

THE
TREATMENT OF THE OFFENDER

THE SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

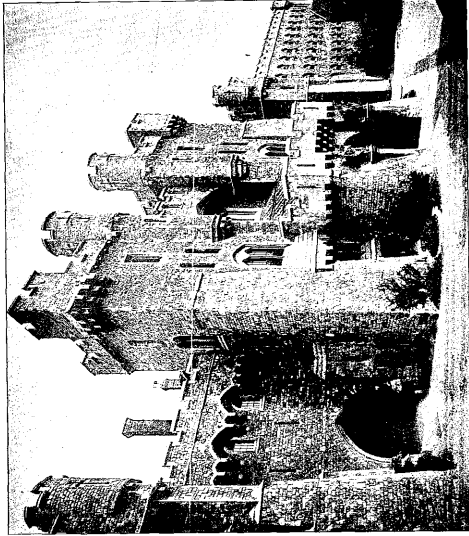
OF THE

PRISON ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK

1911

THIS IS AN ACCOUNT OF SOME PHASES OF
AMERICAN PRISON PROGRESS IN 1911; OF
MANY NEEDS NOT YET MET; OF SOME
EUROPEAN METHODS OF MEETING PROBLEMS
OF DELINQUENCY; AND OF PLANS
FOR THE FUTURE

ALBANY
THE ARGUS COMPANY, PRINTERS
1912



Holloway Prison, London, England

Preface

The following report is made (1) to the legislature of the State of New York, (2) to the members and friends of the Prison Association, and (3) to all others concerned about the treatment which society accords the offender.

This report is larger than it has been for many years, because we have embodied not only an account of the principal efforts of the Association in 1911, but also the detailed report of our general secretary on European prison conditions. He has given special place in his report to European methods of dealing with vagrancy.

In this report are published also an address on the "Statistics of Crime," read by Mr. Eugene Smith, president of the Prison Association of New York, before the American Prison Association in 1911, and an article on "Witzwil, a Penal Colony," by Prof. Frank A. Fetter of Princeton University, published in the Survey in 1911.

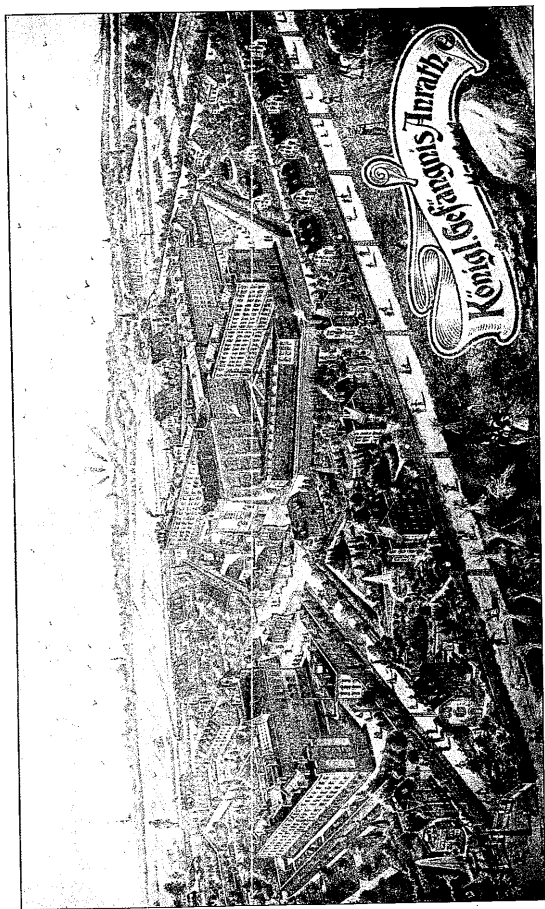
An index will be found at the end of this annual report.

Prison farms and farm colonies are being advocated and tried. The relation of feeble-mindedness to crime is one of the most frequent matters of discussion today among American criminologists and psychiatrists. Prison labor is prominent on the program of national and state conferences. The payment to prisoners and their families of prisoners' wages and prisoners' earnings is urged in many parts of our country. The abolition of the jail is demanded, or its reorganization as a place of detention solely pending trial.

Such are some of the fundamental problems discussed in our report. We ask of the legislature careful consideration of our report; of our members and other friends their interest and their support; and of all those concerned with the treatment of the offender an appreciation of the vital seriousness of crime and of the methods of society in seeking to reduce lawlessness.

"I cannot end this talk without emphasizing what I think is at this moment by far the most pressing of the social tasks in America, namely, the diminution of the distance between the ignorant and the intelligent; the diminution of the distance between the vicious and the just; and the diminution of the distance between the economically miserable and the economically opulent. More urgent than any other problem is the diminution of the distance between the vicious and the just. *The problem of crime has become far more urgent than the problem of poverty, far more urgent than the problem of enlightenment.* I fail to see how any careful and thoughtful observer of our American life can be oblivious to the fact that for the last fifteen or twenty years we, as a people, have been suffering serious deterioration in the quality of private and of public conduct. We cannot travel on the ordinary means of conveyance without being irritated by rowdyism and hoodlumism; life and property are not, strictly speaking, safe in the United States to-day. We have a most unhappy notoriety among the nations of the world, as a nation which lets murder go unpunished. In the north, as in the south, we burn negroes alive. And these things should most certainly make us pause. We must bestir ourselves to deal with the elimination of the rapidly increasing factor of vice and crime in our life as we must bestir ourselves to relieve misery and to diminish ignorance."

PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS,
September 26, 1911.



Royal Prussian Prison, Anrath, Germany

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The Prison Association of New York.

Officers for 1912.

President.

EUGENE SMITH.

Recording Secretary.

SAMUEL M. JACKSON.

Treasurer.

J. SEELY WARD, 135 E. 15th St., N. Y.

General Secretary.

O. F. LEWIS.

Vice-Presidents.

RT. REV. DAVID H. GREER,
ROBERT W. DEFOREST,
FELIX ADLER,

EUGENE A. PHILBIN,
JACOB H. SCHIFF,
THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE.

Executive Committee.

W. W. BATTERSHALL,
B. OGDEN CHISOLM,
J. FENIMORE COOPER,
JOHN H. FINLEY,
AUSTIN FLINT, M. D.,
CORNELIUS B. GOLD,
WM. H. GRATWICK,
HENRY E. GREGORY,
ALEXANDER M. HADDEN,
JOHN W. HUTCHINSON,
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY,

THOMAS LE BOUTILLIER,
EDWARD B. MERRILL,
FRANK D. PAVEY,
DEAN SAGE,
DECATUR M. SAWYER,
GEORGE G. SHELTON, M. D.,
GINO C. SPERANZA,
FRANK TUCKER,
EVERT JANSEN WENDELL,
MORNAY WILLIAMS,
JAMES WOOD.

Standing Committees for 1912.

Law Committee, Section 1.

Parole and Probation.

Messrs. WILLIAMS (Chairman), KIRCHWEY AND GREGORY.

Law Committee, Section 2.

New Legislation.

Messrs. SAGE (Chairman), PAVEY AND SPERANZA.

Committee on Prison Discipline.

Messrs. SAWYER (Chairman), WOOD AND SHELTON.

Committee on Discharged Convicts.

Messrs. HADDEN (Chairman), HUTCHINSON, JACKSON AND
LE BOUTILLIER.

Committee on Detentions.

Messrs. HADDEN (Chairman) AND WENDELL.

Finance Committee.

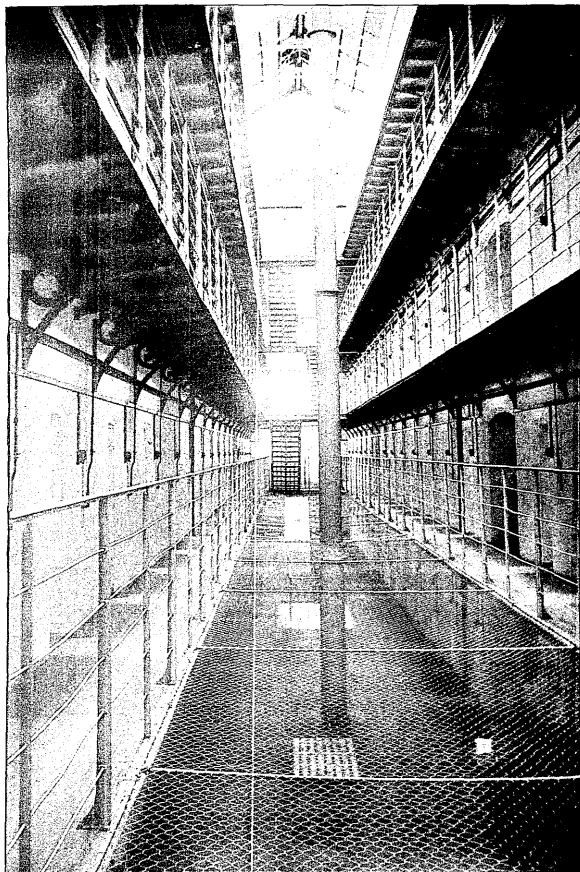
Messrs. WARD (Chairman), CHISOLM AND TUCKER.

House Committee.

Messrs. JACKSON (Chairman) AND WARD.

Library Committee.

Messrs. JACKSON (Chairman) AND GREGORY.



Cell Block Corridor, Portland Prison, England. Contrast This With Cell Block Corridor, New York City Workhouse, opposite page 13

The Association's Staff.

Administration.

O. F. LEWIS, General Secretary.
D. E. KIMBALL, General Agent.
Miss F. S. AUCHAMPAUGH, Private Secretary.
R. S. MORISON, Cashier.
Miss JULIA MALSHHEIMER, Clerk.
Miss BEATRICE STECKER, Clerk.
Miss BESSIE RATNER, Clerk.
Miss ANNA F. PETRY, Clerk.
Miss ALICE SCHMIDT, Messenger.
GEORGE CORSER, Messenger.

Parole Bureau.

H. B. RODGERS, Chief Parole Agent.
A. G. BENEDICT, Parole Agent.
SAMUEL ORNITZ, Parole Agent.
FRANK CHEDSEY, Parole Agent.
Miss HELEN H. LEVY, Stenographer.

Probation Bureau.

D. E. KIMBALL, Chief Probation Officer.
EDWARD BERMAN, Investigator.
Miss MINERVA ROSENTHAL, Stenographer.

Medical Bureau.

Dr. GEORGE M. PARKER, Psychiatrist.

STATE OF NEW YORK

No. 29.

IN SENATE

MARCH 25, 1912

Sixty-seventh Annual Report

of the

Prison Association of New York.

HON. THOMAS F. CONWAY, *Lieutenant-Governor of New York:*

SIR.—In accordance with chapter 163 of the Laws of 1846, we have the honor to present the sixty-seventh annual report of the Prison Association of New York, and to request that you will lay the same before the Legislature.

Respectfully,

THE PRISON ASSOCIATION
OF NEW YORK,

by EUGENE SMITH,
President.

O. F. LEWIS,
General Secretary.

The Prison Association 1911

Chapter One

INTRODUCTORY.

A year of gratifying progress — made possible by a very generous gift of \$27,500 from Mr. Smith Ely to our endowment fund; a response, totalling an equal amount, from hundreds of our friends; the loyalty and activity of a small but efficient staff, and the broad constructive policy of a board of managers:— such can be the report of the president and the general secretary of the Prison Association at the close of 1911.

This Association is in what one of the board has called a “ten year period of reorganization and extension, “called for by its ambition to really be what it was chartered to be, not a local but a *state* organization, obligated so far as its resources allow to develop its beneficent work throughout the entire state. The society has always conceived its purpose thus, but never before perhaps as in the present decade, 1910-1919, has it so consciously bent its

A Period of Extension.

energies to laying a financial foundation for state-wide usefulness. A budget of \$15,000 admits of relatively little systematic activity, compared with the need, even in New York city. A budget of \$27,000, which is our budget for 1912, admits of a fairly wide range of activity in New York city, and attention to imperative needs “up-state.” A budget of \$50,000 can make the Prison Association an active, persistent agent for progress throughout the state.

As our estimated budget in 1911 was only \$26,000 it was necessary to limit carefully our field. We conceived at the end of 1910 our three principal lines of activity for 1911 to be: a careful study of the correctional institutions of New York city, the systematic visitation and inspection of the correctional institutions of the state, and the development of research and educational work within the state. We had, by December, 1910, reorganized our parole and probation bureaus upon a basis largely of self-regulating efficiency. The “next needs” were the study of state and city institutions.

But we were compelled to alter our program, to the general advantage of the state, the city and the Association. The survey we had contemplated on a necessarily small basis, hampered by scanty funds, has been in part conducted by the state through efficient special commissioners, so far as relates to the state prisons. Coincidentally the state commission on prisons has pursued a vigorous campaign of inspection, amounting often to rigorous overhauling of county penitentiaries, county jails and local station houses and lockups, and publishing monthly reports in the news columns of the daily press.



New York City Workhouse

In the city of New York the Association has pursued its purpose of studying the city's correctional institutions, meeting with the most

**New
Institutions.**

cordial cooperation from the commissioner of corrections, and we have been able to act frequently in an advisory capacity in relation to the reorganization of the city reformatory for misdemeanants at Hart's Island, as well as in connection with the problems of congestion in the city prison, the "Tombs," and of the development of greater attention to the care of defective delinquents. The general secretary's visit in the summer of 1911 to several European correctional institutions gave occasion to several widely-quoted interviews comparing deplorable prison conditions in New York city with conditions in similar English and continental institutions; and this "publicity campaign" has been a factor in leading probably to the most complete investigation of the treatment of the offender in New York city that has ever been undertaken in this city — an investigation of which at the moment of writing, the plan and scope are about to be announced, and in which the Association will cooperate.

The board of inebriety, appointed by Mayor Gaynor in the summer of 1911, has also sought the cooperation of the Association in the development of plans for a reception hospital and a farm colony. The board has adopted the general plan and lay-out for a farm colony suggested by the Association, and with gratifying broadness of vision has sought from a number of reputable firms of architects tentative estimates of plans and cost, instead of following a too frequent custom in New York city of employing an architect without any form of initial competition.

A state institution that will be of great service to New York city is the proposed state industrial farm colony for habitual tramps and vagrants. Not only has the Prison Association for a number of years urged the establishment of such a colony, but the Association directed its general secretary, even before the bill had passed the Legislature in 1911, to visit in the summer of 1911 some of the leading labor colonies abroad, in order that facts as to European methods and experience might be at the service of the farm colony board in the event of the passage of the bill. The governor of the state appointed the general secretary of the association to membership on the state industrial farm colony board, and the board has elected him its secretary.

It is thus evident to our members and other friends of the Association what the general policy of the society has been during 1911.

We have cooperated wherever possible with all movements for the betterment of the treatment of the delinquent. One of the most gratifying results of such cooperation was a conference held in New York city on December 22, called by the Prison Association, to frame a legislative program of correctional needs in 1912. This conference was attended by representatives of the state board of charities, the state

commission on prisons, the state probation commission, the state conference of charities and corrections, the state charities aid association, the state fiscal supervisor of state charities, the prison association of New York, and the national committee on prison labor. Resolutions, unanimously adopted, urged the establishment of a state reformatory for misdemeanants between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, a state custodial asylum for feeble-minded delinquents, the placing under state control and operation of the county penitentiaries, the increase to a maximum capacity of facilities at the state training school for girls at Hudson, the erection of a similar institution for girls in the western part of the state, and an issue of long-term bonds (in case current income shall prove inadequate) for the completion of existing state charitable and correctional institutions and for the establishment of sorely needed institutions of this nature. The conference also recommended the enlargement of the state probation commission to a state probation and parole commission, with powers of supervision over the activity of parole officers similar to the supervisory powers over probation officers now vested by law in the commission.

We mention this conference, because it is typical of the policy of the Association. We do not conceive our function to be primarily that of a prober or investigator or graft-hunter in institutions or boards, state or municipal. We do believe it is our function to urge and stimulate the proper public bodies to conduct official investigations not only whenever it becomes apparent that investigation is needed, but also periodically, for the "general good of the service." The special investigators appointed by Governor Dix, aided by the office of the state comptroller, conducted a very fruitful investigation of the state prisons lasting nearly a year and entailing an expense of many thousands of dollars; an almost prohibitive sum for a private society to raise or expend, even if it had the power.

Similarly we have within a few weeks prior to the writing of this report urged upon the proper city authorities that a survey be made of the treatment of the offender in New York city. We believe that cities and states should possess "efficiency bureaus" similar to that now developing in New York city. We believe that the state departments should from time to time be thoroughly analyzed by expert accountants and efficiency specialists either from the state comptroller's office or functioning as a bureau of the executive chamber.

We conceive therefore our functions to be primarily those of assistance to prisoners, released prisoners and prisoners' families; inspection of institutions; consultation in expert capacity with organizations and boards; cooperation with all bodies aiming to reduce crime and improve the treatment of the offender; to further good legislation and to oppose bad or unsuitable legislation, and to conduct a dignified and persistent campaign for the development of sane public opinion regarding the problems of penology and criminology. Over in our minds, as a society, are the rights of the prisoner and the rights of society, and their attainment.

Chapter Two

PAROLE, PROBATION AND RELIEF.

THE oldest, most wide-spread and most conspicuous feature of the Association's work is the assistance rendered prisoners and their families. In our act of incorporation, May 9, 1846, the first object of the society is stated to be "the amelioration of the condition of prisoners, whether detained for trial, or finally convicted or as witnesses." Another object of the Association was (and still is) "the support and encouragement of reformed convicts after their discharge, by affording them the means of obtaining an honest livelihood, and sustaining them in their efforts at reform."

This work for prisoners in prison or on parole has been maintained on a more comprehensive and systematic plan than ever before. As parole agents for Elmira and Napanoch reformatories we had supervision on January 1, 1911, of 442 young men. During the year we received in charge 623 more young men from Elmira and Napanoch. The most casual reader will understand the importance to society of an Association that aims to guide with sympathy but with strictness 1065 young men just out of prison through a parole period of from six months to one year.

What are the results? Look at the table on page 25. We have there put down month by month, for seven years, the number of young men coming to us each month from Elmira reformatory, and the number of paroled men to whom absolute release (that is, honorable discharge) could be granted by us. Taking a span of seven years for a large cross-section test, we have found that *sixty-eight per cent of Elmira reformatory paroled men have "made good" for their paroled period.* And we further believe that if our staff of parole agents could be doubled, we could raise the 68 per cent to 75 per cent or more.

Is that not worth while? We do not and cannot say that none of these 68 per cent of paroled men later revert to crime. But we do say that a systematic parole system is indeed splendidly justified when it carries *seven out of every ten men* through the most crucial after-prison period.

Since April, 1910, we have been extending our parole work to the state prisons. At the beginning of 1911 we had on parole 55 men, largely those assigned by the state prison parole board to us as "next friend." Homeless, without employment or friend, they came to us. During 1911 we received 118 more state prison men. *There have been sent back to state prison, as delinquents, only eleven men in nearly two years.* Warrants have been issued for only eight more.

What does this mean? It means that cooperation between the state prison parole board and the parole bureau of the Association has resulted, in brief, in the following way.

Men paroled to Association	
From State prisons, April 1910-December 1911.....	184
Men released	39
Men returned to prison	13
	52
Men on parole from State prisons, December 31, 1911.	132

In other words, of 184 men under our supervision, only seven per cent have been returned to prison and in only eight other cases, or five per cent, have warrants been issued. Indeed, our relations with the state prison men on parole have been unexpectedly encouraging in results, and we strongly urge the state parole board to develop as systematically and as extensively as possible its parole work throughout the state. More than ever are we of the opinion that if New York state once has a comprehensive and well "checked up" parole system, the resulting saving in cost of crime and in the prevention of poverty and misery — and even in institutional care — will be enormous.

Parole Results.

Parole work in general in New York state is well conducted by certain institutions, but is in a condition approaching chaos where parole is left practically without supervision. The state should face the parole problem frankly and boldly.

Our parole bureau has increased the number of its visits and investigations about thirty-three per cent in 1911; it has given more meals, but decreased the number of lodgings given, by a larger utilization of the excellent lodging facilities of the municipal lodging house. We have been stricter with the "rounder" who makes capital of his prison sentences even as the professional beggar does of his wounds, but on the other hand our cash relief disbursed for released prisoners and their families has increased from \$2277 to \$3555, or 56 per cent. We have consistently cut down during the year the tendency to give garments and shoes without good knowledge of the need. On the other hand, we have during the year helped with advice or actual material relief a considerably larger number of men.

