which we believe will insure the safe and orderly handling of any prison population and improve them physically and mentally. Neither cruel treatment nor sentimental coddling will ever stop crime or make a bad man good.

Three of the four definitions of the word "discipline" are as follows: First, "to educate; to develop by instruction and exercise; to train." Second, "to accustom to regular and systematic action; to bring under control so as to act systematically; to train to act together under orders; to teach subordination; to form a habit of obedience; to drill," all of which is evidently intended for what we term military discipline.

The third definition is: "to improve by corrective and penal methods; to chastise; to correct," which applies to a penal or correctional institution.

If the modern penitentiary is to be a place of reformation, as well as punishment, would it not be better to substitute a part of the military form of discipline for what we have been using? Assuming that every inmate is guilty of having violated the law, the first thing for him to learn is respect for law and authority, and we know of no better way to bring that about than by accustoming him to regular and systematic action under proper control, to train him to act with others under orders, learn subordination and the habit of obedience, all of which is military discipline and is calculated to bring out the best that is in the man, both physically and mentally.

Nothing in military discipline is intended to humiliate or degrade; on the other hand, it has for its object to educate and control, and if there is one place in the world where the great lesson of self-control should be taught and where everything to humiliate or degrade should be avoided, it is in a penal institution, for if we add personal humiliation and loss of self-respect to the inmate who has already been severely punished by forfeiting his liberty and citizenship, he might as well be shot or chloroformed and be done with. So long as a man has a spark of self-respect left and has not been made to suffer personal humiliation in the eyes of his fellow-man, there is a chance to reform, and without it his case is hopeless.

With most prison officials it is a case of being between two fires. One class of people will criticise us for being too hard on the inmates and making their stay in the penitentiary as miserable as possible, while just as many on the other hand will say that we are coddling and treating them too well. Therefore, the only thing for the head of an institution to do is to pursue the even tenor of his way, avoiding too many innovations; they are dangerous. Remember the Biblical injunction to "prove all things and hold fast to that which is good." Let the newspaper alone, and bear in mind that all of the real reforms in the management of penal institutions have been brought about by men who were face to face with the problems every day, and not by the theorists and professional reformers.

One of the first problems we have to meet in promulgating rules and fixing punishment, is what to do with the vicious type of prisoner, the degenerate, and the fellow who wants to kill for the sake of killing. In the absence of suitable quar-

ters for segregation, which every penitentiary should have, our remedy is to lock them up, see that they are treated humanely, but keep them where they can do no harm or cause any trouble. If some of our scientific friends can successfully treat them for moral or mental delinquency, all well and good, but keep them locked up until we know they are cured. In our judgment, their cases are hopeless and reform is impossible. With this class, which is found in every penitentiary, out of the way, the rest will respond to reasonable discipline and cause little, if any, trouble.

We should have a few plain, common-sense rules, easily understood by all and obeyed to the letter. Everything should be systematized and nothing permitted to interfere with the daily routine machine, not more than nine hours for a day's work; three meals every day, all of them served in the dining room; lights out at a reasonable hour at night to insure plenty of time for sleep; the entire institution scrupulously clean and sanitary, and the inmates compelled to keep themselves the same way. There is nothing wrong in compelling prisoners to march in proper formation to and from their work, maintaining silence while in line. They should not be permitted to talk while at work except when necessary to do so, and then only in a low voice, a rule that is found in every well regulated outside factory or office. We also believe in having silence in the dining room at meal time, except to ask for food. Orders should be obeyed without question or argument, and proper respect accorded officials and guards, but not necessarily in a patronizing manner.

Such rules and regulations as these are neither humiliating nor degrading, but are conducive to good order, good health and self-control, and in many cases will help rather than harden the inmate.

As a reward for those who cheerfully and willingly obey these simple rules of discipline, there should be certain privileges and recreation periods, such as thirty minutes in the yard or in the corridors after dinner, an hour following supper, half-holiday on Saturday for all who have done a full week's work and two-thirds of the day on Sunday. During these so-called lockout periods the inmates should be permitted to smoke, to mingle, and talk with each other freely or indulge in games and athletic sports. If they make a little noise it will not hurt anyone else and may do them a lot of good.

Punishment for those who refuse to submit to this modified form of military discipline, or who fail to appreciate the privileges granted, should be administered in a firm but kindly

manner by those in authority, and in a great majority of cases nothing harsher than loss of privileges for a specified or indefinite period, or loss of good time, is necessary. In some few cases for refusal to work, or insubordination, solitary confinement and being handcuffed in a standing position for a number of hours is not too severe, and will in practically every case make the man see the error of his way. Under no circumstances, however, should men be punished by reduced rations or starvation. We can conceive of nothing more cowardly than trying to conquer a man with an empty stomach. Penal servitude, which means loss of liberty and citizenship and probably a wrecked home and ruined life, is in itself a terrible punishment. The law requires this and no more, and while one is paying the debt, if he conducts himself decently and orderly, he is by every rule of right and justice entitled to be treated as a MAN.

Of the many things that should be provided to bring about the willing and cheerful compliance on the part of the inmates with these reasonable rules of discipline, three are indispensable: First, work for every man who is physically able, with a chance to earn at least a small sum for himself. We have no right to inflict idleness, the worst punishment of all, on these unfortunates because their work happens to come in competition with outside labor and profits. Second, plenty of good, wholesome, well-cooked food, properly balanced and decently served, and, third, a good band to render music during the noon and evening meal and at intervals on Sundays or holidays. It has been truly said that "idleness is the devil's own partner in crime." Few men get into trouble while they are at work. Not a few, however, find their way to the penitentiary on account of hunger, and many a riot has been started inside the walls due to lack of sufficient or decent food; in other words, the secret of success in managing a prison population is, the workshop, a well-stocked commissary, and a properly managed kitchen and dining room, and don't forget that music will quiet even a savage or an animal.

But we can hear the old-fashioned critic say: "Such a system is all wrong. It is too expensive. We are turning the penitentiary into a pleasure-resort and making fools of the inmates. They are all alike. None of them will ever amount to anything, and the worst you can give them to eat and the least you can do for their comfort is too good."

"Such criticism is neither just nor true. It is an economic mistake to ill-treat men either in the penitentiary or on the

outside. They will work better, produce more, and require less medical attention and supervision under kind but firm treatment and cheerful surroundings than otherwise, and certainly no one can question the humane feature of such a program as we have outlined, yet these same critics, who are usually classed as Christians, will go to church on Sunday and join in singing "I love to tell the story, of Jesus and His love." After all, are not the inmates of a penitentiary human beings, and are not we our brother's keeper?

A prominent man in a certain State was noted for his antagonism to what he termed "new-fangled management of the State Penitentiary." He believed in the old idea of both banishment and punishment for the inmates. Their heads should be shaved, they must wear stripes that made them look like a zebra, and live on a diet of bread and water, with never an opportunity to talk or have any recreation whatever; but there came a time when the only boy of his only sister, while under the influence of liquor, committed a crime, and all the wealth and power of that uncle could not keep the boy from going to the penitentiary. A short time after the boy had donned the prison garb, his uncle came to visit him, and before leaving said to the Warden: "I guess I was wrong in my attitude toward your administration of the penitentiary. I little dreamed that one of my own kin would ever be here. It is different now, and I thank God you are running the place in the manner you are."

So you see it depends altogether on whose ox is gored, and when we are called upon to formulate a rule of conduct for the unfortunate inmates committed to our care or to punish them for their misdoings, let us ask ourselves the question, "How would I want my own boy or kid brother treated if he were here?" and remember that every one of these men is some mother's boy, and many of them still have a devoted mother or father who prays every night to the God of the Hosts that some day their wandering boy will come back. A kind word spoken or an encouraging look given will do no harm, for we are passing this way but once.

And finally, let us one and all remember, when we are making and enforcing prison rules, that Christ the Saviour of mankind, could not please everyone and that He did not die for the righteous man who obeys all the law, both human and divine, but that He did die in order that the unrighteous man, the thief and the forger, the burglar, yea the murderer, might at least obtain mercy and have hope of an everlasting life.

MONDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 31.

COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

Mr. George L. Sehon, Chairman: The meeting this morning is to be one of unusual interest, and I am very happy to say I have found a chairman who really will preside with a great deal more grace and dignity than the chairman chosen by this convention.

Mrs. Mina Van Winkle: I didn't expect as many here. I thought there would be just a handful of policewomen. We did invite all Southern policewomen. Just exactly three chiefs of police said that they would permit policewomen to come. Most of them said it was the end of the fiscal year, and there wasn't any money to send anybody. I believe there are lots of women in the country who are anxious to confer together, who would be glad to spend their own money in travel if they would be permitted to come. That is just one of the weaknesses of the whole police organization that no one is ever allowed to go except the traffic men or the chief of police. They always want to make the journeys themselves and get the information themselves. Now, however, we have arrived at a point in our history where those of us who are interested in police work feel we must set up standards and do certain things that will bring about not merely efficiency but a high standard for the women themselves who may be permitted to serve in the police work.

We met in Milwaukee and were so surprised that, for the first time, we should recognize each other as police officers. There were women from little towns who didn't know any other policewoman was in the world. The Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board did more to advance the work of policewomen than any other single unit. Social workers have had the chance for years to promote this movement, and I do not believe that you are ever going to put down delinquency until you not only get enough policewomen with social viewpoints and proper training, until you socialize the police department as a whole, until every man on the beat will look for the boy or girl that may go down hill, and prevent the trip. There is more opportunity in the police department than has ever been utilized and nobody is too good to serve in the police department. It takes education and a good background of social training. It requires a good bit more than I ever believed before I went into the police service. I have now served 3½ years in Washington, and when I went in, I had much the

same attitude toward the whole question most people had. I was a trained social worker, and I believed every police department was more or less corrupt, simply because I had been brought up in a city where there was a corrupt police department. Now I have discovered that when you have a corrupt police department, that is what you want. You don't want a good one or you would set out to get it. We, in Washington, at the present moment, are suffering from too much politics. Never before had an administration, either republican or democratic, interfered with the service of the police. At present, 5 or 6 men have set themselves up as a little invisible government and they have for their particular object, the removal of the chief of police, who is one of the best public servants I have ever known. The previous chief of police who caused the Women's Bureau to be established was in the same way attacked by the same group of people. Why? Because the law is enforced. There are certain people who do not want law enforcement, the kind of supervision you stand for.

At present we have pending in Washington, a case against a hotel in which there were a lot of young girls, some under sixteen years of age, and some over. It has taken us 3 years to teach the District Attorney's office that offenses against sex must be treated expeditiously. We have had a change of personnel and a change of district attorneys; not until this new man came in were we permitted to have a case tried immediately. A week ago we had the trial against the owner of that hotel which I have mentioned and secured a verdict against him of pandering, on which he gets 2 years. The trial today is for disorderly house. If we prove it against him, the place is going to be closed up. Such a thing has been unheard of in Washington. We are making a test case, and it is the work of women. We want to close 60 hotels on the main street in Washington between the Capitol and the White House.

I want to show you the difference between the policewoman and the policeman. The average policeman is a poor man with a family dependent upon him. He is much more susceptible to influence from the outside for that reason. A police department needs more than the strength that comes from within, because I have already shown you the weaknesses that could exist anywhere —the removal of the men. It often happens that the man is removed for supposed injuries. I can even cite the case of the colored policewoman. She was on the trail of a kidnapped colored child. We believed the

father of that child was a white man. The mother of the child was a colored girl 15 years old. The child disappeared. The wife of the suspected man went to the judge, but the policewoman was reprimanded and dismissed. She was too officious, in other words; she was prying into the lives of certain people in trying to protect a 15-year-old girl. We think until we get the same consideration for colored children as white children, we are going to be part and parcel of the unrest. That is, more unrest can be created in a police department than anywhere else on earth except the courts.

I would direct your attention to the *Survey* of this month, which gives a portrayal of the city's police system and court system. It is a picture of every city in the United States. It is not Cleveland, but every city irrespective of where you go. There are 300 cities with policewomen; policewomen have been in existence for 20 years; there have been police matrons covering a period of nearly fifty years; the matron is quite different from the policewoman and needs to be a different type of woman and shouldn't have the same consideration in the police department. In some large cities they are confusing the matron with the policewoman. The policewoman must be under all circumstances a person of as much education as any first-class social worker. She must have character and ability. She must, like a clergyman, live up to her job. She must back up the work she does with her life and shouldn't go painted up and looking like the street walker she is obliged to bring in. She should have the most ideal qualifications that are.

When we give the examination, we do not ask technical questions very often, but the kind of questions covering the statements I have made to you. "What do you believe should be the qualifications for a first-class policewoman?" is asked to gain insight into the character of the person who is applying. "What would you do with 20 policewomen in the Women's Bureau in order to put down crime and prevent children going astray, or in order to have a comprehensive protective social program?" We do ask for technical definitions of terms that anybody with common sense should be familiar with or the kind of things necessary in good social case work. In fact, we give them a case and tell them to give us the steps they would take in handling it, or give them 2 or 3 cases and let them choose the one they prefer to handle.

On the preventive social work side, there is nothing comparable to what the police department as a whole can do, and not merely the policewoman. The department must work together; the policewoman should not only take care of girls,

but of boys as well, young boys under sixteen years of age. The men should give what information they possess to the women so that they can do good social case work and then try to make a satisfactory adjustment of each case.

I am to introduce a woman who has also been in police work in the State of Connecticut. She was head of the State Police. She is now director of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board which is established for the protection of the soldier and sailor, and incidentally to look after the girl. For the first time in the history of the United States, the government has actually looked after the girl, when she became a camp follower, instead of utilizing her for the soldiers for hire. Dr. Valeria H. Parker.

Dr. Valeria H. Parker: My services as supervisor of 7 policewomen was simply a war service thrust upon me quite accidentally. In Connecticut, we had several temporary camps in addition to the large number of sailors coming into our port at New London, and at the time there was no agency looking out for the problem caused by the girls—the girl who is drawn by a sort of romantic interest from various districts to the vicinity of the naval base, and for the girl who is a professional prostitute. The local police, all of them men, were absolutely unable to cope with the situation and not interested unless some very flagrant thing took place. The military authorities were unable to meet the difficulties, some of them saying quite frankly that they could not distinguish between the friends and relatives of the soldiers and the undesirable girls. Accordingly, because I was chairman of the Health and Recreation Department, I made a survey of the conditions, and reported them to the men of the State Council of Defense. At that time, the women were a sort of ladies' aid society, not officially recognized by the State, but doing various jobs the men wanted done. The men finally asked the Committee on Sanitation and Medicine to take it up, and the chairman of that committee called a conference at the State Capitol, consisting of the members of the health and recreation department, the members of the State Home Guard, and representatives of the Red Cross. They concluded that women with police authority were desirable, and passed a resolution that they would pay the salaries of such women, provided the State Police Department would give them authority, and that they should be under immediate supervision. We had had in Connecticut a State police department for a number of years under the same chief and I did not believe that this chief would

see the desirability of having such an innovation as women on the force. To my surprise, he not only gave his consent, but at the first interview, he said, "You ought to have a commission" and he then and there gave me a commission with a large and handsome brass badge which was always somewhat difficult to conceal about my person. Later, he replaced my brass badge with a gold badge which at the end of my service he refused to take back, so I still hold my commission.

Since I had had no police training myself, I could see it would be a simpler matter to supervise policewomen if I could get trained women. We had no training center for policewomen. Those who had acquired a practical experience were all in demand. I was determined to get women with a social background, and who had had experience in case work. I finally did collect 6 women; we experimented with our cases and managed through the period of the War to handle the girl situation in Connecticut so it was not necessary, when the government forces finally became organized, for them to send workers to our State. We always co-operated with the Government department.

The things we discovered through our practical experience were exactly the things that Lieutenant Van Winkle had known and have been demonstrated through her training service and I am very glad that the police service of the country is located in our Capital. Lieutenant Van Winkle has been able to build up as nearly a perfect police service for women as is possible to have. I am glad it is in Washington, because it gives opportunity for so many other communities to see how possible it is to have this service, and what a great factor such a service is in keeping city conditions what they should be.

If we are going to have an efficient police service, we must have the direct authority over those women in the hands of a woman, who, in turn, as Lieutenant Van Winkle is, should be responsible to the chief of police. The women are valuable in the service because they are women and have a particular point of view, and a trained woman supervisor is the one who will get the best results from this service.

Miss Driscoll: During the years 1918 and 1919, I was a fixed-post worker assigned to Boston, Massachusetts. Boston was the center of recreation for the boys assigned to Camp Devens and our various naval stations, and I had to work out my own program. I hadn't been given any real instruction other than that I was to prevent the boys meeting this girl and

woman who would be a source of infection. For 9 or 10 years, I had been connected with the State School of Massachusetts and had endeavored to adjust this little girl back into society after she had been committed by the court to the training school at Lancaster.

When I went into the work of the commission, I thought I would try to find out what the community is not doing that it might do to prevent the commitment of young girls to the reformatories. As I walked about the streets of Boston, I saw very late at night, in and out of our recreational places, parks and so forth, large numbers of very young girls. It seemed not to be anyone's job to look after them, so we opened up a little hut on Boston Common, and had women workers who were assigned to night duty. For 11 months I used to tell the workers to go down through the Common, down Scollay Square and watch for the girl who was seen to accept or to solicit the attention of the soldier or sailor boy, that they were not to be influenced by the appearance of the girl, and that they were not capable to pass judgment as to whether she was a prostitute or street walker. The mere fact the girl makes the acquaintance of our young men was to suggest the possibility that she needed advice, if nothing more. Doing this thing nights, weeks and months, we approached and escorted close to 1,800 girls and I interviewed over 1,400 of them, not the ordinary interview, but to find out why she was on Boston Common, or on Scollay Square, why she was walking around the streets letting the sailor boy take her in the park for the "petting business" as they call it, and that experience was of very great value to me. I thought at first that policewomen were unnecessary. I thought the social agencies in Boston were so well organized and capable of doing most of the work, that I was rather prejudiced in my own mind, but as I talked with the various police officers and learned to respect them, as I could never have learned through any other experience, and heard men say, "Miss Driscoll, this is a woman's job; we can't say 'Run home!' or 'If I see you again on the corner, I will take you to the station house!' for that isn't what they need." So we found that the police officers were constantly turning to us with the suggestion that there is a youngster who needs to be talked to and advised by a woman. So, about the time of the strike in Boston in the police department, I found myself violently enthusiastic about the possibilities of the policewomen. One of the policewoman's great opportunities for service was emphasized through my going in and out of the various dance halls of Boston, and I feel that the

question of the public dance hall, responsible as it is for the delinquency for so very many young girls, is absolutely the responsibility of the community, because of the community's failure to interest itself sufficiently in the law enforcement necessary with these dance halls. We have talked long about the evils of the dance hall. We have ordinances saying a child under 17 years of age must not appear in any of the dance halls. Why, there are hundreds and hundreds of girls, 14, 15, 16 years old who go in and out of these dance halls and learn for the first time the mannerisms necessary to attract the men! I came to feel if we were going to do any kind of real work in the dance hall, we had to have police powers. The social workers for years have gone in and out of the dance hall. When we wanted to find our runaway girls, we used to go to the dance halls, thinking we would apprehend the girl, and generally we were successful, and we used to sit and speak of the awful goings on in the dance hall and say, "She will eventually land in Lancaster." Yet it was no one's job in the community to take hold of the dance hall. So we felt after awhile that women police could do a very good piece of work in the dance halls.

My interest in the policewoman is because I think what she can do is a preventive program against juvenile delinquency. I feel what we need in this and every city, town and community, is a great force of women appointed with due regard to their ability and character, who will go into the highways and byways, everywhere these youngsters go, watching for the little girl and apprehending her when she makes her first contact in the wrong direction. As we take the little girl, 15 and 16, who has been a sex offender, send her to our institution and afterwards place her out on parole in an environment that suits our taste, we think we are planning, and probably we are, but I am sure we are not always understanding the workings of her inner soul. We put her in an environment, where we expect she will make good, but I sometimes think how little we realize the awful struggle going on in that little child's heart and soul for readjustment. We say, "Join this club and the other club." She wouldn't be welcome in the average girls' club, argue as you like. The only hope is in getting your girls before they have that first sex experience, and how are you going to do it? Most of the women who come in and out of the penal institutions and reformatories, no matter what their age may be—30, 35, or 40, had their first sex experience before 18 years of age. We ought to understand we must work with the girl under 18 years

of age, and we must fortify the community itself to write, to talk about the family and responsibility of the mother. It is all right to consider where the real cause and blame of the whole thing is, but the community has a responsibility in the way of law enforcement and providing wholesome recreational places.

The policewoman is going to be one of the most powerful assets a community can have in the preventive juvenile delinquency program, because she will go out and enforce the law any time to prevent trouble.

The question of preventive work in the police department is not new. We fail to appreciate the splendid work of our police departments. Seldom is there a write-up of the humane, efficient workings of our police departments. They have the opportunity for the greatest piece of social service of any organization. They have been doing for years a social service. They do it in small towns and communities where social workers are unheard of. We recognize but few departments in police work. There are many things that the police department is doing for the protection of the life and property of the individuals in the community. If you are in the habit of considering your police department as a corrupt political organization with very little constructive social work, you had better go home and look into your police department and give a hand to strengthen its weaknesses.

My only aim in life on this preventive social work was and is to add a word for the appointment of policewomen, so that you discontinue laughing at her, thinking she is a huge joke, thinking that the police department isn't the place for her. Why should a man take a fourteen or fifteen year old girl and put them through some questioning? I have heard them. I don't think a man has a right to do that. I think that is a woman's job.

We cannot do effective work without an automobile, and we have to maintain our own. Yesterday we wanted to bring back the most important witness to close up a boarding house and we had to spend the railroad fare not only for our policewoman, but to bring the witness back. They wouldn't give us a penny. What is the use of working to the point where you have a lot of work all done and have a lot of evidence and present yourselves before the court and the principal witness fails to come? What is the use of having your case at all when they don't try them for a couple of years in the sex offenses, when the child forgets the horror of it?

MORNING GENERAL SESSION, OCTOBER 31.

JUVENILE REFORMATORY SECTION.

THE TRUE VALUE OF CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION.

BY REFEREE MIRIAM VAN WATERS, JUVENILE COURT OF LOS ANGELES, CAL.

How shall we successfully deal with those who depart from the standards of our social code, and who challenge what we call our civilization? Always, of course, there have been individuals who deviated from the prevailing standards, and they always have been dealt with by the community. But perhaps never before in modern times have so many individuals dissented from the social code, or become confused about it, nor have so many other individuals been engaged before in trying to correct those who are offenders. Upon the success or failure of this effort our modern civilization depends.

This paper shall deal with correctional education of young offenders as it takes place, if it does take place, in correctional institutions, or under their supervision after parole.

The dynamic aspect of youth is the same, whether housed in institutions or free in the community. It is going somewhere with incredible speed. The adult who is unaware of this is in the same position as the Puritan small boy who lived in New England and was visited by his Unitarian cousin. She shocked him one Sunday afternoon by playing dance music on the piano: "Emma Anna!" said he in a hoarse whisper, "Do you want to go to Hell?" "Why, yes!" replied the youthful Unitarian, "wait till I get my hat." Today youth is not really frightened of anything except inactivity.

Just as growth is a process, so the successful treatment of wayward youth is a process. It must be imagined vividly as the unloosing of creative energies; it must start from chaos and proceed toward a definite goal, the building of a new and vital structure. We must learn to see this process whole and not rivet our attention on one stage, whether protective work, juvenile court, probation, commitment, institution, or parole. Our social machinery has become unwieldy, and there is danger that its parts will obscure our clear vision and prevent us from seeing our child *whole*.

There are three essentials to the right conduct of every institution; first, a clear definition of its own use in the world, its function; second, a program of constructive work; third, an idea of what it is striving toward. Lacking these an in-

stitution is likely to be a heavy locomotive set on a track and capable of taking its human freight in one direction only. What value can it be to the community how efficient, orderly, well-oiled and well-disciplined such an institutional machine may be if there be lack of transportation facilities over wide areas of human life? The institution is a half-way house, a period in the life of the individual. There is nothing final about a commitment; before it came life in the community, after it, for the majority, will come return to that same community. The institution is the hospital to which the community sends persons it has neglected, or has been delinquent toward, or has downright maimed. The administrator receives these children from the community, removes from them their handicap and returns them. This is the theory.

It has become the fashion to abuse institutions. That is society's way of shifting its cowardly attention from its own mistakes and placing the blame on the shoulders of those who are asked to correct the sins of the fathers against the children. The institution is the confession by the community that it has failed to provide for its minor children. Balzac said of Bohemia, "It is a period in artistic life which may lead to the Academy, the Hospital, or the Morgue." So the correctional institution is a period in the life of a young person which may lead to the hospital, jail, or morgue, or may lead to the glorious living of life related to a social purpose.

Who are placed in institutions? There is no *one* type of person found in institutions. No one properly informed believes any longer that offenders, as a type, are fundamentally different physically, mentally or even morally from the mass of other persons. They are handicapped in various ways but they resemble outsiders more than they differ from them. Nor are young persons placed in institutions primarily because of their offenses. We all know scores of people who have committed the same offenses and are held respectable members of society. The essential thing about a committed person is that his social status has changed; his offense has occurred under such conditions that society singles him out for special treatment, that is to say, society does something about it.

For example, a college boy of rich family and charming personality distinguished himself by furnishing his fraternity room with trophies *taken*, that is to say stolen from local college town stores. It was his eccentricity. His mates joked, his parents and teachers were annoyed, owners of property occasionally sent bills but no complaint was filed, no warrant

of arrest was issued, no official action instituted. The status of the youth was undisturbed. Why? First, the youth had a charming personality and a father with a bank account, second, the violation of the social code against stealing occurred under conditions that rendered society unwilling to do anything about it.

A young lounge around a city garage "borrowed" an automobile for a joy ride. He ran out of gas and failed to return the machine. He was a pasty-faced youth of lazy habits. He was arrested on the charge of grand larceny and had the misfortune to have an impulse to "sass" the policeman. He was committed to a reformatory. By definition he became a juvenile delinquent.

In answer to our question, who are sent to institutions, we answer those who are handicapped in various ways, some in body, some in mind, some in personality, others in social conditions. But the essential thing about them all is that they have undergone a change in social status. Offenders are of two kinds; those who know the social code and hate it and revolt against it, the so-called human wolf-pack featured in the daily papers and elsewhere, a rare species, and, second, those to whom the social code is a hazy, ill-defined affair, or something defined in so many different ways by such authorities as home, school, church, street, industry, press, movies, neighborhood, etc. that the young person cannot be impressed by it. For example a young girl may be taught at home and church that chastity is a virtue, but the newspapers and the movies feature women in trouble in this respect, now painting them as heroines, now sobbing over their mystery and pathos. Apparently *they* get all the attention, and attention is the life blood of youth. If the modern young girl practises virtue, she may not believe in it. The preliminaries to wrongdoing are apparently the accepted manners of the time. When the girl herself lapses it is frequently because of lack of a uniform, authoritative definition of the social code.

There is a marked difference between the legal meaning and the social meaning of a commitment. Since the passage of the juvenile court law, a commitment to a correctional institution is made on the basis of the welfare of the child by the reason that his parents have failed him, or that his guardianship has been insufficient or improper. In some States, notably California, a commitment has been held illegal if the court does not include the statement that it has been done for the welfare of the child, and not as a punitive measure. The law demands that the *care, custody and discipline should*

be as nearly as may be that which should have been given by the parents. All that a commitment means in the eyes of many administrators today is that at last we have an opportunity to reeducate the child.

Considered from a social point of view the commitment means a change in social status. Society considers the individual troublesome, or a menace. Public sentiment lags so far behind legislation, and human intolerance and ignorance so block the way that the very term, "ward of the court", designed to be the shield and protection of youth may carry with it a stigma. The situation is similar to that of the immigrant, as pointed out by I. W. Thomas, the sociologist. The problem of Americanization is how to assist the passage of the individual from the group known as strange, foreign, unlike, to the group of the American citizen. The dress, gait, language and manners of the learned Polish Jew make him an object of ridicule. At home poverty was common, what was uncommon and marked him for distinction was his learning and piety. His status was honorable. In America his status may shift to that of an itinerant peddler.

In dealing with the so-called delinquent girl the correctional institution has the two-fold problem of remaking the girl and remaking her social status. When a child is placed in a correctional institution, the first step should be to collect all possible information about her. The Los Angeles County school for girls, known as El Retiro, conducts a conference where court, probation officer, physician, psychologist, superintendent, principal of the El Retiro school, recreation director, and a girl representative of the student body who can give valuable information of what the other girls think about the new-comer, meet to discuss the difficulties of the girl and the best methods to be used in correcting them. The conference thus equipped with a many-angled vision is able to reach a tentative diagnosis concerning the girl, and starts her out on a course of training and a *project* fitted to her strength. To proceed haphazard and fail, and then to bemoan the girl's "mean and vicious traits," lack of appreciation, failure to respond and the like, is for the superintendent to behave as irrationally as would the engineer if he hurled abuse against the fallen arch of his bridge, or blamed the Almighty for the downfall of the supports which could not withstand the strain imposed. Frequently one finds a group ranging in size from one-tenth to one-fifth of the institution population in the disciplined and non-privileged groups. This obvious breakdown

of correctional education could largely be avoided by study of the girl on entrance from every angle.

We shall now consider the various elements of institutional training, physical education, academic education, vocational preparation, the adjustment of personality, social rehabilitation, and finally the restoration to normal social status.

Physical Education.—The majority of our institutional children have the handicap of a warped view of our social code, plus the handicap of a sluggish physical development. The modern "good" institution, as a matter of course is equipped to furnish the best available scientific skill in the treatment of disease. But of far greater permanent significance than the handicap of adenoids, tonsils, malnutrition, spinal curvatures, defective eyes, ears, teeth, etc., is the habit of disuse of the muscular system. The prime necessity of correctional education from a physical standpoint is the creation of vigorous, joyous health. This can be accomplished in spite of physical defects, as work with crippled children shows, and as many of our well-adjusted "healthy" invalids in art, literature and life demonstrate to us every day.

Marvels of physical rehabilitation have been accomplished in some schools for girls, notably Samarcaud, North Carolina, where daily, systematic, open-air physical training has reached high efficiency. Daily baths, correct posture, the posture of success and happiness, instead of inferiority and failure, the cultivation of vigorous use of the larger muscles are the essentials of the physical basis of correctional education. The school at Grand Mound, Washington, teaches little sewing but lays stress on long days in farm labor. The State schools at Sleighton Farms, Pennsylvania, Sauk Center, Minnesota, and Gainsville, Texas, also have constructive programs of physical development.

Academic Education.—In a correctional institution, the academic instruction should be at least as good as in the public schools, and, of course, should be in the hands of trained and certificated teachers. The aim of the academic training should be chiefly to inspire imagination, curiosity and permanent interests. Nowhere is the project method so vastly needed. In one State school a campaign for the correction of slang and poor English was instituted. Much effort was expended on spelling. The rest of the instruction was routine and pedantic. Scores of these girls had no other permanent interests than street corners, rouge, boys and jazz.

When the girls were paroled, which of these interests would win out in competition?

At Sleighton Farms, Pennsylvania, a splendid piece of educational work has been undertaken by the school principal in the field of nature study. The whole is linked up with the outdoor life of the State, and permanent interests are founded. Sex-instruction comes about naturally from the biological approach.

Children who are capable of being instructed in the public schools should be sent there, or paroled as soon as possible. Academic instruction should play a strong part in our institutional program, but its aim should be the creation of enthusiasm and the right relationship to our funded knowledge.

Vocational Preparation.—To this disturbing question no one has given an authoritative solution. How much actual vocational training should be given in an institution is still a debatable point. We are living in a period of rapid and profound industrial change. Mechanical routine performance is at a premium, and experts tell us that the ability to tend a machine, or perform simple mechanical tasks is quickly acquired, and that it is best taught in the industry itself. The reason why many of our young people fail in industry, domestic service, storekeeping, telephone and telegraph service is not because they do not know enough, but because they are listless, uninterested, or have behavior difficulties. In other words, they have not the right mental attitude. In the opinion of many, the best thing that a correctional institution can do in the way of vocational preparation is to give a variety of stimulating "vocational glimpses", the beginnings of fascinating processes in pottery, dyeing, handcraft, weaving, wood and metal work, millinery, dressmaking, etc. Carson College, Flour Town, Pennsylvania, a school for young dependent girls, has initiated interesting experiments of this kind. The occupational therapy work done in many of our leading hospitals, notably at Johns Hopkins, is an illustration of how to arouse interest in handwork and resulting mental health,—"to set many bees buzzing in the mind, but not the wrong bees," as someone has expressed it. In my opinion, the community is best equipped to give true vocational training. The important function of the institution is to arouse the desire to do creative work and to provide a variety of outlets.

Personality Adjustment.—In this field lies the supreme opportunity of the correctional institution. Some institutions

impress one with a vast waste of vital human energy. To see so much ability and emotion running waste in tantrums, petty riots, plots, escapes, intrigues, against the established order, and to realize the splendid source of this misapplied energy, is to experience something of the dismay akin to seeing a great oil well blazing its life away. We are taught to believe that the entire organism is seeking some goal, at all times, in sickness and in health, consciously or unconsciously. The important thing for those of us who are caring for children is to find out the direction of this striving. Thomas holds that there are four fundamental human wishes, "the desire for new experience, including the gratification of the appetites, promptings of curiosity, love of adventure, etc. (2) desire for recognition, meaning appreciation of the public; (3) desire for response, or affection, love from other individuals; (4) desire for security, feeling of safety, success, rest, as over against the shocks and dangers of new experience." The desire for new experience may animate certain types of girl or boy bandits and certain types of sex-offenders no less than scientists, explorers and inventors.

In adjusting personality difficulties an important thing is the influence of success. Having something to do that is well within our powers but somewhat taxing, but for which we are totally responsible, is a great asset. A recent English economist has stated that the solution for industrial unrest is something that will restore the respect of the worker for his own personality. In certain State schools this "something plus" has been added to such tasks as canning and preserving so that the sheer excellence of the work has lifted it out of the commonplace.

We hear a great deal in institutions about character building and habit formation. The theory is that training will form habits. An act may be performed 365 times under supervision, such as making a smooth bed, or washing the neck and ears, and yet no habit will be formed. Repetition alone does not impress the nervous system. It is essential that our training be so flexible and the situations we create so attractive that the individual adopts our standards because they fit in with his scheme of success. In the field of personality adjustments I predict our greatest progress will be made in the next few years by specialists in human relationships.

Social Rehabilitation.—The best thing about institutions is that they may introduce the child to group life and train him to work in harmony with his fellow beings. Sauk Center,

Minnesota, is a pioneer in this field, there the community group is the unit from which everything centers. Participation in the life of the group on terms that count is essential in any form of social training given in the institution. There need be no formal organization. Often institutions having most to say about student government, copying often the worst elements in our government, municipal organization, the police court and the like, have the least student participation. Team-work may be learned in a game like football where there is one captain, or it may be learned in the loose organization of a series of committees in charge of the house decoration or the Christmas recreation. It should never be forgotten that in dealing with the children we are dealing with a group that is a social organism in the institution. From it we can learn more than we can ever teach it.

Change in Social Status.—This can be accomplished by an institution only when it is aware from the start of its temporary function. It would be wise if the parole organization plans began from the date of admission. For instance, at the Texas State Training School for Girls the new girls are housed for a period of two weeks in the parole cottage, under tutelage of the best girls, who serve as big sisters. Within the institution all things tending to institutionalize the child should be banished. The spirit of the institution should be bracing and constructive. In the Texas school and the Oklahoma school, the organization of a troupe of girl scouts tends to bridge the gulf between the institution and the community. It must be remembered that when a girl enters an institution she undergoes a change in social status at least as radical as that of the Polish Jew who exchanges a status based on learning and piety to that of an itinerant peddler. In her group outside, her claim to recognition perhaps was her gaiety, quick repartee, her being attuned to the rhythm of dancing and laughter. Within the institution all her assets are liabilities. Slowly and patiently a new set of values must be built up. There must be a great deal of reward and recognition attached to the new social standards. Some schools use pins, banners, graduation ceremonies, seeking to extract the value of the use of symbols found so stimulating by mature men in fraternal orders. Then there is the difficult matter of the reeducation of public opinion. The institution will best manage this if it courageously and enthusiastically believes in the possibilities of its children.

How long should a young person remain in a correctional

institution? The answer depends on the goal sought. There seem to be mainly three goal ideas in the correctional institutions of this country,—custody and detention, a more or less completed training course, and personal adjustment. If the purpose be mere custody, the logical thing is to keep the individual as long as possible, that is to say until 21 years of age. If it be a complete training for citizenship, interpreted to mean an institutional record free from human imperfections, then the length of time must be confinement till 21, if not for life. If the goal be adjustment each child must be treated as an individual problem and the release should come at the psychological moment. The average child gets all the average institution is able to give in a period varying from 6 months to 2 years. Detention after this causes lost motion, bitterness, staleness and unrest.

We cannot prevent our courts from sending children to institutions, but with a well-organized parole system, combined with some plan for the gradual withdrawal of supervision, such as the town house, or the boarding club, the institution itself can act as a clearing house, rapidly passing out those who have become adjusted and can succeed in the community. The community has the greatest need of this experiment. Pressure is acute and heavy both in institutions and outside. With a simple, flexible plant and equipment, trained workers, a vigorous and intensive policy, large numbers could thus be handled by the institutions through intelligent use of the extended jurisdiction given them by law over minors.

Can anyone fail to receive the inspiration of such projects as conceived by Dr. Bernstein of Rome, New York, who demonstrates that even the defective child can be trained rapidly and placed in the community successfully. But in order to accomplish our job we must cease to think of our institutions as affairs of four brick walls and must come to regard ourselves as living, vital social organisms.

To sum up: the true value of correctional education lies first in the recognition that we are treating an individual who has a confused, or warped idea of the social code. The community has not defined this social code authoritatively and simply. It has not stated in it all the terms at its command, home, school, church, press, recreation, industry and common human relationships as a clear unit standard, nor has it illustrated this code by precept and example so that the young person may understand it and be favorably im-

pressed with it. Next we send the individual to an institution so that he may learn this code.

The method of correctional education must include:

1. Vigorous and joyous health.
2. Emotional adjustment, a correct understanding of the individual by himself.
3. The restoration of confidence and the respect of the individual for his own personality. This is best accomplished by the discovery of tasks within the strength and capacity of the young person.
4. The individual must develop loyalty to his group by participation in the actual conduct of affairs within the group, by activity related to a social purpose.
5. New outlets must be formed for the creative energy of youth.
6. The status of the individual must be restored, that is to say, the community must be educated to recognize that the young person has been returned to full citizenship in our common humanity.

MORNING SESSION, OCTOBER 31.

PRISON PHYSICIANS' SECTION.

CLASSIFICATION OF DEFECTIVE DELINQUENTS.

By EDGAR A. DOLL, PH.D., PSYCHOLOGIST, N. J. STATE DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

One of the most significant advances in the history of State institutions is the comparatively recent recognition of the general unity of purpose upon which these institutions are founded. From time to time it has been found necessary for the State to provide for various types of social inefficiency. In making provision for these different social types, we have only recently realized that there are some problems common to all institutions.

New Jersey was one of the first States to come to this conclusion and, having reached it, to take direct legislative action. The creation of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies, in 1917, marks a very great advance in the co-ordination of effort expended by various State agencies. This Department is now going even further in urging the need for co-ordinating the work of the various non-institutional State departments to serve the one common purpose of advancing the total welfare of the State. Under the able leadership of Commissioner Burdette G. Lewis, there has been developed a carefully thought out construction program to expand the facilities which New Jersey now has for caring for its State wards. Aside from the material features of this construction program, Commissioner Lewis has also organized the professional talent of his Department in such ways as to extend to all of the State institutions the expert services of different specialists. The construction program is based upon scientific principles and the conclusions of professional experts. This co-operation of the administrative branch of the department with the professional branches marks a distinct advance in State work. This New Jersey Department has, therefore, the advice and service of a relatively permanent scientific commission, working in close harmony with the development of administrative organization for the establishment of physical equipment.

In developing this construction program, New Jersey has been at particular pains to systematize the scientific work of

classification of State wards. When the organization now contemplated is perfected, there will probably be adequate facilities for the specialized care of the many different institutional types. Anticipating these developments, Commissioner Lewis called upon the Psychiatric Clinic to submit a memorandum on the Classification of Defective Delinquents, this memorandum to serve as the basic policy for the classification of the mental cases in the correctional institutions. This was done in order that suitable provision could be made for the treatment and training of such offenders as needed something more than ordinary correctional treatment, or who needed special medical attention before correctional training could be applied.

The Psychiatric Clinic, under the direction of Dr. Henry A. Cotton, consists of a group of psychologists working in close affiliation with the psychiatrists. The members of this staff conferred among themselves and with the heads of the institutions concerned, and with other professional men and administrators in the State. The classification which I present is, therefore, an example of the co-operative effort of the professional and administrative staff of the department.

In developing this classification, every effort has been made to attain simplicity, both in plan and in terminology. Yet it is based upon the most advanced researches in psychology, psychiatry and medicine. The classification particularly emphasizes the problem of constitutional instability, whether expressed as emotional instability, instability of temperament or instability of conduct. In psychological terms, instability may affect the intellect, the feelings, or the will. Our classification is based upon this triple psychological conception. We do not admit that feeble-mindedness alone is sufficient causative explanation of criminality. On the contrary, we recognize that anti-social conduct is a complex resultant of the interrelation of intellect, feeling and will. We, therefore, emphasize not so much any one of these three factors as the relative importance of each.

For purposes of simplicity we have confined our classification to defective delinquents. The defect may be in any one of the three fields mentioned. Theoretically, every offender is in some degree defective, but for practical purposes it is not always possible to recognize a degree of defect sufficient to amount to a differential abnormality. For further simplification we have confined ourselves to antithetical groups. On the side of intellect we have recognized the feeble-minded and the non-feeble-minded. On the side of feeling we have rec-

ognized the stable and the unstable. On the side of will we have recognized the active and the inactive, or the occasional and habitual offender. Combining these three pairs of factors we may recognize six delinquent types, as follows:

1. The feebleminded stable occasional offender (in whom the delinquency is principally a symptom or natural consequence of the inferior judgment, reasoning and suggestibility of the feebleminded type).

2. The feebleminded unstable occasional offender (in whom the delinquency is principally the result of feeblemindedness combined with temperamental instability).

3. The feebleminded stable habitual offender (the "incurable" type whose repeated delinquency may be the consequence of environment, training, or normal perversity, in addition to feeblemindedness).

4. The feebleminded unstable habitual offender (in whom the delinquency may be the result of special causes in addition to feeblemindedness or instability).

5. The unstable non-feebleminded occasional offender (in whom the delinquency is a symptom or natural consequence of constitutional instability).

6. The unstable non-feebleminded habitual offender (in whom the delinquency is the result of special causes in addition to constitutional instability).

It is recognized that in every case of delinquency associated with mental defect, either as feeble-mindedness or as constitutional instability, such a defective delinquent can be classified into one of the six above-mentioned groups as a result of the scientific investigations and examinations now being made by psychological, psychiatric, medical and social investigators. It is, therefore, recommended that in the procedures now called for by the classification systems in correctional institutions, every feeble-minded or constitutionally unstable delinquent be classed in one of the above six groups as may be determined by the facts of the individual cases.

In order that these several classes may be properly cared for when recognized, it is important that the responsibilities of the several types of State institutions be clearly recognized for the specific purpose of relieving the correctional institutions of types of cases for which they cannot now, or under any permanent plan, give the treatment needed by the individual cases. For these purposes the assistance of the non-correctional institutions, particularly the institutions for the feeble-minded and the State hospitals, must be solicited in providing the proper care and treatment for such inmates of correctional institutions as might properly be transferred to them under the policy herein provided. It is therefore recommended:

1. That the training schools for feebleminded be designated as the proper places for the custody, care and treatment of the feebleminded occasional offenders who are of trainable age, type and habits.

2. That farm and industrial colonies for adult feeble-minded be designated as the proper places for the custody, care and treatment of the feebleminded stable occasional offenders who are above the helpless idiot grade and who because of age, type or other conditions, do not require training other than that provided in a colony for feebleminded.

3. That custodial institutions or colonies be designated as the proper places for the custody, care and treatment of the feebleminded stable occasional offenders who because of age, type or other conditions are not suitable for training at the training schools or for work at the colonies.

4. That the hospitals for the insane be designated as the proper places for the custody, care and treatment of constitutionally unstable offenders, whether occasional or habitual offenders, and whether feebleminded or non-feeble-minded, and, further, that at such time as the instability shall have been cured as a result of hospital treatment these delinquents shall then be sent back to the correctional institutions, from which they were received, for reclassification as stable delinquents.

5. That the correctional institutions now designated by the courts, in the individual cases, continue to be designated as the proper places for the custody, care and treatment of all delinquents, who do not belong in the four classes just mentioned, and are not epileptic or insane, and of all feebleminded stable habitual offenders, until such time as they are suitable for parole from the standpoint of social reformation and proper self-control; that is, until the tendency toward delinquency, which is assumed to be the result of other forces than constitutional instability or feeble-mindedness, has been overcome; and further, that at such time as these feebleminded habitual offenders are suitable for parole as being no longer likely to continue delinquent, these cases be considered as occasional offenders and be transferred to the appropriate institution as indicated in the preceding designations.

6. That if at any time it shall be determined that a feeble-minded delinquent is sufficiently competent, industrious, stable and socially amenable to be capable of self-management and self-support independently of custodial supervision in spite of feeble-mindedness, he may then be paroled to the community under close parole supervision.

OUTLINE OF CLASSIFICATION AND DISPOSITION.

TYPE OF OFFENDER	SYMPTOMS	DISPOSITION
Feeble-minded stable occasional	Feeble-mindedness predominant; defective temperament or environment secondary.	Training schools for those of trainable age and type; colonies for industrial adults, custodial institutions for helpless, low-grade and aged.
Feeble-minded unstable occasional	Instability predominant; low mentality secondary; temperament or environment tertiary.	State Hospitals until cured of instability; then to appropriate feeble-minded institutions as above.
Feeble-minded stable habitual	Delinquency predominant; temperament or environment primary; feeble-mindedness secondary.	Correctional institutions under special segregation until reformed; then to feeble-minded institutions as above.
Feeble-minded unstable habitual	Delinquency and instability predominant; defective temperament and environment primary; instability secondary; feeble-mindedness tertiary.	State Hospitals until cured of instability, then back to correctional institution for reclassification, then to appropriate feeble-minded institution.
Non-feeble-minded unstable occasional	Instability predominant; defective temperament or environment secondary.	State Hospitals until cured of instability; then back to correctional institution for reclassification or parole.
Non-feeble-minded unstable habitual	Delinquency and instability predominant; defective temperament and environment primary; instability secondary.	State Hospital until cured of instability; then back to correctional institution for reclassification or parole.

{Toxic
 {Congenitally Syphilitic
 {Epileptoid
 {Endocrinopathic
 {Environmental

Etiological Sub-Classification of Types of Instability

AFTERNOON GENERAL SESSION

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31.

PRISON PHYSICIANS.

Mr. THOMAS C. O'BRIEN, Vice-President, presiding. The prison physician has become each year a more and more important factor in the dealing with delinquents. In Massachusetts, in 1919, we were successful in passing legislation providing that every person who is committed to a penal institution for a period of not less than 30 days is subjected to an examination by a physician and that examination is compulsory, a penalty of \$50 fine to be imposed on every institution superintendent of a penal institution who fails to comply with the law. A great deal was discovered in the way of venereal disease, and it was followed in 1920 by another law which provided that a person who had tuberculosis in an infectious stage, or syphilis or gonorrhea might be detained until the expiration of sentence. The 30-day limit was placed in the law purely as an economic measure. It was felt it would be a hardship on the smaller houses of correction to compel those institutions to keep a resident physician. It is expected that next year the law will be extended so as to include all persons committed to the penal institutions in Massachusetts.

In our State institutions not only are the men subjected to a rigid physical examination, but it is made foolproof, so that the country doctor must answer certain questions and make examination of certain organs in order to fill out his report properly. We also have psychologists and psychiatrists who work in the State penal institutions.

This year the prison physicians have been given a general session because of the importance with which their work is regarded. The Relation of Protective Social Measures to Venereal Disease Control, is the subject of a paper by Miss Mary Driscoll, of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board. Miss Driscoll is well known to me, her work having been carried on in Massachusetts in connection with our large Camp at Devens and also in and about Boston, and I know she will have something of real import to give us this afternoon.

THE RELATION OF PROTECTIVE SOCIAL MEASURES TO VENEREAL DISEASE CONTROL.

By MISS MARY DRISCOLL, FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, UNITED STATES INTER-DEPARTMENTAL SOCIAL HYGIENE BOARD, BOSTON, MASS.

The Protective Social Measures Program of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board has a two-fold purpose. First, to assist the various States in the care of persons whose detention, isolation, quarantine, or commitment to an institution may be found necessary for the protection of the armed forces of the United States against venereal disease.

And, second, to stimulate the interest of the citizens in the various communities sufficiently to bring about an adequate community law-enforcement program, plus an opportunity for wholesome community life, to the end of reducing juvenile delinquency as a means of preventing venereal disease.

I shall try to present to you my conclusions after 13 year's work with the problem of delinquency; 9 years as a parole officer, working with the delinquent girl after she had had institutional treatment; the remaining time with the Interdepartmental Board, carrying out a program for the control of venereal disease. In developing such a program, great opportunity has been afforded me to become familiar with the accumulated causes which have made institutional treatment necessary.

In carrying out the first purpose of the Board, namely, assisting the States in the care of diseased persons, it has been necessary to investigate thoroughly the health laws as they affect venereal disease, and in some States to interest the community in bettering them. It has further necessitated a knowledge of the equipment of the community to quarantine persons who are a danger to its health. Such a survey has revealed much that is inconsistent in the way of legislation, and a very poor equipment, on the average, throughout the country, to properly care for such persons. It has also disclosed the fact that it is, in general, the habit of the community to consider the patients having a venereal disease as individuals who need correctional treatment, and instead of the machinery of our various health departments being used for their care, we find them in our detention houses, jails, and houses of correction.

The immediate need for recognition by the medical pro-

fession of the necessity for medical care among this group is very great, irrespective of their social conduct, which very often differs slightly from that of the tubercular or typhoid patient, etc. If syphilis and gonorrhea are physical diseases, then they must be taken care of by the medical profession, and the health laws in this regard should be enforced by local boards of health rather than by a police organization.