Our statistics show also that the Association has been used much more frequently by ex-prisoners not on parole, but claiming to be in need. Part of this apparent increase may be due to a much more careful system of records installed in 1911. There is no doubt, however, that the Association is becoming much more "popular" with the men released from New York prisons, because of its willing and definite help, although its reputation for being "wise," in the parlance of the prisoners, prevents it from being regarded as "easy" or

When the discharged prisoner returns

Shall he meet

THIS



OR

THIS



?



A Cell, New York Penitentiary

[Compare this cell with English prison cell opposite page 31]

"soft." This annual report could be filled with descriptions of the daily work of the bureau. Characteristic of hundreds of letters is a series of six letters herewith printed. They certainly speak for themselves.

NUMBER 1.

THE CRY OF A CHILD.

(This is a letter from a girl of eleven, whose mother was in the hospital and whose father was "away.")

BROOKLYN, N. Y., October 30, 1910.

The Prison Association.

Gentlemen:—

as my mother is in the City of Lying Hospital [the child meant the lying-in hospital] I write to let you know that I am at my Grandmothers, with my little brother. The landlwd of the house where we live told me today that if my mother don't pay rent before thursday he will put the furniture out in the street, and as my mother is in the hospital, and you know where my father is, I beg of you will you kindly ask the landlwd not to throu our furniture out, until my mother comes out of the hospital, and will you also Please try and do something to get my father home. I will be thankful to you the rest of my life, I am only 11 years old and you can't imagine how it feels to be with a father taken away from you, and a mother in hospital. I, and my little brothers are so lonesome for Papa, please do try and do something for my poor mother and myself.

Respectfully,

.....11 years old, at my Grandmothers, Mrs.....

NUMBER 2.

FROM PRISON CELL.

(From a prisoner at Clinton State Prison, New York, to the chief parole agent of the Prison Association).

October 23, 1910.

My dear Sir:

I am at a loss to know why the Parole Board did not parole me out in your charge it can't be on account of behavior for my record is good as far as prison records go and my time is short. I have only 7 months and a few days to serve out of my full time.

I am mechanic enough to earn a living anywhere. I was reading sometime ago about what you are doing for the men leaving prison no one I have ever heard of or read about has taken the practical method which you are taking and I hope they who you are doing it for will appreciate it some. I am sure will if they only have courage in themselves and trust in God.

Well I will come and see you if God spares me in June 6 I wont be able to get a job in my trade then for the season will be over for tailor-

ing till the coming fall its at its best now and here I am it makes me feel good to hear of your success and you deserve it if some of them should not live up to your expectations dont get discouraged and God Bless you.

From yours sincerely

P. S. Mind you are thought well off among the men here it gives them some encouragement for the future.

NUMBER 3.

A LETTER OF HOPE.

(This letter is sent by the chief parole agent of the Association to all prisoners in state prisons who ask the Association to help them on their release. In one week in January, 1911, the Association received sixty letters from men in New York state prisons).

Dear _____:

Your letter of recent date asking me to get you a position is received. I am glad to hear of your good record while in prison and will do anything possible to help you. Of course you must know how impossible it is for me to go to a stranger and ask for a position for another stranger of whom I know as little as I do of you.

Under the circumstances all I can do is to offer the parole board to take you on parole and then to help you find a position. If you are paroled to the Prison Association I do hope you will be guided by our advice and that you will faithfully observe the rules of your parole. I am sure if you mean all you say in your letter to me that you will succeed, but I want to warn you that the struggle will be hard and the difficulties numerous and that you will need all the patience and fortitude God can bless you with to make a successful fight. I want you to come to me at all times when things seem to be getting the best of you and let me know what the problem is.

Trusting to see you soon a free man among the many others who are demonstrating by their conduct the value of our parole system, I am,

Sincerely your friend,

H. B. RODGERS.

NUMBER 4.

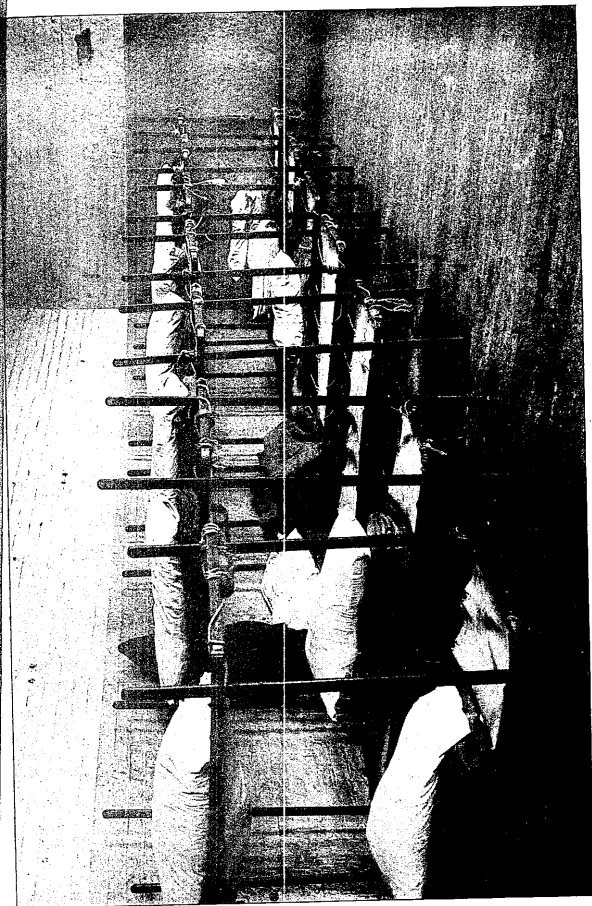
"IN THE DEPTHS."

(A letter from a man in the depths of despair, whom we have been able to help materially since).

NEW YORK, November 6th, 1910.

Dear Friend:

Did not call on you yesterday, Saturday, to have you renew my tickets for meals and bed for the reason that I was doing some work for Mrs. A. at her home and she paid me enough to permit me to secure lodgings



A Part of *One Cell*, Blackwell's Island Workhouse, New York

and meals for Sat. and today. I try to make the few cents I am able to earn in this way go as far as possible, for I feel that you have a great many more besides myself whom you help and it all amounts to quite a sum as a whole. I do not know what on earth I should have done without your help. I simply would have starved, because I could not have gone crooked again, not because of the punishment, but somehow I am of the mind that this is a fight between myself and some force unknown to me, and being a fight I don't like to show a yellow streak, but am either going to win or drop fighting.

In the end I will win, I know. I am making some friends every day, and tho they are in no position to help me yet, are interested enough should the chance be given them to do all they could for me. I feel quite ashamed to come to you all the time, but I know of no one to whom I could apply. It can't be long now before I must land something. Surely a man that tries as hard as I and persists must land something in the end, but it seems a long time coming.

Respectfully yours,

NUMBER 5.

A PLACE AT LAST.

(A letter regarding a man who made a grave mistake, but whose life has not been ruined, and who is now doing excellently).

NEW YORK, August 27th, 1910.

The Prison Association,
Gentlemen:

I wish to say that I have employed Mr. X. whom you sent me. From a cursory personal observation I think he possesses qualities which would make him a very successful broker. I have placed him in entire charge of our private house department and it now remains for him to make good. I have every reason to believe that he will and I trust that the day will shortly come when I shall be indebted to you for drawing my attention to him.

Very truly yours,

NUMBER 6.

"MAKING GOOD."

(From a man, a released prisoner, who has "made good").

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 24.

Dear Sir:

I am pleased to state that I obtained a position with the X. and Y. Co. in Brooklyn. On starting I was placed in charge of a mixing

machine; today I received a promotion, viz: to that of stock clerk. I can assure you, Sir, I left Prison in both a cynical and a pessimistic mood; in the first place (though guilty) at the inequalities of justice; in the second at my future outlook. But now all is changed. I have a decent position, with a certain amount of responsibility. I am trusted and I feel a man, and can look the whole world in the face once more.

Thanks to you and Mr. M., whom a greater Samaritan I have never met nor did I believe existed.

In reiterating my thanks believe me, I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

The parole work of the Prison Association is its most important single function in the line of relief work. More released prisoners

What Parole Is.

are on parole to the Prison Association than probably to any other one organization in the United States. The parole work for Elmira and Napanoch reformatories has been conducted by the Association for years. In April, 1910, parole work for the state prisons of New York was undertaken. The parole period of a prisoner's life is in our opinion fully as critical as his period of imprisonment.

Parole means a period of supervision of a prisoner subsequent to his imprisonment, and prior to his absolute release from an obligation to the state entailed upon him by his sentence. In other words, a prisoner may, according to the operation of the indeterminate sentence, be committed to an institution for a certain maximum period, or to a period between a minimum and a maximum term, or to a period without expressed limits, but which period shall not be greater than the maximum period of the sentence if imposed.

In practice, the released prisoners from Elmira and Napanoch reformatories are under the supervision of the Prison Association for six months. Before they may be released on parole, prisoners must secure offers of work from responsible employers. These offers of work are investigated in New York city by the Prison Association. Here the Association meets its first difficulty in the case of paroled men.

Employers agree to receive a paroled man in employment. The Association often has no actual ground to declare the offer of employment unsatisfactory, yet far too often the employer

Difficulties. will release or discharge the paroled man within a brief time after the latter has reported for work.

This may be through indifference, through the sudden cessation of need of the paroled man's services, or it may be because in narrowness of vision but largeness of heart the employer has wished to "give a show" to the man by getting him out of prison. There does not seem to be any legal way in which such employers may be reprimanded or punished, even in cases where the act was seemingly only for the purpose of obtaining the paroled inmate's release from

prison. In such cases it would be possible for the Prison Association to return the paroled inmate to the reformatory, a process, however, obviously hard if not unjust upon the paroled man. In practice, the Association endeavors to find another position for the man. While the new position often proves better than the old, the sudden transition so soon after the paroled man's entrance into life again reacts badly upon the individual.

The four parole agents of the Prison Association have in charge at any one time a total average of about 600 men. Instead of four parole officers there should be for the best interests of the men at least double that number of officers. Our officers are civilians in plain clothes, and pursue their work in a large-hearted, sympathetic way. So far as possible, each paroled man is visited once a month at his work and at his residence.

In the treatment of delinquents, the Association meets a second difficulty.

In the early part of 1911, the Association lost the services of Sergeant Grant Williams through the withdrawal of this efficient police officer by the police commissioner from his detail with the Prison Association. For a number of years Mr. Williams had acted as the special officer to investigate paroled men who had become delinquent; that is, those who had failed to report to us at the proper time, or who had committed new crimes, or against whom charges of improper conduct had been brought. The Association's policy has been with increasing emphasis that of patience and sympathy for the paroled man. It often became evident, when a paroled man was apprehended by Mr. Williams and brought to the Association, and had a chance to tell his side of the story, that although he was technically delinquent, he was in fact making good progress toward rehabilitation as an honest and self-respecting member of society.

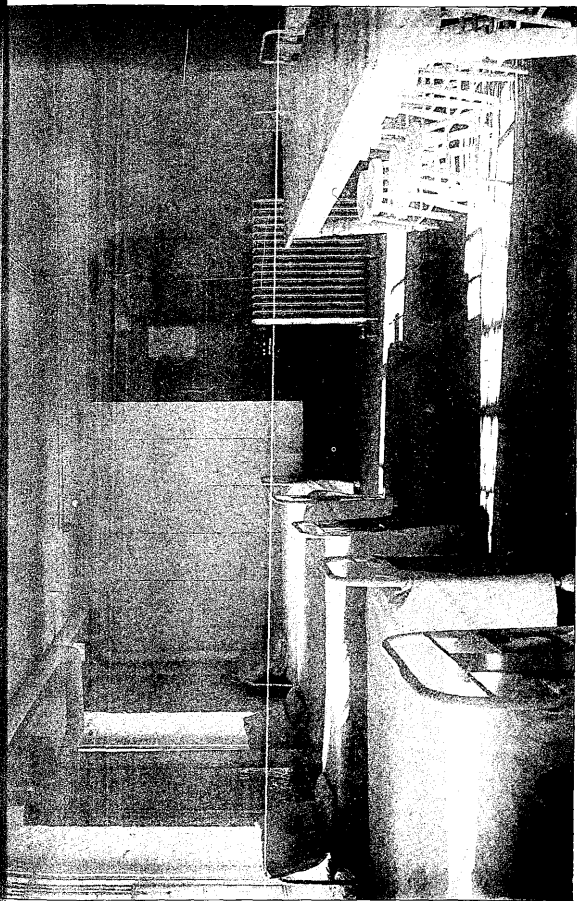
Then came the withdrawal of Mr. Williams by Police Commissioner Cropsey on the ground that the police force was inadequate to meet its most important duties of patrol work. In vain the Association pointed out to Commissioner Cropsey that from an economic standpoint the Association's police activities were of more value in all probability to the city than would be the addition of one or more policemen upon the streets. The Association cherished no doubt that in the course of a year many men, who might become delinquent, were restrained from so doing and that many men were distinctly encouraged to continue through their parole period without reversion to crime.

Since the withdrawal of Sergeant Williams all warrants for arrest of delinquents have been lodged with the police department. These warrants are served by policemen more or less incidentally in the course of their duties. Delinquents are now never brought to the offices of the Association for examination prior to their confinement in the Tombs, but are taken directly to a city prison, and if their cases are investigated, it must be under the disadvantageous circumstances

of an arrest frequently made at a paroled man's home or place of work. In short, the procedure is highly unsatisfactory and the efficiency of the Association as a parole agent for the reformatories has in this respect decidedly decreased.

The average parole period of the men from Elmira and Napanoch reformatories is six months. This presents a third difficulty in administration. There is no law providing that at the end of six months a paroled man shall receive his absolute release. Under the former superintendent of Elmira reformatory that time limit was felt in the case of paroled inmates in general to be sufficient to test the man's ability to maintain himself properly and with safety to society. This is not the view of the Association. In some states the man's period on parole extends even to the limit of the maximum sentence for the crime for which he has been committed. In the state of New York, the Association feels that the period of parole of an inmate of the reformatory be at least six months, with a careful survey of the man's record at the end of the fifth month and a recommendation by the Association to the board of managers of the reformatories as to the continuance of the man's parole. In general, the Association believes that the parole period should be extended beyond six months, and that during the second period of six months the man should report generally once in two months to the Association. At the end of a year's parole a final decision should be made as to the continuance of the parole period. It is the Association's belief that such a plan would work little or no injustice to the men, but would on the contrary be a means of mild but effective restraint upon a number of men who, as experience shows, hardly survive their period of parole before committing another crime.

The fourth difficulty is the present inability of the Prison Association to obtain sufficient funds to put the parole work of the reformatories as conducted by the Prison Association upon its most effective basis. A year ago it was stated in our annual report that according to a recent decision of the salary classification commission at Albany, the parole work in New York city for the reformatories at Elmira and Napanoch might shortly be conducted by the board of reformatory managers directly and not by the Prison Association in New York city. The Prison Association still continues to act as parole agent, and we are informed that the plan outlined a year ago by the salary classification commission has not proved acceptable or feasible to the board of reformatory managers. This Association believes that ultimately the parole work of the correctional institutions of the state should be administered by the institutions themselves. We believe that as soon as possible the parole system for Elmira and Napanoch reformatories not only should be strengthened where it is now fairly well administered, but that throughout the state the system should be put upon an effective basis. This requires the annual expenditure of a considerable sum, probably \$30,000 or more. The Prison Association, having devoted itself for several years particularly to the development of an effective system, would



Hospital Ward, Blackwell's Island Workhouse, New York City

gladly extend its system not only in New York city, but throughout other parts of the state, aiming to bring it to an eventual degree of effectiveness which, when transferred to the state, will render its administration successful. The question is simply whether the state should develop its parole system for the reformatories through the board of reformatory managers or whether an organization like the Prison Association should be sufficiently financed so that it may enlarge its present system, with the idea ultimately of transferring it to the state.

The following tables, with annotations, show the volume and nature of the parole work as administered by the Prison Association of New York during 1911. In this connection we desire to emphasize the parole work which we have gladly undertaken for the state prisons. Monthly during 1911, the chief parole agent has been present at the meetings of the board of parole at Sing Sing prison. The results of this work are shown in separate tables below.

Comparative Table

Parole and Relief, 1911 and 1910.

	1911	1910	Increase or decrease in 1911
			<i>Percent</i>
Number of investigations	4,270	3,165	+35
Employment found:			
temporary	60	362	-61
permanent	81		
Meals given	4,472	3,428	+28
Lodgings given	927	1,968	-112
Garments given	209	344	-39
Shoes given (pairs)	25	101	-75
Persons aided	1,407	803	+75
Total relief given	\$3,555	\$2,277	+56
Cash refunded	55		
Calls from men, not on parole, from:			
Elmira	253	90	+181
Napavoch	40	9	+344
Sing Sing	463	140	+188
Auburn	124	31	+300
Clinton	81	49	+65
Great Meadow	2		
Blackwell's Island:			
Penitentiary	291	226	+39
Workhouse	134	70	+90
Other prisons	508	174	+190
Criminal courts	57	27	+111
	1,895	816	+132

COMPARATIVE TABLE—PAROLE BUREAU.

	ELMIRA		NAPANOCH		SING SING		AUBURN		CLINTON		GREAT MEADOW	
	In-crease or decrease in 1911	1910	In-crease or decrease in 1911	1910	In-crease or decrease in 1911	1910	In-crease or decrease in 1911	1910	In-crease or decrease in 1911	In-crease or decrease in 1911	1910	1911
In charge, beginning of year	341	362	-6	101	90	+12	47	0	.....	6	0	.....
New cases during year	477	499	-5	159	87	+85	86	+43	5	5	0	.....
Absolutely released	345	421	-18	101	67	+31	29	9	+222	1	1	.....
In charge, end of year	423	341	+24	121	101	+20	99	47	+111	10	4	+150
Returned to prison, during year	47	99	-53	27	9	+200	3	6	-50	0	0	.....
Warrants for arrest issued	117	184	-36	85	83	0	6	0	.....	0	0	.....

TABLE SHOWING MEN RECEIVED ON PAROLE FROM ELMIRA REFORMATORY, AND MEN RECEIVING ABSOLUTE RELEASES ON COMPLETION OF PAROLE PERIOD, JANUARY 1906—DECEMBER 1911.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1906													
Paroled	53	42	56	59	64	78	68	60	43	48	59	65	695
Absolutely released	39	16	36	42	20	31	33	36	35	54	89	60	441
1907													
Paroled	51	57	64	55	64	63	45	37	48	39	36	60	619
Absolutely released	60	47	41	33	37	27	42	42	42	45	33	45	494
1908													
Paroled	41	19	37	42	48	66	67	36	40	33	41	70	554
Absolutely released	32	27	21	35	18	26	39	28	13	30	23	35	327
1909													
Paroled	40	55	71	49	70	80	40	50	65	36	70	86	712
Absolutely released	43	18	22	21	20	22	45	31	35	39	45	34	375
1910													
Paroled	38	67	85	40	32	57	35	27	42	17	39	34	513
Absolutely released	51	26	39	42	21	58	59	13	51	40	41	30	462
1911													
Paroled	40	37	44	37	37	47	37	29	30	31	42	57	477
Absolutely released	46	31	19	26	23	15	44	27	27	45	20	22	345

Total persons received on parole from Elmira, 1906-1911..... 3,579
 Total persons absolutely released, 1906-1911..... 2,444

Proportion of absolute releases to arrivals, 68.5%.

PAROLE STATISTICS FOR REFORMATORIES AND STATE PRISONS, 1911.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total 1911
In charge beginning of month:													
Elmira.....	341	338	313	355	366	374	402	393	389	393	378	395	.....
Albany.....	51	51	52	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	.....
Sing Sing.....	47	46	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	.....
Albany.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	.....
Great Meadow.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	.....
Total.....	407	518	544	560	579	595	637	630	659	650	617	646	.....
New cases during month:													
Elmira.....	40	37	44	37	37	47	35	30	30	31	42	37	457
Albany.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	.....
Sing Sing.....	5	5	11	8	10	14	11	7	2	4	2	2	86
Albany.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	.....
Great Meadow.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	.....
Total.....	64	72	68	57	59	76	57	51	53	58	67	73	754
Released during month:													
Elmira.....	26	23	27	50	28	19	46	70	77	46	50	25	301
Albany.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	.....
Sing Sing.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	.....
Albany.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	.....
Great Meadow.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	.....
Total.....	36	32	35	68	43	35	60	76	83	52	56	31	663
Warrants issued:													
Elmira.....	0	3	10	16	11	8	12	10	14	16	11	11	117
Albany.....	0	1	7	10	11	8	11	8	9	8	16	11	83
Sing Sing.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.....
Albany.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.....
Great Meadow.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.....
Total.....	0	4	17	26	22	16	23	20	23	24	27	22	191
Total.....	19	11	23	26	22	23	23	24	18	20	18	20	268

* One died while on parole.

The difficulties which we have mentioned in connection with the parole work of Elmira and Napanoch reformatories are found in large measure also in connection with our state prison parole work. We need more parole officers and we need to visit the places of employment and the residences of the men more frequently.

The past year has seen the probation system become more firmly rooted than ever as a vital and permanent part of our machinery for dealing with delinquents. For the first time the

Probation.

number of persons placed on probation in New York state during a single year exceeded the 10,000 mark. Over 2,500 of those placed on probation during 1911 were under sixteen years of age. Better, however, than the increase in numbers, are the improvements in the organization and operations of the system. The periods of probation are lengthening; the oversight of those on probation is closer and more intelligent; more helpful and constructive work is done by probation officers; and there is more cooperation among the probation officers in different jurisdictions. These results have been due in large measure to the state conferences of probation officers, and other efforts of the state probation commission. One special improvement during the past year has been the publication by the state commission of an accounting system for probation officers to use in keeping account of moneys collected from probationers in the forms of family-support, restitution and instalment fines. The amount of money received by probation officers in these forms more than doubled during 1911, and reached a total of nearly \$100,000.

Our last annual report stated that the New York city inferior courts act of 1910 had resulted not only in the withdrawal during the summer of that year of twenty-seven policemen serving as probation officers in the court of special sessions and the boards of magistrates, but also in considerable temporary confusion in the probation work of these courts on account of the delay in holding a civil service examination

for probation officer. The examination which was announced in July, 1910, was not completed until March, 1911. The municipal civil service commission was assisted in conducting the examination by a number of persons familiar with probation work, including the secretary of this Association. The eligible list promulgated was exceedingly satisfactory. Pending the completion of this examination the justices and magistrates made temporary appointments, many of which, were not very satisfactory. It was to be hoped that upon the publication of the eligible list permanent appointments could be made from it forthwith; but no sooner were the names of the successful candidates announced than Supreme Court Justice Crane handed down a writ of mandamus declaring that the positions were "confidential" and should be in the exempt class. This contention was later sustained by the appellate division of the second department and was carried from there on appeal to the

court of appeals. The final decision by the court of appeals was not rendered until January, 1912. This tribunal, we are glad to say, upheld the practicability of competitive examinations. As a result of this litigation nearly thirty probation officers appointed during the past year without regard to the eligible list are to be removed from office, and their successors, as well as eighteen additional officers to be named in the children's courts, are to be chosen from the eligible list.

The importance of this decision of the court of appeals can hardly be over-estimated. Experience has amply demonstrated that examinations, conducted with the assistance of those acquainted with probation work and held in part orally, afford a practical means of testing the experience and personal fitness of the candidates. Without the safeguard of such examinations the appointments are likely to be influenced by partisan considerations.

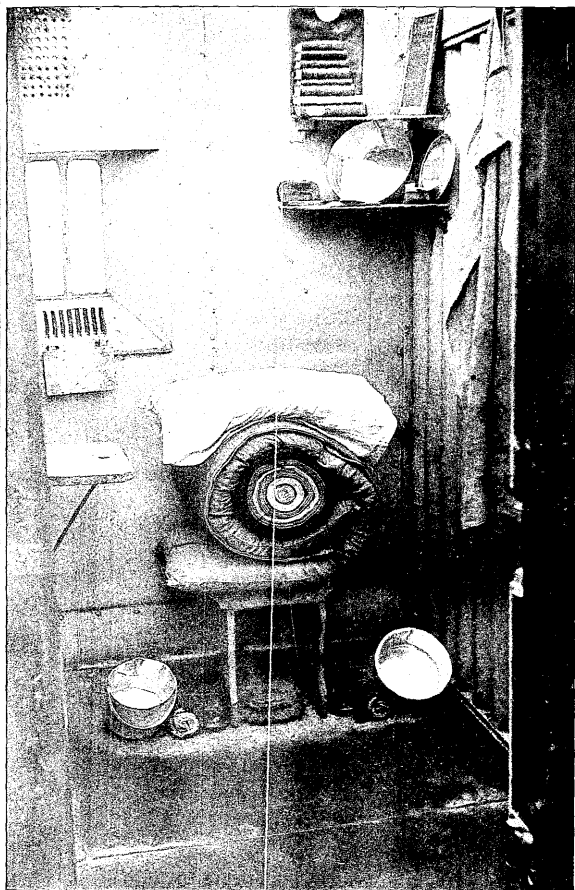
In this connection attention can not be called too often to the fact that the success of probation depends on the personality of the probation officer. The reformation of delinquents can never be secured by any system operating simply as a system, but only through the reformatory influences emanating from interested and inspiring individuals. The forces that change our habits and character are largely psychological and social. A probation officer should not be a spy or disciplinarian, but a big brother or big sister. Judges, the fiscal authorities of cities, and boards of supervisors should bear in mind that probation officers of the requisite character, interest and ability can not be secured unless adequate salaries are paid.

It is gratifying to report that during the past year the probation system has made special progress in rural communities. The county probation officer law provides that salaried county probation officers, appointed by a county judge and paid by the board of supervisors, may serve in all courts in their respective counties, except in courts of cities of the first and second classes.

**County
Probation
Officers.**

We have previously recommended the appointment of more of these county probation officers. Twenty-one counties have thus far made appropriations for this purpose, five counties — Cortland, Jefferson Lewis, Madison and Putnam — having made such appropriations for the first time during 1911. Nowhere is probation more needed than in the rural districts; nowhere are there so few agencies of a preventive or corrective character, and nowhere do persons of wayward or depraved tendencies go more quickly from bad to worse. Far too often the justices of towns and villages are prone to commit boys and young women to jails and other institutions, when sympathetic and helpful oversight by a probation officer might do far more good, and incidentally save much in the way of expense.

There have also been advances in the probation system in other states. Recent enactments of laws by the legislatures of Arkansas, Delaware and Florida have increased the number of states having juvenile probation laws to forty-two. There have also been increases



Interior View, Cell, Portland Prison, England. Built in 1849

in the number of states authorizing the use of probation for adult offenders, the most notable advance in this field having been in Illinois, where for local reasons there had previously been considerable opposition to proposed legislation on this subject. Bills were introduced in that state and Pennsylvania for the establishment of state probation commissions, but failed of passage.

Outside of the District of Columbia, probation is not used in any of the federal courts. It is highly desirable that congress enact appropriate legislation in order that the federal courts throughout the country may be brought abreast of modern methods.

Probation conditions in the court of general sessions continued during 1911 to be unsatisfactory in principle to the Prison Association, although individual probation officers attached to that court pursued their duties with devotion. Early in 1911, and again in February of 1912, the president of the Prison Association sent to the newspapers an open

letter, the later one being as follows:

"It has been frequently claimed, that too many persons convicted of felony have been released on suspended sentences, and that a more rigorous treatment on the part of the judges would prove a greater deterrent to the commission of crime. It has further been claimed that the probation work in the court of general sessions is faulty, and that the probation officers are not able to give adequate supervision to those placed in their charge.

"The decisions on the questions thus raised must depend on a correct understanding of the proper use of the suspended sentence which lies at the foundation of the system of probation. What, then, are the essentials of a successful probation system? They may be enumerated as follows:

"Wise discrimination by the court as to what convicted offenders should be placed on probation.

"An adequate and experienced corps of probation officers.

"Systematic supervision and assistance of probationers.

"Adequate period of probation.

"Regular reports to the judges as to the conduct and other circumstances of probationers.

"No overcrowding of probation officers through the assignment of too many cases.

"Rigorous prosecutions of delinquent probationers.

"Cordial and considerate appreciation of the difficulties attending a wise administration of the probation system, both by judges and by the district attorney's office.

"In presenting the views of the Prison Association regarding these essentials of probation, it is assumed at the outset that (as all modern penologists now assert), the probation system itself is of the highest value, and that, when it fails of success, the method of administering is at fault. A proper probation system demands that judges should be thoroughly informed, prior to sentencing, of all important circumstances relating to the crime committed by the offender, his environment, and his social history.

"Confirmed and habitual criminals are not fit subjects for the suspended sentence. It is only where the court, after weighing all the facts that can be gained about the individual offender's character, purposes, and surroundings, believes it to be reasonably probable that the offender, if placed under the authority of the probation officer and set conditionally free, will abstain from crime — it is only under these circumstances that the suspended sentence is warranted.

"All outside influences and the current of public opinion and of popular criticism should be sternly disregarded by the court, whose sole duty it is in each case to take such course as will, in the conscientious judgment of the court, best protect the public and tend to rehabilitate the offender. Of these ends, the protection of the public is, of course, paramount; but the most effective and permanent public protection is secured by the rescue of a first offender from leading a life of crime.

"It becomes more evident each year that a fairly large proportion of offenders are mentally abnormal and that such offenders, while perhaps not so responsible for their deeds as more balanced criminals, may all the more for that reason need custodial care rather than a suspended sentence. On the other hand, the fact that association with criminals in confinement tends to the debasement and corruption of character must always be present to the mind of the court. In short, a suspended sentence should be given only after full knowledge of mitigating circumstances, indicating the greater probability of reformation and ultimate restoration to society outside of prison than inside.

"Even if a wise decision is made by the court and nevertheless inadequate service is rendered by probation officers, the principle of the suspended sentence is discredited. In the court of general sessions there is a numerically inadequate corps of probation officers. They have far too many cases, and the cases are distributed unevenly from a numerical standpoint. There is no chief probation officer. The probation officers in the court of general sessions are salaried, not by the city, but by private societies, and while there may be cordiality and even friendship between probation officers, there is not the responsibility nor the coordination of work necessary to make the working out of the probation system wholly successful. The Prison Association, having several probation officers in the court of general sessions, is nevertheless an advocate of the plan of the state probation commission, providing for a corps of probation officers salaried by the city and a chief probation officer, the force to be adequate, to be experienced, and to be centralized as a method. In the opinion of the Prison Association, neither the judges nor the district attorney's office will receive the best results from a probation system until such a corps of probation officers is established. It is to be hoped that when such a corps is established, the experience and ability of the probation officers now working in the court of general sessions will be taken into consideration.

"The need of systematic supervision and of necessary assistance is obvious. To what extent that supervision is now lacking or to what extent necessary assistance is not rendered, can be checked up by the judges in the court of general sessions at any time if they so desire. If they do not closely trace the career of probationers, just in so far does responsibility for the possible failure of the probation system devolve upon them.

"Similarly there should be an adequate period of probation, and during that period the probationers should know all the time that they are on probation.

Probation is not liberty and the probation officer is not simply a nurse, but if occasion requires a rigid disciplinarian with official power and authority.

"If probation officers do not report to the judges with such frequency as to enable the judges to know the circumstances in each individual case, the probation system is weak in that particular, and the societies maintaining probation officers would seem to be derelict. If the judges do not give close attention to the reports of the probation officers as to delinquency and as to progress of probationers, they are not aiding in the working out of an efficient system. The judges are as responsible for being informed as to the merits of their probationers as the warden of a prison is responsible for having knowledge as to the progress of the inmates of his prison.

"That the probation officers are over-crowded as to cases is well known. That the distribution of cases is quite uneven is also well known. In the opinion of the Prison Association this calls for a remedy.

"If probationers should become delinquent and are allowed to continue delinquent; if little or no effort is made to check their delinquency or to arrest them; if a sentimental or unjust leniency is exercised without extenuating circumstances, the probation system sags. It is just as important to weigh the case of the delinquent probationer as it is to weigh the case of the escaped prisoner. Otherwise contempt for law is created as well as a criticism of the courts, of the probation officers, and of the societies maintaining them."

In 1911 a bill was introduced into the New York legislature, providing for the extension of the powers of the state probation commission

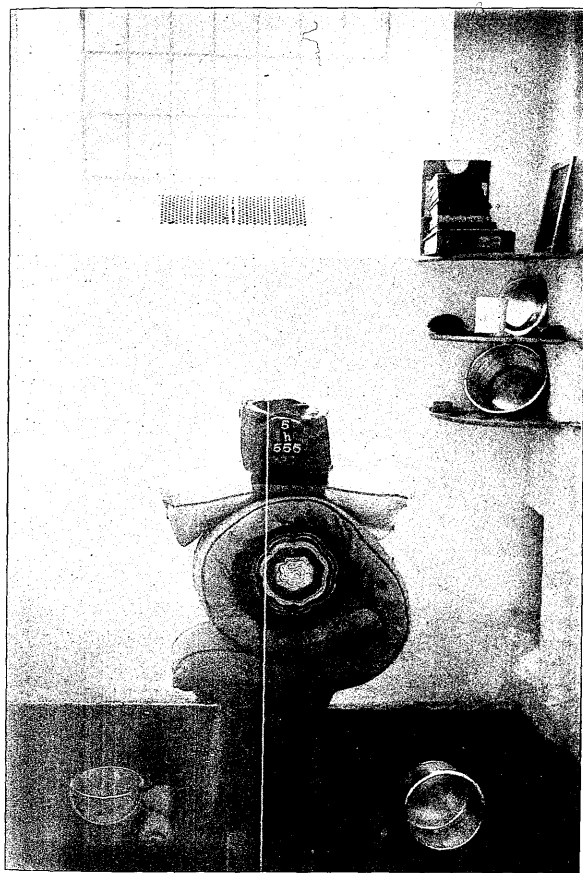
to supervise the parole work of the state, as that supervision is now exercised over the probation work. The Association is in sympathy with this proposed extension of supervision, which is quite distinct from any control or administration of parole work. The bill will be reintroduced in 1912. We believe that for statistical purposes,

and for the general betterment of the parole work of the state, there should be a central agency to which all facts of importance regarding the administration of parole work in the state should be reported, and which should have the power to require such reports. The state probation commission has so administered its supervisory powers in connection with the requiring of facts regarding the work of probation officers that the state has now an increasingly valuable collection of regularly gathered statistics. The efficiency of parole work depends not only upon the work of the individual parole officer, or of the individual institution, but also upon the coordination of parole work, and upon the systematizing of that work. The methods suggested by the state probation commission in probation work have been valuable. It seems clear that the state parole and probation commission, if established, will not undertake parole work already carried on by institutions or organizations, but will require from such institutions and organizations, very justly, reports of their work, and be able to make valuable suggestions to them of possible improvements in their methods. The Prison Association will be glad at any time to receive such suggestions and give them careful consideration.

The Association is invested with a certain amount of responsibility in that one section of its charter requires it to inspect and report the condition of jails. The general agent, Mr. Kimball, and his assistant, Mr. Berman, are in daily attendance at the Tombs and their time is devoted principally to the work of probation, which is reported elsewhere.

The city prison (Tombs) has been over-crowded throughout the year but conditions are better on the whole than they were during the summer months, when some of the courts were closed for the usual vacation.

For half a century the Association has protested against the evil of unprincipled lawyers who make it their business to prey upon ignorant and unfortunate prisoners. A number of instances of such evil practices were brought to the attention of the commissioner of corrections and as a result a placard was printed and posted on every tier in the city prison where all prisoners could read it. The placard is printed on the following page.



Interior View, Cell, Portland Prison, England. Built in 1909

NOTICE TO PRISONERS

Do not trust in fellow prisoners. If you are without friends, tell your story to the agent of this Association who will advise you as to all your rights without charge.

If you have no money to pay for a lawyer, the court will assign one to defend you. This will cost you nothing.

If you are going to plead guilty in court and ask for mercy, you need no lawyer. The probation officer sent by the judge will hear your story and look after your interests without charge.

If a lawyer sends for you, be very careful, unless you are sure he was sent by your friends.

Tell those who visit you to beware of those around the court and prison who act as "steerers" for lawyers.

Free advice will be given by the agent of this Association who visits the prison daily. Letters for him may be dropped in his letter box at the front gate, by the prison messengers.

Address letters as follows:

Agent, Prison Association, City Prison.
Or, 135 East 15th Street, New York.

COPY OF CARD POSTED IN CITY PRISON, NEW YORK

The letter boxes which were established and in which prisoners were invited to deposit letters, were productive of much good. They enabled the agent to secure counsel for the friendless and deserving prisoners, in many instances to expedite trials and to defeat the scheme of some lawyers who were of the class above mentioned.

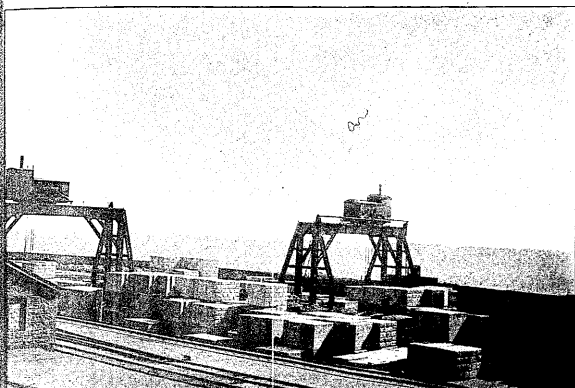
Two cases are cited as showing the result.

An Irishman on the third tier who was accused of sharp practices in a horse deal asked the Association to investigate his case and if possible find out why he had been confined in the prison from the 18th of June, until late in October, without a trial. Investigation showed that his lawyer lived in Long Island city and did not give any attention to the case because it was not convenient and because he was away on vacation. Judge Rosalsky disposed of the case in twenty-four hours and released the man on probation in the custody of this Association, because he thought the man had been sufficiently punished.

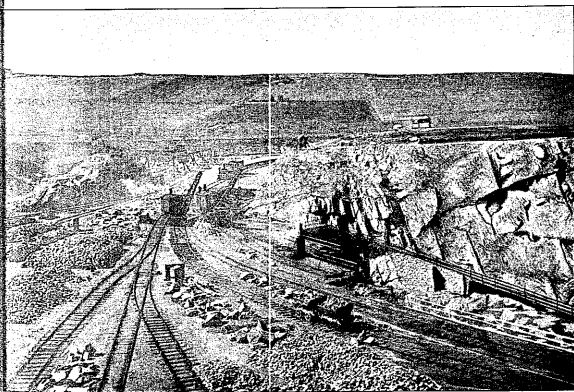
Another case is that of a Greek, convicted in the court of special sessions for violation of the excise law, and sentenced to thirty days imprisonment and two hundred dollars fine. He was the proprietor of a small restaurant which he had purchased for one thousand dollars. Eight hundred and fifty dollars was paid and the balance allowed to stand until the vendor made certain necessary repairs. This part of the contract was not carried out promptly, but the prisoner conducted the restaurant and in the course of business violated the law by selling a bottle of beer to two customers who proved to be detectives. He was brought to trial and sentenced as stated.

While he was in prison the vendor brought suit for the balance of one hundred and fifty dollars and he was about to get judgment when the Association learned of the case through the letter box. A lawyer was secured for him, the case postponed, the fine was remitted and the poor fellow was enabled to save his little business.

Many of the communications received in the letter box relate to matters over which the Association has no control. A number have been received from prisoners who are mentally deficient, but much good has resulted, and this particular branch of the work is sure to increase in usefulness.



Prison-Made Concrete Blocks for Breakwater, Peterhead, Scotland



Quarry, Peterhead Prison, Scotland

CRIMES OF CASES RECEIVED ON PROBATION DURING YEAR OF 1911.

CRIMES	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Grand larceny 1st degree.....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Grand larceny 2nd degree.....	2	1	1	3	0	0	2	3	9	5	10	3	39
Attempted grand larceny 1st degree.....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
Attempted grand larceny 2nd degree.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	2	0	0	9
Pick-pocketing.....	0	0	0	0	4	1	4	4	0	1	2	1	20
Burglary 1st degree.....	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	8
Burglary 2d degree.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Burglary 3rd degree.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	4	1	2	10
Assault 2d degree.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Assault 3rd degree.....	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	4	1	2	2	0	19
Forgery 2d degree.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Forgery 3d degree.....	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Receiving stolen property.....	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	7
Carrying weapons.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3
Section 1867 Penal Law.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Section 1746 Penal Law (Cocaine).....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
Rape 2d degree.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abandonment.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Unlawful entry (Misdemeanor).....	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
Disorderly conduct.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Re-paroled (Burglary 3rd degree).....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	3	1	4	10	9	10	12	18	16	22	21	10	137

THE PRISON ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

NUMBER OF CASES INVESTIGATED DURING YEAR OF 1911
Court of General Sessions

JUDGE	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Crain.....	8	0	2	4	13	3	28	13	10	1	3	1	85
Fogart.....	0	0	15	14	4	0	0	0	31	27	0	0	109
Mosley.....	0	0	5	0	27	24	15	2	0	0	0	0	20
O'Sullivan.....	0	0	13	17	7	4	0	0	0	27	28	15	131
Roadley.....	2	1	0	14	13	3	0	2	0	0	26	12	73
Swann.....	0	0	0	4	3	2	0	28	11	10	5	2	65
Total	10	1	35	53	73	38	43	44	52	65	70	50	534

Other Courts

Blanchard.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Marcus.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	5
Special Sessions.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	7
Total	10	1	35	53	73	38	43	44	52	65	72	55	541

THE ASSOCIATION AND THE CITY PRISON.