I have known many cases where a girl or woman has been brought before the court on a technical charge, which might not have been made, had it not been for the purpose of bringing her under the supervision of the court so that assurance might be given for her having treatment which she needed for syphilis or gonorrhea. It is not an uncommon thing to have a police official say that there is not sufficient evidence to bring this individual before the court, his attitude, however, changing immediately upon a suggestion of the possibility that the individual has syphilis or gonorrhea, and is a source of infection. Not unheard of indeed is the statement, "Well, you assure me that she has syphilis or gonorrhea, and I'll have her in court tomorrow."

There should be an effort made throughout the country to stimulate the local boards of health to greater interest in this particular health problem, and to discourage them from the feeling that the person is a prostitute, a street-walker, etc., and therefore a case only for the police.

If having a venereal disease is not an offense, how justified are we in expecting the court to bring about physical examinations to determine the presence of venereal disease, and include as a part of the treatment of the court, supervision during a period when treatments for disease are necessary?

We emphasize from time to time, for consideration, the automatic examination of all prisoners brought before the court for offenses involving sex, in order that we may determine whether the individual has a venereal disease. What would it mean, in the way of a public health measure, if all persons brought before the court for abnormal sex offenses, for prostitution, etc., were given a thorough physical examination, to determine what their physical handicap may be, this examination to include tests for venereal disease; such a thorough physical examination, plus a mental diagnosis, to be used as a means of arriving at a conclusion as to the responsibility of the individual for the offense charged and the treatment needed?

Consideration might well be given to the problem of the

venereal carrier who is under treatment. Many such cases are infecting the military and naval forces while they are reporting faithfully for treatment, either to their private physician, or to the clinic. Apparently, medical care is the only consideration being given to this type of case; that treatment of a social character is neglected, with the result that the patient has little knowledge of the disease or the precautions necessary for the protection of public health, and a continuance in his anti-social behavior, promiscuous sex relations.

Among your reinfected patients are a very great number who have been in our penal institutions, and had, at the expense of the taxpayers, a very adequate and effective medical treatment. Yet we find them exposing themselves to a new infection in a very short time after leaving the institutions.

The physician in the prison, who allows an individual with syphilis or gonorrhea to leave the institution in need of treatment, without making some plan whereby the patient may receive it, does a great injustice to the individual and to the community.

The institution that allows an individual to receive medical treatment for syphilis or gonorrhea without instruction and information as to the character of the disease, and what it will mean in the future to the patient if neglected, does both a further injustice.

As physicians, your contribution to this program is very great. It is to you that we turn.

First, for the discovery of gonorrhea and syphilis in the individual.

Second, for the adequate medical treatment of the disease.

Third, for the informational and educational work necessary with the individual, through lectures on social hygiene perhaps with the aid of moving pictures, informal talks, etc.

Fourth, for bringing about the further treatment of the individual leaving the institution, through advice and information as to such places in the community as offer treatment.

Fifth, for the building up in the community of the necessary clinics for the treatment of venereal diseases.

And lastly, yours is a very great contribution because of your rich experience, which enables you to inform and educate the community as to the great need of venereal disease control.

How may the second purpose of the Board be accomplished? What practical measures should be taken in order

that a public conscience sufficiently intelligent and interested be created to bring about the necessary law enforcement?

The fundamental essential is to secure the attention of the individual who contributes to the community conscience. His interest must be aroused, by presenting clearly and intelligently such undisputable facts regarding real community conditions. Statistics have for some time been ineffective in arousing public interest, because they are not accepted by the general public as authentic or dependable.

Sentimentality is thought to color facts presented. The sensational case illustration often given, presenting sex irregularities, is "popular stuff." It catches, but does not hold. It fails to arouse enthusiasm for action by every decent-living person.

Much of the indifference and complacency with which the community accepts the belief that conditions are satisfactory, and that law and order prevail, is traceable to the lack of confidence of the individual in the so-called "reformer" and agitator. An aroused public conscience is dependent upon sanity, common sense, and the unadulterated truth. It can be aroused and may be depended upon to correct, through its power, many community conditions that make for degeneracy and delinquency.

If the Board has been to any extent successful in bringing about better community conditions, it has been because of the ability of the field staff, through the far-reaching character of the work, to go before the public fortified with first-hand information regarding community conditions, with a very comprehensive recognition of its assets and liabilities, accompanied by a suggestive program as a way of meeting some of the problems presented.

Recognizing the greatest asset to be a healthy, normal, moral citizenship, we must strive to make this possible; and accepting a defective, diseased, delinquent citizenship as our greatest liability, we must have a plan to prevent its further increase.

To what extent physical inability and mental defectiveness are responsible for the delinquencies, we are unable to estimate. The successful operation of community life is dependent upon the health of its citizens. A healthy community is successful, happy, and prosperous. To assure the community of this powerful asset, a healthy citizenship, a plan for action must operate from babyhood, and "health" must be the slogan at birth.

The health of the race is dependent upon many things;

suitable housing conditions, economic and educational opportunities, etc. All this machinery in rural communities, as well as in cities, is dependent for its creation and functioning upon the individual citizen. His lack of interest reacts upon other individuals.

Are we sincerely desirous that the individual know his power? Are we not inclined to advise that he accept the judgment of the chosen few? When this thinking is being done by the masses, many of the liabilities that society has imposed upon them will be permanently removed.

If you are to receive the support that you need to carry out your particular protective and preventive program, you must keep the community informed. It must understand that a man is not sent to jail to make a criminal of him; to the hospital to make a chronic patient of him; to the psychopathic ward in order that he may receive inhuman treatment. But rather, to the jail to reform him; to the hospital to cure him, to the psychopathic ward to care for him and protect society.

This work is worthy of the support of the taxpayers. Appropriations which you are dependent upon, might show a substantial increase if your legislators were elected by a well-informed electorate, that insisted upon adequacy in matters of this sort.

A preventive Social Measures Program should begin with the family; and all the influences that go with the meaning of home—the school, the play, the church, etc.—should exist for the purpose of assisting the family to develop the child. The community should formulate its program to protect the child against unwholesome influences, and to encourage its use of all the opportunities that are possible in community living. Our law-enforcing agencies should enforce the law fully as it affects the juvenile. There should be amusement commissions who license, censor, and supervise our public recreational centers, which hundreds of young persons of adolescent age frequent. There should be laws regarding the age of admittance to these places, and it should be some one's job to see that the regulations are lived up to.

We should have in every community women attendance officers, protective officers, police officers for the early discovery of delinquency, women probation officers and parole officers; suitable temporary homes, and detention houses that offer social treatment.

We should have recreational centers with gymnasiums, tennis courts, baseball fields, swimming pools, with women officers in attendance; girls' clubs, Scouts, Camp-Fire Girls,

—a community program offering opportunity for young men and women to meet, in buildings owned and supervised by the community, which, because of their very character, are suitable places for such meetings.

Our inability to care for the feeble-minded is due to the fact that we have failed to inform the community of the great numbers of feeble-minded persons; of the inability of the feeble-minded to adjust themselves to normal persons; of the moral danger they are to their companions; and that we have not enough institutions in which to care for them.

Does the community understand that many of your "repeaters" are feeble-minded and defective; and what a poor investment it is for the community to pay the expenses necessary in a penal institution that can do nothing more than give shelter to these persons and treat them humanely, returning them to the community with no greater mental equipment, and no more able to cope with the problems of the day than when they entered the institution?

What would the effect be on the legislators of our various States if they could find the galleries filled with citizens at a time when the question of increased appropriations for the care of the feeble-minded was being considered. This can be brought about only through an aroused public conscience as to the need of appropriations for institutions for the mentally defective.

Let us consider two of the liabilities of the present day—the prostitute and the feeble-minded. (Time does not permit a further survey of the debts to the community through alcohol, love of money, and industrial injustices.) Is it not a fact that there are thousands of intelligent prostitutes who for a number of years are not economic liabilities? Are we scientifically correct in assuming that we have the whole story of prostitution, dependent as we are upon the material gathered from our penal institutions, courts, probation departments, schools for the feeble-minded, or otherwise from those within the jurisdiction of the law?

Where is the prostitute of the past generation? Are we correct in our impression that the prostitute's success is dependent upon her youth? That the rank and file of the prostitutes are young women? If her career is a short one, where does she eventually appear in society? Does she return ever to a useful occupation in a respectable community? Does she marry and become a mother of men? Or is she to be found in our penal institutions and almshouses?

Where are the prostitutes of the next generation now?

Unborn, many of them. A vast number are in our schools throughout the country, in the home, the Sunday school, girls' club, in the dance hall, picture-house, public park, and factory. She is in the "making" at this present moment, dependent upon all the influences that are working in the community either for perfection or imperfection, physically, mentally, and morally. She may have inherited syphilis; she may be feeble-minded, defective, deficient, or physically handicapped in one way or another.

Whoever she may be, wherever she may be, whatever her condition, she is now within our control. What are you going to do about her? See to it that she becomes a community asset? There are persons who argue that the prostitute is a necessity. If they are right, why not give her the advantage of vocational guidance? Let us select her, if you please. Let us develop her to serve her purpose. Let us ask the fathers and mothers of the country to contribute a daughter or two for this purpose. Why not open up our segregated districts; hang out the red light: make known to your young son the existence of these opportunities? Then, when her usefulness has expired, and she, because of lack of physical endurance, becomes an economic liability, why not have a system of pensioning her, rather than committing her to houses of correction or almshouses? Is there a father willing to make this contribution to the needs of society? Scarcely a mother. Gentlemen, let us be honest and logical. If the future prostitute is not your daughter, then she will be the daughter of your neighbor. "Am I my brother's keeper?" is as old as Cain. Has it any meaning for us today?

The question of the future prostitute will be answered by the women of the country, as will the destiny of the segregated and red-light district, traffic in girls and women, crimes committed against children and women, the enforcing of the law in connection with girls under the age of consent. All of these considerations, that so vitally concern the welfare of children and women, and belong so intimately to the mother of the future, are questions that can be rightly considered and disposed of by the large army of women in our women's organizations.

When the women have had sufficient time and force to go out before our Leagues of Women Voters, Federations of Women's Clubs, Women's Christian Temperance Unions, our various alliances, our bodies of religious organizations, Parent and Teachers' Associations, our Home-Makers' clubs and mothers' clubs, to tell them of the crimes and tragedies en-

acted in every-day life, many against defenceless young girls; of the failure of law enforcement in rape cases, of the attitude of the courts in some places regarding them; advocating and advising that they urge their communities to put able women in places of position and power that have to do with the supervision of children and women, then we will have gone a long way towards correcting these conditions, because we shall have an informed and awakened community.

We will challenge the community to convince us, if possible, that the woman, who by her every nature and temperament was chosen as the one of the two sexes to nourish and care for, and bring forth, the son or the daughter; to whom was given the task of caring for the babe during the days of its helplessness; the woman who took to her breast the newborn babe; who did all of the hundred little things that your mother and mine did for you and for me during the days of our own inability; she who taught the child the first lesson in character and development, who trained the young mind for high and noble thoughts, who selected the school, the play, the companions; who sacrificed early and late; who thoroughly understood as only a mother can, the child mind; *that she is not capable* of holding positions dealing directly with children and girls.

Who has presented an argument sufficiently strong to convince the great American public that women are not capable of serving as attendance officers, as police officers, as probation officers, as members of the jury, doing anything and everything for the girl or woman who has shown a weakness that will result in the utmost tragedy and distress for her if she is not mothered and cared for by an understanding, community mother?

If woman is fitted, by her nature, to understand; to care for the sick, if she can comfort the suffering and sorrowing, if she is so capable in all the distressing scenes of life to measure up, surely she has a most distinct place in a community program involving the care of children and women who may become social problems.

If your police departments are not fit places for women to work in, then they are not fit organizations to help girls and women. If a woman cannot hold a place in your jury box, where she can determine the reasonableness of holding a person for trial for crimes committed against the chastity and virtue of women, how can she be fit for what we all recognize to be the greatest profession and privilege given to human beings, that of motherhood?

I want to see women everywhere lined up as one strong army, determined that the boy and girl shall have an equal chance for good living, right thinking, fair economic conditions, with all that is entailed in this. We are not enforcing our laws at the present time; we are allowing the boys and girls to become so steeped in vice, so schooled in wrong-doing, so thrilled in certain kinds of experience, so hungry for gratification of the impulses aroused so very early in life, that we are confronted everywhere with the tremendous problem of socially readjusting fourteen, fifteen and sixteen-year-old boys and girls.

When we are sure that our boys and girls of eighteen have not had experience with what we recognize as the most powerful force in the human race, with which we are unable to compete, we have gone a long way in the control of juvenile delinquency.

This is dependent upon many things, but upon no thing greater than this—an awakened community conscience that will create sane laws to govern the health, conduct, and well-being of juveniles, and that, furthermore, will insist that such laws are enforced.

Years of intimate personal contact with the prostitute, the streetwalker, the friendless and forlorn girl, have strengthened my belief in human nature, and convinced me that two-thirds of the evil results that I have seen have been unnecessary, and that an awakened, active community conscience could have prevented much of the human wreckage seen upon our streets, and filling our almshouses, penal institutions, and hospitals for the incurables.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE FUNDAMENTALS IN THE PERSONALITY OF DELINQUENT BOYS AND GIRLS.

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Basis of Right and Wrong.—An important contribution of the new century to public welfare is an amendment of traditional conceptions of right and wrong conduct through recognition of the primitive basis of behavior and the establishment of a rational plan of training. As soon as man attempts to utilize his social heritage bequeathed from lower animals, to whom the herd instinct has served largely as a protective agency, the newly-acquired motive of sympathy demands that justice instead of might prevail in settling social differences.

This procedure involves the presentation of evidence, the validity of which rests upon a fundamental philosophical principle, the distinction between belief and knowledge. The former too generally bases its conclusions upon the principle of common sense, while the latter relies upon the results of a critical examination of convictions, prejudices and beliefs. The tendency, not without some degree of justification, has been to characterize the first method as practical and the second as theoretical. Heretofore, estimates of conduct quite generally have relied upon the common sense method. With a clearer conception of man's place in the animal kingdom and a better knowledge of the way in which his propensities, needs and interests have arisen, our ideas of human responsibility have been modified and extended. We now have rational reasons for asserting that peace and efficiency result from the ability to establish a well-balanced relation between our instinctive tendencies and their surroundings. The result is an intelligently directed control of our animal or involuntary nature. In order to estimate the degree of control acquired by one person or by a group of individuals organized into a state, it has been found serviceable to analyze the personality or characteristics distinguishing one individual or one state from another. Thus we are in a position to estimate, compare and systematize the factors of social efficiency, and formulate a rational belief founded on knowledge gained from controlled observation.

Criteria of Judgment.—Judging conduct from analyses of the personality is not a new method. When Aristotle observed that want is not the sole incentive to crime, that men desire to gratify their instinctive tendencies or passions which prey upon them and therefore commit crime, he indicated the trend of scientific methods now applied to elucidate social problems. Failure in the earlier and more general adoption of rational methods of judging misbehavior is due, among other reasons, to sentimental considerations. Edward Livingstone, author of the remarkable Code of Prison Discipline, presented to Louisiana in 1827, was one of the first persons interested in modern prison organization to put the cart before the horse, when he urged that crime "is the effect principally of intemperance, idleness, ignorance, vicious associations, irreligion and poverty, *not of any defective natural organization.*" His remedy, in spite of inadequately founded beliefs, was an admirably developed system of training. He failed, however, to distinguish between causes and effects. The social evils which he enumerates are related to crime not as

causes but as results of more nearly fundamental factors, viz.: poorly endowed intelligence, unbalanced disposition, and inadequate health in their individual or in their complex relations.

With the too hasty adoption of premature conclusions about heredity and an overemphasis of amateur psychological determinants, the beginning of the century has seen the pendulum swing to the other extreme. We have been told that essentially all delinquents are feeble-minded, that schools are not for them, since no amount of good environment can improve them, and that they are to be segregated in order to prevent them from procreating their kind.

Neither common sense nor psychology has been able to give us a sound working basis for analyzing conduct, or a system applicable to the needs of the probation officer and the training school executive. This deficiency is explained when we recognize the delinquent's personality as a complex of biological and economic as well as psychological factors, whose relations must be cleared up before we can devise schemes for training.

Character Study.—Simplicity of diction and clarity of expression are not well observed in scientific nomenclature. As a result, a general appreciation of attempts to improve the science of society frequently is denied, while recognition of scientific applications is discarded as impracticable. Too little attention has been paid by Social Medicine—the field of public welfare dealing with behavior and conduct—to making itself intelligible, and to winning adherents for the principles it advocates. Its recommendations too often are as unintelligible as are its medicinal prescriptions. If simple, accurate, readily intelligible statements of conditions and situations were more generally available, such careless terms as feeble-minded and constitutional inferiority would not now burden us with their meaningless panaceas. Added to this need of a better scientific insight by executives is an equal need of stimulating professional indifference to the medical study of conduct, with personality as its basis, a subject still “set to be weighed in the church’s balances.” As the critic, St. John Ervine, well has said: “If one would know the elements of conduct, he might more profitably read novels than scientific books, since there he can discover something about human character.”

Method Proposed.—In order to inspire a deserved interest in studying rationally the personality by observing and interpreting the social problems of every-day life as they confront

us in the school, the court, and other corrective organizations, I have urged for some time that students consider social data from the point of view of three analytical categories. These are Intelligence, Character, Health, representing the organization of the self, and a fourth division, Economic Efficiency, representing the individual's community value. The reaction of the personality to these various fields appears in two ways, shown in the activities of behavior and those of conduct. The former is the mode of the involuntary, the subconscious life of the individual. It represents his instinctive animal existence, older and more potent than the forces that now seek to control and organize these habits to which life itself is responsible. Conduct is the mode of voluntary control through which society seeks to harmonize primitive instinctive tendencies, such as those manifesting themselves in the nutritive and reproductive appetites and the ways of reacting to danger. Agencies through which control is exercised are seen in the social forces or folk-ways that have resulted in the family, the community, the church, education, industry and social order in general.

Fundamental Basis.—The scheme here proposed for a scientific study of society recognizes no fundamental difference between bodily and mental structures and functions which it regards as mechanisms concerned in producing, transmitting and elaborating vital energy, whose results are forces or actions shown in feelings, needs, desires and other human accomplishments. Life is explained, therefore, entirely on the basis of the integration or welding together of physical and chemical factors.

Practical Applications.—In order to illustrate more clearly the application of personality studies of the type here suggested, I have consulted my records of 761 white delinquent boys and girls. Essentially all were native-born, of American, German, Irish, Polish, Italian and Hebrew stock. Most of them were committed to the Maryland Training Schools, though a small number were under public health surveillance for venereal diseases and prostitution. The total number represents unselected groups of urban and rural juvenile misdemeanants, each observed by the writer at frequent intervals during the past three years. All cases were studied from the point of view of heredity and development, social surroundings, adjustment and bodily health.

Specific Fields.—The main criteria of economic efficiency or social independence are intelligence or ability to under-

stand and to analyze sensory interpretations, character or organized control of instinctive or animal tendencies such as the appetites and feelings, and health or vital energy and bodily wellbeing. These terms have the advantage of easy comprehension, scientific exactness and ability to furnish a clear picture of the individual situation. Supplied with their data we may estimate fairly exactly the type of reaction to be expected of an individual.

Intelligence.—Until recently, estimates of social efficiency were based mainly upon a person's mental capacity. More careful analysis, however, long since should have reminded us that there must be other factors than wit in the making of manhood. Highly intellectual persons frequently show the most disorganized conduct, an example of which is individuals once tagged as moral imbeciles, many of whom suffer from defects in no sense psychological but entirely biological. On the other hand, parents of very inferior mentality not infrequently show themselves to be responsible citizens, engaged in rearing satisfactory progeny.

More exact observations of the behavior of lower organisms, and of the conduct of mankind, lead to the conclusion that we are not yet in a position to dictate applications of the laws of heredity to the human species, or to forbid legal marriage, or to juggle further with the term feeble-minded as an inexact excuse for superficial examinations and inadequate social adjustments. With insufficient biological knowledge, depending too much upon hastily applied intelligence tests, we jump at the conclusion that only the unintelligent land in segregative institutions and that there these creatures should remain in order to prevent the spread of their social defects. Thus we ease our human qualms.

What do we know about the intelligence of community groups who are not misdemeanants? Observers who have applied these same tests to economically efficient laborers and have found that in spite of their inferior intelligence they constitute the backbone of our voting population, hesitate to accept the estimate that the proportion of mentally inferior persons within institutions is any greater than those without its walls.

Economic efficiency cannot be measured by intelligence alone. Moreover, in the light of our present knowledge of the mechanism of heredity, it is entirely unjustifiable to conclude that merely because a man is stupid his offspring are bound to follow his tendency. Until an accurate analysis is at hand to assist us in differentiating between defects result-

ing from an inferior germ-plasm and defects in the early stages of embryonic development due to inadequate nutrition, infectious processes, physiological instability, alcoholism, plumbism, and other social interferences with an adequate biological environment, we are in no position to sterilize, segregate or unduly to limit the reproductive freedom of persons who have never had a suitable opportunity to become self-sustaining. In many cases, application of the technic of Social Medicine shows conclusively that it is less the want of intelligence in the recidivist than the want of an adequate biological foundation upon which to establish character.

Nevertheless, understanding was an asset long before its getting was advocated by the Prophet, for intelligence is the responsible factor in man's dominance over other animals. General estimates of intelligence long have been utilized for clinical purposes, yet only recently have means been perfected with which to measure, analyze and compare personal abilities and disabilities of mentality. For this purpose, we now possess a standardized plan wherewith, roughly speaking, we may compare the ratio between the person's mental capacity and the mentality of a sound individual of equal age, the resulting decimal being known as the Intelligence Coefficient. For example, the usual person, 14½ years old, shows an examination score of 80. Comparing this with the score of an inferior person, say one who attains but 45 points, gives us an I. C. of .56. An advantage of this method is its statistical utility. Furthermore, instead of emphasizing the feeble mind only, the intelligence coefficient correlates other factors concerned in economic efficiency and leaves us with a picture of the individual and his social relations.

Applying this method to the cases of 3000 probationers under prolonged observation leads me to suggest the following social classification, devised merely to show the individual's ability to understand and to apply his intelligence to self-support.

Intelligence Coefficient.	Mentality of Usual Child at	Social Class.
0.20 to 0.44	5 to 8 yrs.	Dependent.
0.45 to 0.70	8 to 12 yrs.	Semi-dep't.
0.71 to 0.90	12 to 13 yrs.	Backward.
0.91 to 1.30	During teens.	Usual or bright.

The individual here classified as intellectually dependent, if healthy and of good character, may nevertheless become a successful automaton, essentially self-supporting so long as he has some one upon whom to depend for his judgments and

analyses. The semi-dependent is like the dependent, only less helpless. The commonplace laborer or artisan, subservient to the walking delegate, is a fair representative of the backward group, while the usual type of intelligence corresponds to the prevailing community mode.

Utilizing this point of view, an analysis of intelligence from the data furnished by our group of 761 subjects gives the following distribution:

	Delinquent Boys.	Delinquent Girls.	Young Prostitutes.
Dependents,	1.0 per cent.	4.0 per cent.	6.5 per cent.
Semi-Dep'ts.,	28.0 per cent.	28.0 per cent.	47.0 per cent.
Backward,	42.5 per cent.	42.0 per cent.	21.5 per cent.
Usual,	28.5 per cent.	26.0 per cent.	25.0 per cent.
Total boys.....	469		
Total girls.....	218		
Prostitutes	74		

In round numbers, essentially one-third of the delinquents show inferior mentality, somewhat above one-third are dullards, and somewhat less than one-third are of usual intelligence. Comparing this with the preceding table gives an estimate of adult mentality in terms of the chronological age of childhood and adolescence. For example, the one-third dependents and semi-dependents represent the degree of intelligence found in the usual 5 to 12 year old child, including his want of judgment, tendencies to misinterpret, heightened imagination, inadequate analytical powers and unorganized associative capacity. In analyzing statistics of intelligence it is important to recognize that while the nervous mechanism generally is completely developed at 18 years of age and is as ready as it ever will be to receive instruction, the subject may possess an unusual type of development. Consequently we are not justified in all cases in stating that an individual's mental capacity is once and for all settled by his first mental examination. Environment is found to influence mental development in many particulars, and it is only by means of *social* tests that an accurate estimate can be formulated. The psychological test merely gives an intelligently formulated start. Improvement may result, but so too may deterioration.

Character.—Conduct, or the way people voluntarily act, is the expression of what we have come to call character, a term that originally meant that which is cut in, impressed or stamped as on a coin. On the plastic personality in process of development, fear, anger, disgust, curiosity and other primitive traits are the stamps that seek to leave their mark.

Character is the completed ethical picture in which these various impressions have been more or less adequately toned, organized and brought into harmony with one another according to the standard of civilization prevailing. We think of character, therefore, as the source of conduct, a conception so naively adopted by all as to have interfered with its scientific recognition. Yet character has a definite biological basis and is so explicit as a descriptive term that its retention in an accurate terminology should be emphasized. On reflection it is clear that even our ordinary use of the term connotes fear, anger, etc., for we describe a person as of poor character when his temper is bad or when he is cowardly or untruthful. From a scientific standpoint, fear and the other instinctive tendencies of character are found to bear an intimate relation to the structural and functional characteristics of our glandular systems. In fact, the endocrinous organs such as the thyroid and the adrenal bodies, the pituitary and the specific sex glands, are the regulators not only of our metabolism but of our conduct, since they furnish the chemical energy shown in appetites for food and for sexual satisfaction, in the stimuli that guard the organism against danger, and even in the moulding of bodily contour and symmetry and the establishment of racial types. The active part that these organs take in life's fundamental processes, and the intimate relation they bear to the vegetative or involuntary nervous system, prove beyond doubt that they have evolved in order to act as regulators of the organism's behavior, that they have a definite mode of development, that they represent the basis of organic types, and that they may be subjected to more or less accurate comparative tests for character and conduct, much as we judge intelligence by means of specific tests.

On examination of the evolutionary or embryological history of character, we find its foundations closely related to the development of the involuntary nervous system. Thus it is clear that in order to be well founded, character must have as its basis a well-developed and well-regulated reactive mechanism. Character also is found to have various stages of development, each of which must be subjected to the organizing influences of training in the home and in the community. Thus it appears that our analysis of character should consider the nature of its basis and the degree of its organization.

If we observe a personality of good basis and organization we find no history of spasmodic or other involuntary indications of nervous instability. Organization or training

has been successful in harmonizing, voluntarily, each instinctive tendency and its surroundings. We are dealing with the normal or stable personality. On the other hand, we may have to deal with a poor structure in which hereditary traits or developmental anomalies clearly indicate a poor basis. Here we generally find convulsions, neurotic tendencies, such as sleep-walking, disgust over food of various sorts, temper tantrums and violent fears, together with a decided want of control over the actions and feelings. With adequate training, some of these personalities develop a satisfactory organization. Most of our segregative or so-called criminal types are of this class. Poor surroundings usually are their social heritage. Between these extremes are two general classes with varying gradations. In one of these we recognize a class of individuals having a poor basis, yet with well-organized tendencies, generally due to intensive training and supervision, but sometimes the result of individual efforts alone. Also we see a type showing good basis but inadequate organization, a reaction-type resulting generally from the social forces of poverty, intemperance, etc. Between these four fundamental groups are various classes representing the mass of our social problems.

Applying these principles to the industrial school groups only we have the following distribution:

	Boys	Girls
Good Basis, Good Organization..	10.0 per cent.	11.0 per cent.
Poor Basis, Poor Organization..	12.0 per cent.	57.0 per cent.
Poor Basis, Good Organization..	13.0 per cent.	8.0 per cent.
Good Basis, Poor Organization..	65.0 per cent.	24.0 per cent.
Insane and hopelessly epileptic..	1.5 per cent.	2.5 per cent.
Habitual sex offenders.....	11.0 per cent.	68.5 per cent.

Health.—Without attempting to emphasize, although recognizing the bearing of, obvious signs of ill health such as chronic tonsillar conditions, defective vision, dental caries, and imperfect dentition, our present concern is with such somatic factors as are related especially to delinquent conduct.

Active venereal disease was absent essentially from the boy's group, and only 3 per cent. gave evidence of an earlier infection, although the range of their chronological ages was from 12 to 21, with a majority around the median. Among the 218 girls, 41 per cent had active venereal disease on admission and the entire group of prostitutes, with one exception, was diseased. Marked enlargement of the thyroid gland was observed in 45 per cent of the girls, yet without circulatory disturbance and generally without exophthalmos.

Only 5 per cent of the boys showed similar glandular enlargement and none had related disorders of circulation so far as could be determined. No accurate analysis of these glandular phenomena is attempted, although one gains the impression of a marked, general correlation between the condition and emotional affective states, a rational supposition. Fully one-third of all the group appeared poorly nourished as an evident sequel to deficiencies of diet, if one may judge from individual testimony. A preponderance of carbohydrates and an almost complete want of protective foods such as milk and green vegetables, were apparent. A surprisingly large number of the girls were found on admission to be diphtheria carriers. None was found among the boys, perhaps because of inadequate physical examination on admission.

Sex Distinctions.—A very brief comparison of these groups must recognize at least the following circumstances in the reactions of delinquent boys and girls:

(a)—The striking, though possibly fortuitous, similarity in social distribution. Invasion of private property and vagabondage are the usual resultants of distorted social motives among boys, venery is less usual. Among delinquent girls the reverse holds true. The explanation is both psychological and biological. A prime factor in delinquency is intellectual inefficiency, which is not correlated with sex. Of equal importance is the boy's instinctive tendency to wander and to forage en route and the girl's instinctive tendency to attract the male, relying upon adornment and rendezvous. This social distribution, therefore, shows an identical need for both sexes, viz., improved means for play. Evidence of special abilities is more frequent among the boys, whose mechanical aptitudes need careful analysis. However, the girls showed special talent in a number of fields, including domestic science, stenography and costume designing.

(b) An inadequate nervous system is a significant characteristic of the girls' group, more than one-half of which showed inferior instinctive balance. Inadequate hereditary and developmental constitution is indicated by the greater percentage of neurotic girls coming from wretched homes, while among the boys, in spite of poor environment, a large percentage showed a good foundation for character. This circumstance also undoubtedly is referable to biological tendencies long active in producing physical inferiority in the human female.

(c) The chief health differences seem to concern the glan-

dular systems. Here disharmonies appear to be related to a higher emotional susceptibility among girls, who show a larger percentage of thyroid disorders and more marked sexual tension.

Economic Efficiency.—Under this head are included impressions gathered from the data already considered as to what program is best suited to the delinquent boy or girl, to make him or her self-sustaining. Since two-thirds of the group are not of superior mental calibre, yet appear to have special vocational capacity, it seems best to concentrate educational efforts upon training in domestic service and apprenticeship in a number of crafts. Orthodox school grading should be abolished in favor of concentrated individual training in the fundamentals of formal education, supplementing which continuation work 4 or 5 hours a week should be required of apprentices, and here a variety of interests should be served. Those interested in commercial subjects should have their abilities utilized by the institution, while the small number of natural students who look forward to advanced studies generally may attend the public schools while in residence at the training school. The chief object is to discover and develop the individual's interest, or if that interest is unsocial, to help him in its legitimate transformation. Few of the individuals here reported were so inferior as to suggest segregation as mental defectives. An interesting commentary on three boys so transferred was furnished by their escape and subsequent adjustment as self-supporting citizens. Efficient community-training and probation, with social insurance cautiously administered, furnish adequate means for dealing with most of our mentally inferior populace, thus helping the "Schools for the Feeble-minded" to maintain their legitimate function as custodians of the hopelessly inferior. Training of higher-grade dependents should be a part of the public school scheme.

In his recent psychological study of the world in revolt Le Bon writes: "Very few people understand that the education of character is much more important than the education of the mind." Allowing for inadequate technic in estimating character, our observations show that it has no distinct correlation with intelligence. Analyses of personalities show that many stupid people maintain a high standard of conduct, while a somewhat smaller proportion of very intelligent individuals have a thoroughly unbalanced character. It is the function of education to develop character, for without dis-

charging this duty its intellectual program is a failure. This principle especially applies to the training of delinquents, 77 per cent of whom in the present boys' group and 81 per cent of the girls showed a poorly endowed or an inadequately organized character.

An important observation indicates that the boys show a better foundation or basis for training than do the girls. Therefore the two sexes present quite different educational situations, recognition of which is an important duty of administrators. One illustration will point out how this suggestion may be applied. Consider for example two bones of contention—corporal punishment and short term commitments—as biological elements for analysis in our educational scheme. The sentiments, love and hate, made up of primitive appetites and such feelings as anger and fear, unified or integrated according to social ideals, constitute two of the most important elements of character. This organization may take place voluntarily, even in unintelligent persons, so long as its foundations, the involuntary nervous system and the endocrinous glandular system, are sound and well balanced. On the other hand, if hereditary or developmental causes have produced an organism with an inadequate nervous and glandular basis, or if surroundings have interfered with the exercise of education, poor character results, showing itself in larceny, arson, sexual irresponsibility, etc., resultants intolerable to society and for whose correction training schools are provided. The chief function of these schools is to establish as speedily as possible the delinquent's economic responsibility, thus relieving the State of his support, and returning him to the community as a trustworthy social unit. To do this effectively we still have to resort to crude methods whose utilization, though abhorred, is after all best fitted to deal with the present state of society. Vindicated both biologically and traditionally, personal punishment applied rationally and calmly is a legitimate and many believe a most efficient means of arousing habits of responsibility in some types of delinquents. For example, the sentiment of honor may be so inadequately organized as to result in the boy's periodic loss of control and thievery. With sound nervous and glandular structures his chief need is organization, otherwise the social principles of conduct—sympathy, altruism, etc.—will be sacrificed to selfish, inconsiderate, seclusive behavior. Applied to properly selected cases, spanking proves both empirically and rationally to be an efficient stimulus that still might well

be utilized more widely than it is as a remedy for incorrigibility in the public schools.

It is important, however, that character-education by castigation be used with discrimination, for whipping is not a developer though it may be an organizer. Certain individuals are entirely wanting in some elements of character, while in others the elements all are present but are disorganized or poorly balanced. Still others with the understanding of small children are unable to understand the reasons for punishment. An analysis of our material shows at once the reason for the impression that punishment has given good results in our boy's group, 65 per cent. of which have a well developed basis for, but an inadequate organization of, character. Our data also give us rational grounds for recommending other educative methods in dealing with most of the girls, 57 per cent. of whom show an inadequate basis with poor organization. Development rather than organization here is to be emphasized.

Biological study of the personality under long probational observation indicates that it is a rational mode of procedure to place on early probation after a short period of residence those delinquents who speedily show an ability to organize character, even though their tendencies to trifle remain. Nearly one-quarter of our 2 groups are individuals who suggest that they would do as well in supervised homes as in an institution. Supervision would not be relaxed, for they still would be under educational or under vocational probation.

While a study of the prostitute group constitutes another theme, it may be stated in passing that the reproductive tendencies of the female play a very important part in determining the duration of her commitment. A sexual aggressiveness similar to the male's, or the presence of marked sexual tension, are biological indications pointing to the need of a long-term commitment, especially if the girl is of inferior mentality.

The tendency of most institutions is to slight its health and preventive medical supervision, becoming lax in correcting defective vision, in attending to chronic tonsillar infections, spinal deformities, tubercular and syphilitic possibilities and a number of important organic considerations. These general medical topics here are passed over in order to call attention to two imperative situations.

All training schools should have the most thorough equipment possible to deal intensively with venereal infections. In the present study, the need is seen to be greatest in the

girls' school, where 41 per cent. of the commitments showed active infection. Instead of entrusting this important treatment to attendants, it should be given by the physician or surgeon herself. This intensive application results in rapid cures, obviously of great importance not only from the standpoint of the individual but from that of the institution. Instead of drifting through 2 years of ineffectiveness and potential chronicity, relief may be established in as many months or even weeks.

A medical topic of the greatest social importance is the subject of institutional dietaries. Evidence is rapidly accumulating to convince us that there is a remarkable correlation between the development of the endocrinous system of glands and the supply of so-called protective foods. Upon this one factor, mental defect experimentally induced in animals has been shown to depend. We are certain that the same situation prevails among people. Disorders like jail dysentery, pellagra, scurvy, rickets, defective teeth, malnutritional oedema, amenorrhoea are a few of the organic manifestations clinically encountered as a result of dietary deficiencies. Observations now in progress also indicate a similar correlation between diet, endocrinous development and affection states having fear, anger and emotional unbalance as their chief content. One of the first efforts of a corrective institution should be to place its food supply on a sound basis, with ample allowances of milk, fresh vegetables and entire cereals for all, and special rations for individuals found to be suffering from deficiency diseases. When this is accomplished, let the executive turn his attention to his educational and corrective program. Adequate fuel is the producer of efficient energy and perfected forces.

Summary.—Observations upon 761 delinquent boys and girls show the following features:

In intelligence there is no marked difference between the boys and the girls. Distribution ranges essentially according to thirds—inferior, dull and usual.

Character appears to have a better basis among the boys than among the girls. This is explained on biological grounds.

The girls' health shows that character may be correlated with glandular disharmonies, perhaps also it is related to deficiencies of diet.

Both boys and girls are seen to need better play facilities, wider educational and vocational guidance, and a more nearly adequate diet.

MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 31.

*GENERAL SESSION.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY.

GEORGE L. SEHON, CHAIRMAN.

When I became chairman of this committee, I was firmly of the belief that juvenile delinquency was on the increase. A similar view, I found, was shared by many members of the committee. That opinion has changed. I now believe that juvenile delinquency is not on the increase.

Let us accept this belief, and seize it as an opportunity and an inspiration to work ceaselessly, that juvenile delinquency may henceforth continue to decrease, and until it shall reach the zero mark. But let us ever remember that hope and desire alone will not carry us to the desired goal. They must be accompanied by watchfulness and work.

Many members of this committee view with deep concern the effect of the modern moving picture on the boys and girls of America. There can be no denial of the baneful influence of scenes too often depicted on the screen. Court records almost without number trace juvenile crime directly to this source. Films portraying scenes unfit for the eyes of the young there are without number. Their variety and character are too widely known to require any description. There seems to be no divided opinion as to the necessity for suppressing, through careful censorship or by more drastic means, this prolific source of depraved thought and criminal action.

The press of the land is another agency which should give us concern in our quest for the causes of transgressions by those of tender years and immature minds. Here we encounter the peculiar obstacle of the near-sacred constitutional prerogative of the press. The newspaper's mission is to herald current history, and we must instantly recognize the seriousness of any attempt, even remotely, to limit it.

The fact that so much of that history is a chronicle of crime, adds immensely to the weight of the problem with which we are confronted. There is no question that the origin of a portion of juvenile delinquency is to be found in the columns of the daily press. This feature of our problem may well command the attention of those foremost men of our country who

* Joint Session of the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and the Juvenile Reformatory Section.

make the press. They, better than any others are qualified to devise ways and means by which some remedy may be applied. They know that criminal knowledge begets crime.

The administration of the criminal law of the land is another source of juvenile delinquency. Recent years have witnessed a tendency towards infrequency of conviction for criminal acts, with a tendency to minimize the punishment of the criminal in those cases where conviction is secured. Delinquency is thus affected in two ways: Fear and respect for the law are taken away, and too great liberality in releasing criminals into society brings into the world more moral defectives than there would be were the criminal behind prison walls.

Quite lately the nation is becoming aroused over the lapse in the administration of the law. There is appearing on all sides an insistent demand for speedier trials of the accused, and of heavier penalties for the convicted. There is less patience with, and apathy over, the unscrupulous criminal lawyer who resorts to bribing jurors and employing witnesses to give false testimony.

Not yet, however, has the retarding hand been laid with sufficient strength on that tendency towards correctiveness rather than punishment found in many of our penal institutions. There is still too much of the withholding of hard work from the prisoner. A penitentiary sentence all too often carries with it a greater measure of rest than of punishment. That fear which grim experience proves is a great deterrent to the evildoer and to man or woman with thoughts of evil is not nearly as strong as it was once when the word "Prison" was uttered. Paroles now come in many States earlier than they should. The effect on juvenile delinquency of the handling and treatment of crime-accused and the crime-convicted is evident.

The thought which came to the chairman from many members of the committee in one communication after another was that there is slipping from our national life that parental influence which played so important a part in the development of preceding generations. Indeed, an overwhelming majority of the committee believes that the chief cause to-day of juvenile delinquency is a breaking down of parental responsibility. There must be an immediate resumption and assumption of that responsibility on the part of the mothers and those who will become the mothers of the children of this nation, or there will be an *alarming, unconquerable increase* in juvenile delinquency.

These are not pleasant facts with which we have to deal.

Nor is it popular to call attention to them. Some will deny that such things are true. But do not you agree with me that a tremendous change has come, and is now under way, in the womanhood of the country.

There exists to-day in a certain measure delinquency in the children of all classes of society when we compare them with the children of a generation or two ago. Perhaps it will be maintained that it is not delinquency at all. But I am using the term comparatively, when we look at the standards of preceding generations.

I ask those of you who insist that it is not delinquency, but an adherence to the ideals, the habits and the requirements and customs of a present and ever-changing age, to try to put yourselves back into the positions of adults of earlier generations.

From *that* point of view, what would you call the curt manners, the wordly wisdom, the selfishness, the absence of restraint, the lack of respect for elders, all of which surely you must admit is so much in evidence—comparatively speaking—in the youth of this generation?

Enter a moving picture theater, anywhere, day or night, and see what percentage of the audience is composed of juveniles. Look into the Sunday school rooms and note the vacant places of those who are away—with their parents in most cases, perhaps—on Sunday morning automobile rides. Go to the ball games, the boxing matches, even to the races, and count the minors in attendance.

Stroll the beaches of our great seaside resorts and attempt to count the children playing in the sands while men and women in one-piece bathing suits parade back and forth. Enter the public dance hall in the heart of the city and the community pool room at 11 o'clock any night, and tell me how many you find there who are in the adolescent period of life. Or go into the country roads and stop each passing automobile at night. And peer behind the curtains of those you find already stopped. Tell me how many boys and girls, how many children, if you please, you find.

Then begin another search: This time, hunt for the family circle, of our own youth quite likely, certainly, of our parents' youth. That family circle centered about the *mother*. You will find it, sometimes, I grant, but when once found, how far will you go before you find it again? Surely not from door to door, as once was the case, but possibly from block to block—skipping altogether, in most instances, those blocks where towering apartments house hundreds of families, but not a

single family circle. It is a dismal picture, you are saying. But it is made by the camera, and not from the fancy of an artist.

Through all the lights and shadows of this unattractive picture there is woven a powerful, tangible influence which may at any moment stand out in bold and terrible relief under the caption, DELINQUENCY. Back of all this is the breaking down of parental responsibility.

And yet, farther back, and lastly, is a *lack of maternal responsibility*. We are at that source on which rests most responsibility for modern juvenile delinquency, Woman.

Through all the ages there has been nothing to compare in importance and significance with the change in the status of the American woman within the past few short years. That change is still taking place with startling rapidity. Providence alone can foresee the ultimate outcome. Responsibilities recognized and assumed by the women of former generations are shifted by the women of to-day to other shoulders.

Modern ingenuity and science are aiding in the metamorphosis. The cottage, the dwelling and the majestic family home of yesterday are displaced by the tenement, the convenient flat and the luxuriant apartment of to-day. The drudgery and the over-work of last year are supplanted by the ease and idleness. The new freedom has brought with it the time and the desire to discover and to experience those sensations which were locked up by reason of the slavery of the past. Modern "equality of sexes" is either raising the one or lowering the other. I leave you to judge which.

In her search for recreation, for excitement, for diversion, we find woman in ever-increasing numbers everywhere. In many instances we find her where her presence was unknown a short while ago. At the race track she is almost as numerous as man. She goes with, or ahead of him into the betting shed. She smokes with or without man in public places.

No longer are there precincts from which the rules of present-day custom bar women. At the Dempsey-Carpentier fight last summer there were said to have been 12,000 women among the 90,000 thrilled spectators. Reporters found no "news" in the fact other than to comment on the social prominence of some of the female seat holders, just as they commented in like fashion on the political or financial prominence of some of the male spectators. If ten women had attended a similar exhibition five years ago, it would have created a sensation. The card party, the club, the promenade, the hotel lobby, the automobile party all know women as never before.

The family circle meanwhile knows her less and less. And without her the family circle itself must disappear. Man has not yet learned to maintain and direct that sacred institution, and he never will. Here is at least one place in the world where he can only follow—and can never lead.

Lastly, the new freedom has brought woman into citizenship. Here again, under the guise of obligation and duty, if you wish it, she finds new channels into which to direct that wonderful energy with which God has endowed her.

And where are the children, about whose delinquency, present or potential, we find ourselves now concerned? The womanhood of America must answer. Since there is the chief source on which to fasten responsibility for both present and future juvenile delinquency, then to it alone must we turn for the answer to our question.

And when that answer comes, let us hope and pray that somewhere, somehow, there will be coupled with it an assurance of the universal revival of the Family Circle.

The hand that rocks the cradle shapes the destiny of the world.

THE PROPER RELATION OF THE STATE, THE HOME, AND THE COMMUNITY TO THE DELINQUENT CHILD.

By LEON C. FAULKNER, SUPERINTENDENT, MARYLAND SCHOOL FOR BOYS.
PRESIDENT, JUVENILE REFORMATORY SECTION.

What is the proper relation of the State to the Delinquent Child? Why the State first. Is not the home the most important factor in a child's life? Yes, under normal conditions, but if you qualify that same question with the adjective "delinquent," then "NO," for the State with its machinery of law and welfare has stepped in and largely usurped the powers of the home. These practices on the part of the State have virtually taken away from the home and the parents both the responsibility for, and control of, their delinquent children except in cases of minor delinquencies. Thus by enacted legislation the State has intruded upon the natural rights of the parents.

For instance, we know that a minor has no recognition in law except for crime. Supposing tonight a minor should offer you his or her name on a note representing material value. Would you accept it? Or should a child commit some act of destruction which represents a loss in dollars and cents, who by law would be called upon to pay for it? Or yet again, are child marriages recognized in law without the consent of the parents? You would reject the first proposition, and in

the second case, the lawful guardians of the culprits would be required to make good the damage, providing they had the means, and the third is fully recognized as invalid.

However, by way of comparison, suppose this same child commits an act of violence, a felony or a misdemeanor. What happens? It is a familiar procedure to most of us. He or she, as the case may be, is brought before a court of "assigned" jurisdiction. I object to that word "competent" which is so frequently used, particularly in courts of county justices of the peace, as oftentimes they are almost anything else but competent. The child has a hearing, is charged with the crime which he or she in ignorance is sometimes more or less proud of, sentenced to a training school or reformatory for punishment, frequently with considerable newspaper notoriety if the crime has been at all startling, in consequence of which the child endeavors to live up to the reputation the reports have given it.

In many cases children are not committed to institutions of a reformatory character with their best interests in view. It is a well known fact that in the cases of adult commitment, oftentimes dangerous criminals go free through various technicalities of the procedure of law, whereas the child with whom preventive work is more successful is brought before a juvenile court or justice of the peace, too frequently without consideration as to the causes and reasons why he has committed the alleged crime, and sent away to a reformatory under an indeterminate sentence, which provides for either his incarceration or surveillance until he has reached the age of 21. Out of my own experience it would seem that the real point of intelligent contact for prevention with the embryo criminal should be established at this point, which is often too carelessly or ignorantly disregarded.

You training school executives may object to the word "reformatory" as it is sometimes understood, as "the preparatory school for prisons," and so do I, for although I acknowledge that some of our graduates do ultimately end up in prisons and penitentiaries, it would be a greater disgrace upon us as an enlightened people to be unable to deny the charge that these unfortunate cases have not had a fair chance in their youth for reformation and training. You may further say that your juvenile institutions are no longer places of punishment, but schools of education and training, better prepared by reason of their environment and equipment to train and reform delinquent children, and I will agree with most of you. But that does not change the fact that a

great many of our courts and citizens still look upon the training schools as penal institutions or places of incarceration and punishment.

In Maryland, which I have the honor to serve and represent, we have recently been trying to solve this problem of the State's relation to the delinquent child, assuming that the consequence will be that when the State has solved this problem the home and the community will be influenced thereby. Let me read you some excerpts bearing on this subject from a recent report to the legislature from the State reorganization plans prepared by our Governor, Albert C. Ritchie, and the State departments, which will be presented to the next legislature in January, 1922, and which I fervently pray will be passed:—

"We recommend that the three following State-owned institutions be assigned to the Department of Education:—the Maryland School for the Deaf, the Maryland Training School for Boys, and the Maryland Industrial Training School for Girls. The Maryland Training Schools for Boys and Girls are of course in one sense corrective and reformatory. In other states they are generally classified with the corrective and reformatory institutions. Yet in a broader sense their work is educational. They receive the boys and girls who because of various kinds of delinquency are committed to the State care, and while discipline is an essential part of the curriculum, yet the ultimate purpose is to overcome these early tendencies which so often are due to the failure or inability of both State and home to provide measures against them. We feel that these boys and girls should have every chance for reformation, free as far as possible from the association with the penal idea. For these reasons we think that both of these institutions should be assigned to the Department of Education. We think also that the management of these institutions should continue under their respective unpaid boards for the reasons previously given in discussing this general subject."

Can you see the possibilities of this program where the State steps in and acknowledges that it is often due to failure or inability of both State and home to provide proper measures against delinquency, which causes these children to be sent to institutions, and that furthermore it is felt that they should be removed as far as possible from the association of the penal idea with its stigmatizing effect.

The next step which we are working on is to secure a domestic relations court, working in conjunction with our ju-

venile court, where the responsibility of the child's actions may be brought home to the often-times delinquent parents. The parents should be required to bring their delinquent minors into court themselves, to give reason as to why they are unable to exercise proper control. If it is then found necessary, by reason of the character of the parent, the home or the child, to send it to a State training school, let the law provide that the parents be assessed according to their means for their child's education and maintenance while the State steps in to make up the difference with a partially free scholarship plan. This will not blight the child's whole future, but place the responsibility where it belongs, on the parents.