DETENTION OF CASES INVESTIGATED DURING YEAR OF 1911

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Elmira reformatory.....	2	0	8	15	13	6	6	12	14	13	16	7	113
Bedford reformatory.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
City reformatory.....	0	0	2	3	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	11
State prison.....	0	0	8	12	28	4	9	8	7	19	12	19	126
Penitentiary.....	5	0	12	13	14	12	16	5	8	9	20	15	120
Probation.....	2	1	6	10	9	10	12	13	16	21	21	10	131
Sentence suspended.....	1	0	0	0	7	4	0	5	5	0	2	4	28
Total	10	1	35	53	73	38	43	44	52	65	72	55	541

MONEY COLLECTED ON ACCOUNT OF RESTITUTION AND NON-SUPPORT DURING YEAR OF 1911

Restitution

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
\$50	\$20	\$20	\$24	\$24	\$85	\$19	\$40	\$47	\$73	\$50	\$57	\$476

Non-support

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
\$45	\$40	\$40	\$40	\$35	\$50	\$20	\$20	\$20	\$20	\$20	\$20	\$350

Total collected for restitution..... \$476 00

Total collected for non-support..... 350 00

\$826 00

Ages of probationers, reporting Jan. 1st, Ages of probationers discharged during

1912		1911	
16 to 20.....	43	16 to 20.....	19
21 to 25.....	30	21 to 25.....	14
26 to 30.....	24	26 to 30.....	12
31 to 35.....	23	31 to 35.....	6
36 to 40.....	14	36 to 40.....	3
41 to 45.....	7	41 to 45.....	4
46 to 50.....	3	46 to 50.....	5
51 to 62.....	4	51 to 62.....	2
	148		65
Average age (years).....	27	Average age (years).....	28
Reports, in person, total.....		4,175	
Reports, in person, average per week.....		80	
Reports, in person, average per month.....		348	
Reports by mail and telephone during 1911.....		970	
Average per week.....		18	
Average per month.....		60	
Average length of time of reporting.....		1 yr. 9 mos.	
Cases on probation inspected, 1911.....		83	
Number of visits to probation cases, 1911.....		140	
Number of cases on probation, Jan. 1, 1911.....		121	
Number of cases received during 1911.....		137	
Number of cases received during 1911, and transferred to other probation officers.....		25	
		162	
Total.....		283	
Number of cases discharged by expiration of maximum sentence.....		41	
Number of cases discharged by expiration of probation period.....		25	
Re-arrested and committed.....		11	
Bench warrants issued.....		5	
Lost.....		1	
Total.....		83	
Number of cases transferred to other probation officers.....		25	
Total.....		108	
Number of cases received during 1911, on probation.....		283	
Number of cases passed during 1911.....		108	
Total number remaining on probation Jan. 1, 1912..		175	

Chapter Three

PRISON FARMS AND FARM COLONIES

THE "prison farm" and the "farm colony" movements have gained much impetus during the year. Especially noteworthy was the purchase by the state of Pennsylvania, in December, of 487.8 acres at a cost of \$191,655, for the new site of the western penitentiary of that state. This old penitentiary

Prison Farms and has had in recent years an enviable record of Farm Colonies, as to its warden, John Francies, and an unenviable record as to tuberculosis.

In Kansas City the board of pardons and paroles maintains a municipal farm of 135 acres, which is used for the physical and moral rehabilitation of a number of the paroled men. In Colorado the working of state prisoners in the open, on roads, but not on farms, has attracted much attention. Penitentiary prisoners, upwards of 300 in number, have been housed during the past four years in camps in the wild and mountainous sections of the state, at times 200 miles from the penitentiary, without guards or guns, and yet there were only two escapes in one year.

The city workhouse of Cleveland occupies 750 acres of land, nine miles from the city, purchased in 1904, and the city plans to make of its workhouse a model farm. Escapes are relatively frequent. In Michigan Warden Otis Fuller of the state reformatory has built with prison labor a mile of good gravel road between the reformatory and the city of Lansing, and claims that farming and road building could be greatly extended with profit to the state and the prisoners. "I doubt," says the warden, "if there is a prison in the United States which could not profitably work more than 1000 acres with prison labor." Similarly Warden Simpson of the Jackson (Mich.) penitentiary has reported that in his opinion, based upon the prison farm of that institution, there is no work, trade or calling, to which men striving for a livelihood may fall heir, so conducive to the development of health, happiness, honesty and independence, combined with all the attributes of a good citizen, as practical and successful farming.

In Montpelier, Vermont, Sheriff Tracy of the county jail is said to trust his prisoners to come and go almost as freely as members of his own family. A state law authorizes all sheriffs to set their prisoners at work either inside or outside the jails. Sheriff Tracy's charges, permitted and encouraged to go out to work on farms during the day, have in four years earned above \$6000, of which a total exceeding \$2000 was kept by themselves. The District of Columbia bought recently a farm of 1100 acres near Occoquan, Virginia, and is there

building a farm colony workhouse. During the first year there passed through the prison farm 3000 men, yet there were but sixty attempts at escape. The superintendent estimates that within three years the farm will be self-supporting and that eventually the farm will clear from \$20,000 to \$30,000 a year after paying all the expenses of maintenance of prisoners.

In Oregon chains and stripes have been abolished, and prisoners have been put at work outside prison walls, without guards, on roads or farms or in buildings; with 150 men working outside the penitentiary only three men escaped between January and July, 1911. In the Kansas state penitentiary every man is given six months on the farm just previous to his release. "The farm work and a half-hour recreation period have reduced the ordinary prison vices seventy per cent."

Canada corroborates strongly the above experiences of other American prisons. Warden J. T. Gilmour said in the spring of 1911 of the prison farm of the central prison of Toronto, the farm being of 530 acres fifty miles distant from the city, that "we have taken out of this farm 500 men, of whom four have escaped successfully and three or four have attempted to escape — unsuccessfully."

The prison farm and the farm colony appeal strongly to public opinion. Prison officials in general favor farm work for at least a part of the prison population. It is healthy, varied, reasonably strenuous, easily learned, offers an outlet to much unskilled labor-energy, does not compete with outside organized labor, produces articles of consumption for institutions, and furnishes a liberty of movement far less hampered than within prison walls, while testing the ability of the prisoner to meet the temptation of escape.

The possibilities of prison farms and farm colonies for New York state are being carefully weighed by institution boards of managers, superintendents, wardens and by public and private boards and societies.

In New York. Several serious questions arise in connection with adult prisoners. Will escapes be frequent? Will the farm be more remunerative to the state and to the prisoner than well-developed industries in shops? Will the administrative expenses be considerably higher?

Answers to these and other questions will be obtained only through experience. The Bedford state reformatory for women is a cottage institution, but with very little cultivable land. The state training school for boys at Industry is a cottage system community *par excellence*, the school covering over 1400 acres, and farm cottages being in the main the centers of separate farms varying in extent from 50 to 150 acres.

The new state prison at Comstock, now under construction, has an area of 1000 acres and is destined for "first-timers" in state prison. During 1911 inmates have been transferred to this prison, located several miles south of Whitehall. It is planned that it shall be the "agricultural prison" of the state. The proposed Harlem prison at Wingdale, which was to be located on a tract of approximately 600

acres, was to be partially agricultural, partially industrial. Construction was halted on this prison by Governor Dix late in 1911.

The farm colony plan has been adopted this year in connection with three important new institutions: the state industrial farm colony (for tramps and vagrants); the farm colony and hospital of the board of inebriety, New York city, and the New York city reformatory for misdemeanants. Let us consider these institutions and their possibilities in detail.

By act of the legislature of 1911, the state industrial farm colony was established.

The State Industrial Farm Colony.

Late in 1911, the governor appointed a board of managers, consisting of two lawyers, two general secretaries of charitable societies, the commissioner of public charities in New York city, a banker and the professor of farm management at Cornell university. By the terms of the act, the purpose of the state industrial farm colony is "the detention, humane discipline, instruction and reformation of male adults committed thereto as tramps and vagrants."

The duties of the board of managers are briefly: to secure a site, to build the colony, to administer it and to conduct a system of parole. The site shall be of not less than 500 acres. The board organized on December 15, 1911, and the general secretary of the Prison Association was elected secretary of the board. A sub-committee of the board was appointed to seek a proper site for the colony.

In view of the exhaustive study of vagrancy, on pages 78 to 150 of this report, further treatment of the subject is omitted from this portion of our report. Yet we would point out that the action of the New York legislature in establishing this state industrial farm colony is of high significance to the country in general. In many states farm colonies were advocated in 1911. The New York colony will be most carefully watched, both in the United States and abroad. Can the tramp army be reduced? Can vagrants be made to work? Will a farm colony prove a deterrent? Will it reform? Will it rehabilitate the wanderer? Will the colony be a serious initial and annual expense to the state? What should be the size of the colony? Is vagrancy an unavoidable social plague? Such are some of the questions for which charitable and correctional bodies throughout the country await an answer.

The board of inebriety of New York city is a new and important departure in the treatment of habitual and occasional intoxication.

The Board of Inebriety

In 1910, legislation was enacted authorizing the city of New York to establish a board of inebriety of seven members, to maintain a probation system, a reception hospital, and a farm colony and hospital. The board was empowered to maintain a corps of field officers (i. e., probation officers), to release first offenders from the station houses after arrest and without appearance at court; to receive inebriates on probation from the court, to collect fines in installments, to maintain a hospital in the city for "worse" cases, and to

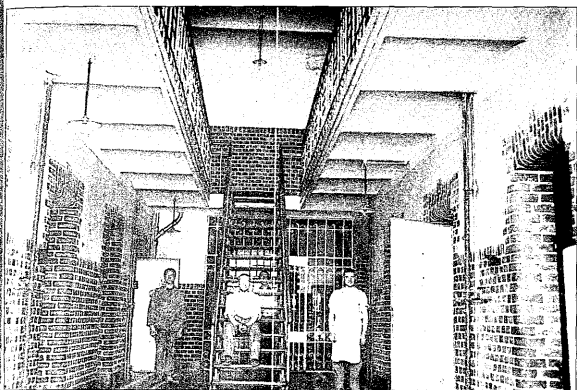
transfer to the farm colony and colony hospital, and to hold there under restraint, such inebriates, committed by the courts to the board, as the board shall deem would profit by such treatment. By further legislation in 1911, all cities of the first and second class were authorized to establish such boards of inebriety.

The carrying power of such a law is apparent to all who know how futile has been the public treatment of inebriety. The annual report of the Prison Association in 1910 gave in detail appalling examples of short sentences for inebriety, repeated workhouse convictions, petty fines, discharges, recurrent visits for a few days to the alcoholic ward of Bellevue hospital, and the like. A more unprofitable method of dealing with intemperance (which is the greatest cause of commitments to penal institutions in the United States), cannot be found.

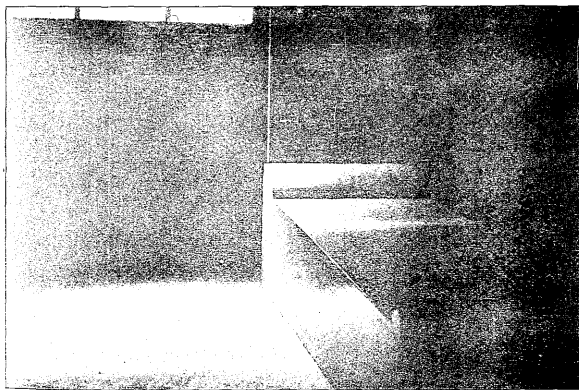
In the early summer of 1911, Mayor Gaynor of New York appointed a board of inebriety, which includes among others the commissioner of public charities and the commissioner of correction. This board has sought sites for the colony and for the reception hospital, and has with commendable desire to secure the best results sought suggestions for plans for the farm colony from a number of New York city architects.

The character of the institution has been the subject of serious deliberation. The board has decided to build a hospital and colony admitting of the classification of inmates in all degrees from the strictest custodial care to the largest amount of freedom—in honor cottages—consistent with the general purpose of the colony. Close study of existing institutions led the board to recognize both the advantages and disadvantages of the congregate system of construction and the cottage system of construction. The new farm colony for inebriates will, if present plans are adhered to, be an institution combining the best features of the congregate plan and of the cottage plan, the congregate division furnishing a number of buildings for custodial restraint, while the cottages will give excellent chance to house trustworthy inmates in conditions approximating that of the family. The board is to be commended not only for providing for a system in which rewards and deprivations will be thus a central feature, but in "making haste slowly" in an experiment of so far-reaching importance. The farm colony is planned for 500 inmates.

The board of inebriety is a city board, and the farm colony will be a city institution. The trend in charitable legislation has been toward the establishment of state rather than local institutions for the care of special classes of dependent defectives and delinquents, such as the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, and the insane. But the number of inebriates was estimated to be so large, that in urging legislation the promoters of the bill believed that the several cities of the first and second class, rather than the state, should establish hospital and colony facilities for their local inebriates. Whether the local administration of such important organizations as boards of inebriety will be so successful under local conditions and influence is a question open to doubt.



Disciplinary Building [Single Outside Cells] Fichtenhain Reformatory,
Crefeld, Germany



Punishment [Light] Cell, Boys' Reform School, Amersfoort, Holland

The New York city reformatory for misdemeanants was established in 1905 because there was no state reformatory to which to send

New York City Reformatory. closest proximity to a branch workhouse and within a short distance of the "Potter's Field" where the city's pauper dead are interred, the city reformatory has since its establishment been a reformatory largely only in name.

Prior to the advent of the present commissioner of correction the reformatory was continually the subject of severe criticism, because it was in little or no sense fulfilling a reformatory purpose. The buildings were few, the system lacking and the results meagre.

The present commissioner of correction, Mr. Whitney, in his official career has devoted much attention to the problem of this reformatory. An architect has drawn successively plans for a congregate institution with inside cell block, for a congregate institution with outside cells, and more recently for a cottage plan institution in the country. In the latter part of 1911, the commissioner made request of the board of estimate and apportionment for \$800,000 with which to establish a city reformatory in the country. Close cooperation in the study of sites and the best possible system for the city reformatory has been maintained between the department of correction and the Prison Association.

In our opinion the possibility of locating an adequate reformatory on Hart's island is out of the question. We strongly urge upon the board of estimate and apportionment an adequate appropriation for a cottage-plan country reformatory. We urge that architecturally it shall embody the broadest experience of similar reformatories in this country and that from the standpoint of administration it shall seek the ablest superintendent that can be found in the United States. In every way this city reformatory should be a model for the entire country. The city of New York can afford to do no less than this in the establishment of one of its most necessary institutions already delayed many years.

The proposed state reformatory for misdemeanants will again in 1912 be vigorously urged by representatives of charitable and correctional boards and organizations in this state.

State Reformatory for Misdemeanants. It is exasperating to see the annual effort made by the most representative charitable and correctional bodies in this state rebuffed by the legislature on the grounds that there are not sufficient funds for an obviously necessary institution.

Preference is to be given to the following resolution during the legislative campaign of 1912, as endorsed by the bodies mentioned on pages 13 and 14:

RESOLVED, That it be recommended that the state legislature make provision for a state reformatory for male misdemeanants between the years of sixteen and twenty-one, where such males may be committed on indeterminate sentences and where they may be properly trained and educated.

A member of the prison commission, Honorable Frank E. Wade, in addressing in December the state conference of magistrates at Albany, said:

"The prison system in New York state presents a strange paradox. Training schools are provided for delinquent boys and girls under sixteen years of age. There are reformatories for boys and men from sixteen to thirty years of age who have been convicted of felonies. Reformatories are also available for girls from fifteen to thirty years of age. The wayward boy of over sixteen for girls from fifteen to thirty years of age, who has not committed a felony but who must be sent away for the commission of a minor crime, is denied all reformatory treatment.

"Sixteen years of age is simply an arbitrary division established by law. Many boys of sixteen, seventeen and eighteen are as immature and susceptible to evil associations as those under sixteen. The boy at sixteen is just beginning to prepare for his future life. He is then young enough to be easily moulded by environment, and old enough to have some discretion in the selection of his trade or life work.

"During the five years from sixteen to twenty-one the boy is preparing to shape his future career and to become an American citizen. These are formative and more or less restless years. The virile animal propensities are beginning to assert themselves, unaccompanied by maturity and balance of judgment. Many reckless and neglected boys who commit minor crimes are unfit to remain at liberty, even under probation, and are moving in the grooves that lead to confirmed criminality. You all meet the type daily in your courts—wrong-headed boys, twisted out of gear by bad habits and associations, stubborn and sullen, generally disappointed, intolerant of advice, sowing the wildest oats of the smart period of life.

"Guardianship of minors has been reserved by the state in law and equity from time immemorial. It follows consequently that, both in morals and in law, the state owes a special obligation to neglected and delinquent minors. How does the great state of New York discharge this moral and legal obligation to boy minors between sixteen and twenty-one years of age whom the courts decree must receive institutional treatment for the commission of minor crimes? It consigns them to penitentiaries and jails.

"Most of the inmates of the penitentiaries are kept in idleness, with the exception of those in the New York and Onondaga county penitentiaries, and there work should be increased fifty per cent. In some of the penitentiaries, the cell accommodations are unfit for human beings. I could name a penitentiary where most of the inmates are kept in their cells during the twenty-four hours of the day, except for short exercise periods. I could name two other penitentiaries where the inmates are daily marched into workshops denied of all industries, and are seated on benches, remaining there during the working day doing absolutely nothing. There is not a penitentiary in the state that gives educational instruction, with the exception of New York penitentiary, where the warden is about to institute something in that line. There is not a penitentiary in the state where minors are separated from adults, except in the New York penitentiary. In 1909, 1,560 and in 1910, 1,333 boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were imprisoned in the penitentiaries.

"The conditions in the county jails are even worse. Only a few jails furnish employment, and that of the most rudimentary kind, such as breaking stone. Only a few jails have yards, and the inmates of

Jail Evils. The jails have practically no exercise in the open during the period of confinement. The jail construction is generally a cage affair, the cells opening into corridors where the inmates freely mingle during the whole day, play cards, and loaf away their time. While the county law forbids the mingling of minors and adults in jails, it is constantly violated notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of the state commission of prisons. Abominable practices are reported. There is certainly opportunity enough, because most of the time the inmates are not watched, and degraded characters are confined in the jails. In 1909, 4294 and in 1910, 3816 boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were confined in the county jails, a good proportion of whom were time prisoners.

"Now, gentlemen, these conditions constitute a serious indictment against the intelligence and the moral sense of the state of New York. For a number of years past the friends of prison reform have been soliciting the legislature to make provision for a reformatory for male misdemeanants between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years of age. Conferences of charities and corrections, this conference, and other public and philanthropic bodies have expressed themselves in favor of this proposition in resolutions and by appointment of committees, and yet practically no progress has been made.

"I regard the erection of a reformatory for male misdemeanants between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one as the most necessary and urgent prison reform at present under public discussion. Such an institution should be of the character of the Elmira reformatory, fully as large and fully as well equipped. It would soon be filled by boys who are now being degraded and destroyed in our penitentiaries and jails. The inmates should be committed on an indeterminate sentence, instructed in trades and agriculture, and receive an education at least up to the standard of the common school.

"An institution of this kind will round out the prison system of the state, remove the present stigma of neglect and provide a place where you, as magistrates, can commit the delinquent boy between sixteen and twenty-one years of age with the assurance that he will be surrounded by reformatory and corrective influences and with the chances that he will be saved to usefulness and good citizenship."

The Prison Association recommends as the most necessary correctional institution not yet established in the state of New York a state reformatory for male misdemeanants between the ages of 16 and 21 years. To the question why the age limit should be 21, there are at least two answers:

First. The years from 16 to 21 are peculiarly filled with criminal tendencies. The energy of the state expended upon the reformation of misdemeanants should be first within those ages, provision for juvenile delinquents of lesser years already being relatively satisfactory.

Second. It is anticipated that the state industrial farm colony, receiving only males above the age of 21, will thus receive many who otherwise would be sent to a reformatory for misdemeanants, since a considerable proportion of offenders are committed for vagrancy to our various institutions.