I believe you will almost unanimously agree with me that the great majority of our charges come to us for the lack of proper home training, although I do not intend to assume that all of the parents of delinquent children are at fault.

What is more fitting than that, with the failure of the home, the State through its educational system, should step in and give proportionate scholarships to its coming citizenship, without stigmatizing it, at the same time requiring the parents of the delinquent child to pay a fair share of the expenses.

Let us now show the reaction of this program upon the home in fixing its responsibility to the delinquent child. If a proportionate part of these expenses are placed upon the parents according to their means for the care of their delinquent children in our State training schools, there will be brought home to the parents a greater desire for giving more careful attention to their children and ascertaining where their boys and girls are spending their evenings, in whose company, and what they are doing with their time and money. I feel quite confident that when regular demands are made on the family exchequer by the placement of delinquent children in our training schools, one boy or girl may be sent to the training school from a family but not 3 or 4, as is now frequently the case.

While it will take time to educate the parents contributing to our State training schools that it is cheaper and better to properly educate and train their children at home, as our fathers and mothers did by making our home life interesting and attractive, I firmly believe that such methods employed with the children of today will cut down the demands for admissions into our training schools and thereby increase the advantages and responsibilities of the home.

I once heard a judge say in his ignorance of the subject that the worst home was better for the child than the best

training school, because after all, it was home. I do feel that the home, providing it has good parents and a proper home atmosphere, is the right place in which to bring up children. Every effort of society should be bent towards maintaining these homes in order to keep the children properly cared for and disciplined therein, before any steps are taken to have them removed.

The community has its responsibility, because the child is unquestionably a component part of its life. Therefore the more that it may do towards normalcy in developing that child within its own midst, in its home, civic and community obligations, the more that community will contribute toward high standards in the advancement of its best interests to the commonwealth of which it is a part.

Community welfare may be best protected and advanced for children by attention, when practical, to proper play grounds, swimming pools and gymnasiums, where its wards may be gathered together in intelligent and properly supervised social, civic and athletic education, and where each individual, whether parent or not, feels a united interest in the conservation and development of child life. The proper supervision of motion pictures, entertainments, dances and other local amusements which have a definite bearing upon a child's development is important. In other words, the Golden Community Rule might well be, to "Conduct ourselves always before all children as we would want others to conduct themselves before our children." The great importance of this is being recognized in the programs taken up for boy's work by such international bodies as Rotary, Kiwanis and other institutions born for public service. The press and modern literature, where crime and sex stories in all their sordid details are printed under the guise of news and items of interest, are other features for proper censorship and should be suppressed when the effect on the growing child is apt to have an unfortunate reaction.

When the statistical reports of our country show that 75 per cent. of the cases coming into our criminal courts today are minors, a fact which I hesitated to accept until disclosures in our own commonwealth proved this alarming statement, it is time that we as a body turn our attentions to "The Proper Relation of the State, the Home and the Community to the Delinquent Child." Then our purpose should be an intelligent concentration of all resources at our command for remedial measures, which will support a concerted

movement in this generation for the prevention of possibly a like distressing condition in the next.

Hon. John Koren: I have informal greetings to bring you all from the chief officers of the International Prison Association, namely: the President, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, and the Secretary of the Body, Professor Simon Van der Aa, of Holland.

It has been a long time since the International Prison Association was active. At the last meeting of the Commissioners in London, in 1914, it was expected to hold a congress in 1915. That was frustrated by the War, and since that time the entire work of the Commission has pretty well been broken up. Now, fortunately, after the re-establishment of peace, there is every indication of a resumption of the work of the Committee. It hasn't gone very far, for the bonds were broken to the extent that even the correspondence between the President, Secretary, and members practically ceased through the war period. The old relations have been resumed in part, and the next step is the deliberation on the part of the Commissioners in regard to the next congress and the necessary preparation for it. It is exceedingly difficult at the present time for any European nation to invite an assembly like the International Prison Association because of the cost. They don't dare to incur the expenditure, and that is a large part of the hesitancy. I hope, however, that by urging from this side we can get so far that in the course of a short time we can hold the International Prison Congress and that the American Prison Association will then be richly represented.

I assume naturally that many here hardly know what the International Prison Commission is, yet it is an institution that dates back to the time of President Grant. To be sure, America hasn't had constantly an official representation in that body, but for many years America has had an official representative or commissioner. There is one for each of the adhering countries, and I trust that that international link will not be broken by future events.. The President of the Commission, is Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, of England; Secretary, Prof. Van der Aa, of Holland; Treasurer, M. Woxen, of Norway. Aside from the United States, the following countries maintain official delegates: Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Spain, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Serbia, Sweden, Switzerland, the South American Union and Canada. There are always at the meetings persons who are not official representatives, which brought the number

up to about forty-two. Also, there will come back in the course of time the German states which have been consolidated, and I assume there are other countries that will later on join. The Commission sends its best wishes to this Congress. I think it is our duty to do what we can to keep alive their interest, promising to come to their next meeting and asking them to hold one with the least possible delay.

THE GIRL OF TODAY—HER PROBLEM, OUR PROBLEM.

MRS. MARTHA P. FALCONER, AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION.

In many parts of the country today much prominence is given by the press to the sexual immorality of our young people. It is claimed that standards have broken down. Marriage is now under attack; intelligent women are demanding freedom and self-expression which they find doubtful in marriage. We are told that in the high schools attended by boys and girls it is a common occurrence every year for some of the girls to become pregnant; that unchaperoned parties are the rule, and much of the automobile riding is attended with evil results; that it is the fashion to indulge in objectionable dancing, extreme dress, or the lack of enough dress; that loose mingling of the young people who resent dictation is to be found in most places, and that our young people are setting standards which are most unfortunate for themselves and the communities. We are told that the young people of today are fast, wild, and extravagant; that parents, the war and the free use of motor cars are to blame for these conditions.

Into this chaos the young girl comes, seeking what? Life, beauty, opportunities for work and play and companionship. Whatever the causes for the condition, she is not responsible for them. She hears on all sides that the modern girl is restless, that she craves new forms of diversion and fresh excitement, that she is rebellious of discipline, and is not willing to accept what she considers the stupid restraint of convention. She desires the unusual and expensive, is irreverent and gloriously slangy, she represents the feminized spirit of the times, epitomizing all the sense of disquiet, all the craze for new sensations, all the madness for reckless expenditure of energy and money and nerve force which have marked mankind these last few crowded, tragic years. But we were told by our parents much the same thing; writers of several generations have deplored the restlessness of women. Let us keep on being restless and dissatisfied with present con-

ditions until men and women working together make our communities safer and better for our young people.

Is it any wonder the young girl is bewildered and dazed? We cannot stop the hands of the clock, we cannot turn back even if we should so desire. How can we interpret life to our young girls and help them make adjustments? No longer are marriage and teaching the only avenues open to women, and for this we are thankful. One young woman who was in her third year in college said to me recently, "I do not want to marry, I am not fond of housework; I do not wish to marry unless I fail at everything else!" True, she may change her mind, let us hope she will, but she expressed a common attitude toward marriage on the part of many young girls.

It is as normal at 40 to be complacent and accept standards as it is normal at 20 to be rebellious. At 40 we have a better understanding of what is the reasonable and wise course of action. The young girl thinks we are narrow-minded and puritanical. At 40 we know that the unwritten social laws have been found by experience to be useful in promoting the success of the home, the family, and the happiness of the individual. Can we help our young people to see this? In order to do so we must have a better understanding of youth. Perhaps the most fatal mistake is the unwarranted assumption that our boys and girls *want* to be like us. When they are 20 they do not want to be as we are at 40. The age of 40 is an unthinkable one to 18. The middle-age period is too remote to be of use as a model. How can we teach them the way to be like us and better than we are when they reach middle age? How can we show them the necessary steps and make them *desire* to follow? We must recognize the gap between middle age and youth. The standards of middle-age are not attractive to youth. Often we fail to understand how exacting and how conventional young people are in their attitude toward older people. They are often sensitive and proud; and in our dealings with them we do not sufficiently respect their individuality.

Children are a responsibility to parents, but parents are frequently just as great a responsibility to children. As a primary step we must understand youth better than we do. With determined effort we can recall enough of our youthful feelings to avoid many mistakes. If we have arrived at an age when proper behavior has become natural or easy for us let us remember the long hard road we had to travel. We cannot *force* our conclusions on our daughters; they must see and find out for themselves. We may be able to get a

better co-operation with them if we can make our girls feel our ability to understand in part their problems because we, at their age, had problems.

We must try to teach our girls what the chivalry of men means and on what it is based. Men always have and always will be willing to give their lives to save women; our young girls must know this lesson by heart. They must make themselves worth saving. We must emphasize the fact that since girls are the potential mothers of the race, it is natural that somewhat of the mother feeling shall enter into their liking for boys. Girls and women always set the standards for moral behavior. The young girl must be taught to feel responsible for her behavior with boys and she must not make it harder for them to keep straight.

We must remember that the mating instinct is strong in both boys and girls. If we only knew enough about it to teach them the "art of mating" instead of leaving it to chance or propinquity! How can we prepare our young people for parenthood? Is it not important to give some training for this responsibility? First, let us have better marriage laws, making it difficult for the diseased, the mentally unfit, and the habitual criminal to marry.

Next, let them be given proper sex education, which should commence when they are young, with more definite teaching before marriage.

We cannot sit back and excuse the license of today by saying that times have changed. Times are always superficially changing; fundamentals do not change. We have made the world what it is, our young people are not responsible for the conditions in which they find themselves. If our girls are drifting away from what we think proper standards, we are to blame. Let us examine our past with humility of spirit and pray: "Lead us not into temptation." It is for us to see to it that our young people are not led into it through our refusal to respect their individualities. We *can* understand them if we go at it earnestly enough, recalling our own youth, and being willing to consider their standards seriously and honestly. In this way we can help them to accept standards which make for social security and personal happiness.

Much emphasis is being placed on the necessity of home training; on the responsibility of the home and the importance of good home influence. Let us recognize that home is *not* place but personality. The essential home of the child lies in the attitude of the parents toward each other. Jealousy, hypocrisy, antagonism between parents cannot be helpful to

the children. Mutual understanding, harmony in love, create an atmosphere more important to the development of children than food and raiment. The development of the child depends not so much upon the quantity and quality of food as upon the digestion of that taken. "Better a dinner of herbs where love is than a stalled ox and hatred therewith." Continual fault-finding or criticism will not help the girl to turn to her parents for guidance and companionship. We must try to train our young people for a marriage of comradeship and social responsibility. Where shall we begin? With sex education at an early age, then a community program of wholesome recreation and religious education.

On the request of the Rochester, N. Y. board of education, and with its co-operation, an interesting experiment in religious training is being made by some of the churches. The board felt the need of some work of this kind and made a request to the churches to undertake it. The co-operation of public schools and the churches is necessary if time is to be given from school curriculum and credit allowed for the work done.

Let us remember that we may be hearing so much about the deplorable conditions of today because we are more interested in all phases of social hygiene, in the single standard of morals, in wholesome recreation and in educating public opinion to the responsibility for vice conditions in a community. We must not cease our efforts until we have made our rural communities, as well as the cities, see the need of organization in handling these conditions.

First, a survey should be made and this can often be done by the churches; then the forces of the church, the town, and the school should be developed for a program of law enforcement, of recreation and of education that instructs and stimulates ideals in conduct.

THE NO-MAN'S LAND OF CHILDHOOD.

By CALVIN DERRICK, SUPERINTENDENT, STATE HOME FOR BOYS,
JAMESBURG, NEW JERSEY.

During the past 5 years a general and intensive study of Juvenile Delinquency and its causes has been carried on in all parts of the country. This study has not been confined to any one phase of the subject of delinquency, nor has it been carried on by any one group of people or interests—it has been very general. This study has not been conducted with a view to proving some previously conceived or announced

idea, or with a view to establishing the truth or error of certain theories. It has been undertaken with a sincere desire to learn the real causes and, if possible, the cures for delinquency.

Our various studies and experiments have proved conclusively, I think, the foolishness of attempting the reclamation and training of defective, delinquent, dependent, and neglected people, all indiscriminately mixed and under the care of untrained, oftentimes crude, attendants. We have come to know that all success in this field is through careful segregation and intense personal work with the individual. This makes it imperative that the groups shall be small enough to enable the instructor, or other person in charge, to be very intimately acquainted with each subject.

It is quite as necessary to segregate and study the mentally normal, but criminally inclined individual. He presents, socially, just as much of a problem, and, as a criminal, is more dangerous because more clever.

A very capable and experienced institution executive, in a paper before the New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections some time ago, declared that an economic dependence is characteristic of the delinquent class and is the fundamental cause of delinquency. Another speaker at the same conference said that a closer study would reveal an improper guardianship as a greater factor. A third speaker the same day stated that statistics show that only 5 per cent. of inmates of institutions had learned any trade. In other words he contended 95 per cent. had no chosen occupation and that their unfortunate condition was largely due to that fact. He stated that a large number of these delinquents were sons of mechanics, and it seemed strange to him that so few sons followed the calling of the father. Other observations brought out the opinion that labor organizations and unions were responsible for this deplorable state, because of their unreasonable rules regarding the employment of apprentices. I relate these facts as indicative of the diversity of the general public observation into the question.

Economic dependence is indeed an important factor, but before it is accepted as a fundamental cause of delinquency, we should rather study the causes of economic dependence. For instance, the proper study of the 95 per cent. of inmates who know no trade will surely reveal the reason; and while we shall find plenty of improper guardianship; plenty of denied opportunity, and the result of evil environment, we shall also find one other very dominant factor of far greater

moment in the real understanding of the problem—that is, inheritance. I do not intend to enter into a discussion of inheritance versus environment; such a discussion at this time is useless. We are ready to admit that both poor inheritance and evil environment are bad for the individual and for society. Nor do I wish to be understood as trying to minimize the importance of the economic factor. All of these are important; and all of them tend to fill our institutions with unfortunates. The thing which I do wish to emphasize is that while society has continued to discuss inheritance, environment, laziness, drunkenness, etc., still our jails and prisons, work-houses and alms-houses are filled with about the same class of humanity, suffering from the same general ills, preying in the same general way upon society, and receiving, in general, the same kind of treatment today, at the hands of the law, that they were receiving 50 years ago. The fact that our jails and our prisons are more sanitary; that the food is a little better; the officers more humane; that various societies have interested themselves in better entertainment and education for the prisoner—all of these things, while good in themselves and an encouraging sign from that great mass called society, still none of them, nor all of them working together, touch the main factors in the problem.

I think it is safe for us to recognize that very few people, indeed, either among juveniles or adults, deliberately choose delinquency as a career; even among boys at the ages of 12 to 15, the period when the love of fun for fun's sake causes them to commit many very serious depredations, they are seldom intentionally criminal. I do not believe we are justified in feeling that it is their desire for destruction, or for cruelty, or revenge, that causes them to commit the crimes. I think that we are more or less agreed that juvenile delinquency is the physical expression of a mental or nervous impulse which is denied other forms of physical outlet.

For the purpose of studying opportunities for outlets, let us assume that practically all children fall into one of three groups. (1) The normal children, in a decent environment, not industrially dependent, who are in a position to avail themselves of a very great number of legal or harmless outlets and therefore rarely come into conflict with authority. (2) The mentally normal children struggling against dependency, and therefore able to enjoy fewer outlets than their mental equals in a more fortunate environment, and (3) the mentally incapable children in families and in an environment where dependency is an ever-present fact, having practically

no logical or automatic way of satisfying their nervous or physical impulses harmlessly.

Let us consider the first group; the group made up of normal children from the middle-class home, and the lower, middle-class homes, where the stock is good, the family bright, and where is present a deep, parental concern for the welfare of the child, as well as a real consideration for the common opinion of the general public. The children in this group have opening to them practically all of the advantages of our civilization. They are eligible to association with the spare time activities in their neighborhood, as for instance the school, the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. The concern of the parents for the welfare of the child secures for the child the necessary entrance fees, uniforms, and pocket money even though the family must needs consider most carefully such expenditures. The lessons of caution, industry, and thrift are thus imparted to the child, and his loyalty and gratitude to the family are fostered, because he knows that financial sacrifice and effort are being made to promote his interests.

The second group of children contains the boys and girls from the families who are sure to be industrially dependent a part of the time, at least. The stock, constitutionally, is not so bad, but they lack the good judgment and ability to take advantage of their industrial and social opportunities. Almost invariably the families are big, and because of this the industrial drive upon the mother as well as the father, upon the older children as well as the parents, simply closes the door of opportunity in the faces of the children. The idea of providing funds, in any amount, to any of the children in order that they may participate in groups and clubs for greater pleasure or profit simply must not be allowed to enter the minds of either child or parent—it is not to be thought of. The street, the sidewalk, the alley, the railroad track, or canal—these are the playgrounds where it costs nothing to join and there are no dues or special clothes to be provided. In such places, where juvenile delinquency is bred faster and more surely than anywhere else, the children are obliged to play.

We have in the third group and this is the group to which I wish especially to call your attention, the highest percentage of defective and otherwise mentally crippled children. The stock is not as good. The very fact of the kind of stock oftentimes is the entire answer to the question—why they are economically dependent? The very fact of the poor stock is the

reason for their bad environment. The fact of their being poor stock is the reason why of necessity they sometimes become truant. They are an unfortunate group of children outside the working bounds of all the great organizations which would do them service as well as out of the reach of the three great moral forces of our civilization—the church, the public schools, and the family. Their plight is indeed to be likened to the soldiers who were trapped in “No-Man’s Land.”

The want of proper mental classification makes school work, for this group, aimless, and for a large number of pupils useless. They do not fit into our scheme of things. The school system lacks machinery for the proper study of school children; it makes thousands of children work out in an aimless manner for they cannot be benefited by the tasks set for them, and there is no provision made for other tasks. The law provides machinery for forcing them into school and for keeping them there until they have reached a certain age, or covered a certain amount of school work. I know there will be no protest from you when I say that this is one of the most destructive and stupid things in our whole policy of child training. There is no chance for the child; more than this, the child himself realizes it and neither the child nor his family have any hope in the school system, nor expect any results from the training. Many people, teachers, superintendents, and others fully realize the condition, but there seems to be no group able to initiate the needed remedies. I am not forgetting that in nearly all large centers, and in many smaller ones, a great deal is being done to combat this condition by the way of special classes, special class teachers and hand-craft work. There are plenty of exceptions to my general statement, but these exceptions are accidental rather than being parts of a national or even a State plan to rescue this group of children.

If economic dependence is a dominant factor in the family, then the child enters industry in the same aimless and hopeless sort of way that has marked his course through school. Neither the family nor the child nor any one in the community gives any particular thought to the industrial development of the child. Both parent and child have waited patiently for the passing of the hated school period. The sole thought and aim has been that the boy and girl shall be allowed to go to work. There is no family plan, or individual plan, of what the boy, ultimately, wants to become, industrially—that question, if it ever enters the mind, is conveniently deferred.

Economic pressure settles the question for the immediate present—the boy will take any job he can get; if he doesn't succeed in this job, then he will take any other job. This shifting policy is characteristic; the child outgrows childhood and youth, and enters adulthood just shifting for himself. When he in turn becomes a parent, which is sure to happen, economic dependence is as much a part of his life and his expectation, as rearing a family; in fact, he doesn't expect to be industrially independent now or at any time in the future, he just accepts conditions as he finds them and continues to shift for himself.

Thousands of these same children are forced or drawn into delinquency through their recreations. Notwithstanding the fact that we have most excellent plans in practically every State for organized recreation; notwithstanding the fact that countless societies, clubs, and organizations of every kind spend a vast amount of money and devote a considerable amount of time to seeing that children in the community have proper places in which to play and are properly supervised while at play, still there are countless thousands of children in these various centers who do not and cannot benefit by the organization. The street, the alley, the vacant lot, railroad, canal, and other out-of-way places become their playgrounds. Industrial pressure upon the mother as well as upon the father robs the children of any supervision. These children are not easily assimilated into other groups. It is not feasible, oftentimes, for them to be expected, even if they were welcome, to go into organized play centers, because the homes are too distant, or because the family is unwilling they should go or, perchance, the older children of the family are detained to care for younger ones. No matter what the reasons, the fact remains that thousands of children, even in the vicinity of parks and organized playgrounds, do not benefit by them; while the further fact stands out that relatively few communities have any organized recreation. Organized recreation and supervised playgrounds are developments confined almost solely to big cities. Again, I know plenty of exceptions to this general statement, but you must admit that the general statement will stand. A personal and individual study of the last 500 cases admitted to the State Home for Boys in Jamesburg, shows 21 per cent. from big cities, 26 per cent. from middle class cities, 15 per cent. from small cities, 36 per cent from small towns, villages and suburbs, and a little less than 2 per cent from rural communities; that is, nearly 40 per cent of our population comes from small towns,

villages, and rural communities where there is scarcely any playground development. Thirty per cent. of the 60 per cent. coming from the cities, *i.e.*, 102 boys had been connected with a recreation center or a supervised playground, but the majority had been able to sustain their connection for less than one month.

If we consider, therefore, the plight of these groups of children who are not to be assimilated into our present school system; who are not to be assimilated into our industrial system; who do not become assimilated by our organized recreation centers; who are victims of industrial dependence, parental neglect and social neglect, and yet, who, because of parental prejudice or ignorance or because of racial misunderstanding, cannot be taken from their condition or worked with under the condition, will you not agree with me that they are in as hopeless a situation and in as desperate a plight, as the "dough-boys" caught in "No-Man's Land"? Temporary employment may afford them the same kind of protection that a shell-hole offered to a soldier. The soldier protecting himself under cover of a shell-hole in "No-Man's Land" was doomed, unless rescued by his comrades. So with the child under the conditions just stated.

The practical question confronting us is: What can be done about it? The solution to this problem does not seem to me to be entirely impossible—it is very difficult. It has been demonstrated over and over again that the proper understanding of the child, his proper classification if you please, mentally, industrially, socially, emotionally makes possible wonderful advance.

Is it not entirely feasible to expect and to demand that the Public School system shall be required to establish a machinery for the necessary studies and classification of its pupils?

Is it not a fair economic and social proposition to ask society to anticipate the appearance of delinquents in the Juvenile Courts by effectively organizing for the discovery of its weak and incompetent members?

Is it too much to expect our educators to devise courses in training which shall meet the needs of all trainable children?

Is it too much to ask our Public School Officials to put a little bit of flexibility into their curricula?

Would it not be fair to ask our legislators, when framing compulsory education laws, which shall force children to stay in school until a certain age, that they incorporate a clause into the same law, requiring every community to furnish the

proper medical and other scientific machinery to discover why these children stagnate before completing their grades?

Is it too much to hope or to demand that the benefits of district nursing and every other phase of the health program, found to be so very important and helpful in our large centers, be extended to meet the needs of children everywhere?

Would it not be possible in every large manufacturing community, or in every small sized rural or suburban center where there are large numbers of people, of more or less inferior stock, under the terrible handicap of continual economic dependence; people who cannot be expected alone and single-handed to fight the battle for their children successfully, that in such community, the Public School Officials and committees from Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, Business Men's Associations, shall attempt to understand the problem of the non-privileged child and aid the parents and the child by advice and otherwise in making a *proper entry* and continuing a more hopeful course into industry? May we not ask Business Men's Associations to list and index every employer of juvenile labor and every job or opening for a juvenile in their respective districts? Is it not as important for them to spend a little time each month considering the status of newsboys, bootblacks, errand boys, cashier girls, etc., as to consider the banking business or best mode of advertising the city, or to contract new business and promoting the establishment of new enterprises? If a sub-committee of these great business organizations could be formed, whose duty it would be to keep a classified list of every kind of employment; to list every location where child employment is carried on; to interest itself in the study of the children in industry with a view to guiding the regular promotion of those capable of promotion; encouraging every child to stick to one job, if adapted to that job, if not adapted to it, to be aided in procuring a job to which he is adapted, many abuses would be overcome and many failures turned into success. In other words if our Business Men's Organizations were working hand in hand with the probation department, the health department, and other organizations designed for the promotion of social well-being, there is no doubt, in my mind, but that much more than 50 per cent. of the present population of juvenile industrial failures could be steered entirely clear of the evil of delinquency and made reputable and valuable citizens.

It isn't a fair proposition to heedlessly allow a child to become delinquent. The child is not able to judge in the

beginning what the scars of delinquency may mean to him; and even though thousands of them are later reclaimed, the economic loss—the loss in time and opportunity to the individual, is too serious to longer go unchallenged.

My whole plea is for a better understanding of the child problem by the whole people. It is not sufficient that the social worker, the medical expert, and the special class teacher, Parent-Teacher Associations, and other groups have become more or less familiar with the problem; it is essential that the body politic interest itself and regard the matter, not as a school problem, not as a court problem, not as a State problem, but distinctly as a Community problem, for all of the elements of coping with the problem are generally present in a community.

No plan for materially improving the conditions of the unfortunate groups of children that we are discussing can succeed through charitable uplift work. The process must be one of evolution. They must be made to do for themselves. The utter failure of the plan for a quarter of a century with the most intense effort on the part of the "uplifters" should be a sufficient illustration to convince us that the plan fails because of the fundamental error. I think success may be made to attend it, if we will go into the group to be helped, selecting the most promising material for leaders, interpreters, and representatives, and learn from these leaders and representatives what the group really needs and how they may be helped. The problem will not be solved by social workers, nurses, Y. M. C. A. Secretaries and Scout Leaders going down into the dirty slum districts to earn their salaries and going back to the more favored districts to live their own lives. The problem will be solved by the people living in the district, by people who naturally belong to the district. If others, outside this group are going to successfully cope with the problem, they must follow the example of the great Commoner, Graham Taylor, and become residents, neighbors, friends, counselors, and co-worshippers, with those whom they would help. We must recognize that it isn't desirable that highly trained, specialized, social secretaries undertake the work of salvaging the group in this district. Let it be recognized as desirable and practicable to take the best elements within the group, helping them to see their own community problem and assisting them to aid the community in meeting it.

This, then, is the challenge of the children of the "Slums" and of unfortunate children everywhere, to us and to all

groups of social workers. Shall we leave them in "No-Man's Land" or shall we try to rescue them?

I would like to see this organization, The American Prison Association with all of its allied interests go on record as favoring 4 things.

First. The universal study and classification of children upon entering school, each child to be studied as to the conditions of health and constitutional inferiorities if any, mental aptitudes and disabilities and peculiar temperamental traits, and classified according to such studies, so that his school training would be in line with his physical and mental requirements. Each child to be re-studied and re-classified each school year until the fifth grade is reached.

Second. The public school courses of study so revised as to give proper physical, mental, and literary outlets to every trainable child regardless of mental handicaps, following the dictates of the classification system named above.

Third. A closer association and co-operation between the school authorities and various business men's associations and employers of juvenile labor.

Fourth. The development in every State of a department, or a division of some department, whose business shall be to foster in every community in the State active community interest and participation in the development of health, play, and work programs for children.

TUESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 1.

WARDENS' ASSOCIATION

WELFARE WORK AMONG PAROLED MEN.

By WILLIAM H. VENN, PAROLE AGENT, DETROIT, MICH.

Marvelous has been the development of welfare work carried on behind prison walls during the past decade. Too numerous and varied are their ends even to be here set down. But in addition to all these helpful activities there is one more needful thing, namely, that men in prison be taught the value of money, and that some of the spendthrift class in confinement be curbed in their desire in that direction, so that they may emerge from prison with a more secure sense of independence and of self-respect. Were this matter more wisely and energetically directed within the walls, the demand for aid outside the prison would become less insistent.

It is a splendid thing when a man on leaving the prison is caused to feel that, as a last resort, he can turn to the warden for relief or advice. For, sometimes, he may not "pick a winner" as a first friend.

On a short trip from Detroit, while this paper was in preparation, I noticed a familiar face at the depot. I did not desire to embarrass the man, and walked to a place where, if he wished, he could speak to me without attracting attention. Shortly he came up to me, and this is what he said: "When I left Jackson prison, Warden Hulburt told me that in case he could be of service to me I was not to hesitate about calling upon him. Well, that day came. I went away from the State, by permission of the governor, but on account of the industrial conditions I was unable to make a living; it was impossible to secure even temporary employment. After a few months I obtained permission from my first friend to call upon the warden, and he received me in a splendid manner; gave me money for my immediate needs, and secured an opening for me where I can make from \$25 to \$35 per week. My parole period will expire next month, but, were it not for the warden, I fear I might have become a violator."

And I know from the men themselves that such incidents as the above are far from uncommon, and that this is true, also, of the attitude of other wardens and superintendents.

But in spite of such teachings and proffers of aid on the part of prison officials, there will arise various occasions when

the man on parole will need to become the subject of welfare service.

The right sort of first friends are real welfare workers. Too many of them view themselves as merely catspaws, to get some unfortunate man out of prison, and consider the bulk of their obligation really accomplished, when actually it has only begun. Some other first friends look upon themselves as only a rubber stamp to be called into service once a month, and impressed upon a report which evidently in many cases they themselves have not even attentively perused.

An official first friend, located in some large city or a country or section centre, is preferable to the private first friend, inasmuch as the former is more apt to be in closer touch with the industrial conditions, as well as with the community welfare agencies, and can become of more value to his wards without the publicity which too often attaches to the public relief agencies.

Welfare work should be carried on with both eyes open to the necessity of shielding a man from a dark past and of building up his self-respect. To give to a man a few dollars, and at the same time take away from him a measure of his self-respect, is a losing proposition for society as well as for the man himself.

A large portion of the men confined in prison have feelings as delicate as are our own. In fact, a year or more spent in prison intensifies a man's sensitiveness, while it decreases his initiative. He is indeed a strong man who can run the gauntlet of questions fired at him by some welfare worker, and still maintain a vestige of self-respect.

It is indeed a pity that more investigators do not have as their constant rule of guidance: "Considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." Too many of these human (sometimes inhuman) interrogation points work the pencil too much, and the hand-clasp too little.

Rightly to use among paroled men the organized welfare agencies—and I believe they should be used in cases where, as a resident, the paroled man has a right to them—his first friend should do his utmost to protect his ward from too much inquisitiveness.

Public welfare work has not as yet settled down to a normal center; and there is possibly room for the criticism that there is too much investigating and too little welofaring.

I quote from a letter from a member of the Citizens' Parole Committee for an Ohio county: "It is our intent not to parole anyone until we have investigated home conditions." What

would be done in the case of the manly young fellow who would much rather serve his full time than cause his family the embarrassment of such investigation?

The result of too much investigation withdraws from the well-intentioned first friend his desire to be of use to others, and may stamp with failure his efforts for assistance, even before they are made. He must first be human, then hopeful, then helpful.

While I thoroughly believe the first friend should make use of the public means for aid provided for those who are citizens of the community, I more strongly hold that, especially if he have many men reporting to him, he should have his own loan fund, as there will arise frequent needs among his wards along lines not contemplated by the public agencies.

For 14 years I have been impressed that there are not as many differences as some well-meaning welfare workers would have us believe, between men confined in prison and those at liberty. I have followed the plan of trusting men to quite a limit in matters of moral conduct as well as of money, and I have not been greatly disappointed in my men. I do not know better how to impress not only the need, but also the safety, of welfare work among paroled men than by giving you a brief recital of the operation of the Valjean Helpers' Fund.

This fund was started for two reasons: First, I found that the extent of my salary would not permit me to care for the real needs of the men and myself also. Secondly, I noticed that when I loaned from my own pocket a sum of money to serve a needy man, and the pinch came to me, while at the same time he was most careless about returning the loan, I was too apt to have feelings towards him which were not entirely unselfish.

So I decided that an impersonal fund, created through the generosity of a few men who desired to be of service to one who had been behind the gray walls, would serve the case better.

Loans are made from this fund to paroled men needing help, without the charging of interest or any fee whatever, without the signing of an "I. O. U.," without even extracting a promise of the return of the loan. The man is informed that while he cannot be aided to secure luxuries, he will be looked after as far as necessities are concerned; that the fund belongs to the men themselves, and that when he secures his own footing if he returns the money it will be used to aid the next fellow who emerges from prison in need. How it works out the following will indicate:

This fund was started Jan. 29, 1910, with \$10 given by an outsider to aid men on parole. Since that time the fund has gathered to itself a total capital of \$1,905.19. From this fund loans have been made to 1337 men amounting to \$22,092.91, and payments have been made on these loans aggregating \$20,326.01. The amount due on loans Sept. 1, 1921, was \$1,766.90, of which at least \$309.64 will probably be returned. Most of those who fail to repay are found in the ranks of those who have violated their paroles. 159 of these owed me \$1,126.28 when they violated their paroles. Some of them undoubtedly would return these loans, were it not that they feared their whereabouts would thus become known and they themselves would be returned to prison.

It is most significant of the honesty of these men that of the 1,337 different recipients from this fund, apart from the parole violators, but 46 can be classed as "bad accounts." The average loan has been about \$16.53 per man, and the average loss, including that occasioned by violators, has been \$1.09 per man. Exclusive of parole violators, the loss incurred by poor accounts is less than 25 cents per man.

The range of loans during these years has been as low as 10 cents in the case of one man, and as high as \$285.47 during the parole period of another. The larger amount was returned, and the 10 cents is still outside the fold. It is significant of the integrity of these men that 63 parole violators have paid back loans amounting to \$269.17, from their meager prison earnings, after they had been returned to the prisons.

Of those subscribing to the Valjean Helpers' Fund, 42 paroled men, at the expiration of their parole periods, have given \$194.66, that they might have the satisfaction of aiding other men as they had been aided. No paroled man has ever been asked to make a subscription; it has been entirely voluntary.

I do not think that any more need be set down regarding the advisability of organizing such loan funds on the part of parole agents. By means of such a fund the paroled man's self-respect is maintained. He does not desire that money shall be given him outright; and he certainly should have the opportunity of returning such loans as have been advanced to him.

THE GOOD TIME LAW.

By CHARLES A. BLANEY, CHAIRMAN, MICHIGAN PRISON COMMISSION.

This paper applies only to the Good Time Law of Michigan, because of the knowledge I have of this law as it applies there.

At the last session of the Michigan legislature your worthy President, Warden Hulburt and myself, with the help of our Governor, were enabled to have passed the following Good Time Law.

"The Warden shall cause a record to be kept of each and all infractions of the rules of discipline by convicts, with the names of the persons so offending, and the date and character of each offense, which record shall be placed before the board at each regular meeting thereof, *and every convict who shall have no infraction of the rules of the prison or the laws of the State recorded against him* shall be entitled to a reduction from his (minimum) sentence as follows: During the first and second years of his sentence, five days for each month; during the third and fourth years, six days for each month; during the fifth and sixth years, seven days for each month; during the seventh, eighth and ninth years, nine days for each month; during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth years, ten days for each month; during the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth years, twelve days for each month; and from and including the twentieth year, up to and including the period fixed for the expiration of the sentence, fifteen days for each month. The board may, by general rule, subject to amendment from time to time, prescribe how much of the good time earned under the foregoing provisions a convict shall forfeit for more than one infraction of the prison rules in any month, and for any serious act of insubordination, attempt to escape, or escape, the board may, by special order, take away any portion or the whole of the good time made by any convict up to the date of such offense. On recommendation of the warden the board may, as a reward for especially good conduct, such as aiding officials in cases of insubordination or attempts at escapes, restore to any convict the whole or any portion of the good time lost because of any minor infractions of the rules. The warden, in computing the diminution of time for those convicts now in prison, shall allow them the good time made up to the time this act takes effect, in accordance with the provisions of law previously in force and thereafter it shall be computed in accordance with the provisions of this section. Whenever a convict has been committed under several convictions, with separate sentences; they shall be considered as one continuous sentence in granting or forfeiting of good time: (Provided, That a convict who shall be serving a second term in said prison shall be allowed for the several periods in order named above, two, three, four, five, six, seven and eight days as good time, and no more, and if any convict has already served a second term in said prison he shall be allowed no good time, but shall be held until the full completion of his sentence.)"

This law was passed on minimum sentences, which enables the prison to be run along the lines that the inmates receive, as a compensation, from five days a month to 15 days, owing to the length of their sentences from one to twenty years. In other words, a man sentenced for one year as a minimum, is allowed 60 days of that year as good time. If he receives a sentence of twenty years as a minimum he is allowed 2,256 days. This law requires the warden to keep a record of each and all infractions by the rule of discipline and the names of

the persons so offending and the date and character of each offense, and the record shall be placed before the board at each regular meeting and every inmate who has no infraction of the prison rules or of the law of the State recorded against him shall be entitled to the reduction from the minimum sentence.

So if a man enters prison and his prison record is good on a one-year sentence, he is eligible for release in ten months. The only drawback is where States do not recognize the Indeterminate Sentence Law and recognize the minimum sentence and thus the Good Time Law is lost if they do not think there is such a thing as the minimum sentence, but this law was passed in Michigan with the recommendation that the minimum sentence should be considered.

Now, if a man is a repeater and becomes a second-termer, he only gets two days a month up to eight days for one or twenty years. Should he be a third-termer he gets no good time whatever. Thus we classify them as 1st, 2d and 3d termers.

In the time that this law has been in effect in Michigan, the men have become very much interested and the morale of our prisoners changes when they know that there is something like a good time law which will allow them to be released.

When men are thinking well they are doing well, and we find that this law has been a great help to our industries and our prison farms.

The men become greatly interested in their work, and much more efficient, and are turning out a great deal more work than formerly. Realizing that they are earning good time inside they will tend more to forget the crime, and when leased will go back into the world better men and different men, and avoid getting mixed in crime again.

The law states that on recommendation of the warden, the Board may, as a reward for especially good conduct, such as aiding officers in cases of insubordination, attempts to escape, restore to any convict the whole or any part of the good time he may have lost, due to any minor infraction of the prison rules. This has had a good effect on the men and has brought up to a higher standard men who were low in efficiency and discipline.

This law has brought up production to 100 per cent. in the factories and on our farms. If a man refuses to work he cannot expect any good time, and if he is stubborn and disobeys the rules of the institution, he forfeits his earned good time,

and men are very careful in their actions, as they are anxious to be released.

Work is a great salvation of mind, and men while at work forget the things that are liable to breed discontent and cause men to lose their minds in worrying over their sentences.

With this law in view, and with the compensation paid to our prisoners, it brings about a wonderful morale and it shows men that the old saying, that upon entering prison walls they leave all hope behind does not prevail. There is a chance for men to go back into the world, become law-abiding citizens and lessen the crime wave.

The man on entering prison thinks and looks ahead to only one thing, and that is, seeing the day of release. The money settlement, or the compensation he may earn while an inmate, may appeal to him to a certain extent, but the thing that he is glad to earn under this good-time law is the days that will shorten his term of confinement.

Judges in sentencing men since this good-time law went into effect almost always tell prisoners that if their records are good, they are eligible to a reduction from their minimum sentences. If a man is passed for 30 days or more for infractions of the rules he is still eligible to earn good time off the passing of the 30 days.

In administering the good-time law, it becomes necessary for the warden upon receiving the men to explain the law and what it means, and we find the only drawback is the great disappointment to men when they expect something and discover that a pardoning board or commissioner does not recognize the earnings they have made and reconsider the sentence and pass them, due to the seriousness of the crime. This kind of action always breeds discontent and ill-feeling toward the administration, and it is liable to make men bitter, because they know they were originally eligible to be released at the expiration of their minimum less their good time and they have been penalized by some unforeseen power that is vested in Pardon Boards or Commissioners and the men go out much worse in character and thought when they finish their sentences.

I believe there is a psychological moment in the life of every prisoner when he will go back into the world a better citizen and if kept beyond that, I believe he will become bitter and vindictive and when released will go out a menace to society.

I believe that the good-time law, if observed and lived

up to, will be an excellent thing in the line of reform for every State in this Union, and I know of no better instrument in the hands of the warden than the Michigan law as it now exists.

TUESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 1.

COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

THE GIRL PROBLEM.

By MISS MAUDE MINER, GENERAL SECRETARY, PROTECTIVE AND PROBATION ASSOCIATION, N. Y. CITY.

Fourteen-year-old Barbara and her fifteen-year-old companion ran away from a small town in Kentucky and came to New York City. A few months before Barbara and her younger sister of ten years had been taken away from the father and given to the mother by order of the court; but the same night the mother, at the point of a pistol, had surrendered the children to their father. When Barbara confided to her school friend Martha the story of her unjust beatings and showed the bruises on her little body, Martha promised to arrange it all. She took \$100 from the roll of \$900 in bills which her father kept under the mattress. The next day the children were on their way to New York City. They saw the conductor go through the train with a telegram in his hand, looking to right and left as he glanced at the message. They decided he was looking for them. They left the train soon after and went to Jersey City. They asked a taxicab driver to take them to a hotel in New York and were astonished to find later that the taxicab bill was \$8. "Look here, youse kids is runaways and I'm taking you to a safe place," said the driver, as he left them in front of a well-known boarding home. They waited until the driver had gone and then went in search of a furnished room. A little farther up the street they entered a house with a sign of "rooms for rent" and were taken in by a kind-hearted landlady. The next morning she sent them to a social agency to get work. From there they were sent to Waverley House at 38 West Tenth Street, a clearing house and temporary home for girls. After much questioning we learned the true stories and found that they were runaways from Kentucky. In response to our telegram, Martha's father came at once to New York, having spent a large share of his remaining \$800 in search for his child.

Instead of being 16 and 17 years old as the girls had claimed, we then learned that they were only 14 and 15 years of age. Barbara's story of cruelty and neglect was verified, and she was placed in the custody of an uncle in New York City who was willing to assume responsibility for her.

Many of the young runaway girls who come to us in New York from all parts of the country are mentally bright, adventuresome girls with initiative and resourcefulness whose homes have been unhappy or wretched. Some go out to fulfill some youthful ambition or in search of freedom or adventure; others are breaking away from their homes as the result of the lack of understanding between foreign-born parents and American-born children. Increasingly, our young Italian girls are running away from home because they will not be beaten by parents who vainly try to make them conform to old-world customs and ideals. They insist upon being American and going to moving picture theaters like girls who work beside them in the factory.

The runaway, the incorrigible, the neglected, the ill-treated, the unadjusted, and the wayward girls constitute a part of the girl problem of today. To make progress, we must understand the girl herself and know her mental make-up and her character traits—whether or not she is adventuresome, unstable, imitative, stubborn, childish, mentally defective or superior. We must also know about her environment—the home from which she has come and her relationship with her family, her progress in school, her training for work and her advancement in work, her companions and her opportunities or lack of opportunities for wholesome recreation.

I sent a questionnaire to a number of workers with girls in different Southern communities and asked what they were finding their greatest difficulties in dealing with young girls and what protective measures were being used in their communities to prevent delinquency among girls. The replies to the questionnaire indicate that the problem is very much the same in the South as in the North, and that the failure of the home and of society to protect youth is confined to no section of our country. In some communities, however, much more progress has been made in erecting more adequate safeguards around young people.

A protective worker from South Carolina writes:

"The young girl is still considered legitimate prey among the men of low morals. A 'T. B.' camp for disabled ex-soldiers not far from the city is supplied through taxi service men with the ignorant, untrained mill girl who has come from the mountain districts to go into mill work.

She generally cannot read or write, knows little or nothing of wholesome recreation. Many of the police officials of both town and county lack the social sense and the high ideals that would serve as a protection and a check to the youth of their territory. They do not command the respect that might deter evil doing, because these same officials have been guilty repeatedly of similar offenses themselves.

"When a girl is arrested she generally repeats familiarities she has had to ignore or respond to from the men who 'in the name of the law' have taken her in charge. Prostitution is not an offense in South Carolina in any of its aspects. So men have nothing to fear from the law. So far, the girls have been the only ones treated as offenders in sex questions or disorderly charges. The fining system with all its attendant evils is in common practice.

"The fault lies largely with the lack of laws and back further in the education of the people who will require these laws only when they have reached a higher intelligence in matters of sex and realize the need of wholesome recreation for both young and old. Community life demands this, and as the isolated mountaineer's family joins in city interests they find it difficult to adjust themselves or protect their growing youth. Most of the mill towns now have their welfare centers which generally are able to reach the children before the adolescent period. The problem of the uneducated adolescent who becomes a wage earner at the same time that she has her first experience of living in a town is still largely unsolved. Generally her needs do not become known until she is a social offender."

A worker in Florida says:

"The greatest difficulty in dealing with young girls in our city comes from young girls going to dances without an escort. Last year there was a disgraceful scandal in our high school. These girls all have fathers and mothers, but they don't seem to realize the danger their girls are in. I attribute the trouble to the negligence of parents. The pastors of our city give no support whatever and our officers both city and county are in the 'political ring'."

A probation officer in one of the courts in southern Florida writes:

"There is need of arousing public sentiment to provide better amusements and to have existing ones better supervised, to have more protective agencies, to have parents realize the great danger to their daughters in automobile riding and to demand more convictions in the city criminal court. The pressure of commercial interests, parental neglect and politics are responsible for our difficulties."

A Louisiana worker says:

"My greatest trouble is that girls coming from the country who speak only French, are not properly supervised. They are innocent but soon fall. They are Creoles and Cajans, uneducated, and insist upon going to public balls and parties. There are no community homes, or any other places for the elevation of these girls, except the influence I have in the families I visit.

"The public balls are not supervised except by a few police. There are no rules regulating public dances. Girls as young as 14 years are at these balls. Rooms and lodging are too high and there is no room or

special place for girls to stay. Much trouble is due to lack of education, lack of training at home, too much freedom and no chaperonage. Legal rights are not followed up regarding traps for young girls. We have no Juvenile Court, but in a small way get after men who victimize young girls under age."

From Alabama comes the following statement:

"We have not adequate laws—first of all—then we have not adequate recreation for girls. The wages paid are too low and yet in many instances the girls are so ignorant that one really feels the merchant is paying dearly for what he is getting. We need well-trained social workers to help in the care of girls instead of just good women. We desperately need protective work for girls in this city and State."

The most frequent difficulties mentioned in the replies to the questionnaire arise through the lack of supervision of places of amusement and the dangers of dance halls, moving picture theaters and automobiles; the lack of training for any kind of work, and the negligence of parents. Several mention the lack of supervised boarding homes for girls who come into the mill towns and cities from the mountain districts and the country. One emphasizes the lack of employment and the "blind alley" trades in which the girls receive only a small wage. A worker in Kentucky mentions the "unconventional conspicuous dressing of the day and the desire for clothing and pleasures which the girls are unable to secure," and the inclination of the factory and store girls to imitate girls of higher social standing.

The needs in different towns and cities reveal the importance of a community program for protective work. Some of the most important protective measures are the following:

1. Organization of a Protective League to study the local needs and secure the adoption of a community program for the protection of youth. It should have on its Board of Directors a strong representative of the church, the schools, industry, and the organizations most vitally concerned with families and homes. The protective league should have a paid secretary to see that a program of protective work is carried out as far as possible in the community. Until the value of protective work has been demonstrated, one or more protective workers should be secured to do personal constructive work with individual girls. Aid should also be given in securing a temporary boarding home or clearing house where girls may remain until understood and adjusted in work. Such a voluntary home may receive the stranded and runaway girls, but should not take the place of the official place of detention for girls charged with some offense.

2. Securing increased facilities for recreation and more adequate supervision of commercial amusement.

Facilities for non-commercial amusements should be increased, and Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and girls' clubs should be aided to develop their programs to meet the larger need for recreation in the community. A much wider use of the school plant and the public parks should also be urged as a means of providing leisure-time activities and wholesome recreation for the people.

Increased regulation and supervision of public dance halls, moving picture theaters, automobiles and amusement parks are also essential. By lighting moving picture theaters, the moral dangers of the darkened halls and galleries may be lessened. By preventing children under 16 years of age from entering places of amusement unless accompanied by parents or guardians, much delinquency may be prevented. Many cities have a minimum age of 18 years for admission to public dance halls unless accompanied by an older person. In supervising recreation and lessening dangers on boats and in summer amusement parks, and in preventing young girls from being taken off for automobile rides by strange men, much aid can be given by policewomen and by policemen who are charged with the greater protection of youth.

3. Improved protective laws and ordinances.

The age of consent is still very low in many States, and there is need of awakening public opinion to raise this to 18 years. In New York State and other states, where the age of consent is 18 years, much is being accomplished for the protection of girls by enforcement of that law.

Other very important protective laws are those governing the guardianship of neglected and unprotected children; the contributory delinquency law which holds parents responsible for the moral welfare of their children; the compulsory education law; the child labor law; laws and ordinances controlling furnished-room houses, dance halls and places of amusement; laws for the support of children born out of wedlock; marriage laws to prevent child marriage; laws against prostitution; abduction laws and laws against men who procure girls for the purpose of prostitution or who live on the earnings of prostitution. For the protection of youth it is most important that a careful study be made of existing laws also in order to learn which need improvement.

4. A women's bureau in the police department with one

or more policewomen, a woman deputy sheriff with police power, or workers under a city welfare department.

Women with police power, working under some department of the city, can do much to protect girls by patrolling the streets, the public parks, and the beaches, and through frequent attendance at dance halls, moving picture theaters, cafés, railroad terminals and other places where groups of young people congregate. They also investigate complaints of conditions demoralizing to youth and accompany girls back and forth to court. The presence of these women in the city, and the knowledge that they are in the parks and about the streets, help to prevent young people from loitering in the dark places.

5. A juvenile court, house of detention, clinic and staff of probation officers.

Attention to the conduct problems of children in a well-equipped juvenile court is an important factor in the prevention of delinquency in a community. The informal hearings in the cases of children apart from adults, the segregation of those of different character and experience in a place of detention where children are understood and studied by skilled psychiatrists and psychologists, and the wise treatment by capable probation officers of individuals, will do much to prevent youthful offenders from becoming seriously delinquent.

6. Supervision of mentally defective persons.

Provision in institutions and colonies for mentally defective individuals and a system of State guardianship for those who do not need to be committed to institutions, are important protective measures. More institutions for the feeble-minded are necessary and increased facilities in colonies like those in connection with the State school for defectives at Rome, N. Y. where girls and boys may live under supervision and yet work in the community. The New York State Commission for Mental Defectives through field workers is now supervising a certain number of children who have left special classes in the public schools and have entered upon community life. Eventually the State should become responsible for the guardianship of the large number of defectives who cannot be received into our institutions, but who need supervision in the community.

7. Improved safeguards through the school.

To a much greater extent, the public school should do protective work, and the protective organizations in the community should point the way to this. Visiting teachers are

needed to link the home and the school more closely, and to help teachers to understand the background of the children. There is also need of truant officers who will consider it their duty not only to catch the truant but to prevent truancy; advisors to girls and boys in high schools, provision for vocational training and capable vocational counsellors, additional classes in hygiene and biology, clinics in the schools with provision for physical and mental examinations, special classes for low-grade children and also for superior students, scholarships for boys and girls of exceptional ability, and boarding schools for difficult and unadjusted children.

During this last year our association in New York has given the part-time service of a woman psychiatrist for examination of girls in one of the high schools of the city, with 5,000 pupils. Dr. Anne Bingham has advised girls with serious nervous or mental disorders and has made recommendations for their better adjustment in school and at home. Such service should be provided by the city, and in two or three years this will probably be done.

A boarding school for unadjusted children will eventually be an extension of our public school system. California has passed a law for twenty-four-hour schools, but has not granted adequate appropriations to make the law effective. Children, who do not have a chance in their own homes and who need training and adjustment because of difficult traits of character, should not have to wait until they become delinquent before they can enter a state training school.

Girls and boys with exceptional ability should not be allowed to drift into factories and blind-alley trades where no progress is possible. Provision should be made through scholarships or a student-aid plan for those who are able to go ahead. Until public funds are provided, philanthropic organizations should supply such scholarships.

8. Improved industrial relations.

Capable personnel workers are doing an important work in many stores and factories of the North and in some of the great mills of the South. Still greater effort should be made to secure workers in this field. When the mill owner realizes more keenly the needs of his employees and becomes conscious of the better spirit of loyalty which results from attention to the human element in industry, he becomes an enthusiastic supporter of personnel work. Increased attention should also be given to the physical and mental needs of employees. Those concerned about protecting youth must consider such im-

portant industrial problems as reasonable hours and living wages, freedom from dangerous employment, and the possibilities of some kind of partnership plan by means of which the workers have a larger share of the results of their labor.

9. Boarding homes for employed girls.

Girls living away from their homes or coming to the city for the first time need a supervised boarding home. It should be self-supporting. Demonstrations have been made in many cities that boarding homes at moderate prices for industrial girls may be made to pay a reasonable percentage on the money invested. The Girls' Community Clubs in New York City, which provide club facilities for girls living in the club and in rooming houses in the vicinity, have demonstrated their success.

10. Increased home supervision and training.

This is the crux of the problem. All workers with girls recognize that parents must accept a larger measure of responsibility for the moral welfare of their children. Parents should exercise more self-control in their homes if they would teach self-control to their children; they should teach by example, honesty, kindness, co-operation, and loyalty. Parents need to be comrades with children, to know their friends and be interested in their work. Then supervision in recreation will not be so sternly resented. There is need of democratic principles in the home, less "bossing" and beating and repression, and more opportunity for self-expression. Young girls should not be turned adrift by parents to live alone in the city or town without adequate supervision. The dangers are too great and the safeguards too ineffective. All workers who go into homes—visiting teachers, protective workers, public health nurses, probation officers, and representative of charitable societies—have a responsibility for helping fathers and mothers to understand how they can deal more wisely with their children. Parent-teacher associations and mothers' clubs can supplement the work of the church and social organizations in this important educational work.

There is also need for additional provision for mothers' pensions so that mothers may remain at home and care for their own children, a placing-out of children in foster homes instead of commitment to orphan asylums, a system of guardianship for children whose parents are dead or morally unfitted to care for them, and additional facilities for housing so that the overcrowding in homes may be lessened.

11. Increased educational work to arouse society to its responsibility for the protection of youth and for giving wider opportunities to youth.

A protective organization can accomplish big results by helping to awaken the community to the needs of youth and by laying upon the different groups their part of the burden. Not until all the forces of the community unite in this great campaign of prevention will progress be made in the solution of the girl problem.

TUESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 1.

NATIONAL PRISONERS' AID ASSOCIATION.

A MODEL PROGRAM FOR A PRISONERS' AID SOCIETY.

By REV. CHARLES PARSONS, SUPERINTENDENT, IOWA SOCIETY FOR THE FRIENDLESS, DES MOINES, IOWA.

The work of a prisoners' aid society centers in the prisoner. The particular line of work to be done depends entirely upon local conditions. A model program for one locality might not be adapted at all to the needs of another locality.

A model program is one that can most readily be adjusted to meet the individual needs of the case in hand. To set up a program that will meet these needs we must be familiar with the wide range of influences that touch the prisoners' life. Especially is it necessary to know something of the prison program.

Theoretically the prison program is for the purpose of correcting defects and weaknesses. In practice it effects very little correction in the sense of enabling the prisoner to overcome his weakness. This is of necessity the case on account of the nature of a prison. A prison means restraint. Everything about it suggests restraint. Stone walls, iron bars, guards, all are for the purpose of curtailing the liberties of the prisoner. The prisoner is in a state of repression.

Some contend that you cannot correct defects and weaknesses by repression. It is possible to overdo repression and have too much restraint; nevertheless there must be restraint. Numerous and various experiments have been tried to run a prison without restraint, by doing away with walls, locks, bars and guards, but in many cases about the time the ex-

periment gets well under way some trusty who is supposed to be the soul of honor betrays his trust and makes his getaway.

In most of these attempts to operate a prison without restraint, the great fact is overlooked that the human heart in its natural state is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, and that there is no certain reform unless that old wicked heart is changed. Unfortunately, prison programs do not usually change the heart of the prisoner to any great extent. The prisoners' aid program should take this fact into account, and plan to work with reference to a reconstruction of the life through a renewed purpose and a strengthened will.

The prisoner is a prisoner because he is a lawbreaker. On this account he is called a bad citizen. The theory of punishment is that when enough restraint has been applied he will become a good citizen and will be fit to take his place in the ranks of civilized society. The danger is that he may yield to the restraints because compelled to do so, with no change of purpose.

The most important thing to be accomplished in the prisoner's life is to produce a deep-seated heart-sorrow for the evil he has done. There is usually a deep-seated regret that the penalty for wrong-doing has overtaken him. This is not enough. There must be an earnest desire to avoid the evil and an all-possessing purpose to do the things that are right. It is the business of a prisoners' aid society to help inspire the prisoner's heart with this new purpose, and aid him carry it out. This is the essential thing in the reconstruction of the life along the line of good citizenship. It matters not what else is included in the program; if there is failure at this point, all is in danger of being lost in the end.

The prisoner became a prisoner because he is supposed to have misused his liberty by trespassing upon the rights of others. As a penalty he is deprived of all liberty and placed in subjection to the will of another. Release from prison means the restoration of the privilege of self-direction. Usually there is no increased ability to direct himself successfully. The probability is that the man is less fitted for self-direction, because there has been little opportunity for independent action during imprisonment. During imprisonment he has been provided with food, shelter and clothing, without any thought or care on his part. He has been compelled to be regular in his time of eating and sleeping; all his activities have been directed by others. Upon release, the whole responsibility for the use of his time and the providing for his

needs is suddenly thrown upon himself. The prisoners' aid society can be of great service in helping him to make the readjustment. At this point there may be some need for relief.

Of course he must have work, food, shelter and equipment. If these have not been provided, the society must make suitable provision for them. They are all-important, but the best service to be rendered is that which enables the released prisoner to adjust himself to his surroundings and rightly manage his private affairs. This must be accomplished by personal contact and influence.

The released prisoner has weaknesses that must be overcome, or he is doomed to failure. The aid society must help him meet these difficulties.

In the first place, his attitude is likely to be wrong. He imagines that all the world is against him and conspiring to get him back. This is a dangerous delusion. All the world is not against him. The best citizens want him to make good and are ready to co-operate with him in his efforts, but they want him to show the same determination and earnestness of purpose as they themselves have had to put forth in order to sustain themselves in this world. Another delusion that possesses his mind as he emerges from the prison is, that he is a marked man and that everybody knows from his clothing and general appearance that he is just out of prison. This is not true. Most people do not know that he is just out of prison and could not tell that he was, if he did not advertise the fact himself.

Far too much has been said in deprecation of the prisoner's clothing and about his looks giving him away. The result is that the prisoner is supersensitive along these lines. This leads him to barter away every garment that has been furnished by the State as soon as possible after he leaves the prison gate. Fairly good clothing is often traded for much poorer articles, and most of his gate-fee given for the privilege of the exchange. Many times the prisoners themselves cannot recognize "come-out" suits, as they are called. I have exchanged suits with men just released from prison to put them at ease, and they have found the suits provided very satisfactory. Had they known that the suit furnished was one of the State suits discarded by another prisoner, they would have been in constant fear of being spotted.

The prisoners' aid worker can do much to put the prisoners' mind right on these subjects. It can also educate the public to develop a right attitude toward the man who has paid the penalty for his crimes.

In many cases it was because the prisoner's attitude was wrong on moral issues, that he committed the offense that landed him in prison. In far too many cases the prison does not change this attitude. Upon his release he is no more honest or pure in heart than he was when first arrested. He may refrain from fear, from farther outward violation of law, but if it is only from fear, it will not be long until the fear will pass away and there will be a downfall. The prisoners' aid society should help him to higher ideals and connect him, so far as it is possible to do so, with community influences that will tend to strengthen his moral aims and purposes. The real difficulty here is that in far too many communities the moral ideals and standards are so low that the community influence is liable to drag him down rather than strengthen his moral fiber. This suggests the importance of work for the elevation of community standards being done by the prisoners' aid society as a safeguard to the released prisoner and also as a crime-preventing influence.

Generally, the man from prison is weak financially and has little appreciation of values. Quite frequently he has very ordinary earning capacity, but is a magnificent spender. A certain released prisoner, who is badly crippled, is able to earn \$35 per month. Recently he bought a suit of clothes for \$65, a hat for \$7.20 and a pair of shoes for \$9.75. In this connection there came to my attention the expenditures of a business man whose salary is \$3,000 per year. The business man paid \$40 for a suit of clothes, \$3.50 for his hat and \$5 for a pair of shoes.

Very many of the released prisoner's troubles are financial. He buys without judgment, on the installment plan, until his weekly payments absorb so much of his wages that he has nothing with which to buy groceries, or pay for board and lodging. He was not a good financier when he went to prison and his prison term has added nothing to his ability along this line. His inability along financial lines is a constant source of embarrassment and trouble. It gets him into financial straits which lead to dishonesty or crookedness in order to relieve the pressure.

There must be reconstruction along financial lines. This weakness must be worked out by the aid society workers' direction and assistance. The only question that seems to occupy the prisoner's mind is the wage he can get. He needs instruction and aid in buying, also encouragement in saving and starting a savings account. The failure to rightly train these individuals in early life is the great source of the trouble.

Right here is where the program should include a course of training for parents, in order that children may be safeguarded against forming financial habits that will be their ruination later in life. Prevention would be much easier than cure along this line.

I have stressed the program in its relation to the man after release from prison. It is assumed that the worker has intimate knowledge of and contact with the prisoner during his imprisonment; at least is familiar with the workings of the institution from which he comes and the influences to which he has been subjected. The kind and amount of work that can be done while the prison term is being served will depend entirely upon the conditions governing his imprisonment.

A model program will also include the prisoner's family. On this line care should be exercised that the prisoners' aid society does not take upon itself duties and obligations that should be met by the local community. In these days of widows' pensions, which apply to prisoners' families in many States, prisoners' wages and local family relief agencies, the need along this line is not so great as it once was. The prisoners' aid society's work in this connection should be of a supervising nature, in the way of giving temporary relief and helping to connect the family with the widows' pension or other form of family relief provided by the locality, or assisting members of the family to earn wages. If the family can be cared for as a family in destitute circumstances rather than as a convict attachment, it is far better. The family has humiliation enough on account of its relation to the prison. Let the relief be detached as much as possible from prison association.

A model program for a prisoners' aid society furnishes opportunity, encouragement, sympathy and help to the man from prison, that will enable him to get a new start in life, overcome his past failings and build substantially for the future. It inspires him with new purposes and helps him gain power to carry them out. These require rallying to his aid every available human agency, together with the support of religion and divine power.

This program also includes educational work to enlighten the public at large regarding the causes of crime and how to avoid them. The work we do for the reclamation of the prisoner is an effort to save the wreckage. This is a most Christ-like work and many a once hopeless and discouraged man is to-day rejoicing because of what it has meant to him. It is vastly better, however, to prevent the wreckage in the

first place. A better home training, and a community life that is more healthful morally would save a large percentage of those who become lawbreakers from ever going astray.

TUESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 1.

PRISON PHYSICIANS' SECTION.

INCREASE OF DRUG ADDICTS AT SING SING PRISON.

DR. AMOS O. SQUIRE, PHYSICIAN, SING SING PRISON.

The care and treatment of drug addicts admitted to Sing Sing Prison have become of very great importance, because during the past 3 years there has been a very great increase in the number.

We admitted to prison, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, 940 prisoners, and found 10 drug addicts, making 1 per cent. of total admission. Year ending June 30, 1917, 1070 prisoners, among whom we found 4 drug addicts or 3/10 of 1 per cent. Year ending June 30, 1918, 1197 prisoners; 11 drug addicts, or 9/10 of 1 per cent. June 30, 1919, 1073 prisoners; 13 drug addicts or 1 1/10 per cent. Year ending June 30, 1920, 1490 prisoners and 33 addicts or 2 2/100 per cent. June 30, 1921, 1415 prisoners; 93 drug addicts or 6½ per cent. and from June 30, 1921, to October 21, 1921, a period of only 3 months and 21 days, out of 318 prisoners admitted we found 30 drug addicts, or a little less than 10 per cent. of those admitted to prison.

Let us look a little more in detail into the history of the 93 drug addicts admitted to prison during the year ending June 30, 1921. We find that 42 were first offenders, and 51 were second or third offenders. Seventy-seven were white and 16 were colored. As to the crime for which they were sentenced we find: grand larceny 39, burglary 42, robbery 4, assault 3, violation of parole 3, carrying concealed weapons 2, forgery 1, manslaughter 1, abandonment 1, aiding escape 1. The kind of drugs used were: heroin 51, morphine 27, cocaine 7, opium 2, morphine and heroin 6, heroin and cocaine 3, morphine and cocaine 1, and heroin, morphine and cocaine 3. The maximum number of grains of heroin used, 60. The minimum, 6 grains. The average age of a drug addict was 30 years. All addicts were asked the cause of their delinquency, and gave the following reasons: drugs 48, bad company 9,

needed money 7, no work 3, gambling 2, drink 1, out for a good time 1, too much mother-in-law 1, no reason 13, innocent 8. From June 30, 1921, to October 21, 1921, a period of 3 months and 21 days, the character of crime, age of addict, kind of drug used, and cause of delinquency, given by the inmates has been about the same as found in preceding years; only the number of addicts has increased.

That you may have a clear idea of the greater number, let us compare it with the average number received from June 30, 1913, to June 30, 1918, a period of 6 years. During that time the average received at prison was 13 1/3 addicts per year. Year ending June 30, 1920, it increased 110 per cent. Year ending June 30, 1921, 510 per cent. From June 30, 1921 to October 21, 1921, a period of 3 months and 21 days, 789 per cent. increase.

Opium may be taken in several ways, such as by inhalation, eaten in the raw form, smoking, or as one of the alkaloids or by hypodermic injection in the form of morphine or some alkaloid. This last is the most common practice found in prisoners at Sing Sing. Morphine is the drug most commonly used outside, but at Sing Sing we find that more use heroin.

The cocaine habit dates back for centuries to the time when the natives of Peru chewed cocoa leaves to prevent fatigue. We do not find many inmates taking cocaine alone, but in combination with morphine.

The clinical picture of chronic morphinism is varied. In the early stages it is impossible to detect; later, we see the gradual deterioration of health; the increased grip of the habit, and the dulling of the moral senses. With increasing dosage the patient becomes excited and irritable. You see the same picture with cocaine addicts, except that the pupils are dilated, not contracted and the emaciation is greater.

Most of the writers give as a cause of taking habit-forming drugs pain that is severe and lasting in character, such as neuralgias, neuritis, etc., but I can recall but 2 cases in the 93 of last year who stated that pain was a factor in causing them to become drug addicts.

As the patient continues to use morphine, increasing the dose, the toxic effect becomes more marked. Here is where the patient acquires the cocaine habit in addition to what he already has, and this is the point where he cannot conceal his habit, his moral ethical sense has been numbed, and he will stoop to any means to obtain his drug.

The main thing in the treatment of drug habits is the

withdrawal of the drug. This problem is not so difficult in a prison where you have complete control of your patient. In the outside world, the drug addict who voluntarily enters an institution for cure generally makes sure of having with him a large amount of the drug in order to meet a possible emergency in his old way. They secrete the drug in the linings of their clothes or toilet articles, etc., and we find it at Sing Sing in the body cavities and concealed in the soles of their shoes. Every drug addict admitted to prison is given a bath and fresh clothes, and he is not permitted to wear any clothing other than those he receives from the authorities. While he is under care he receives no food from outside the prison, is not permitted out of his ward, or to have a visit except in the presence of a prison guard. You cannot trust the family or friends who visit them. We recently found a sister of a drug addict trying to pass some morphine to her brother.

In the withdrawing of drugs, these are the generally used methods:

- (1) Immediate withdrawal; (2) gradual withdrawal;
- (3) rapid withdrawal.

Each of these methods is used by different physicians. Each author defends his own methods and more or less assails all others.

(1) *Immediate Withdrawal*.—This method was introduced by Lewinstein in Germany, and has found friends abroad. The patient is isolated and under strict observation and care.

Although some writers state that with the immediate withdrawal of morphine the patient is not responsible for his acts, and will commit suicide or even murder, we have never had such an experience at Sing Sing. You must in every case substitute something for the drug, but do not use opium products or cocaine, but sedatives and cardiovascular stimulants. We have used the bromides, trional, and chloral. These drugs are given with the idea of having the patient rest or sleep until the period of reaction is past. As a hypnotic, hyocine hydrobromate 1/200 to 1/100 repeated is effective. If the heart action becomes weak use strychnine 1/30 every 3 hours. The same period of observation, rest and reconstructive treatment follows as in all other methods.

The cardiovascular stimulant drugs are useful as stimulating the vasotonic system rather than dulling the consciousness. Camphor and ergot are used for this purpose.

(2) *Gradual Withdrawal*.—Limit patient to smallest amount, keeping him comfortable. If he takes morphine and cocaine, cut the cocaine out at once. Several writers recommend various-sized doses in the gradual reduction method. Some say that a patient taking 10 grains can with safety be reduced to 6 grains at once. Jennings advises reduction by quarter, a third, and a half, covering 4 to 10 days. Pressy takes a month to withdraw morphine.

(3) *Rapid Withdrawal*.—Is intermediate between the gradual and immediate withdrawal method. One of these forms is that suggested by Dr. Alexander Lambert of New York, which consists of active catharis and a mixture of tincture of belladonna, fluid extract xanthoxylum and fluid extract of hyoscyamus. He cuts down the daily dose of morphine two-thirds, the second to one-half, keeping up his catharis with c.c. pills and blue mass; later he uses strychnine or digitalis or both.

As to the choice of methods used in treating the drug addict, all are valuable in a way and all have bad points. The slow withdrawal is easier on the patient, but not so likely to produce permanent results as the others. The immediate method is a heartrending procedure. The patient lives a perfect hell until his reactions are passed.

It is a hard matter to tell how many of these drug addicts go back to the habit when released from prison. With a weak will and weak personality the patient may easily drop back into his old ways. Patients have told me that the unpleasant experience of the rapid withdrawal of the drug has made them consider before returning to the old habit.

GENERAL SESSION.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 1.

WARDENS' ASSOCIATION.

RELATION OF RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT TO
THE PRISON ADMINISTRATION.

By HARRY L. HULBURT, WARDEN, STATE PRISON, JACKSON, MICHIGAN.

There is a time for work and a time for play and a time for amusements. No certain day should be set as being the only day on which amusements should be given to inmates, as there is a big chance to have special things that are liable to come along, which can be shown the inmates and enlighten them and keep them better posted as to the advances of the outside world.

There are men who have been paroled, and men who are still serving time, who have never seen a street car, and know nothing of some of the modern things that have been introduced into the world. I well remember talking to a man who had served 34 years inside of a prison and he told of the little things he discovered when being allowed to accompany a man to the grave of his mother. When he washed his hands at a wash bowl where automatic closing faucets were installed, he said they stayed open only when held. He had been used to washing his hands and letting the water run from an old-fashioned faucet. He said he learned he was behind the times.

I have had the pleasure of taking men out of prison in a special coach in the morning and returning late at night, having with me a full band and large number of entertainers. We had them out to a fair grounds without guards to watch them. It is very interesting to watch the expression that comes over their faces when they see different things that the ordinary person would not notice. I believe in taking men out of prison and showing them what the world is doing.

I remember a time when a large number of men were released who had been serving from 18 to 27 years, and one man had been in prison 23 years. He wished to go to a large city of one million inhabitants and he wanted me to go with him and stay with him a couple of days. I went to the city with him and registered with him at the hotel and I allowed him to go with me to the various banks and other places where I

did business, and it was very interesting to watch the expression on his face. I do not call these amusements, but I really do believe they could be called recreations and they have their good effects and benefit to a prison administration.

In regard to Honor Systems. There is nothing new in honor systems as we will find back in ancient days in foreign countries that everything the American people are doing in the way of honor has been done by our forefathers.

In various prisons there is very little variation. Some believe in motion pictures; some believe in football and baseball, and some believe in having circuses inside of a prison and entertainers from various vaudeville theaters. I believe in them all. I believe that on holidays special entertainments and amusements should be given to the prisoners. It gets them in closer touch with what they can expect when released. I think the more we have of it the better it is for the rebuilding of men. I think if the American Prison Association and its various branches would adjust their thoughts in regard to their lines of amusements and recreations it would be a great benefit to all prisons and reformatories, as it is impossible to establish a set rule that will fit all conditions. Some prisons have a fixed age and sentence and others have mixed ages and sentences.

In all institutions that I have visited, the heads of the institutions are all working for the morale of their prisons and for the benefit and concern of the inmates, and amusements and recreation are something well worth studying.

Fresh air and outdoor entertainments please men more than tying up all entertainments to the chapel. I believe in all amusements—baseball, football, etc., late into the season and the more you keep the men who are serving time out of their cells, the better men they make when released.

HOUSING PROBLEMS.

By T. C. O'BRIEN, COMMISSIONER OF INSTITUTIONS, BOSTON, MASS.

Prison officials are concerned with the jails or detention places in which witnesses and persons awaiting trial are held; reformatories for convicted juvenile offenders; houses of correction or county farms for drunkards and misdemeanants, and penitentiaries for the punishment and rehabilitation of the more serious offenders.

The public insists that the prison administrator shall concern himself primarily with the security of custody of each class of offender. Until recently the matter of hygienic care

and proper treatment and training of offenders did not much concern the public generally.

The first group, those detained, awaiting trial and presumably innocent, are today unfortunately receiving the scantiest attention. Promiscuous intercourse is permitted among jail inmates in practically all the jails in this country, yet no one dares deny the fact that persons, merely suspected of crime and not yet convicted, have a right to be protected against contamination by the corrupt influences of the old rounders and those guilty of crime. Therefore, cellular separation of the strictest sort is the only proper method of housing the prisoner awaiting trial, and the jails should be so constructed and administered as to prevent absolutely any association of those whom the Roman law speaks of as "hostages of justice." The cells should be secure, properly ventilated, heated and clean, and should afford a degree of comfort. Plain, wholesome, well-cooked food should be furnished to all these jail cases, and adequate provision should be made for preserving their health by giving good medical supervision and permitting exercise each day in the open air. Prison officials feel that just a little more care with the persons detained for trial would result in a material decrease in the number of criminals.

In the care of juvenile offenders more progress has been made in solving housing problems than in any other sphere of prison service. The success which has attended dealing with the small groups under the cottage system has been so signal as to invite consideration of that method in the solving of the problems connected with adult offenders.

An attempt has been made to house the juvenile in a normal way, and security has been a secondary consideration. The cottages are made as homelike as possible, are well heated, well lighted, well ventilated and immaculately clean. The dormitory is provided for the small group, and proper supervision exercised over the occupants during their sleeping hours.

Under the cottage system the several groups of inmates gather together for recreation, attend a central school and take part in institution activities much in the manner of students in a boys' school. Of course, gymnasias and libraries, school houses and workshops are essentials. The reformatory for the more mature juvenile offender, I shall consider with the penitentiary.

Until recently the State Prison or penitentiary was viewed by the public purely as a place of punishment for the incorrigible. Agencies for the rehabilitation of the hardened of-

fender are being introduced into all of our modern penitentiaries, and in many the treatment of the inmates is not unlike that in our male reformatories. It is not desirable that adult offenders convicted of serious offenses should enter the State prisons feeling that over the portal there was the inscription, "All ye who enter here leave hope behind."

In dealing with the junior and adult felons, the public to be sure demands security, and the prison administrators have responded to this demand in most instances by constructing prison buildings as if the prisoners were all dangerous characters, always planning escape. Wardens and superintendents present know it to be a fact that the greater portion of the prisoners under their charge are well behaved and would not attempt to escape from a fairly constructed building.

The answer, of course, is classification, *and secure* buildings for vicious, hardened and dangerous prisoners, and less expensive, fairly well constructed buildings for the majority. The management should depend much more on efficiency and thoroughness of administration than on escape-proof buildings.

The most modern prison system is in operation today in Illinois. There cellular separation is practiced where inmates are under the closest supervision, and from this grade the prisoner advances to a second grade, in which he is allowed to associate with his fellows, and rooms containing six men are provided. Thence, with good conduct, the prisoner advances to a third grade, which takes him outside of the walls, and there he is housed in a dormitory, and much freedom extended him. Thus in its system, Illinois houses its men in cells, in alcoves and dormitories. It has surrounded all of its buildings with a wall thirty-three feet high, sufficiently high so that it is practically impossible to scale it. It has been possible through modern constructive methods to plan a cell-block in which all cells are outside cells, instead of the familiar type of a cell-block with corridors on either side.

DISCUSSION.

The Chairman: Now this paper read by Mr. O'Brien is open for discussion. Does anybody wish to say anything or ask any questions?

Warden Sullivan: What percentage of inmates awaiting trial have not been convicted at the time they are awaiting trial? For instance, a person is arrested last night for murder and is committed to the county jail. He may wait there for

months waiting indictment. After indictment he is tried. What percentage of those men escape from going to State prison, and how many have not been convicted?

Mr. O'Brien: I can answer in this way, that in the State of Massachusetts out of every 100 persons arrested and arraigned only 5 are sent to institutions, the remaining 95 are placed on probation or released altogether. Does that answer your question?

Warden Sullivan: They are placed on probation?

Mr. O'Brien: Or released.

Warden Sullivan: That is, under the regular probation system?

Mr. O'Brien: Exactly.

Warden Sullivan: Another point of information. Suppose a man goes into one of your houses in the City of Boston and steals and robs and he is molested by the head of the house. You wouldn't place that man on probation?

Mr. O'Brien: Men have been placed on probation in Massachusetts for homicide. There is no restriction on the power of the court in Massachusetts to place a man on probation.

Mr. Tomlinson: In Illinois we are criticised some for supplying a cell or a room for each individual prisoner. We felt we were right in doing that. We are now considering having several of these single cell houses, either built or in process of building; we are now considering a group cell where there will be 4 or 6 in one cell. At Atlanta, the Federal Prison, I noticed they have a number where there are 4. Of course, the psychology of numbers enters in. Two is a bad number; 3 is a bad number, but 4 seems to be generally accepted as the next step above one. I would like to ask Mr. O'Brien if he made any investigation as to the desirability of having 4 or one in a cell.

Mr. O'Brien: I feel strongly that either one or a dormitory is the best plan. The middle ground of groups I do not approve of.

Mr. Tomlinson: We call it a dormitory cell, where there are 4 or 6 in a cell. My definition of a dormitory is where we have a large number. Do you approve of the dormitory system?

Mr. O'Brien: For groups of not more than 40.

Mr. Tomlinson: What is the theory on which that is approved? The men themselves don't like it.

Mr. O'Brien: I find that the misdemeanor, the type you have to deal with, the vagrant, rather like the association, and it is a short period.

Mr. Tomlinson: Would you approve of it for the penitentiary?

Mr. O'Brien: No.

Mr. Thames: I feel it would not be out of place to mention how we are handling the prisoners in Mississippi. We have about 1500 prisoners and we are farming altogether. We haven't a cell in the Mississippi State Penitentiary. We are housing our prisoners in dormitories, all of them. We have a farm of 29,000 acres divided in 5 farms, and the prisoners are scattered over these 5 farms. Eighty-five per cent. of our prisoners are Negroes and we have the black camp for them, of course. We work these men in groups from 60 to 100 men in each camp. Over those fellows we have 2 assistant sergeants who mingle among them and see that they are doing their work properly. They are guarded by trusty convicts. We have escapes, I believe, of about fifty or sixty a year, and they are, I am sorry to say, mostly from the trusties. We have very few escapes from the men who are guarded.

Now, the result of our work is that our death rate, in having these prisoners in the open all the time is less than one per cent., and we make every year upon the farms from \$200,000 to \$600,000 a year clear profit above all our expenses, not including our permanent improvements, which is turned into the general treasury fund of our State, and the system we are operating under of course has been in operation since 1904. We have been improving it some all along. It is not at all perfect yet, but we haven't gotten into some of the things that I find other prisons have gotten into.

I have come here for the purpose of getting information. It is the first time our State has been represented in this Association, but we will be represented from now on. I have gotten a great deal of information and a vast amount of invaluable information from this Association that I hope to take back, and my associate here with me, that we will put into operation over there.

Mr. Barnum: I would like to ask if anybody has any other experience to offer in regard to escapes. At the Disciplinary

Barracks I have found men escape in pairs. They never go singly, always in pairs. Men who are due to go on parole in a week or two or released in two or three weeks will escape. It is almost incomprehensible to think how a man in his right mind will do such a thing and in many cases it is the result of impulse. I ask them, "What made you go?" "Well, I don't know; I saw the chance and felt I would like to be out." The impulse gets the better of them at times.

Mr. Devine: If a man thought in the same lines and had the same mentality as you do, he wouldn't have been in that prison. He didn't intend to rob that house, only he met John Doe at the corner and John Doe suggested that would be a good way to get a few dollars. We must not measure them by our standards. We take the child of eight years of age and assume that he can think as we do. He is no more capable of judging by our standard than our ordinary finite minds are to comprehend the words of the infinite.

Mr. Votaw: I did not rise to speak as an expert on any of these housing questions, but what I would like to know is this: If these wardens and other people of experience had a proposition before them of building a new penitentiary—I speak more especially of the northern penitentiaries, because I think in the southern part of the United States prison camps are generally used, and I approve of them as a rule—would you build your prison of structural iron or reinforced concrete, after the experience you have had? I know I would build them of reinforced concrete for the mere looks of the thing. I do not speak from experience. With the structural iron you get sanitation, you get light, security and ease of operation, ease of heating—probably, you get all those advantages—but you would have what appears to an observer, and I should think it would have an effect upon the inmates, a kind of zoological arrangement of cages.

Now the greatest part of the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia is built of reinforced concrete, and when I am sent there that is the part I want to go to if I can have my choice of rooms. It is one story high, one long corridor with these rooms, not cells on the inside. I don't know whether Warden John Francies is here of the Eastern Penitentiary. I speak from the outside, but on that large farm of 8,000 acres in the central part of the State, I understand there is to be built in time a four or five story structural iron concern with the cage system, and with that large farm of 8,000 acres I think it would be quite possible to build larger apartments

with the reinforced concrete or somewhat similar sort of construction. It is my thorough conviction that if possible the apartments ought to be built rather more attractively in appearance than can be done with the structural iron.

Mr. Catlin: My prison is on the shores of Lake Superior. We are building a cell-block at the present time in our prison of reinforced concrete. Of course, our prison is designated as the incorrigible prison of Michigan, and we have mostly the long commitments, and I haven't yet found a structural steel prison they couldn't saw through, some of them.

Mr. Venn: In regard to the question suggested by Brother Votaw, about ten years ago I visited the second oldest prison in this country at Richmond, and they had adjoining it a new steel prison structure. I asked the old Warden how he felt the men were inclined toward the different institutions and he said, "We can hardly get them out of our old institution built after plans prepared by Thomas Jefferson in 1797, to go into the new prison." The old place was stone construction, sunlight and air in every room, and they didn't want to go into that zoological exhibition.

Miss Van Waters: If I may say a word in behalf of the modern structures for the reformation of young girls and women offenders, it is rather significant that the places doing the best work were designed originally for some other type of building. For example, in North Carolina a place doing a magnificent piece of work was designed as a boy's school. El Tero, a school in California, was designed for a sanitarium for convalescent tubercular patients, and by superior administration and the use of trained workers, in the opinion of many experts, these institutions surpass those built of brick and stone with the concept that the institution is all within four walls. I believe in the problem of correctional education for the young, more and more we are beginning to cease building further monuments of brick and stone to delinquency.

Mr. Charles Blaney: I know something about prisons and was interested in Mr. Votaw's question relative to whether we believed in reinforced concrete or steel cages. I am for the reinforced concrete. It is just as safe and can be built as sanitarily, if not more so. We are now rebuilding our reformatory which we had the misfortune, or I may say the fortune, to have burned down. It was an old building with no sanitation, and I think the Lord visited it with fire. Now we are building a modern structure of reinforced concrete and are

doing away with the cell proposition, putting in a dormitory for boys. We are retaining some cells, putting in a new reinforced concrete cell. We are building these cells more for punishment, probably. I differ with the governor somewhat. I think many of the boys would rather go into private cells than in the dormitories. If we go to a hotel we want a room by ourselves, and that is the wish of some of the boys.

Mr. Linscott of Rhode Island: We have about 1,300 cells, and the first building we erected was one of 478 cells. That is absolutely reinforced concrete. We have torn those all out and rebuilt the concrete cells. We have about 1,300 of those cells, and the partition wall is three inches between the cells. We have built in one section a wire mesh. Of course the corners are heavy reinforced rods to tie up the corners and carry the weight. One great advantage in that is there isn't so much telegraphing. Our men are perfectly satisfied. We have the air changed in those cells by the fan system, every four minutes through the entire twenty-four hours and the air is much purer than in this room. We don't know what bugs are. Of course, we may get a roach, but we are entirely satisfied with the building. We were told it would be damp, but it is very satisfactory.

Mr. Swezey of Maryland: I am surprised to hear such an importance placed upon cell construction and the cell-block. I believe with proper conditions of work it makes mighty little difference what the cell is, so long as it is an individual cell. If the prisoner goes out in the morning and comes back at night, if he goes to his work and from there to the dining room and back to his work, and if you can arrange recreation rooms, reading and writing rooms in your prison for your better grade prisoners, you will soon have them all better grade prisoners to get advantage of these rooms, but by the time the prisoner is ready to go to his cell he is ready to go to bed and go to sleep, and you can put him in an individual cell where he is alone and can sleep and not be bothered by the old prisoners. The principal thing in our construction is to have our shop work and our dining rooms where they can be clean and sanitary and our recreation rooms and buildings and corridors, and then make our small individual cells with a fixed partition so there is no intercourse between cells.

Mr. Bastin: We have turned our tables around in the dining room and they seat 12 prisoners and they face each other. They are permitted to talk, and we feel that this has been a wonderful step forward in our institution. The fellows enjoy

it a great deal and it has helped discipline and has abolished a very severe hardship on the men.

A speaker: I would like to ask whether it is the universal opinion that two men ought not to be put in the same cell?

The Chairman: I believe it has been clearly stated that it is best to have either 3, 4, 6 or more. From my experience I am for the large dormitory. Two years ago I didn't say that, but in visiting other places, the older wardens have fully convinced me. We have a dormitory of 480 men, 48 cells, and it is a curse upon the earth for the simple reason that there are 10 men in a cell not properly looked after. Warden Fogarty at Michigan City and Warden Thomas at Columbus are throwing out the old cell-blocks and making one large room with one man as an overseer against immoral conditions. I would rather have a large dormitory than small ones, but I agree that the man in the single cell is better off. He likes it better.

FLORIDA STATE PRISONS.

FROM JANUARY 1, 1901, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920.

By W. A. MACRAE.

When there were but two people on the earth, and only one law, that law was broken, and now that there are hundreds of millions of people, and thousands of laws, we cannot hope to have a country without crime. Numerous societies have been organized throughout the United States for the purpose of looking after the welfare of these unfortunate people, who sometimes wilfully, sometimes ignorantly or carelessly, stray from "the straight and narrow way," and find themselves entangled in the meshes of the law.

The statement is frequently made that the world is growing more wicked every day. The official records for a period of twenty years in Florida, do not bear out this statement. On the contrary, there were only 59 more convictions for in the year 1901, notwithstanding the fact that the population has increased during this period from 528,542 to 966,210, or 84 per cent. While the population thus increased in those twenty years, crime increased only 14.7 per cent.

Some very interesting information is gathered from our prison reports. The first fact disclosed is the slight difference in the number of prisoners committed to the State prison each year from the year 1901 to 1920, and the further fact that certain classes of crime, as classified by our statutes,

seemed to have been committed each year, notwithstanding the steady increase of population in the State. The largest number of convictions during any one year from 1901 to 1920 was in 1915, when there were 639 convictions, and the smallest number was 300, in 1918. Murder, assault, attempt to murder, breaking and entering, burglary, larceny and grand larceny, cover 79 3/5 per cent. of the crimes of all our State prison population.

Crime comes in waves, and could be likened very much to the rising and falling of the tide. In 1901 the number of convictions was an even 400. In 1905 the crest of the wave was reached, when the number of convictions was 474. The wave subsided, and in 1907 the number of convictions was 413. Another wave started, reaching its highest in 1915, when the number of convictions was 639, the greatest number of convictions for any year in the history of the State and nearly one hundred more than the next highest year during the twenty-year period in discussion. Again the wave began to recede, and in 1918 the total number of convictions was only 300, the smallest number of convictions for any one year during the entire twenty-year period. Following 1918, another wave came, and is on now, but I do not believe the number of convictions for 1921 will reach the high tide of 1915.

Crimes carrying the death penalty were considerably less in the last four-year period than in the four-year period beginning with 1901. During the first ten months of the present administration, which began in January of this year, there have been only four legal executions, which would cause one to think that the number of legal executions for the present administration would not far exceed that of the former administration.

Crime waves come with periods of unrest, such as panics, disturbances between capital and labor, wars, etc., and they subside as the abnormal conditions cease. The sudden wave of crime that brought the crest of the crime wave in Florida, in 1915 to the highest level in the history of the State came about by the great unrest and depression as a result of the great World War.

In further study of the records we find another peculiar condition. Certain classes of crime appeal to white and black, while other classes are more frequently committed by the individual race. For example murder, breaking and entering, burglary, larceny and grand larceny, and the handling of intoxicating liquors, are almost evenly divided between the races, while obtaining money and other property by a false

pretense, forgery, arson and embezzlement, are in the majority among white men. Rape, robbery, and perjury, are most common among negro men. A decided majority of female convictions are for murder and manslaughter.

Illegitimate, get-rich-quick schemes are giving the officers of the law no little concern at this time. Organized bands of bookmakers, automobile thieves, and bank and highway robbers composed almost wholly of white people are operating everywhere, and as there is so much money and such a quick turnover of capital in the successful operation of schemes of this kind, it often attracts unscrupulous men with money and influence, and as a consequence it is very difficult to apprehend and convict the members of these bands.

The great and systematic advertising which Florida has had for the past 20 years, setting forth to the world her many and splendid advantages, has attracted thousands of tourists, home-seekers and investors to the State, and while this very desirable and always welcome class of immigrants was coming into our midst, another class, wholly undesirable, was also attracted, as is shown by the records of the courts of the State. This class came not with the intention of settling or investing, but to prey upon the unsuspecting public and gain a livelihood through unlawful methods.

Jacksonville the county seat of Duval County, is the main gateway into Florida from the northern and western States, and while Duval County has only a little more than 10 per cent. of the State's population, yet she contributes 20 per cent. of our State prison population, and less than 1 per cent. of the prisoners convicted in her courts were born in the county, and a large number are non-residents of the State. Eighty per cent. of all convictions from this county are for breaking and entering and grand larceny, thereby proving conclusively that the undesirable class of non-residents coming into the State are the principal offenders of the law. This naturally works a very great hardship on the taxpayers of Jacksonville and Duval County, because it takes a large sum of the revenue collected each year to apprehend and convict these criminals, and they are from a non-resident element that contribute nothing to her support.

What has been said about the convictions in Duval County applies, to a greater or less degree, in all of the other counties of the State. As a case in point, the only legal executions ever had in the County of Okaloosa were two in 1921, and one in 1920. These criminals cost Okaloosa, a small new county,

more than \$25,000, and two of the three were from another State, and the third only a short time a citizen of Florida.

After the courts have passed sentence on the prisoners and they are committed to the State prison, then the problem of the management begins.

The matter of the employment of the prison population of Florida has undergone several changes in the last twenty years. The letting-out by contract of all the State prisoners was abandoned January 1, 1914, the State for the first time in over thirty years assuming the direct management of the State's prison population. The women of both races, the sick and disabled male prisoners, the second-class male prisoners, and a portion of the able-bodied prisoners were kept on the State's own farm at Raiford, in Bradford County (now Union County), and a portion of the able-bodied male prisoners were placed under the lease, largely to turpentine operators. On December 31, 1919, the lease of State prisoners was finally abolished, and the able-bodied male prisoners, except a small number which were kept at the State Farm, were placed on the road.

Florida has done much in the past ten years in road construction, and with more than \$6,000,000 in money spent yearly in the construction of a system of State highways, to say nothing of the value of the labor of 800 or more State convicts, Florida can in the near future boast of a splendid system of good public highways.

Under the heavy draft of State prisoners for work on the public roads, the work at the State Farm must of necessity be greatly curtailed. Plans for another year at the State Farm must be made to meet the lessened labor at the Farm.

The honor system for the management of the prisoners at the State Farm has proven that convicts can be treated humanely; that they will respond to good treatment, and that in most cases they will accept trust properly reposed in them.

The prisoners on the roads are nearly all housed in good movable houses, are well fed and clothed, and the management is doing its best to have the various "camps" well officered. Securing capable officers is no easy job. Officers are born and not made, and it sometimes takes many attempts before a camp can be well officered, from warden to guards.

I am sure there is no perfect prison system to be found. It was not perfect three hundred years ago when there were more than one hundred crimes for which the penalty was death, and when men were confined in dungeons and the food given was bread and water.

Florida's prison system is not perfect, but it will compare favorably with the best. False statements and unfair criticisms will not make for better conditions or for a better State prison system.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. Hart: Do you have your honor system for your road convicts?

Mr. MacRae: Only in part. On the road camps our prisoners may be selected and divided into groups and possibly 40 per cent., maybe 50 per cent. of that number can be selected and sent out to work on their honor.

TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 1.

GENERAL SESSION.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRISON ADMINISTRATION.

By WILLIAM H. MOYER, CHAIRMAN.

To the Members of the American Prison Association:

The chairman of your committee on prison administration sent to each member of the committee a list of 14 questions which were believed to cover the field of prison administration. Although the committee consists of 40 members of the association, only 6 answers have been received, so that this report, while it is supposed to present the views of the committee, really represents the consensus of the views of but 7 of its members.

The questions and the views of the committee are as follows:

Question 1.—Describe a proper location for a penal or correctional institution.

Answer.—A penal institution should be a vocational school primarily. It is a workshop devoted to the rehabilitation of the offender against society. It is designed to bring into play every force which will reclaim, and while reclaiming, protect society. A location in the country, on land well adapted for agricultural purposes, including opportunities for the fullest development of the farm, garden and orchard, seems most desirable. Not only is this advisable because of that part of the institution population which will profit by the training on the land, but for the general good of all inmates. A location in the country will mean better and purer air, good sanitation, and possibilities for healthy recreation ordinarily limited elsewhere. The institution should be on the shore of a river or a lake, or conveniently near, partly because of water

supply, although deep wells may be preferable, but also because of the opportunities for swimming and skating, now neglected in penal institutions, which would mean much in the physical regeneration of the inmates. The institution should not be too far from a center of population so that the officers will not feel too isolated; in that they may have opportunity for social change, as well as contact with the cultural side of life, which opportunities are usually much more accessible in the larger community centers. Even though manufacturing be an important factor in the institution, or indeed the dominant one, the country is still preferable, although the problems of accessibility to transportation facilities, to markets, etc., should receive careful consideration.

Question 2.—What buildings are necessary for a complete plant?

Answer.—Besides the service buildings, such as business offices, power plant, kitchens, farm buildings, and such other buildings as are indispensable, there should be a reception building, where inmates can be received and cared for while undergoing investigation as to their physical and mental conditions, and where they can be observed and studied so that they can eventually be placed where best fitted, regard always being had for their future welfare and for the training best suited to bring into play the potential good remaining in them. This building should house the physician, the psychiatrist, the vocational director, the dentist, the oculist, and other specialists. Possibly one cellblock would be adequate, if any cellblock at all is needed, although cottages housing 30 to 40 could be made safe without losing features which make them preferable to cells. There should be opportunities for classification, not in the hard and cold sense, but with reference to the possibilities and capabilities of the inmate.

A modern hospital, suitably equipped for every call that can be made on it, is indispensable. So also are a library and school building, and a gymnasium and drill hall. Perhaps the dominant feature of the entire plant should be a building for divine services. The greatest human need is religion, and no kind of reformation can be effective or lasting without it.

Question 3.—What are your views as to the qualifications, method of selecting, and character of schools for officers of prisons and reformatories?

Answer.—Selection of officers should rest wholly with the responsible head of the institution, and he should be given absolute authority to hire or discharge whenever in his opinion such action is needed. Officials who deal with human lives, who have to do with souls, cannot be selected according to any rule or formula. A fair education, sanity of judgment, a desire to be of service, sympathy without sentimentality, firmness without brutality, temperate in words and deeds, slow to anger, honest, truthful, and a sincere belief in the value of religious training are essential. A school in the institution, where the officers may be given instruction in the details of their work by those who know it, will eventually be installed in every institution, and such a school cannot come too quickly for the good of the service and the welfare of the inmates.

Question 4.—Should industries be exclusively for State's use? What industries do you suggest?

Answer.—Industries in penal institutions must necessarily vary because of the different local needs and conditions. But in any event

those industries should be selected and established which will give the greatest possible vocational training to the inmates. This does not necessarily mean that the industries selected will yield the greatest profit to the State. Altogether too much emphasis is given to the fact that this or that institution is self-supporting. An institution may be self-supporting and still be a foul and festering place of pollution. Whether the industries be confined to the State's use or not, they should be such as will thoroughly train the inmates for some useful vocation after release; to provide him with the ability to earn an honest, respectable living after he again resumes the duties of free citizenship. The practice still existing in some States of selling prison labor to contractors without regard to how the labor is to be used, for a mere fraction of what the labor is really worth, and then enforcing the maximum of human endeavor by inhuman flogging, is an outrage on twentieth century civilization, and the heads of institutions where such practices exist should abolish them at once or quit the service. The great work of real prison men and women, the rebuilding of humanity, should not be marred or belittled by persons whose ideas of prison administration extend no further than flogging helpless men.

Question 5.—On what basis should inmates be graded or classified?

Answer.—Inmates who are found to be mentally and physically sufficient to be classed as "normal," should be graded according to their conduct in prison. The practice of grading inmates according to the number of times convicted, or by the nature of the crime committed, is not fair to the inmate because the court has already taken these things into consideration in passing sentence. Probably the use of different grades for inmates will be abandoned entirely as soon as we are fully convinced that the most rational way of handling inmates effectively is the normal way of handling the same problems outside.

Question 6.—What recreation should be provided for inmates?

Answer.—There is no sound reason why nearly every healthful recreation accessible to persons outside should not be allowed in penal institutions, subject, of course, to the propriety and adaptability of the form of recreation to institutional life. The physical sports of the gymnasium and of the athletic field, boxing, wrestling, running, baseball, handball, pushball, volleyball, swimming, skating, all properly supervised and directed, will make cleaner and better men and women, body and soul. There should also be opportunity for community singing, and much good can be obtained from well-chosen moving pictures. Dramatic clubs are of much value, especially when linked up with literary societies and Chautauqua circles. Frequent instructive and entertaining lectures should be provided, with strong effort to enlist the services of judges and attorneys as speakers. This would not only interest the inmates but would enable the court officers to become better acquainted with conditions with which they should be, but very rarely are, familiar. Many of the sports and recreations recommended for men are also suitable for women inmates and for them can be added those which are not so vigorous.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are speaking of sports and recreations, of something to relieve the monotony of idle moments after the work of the day is over. We are not suggesting anything that will interfere with the performance of an honest day's work, which we

believe should be required of every inmate who is mentally and physically capable.

Question 7.—What elementary and vocational schools should be provided?

Answer.—The workshops of an institution, which should be in fact its vocational schools, should be co-ordinated with its school of letters. Good work in the vocational schools is as much entitled to favorable recognition as is proficiency in English or other branches. These schools should be conducted with equal care and the records preserved and made a part of the institutional record of an applicant for parole or pardon. No inmate should be paroled from an institution until he can read, write and speak the English language understandingly, and show by his vocational school record that he is qualified in some branch of mechanics to make an honest living. Among crafts of the greatest value for this purpose are the woodworking trades, machine-shop and foundry work, the trades concerned in construction work, carpentry, masonry, bricklaying, painting, printing, plumbing, steamfitting, and the like. Unless an institution can turn out into the world men and women better fitted to successfully meet the demands for useful and law-abiding citizens than they were when it received them, it is a failure to the extent that it has failed in individual cases. We wish to impress upon those within hearing who are endeavoring earnestly and conscientiously to administer their institutions properly and successfully, that in the light of time and eternity your success will not be measured by the amount of money you turn into the State treasury, but by the number of men and women you have rebuilt into the beings God intended them to be.

Question 8.—Do you favor inmate organizations? Explain what kind.