In brief, the growth of the farm colony plan in the treatment of prisoners is widespread and contagious. We are in an experimental period. It would be dangerous to establish colonies so devoid of correctional methods or of custodial buildings that the deterrent or the restraining effect of the commitment would be largely lost. On the other hand the old congregate type of institution is, we believe, slowly passing away. Inevitably, if the farm colony or the prison farm shows that offenders against the law may be trusted far more than has heretofore been believed, the tendency will be in the construction of new prisons to extend the prison farm, the outdoor work and the degree of confidence placed in the individual man. And indeed, it may be asked with seriousness whether the trend in the treatment of prisoners is not constantly toward the restoration of the "normal" whenever possible in the treatment of prisoners rather than in the retention of the abnormal, be it in surroundings, in discipline, in rooms, in food or in work.

Chapter Four

THE TREATMENT OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED DELINQUENT

THE year 1911 has been noteworthy as regards the attention given to the problem of the feeble-minded delinquent. The states of the Union have in general made more or less adequate provision for the treatment of the insane. In a number of states the criminal insane are housed either in separate institutions or in separate wings of insane hospitals. The treatment of the insane has undergone great changes. Mercy, patience, sympathy and the hope of cure have all become prominent factors in the treatment of those bereft of their reason.

For those not bereft of their reason but of cloudy or feeble mentality, the states of the Union have given less thought than to the treatment of the insane. *Insanity*, being a more definite and acute abnormal mental condition, has obviously attracted more directly the attention of the public. Feeble-mindedness is a vaguer mental condition of which the public frequently knows little and notices less. The lowest stages of feeble-mindedness such as idiocy or low grade imbecility are plain to even the lay observer. The highest stages of feeble-mindedness are so subtle that even in the court room and the prison they are frequently not recognized. Nevertheless, those students of feeble-mindedness and insanity, those alienists whose special field is the abnormal brain, and those prison administrators and social workers who are concerned with the individual offender, have united to an extent never before manifest and with an enthusiasm which bodes well, in proclaiming that feeble-mindedness is not only far more prevalent in the community than is generally believed, but that a considerable proportion of criminals are feeble-minded.

We are in the early stages of careful research into this problem of feeble-mindedness among criminals. Even the definition of feeble-mindedness is often vague. Elmira reformatory has announced in its annual reports in recent years that a proportion of practically 40 per cent of their inmates are mental defectives.

The Proportion of Feeble- mindedness.

Mental defectiveness ranges all the way from the lowest grade of idiocy to the backward mentality. Dr. Henry H. Goddard, known throughout the United States for his studies of the feeble-minded at Vineland, N. J., has recently found that among 100 children arraigned in the juvenile court of Newark, N. J., the ninety-seventh child was normal. All the children examined prior to this ninety-seventh child were declared abnormal mentally. Sixty-six per cent of the children averaged mentally at least four years behind their chronological age, and were adjudged definitely feeble-minded. "It is safe to say," writes Dr. Goddard, "that these

children have been in the past entirely misunderstood both by their parents and by their teachers and the criminal authorities. Beyond the four-year point (that is, in the cases of children testing more than four years behind their chronological age) there is no possibility that these children can ever be normal nor can they be considered entirely responsible. This is the material out of which we make our adult criminals, since there is no other course open to them."

These facts and other equally significant statements made with great frequency by responsible students of the subject led the Prison Association in 1910 to establish a committee on defective delinquents. This committee during 1911 has held a number of meetings. Some of the results already achieved are the following:

Cooperation with the New York state reformatory for women at Bedford, in securing a fund of \$1500 to be devoted entirely to the study of feeble-mindedness in that institution.

Cooperation with the house of refuge at Randall's Island in the establishment of a separate wing in that institution for the study of the feeble-minded.

Cooperation with the department of correction in New York city,

(a) in establishing a card index plan for the discovery of feeble-minded persons in the district prisons and in the Tombs.

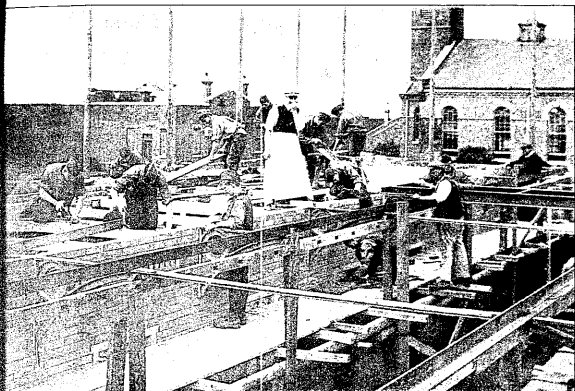
(b) in planning to secure a fund sufficient to enable the department to place a specialist at the city reformatory for misdemeanants at Hart's Island to study the mental condition of the inmates.

Cooperation with the committee of the state charities aid association on provision for the feeble-minded.

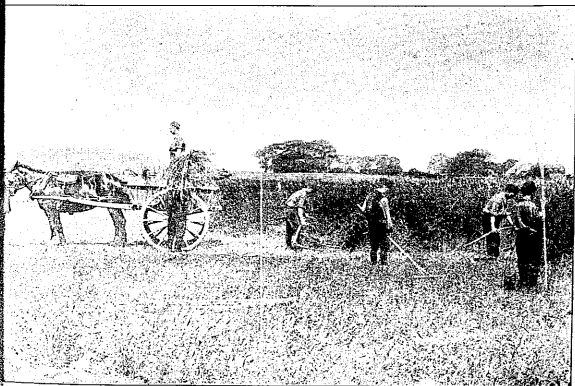
In addition the Prison Association has been especially fortunate in securing the services of Dr. George M. Parker of New York city as psychiatric examiner for the Prison Association. A brief abstract from an official report by Dr. Parker to the Association will show the field to be covered in the Tombs, in which prison Dr. Parker has during several afternoons of each week during the last year studied and assisted individual cases of mental defectiveness.

"Prisoners remanded to the Tombs have had no initial examination, either physical or mental, unless suffering from some obvious disability or unless themselves asking for mental advice. They came from the district prisons with their commitments only and with an occasional verbal report where they had shown any striking symptoms. They were then assigned to the several tiers. Among the tier keepers there has obtained the old and not entirely wrong idea that all prisoners are 'queer.' Hence a strong degree of queerness is demanded before any particular attention has been paid them.

"Defectiveness, mental inferiority, early psychoses and the psychopathies are not easy to detect even by the trained man. The prison orderly then passed through all the tiers. He treated those who asked for treatment or those to whom his attention had been called by the tier man. He reported his cases to the prison physician who saw them on his daily visit to the prison. Thus we go back; the physician saw those the orderly saw; the orderly saw those the tier man saw; the tier man saw those who wished for help or seemed very



Building Their Own Buildings, Borstal, England



In the Grain Fields, Borstal, England

'queer' to his chance observation — and the rest, perhaps 1300 during 1911, slipped through these sets of fingers and it was the fault really of none of these. The system was bad, incomplete, archaic."

As above stated, a system checking up the mental status of all prisoners admitted to the Tombs has been installed in the Tombs by the commissioner of correction on the advice of and with the assistance of our psychiatric examiner. In addition we are indebted to Dr. Parker for his professional assistance to our parole bureau, often averaging not only several evenings a month when paroled men have reported to the Association, but also averaging many hours during the year for private consultation with paroled inmates at his office.

The committee on defective delinquents has through its members brought the subject of the defective delinquent to the front at the national conference of charities and correction in June and at the state conference of charities and correction at Watertown in October. The subject was placed upon the program of the American prison association at Omaha in October partly at the suggestion of the committee on defective delinquents of the Prison Association. The subject received special attention at the recent annual conference of the state board of magistrates, at which several members of the committee presented the problem.

On motion of the general secretary of the Prison Association the state board of magistrates endorsed the following resolution, which was subsequently endorsed by the general conference of December 22d mentioned above:

RESOLVED, That it be recommended that state custodial institutions be established, one for males and one for females, for the treatment of feeble-minded persons convicted of crime, together with some form of preliminary institution to serve as a testing house, in order to determine if persons charged with crime are, or are not, mentally defective.

What is the great import of this rapidly increasing concern regarding the treatment of feeble-mindedness? This, that if it be established

**The Import
of the
Problem.**

that feeble-mindedness is to a considerable degree present in persons accused or convicted of crime, and if it be further shown that the degree of feeble-mindedness in many of these instances is such as to make the individuals but partially responsible for their deeds, it will become clear that prison treatment on the one hand, and reformatory treatment on the other hand, cannot be expected to produce permanent change in the mental conditions and in the physical habits of these individuals.

Obviously then, these facts if proved must lead to a reorganization in a considerable measure of our methods of dealing with criminals. It will be seen that reformatories have been unable to reform a certain proportion of their inmates because of mental defectiveness. It will be seen that the prison is no place for the feeble-minded offender any

more than the insane hospital is the place for a normal transgressor of the law. The problems will arise in more acute form than ever as to the ultimate disposition of the offender who is an habitual offender, though not of normal mind. Not only will the prisons, the reformatories, the jails, the reform schools and the courts be forced to concern themselves with these problems, but the problem will force itself back to the school and the home.

It is likely to be shown that by the age of twelve the state of feeble-mindedness can be definitely determined by the psychologist and the psychiatrist. Research is likely to show the indisensibility of a complete record of the mental condition of school children. Now, here so well as in the school can such facts be established. The vista of possibilities is long and wide. The student of criminology finds himself forced further and further back toward youth and childhood in his efforts to deal with the delinquent and to prevent crime. Not only is a central bureau of identification of all convicted criminals desirable, but far more desirable is a complete mental and physical record of all children, to be continued at least until they reach their majority.

The resources of psychology and psychiatry, particularly as utilized at the state school for the feeble-minded at Vineland, N. J., have uncovered secrets of heredity in connection with

An
Illustration.

generations which are indeed horrible to contemplate. It has been shown at Vineland, that in the case of a feeble-minded child, attractive in appearance, the family of the child could be traced back to Revolutionary times, at which time, as the result of a most transitory union of a young man of good family with a prostitute of feeble mind, a feeble-minded child was born. The father of this child, long separated from the mother and probably with little recollection of ever having known her, married a healthy, normal wife. From these two lines of ancestors have descended two families in the state of New Jersey, one family often distinguished by its representatives, the other family known only too often in prisons and poorhouses. Of 396 members of what we might call the normal family, 395 were of normal mind. On the other side of 378 members of the family 143 have been feeble-minded. The curse of the parent has been visited upon this family in a measure almost beyond the imagination.

More fearfully still is the fact seemingly established that feeble-mindedness is a strain in the blood that runs through generations, cropping out here and there as the subterranean river comes now and then to the surface, not only ruining lives, but making most costly intrusions upon the finances of the state or the community. In this connection the well known history of the "Jukes" family is recalled. The manuscripts originally prepared by R. L. Dugdale, one of the members of the board of managers of the Prison Association in the 70's, were recently discovered among the archives of the Association. This family has been cited for thirty years as a classic

example of the immense cost of degeneracy in poverty and crime and money to the state of New York. It has been estimated that over a million dollars in loss has been entailed besides all the woe of crime and poverty through generations which has descended from the original feeble-minded ancestor of the early eighteenth century.

For thirty years this family, located in one of the rural districts of the state of New York, and with ramifications extending through forty-two different families and embracing in all nearly 900 persons, has not been studied. Through the discovery of the original drafts prepared by Mr. Dugdale, this study will now be continued by the Carnegie institute, and within several years will be brought down to date, undoubtedly presenting at that time the most graphic study and proof of the scourge which feeble-mindedness and degeneracy can be that the world has ever known.

Chapter Five

PRISON LABOR.

THE problem of the utilization of the labor of prisoners in a manner which shall be just to the prisoner, the state and the public, is considered by many the most important and complicated question in present-day penology. The most significant fact of the year has been perhaps the appointment at the annual meeting of the American prison association of a special committee of the association to report to the annual meeting in 1912 of the American prison association on the status of prison labor in the United States, and to make recommendations looking to the betterment of prison labor conditions in various parts of the country.

During the year agitation has increased in many states for the payment to the dependent families of prisoners of a portion of their earnings, it being unfortunately only assumed in many instances that the prisoners had earned a sum over and above the cost of maintenance.

The Demand.

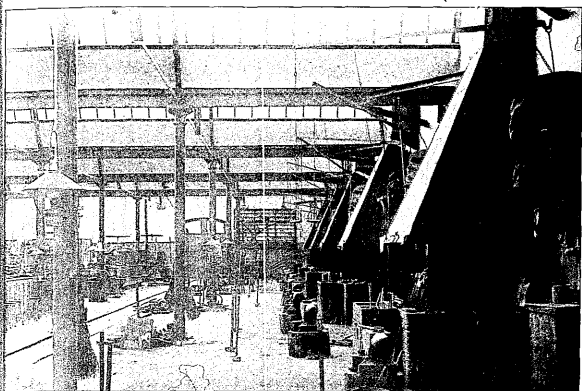
The desires of the critics of present day prison labor are easily understood and phrased. The demand is that prisoners shall be employed at useful occupations which not only shall train prisoners for some efficient industrial life on release from prison, but shall also meet not only the cost of the maintenance of prisoners, but furnish a surplus, a part of which shall be retained for the prisoner and a part of which shall be paid to the dependent families of prisoners.

This is in general the goal which penologists as well as the general public seek. The difficulties of administration are great and the delay in the working out of plans is so lengthy that there is a general and increasing impatience of which the special committee appointed at the meeting of the American prison association is one manifestation.

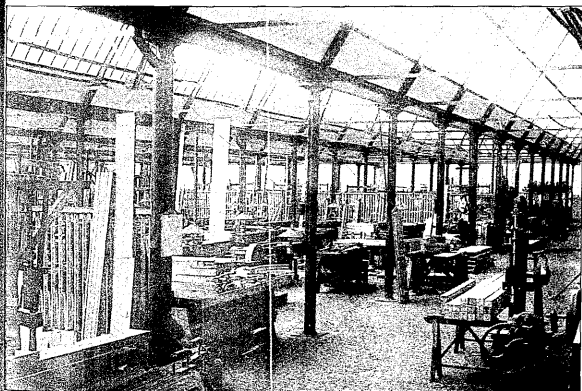
During the year legislation has been encouraging in a number of states. Although no state legislatures give new powers of leasing

Progress in 1911.

or contracting for the labor of prisoners, and one only, Idaho, extended the field of its prison leases, twenty-one states made some provision for the states' assumption and operation of industries. Eight states provided in some manner for the states' consumption of the manufactured articles, and six states established laws for the regulation of prices and the standardization of commodities. Six states provided through legislation for compensation for the labor of prisoners. In five states the dependent family was given assistance through legislation. One state, Nevada, gave to the prisoner the right to choose between working on the roads and working indoors.



Shop, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium



Shop, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium

In New York the farm and industrial colony for tramps and vagrants was established. Florida met the peonage issue by a provision for working off fines during imprisonment. The antagonism of organized labor to the distribution of the products of the convict's labor on the open market resulted in the passage in three states of laws requiring the branding of convict made goods.¹

As an example of the most modern legislation relating to prison labor there is here given a summary of prison labor legislation in New Jersey in 1911.

"The sale on the open market of the products of convict labor of any state penal institution is prohibited after the expiration of existing contracts. A

**In
New Jersey.**

preferred market is established consisting of all manufacturable articles consumed by the state and subdivisions thereof. A prison labor commission is created to so regulate the penal industries that the greatest amount consumable by this preferred market will be produced. They are to publish a list of all possible articles of manufacture and grant releases when articles cannot be supplied. Penal officers are required to keep all physically capable convicts employed, not to exceed nine hours a day except Sunday and holidays, on productive work or in receiving industrial and scholastic instruction.

"Yearly budgets are to be sent on October 1st to the commission by all purchasing officials in the state. The penal institutions are to report fully regarding all convict labor and its productive power together with the cost of production. A uniform system of accounting is to be established, together with a standardization of commodities to be manufactured, on which is to be affixed a fair price. Agricultural pursuits are to be given preference and the products sold as above, except that the surplus products may be sold at advertised auction to the general public once in six months unless they are of destructible character and require more immediate sale. Counties and municipalities are to conform to the state plan but may employ the prisoners for their own use. Charitable institutions are allowed to manufacture for their own use. Prisoners' families dependent on charity are relieved by the commissioners of charities at the rate of fifty cents for every day the prisoner works, but this relief fund is limited to five per cent of the value of all goods produced. The services of charitable societies are to be used for making investigations of families. The estimates of added appropriations needed to carry this into effect are to be included in annual estimates. The commission reports to the governor."²

In the state of New York, the year 1911 has been especially significant because of the investigation, by special commissioners appointed by Governor Dix, of the industries of the state prisons. For a score of years the so-called

**The New
York System.**

state use system has been in operation in this state. This system provides, in brief, that no prison-made goods shall be sold in the open market, thus reducing the competition with free labor to an indirect competition, in that

¹Prison Labor Legislation in 1911, Dr. E. S. Whitin in *The Review*, September, 1911.

²Dr. E. S. Whitin, in *The Review*, September, 1911.

the prison-made products shall by law be sold only to the state and its political subdivisions, the counties, the cities and the towns, the state and its subdivisions being obligated by law to purchase the prison-made goods at prices determined by a special board, whenever the articles required by the state or its political subdivisions may be manufactured by the prisons. The word "prisons" in this connection means not only the state prisons, but the reformatories and the county and city institutions.

Early in 1911, Governor Dix appointed a special commission, consisting of William Church Osborn and George E. Van Kenner, to investigate the prison industries. In the summer of 1911, Mr. Van Kenner was appointed a member of the conservation commission, and John D. McMahon was added to the special commission for the investigation of prisons. This commission was engaged in this task during practically the entire year, and late in December, 1911, published their final and most extended report.

This report is a severe arraignment of the prison industries as they have been managed. We quote portions of the most important sections of the report:

"Our investigation shows a riot of management, waste and wrong doing. Of a possible market to the state and municipal departments of not less than \$20,000,000 per annum, the prison industries with the free labor of 4,000 men and no overhead charges, except supervision, have supplied less than \$1,000,000 per annum. With an ample field for labor, prison industry has paid only 15½ per cent of the cost of prisoners' maintenance. The failure to fill the orders open to prison industries keeps a third of the prisoners in idleness. . . . We believe that the prison industries must continue to be unsatisfactory until the more profitable industries are extended and additional facilities are provided for the employment of the idle convict population and the work of each convict is so arranged under the present statutory conditions that his efforts will be of the highest efficiency from the point of view of production.

"As usual in such cases, wrong doing has gone hand in hand with mismanagement and waste. Thus, the superintendent of industries at Sing Sing uniformly violated the law by opening bids in private, communicating the contents to favored bidders and

Mismanagement and Waste. relaxing the specifications in their interest. He has diverted to the industries money appropriated for maintenance, the warden concurring. . . . He and others have repeatedly used prison labor and prison material for private purposes. . . .

"We conclude that the prison industries have not had a fair chance in this state. If managed under the superintendent of prisons by such a man as would ordinarily be employed to conduct a business of \$5,000,000, to \$10,000,000, they would give better results. It is possible that they would make the prison system self supporting. . . .

"The commissioners find and report that the greatest source of criticism and censure in the department of state prisons, apart from specific instances of corruption, lies in the management and control of the prison industries. Neither the spirit nor the letter of the law applicable thereto has been observed; the immense economic possibilities have been neglected; and the entire management of that part of the department which is basic to our present prison system

has been palpably lacking in the acumen and energy essential to a successful business administration.

"Your commissioners find that the conditions in this state are peculiarly favorable to the profitable operation of prison industries. By statute the prisons are given certain economic advantages over smaller industries operated in the open market at a profit to the manufacturer. . . . Not only is the available market constant and certain, but we find that it is of sufficient magnitude to consume an output many times the amount now purchased by prison industries. The expenditures for supplies for the city of New York alone, exclusive of such items as coal, foodstuffs, forage, horses, etc., aggregate \$16,000,000 annually. The sales of the state prisons in the entire state amount each year to about \$900,000. Labor is practically free. By statute the price of the manufactured article is maintained at the market price and the earnings bear no charges for depreciation of plant, taxes, rentals or interest. Notwithstanding these advantages confirmed by statute, the prisons fall far short of being self supporting. The penal institutions for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910, cost the state of New York approximately \$2,000,000; and for the last fiscal year the profits on the sale of prison-made goods over and above the bare cost of materials and supervision, were \$138,000. The average profit so obtained during the period between the years 1890 and 1900 was 18½ per cent of the amount required to maintain the prisoners, exclusive of expenditures for new construction and betterment. In the period between 1900 and 1910 this percentage fell to 15½ per cent. To support themselves, without contributing anything to the treasury of the state, there would be required a six-fold increase in the productiveness of the work of the convict population. . . .

"One cause for the failure of the prison industries to operate at a greater profit to the state arises from the fact that in the management of these industries the output has not been shaped to the demands of the market. The demand for furniture, clothing and cloth, blankets, shoes and knit wear far exceeds the supply which the shops in their present state can produce. Other shops are operated to manufacture articles in much less demand."

The report continues, covering in detail the following topics among others:

Illegal use of convict labor at Sing Sing; extravagant and unnecessary and improvident purchases at Sing Sing; improvident contract at Clinton prison; diversion and misuse of appropriations at Sing Sing; misappropriation of state property at Sing Sing; misuse of state property at Clinton prison; neglect of duty; extravagant, improper and illegal charges for expenses; improper methods of purchasing material for industrial department of prison, etc.

Under the general heading of discipline, the commission points out that conditions of discipline have been found at Clinton and Sing Sing prisons to be incredibly lax, being the direct cause of the many murderous assaults and the revolting crimes which have occurred at the institutions mentioned. The commission also made an analysis of the construction to date of the Great Meadow prison, finding in certain cases negligence in construction. The commis-

Further Findings.

sion further stated its opinion that the site chosen by the commission on new prisons at Wingdale for a new prison is restricted practically to the use of about 100 acres which are seriously interfered with by the proximity of the Harlem division of the New York Central railroad, and by the proposed state highway; that the water supply is questionable in quantity and that the proximity of the swamp renders the hygienic conditions of doubtful character. For these and a number of other reasons the commission recommends the abandoning of this site and a reconstruction of the general scheme of prison accommodations. In closing the commission states:

"That as the evidence of our examination has indicated that there has been a constant defiance of the statutes and frequent violations of the penal law, we recommend that this report be submitted to the consideration of the attorney-general."

That the foregoing paragraphs contain a severe arraignment of the former administration of the state prisons no one can doubt.

The Future. The resignation of the former superintendent of state prisons, Mr. Cornelius V. Collins, in the spring of 1911, several months after his resignation had been asked for by the governor, and without waiting to meet the charges which were being brought against him by the special commission, accentuated the belief in the public mind that the prisons have been administered with a most deplorable negligence. Governor Dix shortly appointed as superintendent of state prisons Mr. Joseph F. Scott, at that time superintendent of Elmira reformatory. Mr. Scott's long record for efficiency in the reformatory treatment of prisoners and his reputation, or honesty led the Prison Association strongly to endorse his candidacy for the position of superintendent of state prisons. Mr. Scott's administration has been, we understand, one of quiet but persistent reorganization of the prison department. The disastrous experiences in this department, as outlined above, running through years and often permeated, according to general report, with baleful political influences leads the Association to raise the question whether the present method of administering prisons by a superintendent of state prisons who appoints the wardens, who in turn appoint their subordinate officers, is the most efficient method of managing the prisons. Other correctional institutions in the state are managed by separate boards of managers, with the exception that the state reformatory at Napanoch is under the management of the board of managers of Elmira reformatory. There is no reason why in case of an incompetent superintendent of prisons the history of recent years should not repeat itself. Safety in this regard depends very largely upon the character of the superintendent. Political influences bear with greater or less force upon the superintendent of prisons. It has in general been found that political influences are far less likely to prove successful with a board of managers. While the Prison Association of New York does not commit itself to the proposition that the state prisons should be managed each by its own board of managers, it raises this question as a

result of the costly and deplorable experiences in the prison department during recent years.

In this connection the Association urges in no uncertain manner that the attorney-general of the state give careful attention to the cases of all persons in the prison department whose actions, as shown by the investigations of the special commission, have been deliberately in violation of the penal law of the state of New York. It would be fully as deplorable on the part of the state to permit such violations of the penal law to go unpunished as the state has shown the violations themselves to be deplorable.

In dealing thus at a considerable length in this chapter on prison labor with the exposures presented by the commissioners, we have not wandered from the subject in hand. Prison labor can be successfully operated only by strict observance of the laws of the state. Prison management of the industries of correctional institutions is in large measure chaotic. Releases allowing goods to be purchased in the open market seem often to be signed without the knowledge on the part of the authorities who sign such releases of the stock on hand, or of the means of delivery. In point of fact, should all proposed purchases of supplies by the state and its political subdivisions, which are made by the prisons, be undertaken only after releases have been signed by those authorized so to sign, the number of releases alone would occupy the attention of the proper authority or authorities to a prohibitive extent. What is obviously needed in this state is a thorough study of the prison industries, with the present study of the special commissioners as a basis. This suggested study should present a comprehensive plan for the reorganization and administration of the present industries not only of the state prisons, but of the reformatories and all county and city correctional institutions.

In the city of New York the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, with a market in the city of New York of perhaps several million dollars a year, manufactures articles of a total value somewhat over \$100,000 annually. If the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island manufactured school desks, chairs, filing cabinets, bookcases, tables and other common articles of furniture, it would be mandatory upon the city to purchase such articles from the penitentiary or from some other correctional institution. No stronger illustration is needed of the inadequacy of our present prison labor system in the state than the above fact. On the other hand, this Association still believes that the state use system may after thorough study prove to be, in the hands of competent administrators, the most efficient system of prison labor that could be devised.

In this connection the Association urges upon the state of New York a comprehensive study of the prison industries, not primarily for the purpose of discovering irregularities of administration, but primarily for the purpose of obtaining sufficient data and of presenting a comprehensive plan of administration of such industries.

The Prison Association further urges upon the city of New York a similar study of the prison industries of the city of New York, with a view to developing to the maximum extent the industries of the correctional institutions of the city of New York, to the end that the city department may be, so far as possible, supplied by the products of the industries of the city prisons.

The county penitentiary situation as regards prison labor has offered encouraging signs during the year. There has been the customary activity at the New York county penitentiary, which is the only penitentiary in the state of which this can be said. In the case of the Onondaga county penitentiary an investigation of the winter industries of that institution by the prison commission, with the cooperation of the national committee on prison labor and the prison association, resulted, in 1911, in the prohibition of the continuation of the willow stripping industry, which had been conducted in violation of the prison law relating to the manufacture of products for the open market.

During the fall of 1911 some of the inmates of the Onondaga county penitentiary were worked upon a road at some distance from the penitentiary, with a view of testing the feasibility of road work for county prisoners. This work has not yet gone beyond an experimental stage. The necessity of providing lawful and productive work for the inmates of county penitentiaries has been emphasized by the necessary prohibition of the willow stripping industry at the Onondaga county penitentiary, and by the emphatic reports of Commissioner Frank E. Wade, regarding idleness in the Erie county penitentiary and in the Albany county penitentiary.

The Prison Association repeats once more its belief that the state needs to conduct a comprehensive survey of its prison industries, not alone in state, but also in county and municipal institutions, and that one of the fundamental needs of the state is a comprehensive plan for the development and coordination of the prison industries.

Chapter Six

LEGISLATION, FINANCES, ETC.

THE most important bill passed by the legislature of 1911 along correctional lines was the so-called tramp colony bill, which provides

(Chapter 812) for a state industrial farm colony for the detention, humane discipline, instruction and reformation of male adults committed thereto as tramps or vagrants. This is the bill discussed on page 44.

Legislation.

Other bills of importance that became law were the following: (Chapter 700) "An act to amend the general municipal law and the penal law, in relation to the treatment of public intoxication and inebriety." This bill extends to all cities of the first class and second class the authorization to establish boards of inebriety.

(Chapter 102) "An act to amend the penal law, in relation to the sale and carrying of dangerous weapons." Increases the number of weapons specifically designated as dangerous; makes it a misdemeanor to have in one's possession firearms that may be concealed about the person, and a felony to carry them concealed.

(Chapter 689) "An act to amend the code of criminal procedure, in relation to the commitment of vagrants to almshouses." Prohibits the commitments of vagrants to almshouses and requires their commitment to the county jail.

The legislature failed to pass several important bills, among them those providing for the establishment of a state reformatory for misdemeanants, for increased facilities at the Hudson state training school for girls, for the extension of prison industries in the county penitentiaries, for the payment of earnings to prisoners in county penitentiaries, and for the enlargement of the state probation commission as the state parole and probation commission.

Undesirable bills were introduced, and did not pass, providing for the abolition of the state parole board and the substitution therefor of a supervisor of parole; for the election of magistrates in New York city instead of the appointment of magistrates by the Mayor; for the appointment of eight male probation officers in the court of general sessions, New York county, on denominational lines; for the exemption of the county almshouses from the provisions of the prison law requiring the purchase of prison-made goods.

The temporary abandonment of the construction of the new prison which was to be erected at Wingdale on the Harlem division of the

New York central railroad about seventy miles from New York was caused by the dissatisfaction found by Governor Dix and his advisors with the site chosen by the commission on new prisons.

William Church Osborn reported to the Governor "that the cost

to the state of the abandonment of the site would be negligible compared with the permanent injury in spending \$3,000,000 on a wholly improper location." The legality of abandoning this site has been questioned and will, it is reported, be submitted to the legislature of 1912 for consideration. Meanwhile the prison department has urged that there be a thorough renovation of Sing Sing prison through the reconstruction of the old cell-block for factory purposes and through the construction of an entirely new cell block which would accommodate probably about 1200 persons. The cost of the work of reconstruction at Sing Sing would be, it is estimated, perhaps a million and a half dollars less than the ultimate cost of a new prison at Wingdale.

On the other hand, there are not a few persons who believe that the Wingdale site might be used with profit to the state and that it is in most respects a satisfactory site. The arguments pro and con will undoubtedly be presented with considerable force during the legislative period of 1912. The Prison Association will give its attention at the proper time to this very important matter, being keenly aware of the very unfortunate conditions under which prisoners have been lodged at Sing Sing for many years, and aware also of the great necessity of providing adequate accommodations for our state prisoners.

In our last annual report we stated that the present annual report would contain a somewhat exhaustive study of the post reformatory period of Elmira inmates. The preparation of this study we have been obliged to postpone because of the general secretary's trip to Europe in the summer and the preparation of the present annual report as its result. We hope in our report for 1912 to present an interesting and detailed study of the above mentioned subject.

The Elmira Study.

An important part of the work of the general secretary of the Association is to secure so far as possible the presentation before public and private bodies of the correctional problems and needs of this state. It is the policy of the Prison Association that no national, state or city conference shall pass without there appearing upon the program important papers by distinguished specialists on the treatment of delinquency. The Association has also, particularly through its committee on defective delinquents and through the Barrows League, developed a strong cooperation with representatives not only of the business world, but also of the leading charitable and correctional organizations of the state.

During the year members of the Association or of its committees have furthered the development of the city conference of charities and correction, and have assisted at the conference held on May 12 and 13 at Columbia university, on the reform of the criminal law and procedure. At that time, a New York branch of the American institute of criminal law and criminology was organized, the president

and the secretary of the national branch being connected officially with the New York Prison Association.

At the National conference of charities and correction in June the general secretary of the Association presented a report as the chairman of the committee on law-breakers. The section meetings of the committee on law-breakers were given over to the discussion of mental defectives and delinquents, the treatment of misdemeanants, family desertion laws and the development of systems of probation and parole.

The president and the general secretary of the Prison Association represented the Association at the annual meeting of the American prison association at Omaha in October. The Association was also represented at the state conference of magistrates held in Albany in December and as a result of discussion at that conference the Prison Association called an important conference, mentioned on page 13, which met on December 22, 1911, and adopted far reaching resolutions regarding the development of correctional work in this state.

The Barrows League, of which our last annual report made mention, has continued to meet at times during 1911 at the rooms of the Prison Association. This is a body of some fifty men in business and professional life who are actuated by a strong desire to help released and discharged prisoners in the most effective way.

The staff of the Prison Association, and particularly the parole bureau, has received frequent valuable assistance from many of the members of the Barrows League. The Association has gladly given its rooms for evening meetings to the Barrows League and was glad during the year to welcome also an important meeting of the Big Brothers movement.

The committee on defective delinquents held at the rooms of the Prison Association, in December, a public meeting which was addressed by Dr. Henry H. Goddard, director of research of the training school for backward and feeble-minded children at Vineland, N. J., and by Miss Elizabeth Farrell, inspector of ungraded classes of the New York city department of education. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Hastings H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation, it is expected that the work of the committee in 1912 will be even more effective than during 1911.

During the spring the Prison Association also entertained on one evening the Monday Club, a group of social workers.

The year has brought us considerable satisfaction from a financial standpoint. Our receipts during 1911 were \$27,649 as compared with \$21,051 in 1910. The sum mentioned for 1911 includes two small items which fall within neither donations nor interest, one of \$364 being "funds held in trust" and the other, \$290 transferred from the reserve fund. The net increase in donations and interest during 1911, amounted to approximately \$6,000. Our expenditures during the

same period were \$27,756 or, deducting the item of "funds held in trust," approximately \$27,000, an increase in expenditures over 1910 of approximately \$6,500.

That our endowment fund in two years has increased from \$9,108 to \$69,087 is a source of great pleasure to us. Had it not been for the very stimulating influence of the late Mr. Smith Ely's promise of \$27,500 toward the endowment fund in case this Association could raise a similar amount from other contributors, we should not have succeeded in placing the Association upon its present financial basis. Yet we know how far short we fall of the work which the crime and prison conditions of this state call upon us to do. It is our earnest hope that we may within the next few years continue to increase our contributions by several thousand dollars each year and that the period is not far off when we may continue the work of the Association on a budget of \$50,000 each year, a sum which is not at all large for the amount of need and misery of which we are cognizant.

During the year the Association has initiated a century fund with the idea that there are in this city a number of persons of means who would willingly promise their support to the Association to the extent of \$100 or more each year. During 1911 we have received from this special fund, which is devoted to the general purposes of the Association the following contributions, for which we make grateful acknowledgment.

Francis Lynde Stetson.....	\$200
Lloyd W. Seaman.....	100
George S. Bowdoin.....	250
Miss Alice E. Strong.....	100
James A. Hearn & Son.....	100
Felix M. Warburg.....	100
Alfred M. Heinsheimer.....	50
Miss Catherine Bliss.....	100

Chapter Seven

THE STATISTICS OF CRIME¹

AT the international prison congress held at Washington last year the foreign delegates, while they seemed favorably impressed by most of our institutions, were outspoken in condemnation of our county jails and our criminal statistics. They could not repress their amazement at the dearth of official statistics regarding crime in the United States. Possibly it may be doubted whether any of the novelties they observed here produced on their minds so lasting and original an impression of this country, regarded from the point of view of scientific penology, as that caused by the meagreness and practical inutilty of our criminal statistics. It must be freely admitted that the English and some of the continental statistics of crime are far in advance of our own in comprehensiveness, in method and in scientific value.

But the inadequacy of the criminal statistics of the United States is largely owing to a condition which does not exist in England or hardly on the Continent. We are confronted with difficulties that are practically unknown on the other side of the Atlantic,—difficulties inherent in the dual system of government existing in this country. In the division of sovereignty between the federal government and the states, the treatment of crime falls within the jurisdiction of the states. Congress, it is true, acting within the limits closely defined in the constitution, has the power to declare certain acts which are injurious to the nation to be crimes. Thus there is a federal criminal code, violations of which are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal courts. But these crimes are only those that bear relation to the central government; they are comparatively few in number.

The vast volume of crime in this country comes under the exclusive jurisdiction of the separate states. The establishment of police and constabulary forces, the detection and arrest of offenders, the trial and sentencing of criminals, the administration of prisons, all are included within the functions of the states. The rules and regulations governing the police, the courts, the prisons, all the details of their administration and of their records are thus matters of state jurisdiction. And in those matters that fall within the jurisdiction of the states, the states have absolute sovereignty; the federal government is as powerless to direct or in any manner to interfere with the action of the state in the lawful exercise of its exclusive jurisdiction, as the state is powerless to obstruct the federal government in the exercise of its exclusive jurisdiction. It is only when the action of the state infringes upon the federal constitution that it becomes subject to any coercion by the central government.

¹Address of Eugene Smith, President of Prison Association of New York, at American Prison Association, Omaha, Neb., October, 1911.

All that the federal census bureau attempted in the direction of criminal statistics, prior to the year 1904, related simply to prisoners in actual confinement in prisons. The federal agents were able to count these prisoners and to distinguish between the male and the female and the white and the colored, without any aid from the states; but, as to every other item regarding the prisoners, the United States census was necessarily nothing but a transcript from the prison records. In 1904, the census for the first time enlarged its scope by gathering statistics relating to persons committed for crime during that calendar year. In this new departure, the census bureau was entirely limited to an examination of the books and records kept in the prisons. The extent and the value of any criminal statistics that have been, or that can possibly be, collected by the federal government are necessarily measured by the completeness and accuracy of the books and records maintained by state institutions; but, since these books and records are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the states, the federal authorities have no power to direct or to supervise in any manner the system by which the records shall be kept; they have simply the power of inspection and transcription.

The constitution empowers the federal government to make only a decennial "enumeration" of the persons within the United States. This gives the implied power to restrain the states from preventing or interfering with such enumeration but it extends no further; it certainly confers no power on the central government to direct or compel the states to keep records of their own affairs in any prescribed form or to keep any records at all.

The contrast, therefore, between the authority of our federal government and the authority of European nations in compiling criminal statistics is most marked. In Europe, the sovereign power in each nation can prescribe the uniform system upon which all public records shall be kept, the data which they shall embody and the manner in which these data shall be collected and verified and can enforce obedience to its requirements by every official and every institution within the national boundaries. In the United States, on the contrary, the central government can gather only data over the collection and verification of which it has no control.

State records, so far as they contain matter available for the compilation of criminal statistics, are now woefully imperfect—imperfect in two main particulars. First, imperfect because they are kept in a careless and perfunctory manner and without pains to verify the accuracy of entries made in them; secondly, imperfect, especially for purposes of comparison between records of different states, because they are not constructed upon any comprehensive and uniform plan.

Every court, every prison, the police of every city in every state, is a separate institution maintaining its records upon its own individual plan, without much serious effort to assimilate its plan to that of other like institutions even within its own state. Certain entries are

made regarding each person convicted of crime, based mainly upon the answer given by the convict himself to questions put to him.

Is he a native of this country or of foreign birth? Doubtless many an immigrant, in fear of deportation or under the impression that natives may receive more clement treatment, falsely declares that he was born in the United States, and so he is numbered statistically among the native born. What is his age? It is of advantage to an offender to be under twenty-one years of age that he may enjoy the benefit of that tenderness of spirit which the law exhibits towards minors; it is of advantage to be under the age of thirty years in the states that have a reformatory to which only those under thirty years of age can be sentenced, unless indeed the offender prefers confinement in a state prison to the strenuous life of the reformatory. The inducement is strong to state the age falsely. Is he married or single? If the offender is living in circumstances that are scandalous because he is unmarried, he is apt to find no difficulty in stating that he is "married." Has he ever been divorced? If he has been, the temptation is great to avoid embarrassing explanation. In these cases and all similar ones, statements made by the offender himself have very slight statistical value; they come from an interested and untrustworthy witness. Every reasonable effort should be made, either before the trial or after conviction, to gain from sources, outside the offender himself, all available information regarding his previous career, his environment, his habits of life and associations, and especially to verify all such items as enter into the statistical record. Until this is done, the classifications of prisoners contained in our criminal statistics stating how many are adults and how many are minors, stating how many are natives and how many foreign-born, stating how many are married and how many single, cannot be received with confidence in their accuracy.

Why is it that the existing state records relating to crime are kept in a manner so imperfect and perfunctory? Perhaps it is a sufficient answer to say that it is because they are not subjected to supervision or control by any central authority. A few of the states have passed laws requiring annual returns to be made to the attorney-general or to the secretary of state by criminal courts, county clerks or prosecuting attorneys, showing the number of convictions for crime during the year, together with varying personal details. In most of the states, no laws, even of this inadequate kind, have been enacted. But these laws have proved, so far as they have any statistical value, to be practically a dead letter.

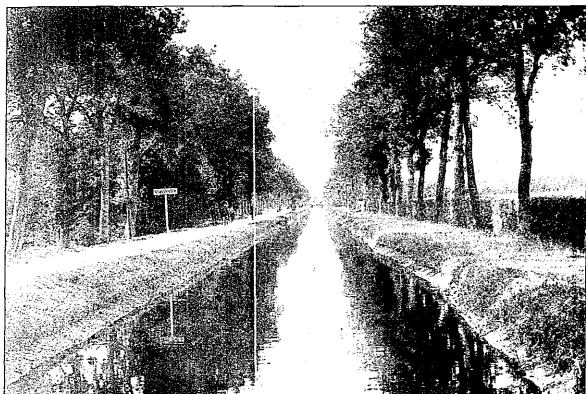
The records of the criminal courts are committed to the clerks of the court. To gain the essential statistical facts regarding persons brought to trial and to transcribe them faithfully in the records, demands of the clerks laborious and conscientious work; the work actually done will always be performed in a lax and slovenly manner so long as it is not reviewed or supervised by any superior authority. It now receives, in fact, practically no supervision whatever. The

attorney-general or secretary of state simply receives the returns in whatever form they may come to him. If any court fails to send in returns or if any court fails to keep any statistical records at all, no one is greatly disturbed and no coercive measures are thought of.