Answer.—The views of the Committee were hopelessly divided on this subject, ranging from a rather free hand in the organization of inmates to the suppression of every kind of inmate organizations. Each member was undoubtedly expressing the views which experience taught him, which, of course, took no account of difference in institutions or the attitude of those in authority. We believe that inmate organizations for the purpose of recreation, or religious worship should be encouraged and given considerable freedom of action. Under no circumstances should inmate organizations be allowed to interfere with the administration of purely prison affairs, or in the administration of disciplinary matters. Inmates can generally be relied upon to help in those matters which are intended for their education, recreation, and amusement, and it is a wise superintendent who avails himself of this powerful influence, but to place inmates in positions of authority before they have learned to control themselves, is worse than folly. There should be a well-defined path of duty for the officer to follow in the relations between the institution and its inmates, and no organization of inmates should be permitted to interfere with the faithful and humane discharge of these duties. Inmate organizations can, with safety, be permitted to exercise authority over, and take jurisdiction of, those things which they provide, and to deprive members of privileges provided by the organizations, but under no circumstances should they be permitted to take any action in any individual case which would result in punishment or otherwise injure the prison standing or prison records of an individual prisoner.

Great care must be exercised in the selection of officers or leaders in inmate organizations. The theory of reproducing the wholesome outside atmosphere fails to take into consideration the constant unsocial atmosphere of the prison. The petty politician, the unscrupulous agitator, the so-called ward healer, finds his prototype in the prison, and these, with clever and cunning parasites, become the real power in inmate organizations and unless they are curbed in their designs the whole force of the organizations will be used to further their personal ends. The superintendent must take the responsibility of seeing that this undesirable class does not get control of the situation.

Question 9.—What are your views on compensation for prison labor?

Answer.—The Committee is unanimous in the opinion that the labor of prisoners should be compensated fairly, in accordance with its relative worth. The kind, quality and quantity of prison labor, together with its relative efficiency as compared with normal outside labor of a similar kind, must always be the measure of the amount of compensation paid or credited to the prisoner's account. Paying wages for labor is purely and simply a business proposition and has nothing whatever to do with the sentimental side of prison life. The State which deprives a man of his liberty for cause is justified from every angle, but the State which confiscates his labor and thus deprives his dependents of what may be their only means of living, is not justified, and indirectly is the cause of driving his children into waywardness, delinquency and crime. The State can do no wrong to society by paying its derelicts a reasonable wage for honest and useful labor.

Question 10.—Mention privileges that can be safely granted to inmates.

Answer.—The granting of privileges is for the purpose of encouragement or reward, and they are either special or general. Great care must always be taken in the granting of special privileges to see that no foundation is laid for a charge of favoritism, as well as to have it generally understood why the privilege was granted. Special privileges are always a source of danger to the administration that can be wisely avoided, hence the granting of such privileges should not be resorted to when other means can reach the same end. General privileges, that is, those privileges which are given to all inmates under the same conditions, can be granted liberally with very little menace to the administration. Participation in sports and athletics, in community songs, writing and reading privileges; opportunity to purchase or receive articles of clothing, fruit, candy, books, newspapers and magazines, tobacco, and similar things, are or can be made powerful aids to administration. Be stingy with special privileges and prodigal with general privileges.

Question 11.—Should a different uniform be used to designate the different grades of inmates? If so, what do you suggest?

Answer.—Happily the days of the multicolored uniforms are passing. Since what we are constantly striving for is normality, we can find no sufficient reason for any regulation uniform in a penal or correctional institution. The uniform may have a value for dress-parade purposes, but it is not normal for civilians to wear uniforms, and when we remember that we are trying to make good citizens out of bad material, we do not see the helpfulness of the uniform.

Question 12.—What methods of punishments do you favor?

Answer.—Punishment should always be the natural and logical sequence of the offense. It should never have the appearance of hate or vindictiveness, and should always fall far short of full and complete justice. In no case should the punishment be more severe than is necessary to bring the offender to mental and physical subjection to the reasonable regulations of the institution and to the officers. No one will more quickly recognize the justice or injustice of punishment than the inmates themselves, and nothing can do more injury to good institutional feeling than the imposing of unjust or ill-considered punishment.

Flogging and similar methods of brutal punishment have no place in the category of punishments in civilized institutions. We hesitate to characterize such methods in the manner they deserve, because we do not generally use that kind of language, but we can say that no superintendent or warden who has the love of God in his heart and sincerely believes in the fellowship of man, will ever permit the use of the strap or the bludgeon in his institution.

Question 13.—Do you believe in the utility of any so-called honor system? Explain it.

Answer.—What has come to be known as "honor system" is, in fact, nothing more or less than a practical demonstration of faith in the triumph of good over evil, and is, therefore, as old as the human race. Some heads of institutions have gone farther in this than others have, and have had excellent results, but we can see no general rule controlling this faith. Any system which teaches men and women self-respect, and proper respect for the rights of others and for the law, should receive the hearty approval of those in authority. A system which does not do this is not conducive to the welfare of either the institution or the inmates.

Question 14.—What are your views as to a balanced ration?

Answer.—The balanced ration, that is, the ration which is so balanced in its constituents as to meet the requirements of the body and maintain a normal condition, has come to be one of the most important details of institution management. In its normal daily functions the body consumes or burns certain elements, such as protein, fat, carbohydrates, etc., and the balanced ration is one which will supply these elements in the proportion of consumption. The proper mingling of these elements in food is as important as the proper elements in air and water. This is now conceded generally, and the really progressive institution is that where the balanced ration is ascertained and supplied with almost mathematical precision.

The prison administrator is at all times confronted by a most difficult task. His is the constant duty to determine and preserve the welfare of society, of the institution, and of the inmate. To properly perform this duty requires a person of unfaltering integrity and sound judgment; who is calmly courageous, of kindly disposition and, more than all else, a person with enough of the spirit of God in his nature to refuse to measure the welfare of human beings by the mercenary standard of dollars and cents. Such persons are indeed very

rare, but they do exist, and when one is found he should be beyond the reach of politicians and gangsters, who have sufficient honor to want to pay their debts but are not particular as to how they shall be paid.

To the individual prison administrator we wish to say: Study the situation in your institution until you know the conditions as you know yourself, and then have the courage to install or establish those things which are found necessary to make your institution an humane university for the rebuilding and upbuilding of society's moral outcasts. And may the Wise Father give you the strength and wisdom necessary for your work.

A STUDY OF PAROLE LAWS AND METHODS IN THE UNITED STATES.

By E. R. CASS.

In the course of the last eight years, during which I have been a member of the staff of the Prison Association of New York, perhaps no more confusing matter has presented itself to the many American and foreign students of our prisons, who have sought information from the Association, than those features of our American penal discipline called the "indeterminate sentence" and "parole." There has repeatedly come to such inquirers the bewildering disclosure that each State has its own methods of administering the indeterminate sentence and of practicing parole. In particular it has been borne strikingly in upon us, in the New York Prison Association in seeking to clarify the abundant but confused information of such bodies as the Prussian Prison Commission in 1913, the East Indian Jail Commission in 1919, the Norwegian Commission in 1921, the Canadian Commission in 1921, and others that a summarization of present practices in the administration of both the indeterminate sentence and parole would be beneficial not only to us, but, we have believed, to others.

It has been my privilege to make this study, and my belief has grown that the assembling of present laws, of present procedure, and of comment upon existing methods will serve a good purpose. Tonight I can read only a small portion of the rich material available. This paper and the somewhat comprehensive appendix will be distributed after the meeting to all members of the Prison Congress.

Until fairly late in the nineteenth century the system was in general practice in the courts of placing entirely upon the

presiding judge the responsibility of determining the duration of sentence, although the guilt of the defendant, in cases of arraignment for more serious crime, was usually determined by a jury. The period of imprisonment was fixed, and definite, and was intended, by the law, to be proportionate to the gravity of the crime. The basic theory underlying all such sentences was, of course, that the gravity of the crime, in its relation to society, was measurable in terms of time to be served within prison. Prior to the existence of State prisons, such gravity of crime was measurable mainly in terms of corporal punishment, mutilations and capital punishment. Gradually, the infliction of public punishments, mutilations and torture grew rarer, and the infliction of imprisonment for severe crimes and misdemeanors increased. Capital punishment survived in some States until as late as 1806 for the severest crimes.

But, in time, through the nineteenth century, dissatisfaction with the traditional system of hard and fast penalties developed. The feeling grew, in the course of time, that the object of punishment was not solely retributive, but also for the reformation of the offender. The penalty should be adjusted not only to the offense but to the individual offender. Variation in the temperament and attitude of judges resulted too often and too flagrantly in an inequality of sentences that naturally created a feeling of injustice in the minds not only of the prisoners themselves but of the more intelligent public. It was recognized that no judge, however fully acquainted with the history of a prisoner, his heredity, his physical and mental history, his idiosyncrasies and temperament, could arrive at a true determination of the exact sentence that should be imposed on a given prisoner for a given offense—and such information was, moreover, not lodged with the judge—and until most recent years, would hardly have been demanded by a judge.

Hence, there developed in the nineteenth century, first a movement for the commutation of sentence for good behavior, and then, in the sixties of the century, a stronger and more advanced movement for the establishment of the indeterminate sentence. As far back as the thirties of the nineteenth century, in the then frontier State of Tennessee, two days a month of reduction in sentences were given for good conduct in the State prison, at the discretion of the warden, but—and this is a provision that will perhaps strike a sympathetic chord in some hearts here tonight—the same warden was authorized to lengthen by five days in a month the sentence

of the prisoner who conducted himself with flagrant impropriety.

We are not tonight, however, considering the principle of the commutation of sentence, but of the indeterminate sentence, so-called, and so we pass immediately to a working definition of the indeterminate sentence, which is a sentence based on the theory that the detention of the prisoner can (1) not be adequately determined by the court at the time of sentence, and (2) that the detention within the prison of the prisoner should be sufficiently long to measure the probability and progress of his reformation and rehabilitation, and at the same time allow for a period of conditional release before the expiration of his maximum period of confinement as prescribed by law.

The first practical application of the principle of the indeterminate sentence seems to have occurred in Michigan, in 1867, when at the request of Zebulon R. Brockway, then the well-known superintendent of the Detroit House of Correction, a law was passed in that State providing specifically that although a prostitute might be sentenced to imprisonment for as long as three years, the inspector of prisons should have authority to release her at an earlier date, on being assured of her desire and fitness to lead a better life. In 1869, in the State of New York, was passed the law establishing the New York State Reformatory at Elmira. In this law was embodied a most advanced form of indeterminate sentence, although the original intention of the proponents of the new reformatory system to endeavor to secure an absolutely indeterminate sentence as a part of the reformatory system was abandoned.

The Elmira legislation was directly inspired by the great success of the so-called English and Irish systems of penal servitude, which provided for the progressive classification of inmates, in gradations from strict solitary confinement to relative freedom on ticket-of-leave, the prototype of our American "parole." In 1877, Mr. Brockway, then the newly appointed superintendent of the new reformatory, induced the legislature to enact a law, limiting the authority of the courts in the State to the sole function of committing the convicted defendant to Elmira Reformatory, and empowering, on the other hand, the board of managers of the reformatory to fix, at their discretion, a minimum period of imprisonment, said minimum to be of course in no case longer than the maximum prescribed by law, for the offense committed. In time, through succeeding decades, other States established

reformatories, and enacted laws similar to the original New York laws.

There are, however, wide variations in the manner and degree of the application of the principles of the indeterminate sentence. It will perhaps clarify our understanding tonight, to note that it often occurs that one form of indeterminate sentence will be applicable by law, to the State prison, another to the State reformatory and still another to the State reform school. We find, in the State of New York for instance, not only the above conditions, but also, in addition, different and specific indeterminate laws applying to the biggest municipal prison system in the world, that of New York City. No wonder foreign visitors are confused—if such variety exists in one State alone out of the forty-eight!

There are certain facts however, that can be posted at once. There is no such thing as a complete indeterminate sentence in any of the States applicable to the sentencing of responsible persons convicted of crime. There is no Federal indeterminate sentence statute of similar completeness. Whether there should be a Federal and complete indeterminate sentence law is not only a debatable but a constitutional question, and will not be discussed here. In the matter of individual States, it is clear that the legislatures have always been unwilling to give to any court or board authority for unlimited detention in prison. Hence, every so-called indeterminate sentence has a definite limitation as to the longest period for which a convicted person may be imprisoned. Therefore, whenever any of us hear the term "indeterminate sentence," we should in practice conceive of a sentence, indeterminate within minimum and maximum limits, the minimum sometimes being absent, and the maximum prescribed by law.

The minimum and the maximum of sentences is fixed in the statutes in connection with the crime for which the person has been convicted, but many States exclude from the operation of the indeterminate sentence certain offenses such as murder, treason, arson, rape, kidnapping and crimes against nature. In some States, only first offenders (in the legal sense) may receive an indeterminate sentence, whereas in other States, this method may be extended to second and even third offenders. There are States where the imposition of an indeterminate sentence is optional with the committing judge or the jury.

Let me give several characteristic examples of laws em-

bodilying the indeterminate sentence. Time will permit only of a few:

New York.—Three different types of indeterminate sentence laws are in vogue. Elmira Reformatory receives male offenders between 16 and 30 years of age convicted for the first time of a felony and for the second time of a misdemeanor. Felons may be detained for the maximum period laid down in the Penal Code for the specific offense, but no minimum is prescribed, and the Board of Managers has full power to release a prisoner at any time it sees fit. The maximum in the case of misdemeanants is three years. As a matter of practice, the Board has established a system of marking which is the principal factor in deciding when a prisoner is eligible for parole. The minimum period qualifying for release is a little over 12 months. The average time at which prisoners are actually paroled is about 14 months. In some instances prisoners are held longer.

The indeterminate sentence, as it applies to those committed to a State prison is as follows: "A person never before convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment in a State prison, who is convicted in any court in this State of a felony other than murder, first or second degree, and sentenced to a State prison, shall be sentenced thereto under an indeterminate sentence, the minimum of which shall not be less than one year, or in case a minimum is fixed by law, not less than such minimum; otherwise the minimum of such sentence shall not be more than one-half the longest period and the maximum shall not be more than the longest period fixed by law for which the crime is punishable of which the offender is convicted."

At the expiration of the minimum period, less time allowance for good conduct, a prisoner serving an indeterminate sentence may be paroled. The usual practice is to parole prisoners at the expiration of the minimum period. Paroles are decided by the Board of Parole, which consists of two salaried members and the Superintendent of Prisons, ex-officio. There are three parole officers, but the actual supervision of those on parole is conducted by organizations co-operating with the Board of Parole. The parole period is usually one year, except for those whose sentence was commuted, or who were committed for murder second degree, for which cases the parole period is usually two years. The Parole Board, of course, can keep a prisoner on parole until the expiration of his maximum sentence.

A recent amendment to the law provides that prisoners released after serving a definite sentence, shall be placed in the custody of the Parole Board for the period of time which was deducted from their sentence for good behavior.

The third kind of indeterminate sentence law operating in the State is based upon the law of 1915, which is applicable to all cities of the first class in the State, but has so far only been actually applied to New York City. This relates to persons sentenced to imprisonment in any penitentiary, workhouse, or reformatory in a city of the first class. In the case of the reformatory and penitentiary every sentence is for an indefinite term, subject to a maximum of three years, while in the case of the workhouse, the sentence may be indeterminate, and, if so, is subject to a maximum of two years. The Parole Commission has absolute discretion to release a prisoner from a reformatory or workhouse at any time after the commencement of the sentence, but it is required to first send to the committing judge notice of the time and place of the meet-

ing at which the case will be disposed of so as to give him an opportunity to express an opinion or make a suggestion regarding its disposal. In the case of prisoners committed to a penitentiary, the Parole Board may similarly, at any time, make a recommendation in favor of parole to the committing judge, but his approval in writing is necessary before such recommendation becomes effective. This law, it will be noticed in some ways, more closely approaches a true indeterminate sentence than that in force in most parts of the country. There is no special maximum fixed by the statute or by the court for each offense, but merely the general maximum of two years for all offenses in the case of an inmate of a workhouse, and of three years in the case of an inmate of a reformatory or penitentiary; nor is there any minimum. The Parole Board can release a prisoner on the day after the sentence is passed, provided that in the case of an inmate of a penitentiary the sanction of the committing judge is obtained. The Parole Commission consists of three salaried members and two ex-officio members, namely, the Commissioner of the Department of Correction and the Police Department; there is also a paid secretary and a large staff of parole officers. The three paid commissioners are appointed by the mayor of the city and are required by law to give full-time service. The parole officers are appointed from a civil service list by the commissioners.

Georgia.—Pursuant to the law, the jury fixes the minimum and maximum term of a sentence for all convictions for a felony, except for crimes involving life sentence or death. The law prescribes further that the Prison Commission shall adopt rules under which prisoners, who have served the minimum time, may be released on parole. Under the rules adopted by the Prison Commission, second offenders are placed in Class B, and third offenders are placed in another class and are required to serve a maximum sentence.

Nebraska.—Has an indeterminate sentence law, the imposition of which is left to the discretion of the court, which permits first offenders to be released on parole at the expiration of their minimum sentence. Paroled men may be discharged by the Parole Board at any time after six months on parole. By a recent amendment to the indeterminate sentence law, persons who have been previously convicted of a felony, are excluded from the benefits of the law and likewise those convicted of crimes of violence or attempts at crimes of violence against the person.

Utah.—Indeterminate sentence law for all felonies except treason and various homicides.

Law makes no distinction *between a first offender and a repeater*. A parole of any offender, aside from murder, first degree, is *permissible at any time at the option of the Board of Pardons*. A prisoner convicted of first degree murder must serve at least 15 years and then four members of the board must give consent to his parole. Paroled prisoner is in the legal custody and control of the *Warden and Board of Pardons*. Board can have him reimprisoned at any time, prior to the expiration of the maximum sentence.

By what shall the indeterminate sentence and the administration of parole be judged? Is there any yardstick, so to speak, of its results, or success? Rightly or not, the success of a correctional institution is supposed to be estimated by

the percentage of so-called reformatations it can achieve—or can announce. And, for the proof of success, the institution cites the percentage of successful parole periods, passed by inmates released on such parole.

Can the correctional institution be fairly judged by the after-careers of its inmates? With no choice as to the reception of inmates, shall the institution be held wholly responsible for the subsequent careers of all released inmates, without exception? Or should a certain percentage of failures be allowed, for instance, for what might be called "moral depreciation," after which the residue percentage should be judged?

This is no academic question. Persistently, the question is forced by candid students and observers upon American institutions as to their "results" in terms of the after-careers of inmates. The severest reproach in many ways, made as to American institutions by foreign observers—and they are frequent—is that we have no adequate scientifically presented and candid parole statistics extending beyond the limited period of parole, which is held to be no thorough-going test. Six months, or a year, is declared to be no full or determining test.

What knowledge, general or specific, is available regarding post-prison careers, as showing whether imprisonment under present methods is in general a cure for crime? Reformatories and prisons often claim from 65 per cent. to 95 per cent. of so-called reformatations. The indeterminate sentence has been in operation in this country, in relatively rapidly increasing forms, for almost a half century. Surely it was time that it could be tested in some form or other. And in these days, when an increasing number of accusations are made that the indeterminate sentence and parole are failures, and that a more repressive system, together with materially lengthened sentences, should be instituted, it is not only desirable but necessary that we know frankly, and with reasonable certainty, where we stand.

In an effort to obtain whatever data now available on this subject, the writer addressed a questionnaire to the warden or superintendent of every State prison and reformatory in this country, and in many instances a second copy of the questionnaire was sent, giving all officials every opportunity to present all their available information, statistical or otherwise, relative to paroled or discharged inmates. Let us somewhat carefully define the meaning of "parole."

Parole is the post-prison period of supervision of an inmate by duly constituted authorities. Parole becomes opera-

tive at different periods of a sentence, in accordance with the requirements of the law, or the rules of the governor or of the parole board in each State. In some States a prisoner may be conditionally released at the expiration of the minimum sentence; in others, at the expiration of one-half or one-third of the sentence; in a few, immediately upon his admission to the institution, and in some by the governor, who not only has the power to pardon or to commute a sentence, but is also the only one to determine, usually upon the recommendation of a warden, a board, or a State attorney, the time and length of parole. The length of the parole period varies from six months to one year, in some States extending however, until the expiration of the maximum sentence. In the State of Michigan the parole period can not exceed four years. The Attorney-General in the State of Kentucky has ruled that the State Board of Charities and Corrections retains indefinitely the right to return a parole violator, also that the power of the Board to return a paroled convict to prison, is not lost by reason of the fact that the acts constituting the cause of return may have been committed by the prisoner after the expiration of the period during which he is required by the terms of his parole, to report to the board. This in practice is tantamount to life jurisdiction by the board, unless a pardon is granted by the governor.

To return now to the results of our questionnaire. Certain definite facts have been gained from the answers. The one outstanding fact—a fact of the utmost significance—is that one institution of all those replying to the questionnaire—70 out of 103, could submit with any degree of accuracy, information as to the careers of former inmates for a period of 2 or 3 years subsequent to the completion of the parole period. It is fair to assume that those institutions that did not answer could not give light in this matter, for they naturally would if they could.

Permit me to cite some typical answers and information obtained from reports. The report of one parole officer, from Arizona, included the following:

"For the year ending June 30, 1921, 8 men returned for a new sentence; 3 as parole violators, a total of 11 out 124. While there is a large number listed as not reporting, I have reason to believe that many of them have left the State and are not likely to be the cause of any further trouble or expense thereto."

A parole officer writes from California:

"I am sorry that I am unable to give you any reliable statistics showing subsequent careers of persons who have completed their paroles.

We have never made any effort to keep track of prisoners after they have completed their term of parole, for it is almost impossible to do so. I have noticed during the time that I have been parole officer in this State that a few men who have made good on parole have been returned to prison in this State under new sentences, but undoubtedly some others have wandered away from this State after making good on parole here, and got prison sentences in other States. Information on the latter, of course, is not available at this office. To give you statistics on the number who returned to prison both in this and other States, would be pure guess work, so I cannot give you any reliable data on the careers of parole prisoners after the expiration of their period of parole."

It is fair to mention that this State apparently has a good system of records and supervision of men while on parole.

A warden writes from Idaho that there are no adequate funds for a parole officer and that he has taken over most of the work. He has no records of careers after parole. From Maine comes the information that although the parole law has been in operation since 1913, there was no parole officer prior to October, 1918, and that there is no reliable information as to what becomes of men after parole.

The Texas Board of Pardon Advisers in their report to the Governor for the year ending December 31, 1918, state in part as follows:

"It has been our observation and we have had much practical evidence before us that during the past year the principal motive that has impelled an application for the parole of convicts has been to a large extent selfish. The object has been to obtain able-bodied men who are capable of rendering good service, either as a farm laborer or as a mechanic, at comparatively speaking a low compensation. The longer the term the convict has to serve the more desirable he is to the applicant for parole. We have had frequent letters from men under parole stating that they are overworked and asking in some cases that they be returned to the penitentiary, if they cannot be paroled to someone else or granted a pardon. Some claim they are not paid for their services as agreed upon, others, that they are not given sufficient food. How much truth may be in these complaints we have not been in a position to determine. There have been several cases where the party paroling the prisoner has ceased exercising control of the convict and this fact has come to light by mere accident. On December 31, 1918, there were, according to the prison records at Huntsville, 137 men at large under parole; 29 of whom were on parole prior to the time Your Excellency became Governor. Of these 29, the oldest parole is dated November 15, 1905. With but few exceptions the prisoners who are on parole are Mexicans and negroes, and there seems to be no record to the contrary but what these men have been in service in some cases for many, many years for a very small consideration, in some cases as low as eight dollars per month. Nearly all of the above mentioned 29 paroles are of prisoners who were convicted of murder and had served, with but few exceptions, many years in the penitentiary before being paroled. The monthly report that is required to be made by each paroled man is not made to the Board of Pardon Advisers, but sometimes it goes to the executive

office and sometimes to the Prison Commission. Unless a paroled man commits some violation of the law, or commits a breach of his parole, but little attention is given him, consequently it is not known where many of these men are, or under whose care they may be, if under anyone. This is a very imperfect system and we call the attention of Your Excellency to it, in order that there may be a better arrangement made to safeguard the welfare of the man who is paroled. Without a very close and careful surveillance of the men, who are paroled, their condition may become one that would almost amount to slavery."

A parole Commissioner from Massachusetts writes:

"There are not available statistics showing subsequent careers after parole, and such information is not considered vital."

The impression given is that the only object is to get the person through the parole period satisfactorily. The conduct of the man after that is apparently not to be considered a reflection on the work of the institution from which he was paroled, or on the work of the parole staff.

From Elmira Reformatory comes the statement that a study was made of 16,000 inmates who had been on parole. This is the most exhaustive and pretentious study of which we have learned. Only those who had received their final release and who had no previous criminal history that was known to the institution, were counted as successful. But no questionnaire was used in making this study, and apparently no country-wide inquiry was directed to prisons, reformatories, or bureaus of information. The conclusion that 67 per cent. of the number paroled were "making good" was drawn completely from the records on the books of the institution.

Another State, West Virginia, estimated that, judging by the small number returned to the institution, at least 95 per cent. of the men paroled go straight. But, of course, it is exactly this kind of statement that seems inadequate in any careful study of the parole problem.

From the Kansas Industrial Reformatory comes the following:

"At the time a final discharge is given, we have no way of knowing what becomes of the boys from then on. While we know that some of them enter other prisons after this time, we cannot tell how many. If your Association could outline a plan to us for obtaining this information, and a method for keeping the record, it would indeed be a great service."

Let us pass to another inherent weakness of many parole systems, namely, the inadequate number of parole officers. At the Joliet Prison in Illinois, there were, until recently,

only 8 parole officers to supervise 2,000 released prisoners, and though an increase to 20 has now been sanctioned, even that number seems hardly adequate. What shall we think of the proportion of one parole officer to 100 persons at both the Michigan City Prison of Indiana and the San Quentin Prison of California, since that is a handicap that must necessarily reduce the benefits of post-release care, and does not give the parole system a fair chance to prove its potential effectiveness.

But in my own State, the official parole supervision of the four State prisons is limited actually to three men! These officers simply do not exercise supervision over paroled men, but instead keep records within the institution. They act as transfer agents, also, and consult with men prior to release. And the parole work on approximately one thousand three hundred prisoners in the Empire State is actually done by outside organizations such as the Prison Association of New York, the Catholic Protective Society, the Salvation Army, the Jewish Protective Society and others without compensation from the State.

Another matter that seriously affects the operation of the indeterminate sentence and the parole system is the relative shortness in most instances of the period during which a released inmate is held on parole. Formerly, the parole period from Elmira Reformatory was only six months. This has been increased to one year, and again, recently, for some cases, to two years. It was found that some of the prisoners relapsed into crime immediately upon receiving their final discharge. Therefore, the superintendent increased the parole period in order to continue the restraining influence, which apparently exists in parole supervision.

Again, the composition of parole boards has much to do with the proper administration of the indeterminate sentence. The boards, some paid, and others not, are usually appointed by the Governor of the State and there is always the danger and the possibility that political preference may influence the selection of the members. These boards have been found to be made up of farmers, merchants, journalists, bankers, many of whom are unfamiliar with criminal jurisprudence, and usually without experience or any previous acquaintance with the principles of penology. The duties of the parole board are of infinite importance. The community looks to the parole board to decide upon the fitness of a man for release from prison. Therefore, there is every need of men of a high grade of intelligence, understanding, and experience. If the one

important qualification for appointment to a parole board or commission is purely political, the efficiency of such a board must necessarily be doubted, and the confidence of prison inmates in such a board is badly shaken.

Another feature in the operation of the law which is frequently referred to as a serious weakness is the tendency to automatic release at the expiration of the minimum sentence. This practice unquestionably is contrary to the main purpose of the law and reverts to the old principle of the straight sentence. The commission appointed in the State of New Jersey to investigate the reformatory and correctional institutions of that State, wrote as follows:

"The inmate of the State Prison regards the minimum sentence imposed by the court as his actual sentence. The maximum sentence prescribed has no meaning for him. This is equally the attitude of the prison authorities. If they think at all of the purpose of the law—to keep the wrongdoer in confinement until he has become a new man and has ceased to be a menace to the community—they ignore it or assume that the negative attitude of passive obedience to prison rules is sufficient evidence of reformation."

It is not my purpose this evening, to discredit the indeterminate sentence, nor to speak disparagingly of the efforts of the many persons throughout the country, who are conscientiously working for the welfare of the prisoner. I am principally concerned, and I know that there are many others, first, with the need of administering the indeterminate sentence more fully in accordance with the spirit of the law, so as to obtain its maximum benefits, both for society and the prisoner; secondly, with the importance of knowing, other than by guess work or opinion, the post-parole careers of former prisoners.

To trace the after-careers of prisoners, two methods are suggested: The first is that an intensive study be made in such States as California, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois and Indiana, of the conduct of former inmates who have been released, from parole custody, for a period of five or ten years. The American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology has long urged that such a study be made, and, at the time of this writing, has hopes that, through a financial pledge from the Carnegie Corporation, it will soon be in a position to undertake the same. In 1912, the New York Prison Association, with the financial aid of the Russell Sage Foundation, expended thousands of dollars in making a study of former Elmira inmates. This study was seriously handicapped by the inability of the investigators to locate

many of the released prisoners. Likewise, any similar study will meet with the same difficulties. Therefore, it is my firm belief that we shall never be able to determine with any reasonable accuracy, the results of the indeterminate sentence and parole until there is established a system whereby every penal institution in this country will be required to file with a central Federal bureau, duplicate copies of the records of its inmates.

There was created, some years ago, by special act of Congress, a Bureau of Criminal Identification. This bureau is under the Department of Justice and is located at Leavenworth, Kansas, although not a part of the prison at that place. Federal institutions only are required to send duplicate records to the bureau. Other institutions, bureaus, etc., do so voluntarily, and only in special cases. Here is the nucleus for a national governmental bureau of criminal statistics and information. Its use by all penal institutions should be made mandatory. At the end of five years, subsequent to the setting in operation of a system of exchange of records between the State institutions and the central Federal bureau, we would be in a position, in making a study of the operation of the indeterminate sentence and parole in any State, to learn, with accuracy, the number of former inmates of an institution who have reverted to crime. With this number known, there will then exist the only fair and sound basis upon which to register results.

Dr. Hart: I desire to remark upon the extraordinary quality of this paper we have just listened to. Those of us who have been familiar with the subject of paroles realize what a paucity there has been of any reliable information on this subject. You will discover from this paper how difficult it is to get this information, and we have here a starting point.

I wish to congratulate Mr. Cass upon this very valuable paper and I hope that every one here will possess themselves with a copy for future reference.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 2.

BUSINESS MEETING.

The President: The first order of business is to be balloting for the officers of the Association.

The President: The Chair has appointed three tellers, Mr. McClellan, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Smith of Maryland, who will pass the ballots.

Mr. Bates: Before this ballot is entirely marked, I would like to say a word, if I may. I am going to ask your permission to withdraw my name which appears on this list of Vice-Presidents from those candidates from Massachusetts.

Mr. Byers: I believe I am right that the Vice-Presidents are not ex-officio members of the Board of Directors; that they do not sit with the Board, but may have by courtesy during the past year, but the Vice-Presidents have heretofore not been considered members of the Board of Directors.

The President: It was simply by courtesy that they were permitted to sit with the Board of Directors. Ex-Presidents are the only ex-officio members of the Board of Directors.

The Secretary: I think you are wrong, Mr. President. Article 2. The officers of the Association shall be a President, five Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, and a Board of Directors not exceeding 30 in number, of which the officers above named and the ex-Presidents shall be ex-officio.

The President: While the tellers are collecting the ballots we will proceed with the regular business. The first will be the report of the Committee on Organization. Mr. O'Brien are you ready to report?

Mr. Thomas C. O'Brien: Your Committee on Organization herewith submits the following recommendations:

The Committee recommends that the Committee on Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents be discontinued for the coming year; the work of this Committee to be covered by the Auxiliary Association of Juvenile Agencies.

To further simplify the organization and shorten the program, we further recommend that the Committee on Prison Administration and on Prison Architecture be combined under a former Committee known as the Committee on Public Control and Supervision.

A new Committee on Community Agencies and Delinquency is proposed, the same to embrace, among other sub-

jects, the field of this year's Committee on Misdemeanants and Prisoners Awaiting Court Action.

Your Committee has nominated only about two-thirds of the personnel of each Committee, leaving it to the Chairman and members to supply other desired additions. It is suggested in this connection that only a certain portion of new names be added each year, both to these Committees and to the organization of each Auxiliary Association, in order that there may be a continuing body of experienced and established workers.

The Committee commends the practice of Auxiliary Associations and section meetings in presenting sound and settled conclusions to the general body of the Prison Congress in the form of resolutions, and suggests that encouragement be given to such formulation of definite views.

In response to what seems to be a general feeling of the need of more time to digest and discuss papers, the Committee recommends to the Program Committee that not over four section meetings be held at the same time; that these section meetings be held from 9.15 to 11.15 a.m.; that a general session be held from 11.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m., and that the afternoon be left free for special meetings and other purposes.

We further suggest a combined program of the Prison Physicians and the Association of Clinical Criminologists as the medical and scientific section of the American Prison Association.

It was moved and carried unanimously by this Committee that the former custom of the Association, of having an annual sermon of the Prison Congress be restored.

It is further recommended that the annual memorial service for deceased members be discontinued, and that a Committee be appointed to prepare a suitable memorial statement for publication in the Proceedings of the Congress.

THOMAS C. O'BRIEN, chairman,
MISS MAUDE MINER,
MRS. FANNIE FRENCH MORSE,
DR. KENOSHA SESSIONS,
CHARLES E. BLANEY,
F. EMORY LYON,
CHAS. E. VASALY,
LEWIS E. LAWES,
HASTINGS H. HART.

The President: You have heard the report of the Committee, what will you do?

A Speaker: Move the report be accepted.

Dr. Butler: Mr. Chairman, I suppose it would be proper if we consider these in sections—one, the recommendations as to policy, and the other the personnel of the committee. Therefore, I make a motion to the effect.

A Speaker: Second it.

The President: You have heard the motion. Any remarks? All in favor say aye. Contrary, no. The motion is carried.

Dr. Butler: Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to ask a question. I notice the proposal to combine certain committees, and in that was also the proposal to combine certain organizations, such as the Prison Physicians and the American Institute of Clinical Criminology. They are separate organizations, and I am wondering if we have the authority to do that.

Mr. O'Brien: That merely is a suggestion of a combined program.

Dr. Butler: I beg your pardon, I misunderstood you.

The Secretary: I would also state for Dr. Butler's information that that suggestion has come from members of both those groups as a desirable thing to do at the next Congress, not a combination of two organizations, but the provision for the medical and scientific section of our program. This year it was difficult to get either of the organizations to make up a program.

The President: Now, Dr. Butler's motion carried, was to the effect that this report be adopted in two sections. Will someone move the adoption of the first section?

Miss Hinkley: I so move.

A Speaker: Second the motion.

The President: Any remarks? All in favor signify by saying aye; contrary, no. The motion is carried.

Dr. Hart: There is one addition I would like to make to the committee on Community Agencies and Delinquency. It has been my intention to ask the Chairman to make that change, but I haven't been able to see the Chairman. I should like to move that Mr. J. R. Nutter be added to that committee.

Mr. Cass: I second that motion.

The President: All in favor signify by saying aye. Motion is carried.

A Speaker: Move the adoption of the second part of the report.

The President: All in favor signify by saying aye. Contrary, no. Carried.

Committee on Time and Place.

The Secretary: I will report for the Committee, that the place chosen was Detroit; the time, preferably between the 18th and 25th of September, and the usual provision which went into effect in the case of Jacksonville that this be conditional upon the raising within a reasonable time, as specified by the Board of Directors, the necessary funds for local purposes and for the carrying on of the Congress.

A Speaker: Move the report be adopted.

A Speaker: Second the motion.

The President: You have heard the motion. Any remarks? All in favor signify by saying aye. So ordered.

The Committee on Resolutions.

The Secretary: Mr. Whittier, Chairman of the Committee, was obliged to go away and he has left this report which is written by himself and adopted by the Committee on Resolutions. No resolution of any kind has come from the floor to the Committee this year and so the resolutions presented here are those of thanks for the courtesies extended to this Congress.

Your Committee on Resolutions respectfully reports as follows:

We recognize that this Congress of the American Prison Association has been one of its best and most enjoyable sessions. That the papers and reports have been uniformly thorough and instructive, the discussions have been carried on in a kindly, helpful way, and that its members have shown a spirit of good will and service for each other that have made the various meetings profitable and pleasant.

The spirit of good-fellowship has been so prevalent and strife and discord so conspicuously absent, that profit and help have come to all and that we will all take with us to our

homes only the kindest feelings for the good people who have made this Congress of our Association what it is.

We recognize that much credit is due to our President for his untiring efforts, his fairness, and his fidelity. Our Secretary, as well as the Board of Directors, has also been active and painstaking and we owe much to them, but in our hearts we cannot help but feel that to the good people of the State of Florida and especially to the citizens of Jacksonville who have so generously showered us with their charming hospitality, catered to our wants in so many ways, said and done so many things in such a whole-souled manner, that really their spirit of Christian hospitality and good will was so contagious that our meeting could not be other than pleasant and successful.

We, therefore, with thankful hearts acknowledge to all our appreciation of the splendid spirit shown by the kind-hearted people of this State and city.

Be it therefore Resolved: That our thanks are due and hereby tendered to the citizens of Florida and of Jacksonville for their generous hospitality. We desire to acknowledge particularly the work of the newspapers of this city for their fair and full reports of our meetings.

To the Woman's Club of Jacksonville we especially acknowledge our indebtedness for its splendid reception and entertainment.

To the Religious Organizations, who placed their Church buildings at our disposal, to the Rotary Club, Kiwanis, and Civitan Clubs, and all other organizations who have contributed to our comfort and pleasure, we make a grateful acknowledgment.

We extend to Warden J. S. Blich our sincere and heartfelt sympathy for the great sorrow that came to him during our sessions. We especially extend to him and his good wife our appreciation and thanks for the splendid reception and entertainment they have given and hope that his sorrow may be tempered by the presence of his countless friends.

Committee

F. A. WHITTIER,
ROBT. POST,
JAMES DEVINE.

May I suggest we add to that thanks to the very many friends of ours in the region around Raiford who tendered us their machines and their own personal service.

Mr. Faulkner: It has been suggested by a number of

members of this Congress that it might be appropriate for this Body with this American standing to send a resolution to the President of the United States, properly worded, approving the Disarmament Congress now being held in Washington. I submit it as a suggestion that has come to me from quite a number of people.

Warden Lawes: I think we ought to stick in our own field and mind our own business.

A Speaker: I agree with Mr. Lawes. I think there are two sides to this question. I do not think we ought to take sides at this time. Let it be debated out there.

The President: What will you do with the report of the Committee on Resolutions?

A Speaker: Move its adoption by a rising vote.

A Speaker: Second the motion.

The President: All in favor signify by rising. Carried.

The report of the Board of Directors to the American Prison Association will be read by Dr. Lewis.

The Secretary: The following report of the Committee of the Board of Directors to the Directors was adopted unanimously and is hereby, as a result, reported to the American Prison Association, as follows:

The undersigned members of your Committee on the revision of Constitution and By-laws respectfully recommend:

First, That in designating our Association the word *Prison* be struck out and the word *Delinquency* inserted so that the title shall appear *American Delinquency Association*.

Second, That the offices of the *General Secretary* and *Financial Secretary* be consolidated and the words *Financial Secretary* be struck out wherever they appear in the Constitution and By-laws.

Third, Regarding the election of officers and Directors let Section 3 of the By-laws read as follows:

"The officers of the Association and elective members of the Board of Directors shall be elected by ballot at the first business session of the annual meeting of the Association on the *second* day preceding the last day of the meeting, and for the purpose of such election, there shall be a business meeting on the said day. The time and place of such election shall be

published in the official program of the Association. No other business shall be presented until disposition has been made of the election of officers. Nominations of elective officers shall be made as follows: Each qualified member of the Association on registration shall receive from the Secretary a blank ballot indicating the offices to be filled at the election, and shall return said ballot not later than 5 o'clock p. m. on the *first* day of the meeting (excluding Sunday) following the opening of the Congress. The tellers shall count the ballots and it shall be the duty of the secretary to prepare from these ballots a ticket on which shall be printed the names of the 3 candidates for each office who shall have received the highest number of votes, if votes have been cast for that number of persons. This printed ballot shall also contain the 25 names receiving the highest number of votes for elective directors. No person shall be eligible for election for any office named herein who is not a qualified member of the Association, and no person shall be regarded as qualified who has not paid annual dues for the current year. *At the first session of the Congress* the President shall appoint 3 tellers who shall count the ballots for nominees and the votes, the result to be declared at the next general or business session following. The person receiving the highest number of votes for each office shall be declared elected." •

CHAS. E. VASALY,
THOMAS C. O'BRIEN,
LEON C. FAULKNER.

Dr. Butler: I presume the purpose of this is simply to give notice that you intend to take action next year?

The Secretary: On the first 2 sections. The third thing read, namely; the change in the method of voting, can be adopted at this meeting.

Dr. Butler: Very well, I move that it be adopted.

Mr. O'Brien: Second the motion.

The President: It is moved and seconded that this section of this report be adopted. All in favor say aye. Opposed no. Carried. Is there any other business to come before the Association?

I want to express my appreciation of the splendid work of Dr. Lewis, the General Secretary of this Conference. I know how hard Dr. Lewis has worked during the past year to make this Congress a success. The last two or three weeks

he has been in Jacksonville and devoted his time entirely to the work here, and also express my appreciation of the support given me by the Board of Directors. Our meetings here, it seems to me, have been a splendid success, well attended, and the program sometimes possibly long, but the members and those attending the meetings have stayed through. There are very few who have gotten up and left the meeting before it adjourned. I want to express my appreciation of the splendid support that has been given the Board of Directors and Dr. Lewis and myself by the members of this Association at this Congress.

Mr. Decatur M. Sawyer: I was elected Treasurer a year ago and found myself the Treasurer with a deficit very soon after. We sent out the call or request for special gifts during the year and it brought us in something over twelve hundred dollars. That enabled us to pull through, and when my debts are paid after this Convention I shall be just where I was a year ago, without money enough in sight to pay for the publication of the book, which is the big item during the next year. Anybody who has any patent way to suggest that being done without asking for more money from the membership, why I should be glad to hear it.

The Secretary: We are slipping each year and we slipped badly last year—I mean a year ago—because we had such a great increase in the cost of the proceedings. Now we are not paying our way. We are falling behind each year and in order that our proceedings should be published at all last year we had to go begging of our members, and I am glad to say from one-third to one-fourth of our members chipped in, as they have at times in the past, and made it possible to publish the proceedings. We had a bid for those proceedings of something like twelve hundred dollars and when the time came to publish them, it cost between six and seven hundred more because the printer had a strike and couldn't go on with the printing. Now this year, Mr. Sawyer says we will have about four hundred dollars in the bank after we have paid what we have to pay. You can figure out where the money is coming from to pay our proceedings. It has been suggested we might get them printed by some institution. The printing is not generally as good, as from a printer, although very good. Colonel Adams printed our Newsletter without cost, except paper, which shows what can be done with a small publication. Unless we can figure out some way of getting considerable money you have got to dig down and make it possible for us

to publish those proceedings. I had thought on Monday or Tuesday evening of this conference, with the spirit we undoubtedly were going to have here, we might do something such as the National Conference of Social Work did two or three years ago and clean up and get enough money ahead so we could go on until such time as we could get a large enough membership. Within two or three years it is hoped we will have a membership of eight or nine hundred or one thousand persons. We can get a larger membership than \$5. We can get a certain number of people to give us \$100, perhaps some in Michigan or Illinois, or develop three classes of membership, the \$5, \$10, or \$25, or have a rally. I am glad to pledge myself to \$25 for the next three years. I am wondering tonight how many will do that same thing, whether you want to have a pledge to put us on some kind of a basis where we will have more money we can command until we can get in a better position than at present. It is entirely up to you, but in some way or other we have to get more money.

The President: Our proceedings this year will cost probably \$500 more than last year. Is there any action you care to take in this matter?

Dr. John Koren: I should like to have the incoming Board of Directors instructed to take the whole financial situation of the Association under consideration and take measures accordingly. Now some of the members mentioned by Dr. Lewis undoubtedly will give us some money, but we need a great deal more. I shall not take time to develop the many things that are required for the Association if it is going to fulfill its mission. It needs an endowment and it can well afford to go ahead and build one. It needs a permanent income so certain definite work can be undertaken and carried on without interruption and without asking where the money will come from. I will mention only one thing. We are absolutely not on the map, to speak in the language of the street, in regard to publications of the matters we are discussing here. Nobody knows unless they happen to be around, and that work alone would require a larger income. I don't think we can decide on ways and means here, but the Board of Directors ought to be instructed to find a way out and to get the plans under way. I make the motion that the Board of Directors be so instructed.

Mr. Cass: Second the motion.

The President: Any further remarks? If not, all in favor signify by saying aye. Contrary, no. So ordered.

Mr. Byers: Are we to have the report on the ballot tonight or will that be postponed until tomorrow?

The Secretary: I think it will be several hours before we get that.

Mr. Byers: While I am on my feet, may I say a word or two? There was a time in the history of this organization years ago and I remember the time when at the last meeting there was a sort of praise service, hallelujah chorus, and general good time. I hope tomorrow night there may be such a closing session as we used to have. If I could be here I should certainly want to take part in such service, but I am going away tomorrow.

I want to say something in regard to the work the Association is doing this year. I think I know something as to the amount of work that has been done by the Secretary of this Association, by the local Committee, and by the local Secretary, Mr. Fagg, and I think possibly more than any other member of the Association I know from work in the past many years what that work has entailed—long hours, hard work in every way. I want to say to you, in my opinion, that work has given us the best meeting of this Association that I recall. For the first time in those 30 years I have been coming to the Prison Congress I have had a good time. I have always had a busy time. I have always had an enjoyable time in a way, but this is the first time I have had a real bully good time, because I have had nothing to do, and I have done it well. Mr. Lewis arranged for a little entertainment tonight. You have all insisted on keeping me quiet, but I was going to have a part in that entertainment, and he notified me today there was nothing doing, and the only way I could get before this Congress is to say what I have. I have had the finest time of any conference I have ever attended of this Association.

THURSDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 3.

WARDENS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Harry L. Hulburt, presiding.

Dr. Valeria Parker: I thought perhaps, although I have not had actual experience as a prison physician, it might perhaps be interesting to point out some of the progress which has been made and may be made in regard to medical treatment in our institutions. I did serve as Secretary of the first Board of Directors of our Connecticut State Farm for Women and know something of the requirements for a prison physician.

In the first place, we are recognizing increasingly that the administration of the prison, while it must do what is expected of it in the way of detaining the prisoners, must also be able to do something to add to those prisoners much in the way of reconstruction, and to take from them much that has already taken place in the way of deterioration. If that be true of part of the prison administration in general, it is particularly true of the prison physician, who stands there as the person who not only is going to take care of certain acute conditions as they may arise, but who stands there as the person to find out what physical deterioration has taken place before that prisoner entered and to do everything possible to remove this deterioration during the time the prisoner may be in custody. The physician of today realizes that the preventive work is quite as important as the relief.

In the first place, there is the plant itself. In our effort to do everything possible in the way of detention, we many times sacrifice the very fundamental principles of health. We all know that fresh air is essential to good health, and yet how many of our institutions would bear the test of this very simple thing. So then the prison physician coming in, as he very often does, into an inadequate and obsolete plant, may have to use his influence first to help the administration and then to help the State or municipality itself to see the absolute need of rectifying these conditions.

In how many of our institutions is the need of the prisoner in regard to wholesome, nourishing food, food of sufficient purity to appeal to his appetite, absolutely ignored in the interest of economy? So we have monotonous routine in many institutions which finally after months and years of

imprisonment make it absolutely impossible for the prisoner to have normal nourishment.

Then, there is the matter of exercise. All these things are absolutely essential in prevention of disease in those who are comparatively normal. Yet, in how many institutions do we have provisions for adequate exercise?

Then the prisoner himself. He comes to his place of detention with many physical scars, the result of bad housing conditions and all sorts of things which have led to the deterioration of his body. The prison physician will, of course, detect these things and map out the program of treatment which will suit that particular prisoner.

I cannot refrain from using the remainder of my time this morning to speak in regard to the subject in which I am especially interested, because it is the subject which until the last few years has been given the least attention in regard to care. That is the diagnosis and treatment and quarantine against those diseases which are more serious and lasting in their effect upon the human race, the venereal diseases. I point out to you that an estimate of the entire population based upon such examinations as we have been able to make at the time of the war revealed the fact that in the average population we have from 10 to 15 per cent. of syphilis, which is the only disease which, if untreated, is handed down 2, 3 and 4 generations. The other disease is gonorrhea, which is estimated from 15 to 60 per cent. Now, if this is true, we may expect in the population of our penal institutions to have a very much larger percentage by reason of the previous conditions of living and lack of control, and so on. It is perfectly obvious that the physician who makes the weekly examination of prisoners should be skilled in the diagnosis of these diseases and should not simply be on the look-out for what we call "clinical symptoms," but should be able to make the blood and laboratory tests necessary to diagnose, or know how to avail himself of the facilities of the State laboratory. Not very many of our prison physicians, and I speak not only of prison physicians, but of medical people as a whole, understand the technical administration of those drugs which have been found to be most effective in the treatment particularly of syphilis, the administration of salvarsan. Salvarsan had not been discovered when I was in the institution myself. The prison administration has a perfect right to demand if the physician in charge does not understand this, he shall learn it.

Almost every State in our Union recognizes that these are

contagious diseases, and so when we have persons in detention infected with contagious diseases, we must see that these diseases are eradicated for the protection of the public. It is a truism that while the State has the right to take the liberty of the individual, the State has no right to take the health of the individual, so that while we are carrying out this fact in our medical program we must be cognizant of the fact that we have no right to expose other prisoners in the institution to any danger whatsoever from the contraction of these diseases.

Now the prison physician knows or should know the means by which these diseases are spread. Frequently they are perfectly innocent ways, but the prison physician also recognizes the fact that they may be spread in those vicious practices, which are prevalent in institutions where the prisoners are not properly housed, particularly at night.

It may be of interest for you to know that in my own department of the Government, a very special case was reported from our Boston office to me at our Washington office of gonorrheal infection in a sailor who gave the source of his infection as New York City and stated that he had acquired it through another man who was a sexual pervert. In this case it happened that the special place where this man's permanent residence was was named, and we had an investigator look up the case. The investigator received a confession from this man as to his perverted habits and as to his state of health. Now that, by the average person, would be considered an impossible thing, but by tracing it down it was found to be a fact.