In this deplorable and chaotic condition of the very sources from which all statistical matter must be drawn, it is hopeless to look for any improvement in our census statistics, unless a radical change can be effected in state administration. The records of the police, the courts, the prisons, can be made of statistical value only by the action of the state itself; and there is apparent but one method by which the state can act to this end. There should be established in each state a permanent board or bureau of criminal statistics, whether as an independent body or as a department of the office of the attorney-general or of the secretary of state. This bureau should be charged with the duty of prescribing the forms in which the records of all criminal courts, police boards and prisons shall be kept and of specifying the items regarding which entries shall be made. The law creating the bureau should direct that the forms prescribed by it should be uniform as to all institutions of the same class to which they respectively apply and be binding upon all institutions within the state. The bureau should issue general instructions governing the collection and verification of the facts to be stated in the record; it should also be its duty, and it should be vested with power, to inspect and supervise the records and to enforce compliance with its requirements. Such a bureau might secure a collection of reliable statistical matter, uniform in quality throughout the state. Indiana is now, it is believed, the only state in the Union where such a bureau exists.

But even this result is not enough. Supposing all the criminal records within each separate state to be made uniform throughout the state, still they would not be available for comparison or for the purposes of a national census, unless all the states could be brought to adopt the same form and method so that all criminal records throughout the Union could be kept upon one uniform plan. Here we encounter a serious obstacle. The diversity and conflict of state laws are crying evils of our time, universally recognized and denounced and yet the most strenuous efforts to bring about harmonious action between the legislatures of separate states have always failed. No single statute, however skilfully drawn, proposed for universal acceptance, has ever yet been adopted by all the states of the Union. Still, the states *must* act in unison upon this matter of uniform criminal records or else our statistics of crime must continue to be a national failure and a national reproach.

Not the slightest reflection can be cast upon the federal census bureau; on the contrary, when consideration is taken of the fragmentary and chaotic state records with which the census bureau had to deal, the systematic and orderly results and the general deductions embraced in the census report of 1904 must be regarded as a signal scientific triumph.



Canal and Road, within Grounds of Juvenile Reformatory, Avereest, Holland



Part of Vagrancy Colony, Veenhuizen, Holland

Uniformity in criminal records throughout the Union we have seen to be an imperative need. Is it a visionary ideal, impossible of attainment? If there is any means through which the ideal can be realized it is through the agency of state bureaus of criminal statistics, such as have just been suggested. Each of these state bureaus, in preparing uniform plans and forms for its own state, would naturally place itself in touch with the national census bureau. While the national bureau would not be legally vested with the slightest power to dictate to the state bureau or to direct its action, *practically* its wide experience and grasp of the entire situation would enable the federal bureau to wield commanding influence in shaping the action of every state bureau. If the creation of efficient state bureaus, of the kind indicated, in the several states could only be secured, it is not chimerical to believe that, through the dominating influence of the federal census bureau tactfully exerted, a uniform system of statistical records relating to crime could ultimately be established throughout the United States. It is the first step that costs. If a few of the leading states in the Union could be induced to establish such a bureau — if to Indiana could be added New York, Illinois, Nebraska and in the south Virginia — the force of example would be potent in the sister states.

Professor Mayo-Smith in his work on the "Science of Statistics" states that criminal statistics present the most complicated and difficult problems within the scope of the science. Some of the difficulties and elements of uncertainty attending such statistics have been adverted to; there are so many unknown and unascertainable factors affecting the problems of crime that conclusions drawn from criminal statistics must be received with the utmost caution. Statistical variations that seem on their face to point in a certain direction may be really caused by facts pointing in exactly the opposite direction.

One exceedingly common and popular error needs special mention; a marked increase in the number of convictions for crime indicates to the public mind an increase necessarily in the volume of crime committed. In fact, it may be owing to increased activity and efficiency on the part of the police and detective officers, to greater severity and thoroughness in the administration of the courts, to a change in the economic conditions of the community, to diminished care and skill on the part of offenders in escaping detection: indeed, there are many possible factors that may have combined to produce an unusual statistical result. A slight change in the laws or methods of procedure may cause startling statistical fluctuations. For example, in the year 1890, the number of convictions for drunkenness in Massachusetts was 25,582; two years later, the number had fallen to 8,634. An amazing diminution of drunkenness in Massachusetts — nearly 70 per cent? Not at all; it was owing to a new statute passed in 1891, the effect of which was that only those arrested for the third time within a year were subject to conviction.

The congestion of population in cities and the progress of invention necessitates every year the enactment of numerous statutes and

municipal ordinances making certain acts, that are harmful to the public, misdemeanors (that is, legally crimes); but these acts, committed in large part through ignorance or negligence, are not essentially of a criminal nature. Statistically, they swell the number of crimes committed but most of them are not crimes in the meaning popular usage attaches to that word. These considerations suggest that all attempts to draw conclusions from, and to explain, the significance of the rise or fall of the statistical barometer must be conducted with extreme caution.

An error into which speakers and writers upon crime are prone to fall is that of regarding the statistics of crime as a measure of the total volume of crime committed in the country, affording an answer to the vital question: "Is crime increasing?" There are two fundamental facts relating to crime that must never be forgotten. First, criminal statistics are, and must necessarily always be, confined to those crimes that are known and are officially acted upon by the police or the courts. Secondly, that there is a large number of crimes that are committed secretly and are never divulged, the perpetrators of which are never detected, and crimes that never result in the apprehension of the offender. The crimes of this second class can possibly enter into any criminal statistics and yet they form a very large part of the total volume of crimes committed. It does not seem to be commonly appreciated that these unpublished, unpunished crimes, which can never be included in any criminal statistics, probably far exceed in number those that are followed by conviction and punishment.

A striking example of this class of unpublished crimes comes to the memory of the writer of this report, connected with a gentleman who was his personal friend. At the time of the occurrence to be related, this gentleman, who may be called James Simpson, had retired from business in his old age. He was not wealthy, but from a long and industrious life had saved sufficient means to enable him to pass his closing years in comfort. He received a call one day from the cashier of a bank who stated that he had come to see Mr. Simpson about the payment of these notes of his, exhibiting a number of promissory notes signed "James Simpson" and aggregating in amount some \$25,000.

Mr. Simpson, who had not before heard of any such notes, perceived at a glance that his signature to them had been forged, but he was shocked to recognize by the same glance that the notes throughout were in the handwriting of his own son — the son had forged his father's signature. He was doubtless unable to conceal his agitation, for the cashier in alarm asked, "The signatures are yours, aren't they?" The father was immediately confronted with a tragical dilemma. If he should adopt the notes, as if they were genuine, he was at a loss to know how he could pay them; he would have to mortgage his property; it would subject him to great difficulty and privation; perhaps, he would have to try to get into business again. On the other hand, if he should repudiate the notes as forgeries, there flashed before his mind visions of a public trial before a criminal

court, his son the prisoner at the bar, the inevitable sentence, his only son a state prisoner in prison garb, doomed to end his life in disgrace and ruin. There was no time for deliberation; the crucial question, "The signatures are yours, aren't they?" must be met without hesitation or wavering. The father promptly answered (and the same answer would be given probably in ninety-five cases out of a hundred), "Yes, they are my notes."

This example recalls another, relating to another friend of the writer, the narration of which may be excused as the circumstances attending it were peculiarly interesting and strange. A merchant in the city of New York had in his employment a bookkeeper who had served him for twenty years and was trusted without limit. By sheer accident the employer happened to notice a mis-entry in the books relating to a transaction of the previous day; this false entry made by the bookkeeper meant a loss to the employer of \$200. His suspicion aroused, the employer made a closer examination of the books and discovered another false entry of the same kind made some two weeks before, involving loss to him of another sum of about \$200. He then summoned the bookkeeper to his private office and charged him with the theft of these two items amounting together to some \$400. The bookkeeper indignantly protested his innocence but, on being confronted with the proofs which were convincing, he broke down completely and confessed that he had been pilfering from his employer for a series of years past. When asked how much he had taken, he replied, "I can tell you exactly;" and he drew from his pocket a neatly written memorandum giving dates and amounts stolen aggregating about \$15,000. The merchant, appalled at this unexpected disclosure, exclaimed, "John, what have you done with all this money?" John replied, "With the first \$3,500 taken I bought a little house and lot in New Jersey where I am living; all the rest of the money I put into savings banks in this city where it now is, intact; and I am ready to make restitution of all of it to you and, as soon as the deed can be prepared, I will convey to you the house in New Jersey which is worth all I gave for it." In verification of his statements he produced the savings bank books showing the deposits in his name and he said, "I am ready to go with you now to these banks and draw out these moneys and repay them to you." Events were moving rapidly, but the merchant summoned a carriage and the two men started out to make the round of the savings banks. As they entered the carriage the bookkeeper drew from his pocket a roll of bank bills, containing several hundred dollars which he handed to his employer saying, "Here, this is part of your money; take it." They visited the savings banks, drew out the deposits and when they returned to the office the merchant had recovered all that had been stolen from him except the New Jersey house and that was duly conveyed to him afterward.

Now, who can tell how many occurrences similar to these are daily happening, except as to the feature of restitution in the last case cited? That feature was surely unique. Crimes of burglary, of

robbery, of blackmail, of rape, of larceny, of assault, are being constantly committed that never come to the public ear. The victims of these crimes endure them in silence, impelled by multitudinous motives. A merchant may have apprehension that if it becomes known that he has sustained loss through robbery or embezzlement, his commercial credit may be seriously impaired; other victims shrink from the annoyance and publicity of appearing as prosecutors at a criminal trial and reason that even the conviction of the offender cannot in any degree repair the loss or damage they have already suffered; others are restrained by distrust of the police or by fear of revenge by the offender or his allies; the situation or conduct of the victim himself at the time the crime was committed may have been such as to cast discredit or ridicule upon him if publicly disclosed; pity for the guilty person, professing penitence, or for his innocent family or the fact that the offender was his relative may restrain the victim from conducting a prosecution that would bring disgrace and suffering without any compensating benefit. These and countless other like inducements not to prosecute control the action of the victim in possibly a majority of all the cases where crimes are committed. It often requires public spirit and a strong sense of justice and of public duty to sustain a complainant in pressing a criminal prosecution to final conviction.

In addition to these unpublished crimes, there are numerous cases where crime is committed and reported to the police but proceed no further. In these instances, the offender may be known but has escaped or the offender is unknown and eludes detection; in either case there is no conviction and the crime remains unpunished.

All these crimes, both those that are unpublished and those that are unpublished, but no figure in the statistics of crime. What proportion they bear in number and in magnitude to the crimes included in statistics cannot possibly be known and yet they constitute a very large part of the total volume of crime. Do these unpublished and unpunished crimes bear a constant relation to the crimes of the statistics, both increasing or decreasing in like ratio? The prosecution and punishment of crime is designed to check the commission of crime, that is, to reduce the number of crimes committed. Is it not probable, then that when the number of crimes that are detected and punished increases, the number of those crimes that are unpublished and unpunished will tend to decrease instead of to increase? That the ratio between the two classes will be, not a direct, but an inverse ratio?

There is no possible means of arriving at a positive and confident answer to these questions. All that is certain is that any criminal statistics that can possibly be gathered must relate to a part only, and doubtless a minor part, of the whole volume of crime and that there is no possible means of learning whether the magnitude of that known part varies in a direct or in an inverse ratio to that of the rest of the volume. Is crime increasing? is a question vastly interesting and important; whether the question relates to the

number of crimes committed or the number of criminals, it embraces the whole body of crime actually committed in the country. To this question, criminal statistics cannot be made to yield any answer.

This conclusion, however dispiriting, does not impugn the value of statistics of crime. There are many problems where such statistics are not only useful but indispensable. "Statistics are our chief source of knowledge concerning the elements of population that enter into the criminal classes, the essential condition of these elements, the proportion of prisoners convicted for the different kinds of offences" (Annual Report of 1907 of American Prison Association, p. 208).

Perhaps the highest value of criminal statistics consists in the light they may throw upon the practical effects produced by penal legislation, by judicial procedure and by the administration of police and detective officers. For example, within the past decade radical changes in the administration of justice have been established in this country by laws relating to juvenile offenders and by the extended use of the suspended sentence and probation. A question has arisen in many minds whether the severity of the penal law has not thus been unduly relaxed. It is a matter of supreme importance to know whether, and how far, the tenderness of the modern law toward children serves to rescue them from a life of crime; to know whether the clemency of the law toward adults by suspension of sentence and probation promotes their rehabilitation, and to know to what class of offenders this clemency may properly be extended; to know whether these milder methods of treatment are affording adequate protection to the public, or whether sterner measures of restraint and discipline may be made more effective in repressing crime. These vital questions can receive final answer only by following the subsequent career of the offenders to whom these methods are applied, and thus gaining data for statistical tabulation. In the same way, the virtue of the indeterminate sentence ought to be substantiated by the statistical test. Statistics can be made to show what class of crime comes most frequently before the courts in a given community, and whether an increase in the severity of punishment tends to increase or diminish the number of convictions.

A movement is now in progress which may greatly widen the scope of criminal statistics. It has long been realized that many persons sentenced for crime are feeble-minded and seriously defective, mentally and physically, but within the past few years the conviction has been growing that our penal system is radically imperfect in that it provides no adequate means for deciding whether or not a person on trial for crime is really responsible criminally.

Some two years ago the writer of this report had his attention and interest directed to a convict confined in the state prison of one of the western states. The man was subject to seizures which were diagnosed (possibly correctly) as of an epileptic nature. They were attacks of acute mania when he became violent and was apparently unconscious of his acts, as he retained no memory of what had occurred during the attack. In one of these seizures he committed a

violent assault upon and killed the foreman of the factory where he was a workman. He was convicted of murder and sent to the state prison. There he was subjected to close medical observation and treatment and last year underwent a surgical operation which resulted in the discovery of a needle in or upon the surface of the brain, with a thickening of the adjacent part of the skull. The removal of the needle was followed by a quick recovery; the general health of the man, which had been reduced, rapidly improved and there has since been no recurrence of the spasmodic seizures. Last April he was discharged from the prison upon parole or conditional pardon and his future career will be watched with interest for the appearance of any criminal tendency.

It cannot be doubted that many of the convicts now confined in prison are constitutionally abnormal, on the borderline between sanity and insanity, or mentally defective to such a degree that they are not fit subjects for penal treatment. The protection of the public requires that they should be confined, not in prison, but in an institution where they can receive medical and psychopathic treatment. The stern discipline of the prison may often serve positively to aggravate the infirmities from which they suffer and render them more dangerous to the community on their discharge. To meet this necessity, it is now demanded that every person tried for crime shall be subjected to a psychological examination by medical experts to ascertain and report whether his mental or physical condition is so far impaired or so far abnormal as to render him irresponsible criminally. Such report would be an invaluable aid to the court in determining whether the offender should be committed to prison for a limited term or to a custodial institution for an indefinite period, to be released only when his release will be consistent with safety to the public.

Examinations of this kind have lately been conducted, with results interesting and notable, in the New Jersey state reformatory, in the state reformatory for women at Bedford, New York, in the Tombs prison in New York city and elsewhere; they have shown that a large fraction of the number of prisoners examined are mentally defective and below the line of criminal responsibility for their acts. The Prison Association of New York has recently organized an active committee, comprising eminent specialists in mental disease, to promote the legislative adoption of a system requiring the medico-psychological examination of all persons placed on trial or imprisoned for crime. If the movement in this direction should prove successful, the contemplated examinations might furnish a mass of data for the establishment of a new department in the science of criminal statistics.

There are numberless legal, sociological and economic problems bearing upon the efficiency of the police force and of the administration of justice by the courts, on immigration, education, marriage and divorce, commercial prosperity or depression, drunkenness and vagrancy, lunacy and idiocy, unemployment and poverty, all in their relation to crime, upon which criminal statistics may be made to throw needed light.

To sum up this report, it is but a truism to say that statistics, to be useful for any purpose, must be comprehensive, accurate and uniform. What statistics we now have are deficient in all these qualities. To secure the ultimate introduction of these lacking qualities into our criminal statistics must be made the aim of present endeavor. The institution in each state of the Union of a bureau of criminal statistics, all these bureaus to be brought into harmonious and united activity through the co-operation and under the guidance of the federal census bureau, is urged as the most effective means to this end. To stimulate interest and effort toward the establishment of such state bureaus is respectfully presented as the chief burden of the present report.

European Trip, Summer, 1911

Chapter Eight

INTRODUCTORY TO REPORT OF EUROPEAN TRIP OF GENERAL SECRETARY

IN the spring of 1911, the Prison Association of New York received an invitation from the International Congress for the Study of Questions Relating to the Patronage of Discharged Prisoners and the Protection of Morally Abandoned Children to participate in the fifth session of that congress to be held in Antwerp from the sixteenth to the twenty-first of July, 1911. The congress of 1911 was a continuation of four similar congresses held in Antwerp in 1890, 1894 and 1898, and at Liege in 1904.

The State of European Prisons.

The general secretary of the Prison Association was instructed to represent the Association at Antwerp, and subsequently to make a tour of several European countries, in order to report to the Prison Association, and through the annual report of the society to the Legislature, upon such conditions obtaining in European prisons and other correctional institutions as might prove of interest and value to American students of prison administration and reform.

More than thirty years ago Dr. E. C. Wines, a former secretary of the Prison Association, published an epoch-making work on the "State of Prisons in the United States and Europe." In later years, between 1900 and 1909, Dr. Samuel J. Barrows, corresponding secretary of the Prison Association, published frequent monographs of great value on European prison conditions. The present report of the general secretary is neither exhaustive nor complete. The report treats of institutions visited by the general secretary of the Association in Belgium, Holland, Germany, England and Scotland in the summer of 1911, and describes also the Antwerp congress.¹ While in no sense a general study of the "state of prisons," it is a report conforming with the purpose of the Association to describe from time to time for the benefit of American students of criminology the methods and deliberations of students in similar fields in other lands.

The itinerary of the general secretary was as follows:

ITINERARY

July, 1911.

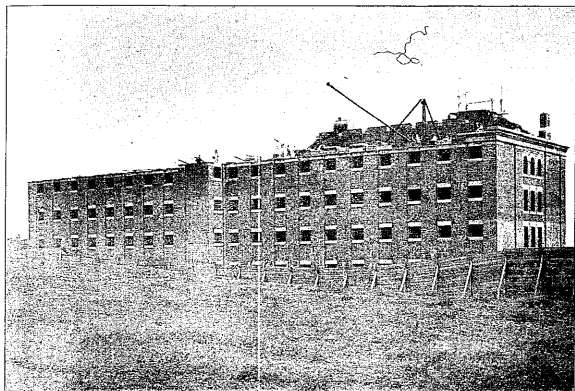
4-14 *New York to Rotterdam.*

14 *The Hague, Holland.* House of detention for adults.

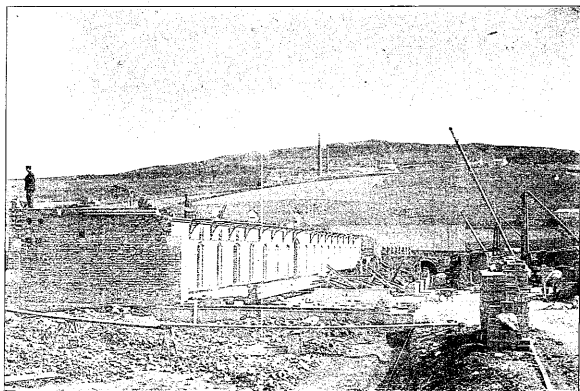
15 *The Hague, Holland.* Special prison (under construction) for epileptics, aged, insane, feeble minded and tuberculous.
Haarlem, Holland. Prison.

16 *Antwerp, Belgium.* International congress.

¹ Because of present lack of space, certain parts of the general secretary's report will be published in our next annual report.



Greenock Prison, Scotland.



Greenock Prison, Scotland.