Then, the provisions for quarantine should be adequate. At the same time every physician knows that the large majority of these cases are not what we call "bed" cases. It doesn't mean we have to have a tremendous addition to our hospital facilities. There are only certain rules that must be followed in the way of quarantine. The germs are simply carried by moist discharges and if adequate care is taken in regard to dishes, toilet and linen, there is no danger of the prisoner mingling with the others.

There is another phase of this matter of venereal infection coming more and more to the fore. We are recognizing that one of the most valuable persons in the public clinic will be the so-called social worker; that is, the trained nurse or the trained worker, who will be able to go back from the clinic into the family of those patients and give them treatment and see if there are any others who ought to be coming

to the clinic and in need of treatment, in order to protect the other members of the family or the persons who may have been exposed. Now, if this is true in the outside world, it would seem to me to be very true in the case of the prison, that when we are considering the broken home conditions of many of our prisoners and the many difficulties against which the family is laboring in so large a percentage of cases through the absence of the bread-winner of the family, there should be some system by which if an active condition is found in the prisoner there might be a system by which word would be sent to the family itself, either through an active worker or through some system, by means of which the health officer might go into the family and see that proper examinations were made and treatment given. This, because of the fact that both of the diseases of which we have been speaking are diseases which are never cured, which never get well of themselves if they go on progressively to final deterioration, and while this is not the place for me to go into the physical symptoms, I remind you of this, that in the case of syphilis, at least, it is detected and it goes on to the third stage where we have the deterioration of the nerve structures themselves, and we may have in many cases a paretic condition which eventually means permanent insanity. In our institution for the insane, from 10 to 15 per cent. of the cases of insanity are cases of this type, and then we realize what the seriousness of the condition is, what the meaning to the taxpayers is. These are cases that require years of confinement before death. So I believe that the post of prison physician should not be what it once was, an appointment which might be given to the least efficient physician in the community, the one in need of money and willing to do it for a small sum, but a post of great dignity and importance. Just because the lives of those in many of our institutions represent the lives out of control, which will be the most dangerous in the matters of sex in many instances, it is of extreme importance that our prison physicians should be of a high, fine type, skilled in medical knowledge and in the knowledge of the social relationship of the delinquent individual to the community itself.

A large majority of those who come to our institutions for confinement for a time have suffered from that lack of system of decent wholesome education in regard to sexes, and so may it not be that during our reconstructive program for the prisoner we may give the prison physician an opportunity to occasionally give the prisoners sane, wholesome talks on these fundamental things? There are many films of a very

fine type which the prisoners are interested in; I don't mean of horrors, which will influence the prisoner to concentrate on those things, but those things which will get out of the prisoner's mind those unclean, unwholesome and terrible things which have frequently been the only side of sex that has prevented itself.

This is one of the things which we might think of in our development of the program of the prison physician and may help him in his relationship to the general program of the prison administration.

Mr. Blaney: I would like to ask, do you not believe that the physician, while he should be free from the medical end to do as he wishes, should be under the wardens instead of under the State Board of Health?

Dr. Parker: I believe the State Board of Health controls the physician as to his qualifications. I think that for the details of his work, he should be responsible to the warden. I can see many instances, however, where there might be a warden who would not understand the medical needs of the situation, who would not be thoroughly cognizant of the needs of the physician, and in that case it might be necessary, supposing something were being neglected—we all know there are appointments made to administrative positions for political reasons. That is one of the handicaps of our institutions, a thing that handicaps the fine warden who wants to do the right thing. In a situation of that kind, where there is being absolute abuse of medical principles, then I think, the State Board of Health ought to be able to insist on these prisoners having conditions as they should.

Mr. Blaney: Isn't there the same danger of the State Board of Health being governed by politics?

Dr. Parker: There is that danger. We have a jail in the State absolutely unsanitary. The physician may see that conditions are absolutely unfit, and he may state that to the one in charge of that administration and for some reason or other this person doesn't act. I believe that physician ought to be able to state to the State Board of Health that those conditions prevail and they ought to have the power to rectify those conditions.

DO YOU APPROVE OF ANY SO-CALLED HONOR SYSTEM FOR INMATES OF PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES?

BY SANFORD BATES, COMMISSIONER, DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION,
MASSACHUSETTS.

No modern, intelligent warden or superintendent would fail to answer this question in the affirmative, if obliged to do so categorically. He would no doubt have his own definition of what constitutes an "honor system," and therefore it will become necessary at once to define what we mean by this term. We shall assume for the purposes of this discussion that the honor system means a system of managing inmates of a penal institution in which the inmates themselves participate to a greater or less degree.

Several forms of what might be called an honor system have been practiced for many years in the penal institutions of this country. The "trusty" system is one whereby certain of the inmates, through a recognition of their good behavior or their superior intelligence, or for other less meritorious reasons, are designated by the superintendent to occupy positions of trust and responsibility in the management of the institution.

The "State farm" or "prison camp" system, at least as established in Massachusetts, is (strictly) an honor system. There, surveillance is considerably relaxed. The camps are filled up with men who it is felt may be trusted in a less restrained atmosphere, and the men are frankly told that the superintendent of the camp relies on their loyalty and honor that they will not attempt to escape or abuse the privilege which is extended to them.

Variations of both of these systems have been used with remarkable results by prison officials the country over, and it is often claimed that a prisoner responds more readily to a course of treatment which increases his responsibility and gives him an opportunity to practice self-reliance and self-restraint.

It is doubted, however, that the committee in stating the title of this paper intended to provoke a discussion of the merits of either of these systems. What they desired to have discussed was no doubt the question whether it is wise and proper to permit the inmates of a penal institution to govern themselves, choose their own officers or executive committee and to allow that committee or board of officers to dictate or suggest methods of running the institution. The Mutual

Welfare League as set up by Commander Osborne at Auburn and at Sing Sing, and later at the Portsmouth Naval Prison, immediately comes to mind as the most advanced example of this system.

While answering the general question in the affirmative, if I were to be obliged to answer specifically whether I approve the Osborne system of the Mutual Welfare League, I should be inclined to answer it in the negative, unless allowed to make certain qualifications.

Many people will object to an honor system on the ground that it minimizes punishment and thereby decreases the security of the public from a recurrence of crime. In this discussion, however, while we do not overlook the importance of protecting the law-abiding sections of the community, we are proceeding on the assumption that the best protection to the community is a reduction in the number of criminals, and we are discussing how criminals in an institution can be turned out better men, with less desire to prey upon the public, and thus indirectly, we do have in mind the ultimate aim of the administration of the criminal law, to wit: the protection of society.

The self-government plan seeks to inculcate in the prisoner ideas and habits of sobriety, reliability and a due regard for the obligations of citizenship by setting him immediately at work to practice these traits in prison. It seems to me that this attempt, laudable as it is, fails to take into account the real reason why men and women are sent to prison. In America, as nowhere else in the world, democracy is the heritage of every man who will accept it. Never in the history of mankind has the common man come into his own as he has in America in the last fifty years. Education is practically universal. Participation in our government is virtually unrestricted, and opportunities for success were never so frequent. If our fellow citizens so far forget their duty to their government and their neighbors, if, in other words they, by disobedience of their own laws, show themselves incapable of participating in a democracy, they are sent to prison. It seems anomalous to put them immediately to work at the business of self-government in which they have so signally failed. Is it not the business of the ideal prison first, through the educational process and through the example of those who realize what it means to be an American citizen, to supplant in the minds of the inmates the ideas of anarchy, envy and cupidity with those of democracy, fraternity and generosity?

It must also be continually borne in mind that the rapid

development of the probation system in Massachusetts and in many other States of the Union extends to the offender a further opportunity to adjust himself in our democracy, under a limited supervision, and thus probation is in itself at once an honor system and an experiment in self-government by lawbreakers. At the present day, therefore, when owing to the severity of the crime or the failure of the probationer to show his capability to improve, he is nevertheless committed to an institution, it may be assumed that he is more in need of restraint and superimposed discipline than of participation in his own government.

An honor system, therefore, which omits the vital preliminaries of education and example, and seeks to develop and supply the missing elements of character in our penal population by means of a suddenly imposed self-government or honor system, is like a man seeking to lift himself by his bootstraps. It has been one of the traditions of our government that those persons should participate in its management who are qualified for it. We restrict the franchise to persons who have attained the age of 21 years, or who have lived in this country for at least 5 years, or who have not committed a crime against the government. It may be assumed that one of the reasons for the substitution of penal servitude as a punishment for crime for the more severe early forms of punishment was to take from the community of self-governing individuals certain men who had not learned the lesson of democracy, until either through repentance or education, or the power of example, they had mended their ways.

Two qualifications are in place.

1. I do not mean to imply a criticism of those who have made a success of the Osborne system. Mr. Osborne himself has made an invaluable contribution to penology by securing the attention of the public to the needs of men in prison.

2. Again, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that in the hands of an intelligent, big-hearted, persevering official, any system will be successful. We are discussing systems, however, and are anxious to determine whether there is any magic in any proposed scheme for the government of penal institutions.

It seems to me, therefore, that the honor system as exemplified by the Mutual Welfare League possesses one serious defect in that it attempts to confer the privileges and duties of citizenship and self-government on those who have by their very positions shown their inability to accept them.

The failure of the autocratic, repressive and brutal systems, which we hope are now passing away forever, has been so striking and the testimony from those who have utilized some form of honor system as to its value has been so encouraging, that it behooves us to inquire whether a limited form of self-government system may not assist in the management of our penal institutions, both to the benefit of the men confined and to the advantage of those in charge of them.

There are three modifications which may render the self-government system less dangerous and more acceptable to those who are charged with the real responsibility of handling our penal institutions.

1. If the inmates are to be entrusted with any degree of self-government, it should not affect in any way the real management of the prison. The employment and discharge of help, purchase of supplies, and general financial oversight of the prison obviously can never be placed in the hands of the inmates themselves. On the other hand, the question of recreation, games, menus, and perhaps to a limited extent, the school curriculum and the management of the shops, can partly be supervised by inmate committees with profit to the management. Some of the greatest and most successful businesses of the day are managed by shop committees and through a participation of the employees themselves. I was informed only recently that one of the largest department stores in the City of Boston had adopted a policy whereby a committee of five employees pass on all questions of hiring and discharging of employees. Such a situation ten years ago would have seemed revolutionary.

2. It is not vital to the success of a self-government scheme that the inmates themselves should have unlimited power to choose their own officers or committees, provided the warden or superintendent has obtained the confidence and co-operation of his best men, and, of course, such a condition must underlie the success of any system. He can secure a better choice of inmate officers and committee than can be obtained by the unrestrained and unrestricted choice of the men themselves. This has been proved by actual experience of those in charge of Suffolk County institutions in Massachusetts.

3. The right of self-government and the privilege of holding office in any self-government association in a prison should be earned by the inmate, and his education in the things which go to make a good citizen should precede his assumption of the implied powers and privileges. I cannot help at

this point but draw a parallel between the situation in our institutions, which if properly handled is nothing but a cross section of the world at large, and the history of the world itself, by quoting from Wells' epoch-making book, "The Outline of History."

"It is upon the word educational that stress must be laid, and upon the idea that information must precede consultation. It is in the practical realization of this idea that education is a collective function and not a private affair that one essential distinction of the "modern state" from any of its precursors lies. The modern citizen, men are coming to realize, must be informed first and then consulted. Before he can vote he must hear the evidence; before he can decide he must know. It is not by setting up polling booths, but by setting up schools and making literature and knowledge and news universally accessible that the way is opened from servitude and confusion to that willingly co-operative state which is the modern ideal. Votes in themselves are worthless things. Men had votes in Italy in the time of the Gracchi. Their votes did not help them. Until a man has education, a vote is a useless and dangerous thing for him to possess. The ideal community toward which we move is not a community of will simply; it is a community of knowledge and will, replacing a community of faith and obedience. Education is the adapter which will make the nomadic spirit of freedom and self-reliance compatible with the co-operations and wealth and security of civilization."

In claiming that education of the inmates is an essential element in good prison management, we must be careful to define what we mean by "education." It should not simply be to teach criminals to become educated criminals or more clever in their craft, not simply education in the elementary subjects. What we mean is education as a preparation for citizenship, education which provides a broader outlook on society. Education, as its name implies, is a leading out from the abyss of ignorance and superstition into the clearer and healthier atmosphere of knowledge and a realization of the importance of the idea of human brotherhood.

In further proof of the soundness of this theory I desire to take the opportunity to record the success of an experiment in prison management which took place at the Deer Island House of Correction in Boston a few years ago. For a number of years no apparent attempt had been made to educate, uplift, or in any way reform the inmates of what was called the "house of correction." It would have been idle to start any improvement with a mutual welfare league or self-government system. It took a year of fair treatment, better food, frequent lectures and an occasional entertainment to convince the inmates that the new management really had in mind some measure of improvement for them. At the end of that time

the privilege was extended to all those who so desired, to join a graded school and with surprising avidity this opportunity was availed of, so that within a few weeks of its establishment one-half of the whole population were engaged in attending school four nights a week in addition to their day's labor. Under the supervision of one officer and one paid teacher, 100 men have remained out of their cells until 9 o'clock in the evening, intent upon their self-improvement. The careful choice of inmate instructors by the master unwittingly brought about as effective a nucleus for a self-governed institution as could possibly have been devised. The very position of this group of inmates as teachers gave them a new prominence as leaders of the institution. The "hard-boiled" characters, who had previously been looked up to as leaders, were found to be deficient in intelligence and were gradually supplanted by those who showed a capability to teach and lead their fellows. Through the co-operation of the master this group of teachers gradually became the executive committee of the entire inmate body.

All this demonstrates the soundness of the third qualification, to wit: that an honor system or a self-government system followed naturally enough upon the establishment of an inmate teaching force and at the same time secured as leaders those men really qualified to be leaders, and who probably would not have been elected had the self-government system been established at the outset. In two years at this Deer Island institution but one escape was recorded, the admission of contraband was at a minimum, although war conditions and the presence on the same island of a large naval camp made successful management doubly hard. On the promotion of the officials in charge of the institution, a testimonial signed by every inmate, with two exceptions, was presented to the master, and a similar testimonial, strange as it may seem, was also received from practically every employee on the island.

May I take the time to quote the declared objects as contained in the constitution of this "Teachers' Association," as indicative of whether or not it was a true honor system?

"The following qualities shall be looked for in each member:

1. That he will at all times so conduct himself as to set an example worthy of emulation by the other inmates.
2. That he will endeavor by his own conversation and views to keep the men's thoughts on the things that are really worth while and commanding of respect.

3. That utmost co-operation, both in school work and institutional matters within the inmate's sphere, be given to the body.

4. That in view of his appointment, each member will pledge himself to abide by the decisions of the body and permit no personal matters to be reflected in any duty he may be called upon to perform.

5. That his admittance to the Association carries with it a certain amount of trust and he is placed upon his honor to carry out his duties and respect the privileges granted him as a member of the body.

6. That he will give due consideration to the welfare of the inmates in all matters and make suggestions he feels will be of a constructive nature in carrying out the aims of the body.

7. That he shall at no time be expected to perform any act detrimental to an inmate, unless it is considered that said inmate has been guilty of something detrimental to the whole."

The best part of this experiment lies in the fact that many men with extended prison records have come from the island supported by the inspiration of their new experience, and in the two years that have elapsed have gone straight on the outside. This after all is the acid test of all systems of prison administration.

One more point remains to be discussed. Advocates of the mutual welfare system maintain that the league has succeeded in implanting in the minds of its members a loyalty to the league which is more important than any other characteristic. Examples have been cited where this loyalty to the league has resulted in remarkable demonstrations of reformation in individuals.

Unless any system of prison government instills loyalty into its inmate population it has not entirely succeeded. Would it not be better, however, through education and example to instil allegiance to the whole of mankind rather than loyalty to a particular organization? Loyalty to the league restricts a man's fealty; whereas a belief in his duty to mankind in general is broad enough to include all of humanity, and does not have the dangerous tendency to solidify the criminal class and set them apart from the rest of the world. We all know of cases of loyalty to a warden or superintendent which have resulted in a change of spirit and an improved attitude on the part of the prisoner. It would seem that the most wholesome kind of such devotion would be that which has for its object the whole of democracy, rather than an organization which functions only in the institution to which he is sentenced for a breach of the laws of the democracy in which, after all, it is hoped he must spend the greater part of his days. While the ideas underlying loyalty to the league are

laudable in the extreme, the emphasis should be placed on loyalty generally and not upon loyalty to the organization.

The final answer to the question contained in the title of this paper, that is, if we are expected to approve a system which, without preliminary, proposes to turn the management of the institution entirely over to the inmate, must be in the negative. If, on the other hand, the question is of a system based upon mutual relations between an intelligent and kindly warden and a set of inmates trusted as they deserve trust, directed in the paths of rectitude and good citizenship by members from their own number, who have shown themselves capable to undertake such direction, working together for the benefit of the whole and proving itself in reformed and regenerated lives, then we must give our approval, no matter what we may call the system.

RE-CLASSIFICATION OF PENAL OFFENSES.

BY JAMES DEVINE, WARDEN, UTAH STATE PRISON.

The inexplicable inconsistencies in our criminal code suggest revisions, that will tend to meet more equitably the requirements of justice, and at the same time place no indelible brand on the first offender who in a moment of temptation places himself within the pale of the penal code, and judged by an uncharitable world carries with him through life the "mark of Cain," transmitting to his children that unenviable heritage—"You are the child of a convict."

I do not presume to offer a remedy, but rather to open a discussion that may lead to some desirable solution of this perplexing question—"Classification of penal offenses," which should read "Re-classification of penal offenses," because the latter states the idea I mean to convey.

With the growth of civilization and intelligence it seems incredible that our old laws defining felonies and misdemeanors have undergone so few changes, and that the inequities which they contain have been permitted to pass unchallenged by legislators, lawyers and criminologists whose honest effort in the direction of corrective legislation none will question, but whose tendency has been to chase will'o'the wisps on impracticable lines, while they have left slumbering many questions on which modern thought and present necessity demand drastic revision.

I trust our National Bar Association will not feel that a suggestion emanating from an assemblage of this character trespasses on their prerogatives. I was recently asked by a

lawyer friend to state a hypothetical case illustrating my objection to the present penal system in my State. The following examples were given: "Mr. A, who lives in a rural farming community has been out of employment for several months and has a dependent family in distress. During the night he enters Mr. B's barn and extracts therefrom a cowhide, (recently worth about \$2) and sells it to buy necessities for a needy family. He is convicted of a felony—second degree burglary—and is committed to our State prison for an indeterminate term of one to twenty years." Case 2: "Mr. C, a neighbor of Mr. A, has a general reputation for indifference in providing for his family and assumes the attitude that it is the duty of his wife to see that proper provision is made for his comfort. As the result of a family quarrel he threw her down the stairs and was convicted of a misdemeanor assault and battery, and serves not to exceed six months in the county jail."

You will readily see the gross injustice imposed in these cases and the necessity for extending to the judiciary plenary powers in defining certain crimes or the right of modification in imposing the penalty.

I appreciate that a proposal of any drastic change threatening to overturn our present penal code must meet with a storm of opposition from judicial sources that may bring about its defeat; consequently I would suggest that any recommendation—if recommendation is thought best—should be presented to our American Bar Association for its approval in such form as may harmonize in a general way with the criminal codes of our various States.

No sane man will question the injustice of a system that defines these offenses I have referred to as they are defined to-day under our criminal code. I must confess my inability to indicate just what statutory modification should be made, but I might suggest to my lawyer friends that they may properly invoke the application of the old Latin phrase "*ubijus ibi remedium*" (where there is a law there is a remedy), and fearlessly overturn a system so much at variance with the progress of the age as to reestablish the old English code that authorized a husband to chastise his wife but limited his weapon to a stick no thicker than a man's thumb.

This is simply to open this question. I appreciate that our probation laws cover many of the difficulties experienced by the inequalities which I suggest, but this does not apply to all the States and my thoughts briefly is this, that in the reclassification of penal offenses we have special cases which

should be eliminated as felonies and certain misdemeanors, for instance, the one to which I referred, should be felonies rather than misdemeanors. I have noted that in most of the discussions and most of the papers, too little has been said that would not by implication more or less have a question mark as to the prisoner, the kinds and qualifications of the prisoner, of the man whose specific duty it is to preside over the prisons of this country. I want to say that the paper just presented by Mr. Bates is a masterpiece in its line and I feel warranted in saying that it explains the attitude of the wardens of the United States in regard to proposed reformation in those institutions. I cannot imagine why an idea prevails that there is any spirit of unkindness. True, it hasn't been stated openly, but all of us who conduct those various institutions know that there seems to be an impression amongst many of our well-meaning and honest welfare workers, that the warden possibly has an unkind heart, that the bond of sympathy that should exist between him and his prisoners does not exist. I believe this is a false impression. Mrs. Booth knows that it is a false impression. Women who have done valiant service in that line for years and who have had practical experience appreciate that it is a false impression, because who else is in the position that the wardens of the State prisons are in to hear the grievances of all? The warden is there in the confessional, so to speak, to hear the grievances of all. Why have all our papers practically, all our debates, practically, been in behalf of the prisoner? I want to say to you, this is a constructive criticism. We share with you more fully than you can imagine the sympathy by immediate contact with those men.

Now I want to say a few words to the women, especially, of this Prison Association. In but recent years you have been accorded a great privilege. You have been given the right of franchise, and with this great sovereign right goes the obligations incident to that right. Are you willing to assume the responsibility? Eminent women in all circles have fought for this privilege for many years, few exceeding in prominence some of the women of the State of Utah. Isn't it probable that the greatest field for you is in legislation, not in reformation, not in reclamation, but in prevention? If smallpox is rampant in the State of Florida to-day, what do the medical authorities suggest? They do not suggest that the women form an organization to take charge of these patients as they are brought to the hospital first. No. They say, "All must be vaccinated." This prevention is first invoked, and I say

to you mothers who have daughters now in short dresses, if you want to do something that will lessen the inmates of our criminal institutions today, if you want to do something that will give you greater assurance that your daughters and sons will be brought up an honor and credit to the family and to the nation, take part in preventive legislation. What is the greatest source of supply to our penal institutions today? The boys and girls that have had no homes. I know that in my State—and what prevails there is largely true of others—the boy and girl who attend high school, may go across the line on an electric car in the afternoon after school, receive a license, and be married before sundown. The parents have no remedy unless by a possible nullification of that marriage on the ground that they had not arrived at the age of consent. But what parents are going to invoke that remedy when the harm is done? Very few. And what is the result? They may live together a few weeks, months, or a year or two, and if there are any children, they have no home, because the father and the mother have separated and later on in life form new affinities, and the boy goes out into the world like a ship at sea without a rudder.

I want to say in all serious thought and in all kindness, that I cannot suggest a more important question for the consideration of this Association in the years to come. It is my ambition, and I assume that I speak largely the sentiment of the wardens who attend here, to see crime lessened, and we feel that it best can be lessened by making the foundation upon which must rise the superstructure of the family, safe and indestructible.

Mrs. Catlin: That is the best panacea for doing away with crime that I have heard since this Congress assembled. In regard to marriage laws I have always hoped to live to see the day when a federal law will govern marriage and that they may be alike in our States, that we may have less of this being divorced today and married tomorrow in adjoining States.

Mr. Sullivan: Mr. Chairman, I am very sorry that the wardens of the various institutions throughout this country were not present to hear Mr. Devine's address. I am awfully sorry that this Prison Congress hasn't had more addresses like Mr. Devine's. I think he struck the keynote in regard to social welfare and in what he said in regard to prevention of crime. I think the social welfare in a great many people in the United States does not take into consideration prevention of crime. I think this association should go on record here-

after and have men like Mr. Devine come before our body and inquire if we cannot do something to prevent crime before we get them in our institutions.

REFORM OF PRISONERS.

By T. B. CATLIN, WARDEN, STATE PRISON, MARQUETTE, MICHIGAN.

My opinion is based entirely on my own observation and experience as deputy and warden at Marquette, Michigan prison during the last 20 years.

The penal institutions are no longer considered a place to punish men but to reform them. The work of reform may be divided into two classes—the breaking of old habits and forming of new ones of industry and right living; all modern methods of dealing with prisoners have in view the upbuilding of character.

Most men are responsive to the treatment accorded them. The sort of citizens they are when they leave a correctional institution depends much on the measure of self-respect they have been able to maintain in prison. As a foundation for reformation, it is my aim to encourage the men to take pride in their personal appearance, in the cells they occupy, in a belief in themselves, to realize that they are capable of better things, to promote thrift and to put them on their honor.

The honor system has been recognized by most wardens, though it is not easy to define. It means that system of treatment that recognizes the better qualities of the men, puts them on honor to use their qualities to the best of their ability, to stimulate in men a desire to be somebody, and to do something that will help in their rehabilitation, not only inside the walls but when they shall have resumed their place in society.

At Marquette, one of the prison farms is located 6 miles from the institution where a force of 12 men is kept. No officer remains with them day or night, so they are practically free to take to the adjoining timber at any time, but notwithstanding there have only been 2 escapes in the years this custom has prevailed. At the present time there are 451 inmates at Marquette prison while our cell capacity is 312; 132 of our population are serving life sentences; 7 double life and the average minimum sentence of the remainder is 7½ years.

Just now there are 52 men who sleep outside of the prison walls as there is not room within the enclosure to house them, and all available space in sheds and barns is utilized as sleep-

ing quarters, so of necessity the honor system is being tested very thoroughly in our prison.

There is one other factor of great importance in the reformation of prisoners and that is labor—productive labor that teaches the brain to act and hands to do. No man can long remain healthy and happy unless he has something to do, therefore I see the reformation of prisoners helped out by useful activity.

Discipline wisely administered—bodily care and treatment, reading matter, recreation, opportunity to broaden their vision, to further their education and moral and spiritual training, all have their place in the reformation of prisoners. No system is justifiable unless those punished are made better men physically, mentally and morally and better fitted to return to civil life.

WHAT SHOULD BE THE QUALIFICATIONS, METHOD OF SELECTING, AND CHARACTER OF SCHOOLS, OF OFFICERS OF PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES?

By CHARLES E. VASALY, SUPT. STATE REFORMATORY, ST. CLOUD, MINN.

The famous declaration of principles of the first American Prison Congress included the following paragraph:

“Special training, as well as high qualities of head and heart, is required to make a good prison or reformatory officer. Then only will the administration of public punishment become scientific, uniform and successful, when it is raised to the dignity of a profession and men are specially trained for it as they are for other pursuits.”

The clear-sighted founders of this organization realized fully that the officers of an institution could make or mar it, and that the success of a penal institution in achieving its purpose rested largely with the personnel of its officers. At the time the declaration was written, there was little attention paid to the principle enunciated, and if here and there able administrators were supported by good assistants, it was largely a matter of fortuitous circumstances. We know that there has been a great improvement, and a fuller and more general recognition of the vital importance of properly trained officers to deal with the special problems of the penal institution.

The first consideration is—What shall be the qualifications of an officer, whether he be a wall guard, a shop officer, or a supervisory officer. It is obvious that the task he is expected

to perform will determine his qualifications. It will be admitted that he should be at least of the voting age, and therefore a citizen. Perhaps a few more years would give sounder judgment, based on more mature experience. There are places where the tradition has been that no one over 45 years of age be appointed to any position. It would seem unwise to have too fixed a rule, since there are often men past 45 years who would be exceptionally valuable in certain posts because of their ripe experience and wisdom. Where a young man expects to make a career and regard penal work as a profession, undoubtedly he should begin early. When one surveys the field of American penology, and recalls the names with which it has been illumined, it is noted that most of these illustrious men came to their work without premeditation or selection, through various pathways. A similar story could be told of other fields of endeavor, and does not lessen the argument for training.

With the modern view that the penal institution should lay emphasis on the vocational side of its industrial work, and that the industries shall contribute to the formation of character through training in trades, it will be admitted that some knowledge of the trade would be valuable for a man who is to be a shop officer. Under a proper system there would be an instructor in trades, who might or might not be also officer in charge, depending upon circumstances. The task and its qualifications go together. The general qualifications for officers must be manliness exemplified in speech and action, since every officer is a teacher by his example; loyalty to the management and to the institution, not a cringing subservience, but a manly acceptance of duty, with a sincere desire to carry out policies which are laid down, and which should be of a kind which appeal to the intelligence of the officers who must carry them out; sobriety, along with which goes cleanliness of speech, evenness of disposition, and fearlessness. If service in a penal institution could be regarded as more than ordinary, if it could be regarded somewhat as nursing has come to be, an important service to the community, it would be easier to attract and hold high types of workers. I have elsewhere suggested that among the qualifications should be sympathy without sentimentality, firmness without brutality, and a real desire to help. He should have good judgment, tact, and understanding. At the risk of being misunderstood let me say that the officer with religious instincts may be more helpful in molding character than one without.

Notwithstanding the various civil service laws, and with-

out quarreling with the principle underlying them, opinions vary largely as to the benefit to penal institutions of such a system of selection. It is admitted that political favoritism in the selection of officials for public institutions is a curse, an evil altogether too prevalent, and in the desire to change this condition civil service laws have been enacted. In Minnesota we have no civil service law governing State institutions and do not feel its need, since we have it in essence. Loyalty, competency, and faithful service are the basis of continued employment in our State institutions. Under our system each executive is responsible for his institution to the State Board of Control, and has full power of appointment and discharge of all subordinates. They may appeal to the board if they have a grievance, but such an occurrence is extremely rare. What I have learned of the workings of civil service in other States has not so far inclined me to favor a change in Minnesota. Positions which have to do with the concrete, and not particularly with conduct or character, may be selected adequately by schedules and examinations, but where personality enters into the matter, as it must with most officers of a penal institution, I have doubts that any schedule can replace the personal interview by the executive. Examinations may be made useful as eliminatory processes, and to that extent can be commended. The final choice ought, it seems to me, be left to the executive. If there shall develop, later, numbers of trained applicants, it is only fair that they should have preference, other things being equal. It is alleged that in some places, civil service, which was a protest against spoils politics, has by juggling of rules and biased interpretation of law, been made the handmaid of the very system it was created to destroy. Nevertheless, within limitations, and adjusted so as to leave responsibility with the executive, civil service would be and is so great an advance over the old methods that it is not strange that many find in it a panacea. The executive who is wise will not attempt in all cases to take the burden of appointment without consultation with the heads of departments affected, but the ultimate responsibility should be his. The right of appeal to the governing board in cases where discharge or suspension is deemed unfair, will safeguard the employee.

Vambery of Hungary said a number of years ago that "prison systems should not be carried out by those who do not understand them." Commissioner Pettigrove of Massachusetts once defined the ideal prison officer as one "with a clear head and a warm heart, who can think straight rather than

shoot straight." To train men to think straight is perhaps a general need, and to understand one's work, would be of general value. I do not know that there is anywhere in the United States a specialized school for the training of prison and reformatory officers. There are indeed, courses in colleges in various branches of criminology and sociology which touch the problem of delinquency in many aspects, but these seem to be more for the student and thinker, rather than to train men for definite work as administrative or supervisory officials in penal institutions. The career is yet largely a matter of accident. Prison science is concerned with the investigation, prevention and repression of crime. If we expect to have officials who will give intelligent concern to the problems that surround them, and wish them to be zealous in the pursuit of knowledge, and progressive and sound in applying the fruits of their study, we must first secure for them safe tenure of office and adequate recompense. It is not to be expected that the recompense shall be as large as similar effort would insure in business, but at least let it be decently adequate. We can then expect that students will be willing to be trained, that they will be attracted toward a labor which contains so many possibilities for good to their unfortunate fellows.

Perhaps the State universities, with their great possibilities of use for all departments of the State, can organize training schools, and bring their great resources of scholarship and organization to bear on the problem. There should be intimate co-operation between the institutions to be benefitted and the school, with a view to securing the benefits of advanced training for those already employed. A correspondence course might be worked out, supplemented by lectures at the institution. Diligence in study and application should be to an officer's credit and taken into consideration in reference to promotion. In the institution there might be developed training of the younger by the older officers. The practical training in the institution, with lectures on the various aspects of the penal problem, ought to be of great value. If there be connected with the institution a laboratory for diagnosis and treatment of prisoners, that department could be a center of training of great importance. Some knowledge by officers of the phases of deficient mentality, subnormality and abnormality, will give not only wider knowledge but wider sympathy. The industrial, physical, educational, recreational, ethical and environmental sides of the prison problem could be presented in lectures, which could be discussed. The modern methods of crime de-

tection, an interesting field, could be presented as one branch of study. No doubt prosecutors can be found to explain their views, and judges to expound procedure. This would have the merit of helping co-operation between the bench and bar and the penal institutions of which there is need. Some notion of criminal anthropology and criminal sociology might be given, those especially interested being given opportunity to pursue their studies further. This outline may seem to attempt too much. Means and opportunities will vary. What is desired is to create in the officer of a penal institution a conception of the usefulness of the work he is doing in its relation to those in his charge and to the community.

Some twenty years ago, in Japan, an academy was organized for the study of prison discipline. Officers in service were expected to attend a six-months' course, and candidates six lectures a day for twelve months. The officers received an allowance and their traveling expenses. There were lectures on discipline, psychology, penal law, hygiene, practically the whole field of penology. I am informed by a Japanese student that he believes this to have been successful, and that it has been extended to the higher police. At any rate, the thing can be done, and one of the next important steps in the progress of the penal institutions of the United States ought to be the proper training of the men and women in whose hands largely rest the destinies of thousands upon thousands of our fellow human beings.

THURSDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 3.

PARDON AND PAROLE OFFICIALS.

THE POWER TO PARDON.

By AMOS W. BUTLER, SCERETARY, INDIANA BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES,
INDIANAPOLIS.

In recent years there has been a great change in public thought toward crime and the treatment of criminals. One sees it reflected in the work of legislatures, courts and institutions, in the attitude of the public press, in expressions from the public platform. It is reflected, too, in the answer to the question, what is the purpose of imprisonment. There have been three answers; retribution, punishment, reformation.

Retribution.—When this country was new, the prevailing idea of the purpose of imprisonment was retribution, or retaliation. The law of the Children of Heth prevailed, “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.”

Punishment.—From the days of the Revolution, following the dictum of Sir William Blackstone, that “The end of punishment is no other than to prevent others from committing a like offense,” the current thought was that the purpose of confinement was punishment, which was believed to be deterrent. This was true down to the time when this Prison Association brought to crystallization the thought of the best minds on this subject, in the notable principles enunciated at Cincinnati in 1870.

Reformation.—We now accept the idea of Principle II of the Cincinnati Congress, that “The treatment of criminals by society is for the protection of society. But since such treatment is directed to the criminal rather than to the crime, its great object should be his moral regeneration. Hence the supreme aim of prison discipline is the reformation of criminals not the infliction of vindictive suffering.”

In the life time of this association we have seen the spread of the idea of reformatory treatment of prisoners until it is generally accepted throughout the United States. It was adopted by the International Prison Congress for recommendation to the governments of the world, just 40 years after it was agreed to at Cincinnati for the States of this Union.

Along with these changes in our minds and methods re-

garding criminals, have come changes also regarding clemency. A hundred years ago the only means of release from prison was the expiration of a definite sentence or an executive pardon. The whole basis of penology was altered when the intelligence of our country accepted the idea that we must stop dealing with symptoms and deal with causes; that we must treat the individual offender instead of his crime. Then minors were recognized as delinquents or incorrigibles instead of criminals, and placed in special institutions. Unless sentenced for crime, the governor had no right to extend clemency.

With the adoption of the indeterminate or indefinite sentence came the recognition of release through merit. In some States the classification of prisoners and right of transfer between institutions was adopted. Some legislatures have provided by statute that a life sentence shall be equivalent to a definite number of years and upon the expiration of that time the prisoner may be released. Finally there came into our sky a new term, probation, which taught us that an offender could be reformed without any imprisonment. The right use of these methods will lessen the call for executive clemency, but will not take its place.

The power to pardon reaches back into the haze of antiquity. It appears in the earliest dawn of civilization, as an elementary thing. The earliest written records present evidences of it. It was manifested in different ways, in different lands. In England it became the right of the sovereign and a part of common law. Through that body of the law it followed to the United States, where it is exercised by the executive alone, or by the executive with the advice or consent of council, or other body.

"It has been held that the pardoning power is not necessarily or naturally an executive function and that where the constitution is silent, it vests no more in one branch of the government than another."* Penal laws are necessarily general and inflexible, and there are as many kinds of administrations as there are courts. In order that seeming injustice may be corrected, it is essential that the executive have authority to decrease or remove the penalty inflicted. Former Governor Goodrich, of Indiana, has said: "The judicial field is circumscribed by the regularity and rigidity of its proceedings. The business of the judge is strictly to apply the law.

* *State vs. Nichols*, 26 Ark. 74, 7 Am. Rep. 600, Case and Comment, May, 1912, p. 727.

The business of the executive under our constitution is not to make or apply a law, but to relieve the criminal from the unjust application of the law in a particular case."*

More and more, people are coming to realize the necessity of recognizing the rights and natural abilities of individuals. Where there is a lack of proper legislation, progressive authorities make up for it by the use of executive clemency. An illustration of this was a case of technical rape in my own State. The jury agreed to a finding of guilty and a jail sentence. A former sheriff who was on the jury and who knew of a jail's influence upon a boy, prevailed upon them to change the sentence from jail to reformatory and recommended a suspended sentence. When the jury reported, it found the suspended sentence law was not applicable. Then the jury united in a petition to the Governor for clemency.

By whom shall clemency be extended?

Some, like the late Charles J. Bonaparte, former Attorney General of the United States, have held that this power and responsibility should always belong to one man, the chief executive alone.† Such one-man power is not commonly believed to be wise. It is generally conceded that there should be some advisory body to hear and make recommendations to the executive.‡ Such a body may be a council, a board of pardons, or other agency. The first State to provide constitutionally for a board of pardons by name was Minnesota, in 1857.

What is now recognized as the purpose of the pardoning power? I quote from 3 persons, each of whom has viewed the operations of clemency from a different position.

Joseph T. Winslow, of the Massachusetts Bar§ says, "The power of pardon is founded solely upon considerations of the public good and is to be exercised on the ground that the public welfare, which is the legitimate object of all punishment, will be as well promoted by a suspension as by an execution of the sentence. And the final criterion governing the exercise of the power in all cases should be whether the welfare of the public as a whole will be best served by the granting of the petition."

Our friend, Warren F. Spalding, of Massachusetts, says, "There is but one legitimate use of the pardoning power, viz: to remedy an injustice caused by a judicial error."¶ In this,

* Journ. Crim. Law and Criminology, vol. 11, p. 337.

† Yale Law Review 19, 607.

‡ Winslow, Case and Comment, May, 1912, p. 728.

§ Case and Comment, May, 1912, p. 728.

¶ Proc. Amer. Prison Assn., 1916, p. 458.

he follows Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, in 1833, said, "A pardon is an act of grace proceeding from the power entrusted with the execution of the laws, which exempts the individual on whom it is bestowed from the punishment the law inflicts for a crime he has committed. It is the private, though official act of the executive magistrate, delivered to the individual for whose benefit it is intended."*

Hon. James P. Goodrich, late Governor of Indiana, in an address before the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology†, says, "The power (to pardon) is a broad one. It is vested in the executive for the benign purpose of relieving the criminal from the rigors of the criminal law whenever the good of society and the welfare of the criminal demands such action. Ever keeping in mind the two-fold purpose of all criminal law, to protect society and reform the wrongdoer, it is just as much the duty of the executive to act and extend clemency when the occasion demands as it is for the judge and jury to convict when the facts presented show a violation of the law. It is just as much an abuse of the pardoning power for the executive to refuse to grant clemency when the facts justify such action, for fear of adverse and usually ignorant and thoughtless criticism, as it is to grant clemency because of political influence or personal pressure."

Clemency is a distinct jurisdiction which is far removed from the courts. Former Chief Justice Mitchell of Pennsylvania says: "The constitution deals with the pardoning power not as a prerogative claimed by divine right but as an adjunct to the administration of justice recognized in all civilized governments as necessary by reason of the fallibility of human laws and human tribunals."‡

It is now conceded under American Constitutions that an application for clemency is a legal right, whether based upon a claim of innocence or excessive punishment, and that a moral duty is imposed upon the executive to afford relief if a rational interpretation of all the data marks the case as entitled to remedy by the higher justice. It is not a question of guilt or innocence alone. Every circumstance pertaining to the event and individual is relevant in *foro clementiae*, which is untrammelled by rules of court procedure, legal max-

* 7 Peters U. S., 160.

† Journ. Crim. Law and Criminology, vol. 11, p. 338.

‡ Diehl vs. Rodgers, 169 Pa. St. 323, Journ. Crim. Law and Criminology, vol. 1, p. 550.

ims and evidential formalities belonging to the judicial branch of the government."*

It is by virtue of this doctrine, as pointed out by Gibson, former Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, in the capacity of *Parens Patrias*, or *universal trustee*, that the executives of federal and State governments have been invested with the pardoning power. The people have thereby reserved to themselves the right, to be exercised by their unfettered agent, to avoid the legislative will, reverse the verdicts of juries, and nullify or modify the judgments of courts in exceptional cases. It is the common and honest admission of human weakness, the recognition of human fallibility, the cry of human compassion. It is a confession of imperfect wisdom and voices mankind's universal repugnance to the irretrievable and the irrevocable. It is the cautionary protest of the multitude against unanticipated and cruel consequences of governmental deficiencies.†

What is the effect of a pardon?

The effect of pardon is not only to release the prisoner but to absolve him from all the record made and to wipe out the offense itself. The Supreme Court of the United States says: "All have agreed that the pardon not merely releases the offender from the punishment prescribed for the offense, but that it obliterates in legal contemplation, the offense itself.‡

"A pardon reaches both the punishment prescribed for the offense and the guilt of the offender, and when the pardon is full it releases the punishment and blots out of existence the guilt, so that in the eye of the law the offender is as innocent as if he had never committed the offense."§

Other courts have made substantially the same decision. The Ohio Supreme Court says: "A pardon is in effect, a reversal of the judgment, a verdict of acquittal and a judgment of discharge thereon to this extent, that there is a complete stoppal of record against further punishment pursuant to such conviction. Though sometimes called an act of grace and mercy, a pardon, where properly granted, is also an act of justice supported by a wise public policy.¶

* Smithers. *Annals Amer. Acad.*, vol. 52, March, 1914, p. 62.

† Smithers, *Journ. Crim. Law and Criminology*, vol. 1, p. 552.

‡ 16 Wallace, 151.

§ 4 Wallace, 380.

¶ 39 Ohio St. Repts. 381.

In considering a question of clemency the authorities declare the executive is not bound by the record. That he should obtain full information; that he is not limited by the rules of procedure; that he should inquire into the former career and character of accused. No court has declared the grounds of a pardon, if indeed it has a right to do so. A pardon once granted is irrevocable. The right of the executive in granting it is not subject to review by any tribunal.

There is occasionally a cry from one source or another about the abuse of the power to pardon. There may be such abuse. Sometimes it seems there is. But in the main, our executives are persons of standing whom the people are willing to trust. That mistakes are made, every one knows. That is to be expected. "To err is human." Occasionally some one suggests some other source of clemency. A Michigan judge recently delivered an address before the circuit court judges of that State at Grand Rapids, denouncing the granting of paroles and pardons and advocating as a remedy that the power to pardon be placed in the hands of the judge who made the conviction. In other words he would be the court of appeal to his own court.

But we have no assurance that any other person or agency would secure better results than those which have been achieved. Are not these criticisms often the outgrowth of the conflicting views brought about by the new order that leads to changing laws, changing court ideas, changing institutional purposes and methods? This is the dawning of the new day in penology. To my mind, a penal code would not be properly rounded out unless the power to extend clemency were vested in some authority. It is essential to justice, and it is in keeping with the spirit of the times.

As a closing thought I leave with you these statements from the experience of our former Governor, James P. Goodrich: "After nearly four years of experience and careful study of the whole question, I am fully convinced that the public interest is best served, the reform of the prisoner more certainly attained and the welfare of the family and the immediate community advanced by a liberal but discriminating use of the pardoning power than by its harsh and restricted use. Mistakes will be made, men occasionally will be released who should have served their full time, but for every mistake so made scores of men will be restored to society never again to transgress the law, many families united and made happy, the just demand of the law satisfied and society benefited by such a policy. The pardoning power is the most

sacred, the most difficult of all executive functions. After a careful survey of the record made during the past 4 years in my own State, during the trying years of the war and the unsettled period that followed, observing the effect upon the persons and the families of those to whom clemency has been extended, I have no hesitation in saying that more errors have been committed where clemency has been refused than where it has been extended." *

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 3.

GENERAL SESSION.

NATIONAL PRISONERS' AID ASSOCIATION

Dr. Hastings H. Hart, presiding.

Mr. Shideler: I desire to make a motion that the By-laws be amended so that sections 3 and 4 shall read as follows, by substituting for the present sections the following: "That the officers of the Association and elected members of the Board of Directors shall be elected by ballot at the first business session of the annual meeting of the Association on the second day preceding the last day of the meeting, and for the purpose of such election there shall be a business meeting on the said day; the time and place of such election shall be published in the official program of the Association. No other business shall be presented until disposition has been made of the election of officers. Nominations for elective officers shall be made as follows: At a general session, not later than the second day of the conference, the President shall appoint a committee of 9 on organization which shall contain at least one representative of each of the interests represented in the conference, which committee shall nominate the elective officers of this Association and the proper committees."

Section 4 be amended to read as follows: "The President shall also appoint a committee of 3 on resolutions and a committee on time and place consisting of one member from each State, Province, District or Department of the Federal Government."

This motion is made at this time with the request that it be placed in the printed proceedings of this conference to be taken up and discussed and such change, if any, as may deemed wise to be made at the Detroit meeting in 1922.

The Chairman: All in favor of the motion say aye; contrary, the same. The motion is carried.

* Journ. Crim. Law and Criminology, vol. 11, pp. 341, 343.

THE RELATION OF THE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION TO THE PRISONERS' AID SOCIETY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE PRISONERS' AID SOCIETY.

By F. EMORY LYON, SUPERINTENDENT, CENTRAL HOWARD ASSN.

It may be said at once, and in general, that this relationship should be one of mutual and cordial co-operation. The purpose of these 2 factors in the life of the offender is mutually supplementary. In a certain sense the Prisoners' Aid Society begins where the correctional institution leaves off. That is, the only legitimate purpose of the correctional institution is to prepare men for good citizenship. The primary purpose of the Prisoners' Aid Society is to see that that object is conserved and carried out by proper after-care.

The history of the American Prison Association shows that the Prisoners' Aid Movement has developed concurrently with the growth of remedial influences in the prisons. Because of the continuing influence of these private agencies, the constructive program of this Congress has been carried forward, in spite of frequent changes in the personnel of the correctional institution, by reason of political exigencies. My own organization was formed, only after securing a general expression from wardens and superintendents that such an agency was needed in the Central West. My observation of 21 years has been that these officials invariably welcome all properly qualified, sensible and sincere workers for the welfare of inmates at the time of their release.

In order to do the best work it is obvious that the Prisoners' Aid Society should have some previous knowledge of its applicants. It is desirable to know something of their family history and their own earlier vicissitudes. Furthermore, their experiences during incarceration will necessarily shed considerable light on the manner in which they are likely to face the problem of rehabilitation. To this end, the prisoners' aid workers' correspondence with the prisoner should be untrammelled, it being understood of course, that he can be depended upon not to abuse any courtesies or to disregard regulations. The welfare worker should have very much the same privileges in the institution as is accorded the chaplain; though scrupulously avoiding infringement on the chaplains' functions and duties. But there should be a contact with the men in the institution not only by letter, but by interview and by occasionally addressing them as a body. It is within the power of the head of a correctional institution greatly to

facilitate the efforts of a welfare worker, or to practically nullify those efforts. Where the latter attitude is taken by an official, it will usually be found to be because of that other legitimate function of the Prisoners' Aid Society—namely, inspection and criticism. While this function should not be dispensed with, it should be exercised with tact and good judgment. Constructive and kindly suggestions will accomplish more than hostile impugning of motives. Wherever tact is used, and yet friendly inquiry is resented, it may be safely assumed there are defects in the administration which will not bear scrutiny. If that is the case, there should be no more important reason, from the standpoint of public welfare, why independent inspection should be available.

Some Prisoners' Aid Societies are specifically authorized by charter to inspect prison conditions and report findings to the public through its officials. Whether or not such provision is made, it may be said to be implied by the duly incorporated agency which has as one of its declared purposes, the improvement of prison conditions. Such an agency may fairly be said to reflect public sentiment, and is entirely untrammelled in its findings by even the sense of courtesy to its appointing power, which is sometimes felt by the State Board of Charities and Correction.

It will be recognized that the Prisoners' Welfare Worker has an unrivaled opportunity to witness conditions in the various institutions and to make useful comparisons. The very spirit shown by men who come to him constantly from different institutions is a revelation as to whether the treatment accorded has been helpful or harmful.

It should never be forgotten that both the public institution and the private agency represent the public, and exist for their beneficiaries. The mutual co-operation and helpfulness of their respective heads, therefore, should not inure merely to their personal benefit. The temptation for such officials to pat each other on the back and form a mutual admiration society, should be studiously resisted. The prisoners' aid workers' usefulness should not, therefore, be measured by the amount of flattery bestowed upon public officials.

The more directly practical program of the Prisoners' Aid Society is the assistance given to released prisoners. Let no one suppose that the discharged prisoner problem is a thing of the past. To be sure, a considerable number of States now release under parole conditions, all but the most impossible persistent offenders. It is also true that many employers who formerly scorned to take any ex-prisoner, are now willing

to give him a chance on the basis of his present good purpose and regardless of his past. Notwithstanding these facts, there are still many discharged prisoners, not only from county jails and city prisons, but also from state penitentiaries and Federal prisons, where only a small percentage are released on parole.

Then, too, the State still does little more for these men than it did 25 years ago. The county and city prisons do not as a rule give any discharge fee for a new start. The writer recently learned in Arkansas that no discharge fee is given even to those who are released from the State institution, and several other States could be named that follow the same practice. The State of Missouri gives a discharge fee of \$5 if the man is a first offender in that State. Otherwise nothing is given except the usual poor suit of clothes and transportation. Most States give a discharge fee of about \$10. Minnesota, alone, grants \$25, an amount which can in any sense be considered adequate to the situation.

And thus, with this scanty equipment, the discharged prisoner is expected to face a hostile world with nothing but a better purpose. He often finds an additional handicap in public prejudice. It should be apparent, therefore, that in this situation he not only needs the encouragement and the necessary relief offered by the Prisoners' Aid Society, but, in the first instance, the encouragement and co-operation of the officials in the correctional institution. Each man facing discharge should be put directly in touch with some voluntary agency. This, of course, is often done, but not so universally as if it were generally expected that these men should become good citizens. Very likely prison officials become indifferent in the matter because these men themselves so often lack in foresight and forethought as to plans for their future welfare. On this account especially, the warden, superintendent and chaplain should never grow weary in well-doing, but exercise something of foresight for those who are deficient in that respect.

One method of meeting this situation by the Central Howard Association has been to ask that a list of prospective discharges be sent to the Association one month in advance. Generally this request has been cordially complied with, and the prisoners have been written to about the opportunity afforded for a new start in life. Such cordial co-operation with the officials, and frequent contact with the prisoners, both by correspondence and personal interview are essential, therefore, to successful work in aiding discharged prisoners.

With reference to men under parole, a still more vital relationship should exist between the correctional institution and the Prisoners' Aid Society. The Federal Parole Law and the law in most States provide that parole papers may be signed not only by the employer, but by a "first friend," responsible for the man's employment. The Prisoners' Aid Society is doubtless the most reliable, constant and experienced agency to supplement the work of the State in this respect. Many men who are eligible for parole are in no position to secure an employer who is willing to do the additional favor of signing the parole papers and take the responsibility for his conduct. Furthermore, the employer can not well furnish relief in time of sickness, or give advice or counsel so often essential to the paroled man's success. The Prisoners' Aid Society, in serving as sponsor is the important factor in helping the parolee to solve his problem. Until the time when the various States shall greatly enlarge their parole staffs, the Prisoners' Aid Society will be a necessary factor in supplementing the machinery of the State in carrying out the provisions of the parole law. These agencies have always been helpful in presenting the advantages of parole measures to the public and in sustaining the principle and purpose of releasing prisoners under supervision, instead of casting them adrift without any reference to their recovery or ability to maintain themselves as good citizens.

It is said that at present America expends 10 per cent. of its taxation on the crime problem. Nearly all of this amount is used in convicting and maintaining offenders in institutions. A very small percentage is applied to proper after-care to prevent return and the repetition of the expenditure. Is it not apparent that if one-half of our crime bill, for example, were used for careful after-care supervision, a vast economy to the State would be effected, and crime prevented? A united campaign should be undertaken by all correctional officials and private agencies, to the end that some such more equitable division of the crime budget shall be made. Such joint effort, together with a more widespread benevolent attitude on the part of good citizens everywhere, should go far toward making many so-called enemies of society, the friends of society.

THURSDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 3.

COMMITTEE ON PERSONS AWAITING COURT ACTION
AND MISDEMEANANT PRISONERS.

The President, Col. C. B. Adams: Now, if you will kindly come to order we will start on the last meeting of this Congress. We convened for the first meeting last Friday night and since that time we have had meetings morning, afternoon and evening, and it has been a well-attended conference, and I think you will agree with me that the programs have been interesting, and I just want to say a word about the wonderful hospitality of you good people of Jacksonville. Years ago I heard a certain Virginia Senator making a speech to a Kentucky audience and he said, "Kentucky is famous for its fast horses. I know, because I have driven them; fine whiskey, because I drank it; famous for its beautiful women. I know, because I have courted them." Jacksonville is famous for its hospitality. We know by reason of the cordial entertainment, and we know the fine punch that can be made, because we have drank the punch, and, as to the beautiful ladies, that goes without saying.

Now, this meeting tonight, as I said a minute ago, is the last meeting of the conference, and we have elected a new President and he needs no introduction at my hands. I have known Dr. Hart for many, many years, and his work. I have the very highest regard for him. He has been of great assistance to me in my work many times. There is no man in the United States that has a better detailed knowledge of all institutions than Dr. Hart. He is known throughout the South as well as throughout the North, and I am very proud indeed that he has been elected President of this Conference, and he is a Vice-President of the conference of last year and the chairman of this Section, so I just introduce Dr. Hart. He doesn't need introduction to a Jacksonville audience. You have heard him before and I now present him to you as the new President.

The Chairman, Dr. Hart: I have a very strong sense of personal gratitude to the members of this audience. One of the baneful things about conducting such a Congress as we have had here this week is the fact that it usually winds up with an anti-climax. The closing meeting is apt to be a frost. The people who have been entertaining us and attending our meetings have a right to claim that they are weary. The people from the North, many of them, have already started for

their homes and it was a question whether it would be possible to get an audience at this closing meeting. I wrote to my friend, Mr. Fagg, asking him to enlist the co-operation of some of the women of Jacksonville to make the closing meeting one that should be a worth-while meeting, and the social workers, I believe, took this matter up and the result is we have this splendid gathering here tonight, and this conference will finish in a blaze of glory instead of a diminishing candle gleam.

We are especially favored tonight in having three of the leading women of the United States on the committee for the care of persons awaiting court action and misdemeanor prisoners. That includes jails, probation, the subject of the third degree, and the whole matter of the dealing with people before they are convicted of any crime we send to prison while they are still suspects. The care of women and girls under such circumstances is one of the most difficult things we have to deal with.

I have very peculiar pleasure in introducing Mrs. Falconer because we worked together for 7 years in the Children's Home and Aid Society in Chicago in absolute harmony, and Mrs. Falconer today is known from one end of this land to the other and her subject is "The Jail as a Perverter of Womanhood."

THE JAIL AS A PERVERTER OF WOMANHOOD.

By MRS. MARTHA P. FALCONER, NEW YORK.

The Juvenile Court sprang into being in response to the demand of a civic conscience against treating children as criminals. In theory it is a court of guardianship, where the paramount issue is the welfare of the child. Does this hold true in our treatment of adult offenders?

The physician searches for every detail that bears on the condition of the patient; he tries to ascertain facts, because he believes it is only good that can follow to his patient. Similar treatment is given (in a few cities) to certain classes of first offenders, through private agencies co-operating with the courts, where the person turned over to the care of a private agency by the court is placed in a "shelter" conducted by the agency—often partially supported by municipal funds. Because the juvenile court takes the child and studies it, it was found necessary to have a detention house where the child could be held pending the results of an investigation. A detention house that is doing good work has mental and physical clinics where the child is carefully studied and a thorough

investigation made of his social history. The result of this is given to the judge at the time of the trial. With few exceptions there is no such intelligent and humane work being done for the woman offender. She is usually taken first to the police station, where she is housed with older offenders and kept in idleness until the time of her first hearing. She may then be sent to the jail if her case is held for further hearing.

Many of the jails are in unsanitary condition; often filthy and infested with vermin; frequently there is no matron. In a city workhouse that I visited a few months ago, where there were 28 young white girls and 21 colored, the keeper of the workhouse said to me, "Thank God we ain't got no matron here." In this workhouse, where men and women were sent from the city court, the women's quarters were filthy—not fit for any one to live in. There were plenty of unused cells, but the women were placed two in a cell because they wished it. A man had charge of the women's department, looked after their wants, and had entire responsibility—no women were employed in this place. The women had a great deal of freedom in mingling with the men employed there as they went about their work in the kitchen and laundry.

In another city in the northwest there were 32 women who were kept in the "bullpen" of the jail, which had been turned into a dormitory. Two matrons were employed to look after these women in the daytime. They had no key to the outer door, the keys being kept by a male attendant on the floor below. When the matrons wished to go out they had to pound on the iron door until the man came up from downstairs to let them out. From 8 o'clock in the evening until 7 the next morning the women prisoners were entirely alone. It had been reported that the women were troublesome and noisy at night and caused considerable disturbance, so that it had been found necessary for the men to go up many times to try to quiet them. What can we expect of women who are held under these conditions. All of these prisoners were young women.

There is often a misunderstanding about the work of a policewoman and police matron. Frequently it is said that a community has a policewoman when what is meant is a police matron. The work of the two should not be confused, and every place holding women awaiting trial should have enough police matrons so that a woman will always be on duty and it will never be possible for any of the prisoners who are detained to be under the care of a male attendant. The work of a policewoman should be outside the jail in the community,

especially supervising dance halls and places of public recreation.

In one city where there are 15 policewomen employed there is a great deal of dissatisfaction and friction among them because of the lack of organization. All of the women receive the same pay and have the same "rank," yet they feel that a few, because of "pull," can do desk work and do not have to do the work of a police matron, while others must take their regular turns at day and night duty in the crowded jail, looking after the large numbers of difficult women, including drug addicts, awaiting trial, and also doing patrol work, in turns.

I have visited many jails where the women are allowed to mingle freely with one another, and there is much obscenity and vulgarity. We cannot expect any woman, especially a young first offender, to be sent to such a place even for a short time without becoming worse because of her experiences while there. Frequently a woman is held several months as a witness or pending action of the court. In one jail there were six young women, two of them with babies, and no matron in charge. Outside of the women's cells, in the open court, was a special bed where the sufferers from delirium tremens were confined—all this in view of the women prisoners with only an iron grating between. The keeper of the jail assured me that they never strapped a man to the bed without having an attendant sit beside him. In this same open court was the trap door and the other necessary machinery for hanging. The keeper of the jail was surprised that I had never witnessed a hanging, and more surprised to learn that I did not desire to see one. He assured me, however, that the women prisoners were removed from their place of observation before an execution took place.

All over this country the jails are a menace, because there is no adequate care or protection given to the woman offender. The number of women and girls arrested is comparatively small, and the per capita cost of maintaining them is therefore high when compared to that in institutions for men and boys. Prison reformers generally seem to have devoted all of their time to the improvement of convict prisons and the reformation of convicted criminals. This seems to me to be beginning absolutely at the wrong end. The time to reform a criminal is at the beginning of her career and not at the end. It is important that the necessity of caring for prisoners awaiting trial be emphasized in the highest possible degree. The treatment of men in jails and police stations is bad enough, but the treatment of women is generally worse.

Even to this day it is a common thing for women prisoners to be under the exclusive charge of male officers. Even in jails where there are a number of women confined and where a jail matron is provided, it is often true that there are times when the male officers have access to the women's department in the absence of the matron.

The best instance of a detention house for the care of adults is the Municipal Detention House for Women, run by the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. An unused public school in what was the segregated district has been turned into a woman's court. The detention rooms, some single and some dormitories, are on the top floor in charge of a matron. The kitchen and dining and recreation rooms are on the same floor. Here are received the runaway and incorrigible girls between the ages of 16 and 21, women arrested for street walking, and women taken in raids. It is possible here to make some classification of the girls and women who are awaiting investigation of their cases. The court room and offices for probation officers are in the same building, so that it is not necessary to parade an arrested girl through the streets or to have her go in a police wagon. What Philadelphia has done other cities could do for prisoners awaiting trial.

The county jail presents a problem to practically every community. The consensus of opinion is that the jail as a place for detention of persons serving sentences has outlived its usefulness. Farm colonies under State control are recommended as the substitute for all convicted persons, and separate houses of detention for persons awaiting trial.

To take this matter up fully is not possible at this time, but the suggestion is made that special jail committees be appointed to visit each jail, house of detention, and police station in a community. The reports of these committees should be filed with the State authorities on prison investigation, and the accumulated knowledge used to arouse public interest in local conditions. The committees will have accurate information in regard to important phases of the problem, such as the number of prisoners in each jail or house of detention; the average length of sentences; the sanitary condition of the institution; whether the fee system is in operation; what work is provided for the prisoners. From this information a State committee could be in position to formulate plans for the proper care of persons convicted of misdemeanors and of those awaiting trial. Then will begin the struggle for legislation for the adoption of this program.

There should be a system of industrial farms for women convicted for short terms similar to that which Lynchburg, Va., has for its men. The Lynchburg farm is a large tract of land where the men can have outdoor work. When I visited this institution two years ago no women prisoners had ever been sent there, though a ten-room house had been built for that purpose. It was at that time occupied by the assistant superintendent and his family. The women were still kept in an old unsanitary jail in the town of Lynchburg, where they had no work and no outdoor life of any kind. While it is unwise to have men and women in the same institution, industrial farms for women could be arranged for a group of counties, if no one county had enough prisoners to justify the expense of such an institution. What is being done for convicted women in Clinton, N. J., at the State Reformatory for Women, and in Rockwell City, Iowa, at the State Reformatory for Women, can be done for women who are sent for short terms. First offenders should have probation, and that should be continued as long as there is hope of the woman responding to probation. The kind of work that is being done by private agencies under the name of protective work should be developed by city governments. Federal women prisoners are boarded in State institutions, so a system of industrial farms could be worked out in the states if the different counties were willing to co-operate.

There is much indifference on the part of the average public about the treatment given all prisoners and the conditions of our girls. We must try to educate public opinion to the need for better care and the protection of all arrested women.

The Chairman: If there is anyone who desires to ask a question of Mrs. Falconer, she will answer any question you desire to ask her. Are there no questions? If not, we will excuse Mrs. Falconer.

We have in the City of New York a society known as the New York Protective and Probation Association, and the woman who has long been at the head of that association is known throughout the State of New York and known as a leader in the effort to protect young girls and young women and to see that they are properly cared for before they go into court and that they are properly dealt with in their relation to the courts and to the police, and I want to say one thing I meant to have said before, that is to me a very remarkable tribute to these three women, because they have

been speaking in public meetings and in private meetings since being here, and they must somehow interest you or you wouldn't have been here. Miss Miner's subject is "The Individual Method of Dealing with Women and Girls Awaiting Court Action."

THE INDIVIDUAL METHOD OF DEALING WITH GIRLS AND WOMEN AWAITING COURT ACTION.

BY MISS MAUDE E. MINER, SECRETARY, NEW YORK PROBATION AND PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY.

THE PRESENT METHOD.

Come with me into a jail where girls and women are awaiting trial in one of many cities of our country. Standing behind black iron bars in a dark narrow cell without a window opening to the light of day, we see a girl 16 years of age. The dim light shining across the corridor which separates the long row of cells from the outside wall of the prison reveals a pale face with sensitive lips and searching eyes. "Oh, what will my mother ever do when she learns that I am a criminal?" said the girl after confessing to me that she had taken two pairs of silk stockings from a counter in the store where she worked. "I was brought up to know better," she added, "and I have a good, good mother." Lying on the narrow bed in the same cell is an older woman with a hard face, dyed hair, painted cheeks, and blackened eyebrows. "I tell her she's a fool to take on like that," said the older woman. "If she'd been here ten times like me, she'd feel different. Of course she's only a kid. Still I never had to sit here so long before with no one getting me out on bond. I tell you, someone's got to suffer for it too, for keeping me sitting in jail."

In the same prison we may find twenty or more girls and women 16 years of age and over, girls charged with incorrigibility or running away from home, with shoplifting or forgery or soliciting on the streets, women who are keepers of houses of prostitution or who have been associated with hold-up men, women addicted to drink or drugs who would sell their souls for a glass of whiskey or a "sniff of cocaine." We still find herded together in many jails young and old, first offenders and hardened women, diseased and clean, colored and white, convicted and unconvicted, and at times girls not charged with any crime who are held as witnesses against men who have wronged them. There is little or no segregation, occupation or recreation, and nothing to lift the

individual out of the sordid, wretched surroundings. In some jails there is not even a woman matron on duty during the day or at night. Is it any wonder that the time spent together in the same detention pen or cell, or around the bare wooden table where meals are served, is filled with tales of past lives, with exploits in stealing and prostitution, and with vile, wretched stories? Is it a wonder that there is resort to degenerate practices or immoral exhibitions? Is it a wonder that the atmosphere becomes so thoroughly poisoned that it vitiates the minds of young girls, some of whom are mere children, embitters respectable women, and causes offenders who are immigrants to distrust the democratic institutions of free America?

As we follow the procession of girls and women through jails and courts and back again into jails and prisons, we marvel at the stupidity of society which is responsible for this *mass treatment* of human beings. Each individual has had a different background and environment, each has a different personality, each presents a different problem, and yet all are dealt with in the same way. To be sure some have friends who furnish professional bondsmen to bail them out or "shyster" lawyers to plead their cause before the court, and a few are more successful in getting officers to modify evidence or complainants to withdraw charges against them. Yet the mill grinds in the usual way for most offenders, with little consideration as to how they are being embittered or harmed by their prison experience or what can be done to help them or prevent them from further violating the law.

And the responsibility for this irrational treatment of girls and women awaiting trial rests upon you and me. If we care enough and work hard enough and proclaim the truth loudly enough, eventually this condition will be changed.

STUDY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

What is a better way? It is an *individual method* of dealing with girls and women—understanding each person as an individual and seeking to discover the best means of helping her in the future.

This is the method which for many years the New York Probation and Protective Association has been using at Waverley House as a means of aiding girls sent by police, courts, or district attorney for observation and study. The *taking of the girl's statement* comes first. A sympathetic woman listens to the story of the girl as she explains how she has

come into her present difficulty, why she has run away from her home, or how she has been tempted to steal from her employer or to take the first downward step. The girl tells simply who she is and where her parents or relatives live, and often begs that the truth shall not be told to them. In the course of this interview much is learned about the girl's family history, her personal and alien history, and the causes that lie back of her anti-social behavior or delinquency.

Next comes the complete *physical examination*, with inspection of heart, lungs, nose, throat, eyes, ears, etc., and tests to show the presence or absence of venereal disease. This physical examination is always voluntary and seldom does a girl refuse to have it when its purpose is explained. If the girl is under 18 years of age, the written consent of her parents is secured for this examination.

The *mental examination* of each girl is made by a skilled psychiatrist and a psychologist. The psychologist tests the girl by the Terman revision of the Binet-Simon scale and grades her according to her mental age. The psychiatrist determines whether or not there is mental disease or defect, epilepsy or psychopathic tendencies, and discovers the outstanding personality traits. In planning for the future of the girl it is most important to know about her traits of character, such as instability, stubbornness, suggestibility, impulsiveness, and so forth; and also whether the individual is sufficiently defective to make commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded necessary. Observation by workers in Waverley House as to the girl's *adaptation to the environment* there, her habits of industry, power of application, willingness and co-operation, etc., aids in arriving at the best recommendations to make for her future.

The complete *investigation* which reaches back into the girl's home, the furnished room, the school, one or more places of employment, institutions where she has lived as a child or to which she has been committed previously by a court, and which verifies her age by a birth certificate or her marriage from the public records, helps us to know whether or not the girl is telling the truth and also brings us in touch with those most interested in helping her in the future.

Having the girl's statement, the report of her physical and mental examination, the result of the complete investigation, and the report of her power of adaptation from workers who have supervised her while in Waverley House, we are in position to arrive at a recommendation for her. We understand the girl sufficiently well as an individual to judge some-

thing about her chances of getting on in society under supervision, or whether she needs to be committed to a correctional or custodial institution.

A MUNICIPAL HOUSE OF DETENTION.

The application of this individual method of work to girls arrested for various offenses requires a municipal house of detention for women, with provision for adequate segregation of different classes of offenders and with provision for scientific examination and observation of the individual. For such a place of detention we have been working a long time in New York City and confidently expect that it will soon be a reality.

I will describe the general plan of a building which seems to be most feasible for a city like New York, sketches of which have been drawn. The combined house of detention and women's court includes on one floor a court room which is small so as to admit only those directly concerned with the immediate trial, a large waiting room for relatives and friends of prisoners and others having business in the court, and necessary offices for judges, clerks, probation officers, and fingerprint expert. On another floor are receiving rooms and offices of the superintendent, assistant superintendent, psychiatrist, psychologist, and physician. Above these floors are the divisions for the care of girls and women; first, two reception divisions where each girl brought by the police is placed at once in a separate room; next, two separate floors each with two divisions for colored women and white women who are awaiting trial or remanded for sentence; a division for drug addicts and women charged with intoxication, a separate division for material witnesses, and a hospital division for those in need of medical care while awaiting trial or sentence. A single room with an outside window sufficiently high to prevent communication with the street is provided for every woman; a combined recreation and dining room serves each division of 15 women. The food is prepared in a central kitchen and conveyed by a dumb-waiter to each floor. The dishes are kept on each floor and washed by the women in the division. A matron is assigned to each division and is responsible for her group of ten or fifteen girls. A fumigating plant makes it possible for clothing and blankets to be cleansed. Provision is made for the different divisions to use the roof for exercise at different times of the day.

Of greater importance than a fine building with perfect

equipment is a staff of splendid women in charge of the work. The ultimate success of houses of detention, where effort is made to understand individuals as a basis for helping them in the future, will depend upon the fitness of the women entrusted with this important work. Greater efforts should be made to train women and to draw them to this particular field, to secure more adequate salaries for them, and to make their conditions for work more possible through freedom from political interference.

The condition in many jails is deplorable, with influences present there which demoralize our girls and women. By a more rational method of treatment much can be done to obtain adequate help for individuals, to save them from wretched lives in the future, or to secure permanent care for them. Application of this individual method requires a place where the work may be done, women competent to do the work, and a public so alive to the needs of these girls and the importance of dealing wisely with them that officials will provide the necessary funds and secure competent workers. Is it not our responsibility to grapple with this difficult problem and to help create the kind of public opinion which demands greater justice for our girls and women?

The Chairman: I desire to say that the two papers to which we have listened thus far have been printed and you will receive them as you leave the Hall. If there shouldn't be enough to go around, just ask Mr. Marcus C. Fagg and he will furnish you with a copy later. The spoken word you are getting from these three women tonight I think is one of extreme significance, and yet it is certainly not half of the significance of their presence here. These three women represent the type of womanhood that I think is being enlisted in this field. Mrs. Falconer spent twelve years as superintendent of the girl's reform school and four years in the work of social hygiene, and I am sure anyone who looks into the face of Mrs. Falconer and hears her voice gets a new conception of the kind of spirit that is being enlisted in this difficult and what we have been accustomed to regard as repulsive work.

Miss Miner has been for fourteen years dealing with the most difficult type of young girlhood. The people engaged in this work tell me it is much more difficult to deal with girls than boys. Now you see in Miss Miner how a woman can carry on this work and yet preserve her optimism and believe in the possibilities of these young girls and feasibility of working out these problems with which we have to deal.

The woman I am about to introduce to you is a police-woman. She is a woman cop. She is accustomed to making arrests. The prominent society man finds himself under arrest. She is capable of arresting any of you men misbehaving tonight (laughter) and she represents the type of woman coming into this service. To my mind I don't know of anything that is more astonishing to one who hasn't come in contact with these lines of work than the type of people, the spirit with which they approach the work, the method of attack, and also the results which are being accomplished. Now I think I am not exaggerating when I am saying that I am about to introduce the woman who stands as the leader of the policewomen in the United States. She ought to, because she is in the Capital. I have the pleasure of introducing Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle, Director of the Women's Bureau, Police Department of the City of Washington.

HOW THE MOTHER STATE SHOULD CARE FOR CHILDREN WHO BECOME WARDS OF THE COURTS.

By MRS. MINA C. VAN WINKLE, DIRECTOR OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU,
POLICE DEPT., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Ninety-nine per cent. of the children who become wards of the courts first come in contact with the police. This contact should be an intelligent one and not merely that of arrest. Why, for instance, as is the case in so many cities, should a police officer immediately transfer his case to some other authority? The custom of sending children to detention homes under the jurisdiction of juvenile courts or private social agencies is an outgrowth of the prejudice in the minds of social workers against the police. The probation officer's control should come after trial and sentence.

Granted that there be an adequately equipped and properly staffed detention home, the logical place for it is in the police department, for the following reasons: First, the children are in the hands of the police to begin with. Second, the police officer, who is obliged to investigate the violation of the law for which the child is held, should make the social investigation, *i. e.*, all preliminary investigations should be made by the police, and a transcript of the information secured turned over to the court. This prevents a duplication of interviews to which the child should not be subjected, and which result from the transfer of children to other agencies. Third, economy in effort, time and money is gained from this division of service.

Detention is acknowledged by all social workers to be necessary in a limited number of cases for the shortest possible period. After practically living with the inmates in the detention home for a year, we are not convinced, as so many court workers seem to be, that the detention home is a place for the observation of children, and that they ought to be held for a long period of time. If long detention is necessary there should be some kind of clearing-house for all children's institutions, with better facilities and more opportunity for the child to improve than a detention home could offer under the best auspices. Those of us who are working in the police department in Washington believe that children should not be detained beyond the minimum necessary for interviews, investigation, first mental and physical examinations and disposition of the case. The dependent and friendless child is more easily accessible and co-operative, but the average child, in the surroundings of even the best detention home, has a feeling of restraint and resentment, unless he is of low grade mentally, or feeble-minded. The last point is that the hold-overs in a detention home have a bad influence on new-comers; they have learned tolerance of everything and everybody; they have developed confidence in and affection for the caretakers, and become demonstrators to the new-comers of the perfectly wonderful place that the detention home is, thus robbing the child of the awe that he should experience on finding himself in custody. The detention home should not be a place of pleasure and enjoyment to the child, but the first step in his contact with the law, for which he should have a very wholesome respect. Anyone held long enough in any properly conducted detention home would naturally learn to like it.

The only children who should be detained are: the homeless or those whose home conditions prove injurious to the child's character and health; confirmed delinquents beyond the control of their parents, or children whose parents cannot be trusted to produce them in court; fugitives from parents, guardians or institutions; children who are guilty of grave offenses who, if free, would endanger the welfare of society. Who can so ably make a quick decision as to whether the child needs detention as the policeman on the beat who knows the child and the home conditions, or the woman police officer who may have considerable previous knowledge of the child's habits from the information given her by the policeman or gathered by the women police on patrol duty? In Washington the juvenile court provides the house of deten-

tion with a list of all probationers so that immediately when a child is brought in this list is referred to and if the child is found to be a recidivist, he is automatically returned to the court without further investigation, unless he is involved in a new violation of the law, which compels the arresting officer to make an investigation.

Classification has long been acknowledged as a great need in all institutions, but is more a theory than a fact. Since we are discussing abnormal children that differ radically in character and experience, the ideal classification would be individual care for the individual delinquent, apart from all other children. Surveys of detention homes and experience in our own prove that the theory held by the average social worker on classification is not workable. Irrespective of the fact that the children sleep in separate rooms, they meet in recreation, in the class-room, in the dining room and at work. There is hardly an institution in which classification could be achieved unless it is the one in California, the so-called grain elevator, where there are self-containing units for various classes. I believe there are 9 floors in this house, each with its own personnel and each having every modern facility for child care. This method of housing the children might result in the most practical classification obtainable in institutions not arranged on the cottage plan. Were we to expect this system to prevail in Washington, it would take us 20 years to educate Congress and the taxpayers to the need for an appropriation covering the cost of building, equipment, staff and maintenance. From knowledge of other cities where the great need of simple detention has not yet been met, a long struggle would be inevitable if anything but the average idea of a detention home were carried out.

Isolating the diseased inmate is impracticable with a transient population because the condition of the inmate is often not known upon entrance and cannot be determined for some time, and there are insufficient quarters in even the largest detention homes to take care of this need. Safety lies in absolute cleanliness, sterilizing of all clothing, household linens and dishes. In small institutions we must rely almost entirely upon responsible and close supervision rather than upon classification, strictly eliminating all children who can be dealt with outside of detention homes.

What, then, should be the minimum standard for detention homes? It is better to take an old building and remodel it than to wait indefinitely for a new building, while the State neglects its children. Old school buildings or hospitals have

excellent possibilities which the ordinary private house lacks, though most communities seem to take over private residences for the purpose of detention. The private house is suitable for a small town or village of 8,000 or over. In rural communities a county institution organized along the suggested lines would meet the need. We shall use the Washington detention home as an example of minimum needs for a city of between 350,000 and 500,000 inhabitants. It is an old building remodeled and equipped at a cost of \$25,000 and can accommodate about 60 persons a day. The house plan is as follows:

First floor.—(1) woman's bureau, police department, application and complaint desk, interviewing rooms, record room; (2) clinic for physical and mental examinations only, no treatment; (3) steam laundry; (4) receiving room and bath for boys; (5) store room, boiler room; (6) shower and locker room for policewomen.

Second floor.—(1) director's office; (2) superintendent's room; (3) employee's rooms; (4) dining-room; (5) emergency rooms for dependents or for stranded women and girls; (6) recreation and school room; (7) receiving room and bath for girls; (8) linen and clothing rooms.

Third floor.—(1) recreation and occupation room for boys; (2) bedrooms for white boys; (3) bedrooms for colored boys; (4) boys' showers and toilets; (5) boys' dining-room; (6) bedrooms for caretakers.

Fourth floor.—(1) recreation and occupation room for girls; (2) bedrooms for white girls; (3) bedrooms for colored girls; (4) dining-room for girls; (5) kitchen; (6) bathrooms for girls and employees; (7) bedrooms for caretakers.

There are eight members on the staff. Dr. Hart, who has had the greatest opportunity to know institutions, says that the best plumbing and plenty of it is a paramount need. Hard wood floors, preferably maple, are essential for cleanliness and wear. The furnishings should be in good taste. The house must be completely equipped with mosquito screens, and it is absolutely necessary to have part of it equipped with bars, diamond mesh or some means of preventing the slippery inmates from escaping. If the institution has a sufficiently large staff, however, the need for such protection is slighter. Location, too, should influence this question. A well-equipped laundry and kitchen are necessary. The children should have the very best kind of food with plenty of good bread, butter and milk as a principal part of the diet.

There must be ample opportunity for recreation, occupation and education under the direction of competent teachers. Their indoor recreation should include singing, moving pictures and dancing; outdoors, on the playground, medicine ball, baseball, basketball, bean bag and other games. The colored children from necessity are better trained at home in the use of their hands and in performing ordinary household chores. The white children who come to us are pitifully deficient in everything and are much more of a problem, more difficult to interest. Education must be adapted to the special needs of transient children and it takes a cleverer teacher to do this than to do merely routine class-room work. Occupation should include some of the household tasks. We have a janitress and 2 chauffeurs who perform the heaviest duties. The work of the children is limited almost entirely to that of their immediate floors. In addition to this, manual training is, of course, the best means of occupation for these types of children, the making of useful articles for the house or things that the children may take home. Whenever the carpenter comes to the building, the boys salvage every scrap of wood and build all kinds of things, including bureaus and boats with rigging and sails. Every waking moment of the children's time should be filled with interesting and constructive occupation. They should be made to work and play so hard that they will be glad to go to bed at night and go to sleep.

An old and totally inadequate building with a first-class personnel is better than the best and most modern institution with a poor group of workers. The members of the staff in every house of detention should be of high moral character and possess training in the care of children. In Washington, in addition to the civil service examination, an oral test is given to applicants to determine personal qualities, manner of address and tact, judgment, personality, adaptability, and general fitness for the performance of required duties. The right kind of administration and service in detention homes for transients requires unusual personality and training. The workers should be well paid. In Washington we pay the attendants in the house \$1320 per year, room and board. The supervisor of a detention home should be an expert administrator and have all qualities of a good mother and school teacher. She must be possessed of rare tact so that she can satisfactorily deal with her subordinates as well as with the parents, teachers, lawyers and all other persons with whom she comes in contact.

If detention homes are under the control of the police, and

they should be definitely so connected rather than with the probation department; but if these homes do not measure up to the standards outlined, then it is the duty of the social workers and the citizens in general to improve them, not to transfer them to some other jurisdiction. Statistics have been collected through questionnaires sent out to the representatives of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board and to all of the chiefs of police of the United States. Twenty-five of the cities replying, report detention homes under the police department. Of those not under the police in 15 instances the police chief would prefer to have the home taken over and operated by his department; 7 do not wish to have charge of it. One city, Summit, New Jersey, replies that it has no detention home and wants none. Seventeen cities reply that they have no sort of detention home and believe that such homes should be established under the control of police departments. Wherever a house of detention is under the control of the police department it should be a unit in the woman's bureaus or at least under the control of the women in the service. The detention home should have its own specially trained personnel and not be staffed by police officers; and under no circumstances should old, worn-out policemen be detailed to this service, nor the widows of police officers, in order to give them a source of income in lieu of a pension. The police are the largest organized municipal agency in every community and nowhere have they been used to the fullest extent of time and opportunity. If social workers believe them to be corrupt, inefficient, unintelligent and ineffective, the biggest contribution they can make to society is to correct such conditions, where they are known to exist. They should be teachers of the police instead of critics, and oblige every member of the police department in each community to work in a thoroughly socialized way; thus they would turn vast resources into constructive public service.

Exponents of juvenile courts, probation work, institutions, and of work with dependents and delinquents concede that long service in these activities is not bringing them to the goal of their theories. The police are waking up to the fullest knowledge that there is opportunity for wider and more intelligent service for them, too. They intend to render this service, but in order to be permitted to do so they themselves stated at their convention at Detroit and in their recent convention at St. Louis, that the citizens must unload the politicians who destroy a large measure of police service. Even in Washington, where political influences have never been

brought to bear in any previous administration, there are now about six men who have set themselves up as an invisible government and are demanding the release from duty of the chief of police, so that they may name their own representative,—not a better man, but one who will be amenable to their orders and enable them to make a wide-open town of the capital city. Until citizens in every community make such pernicious activity impossible we shall not be able to solve the delinquency problem.

The Chairman: These women have marked the way. I advise you people go back to your own communities and see whether you are meeting your reasonable and ordinary obligation to the girls of the community and if not you find a way to meet that obligation. Here in this city you are witnesses to the magnificent achievements of the children's home society of this State. You have made one very important step in caring for your girls in the development of the school for girls in Ocala. The next step is for the women of this club and of the women's club to take up in unison with the judge of the juvenile court and other judges of this city and public authorities the question of how far you are lacking in your dealing with young girls and then proceed. There is a splendid social spirit in this city. You cannot afford to lag behind, and when you do that job it will be no particular credit to you if what you do is better than what is done in other cities of your class like Elmira, Rochester, Providence. You ought to do better because you can avail yourselves of all their mistakes and their experience and success. They have threshed it out, and you can do a better job, and I am thankful to say that is being done in many southern cities.

I want in closing to pay a tribute to the wonderful work done in this State by the Children's Home Society under the leadership of Mr. Marcus Fagg. Mr. Fagg consulted me before he came to Florida. It has been my privilege from time to time to respond to his calls when he wanted some help in the progress of that society and when Fagg has called I have always tried to respond because I felt he was a leader in the movement, mightily to the credit of this State and for the welfare of your children, and the fruit of that work is being manifested. There is no reason why you shouldn't be as successful in meeting your obligation with the neglected girl. You have the people; you have the means; you have the enterprise. It can be done, and I am sure it will be done.

I want to say there is still some of the punch remaining

in the other room and the young women are exceedingly anxious you should go home refreshed. I never in all my life have experienced such treatment as in Jacksonville and I want to say I never have seen the people of a community dealing with a visiting convention more beautifully, more generously, more hospitably. We are going away with the greatest warmth of affection and good-will toward the good people of this community. Men and women thank you.

Final Adjournment.

MATTERS OF BUSINESS.

DIRECTORS' MEETINGS.

The Board of Directors of the 1921 American Prison Association held meetings at the Hotel Windsor, Jacksonville, on October 28-29-31, and November 1, at which the following business was transacted:

The report of Mr. D. M. Sawyer, Treasurer, was presented, showing that in recent years the Association has hardly met current expenses by annual contributions and the sale of Proceedings. When back bills are paid at close of this Congress, the Treasurer will have only a few hundred dollars in the treasury, with the necessity facing the Association of publishing the Proceedings of 1921, at an expense of probably \$1,700 to \$2,000.

Voted that the financing of the American Prison Association be made a special matter of business at the first meeting of the new Executive Committee. Carried.

The General Secretary reported in detail on the activities of the office during the year the publication of 21,000 Newsletters at the St. Charles School for Boys for only the cost of paper, the publication of many thousand leaflets at the State School for Boys of Maryland on a similar basis, the writing of over 4,000 personal letters during the year by the General Secretary, and other matters. Offers to continue the publication of leaflets and Newsletters on the same generous basis were received from Colonel Adams and Mr. Faulkner, and accepted, with deep appreciation of their services this year.

A committee of three was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Vasaly, O'Brien and Faulkner, to examine the Constitution and By-Laws, and to recommend any changes to the Board of Directors for their future consideration. This Committee reported as follows:

"To the Board of Directors of the American Prison Association,
Congress of 1921:

"The undersigned members of your Committee on the revision of Constitution and By-laws respectfully recommend:

"First: That in designating our Association the word *Prison* be struck out and the word *Delinquency* inserted so that the title shall appear *American Delinquency Association*.

"Second: That the Offices of the *General Secretary* and *Financial Secretary* be consolidated and the words *Financial Secretary* be struck out wherever they appear in the Constitution and By-laws.

"Third: Regarding the election of Officers and Directors let Section 3 of the By-laws read as follows: .

"The Officers of the Association and elective members of the Board of Directors shall be elected by ballot at the first business session of the annual meeting of the Association on the *second* day preceding the last day of the meeting, and for the purpose of such election, there shall be a business meeting on the said day. The time and place of such election shall be published in the official program of the Association. No other business shall be presented until disposition has been made of the election of Officers. Nominations of elective officers shall be made as follows: Each qualified member of the Association on registration shall receive from the Secretary a blank ballot indicating the Offices to be filled at the election, and shall return said ballot not later than 5 o'clock P. M. on the *first* day of the meeting (excluding Sunday) following the opening of the Congress. The tellers shall count the ballots and it shall be the duty of the secretary to prepare from these ballots a ticket on which shall be printed the names of the three candidates for each office who shall have received the highest number of votes, if votes have been cast for that number of persons. This printed ballot shall also contain the 25 names receiving the highest number of votes for elective directors. No person shall be eligible for election for any office named herein who is not a qualified member of the Association, and no person shall be regarded as qualified who has not paid annual dues for the current year. *At the first session of the Congress* the President shall appoint three tellers who shall count the ballots for nominees and the votes, the result to be declared at the next general or business session following. The person receiving the highest number of votes for each office shall be declared elected."

The Board of Directors voted unanimously to cause the announcement to be made at the business meeting of the Association on Wednesday evening, November 2d, that at the meeting in 1922 a motion would be made to change the name of the American Prison Association, and to merge the offices of General Secretary and Financial Secretary, such notice being necessary at the annual meeting in advance of the meeting at which such action is to be taken. The third section in the report of the committee was to be reported to the 1921 business meeting of the Association for action.

In the matter of voting at this Congress for officers and directors for the Association, it was voted that in both the preliminary balloting and the final balloting any member wishing to vote by mail might do so, the ballot being deposited in a sealed envelope addressed to Mr. Bagley.

Mr. Bagley and Mr. Lawes were appointed tellers for the preliminary balloting, and Messrs. McClellan, W. C. Brown and H. K. Smith, Jr., for the final balloting.

The matter of merging into one association of juvenile agencies the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children with the

Juvenile Reformatory Section of the American Prison Association, was presented by Mr. Faulkner. The following official statements of activities taken present the results of this movement, regarded as of signal importance to the growth in membership and influence of the American Prison Association.

INTRODUCED BY MR. FAULKNER.

Whereas, two organizations dealing with the same questions and subjects are meeting this year in Jacksonville and have in each Representatives of the same organizations, and:

Whereas, duplication of effort in the same direction is contrary to all modern ideas of economy and efficiency, be it:

Resolved that it is the judgment of the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children, that greater good could be accomplished by the organization of a National Conference of Juvenile Agencies which would be made up by the merging of the Juvenile Section of the American Prison Association and the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children, and that said new Conference of Childrens' Agencies shall be affiliated with the American Prison Association, and in case the Juvenile Section of the American Prison Association concur in such judgment, the Presidents of the two now existing organizations shall each appoint a Committee of three to select and appoint officers and complete the organization of the new Conference to be formed by the combination of the Juvenile Section of the American Prison Association and the National Conference of the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children, which organization shall make all arrangements for the meeting in 1922 under the new name of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies.

At the regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children, at which was present Joseph M. Frost, Hobart H. Todd, C. B. Adams, Leon C. Faulkner, Chas. A. McGonagle, Geo. L. Sehon, R. U. Hastings, Dr. Chas. H. Johnson and Col. Nibecker, upon motion duly seconded and unanimously carried, the above resolution was adopted, same resolution afterward being presented to the entire conference at its business session and unanimously passed without objection.

ACTION OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION.

Upon motion duly seconded and carried, the Resolution as adopted by the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children, looking toward a merger with the Juvenile Reformatory Section of the American Prison Congress, is hereby cordially received and referred to the Juvenile Reformatory Section of the American Prison Congress for appropriate action subject to the approval of the Board of Directors of the American Prison Association for 1921.

ACTION OF CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATION OF BACKWARD, TRUANT, DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN.

Whereas there has been transmitted through the Board of Directors of the American Prison Congress for 1921 a resolution passed by the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children, looking toward a merger with the Juvenile Reformatory Section of the American Prison Association under the new name of the "National Conference of Juvenile Agencies."

Whereas this resolution has been cordially received by said Board and turned over to the Juvenile Reformatory Section for appropriate action,

Be it hereby resolved:—

First: That the President of this section be empowered to appoint a Committee of three, of which he shall be one, to meet with a similar committee from the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children for the purpose of merging these two existing organizations into a new organization by name, "The National Conference of Juvenile Agencies."

Second: Be it further resolved that this Committee be given full power with the Committee from the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children to select such officers and committees as in their judgment may be necessary for the new organization to be known as "The National Conference of Juvenile Agencies," and fix their term of office and duties. Furthermore, be it resolved that these officers and committees when appointed shall be charged with the responsibility and given full power to make all arrangements for the next annual conference at the same time and place as the American Prison Association, of which it be understood that it is to become an affiliated body.

Furthermore, be it resolved that a copy of these resolutions be submitted to the Board of Directors of the 1921 American Prison Congress for their information and approval, and a transcript of all actions in this matter, including the names of appointments of officers and committees, be filed with the General Secretary of the American Prison Association.

Finally, be it resolved that the Committee of three, as appointed by our President, report back to this body on its action not later than Monday noon, Oct. 31, 1921, at one o'clock.

The above resolution was drafted by the officers of the Juvenile Reformatory Section and presented to the Session of the Juvenile Reformatory Section by a Committee consisting of Chas. McGonagle, Major Hickman and Supt. Wm. Brown of Kentucky, at which meeting it was unanimously adopted.

At a special meeting of the two Committees, appointed by the Presidents of the National Association of the Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children, and the Juvenile Reformatory Section, composed of Col. Nibecker, Chas. F. Johnson, Hobart H. Todd, for the Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Group, and Calvin Derrick, Chas. McGonagle and Leon C. Faulkner for the Juvenile Reformatory Section,

the following members were present: Col. Nibecker, Leon C. Faulkner, H. Johnson, Calvin Derrick, Chas. McGonagle.

Col. Nibecker was unanimously elected to preside, whereas Mr. Faulkner was likewise appointed Secretary. Upon motion duly seconded and carried, the following officers were selected for the year 1922 of the new organization, "The National Conference of Juvenile Agencies."

Hon. Chas. H. Johnson of New York, President,
 Capt. R. U. Hastings of Ohio, First Vice-President,
 Mrs. Emma S. Jackson of Delaware, Second Vice-President,
 Mr. E. J. Henry of Ohio, Third Vice-President,
 Bro. Cleophas of New York, Fourth Vice-President,
 Hobart H. Todd of New York, Secretary-Treasurer.

Executive Committee, ex-officio.

Hon. Chas. H. Johnson of New York, Chairman,
 Mr. Hobart H. Todd of New York,
 Joseph M. Frost of Michigan.

Three Years.

Hon. Geo. L. Sehon of Ky.,
 Mrs. Martha P. Falconer of N. Y.,
 Leon C. Faulkner of Md.

Two Years.

Col. F. H. Nibecker of Penn.,
 Dr. Kenosha Sessions of Ind.,
 Calvin Derrick of N. J.

One Year.

Col. C. B. Adams of Ill.,
 Chas. A. McGonagle of Ind.,
 Bro. Paul of Md.

Furthermore, upon motion duly seconded and carried, the following resolutions were adopted as outlined for the control and guidance of the new organization, and the President was authorized to appoint a Committee to meet at their convenience at some suitable time and place for the purpose of drawing up Constitution and By-laws to be presented to the membership of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies in Detroit in 1922.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President of the Conference for the year in which the meeting is held and he shall be Chairman of the Committee, the retiring President, the Secretary-Treasurer and nine elected members. The nine members appointed by the joint committee of the National Conference on Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children and the Juvenile Reformatory Section of the American Prison Association shall be divided into three equal classes by lot. Those in the first class shall serve three years, those in the second class shall serve two years, and those in the third class shall serve one year. At each meeting, beginning with meeting held in 1922, there shall be elected a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer and three members of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have full jurisdiction over the program of the conference subject only to specific instructions of the Conference. The Chairman, appointed for the year, including the 1922 meeting, shall appoint a Committee on Constitution and By-laws to report to the Executive Committee on the first day of the Conference and the Execu-

tive Committee shall report the Constitution and By-laws approved by it at the first morning session of the Conference.

A fee of one dollar shall be paid by each person registering as a member of the National Conference of Delinquency in addition to the regular fee to be paid for membership in the American Prison Association. Any moneys in the treasuries of the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Dependent and Delinquent Children and the Juvenile Reformatory Section of the American Prison Association shall be turned into the Treasury of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS HELD AT
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, JACKSONVILLE,
NOVEMBER 3, 1921

Mr. Shirer, in the absence of Dr. H. H. Hart, president-elect, was elected Chairman, pro tem.

Mr. Erskine presented his resignation in favor of Charles A. Blaney, in order that Michigan may be represented on the Board of Directors. The resignation was accepted with an expression of keen appreciation by the Board of the thoughtful act of Mr. Erskine.

Mr. Shirer presented his resignation as Financial Secretary, on the ground that the work of the Financial Secretary should, for the sake of financial efficiency, be centralized in the office of the General Secretary. The resignation of Mr. Shirer was accepted, and a number of members of the Board, including Mr. Byers (former General Secretary), Mr. Sawyer (Treasurer), and Mr. Lewis (General Secretary) bore witness to the exceptional qualities of devotion to the Association shown through many years by Mr. Shirer. On motion of Mr. Byers, it was voted that the vacant office of Financial Secretary be not filled during the coming year.

The General Secretary asked that, if possible, the Executive Committee be appointed this year from among those members of the Board of Directors residing fairly near the office of the President and General Secretary in New York, in order that the several important meetings of the Executive Committee be well attended. Last year it was impossible to secure attendance of many members of the Board of Directors residing in the Central States.

The Board elected to the Executive Committee: E. C. R. Bagley (Massachusetts); F. L. Christian (New York); Mrs. Falconer (New York); Mrs. Hodder (Massachusetts); L. E. Lawes (New York); A. H. Leslie (Pennsylvania); A. H. Votaw (Pennsylvania).

It was voted, on motion of Mr. Lewis, that a committee of three be appointed to edit the Proceedings of 1921.

It was voted, on the suggestion of Mr. Lewis, that a program committee for the 1922 Congress be appointed, to consist of the President, First Vice-President, General Secretary, and the President of the Warden's Association.

Mr. Koren, representative for the United States on the International Prison Commission, was asked to enter into communication with the said body to inquire whether the said body desires to hold its next Congress in the United States. The American Prison Association pledges itself, in this case, to assist in bringing this about, and authorizes the Executive Committee to take such action, with Mr. Koren, as is necessary.

Mr. Faulkner resigned as Assistant Secretary and Mr. Shirer was appointed in his place.

Finances of the Association were discussed, and the matter was referred to the Executive Committee.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

BY D. M. SAWYER.

(October 23, 1920, to October 15, 1921.)

1920		DR.	
Oct. 23.	Check from E. A. Fuller, Treasurer, Transfer of cash on hand.....		\$967.83
Nov. 3.	H. H. Shirer, dues for members.....		996.00
Dec. 13.	H. H. Shirer, November collections.....		16.00
1921			
Jan. 10.	H. H. Shirer, December collections.....		30.00
Jan. 10.	H. H. Shirer, So. Railway Bond coupons.....		75.00
Apr. 20.	Sundry checks to make up deficit of American Prison Ass'n.—per detailed list kept by Dr. Lewis		1,026.00
May 9.	H. H. Shirer, March collections.....		33.87
June 9.	Sundry checks from 13 persons for special fund American Prison Ass'n.—per list kept by Dr. Lewis		110.00
June 28.	Check of D. M. Sawyer to cover remittances of H. H. Shirer—February 1.....\$63.37		
	March 7	28.61	91.98
July 8.	H. H. Shirer, Collections, April 1 to June 29.....		41.22
July 8.	Coupons So. Railway, due July 1.....		75.00
July 8.	A. Baldwin, Inc., special deficit acct.		10.00
July 20.	R. U. Hastings, Membership.....\$5.00		
	Special Fund	20.00	25.00
Aug. 11.	H. H. Shirer, dues received in July.....		12.23
Sept. 3.	H. H. Shirer, dues received in August.....		363.69
Sept. 15.	Mrs. J. D. Hodder, special fund.....		25.00
Oct. 5.	Miss Dilks, 1920 Proceedings.....		3.00
Oct. 5.	H. H. Shirer, dues for September.....		344.00
Oct. 5.	Montclair Trust Company, credits for interest...		19.98
			\$4,265.80

TREASURER'S REPORT.

By D. M. SAWYER.

(October 23, 1920, to October 15, 1921.)

1920	CR.	
Oct. 30.	W. B. Burford, Balance of printing bill for 1919..	\$737.99
Oct. 30.	Merchants Trucking and Storage Co., Freight and cartage	115.94
Oct. 30.	H. H. Shirer, September Expense, per voucher...	28.11
Nov. 5.	H. H. Shirer, Honorarium voted by Board of Directors	500.00
Dec. 29.	American Prison Ass'n. sundries, per statement..	41.67
Dec. 29.	B. H. Tyrrel, 2,500 letter heads.....	28.50
1921		
Jan. 17.	Prison Ass'n. of New York, sundry items of outlay for Am. Prison Ass'n.	34.74
Jan. 17.	C. M. Fox, New York City, index cards.....	4.13
Jan. 17.	Standard Envelope Co., 2,000 envelopes.....	4.92
Jan. 27.	Addressograph Co., New York City, A. B. C. Mont. machine	58.00
Apr. 26.	D. H. Ahrend Co., printing.....	7.40
Apr. 26.	H. H. Shirer, clerk hire in October.....\$18.00	
	Oct. 1 to Dec. 31..... 14.50	
	Telegrams	3.67
May 11.	Charity Organization Society, advertising.....	1.20
May 11.	D. H. Ahrend Co., printing	3.50
May 11.	Maryland Training School for Boys, printing....	38.50
May 11.	O. F. Lewis, traveling expenses.....	34.72
May 18.	B. H. Tyrrel, printing.....	21.75
May 18.	Prison Ass'n of New York, sundry expenses.....	12.02
May 18.	The Survey, advertising	8.00
July 26.	Prison Ass'n. of New York, telegrams and postage, May and June.....	6.95
July 26.	Prison Ass'n., advertising in the Survey.....	6.00
Sept. 22.	Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Company, printing 800 volumes Columbus Proceedings.....	1,893.00
		\$3,623.21
Sept. 23.	Prison Ass'n. of New York, postage stamps used in mailing Proceedings	42.48
Oct. 3.	H. H. Shirer, postage stamps and notary services	16.50
Oct. 3.	Federal Printing Co., Columbus, Ohio, statement and envelopes	12.50
Oct. 15.	Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., printing circulars	37.50
		\$3,732.19
Balance		533.61
		\$4,265.80

REPORT OF FINANCIAL SECRETARY.

By H. H. SHIRER.

(September 30, 1920, to Sept. 30, 1921.)

RECEIPTS:

From membership dues	\$1,735.00
From sale of proceedings.....	168.99
Contribution	25.00
Total	<u>\$1,928.99</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

1920		
Oct. 30.	Check to Treasurer.....	\$996.00
Dec. 11.	Check to Treasurer.....	16.00
1921		
Jan. 8.	Check to Treasurer.....	30.00
Feb. 1.	Check to Treasurer.....	63.37
Mar. 7.	Check to Treasurer.....	28.61
Apr. 1.	Check to Treasurer.....	33.87
June 30.	Check to Treasurer.....	41.22
Sept. 1.	Check to Treasurer.....	363.69
Aug. 9.	Check to Treasurer.....	12.23
Oct. 3.	Check to Treasurer.....	344.00
Total		<u>\$1,928.99</u>

October 31, 1921.

To the President and Board of Directors,
1921 Congress, Jacksonville, Florida.

Your Committee, appointed by the President to audit the accounts of the Treasurer and Financial Secretary, has this date audited same and found them to be correct, with a balance of \$533.61 in the bank, according to books and statements submitted.

(Signed) LEON C. FAULKNER,
A. H. LESLIE,
Committee.

CONSTITUTION.

(As amended October 1919, and October 1920. November 1921. Amendments in *Italics*.)

ARTICLE I. This Association shall be called the American Prison Association, and its objects shall be—

1. The improvement of the laws in relation to public offenses and offenders, and the modes of procedure by which such laws are enforced.

2. The study of the causes of crime, the nature of offenders and their social surroundings, the best methods of dealing with offenders and of preventing crime.

3. The improvement of the penal, correctional and reformatory institutions throughout the country, and of the government, management and discipline thereof, including the appointment of boards of trustees and other officers.

4. The care of, and providing suitable and remunerative employment for *paroled and discharged prisoners and probationers*, and especially such as may or shall have given evidence of a reformation of life.

ARTICLE II. The officers of the Association shall be a president, five vice-presidents, a general secretary, a financial secretary, a treasurer, and a board of directors not exceeding thirty in number, of which the officers above named and the ex-presidents of the Association shall be ex-officio members.

ARTICLE III. There shall be an executive committee, of which the president shall be ex-officio chairman, the general secretary ex-officio secretary, and the financial secretary and treasurer ex-officio members; and other committees shall be appointed each year to consider and make reports upon subjects assigned them within the scope of the objects named in Article I.

ARTICLE IV. The board of directors, of whom any five members shall constitute a quorum—two of said members being officers of the Association—shall meet annually, and in the interval of its meeting its powers shall be exercised by the executive committee, which shall fix its own times of meeting.

ARTICLE V. Any person contributing annually to the funds of the Association five dollars shall be a member thereof; a contribution of one hundred dollars at any time shall constitute the contributor a life member; and a contribution of two hundred dollars at any one time shall entitle the contributor to be a patron. Corresponding members may be appointed by the board of directors or by the executive committee. The power of electing officers shall be confined to the members of the Association *who have paid annual dues for the current year*.

ARTICLE VI. The Association shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as it shall appoint, on which occasion the several standing committees and the treasurer shall submit annual reports.

ARTICLE VII. All officers of the Association shall be elected at the annual meeting; but vacancies occurring after the annual meeting may be filled by the board of directors, who shall also appoint all committees not chosen at the annual meeting and all officers shall hold over till their successors are chosen.

ARTICLE VIII. The executive committee shall consist of seven members of the board of directors—the president, the general secretary, the financial secretary, and the treasurer being ex-officio members—any three of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE IX. This constitution may be amended by vote of a majority of the members of the Association at any meeting thereof; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at the next preceding meeting.

BY-LAWS.

Section 1. The order of business at each stated meeting shall be such as is determined by the board of directors and the executive committee.

Sec. 2. The president, general secretary, financial secretary and treasurer shall perform the customary duties of their respective offices. The general secretary shall be the executive officer of the Association; the financial secretary shall collect the members' dues and pay the same to the treasurer.

Sec. 3. The officers of the Association and elective members of the Board of Directors shall be elected by ballot at the first business session of the annual meeting of the Association on the *second* day preceding the last day of the meeting, and for the purpose of such election, there shall be a business meeting on the said day. The time and place of such election shall be published in the official program of the Association. No other business shall be presented until disposition has been made of the election of officers. Nominations of elective officers shall be made as follows. Each qualified member of the Association on registration shall receive from the Secretary a blank ballot indicating the offices to be filled at the election, and shall return said ballot not later than 5 o'clock p. m. on the *first* day of the meeting (excluding Sunday), following the opening of the Congress. The tellers shall count the ballots and it shall be the duty of the secretary to prepare from these ballots a ticket on which shall be printed the names of the three candidates for each office who shall have received the highest number of votes, if votes have been cast for that number of persons. This printed ballot shall also contain the 25 names receiving the highest number of votes for elective directors. No person shall be eligible for election for any office named herein who is not a qualified member of the Association, and no person shall be regarded as qualified who has not paid annual dues for the current year. *At the first session of the Congress* the President shall appoint three tellers who shall count the ballots for nominees and the votes, the result to be declared at the next general or business session following. The person receiving the highest number of votes for each office shall be declared elected.

Sec. 4. The president shall appoint a committee of *nine* on organization, a committee of *three* on resolutions, and a committee on time and place, *consisting of one member from each State, Province, district or department of a federal government.*

Sec. 5. *Societies and organizations desiring to affiliate with the Association shall submit requests therefor to the secretary for submission to the executive committee or to the board of directors.*

Sec. 6. No bills shall be paid by the treasurer unless approved and signed by the president and secretary of the Association, or, in case of death or incapacity of either, the persons designated by such [executive] committee to act in his stead.

Sec. 7. Alterations of the by-laws may be made at any business session of the Association by a two-thirds vote.

Sec. 8. The president shall decide questions of order subject to an appeal, and rules of order shall be those in *Reed's Manual*.

ORGANIZATION FOR 1922.

President.

HASTINGS H. HART, 130 East 22d Street, New York City.

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES H. JOHNSON, Secretary,
State Board of Charities, Albany,
New York.

CHARLES E. VASALY, Superintendent,
State Reformatory, St. Cloud, Minn.

J. S. BLITCH, Warden, State Farm,
Raiford, Florida.

THOMAS C. O'BRIEN, District Attorney,
Boston, Mass.

LEON C. FAULKNER, Superintendent,
State Training School for Boys, Loch
Raven, Maryland.

General Secretary.

*E. R. CASS, 135 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

Assistant Secretaries.

F. EMORY LYON, Supt. Central Howard
Association, Chicago, Ill.

H. H. SHIRER, Supt. Home for the
Aged, Sandusky, Ohio.

MISS FLORENCE MONAHAN, Supt.
State Reformatory for Women, Shakopee,
Minn.

Treasurer.

D. M. SAWYER, 84 Llewellyn Road, Montclair, N. J.

Board of Directors.

The following ex-Presidents of the Association, as provided by the Constitution :

ALBERT GARVIN, West Hartford, Conn.
1905.

C. V. COLLINS, Troy, N. Y. 1906.

AMOS W. BUTLER, Secretary Board
of State Charities, Indianapolis, Ind.
1910.

T. B. PATTON, Supt. State Reformatory,
Huntingdon, Pa. 1911.

FREDERICK G. PETTIGROVE, Boston,
Mass. 1912.

JOSEPH P. BYERS, Commissioner of
Public Institutions, Frankfort, Ky.
1915.

DAVID C. PAYTON, Jeffersonville, Ind.
1917.

REV. B. M. SPURR, Moundsville, W.
Va. 1918-19.

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, New York
City. 1920.

*Was elected by the Executive Committee, March 1922, to succeed the late Dr. O. F. Lewis.

And the following additional members :

B. C. R. BAGLEY, Deputy Commissioner, Dept. of Correction, Boston, Mass.
CHARLES A. BLANEY, Chairman Michigan Prison Com., Kalamazoo, Mich.
AMOS W. BUTLER, Secretary Board of State Charities, Indianapolis, Ind.
JOSEPH P. BYERS, Commissioner of Public Institutions, Frankfort, Ky.
F. L. CHRISTIAN, Superintendent State Reformatory, Elmira, N. Y.
C. V. COLLINS, Troy, N. Y.
MRS. M. P. FALCONER, American Social Hygiene Ass'n, New York City.
ALBERT GARVIN, West Hartford, Conn.
MRS. JESSIE D. HODDER, Supt. Reformatory for Women, Framingham, Mass.
LEWIS E. LAWES, Warden Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N. Y.

A. H. LESLIE, Supt. County Workhouse, Blawnox, Pa.
MISS MAUDE MINER, Secretary New York Probation and Protective Association, 130 East 22d Street, New York City.
***E. J. MURPHY**, Warden Joliet Prison, Illinois.
T. B. PATTON, Supt. State Reformatory, Huntingdon, Pa.
F. G. PETTIGROVE, Boston, Mass.
DAVID C. PEYTON, Jeffersonville, Ind.
GEORGE L. SEHON, Supt. Children's Home Society, Lyndon, Ky.
GEO. A. H. SHIDELER, Supt. Indiana Reformatory, Jeffersonville, Ind.
REV. B. M. SPURR, Moundville, W. Va.
A. H. VOTAW, Secretary Pennsylvania Prison Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
G. W. WICKERSHAM, New York City.

Executive Committee.

The President, General Secretary and Treasurer *ex officio* and the following :

E. C. R. BAGLEY, Boston, Mass.
F. L. CHRISTIAN, Elmira, N. Y.
MRS. M. P. FALCONER, New York City.
MRS. JESSIE D. HODDER, Framingham, Mass.

LEWIS E. LAWES, Ossining, N. Y.
A. H. LESLIE, Blawnox, Pa.
A. H. VOTAW, Philadelphia, Pa.

Committee on Community Agencies and Delinquency.

MRS. MARTHA P. FALCONER, Chairman, New York City.
F. EMORY LYON, Chicago, Ill.
MISS MAUDE MINER, New York City.
CHARLES L. CHUTE, New York City.
HERBERT PARSONS, Boston, Mass.
REV. JOHN STEELE, Pittsburgh, Pa.
WARREN F. SPALDING, Boston, Mass.
MRS. MINA C. VAN WINKLE, Washington, D. C.
WM. H. VENN, Detroit, Mich.
H. B. HICKMAN, Greendale, Ky.
CHARLES E. VASALY, St. Cloud, Minn.
DR. KENOSHA SESSIONS, Indianapolis, Ind.
COLONEL E. J. PARKER, New York City.
JOHN L. SUTTON, Jackson, Miss.
FRANK TRACY, Montpelier, Vt.
G. CROFT WILLIAMS, Columbia, S. C.
R. K. ATKINSON, New York City.

COLONEL M. H. BARNUM, Fort Leavenworth, Kan.
JOHN R. NUTTER, Jeffersonville, Ind.
DR. HERMAN M. ADLER, Chicago, Ill.
DR. J. WARREN STEARNS, Boston, Mass.
J. A. STRIEF, Des Moines, Iowa.
DR. W. N. THAYER, JR., Napanoch, N. Y.
DR. EDGAR S. DOLL, Jamesburg, N. J.
DR. GLENN ANDREWS, Montgomery, Ala.
MRS. MAUDE BALLINGTON BOOTH, New York City.
WM. G. BAXTER, Hartford, Conn.
DR. VALERIA H. PARKER, Washington, D. C.
FRANK A. BROOKS, Boston, Mass.
H. P. BASTIN, State Reformatory, Frankfort, Ky.

*Deceased.

Committee on Criminal Law and Statistics.

SANFORD BATES, Chairman, Boston, Mass.	HORATIO M. POLLOCK, Albany, N. Y.
ROBERT H. GAULT, Evanston, Ill.	JOS. P. BYERS, Frankfort, Ky.
AMOS W. BUTLER, Indianapolis, Ind.	HENRY BARRETT CHAMBERLIN, Chicago, Ill.
J. FRANK BALL, Wilmington, Del.	OTTO A. ROSALSKY, New York City.
JOHN KOREN, Brookline, Mass.	JOHN W. WILLIS, St. Paul, Minn.

Committee on Public Control and Supervision.

BURDETTE G. LEWIS, Chairman, Trenton, N. J.	C. H. JOHNSON, Albany, N. Y.
MISS CAROLINE CROSBY, St. Paul, Minn.	WM. J. SAYERS, Muncie, Ind.
CHARLES A. BLANEY, Kalamazoo, Mich.	JOHN L. WHITMAN, Springfield, Ill.
C. H. CLARK, Hartford, Conn.	H. H. VOTAW, Washington, D. C.
E. C. B. BAGLEY, Boston, Mass.	WM. ST. P. HUGHES, Ottawa, Canada.
JAMES A. HAMILTON, New York City.	W. A. MACRAE, Tallahassee, Fla.
	CHARLES F. RATTIGAN, Albany, N. Y.
	H. WEBSTER TOMLINSON, Joliet, Ill.

Medical and Surgical Section.

PRESIDENT—DR. V. V. ANDERSON, 370 Seventh Ave., New York City.
 FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT—DR. FRANK L. CHRISTIAN, Elmira, N. Y.
 SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT—DR. S. T. MITCHELL, Blawnox, Pa.
 SECRETARY AND TREASURER—DR. WM. C. SANDY, Harrisburg, Pa.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—

DR. FRANCIS L. DUNHAM, Chairman, Baltimore, Md.
 DR. A. W. STEARNS, Boston, Mass.
 DR. R. F. C. KIEB, Beacon, N. Y.

Wardens' Association.

PRESIDENT—LEWIS E. LAWES, Warden, Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, New York.
 FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT—J. Z. TERRELL, Warden, State Prison, Moundsville,
 West Virginia.
 SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT—MAJOR JOHN E. HUNT, U. S. Disciplinary Barracks,
 Governors Island, New York.
 SECRETARY—HARRY L. HULBURT, Warden, State Prison, Jackson, Michigan.

The Chaplains' Association.

PRESIDENT-EMERITUS—REV. WM. J. BATT, Concord Junction, Mass.
 PRESIDENT—REV. W. M. BUZZA, Blawnox, Pa.
 SECRETARY AND TREASURER—REV. LUCIEN V. RULE, Jeffersonville, Ind.
 FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT—REV. W. S. BASSETT, Concord, N. H.
 SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT—REV. R. V. LANCASTER, Richmond, Va.
 THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT—REV. F. J. MURPHY, Charlestown, Mass.
 FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT—REV. M. L. SEDAR, Dorchester, Mass.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—

REV. WM. D. BEALL, Chairman, Baltimore, Md.
 MRS. MAUDE BALLINGTON BOOTH, New York City.
 REV. S. F. FORGEUS, Huntingdon, Pa.
 REV. C. E. BENSON, Stillwater, Minn.
 REV. C. M. MILLER, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 BRIGADIER THOMAS COWAN, New York City.
 MAJOR WALTER COLLINS, New York City.

National Conference of Juvenile Agencies.

PRESIDENT—CHARLES H. JOHNSON, Albany, N. Y.
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT—R. U. HASTINGS, Lancaster, Ohio.
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT—MRS. EMMA S. JACKSON, Claymont, Del.
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT—E. J. HENRY, Cleveland, Ohio.
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT—BROTHER CLEOPHAS, New York City.
SECRETARY-TREASURER—HOBART H. TODD, Industry, N. Y.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—

CHARLES H. JOHNSON, Chairman, Albany, N. Y.
HOBART H. TODD, Industry, N. Y.
JOSEPH M. FROST, Lansing, Mich.
GEORGE H. SEHON, Lyndon, Ky.
MRS. MARTHA P. FALCONER, New York City.
LEON C. FAULKNER, Loch Raven, Md.
F. H. NIBECKER, Glen Mills, Pa.
DR. KENOSHA SESSIONS, Indianapolis, Ind.
CALVIN DERRICK, Jamesburg, N. J.
C. B. ADAMS, St. Charles, Ill.
CHARLES A. MCGONAGLE, Plainfield, Ind.
BROTHER PAUL, Baltimore, Md.

National Prisoners' Aid Association.

PRESIDENT—REV. CHARLES PARSONS, Des Moines, Iowa.
VICE-PRESIDENT—BRIGADIER THOMAS COWAN, New York City.
SECRETARY-TREASURER—ALBERT H. VOTAW, Philadelphia, Pa.

Pardon and Parole Officials.

PRESIDENT—FREDERICK C. HELBING, Randall's Island, New York City.
VICE-PRESIDENT—J. O. WOODMANSEE, Board of Parole, Des Moines, Iowa.
SECRETARY—W. G. BAXTER, Connecticut Prison Association, Hartford, Conn.

AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION LIST OF MEMBERS, 1921.

ALABAMA.

Amigh, Mrs. O. L., Supt. State Training School for Girls, Birmingham.
 Feagin, Mr. W. F., State Warden General, Montgomery.
 *Newsom, Mrs. H. L., Chief of Women's Bureau, Birmingham.
 Simonson, Brigadier L. M., Dixie Comm. Salvation Army, 605 Lyric Building, Birmingham.

ARKANSAS.

*Donahue, Miss A. Madorah, Field Supervisor U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, P. O. Building, Little Rock.
 Ford, Mrs. Margaret, ex-Sec. Comm. of Charities and Corrections, 351 New State Capitol, Little Rock.

CALIFORNIA.

Van Waters, Dr. Miriam, Referee of Juvenile Court, Los Angeles.

CONNECTICUT.

*Adler, F. M., Director Conn. Reformatory, New Haven.
 Battey, Dr. P. B., Resident Physician Psychiatrist, Wethersfield.
 Baxter, William G., Sec. Conn. Prison Association, Hartford.
 Boyd, Edward S., Supt. Conn. School for Boys, Meriden.
 Clark, Charles Hopkins, Director Conn. Reformatory, Hartford.
 Erskine, George C., Supt. Conn. Reformatory, Cheshire.
 *Howard, Miss Emily A., Matron Long Lane Farm, Middletown.
 Peterson, Miss Anna M., Supt. State Farm for Women, Niantic.
 *Post, Mrs. Lisetta H., Westport.
 Post, Robert W., Director Conn. State Prison, Westport.
 Salmon, Mr. F. A., Sec. of Conn. State Prison Board, Westport.
 *Salmon, Mrs. F. M., Westport.
 *Scott, Mrs. H. K. W., Wethersfield.
 Scott, H. K. W., Warden State Prison, Wethersfield.
 Simpson, Mrs. G. P. (Visitor), New Haven.
 Simpson, George P., Director Industrial Prison Industries, New Haven.

*Smart, Agnes M., Parole Officer, Long Lane Farm, Middletown.
 Tuthill, Miss Mary Anne, Asst. Supt., Long Lane Farm, Middletown.

DELAWARE.

Ball, J. Frank, Pres. Board of Trustees Newcastle County Workhouse, Wilmington.
 *Ball, Dr. John, Pres. of Ferris Industrial School, Elsmere.
 *Ball, Mrs. John, Elsmere.
 Dilworth, Horace L., Sec. and Treas. Newcastle County Workhouse, Wilmington.
 Jackson, Mrs. Emma S., Supt. Delaware Industrial School for Girls, Claymont.
 Jackson, Miss Grace E. (Visitor), Claymont.
 Marx, George E., Supt. Ferris Industrial School of Delaware, Wilmington.
 Oliver, J. Albert, Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions, Wilmington.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Lundberg, Miss Emma O., Director of Social Service Div., U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington.
 *Parker, Dr. Valeria H., ex-Sec. U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, 1800 Virginia Ave., Washington.
 Van Winkle, Lieut. Mina C., Director of Woman's Bureau, Metropolitan Police Dept., 2311 Connecticut Ave., Washington.
 *Votaw, Heber H., Supt. of Prisons, Washington.

FLORIDA.

Bain, Mrs. Cora M., Attendance Officer, 1140 S. W. 13th Ave., Miami.
 Blitch, J. S., Supt. State Prison Farm of Florida, Raiford.
 *Bethune, Mrs. Mary McLeod, Colored Industrial School for Girls of Florida, Daytona.
 *Bouquet, Miss B., Fernandina.
 Bouterse, John, Supt. Salvation Army of Miami, Miami.
 *Bradbee, Capt. George, Local Officer Volunteers of America, Box 74, Jacksonville.

*Not a member.

Branaman, Francis, Supt. of Home for Girls, N. W. 7th & 28th, Rt. 1, Box 182, Miami.

Branning, H. Pierre, Judge of Circuit Court of 11th Judicial Circle of Florida, Miami.

Brennecke, F. W., Captain Salvation Army, 118 Clay St., Jacksonville.

*Bristol, L. M., State University, Dept. of Economics and Sociology, Gainesville.

Carlin, Miss H. M., Treas. of the Volunteers of America, 320 St. Johns Ave., S. Jacksonville.

*Carrio, Miss Virginia, Fernandina.

*Coates, Mrs. Elizabeth, Pres. Y. W. C. A., Pres. League of Women Voters, Social Worker Volunteer, St. Petersburg.

Cole, A. H., Chr. of the Boys' Work Comm. of the Key West Rotary Club, 411 Simonton St., Key West.

Conkling, Mrs. J. Wade, Social Service Director of City Government, West Palm Beach.

Curry, Roland, Sheriff of Monroe County, Key West.

*Dann, Mrs. Ida, County Attendant Office, 936 Sixth Ave., So. St. Petersburg.

Davis, E. C., Judge of the 15th Judicial Circle of Florida, West Palm Beach.

*Harris, Dr. Robert L., Member Board of Control, Epileptic and Feeble-Minded Farm, 1727 Riverside Ave., Jacksonville.

*Ives, Mrs. F. H., connected with Woman's Club, Lake City.

Jennings, Mrs. Frank E., Delegate from the State at Large, 1807 Oak Street, Jacksonville.

*Kendrick, Mrs. Ada G., Pres. Broward Dist. W. C. T. U., Ft. Lauderdale.

*Lindley, Miss J., Florida Jail Representative, West Palm Beach.

*Lowry, Dr. Edith B., Child Hygiene with U. S. Public Service, Jacksonville.

*McCollum, Mrs. J. W., Pres. Florida Fed. of Women's Clubs, Gainesville.

*Masa, Mrs. B., Member Board of Duval County T. B. Assn., 411 W. State St., Jacksonville.

Meredith, Mrs. Inez, Sec. Chief of Police, Orlando.

Munselle, Ira, Officer in Charge Salvation Army, Orlando.

Odom, Major L. A., Divisional Comm. Volunteers of America, Box 74, Jacksonville.

Paine, Adjutant Thomas, Ex-Sec. Volunteers of America, Box 74, Jacksonville.

*Partridge, Miss Sarah W., State Agent for Home Demonstration, Tallahassee. Porter, Dr. Jos. Y., Pres. Rotary Club of Key West, Key West.

Shanks, Mrs. Blanche, Colored Social Worker, 1204 W. Duval St., Jacksonville.

*Sheats, W. N., State Supt. School of Public Instruction, Tallahassee.

*Skinner, Miss E., Vice-Pres. at Large for Florida Fed. of Women's Clubs, Dunevin.

*Smith, Sarah Colton, County Probation Officer of Pinellas County, Court House, Clearwater.

*Spalding, Rev. George B., Congregational Minister, Orange City.

*Stell, Miss L. C., Fernandina.

*Teter, James C., Chaplain State Prison, Mineola, Lake County.

White, Martha N. M., Social Worker, 233 Eagle St., Jacksonville.

GEORGIA.

*Atkinson, Lt.-Col. Joseph, Comm. Salvation Army, 39-41 Luckie St., Atlanta.

Bacon, Oliver T., Chairman of the Chatham Co. Comm., Savannah.

*Bedingfield, B. W., Convict Warden of Lawrence Co., Dublin.

Birdsong, W. T., Warden of Sparta Prison, Sparta.

Braun, Fred, District Officer Southern Service Dept., 272 Luckie St., Atlanta.

Brown, Pope, Supt. and Warden State Penitentiary, Milledgeville.

*Burtchell, G. S., Warden Georgia Convict Camps, Folkston.

*Coleman, Dr. A. T., County Physician, Dublin.

Edens, B. M., State Agent State Dept. Public Welfare, 306 State Capitol, Atlanta.

Fulgum, D. L., Warden County Prison, Augusta.

*Lawrence, Mrs. Bessie Maitland, Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Rome.

*McDonald, Miss Charlotte R., Probation Officer Chatham Co. Juvenile Court, 2423 Price St., Savannah.

McGann, William T., So. Rep. Central Howard Assn., 411 Helley Bldg., Atlanta.

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ILLINOIS.

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INDIANA.

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 Huestis, Charles E., Mem. Board of Trustees State Farm of Ind., Greencastle.
 *McCray, Gov. Warren T., Indianapolis.
 *McCray, Mrs. Warren T., Indianapolis.
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 Wood, A. W., Chaplain of Ind. State Prison, Michigan City

IOWA.

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 Strief, J. H., Chairman of State Board of Control of Institutions, Des Moines.
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KANSAS.

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KENTUCKY.

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 *Hickman, Mrs. H. B., Greendale.
 Sehon, George L., Supt. Kentucky Children's Home Society, Lyndon.
 Sehon, Mrs. George L., Lyndon.

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 *Prescott, A. T., Member of State Parole Board, Baton Rouge.

MAINE.

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 Harvey, Mary S. Policewoman, Baltimore.
 *Langford, Miss, Charge of Commissary, Jessup.
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MASSACHUSETTS.

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 *O'Brien, Mrs. Thomas C., Boston.
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 Shattuck, Elmer E., Warden Mass. State Prison, Charlestown.
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MICHIGAN.

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- *Blaney, Mrs. Charles A., Kalamazoo.
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- Catlin, T. B., Warden Marquette Prison, Marquette.
- *Catlin, Mrs. T. B., Marquette.
- Frost, J. M., Supt. Industrial School for Boys, Lansing.
- *Hopp, Rev. William F., Chaplain Mich. State Prison, Jackson.
- *Hopp, Mrs. William F., Jackson.
- Hulburt, Harry L., Warden Mich. State Prison, Jackson.
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MINNESOTA.

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MISSISSIPPI.

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NEW JERSEY.

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OKLAHOMA.

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RHODE ISLAND.

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SOUTH CAROLINA.

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*Breazeale, J. V., Adj. of Salvation Army, Columbia.

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*Martin, Mrs. John H., Florence.

*Moseley, G. A., Director State Penitentiary, Camden.

FitzSimmons, Miss L., Juvenile Welfare Comm., Charleston.

*Smith, J. M., Chairman Board of Directors of S. C. Penitentiary Smoaks.

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TENNESSEE.

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†Board has membership.

TEXAS.

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UTAH.

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VERMONT.

Tracy, F. H., Sheriff, Montpelier.

VIRGINIA.

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Jones, Adj. Paul, Norfolk.

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Wood, J. B., Supt. Virginia Penitentiary, Richmond.

WEST VIRGINIA.

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*Terrell, Mrs. Joseph Z., Moundsville.

STATE AND NATIONAL PENAL AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ALABAMA

Name of Institution	Location	Warden or Superintendent
Alabama Boys' Industrial School	East Lake	D. M. Weakley
Alabama Reform School for Juvenile Negro Law Breakers	Mt. Meigs	J. R. Wingfield
Alabama State Training School for Girls	Birmingham	Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh
State Penitentiary	Montgomery	William F. Feagin, State Warden General

ARIZONA

Arizona State Prison	Florence	Thomas H. Rynning
State Industrial School	Fort Grant	J. H. Larsen

ARKANSAS

Arkansas State Penitentiary	Little Rock	Hamp Martin
Arkansas Industrial School for Boys	Pine Bluff	Judge W. B. Sorrells, Chair- man
Arkansas Industrial School for Girls	Alexander	Mrs. Clio Harper, Chairman
Arkansas State Farm for Women	Jacksonville	Miss Mary Dewees

CALIFORNIA

California School for Girls	Ventura	Olive P. Walton
Whittier State School for Boys	Whittier	Fred C. Nelles
Preston School of Industry	Waterman	H. O. Close
San Quentin State Prison	San Quentin	James A. Johnston
Folsom State Prison	Folsom	J. J. Smith
	(Post Office Repressa)	
U. S. Disciplinary Barracks	Alcatraz	Col. J. B. McDonald
U. S. Naval Prison	Bldg. 84 Mare Island	Major N. P. Vulte

COLORADO

State Prison	Canon City	Thomas J. Tynan
State Reformatory	Buena Vista	M. P. Capp
Industrial School for Girls	Morrison	Miss Elisabeth Purcell
Industrial School for Boys	Golden	Fred L. Paddelford

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut State Prison	Wethersfield	H. K. W. Scott
Connecticut Reformatory	Cheshire	George C. Erakine
Connecticut School for Boys	Meriden	Edward S. Boyd
Connecticut School for Girls	Middletown	Caroline De F. Penniman
Connecticut State Farm for Women	East Lyme	Miss Anna Peterson

DELAWARE

New Castle County Workhouse	Wilmington	M. S. Plummer
	(Greenbank)	
Ferris Industrial School of Delaware	Marshallton	Geo. E. Marx
Delaware Industrial School for Girls	Claymont	Mrs. Emma S. Jackson

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

National Training School for Boys	Bladensburg Road, D. C.	George A. Stirling
National Training School for Girls	Conduit Road, D. C.	Mrs. Jennie A. Griffith
District of Columbia Reformatory	Lorton, Va.	Wm. H. Moyer, Lorton, Va.
District of Columbia Workhouse	Ocoquan, Va.	Wm. H. Moyer
Washington Asylum and Jail	Washington, D. C.	Wm. H. Moyer

FLORIDA

Industrial School for Boys	Marianna	M. S. Knight
Industrial School for Girls	Ocala	Miss Sinal L. Kite
State Prison Farm	Raiford	J. S. Blitch

GEORGIA

Georgia Training School for Girls	Atlanta	Cynthia H. Embree
Georgia Training School for Boys	Milledgeville	Mrs. O. F. Manson
Georgia State Penitentiary	Milledgeville	B. H. Dunaway

IDAHO

Industrial Training School	St. Anthony	W. D. Vincent
Idaho State Penitentiary	Boise	W. L. Cuddy

ILLINOIS

Illinois State Penitentiary	Joilet	J. L. Whitman
Southern Illinois Penitentiary	Menard	Ed. P. Petri
Illinois State Reformatory	Pontiac	I. M. Lish
St. Charles School for Boys	St. Charles	F. D. Whipp
State Training School for Girls	Geneva	Mrs. Lucy D. Ball, Acting Managing Officer

INDIANA

Name of Institution	Location	Warden or Superintendent
Indiana State Prison	Michigan City	E. J. Fogarty
Indiana Reformatory	Jeffersonville	Geo. A. H. Shideler
Indiana State Farm	Putnamville	Ralph Howard
	(P. O. Rural Route 7, Greencastle)	
Indiana Women's Prison	Indianapolis	Miss Margaret M. Elliot
Indiana Girls' School	Clermont	Dr. Kenosha Sessions
	(P. O. Rural Route 7, Indianapolis)	
Indiana Boys' School	Plainfield	Charles A. McGonagle

IOWA

Men's Reformatory	Anamosa	J. L. Baume
State Penitentiary	Fort Madison	Thomas P. Hollowell
Women's Reformatory	Rockwell City	Lena N. Beach
Training School for Boys	Eldora	W. L. Kuser
Training School for Girls	Mitchellville	Mrs. Lucy M. Sickels

KANSAS

Kansas State Industrial Reformatory	Hutchinson	A. S. Bigelow
Boys' Industrial School	Topeka	W. P. McLean
Girls' Industrial School	Beloit	Mrs. McMahon
Kansas State Penitentiary	Lansing	M. F. Amrine
U. S. Disciplinary Barracks	Fort Leavenworth	Colonel Malvern Hill Barnum

KENTUCKY

Kentucky State Reformatory	Frankfort	H. V. Bastin
Kentucky State Penitentiary	Eddyville	John B. Chilton
Kentucky State House of Reform	Greendale	Major H. B. Hickman
The House of Reform for Girls at Pewee Valley	has been abandoned.	
Industrial School of Reform	Louisville	W. C. Brown
City Work House	Louisville	R. H. Hundley
City Work House	Shelbyville	John Jennings
City Work House	Newport	Michael McNamara
City Work House	Bowling Green	John B. Runner
City Work House	Lexington	C. R. Jordan
City Work House	Frankfort	Emil Haldi

LOUISIANA

State Penitentiary	Baton Rouge	H. L. Fuqua
Reform School for Boys	Monroe	W. J. Gill

MAINE

State School for Boys	South Portland	Charles Dunn Jr.
State School for Girls	Hallowell	Miss Gertrude L. MacDonald
Maine State Prison	Thomaston	Frank J. Ham
Reformatory for Men	South Windham	Harold Donell
Reformatory for Women	Skowhegan	Dr. Cora M. Johnson

MARYLAND

Maryland Penitentiary	Baltimore	Colonel Claude B. Sweesey
Maryland House of Correction	Jessups	William E. Lankford
Maryland Training School for Boys	Loch Raven	Leon C. Faulkner
St. Mary's Industrial School	Baltimore	Brother Paul
Maryland Industrial Training School for Girls	Baltimore	Miss Susan Ellison
House of Reformation for Colored Boys	Cheltenham	John B. Pyles
Industrial Home for Colored Girls	Melvale	Mrs. F. S. Pennington
House of Good Shepherd	Baltimore	Mother St. Agnes, Superior
House of Good Shepherd for Colored Girls	Baltimore	Mother St. Mary Magdalene Superior

MASSACHUSETTS

State Prison	Charlestown	Elmer E. Shattuck
Massachusetts Reformatory	Concord Junction	Charles T. Judge
Reformatory for Women	Framingham	Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder
Prison Camp and Hospital	West Rutland	Willard J. Turner
State Farm	Bridgewater	Hollis M. Blackstone
Lyman School for Boys	Westborough	Charles A. Keeler
State Industrial School for Girls	Lancaster	Miss Catherine Campbell
Industrial School for Boys	Shirley	George P. Campbell
Essex County Jail and House of Correction	Salem	Arthur G. Nello
Hampshire County House of Correction and Jail	Northampton	Edwin D. Leavitt
House of Correction	Ipswich	Charles E. Goodhue
House of Correction and Jail	Lawrence	George Bunting
Suffolk County House of Correction	Deer Island, Boston	George M. Harlow

MICHIGAN

Name of Institution	Location	Warden or Superintendent
Industrial School for Boys	Lansing	Major John F. Gardner
Industrial School for Girls	Adrian	Miss Frances E. Hubbell
State Prison	Jackson	Harry L. Hulbert
U. P. Branch of State Prison	Marquette	Jas. P. Corgan
Michigan Reformatory	Ionia	Thomas C. Burns
Detroit House of Correction for Men and Women	Detroit	J. O. Stutsman

MINNESOTA

State Training School for Boys	Red Wing	J. T. Fulton
Home School for Girls	Sauk Centre	Fannie F. Morse
State Reformatory for Women	Shakopee	Florence Monahan
State Reformatory	St. Cloud	C. E. Vassaly
State Prison	Stillwater	J. J. Sullivan
City Work House	Minneapolis	F. O. Lockwood
City Work House	St. Paul	Henry W. Goetzinger
County Work Farm	Duluth	Fred Ward

MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi Industrial Training School for Boys and Girls	Columbia	W. Jacobs
Parchman State Penal Farm	Parchman	J. W. Williamson
Rankin State Penal Farm	Greenfield	J. W. Williamson
Oakley State Penal Farm	Oakley	J. W. Williamson
Belmont State Penal Farm	Tchula	J. W. Williamson

MISSOURI

State Penitentiary	Jefferson City	Samuel Hill
State Industrial Home for Girls	Chillicothe	Miss E. Wilkinson
Industrial Home for Negro Girls	Tipton	Mrs. Mattie Covington
Missouri Reformatory	Boonville	Colonel Cliff M. Harrison
City Workhouse	St. Louis	H. N. Morgan
Woman's Reformatory	Kansas City	Mrs. Louise Doehler
Municipal Farm	Leeds	A. Shaw

MONTANA

State Penitentiary	Deer Lodge	M. W. Potter
Industrial School for Boys	Miles City	A. C. Dorr
Vocational School for Girls	Helena	Miss Edith Kassing

NEBRASKA

State Penitentiary	Lancaster	W. T. Fenton
State Industrial School for Boys	Kearney	R. V. Clark
Girls' Industrial School	Geneva	Miss Lena E. Ward
Nebraska Industrial Home	Milford	Miss M. Evelyn Meyer
State Reformatory for Women	York	Dr. Alma J. Chapman
State Reformatory for Men	Lincoln	A. W. Miller

NEVADA

Nevada School for Industry	Elko	J. E. Milne
Nevada State Prison	Carson City	R. B. Henrichs

NEW HAMPSHIRE

State Industrial School	Manchester	Vernon E. Backus
State Prison	Concord	Edward M. Cogswell

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey State Prison	Trenton	James H. Mulheron
New Jersey Reformatory	Rahway	Dr. Frank Moore
New Jersey State Home for Boys	Jamesburg	C. V. Derrick
New Jersey State Home for Girls	Trenton	Dr. Mary B. Harris
New Jersey Reformatory for Women	Clinton	Miss Grace Robson
Essex County Penitentiary	Newark	Ferdinand J. Hoep
Hudson County Penitentiary	Jersey City	James J. Kelly
Mercer County Penitentiary	Trenton	Clark Hendrickson

NEW MEXICO

New Mexico Reform School	Springer	David Padilla
Girls' Welfare Board	Albuquerque	Miss Agnes Maynard
State Penitentiary	Santa Fe	Fidel Ortis

NEW YORK

Auburn Prison	Auburn	E. S. Jennings
Auburn Prison for Women	Auburn	E. S. Jennings
Clinton Prison	Dannemora	H. M. Kaiser
Great Meadow Prison	Comstock	William Hunt

NEW YORK—(Continued).

Name of Institution	Location	Warden or Superintendent
Sing Sing Prison	Ossining	Lewis E. Lawes
New York State Reformatory	Elmira	Dr. Frank L. Christian
*State Institution for Mental Defectives	Napanoch	W. N. Thayer
New York State Reformatory for Women	Bedford	Dr. Amos T. Baker
Western House of Refuge for Women	Albion	Mrs. Flora B. Daniels
State Agricultural and Industrial School	Industry	Hobart H. Todd
New York House of Refuge	Randall's Island	Col. E. C. Barber
New York State Training School for Girls	Hudson	Miss Mary Hinkley
New York County Penitentiary	Welfare Island	Joseph McCann
Dannemora State Hospital	Dannemora	Dr. J. J. Ross
New York Reformatory for City	New Hampton	Henry Schleth, Acting Supt.
Mattawan State Hospital	Beacon	Dr. R. F. C. Kieb
Albany County Penitentiary	Albany	Frank Coss
Monroe County Penitentiary	Rochester	William H. Craig
Onondaga County Penitentiary	Jamesville	C. H. Livingston
Correction Hospital	Welfare Island	Mrs. Mary M. Lilly
Reformatory Prison	Hart's Island	Michael C. Breen
Municipal Farm	Riker's Island	Robert Barr
Westchester County Penitentiary	East View	Warren E. McClellan
Erie County Penitentiary	Buffalo	F. W. Thieroff

NORTH CAROLINA

Training School for Girls	Samarcand Manor	Miss A. McNaughton
	Samarcand	
Jackson Training School for Boys	Concord	Charles E. Boger
State Prison	Raleigh	George Pow
State Prison	Raleigh	S. J. Busbee

NORTH DAKOTA

State Training School	Mandan	William F. McClelland
State Penitentiary	Bismarck	L. L. Stair

OHIO

Ohio State Penitentiary	Columbus	Preston E. Thomas
Ohio State Reformatory	Mansfield	T. C. Jenkins
Ohio Reformatory for Women	Marysville	Mrs. Louise Mittendorf
Girls' Industrial School	Delaware	
Boys' Industrial School	Lancaster	R. U. Hastings
Workhouse	Columbus	B. McCormick
Workhouse	Canton	John M. Boyer
Workhouse	Cleveland	Chas. J. Burns, Warrensville
Workhouse	Toledo	Robert M. Byrne
Workhouse	Dayton	A. J. Neutsenholzer

OKLAHOMA

Industrial Institute for Deaf, Blind and Colored Orphans	Taft	J. R. Johnson
Colored Girls' Industrial School	Taft	J. R. Johnson
State Training School (Colored)	McAlester	J. H. Lilly
State Training School for Boys	Paul's Valley	W. M. Breeding
Girls' Industrial School	Tecumseh	Mrs. M. B. Conklin
State Penitentiary	McAlester	Fred C. Switzer
State Reformatory	Granite	Dr. G. A. Waters

OREGON

State Training School for Boys	Salem	L. M. Gilbert
State Industrial School for Girls	Salem	Mrs. Clara G. Patterson
State Penitentiary	Salem	Louis H. Compton

PENNSYLVANIA

State Penitentiary for the Western District	Pittsburgh	John Francies
Eastern State Penitentiary	Philadelphia	Robert J. McKenty
Pennsylvania Training School	Morgansa	W. F. Penn
Pennsylvania Industrial Reformatory	Huntington	T. B. Patton
Glen Mills Schools, Boys' Dept.	Glen Mills	F. H. Nibecker
Glen Mills School, Girls' Dept.	Darlington	Miss E. Morrison
Alleghany County Workhouse	Blawnox	A. H. Leslie
Philadelphia County Prison	Philadelphia	F. A. Cooke
Philadelphia House of Correction	Holmesburg Jct.	John Mcleary
State Industrial Home for Women	Muncy	Mrs. Anne L. Cheyney
Executive Secretary, Williamsport		

*For male prisoners transferred from jails, reformatories and prisons.

†Formerly Blackwell's Island.

RHODE ISLAND

Name of Institution	Location	Warden or Superintendent
Sockanisset School for Boys.....	Howard.....	Donald North
Oaklawn School for Girls.....	Howard.....	Agnes C. Smith
State Prison.....	Howard.....	Charles E. Linscott
State Workhouse and House of Correction.....	Howard.....	Ira E. Higgins

SOUTH CAROLINA

Industrial School for White Girls.....	Columbia.....	Miss Mary Burgess
Industrial School for Boys.....	Florence.....	J. H. Martin
Reformatory for Negro Boys.....	Columbia.....	S. A. Lindsay
State Penitentiary.....	Columbia.....	A. K. Sanders
State (Reed) Farm.....	Boykin, R. F. D.....	J. H. Irby
State (de Sausure) Farm.....	Boykin, R. F. D.....	J. P. Harling

SOUTH DAKOTA

South Dakota Training School.....	Plankinton.....	A. R. Schlosser
South Dakota Penitentiary.....	Sioux Falls.....	George T. Jameson

TENNESSEE

State Prison.....	Nashville.....	Thomas H. Lynn
Brushy Mountain Penitentiary.....	Petros.....	W. H. Nelson
State Training & Agricultural School.....	R. F. D. 6, Nashville.....	J. Graves
Tennessee Industrial School.....	Nashville.....	C. C. Mensler
Tennessee Vocational School for Girls.....	Tullahoma.....	Miss Mary Etta Smith

TEXAS

State Penitentiary.....	Huntsville.....	R. F. Coleman
State Juvenile Training School.....	Gatesville.....	C. E. King
Girls' Training School.....	Gainesville.....	Dr. Carrie W. Smith
Camp Goree (for Women).....	Huntsville.....	R. T. Burns
STATE FARMS		
Darrington.....	Juliff.....	J. S. Murphy
Wynne.....	Huntsville.....	N. T. Thornton
Bassett Blakely.....	Roseberg.....	J. M. Morgan
Blue Ridge.....	Missouri City.....	R. W. Connor
Eastham.....	Weldon.....	J. P. Barfield
Ferguson.....	Midway.....	R. E. McAdams
Harlem.....	Richmond.....	Woody Townsend
Imperial.....	Sugarland.....	R. J. Flannagan
Ramsey.....	Otey.....	F. C. Whatley
Retrieve.....	Angleton.....	J. E. Ferguson
Shaw.....	De Kalb.....	W. H. Rand
Clemens State Farm.....	Perry Landing.....	J. L. Gentry
Senior State Farm.....	Dewalt.....	D. W. Barnhill
Texas State Railroad Camp.....	Maydelle.....	Mr. O. C. Canthen

UTAH

State Industrial School.....	Ogden.....	A. C. Hinckley
State Prison.....	Salt Lake City.....	James Devine

VERMONT

Vermont Industrial School.....	Vergennes.....	Charles Willard Wilson
State Prison and House of Correction for Women.....	Rutland.....	Lena C. Ross
Vermont State Prison and House of Correction.....	Windsor.....	Ralph H. Walker

VIRGINIA

Virginia Penitentiary.....	Richmond.....	Major James B. Wood
State Farm.....	Lassiter.....	R. R. Penn
Virginia Manual Labor School for Colored Boys.....	Hanover.....	T. J. Edwards
Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls.....	Richmond.....	Margaret Bair

(R. F. D.)

Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls.....	Peakes Turnout.....	Mrs. J. P. Barrett
City Farm.....	Lynchburg.....	W. H. Irving
Ivavota Farm for Girls.....	Clifton Station.....	J. Barret
	(Fairfax County)	
Newport News City Farm.....	Menchville.....	E. C. Jordan
Virginia Industrial School for Boys.....	School P. O.....	Charles T. Friend

WASHINGTON

State Training School for Boys.....	Chehalis.....	Charles Briffett
State School for Girls.....	Grand Mount.....	Mrs. Ida McQuestin
State Reformatory.....	Monroe.....	J. J. Cameron
State Penitentiary.....	Walla Walla.....	John W. Pace

WEST VIRGINIA		
Name of Institution	Location	Warden or Superintendent
Industrial School for Boys	Grafton	H. E. Fleisher
Girls' Industrial School	Industrial	Miss Jennie Sutton
West Virginia Penitentiary	Moundsville	J. Z. Terrell
WISCONSIN		
Wisconsin State Reformatory	Green Bay	Oscar Lee
The Industrial School for Boys	Waukesha	H. E. Philip
The Industrial School for Girls	Milwaukee	Mary J. Berry
Central State Hospital for the Insane	Waupun	Dr. J. F. Brown
Tomahawk Lake Camp	Tomahawk Lake	F. A. Reich
Wisconsin State Prison	Waupun	R. M. Coles
County House of Correction	Milwaukee	Wm. H. Momsen
Wisconsin Industrial Home for Women	Taycheedah	Miss Jennie Gower
WYOMING		
Wyoming Industrial Institute for Boys	Worland	William Moncur
Wyoming State Penitentiary	Rawlins	Frank A. Hadsell

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

U. S. Penitentiary	Leavenworth, Kansas	W. I. Biddle
U. S. Penitentiary	Atlanta, Georgia	J. E. Dyche
U. S. Penitentiary	McNeil Island (Washington)	Thomas Maloney
U. S. Naval Prison	Portsmouth, N. H.	Lt. Col. H. D. South U. S. Marine Corps
U. S. Naval Prison	Paris Island, S. C.	Lt. Col. R. T. Williams, U. S. Marine Corps
U. S. Naval Prison	Mare Island, Calif.	Major M. T. Bulte U. S. Marine Corps
U. S. Naval Prison	Cavite, P. I.	Major H. H. Kipp, U. S. Marine Corps
National Training School for Boys	Washington, D. C.	George A. Stirling
National Training School for Girls	Washington, D. C.	Mrs. J. Griffith
U. S. Disciplinary Barracks	Fort Leavenworth, Kansas	Col. Malvern H. Barnum
U. S. Disciplinary Barracks	Alcatraz Is., Calif.	Col. J. B. McDonald

PENAL AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF CANADA.

FEDERAL		
Kingston Penitentiary	Kingston, Ontario	J. C. Ponsford
St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary	St. Vincent de Paul, Que.	Col. R. de la Bruere Girouard
Dorchester Penitentiary	Dorchester, New Brunswick	W. Meighen
Manitoba Penitentiary	Stony Mountain, Manitoba	Col. H. W. Cooper
British Columbia Penitentiary	New Westminster, B. C.	W. A. Patchell
Saskatchewan Penitentiary	Prince Albert, Sask.	W. J. Macleod
ALBERTA		
The Provincial Jail	Fort Saskatchewan	H. A. Driggs
The Provincial Gaol	Lethbridge	Dr. J. H. Rivers
The Provincial Female Gaol	Fort Saskatchewan	H. A. Driggs
BRITISH COLUMBIA		
Oakalla Prison Farm	Burnaby	Colin S. Campbell
MANITOBA		
Provincial Gaol	Winnipeg	J. C. Downie
Provincial Gaol	Portage La Prairie	R. H. Home
Provincial Gaol	Brandon	James Hannay
Provincial Gaol	Dauphin	D. Pearson
Industrial Training School	Portage La Prairie	Rev. F. W. McKinnon
Juvenile Detention Home	Evanston St., Winnipeg	Rev. D. S. Hamilton
NEW BRUNSWICK		
Boys' Industrial Home	East St.	John J. Parker
NOVA SCOTIA		
Industrial School	Halifax	W. J. Johns
St. Patrick's Home	Halifax	Brother Stanislaus
SASKATCHEWAN		
Prince Albert Gaol	Prince Albert	C. F. McGregor
Regina Gaol	Regina	F. Kennedy
The Boys' Detention Home	Regina	Alec Houston