- 17 *Antwerp, Belgium.* International congress.
- 18 *Antwerp, Belgium.* International congress; house of detention.
- 19 *Antwerp, Belgium.* International congress, superior court.
- 20 *Antwerp, Belgium.* International congress.
- 21 *Antwerp, Belgium.* National fete.
- 22 *The Hague, Holland.* Local prison.
- 23 *Amersfoort, Holland.* Reform school.
- 23 *Apeldoorn, Holland.* Voluntary labor colony for discharged prisoners.
- 24 *Arcevert, Holland.* Opening of reform school.
- 25 *Veenhuizen, Holland.* Beggar colony.
- 26 *Berlin, Germany.*
- 27 *Berlin, Germany.* Juvenile protectory, "Am Urban."
- 28 *Berlin, Germany.* Morals police.
- 29 *Berlin, Germany.* Children's court. Prisoners' aid society.
- 30 *Berlin, Germany.* Sunday.
- 31 *Berlin, Germany.* Morals police. Moabic prison.
- August, 1911.*
- 1 *Berlin, Germany.* Morals police. Night asylum for homeless.
- 2 *Berlin, Germany.* Workhouse at Rummelsburg.
- 3 *Baden Baden, Germany.* Day's interview with Dr. Krohne, chief of Prussian prison system.
- 4 *The Rhine, Germany.* From Bingen to Cologne.
- 5 *Brauweiler, Germany.* Workhouse.
- 6 *Bielefeld, Germany.* Labor colony.
- 7 *Crefeld, Germany.* Juvenile reformatory Fichtenhain.
- 7 *Anhalt, Germany.* Prison.
- 8 *Merxplas, Belgium.* Beggar colony.
- 9 *Antwerp, Belgium, to London, England.*
- 10 *London, England.* Holloway prison.
- 10 *London, England.* Pentonville prison.
- 11 *London, England.* Warmwood Scrubs.
- 12 *London, England.* Brixton remand prison.
- 13 *London, England.* Sunday.
- 14 *Borstal, England.* Borstal institution.
- 15 *London, England.* Borstal association.
- 16 *London, England.* Bow Street Police Court. Scotland yard. Workhouse, casual ward.
- 17 *Newport, Isle of Wight, England.* Parkhurst prison. Camp Hill prison (under construction).
- 18-20 *London, England.*
- 21 *Edinburgh, Scotland.* Local prison.
- 22 *Peterhead, Scotland.* Convict prison.
- 23 *Inverness, Scotland.* Local prison.
- 24 *Glasgow, Scotland.*
- 25 *Glasgow, Scotland.* Barlinne prison, Duke street prison.
- August 26 to September 3. Glasgow to New York.*

The character of institutions and organizations visited was as follows:

Convict prisons.....	3
Local or district prisons.....	10

Remand prisons.....	1
Houses of detention (adults).....	2
Reformatory for males 16-21.....	1
Workhouses.....	2
Reformatories for juveniles.....	4
Vagrancy and beggar colonies (compulsory).....	2
Vagrancy colonies (voluntary).....	2
Prisons under construction.....	2
Pauper workhouse.....	1
Casual ward.....	1
Night asylum for homeless.....	1
Superior court.....	1
Police court.....	1
Children's courts.....	1
Police departments.....	2
	<hr/>
	37
International congress (July 16-21).....	1
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	38

While the general secretary aimed to visit many typical institutions of various kinds, he recognized that the Prison Association is at present most deeply interested in (a) European vagrancy colonies, (b) local and convict prisons; (c) tendencies toward the reformatory treatment of prisoners, and (d) the treatment of the feeble-minded or mentally deficient prisoner. The chapters following will outline the impressions of the representative of the Association.

The Prison Association deeply appreciates the signal courtesy and hospitality so spontaneously manifested toward the general secretary by prison authorities in all countries visited

Honorary by him. Frequently our European colleagues
Corresponding and friends gave themselves considerable personal
Members. inconvenience to facilitate the tour of our representative. In partial recognition of these

courtesies, the board of managers of the Prison Association have done themselves the honor to elect as honorary corresponding members of the Association

Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, chairman Prison Commission of England.

Walter George Scott, chairman Prison Commission of Scotland.

James S. Gibbons, chairman Prison Commission of Ireland.

H. C. Dresselhuus, secretary-general Ministry of Justice, Holland.

A. Fentener van Vlissingen, president Netherlands Prisoners' Aid Society, Holland.

H. B. Ver Loren van Themaat, Queen's attorney, Holland.

Dr. E. Krohne, chief of Prussian Prison System, Germany.

Dr. Ernest Rosenfeld, royal attorney, Germany.

George Stammer, criminologist, Germany.

Madame Carton de Wiart, social worker, Belgium.

Adolph Prins, professor of penal law, Belgium.

Arthur Szilagyi, advocate, Hungary.

Dr. R. Pambery, royal attorney and professor of penal law, Hungary.

This report seeks to cover in brief form the problem of vagrancy in certain European countries, and outlines also the present status of English prisons and Borstal institutions. It is hoped that the next annual report will contain a study of German and Dutch prisons and reformatories, and of certain European prisoners' aid societies, matters that could not be treated in the present report because of lack of space.

Chapter Nine

THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN MENDICANCY AND VAGRANCY

THE problem of vagrancy in the United States has assumed not only national proportions, but most serious phases. Students of industrial conditions as well as the more popular newspaper press have shown that our indifference to our tramp army results yearly in startling increases in the number of tramps and vagabonds. More than in any other country our tramp army is recruited from workshy young men, who form the bulk of the freight-train riders infesting the great trunk lines throughout the country.

Many estimates have been made as to the size and extent of the tramp army. The statement was popular several years ago that 500,000 vagrants roam American railroads and highways. The annual loss to American railroads through depredations of tramps and vagrants has been variously estimated at from \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000. Cases of loss of life

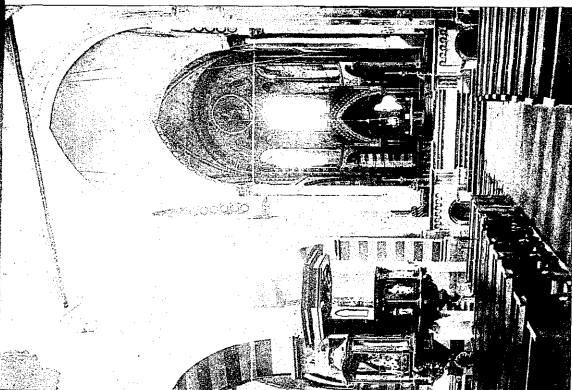
The Extent of the Problem.

among tramps due to accidents on railroads and railroad tracks seem to number between 5,000 and 10,000 a year, while serious injuries occur to as many more persons. The cost to the public in charitable provision in almshouses and hospitals, municipal lodging houses, missions, charity organization societies and the like must be enormous, and local prisons, such as houses of correction, workhouses and county jails are largely populated by the vagrant classes. That conditions become each year worse instead of better is common testimony. Discouraging indeed are such patent facts as that the short sentencing of vagrants is still the rule throughout the country and that commitments for vagrancy to penal institutions form about one-fifth of all the commitments to American penal institutions, drunkenness being the only cause of commitment more frequent than that of vagrancy.

Encouraging on the other hand is the general public interest manifested in the so-called tramp problem, an interest due not so largely to the picturesque nature of the tramp as to the obvious fact that the tramp is generally not only a nuisance, but an elusive and dangerous individual.

The State of New York passed last summer a bill providing for the establishment of an industrial farm colony for the compulsory detention, reformation and education of habitual tramps and vagrants. The bill provides for the appointment of a board of managers by the Governor, and for the securing of a site, preferably among the waste lands of the State. An appropriation of \$10,000 was granted for initial expenses. By 1912, the

A Farm Colony Bill.



Prison Church, Interior, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Prison Church, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany

board of managers will, it is hoped, have secured a proper site and will seek to secure appropriations for the construction of the first buildings. No step of greater significance has probably ever been taken in the United States in the treatment of vagrancy. The state farm of Massachusetts has for many years been considered an excellent workhouse for vagrants and inebriates, but the proposed New York farm colony will, it is planned, combine the best of the experience of European countries with the results of American experience in the treatment of the vagrant.

The next few years, during which the first New York industrial farm colony will be built and put into operation, will be a period of high importance not only for New York State but for all other states of the Union. New York State is being carefully watched by many sister states. Rightly or wrongly, many of the methods adopted in New York are considered standards in many other states. The present is a period of much doubt as to the proper methods of dealing with the tramp. Should New York make false moves in the construction of its farm colony or in its administration and operation, the unfortunate results would effect not only New York but other states.

Foreign countries, notably Belgium, Holland and Germany, have had lengthy and varied experience with the problem of vagabondage and mendicancy. Indeed, in central Europe the

**In Foreign
Countries.**

vagrancy problem is not only a generation old, but a century old. Napoleon devoted some of his genius to the problem of the suppression of vagabondage. When the Dutch controlled Belgium as well as Holland, Dutch benevolent societies sought in Belgium the reformation and rehabilitation of the vagabond. A half century ago, Holland was segregating over 1000 vagabonds and beggars on a bleak heath in the north of Holland east of the Zuyder Zee, and already turning the arid plain into a blooming oasis. Belgium was creating, fifty years ago, local beggar colonies and was recognizing that vagrancy is one of the great social dangers of a nation, a danger increasing inevitably with the progress of civilization. Germany was thirty years ago establishing its first voluntary labor colony at Bielefeld in central Prussia. Pastor von Bodelschwingh, the great German organizer of philanthropic institutions for defectives of all kinds, founded with deep religious conviction his first farm colony for the "brothers of the highway." Compulsory workhouses, semi-penal in nature, have come to number about thirty in the kingdom of Prussia, containing not thieves, not those guilty of assault, nor robbers nor other criminals of greater or less degree, but solely vagrants, mendicants, and that despicable class of human beings, the *routeurs*, who traffic in human flesh.

Today the accumulated experience of generations can be found in the records and in the methods of administration of Belgian beggar colonies, Dutch vagrancy colonies, German voluntary labor colonies and German compulsory workhouses. It is unthinkable that the United States, ever ready in commercial and industrial lines to profit not only by the mistakes but by the successes of other nations, will

be blind to the wealth of experience that European countries can offer us.

With the purpose of rendering a slight contribution to American information on this subject, a considerable part of my last summer's tour in Belgium, Holland, Germany, England and Scotland, as general secretary of the Prison Association of New York, was devoted to a first-hand study of the administration of institutions for vagrants and mendicants, and to the study also of their history and of the laws under which at various times they have been operated. In several chapters following this introductory chapter, I present a somewhat careful study of Moxplax, the world-famous beggar colony of Belgium; of Veenhuizen, the less-known but remarkably interesting vagrancy colony of Holland; of the voluntary labor colonies and the compulsory workhouses of Prussia and Germany; and of conditions and problems of vagrancy in England and Scotland.

Much very valuable material has been furnished me by the directors of the several institutions; by the departments of justice in Belgium, Holland and Prussia; by the Home Office in England and by the prison commissioners of Scotland. I have not hesitated to cull from reliable reports and publications dealing with the various institutions it has been my purpose to describe. The following chapters are in no sense essays, but rather compilations of facts which have been gathered from personal observation and from various other credible sources.

Several general observations may well precede the special chapters.

1. *In four of the countries above mentioned (Belgium, Holland, England and Scotland) the correctional institutions in which vagrants and mendicants are confined are under the same governing body as that which governs the prisons.*

Centralized Control.

In Belgium and Holland, the department of justice controls the beggar colonies and the vagrancy colonies. In England and Scotland the boards of prison commissioners are the governing bodies not only for the convict prisons in which the more serious offenders are imprisoned, but also for the local prisons, which are the places of imprisonment of beggars and mendicants. In Prussia, the *Arbeitshauser* (compulsory workhouses) are under provincial, not royal, control. In short, in Prussia compulsory workhouses are county institutions, or in the case of Berlin municipal institutions, rather than state institutions. We find therefore in Holland and Belgium special institutions for the imprisonment of vagrants and mendicants controlled by the state; in Prussia special institutions for the imprisonment of vagrants and mendicants controlled by provinces corresponding in general to our American counties; we find in England and Scotland local prisons, not specially designated for vagrants and mendicants, controlled by the state through boards of prison commissioners. While in Prussia the American student might perhaps expect under provincial (i. e., county) management a condition analogous to the indifferent if not highly unintelligent county management of correctional institutions so familiar to American students, the fact is that the Prussian county

compulsory workhouses seem to be managed with a German thoroughness, efficiency, and integrity, that makes these county institutions, so far as my observations went, fully comparable to the management of the German state prisons and penitentiaries.

The important point is that the state, or in Prussia the county, can organize and operate its institutions for vagrants and mendicants independent of petty local prejudices or ignorance and regardless of pernicious political influences. And if in general a European state concludes to institute in its colonies or other institutions an innovation or a method well-tested elsewhere, it has the power. As in New York, state institutions in general are far better managed than the local institutions, so in the European countries I visited the principle of state control and operation of all correctional institutions is held to be fundamentally correct. If in Prussia the local institutions were poorly managed, the state would undoubtedly seek to step in and take over the management of these institutions. Briefly then, it can be asserted that the state control and operation of institutions for the treatment of vagrants and tramps is a principle justified by European experience.

2. *In all European countries visited, I found a most admirable absence of political influences.* Repeatedly it was impressed upon me by high authorities that politics play no deleterious part in the appointments of correctional officials, high or low. To be sure, each country

has its political parties, but the integrity of men in office is, I was informed, rarely questioned. Positions such as secretary-general of the department of justice, which office carries with it both in Holland and Belgium the administration of prisons and other correctional institutions, or that of the head of the Prussian prison system, or that of chairman of the prison commissioners of England or Scotland is practically a position of life tenure, during good behavior. Governors and directors of prisons, and subordinate officials as well, hold office without fear of removal for any cause except dereliction of duty, incompetence or immorality. Frequently indeed was the plea made to me: "Uge above all things the removal of American prisons from politics." The type of prison employe from governor down through to the list of attendants is, from the standard of integrity, admirable in all countries I visited. That such conditions make for good service is self-evident, through the elimination of worry as to tenure, and through the elimination of voluntary or compulsory dishonesty under the pressure of political influences.

3. *On the continent, the vagrants and mendicants found in the colonies and in the compulsory workhouses are very noticeably different from our typical tramp or vagrant,* in that the European

Foreign Vagrants Different.

tramp in prison is much older than our typical youthful or young adult wanderer. In Moxplax and in Veenhuizen the young tramp was a rarity. Perhaps ninety-five per cent, it would seem, of the population of the beggar colonies were at least 45 years old. The

population of the several compulsory workhouses visited in Prussia averaged somewhat younger, but nevertheless was considerably older than the members of our tramp army.

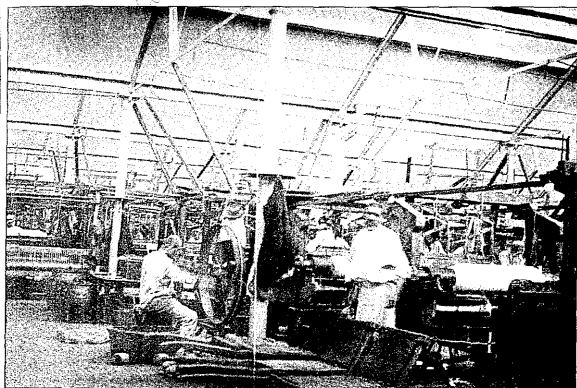
Added to this was the fact, everywhere observable, that *the great majority of the tramps and vagrants possessed a trade*. They could accomplish at least moderate results with their hands and they seemed to wish to do satisfactory work to a reasonable extent. As illustrations I would cite the tailoring department, the shoe making department and the trunk department at Merxplas, and the weaving and the carpentry work at Veenhuizen. The great majority of the vagrants and the beggars who are segregated in Holland, Belgium and in Germany are men who know how to do things with their hands and heads sufficiently well to earn a living, but are either physically or mentally so under-par that they cannot work hard enough or will not save money enough to render them permanently self-supporting. Hence they gravitate, generally without any criminal instincts or intentions, into vagabondage or mendicancy and are arrested and sent or returned to the beggar colony. In these colonies, under a control which they are not averse to and with a shifting of responsibility which they are glad of, they produce a moderate amount of product with a moderate amount of pleasure in their work. The directors of the colonies and other representatives of the departments of justice claim that the men are happier in the colonies and are better off by far than they would be outside.

4. *The beggar colonies and the compulsory workhouses are in no sense reformatories.* The importance of this fact cannot be over

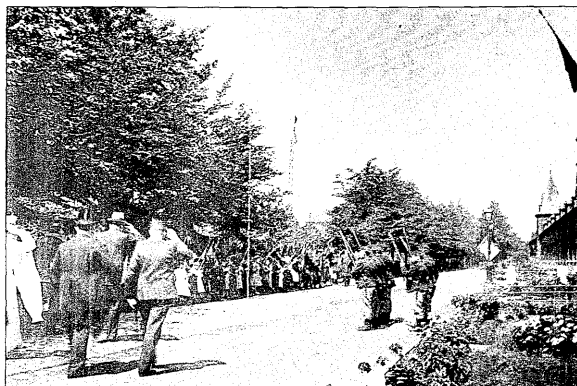
Colonies
Not
Reformatories.

emphasized. There seems to be a rather general belief in the United States that farm colonies for tramps and vagrants will be important reformatory agencies. European experience is directly contrary to this belief. European sociologists, directors of colonies, prison physicians, and prison commissioners without exception stated emphatically to me that the percentage of reformation, by which is meant fairly permanent rehabilitation, is exceedingly small from the colonies and the compulsory workhouses. The history of beggar colonies in Belgium and Holland shows that these colonies began with large hopes of reformation, but that in the course of years and generations it has become manifest that the tramp and vagrant is what he is through a lack of stamina, will, physique or brain (whatever we may call it in the individual instance), without which it is impossible for him to lead long a normal and self-supporting existence.

Just as we in the United States are coming to see that the feeble-minded criminal and non-criminal are chronically deficient and that feeble-mindedness means an absence of a quality which cannot be replaced or cured, so as to vagrancy and its twin sister mendicancy European conclusions are emphatic that vagrancy and mendicancy, especially in the more advanced stages, must be regarded as manifestations of a social inefficiency and incompetency which require segregation and custodial care, in most instances permanently or for long periods.



Weaving Shop, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium



Children of Officials Being Reviewed by Minister of Justice, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium

If ever a labor colony was organized and conducted with the earnest purpose of reformation of a large proportion of its inmates, the voluntary labor colony at Bielefeld, Prussia, was such a one. Yet after thirty years the parent colony, known throughout the civilized world and quoted more than any other of its kind, bears this testimony through its secretary, given to me on August 6, 1911: "This colony is not successful in reforming many men or in making them permanently self-supporting. This colony is successful in furnishing, as do the score of other voluntary colonies in Germany, a haven to the 'brother of the highway' who is stranded and unable to live honestly without our help. This colony has become a colony not for the permanent rehabilitation of its inmates, but for the temporary succor of those who seek our help. A large proportion of our 'brothers' come time and again to see us. They think themselves strong enough to leave us, but they come back. If they do not come to us, they go to other colonies from time to time. Many of our colonists are discharged prisoners. Many of them are at times in the voluntary labor colonies, at times in the compulsory workhouses. We have many instances of successful reformation and rehabilitation, but the voluntary labor colony as represented by Bielefeld, colony has not solved the problem of the elimination of the tramp."

On the other hand, *opinion is general that the compulsory labor colony as represented by the beggar colony or compulsory workhouse is of great value as a deterrent and as a custodial institution.* None of the countries would, I

Colonies

Deterrent.

believe, give up the colony idea, although statements were frequently made that the colonies should be smaller, classification more developed, and efforts of influence for the betterment of individual colonists should be more frequent and varied. At Merxplas the secretary general of the Belgian department of justice, who is the administrative head of the Belgian prison system, stated to me that Belgium is planning numerous smaller colonies to take the place of Merxplas. The feeling is pronounced in Belgium, Holland and Germany that the most that can be achieved by any present method of dealing with vagrants is the gradual reduction of the number of vagrants, the deterrence of many would-be vagrants, and the segregation of a large number of inevitable vagrants and beggars where they may do the least harm to society at a minimum expense to society.

Although vagrants in the colonies and the workhouses manifest in general a restlessness and a frequent desire for liberty, they are themselves aware that their condition in general is better in the colonies than outside. Indeed, at Merxplas and particularly at Veenhuizen the American visitor finds a beauty of landscape and a condition of intensive development of garden and meadow, grove and forest, canal and highway, that render both institutions scenically beautiful.

The Prussian compulsory workhouse, Brauweiler, is most attractively located in a renovated monastery, some of the original buildings of which are 1000 years old. The spacious rooms, the impressive arched corridors, the striking central courts and the cloisters, as well

as the well-preserved cloister church dating back to the tenth century, are all impressive and even awe-inspiring. The workhouse prisoners eat in cloistered passages where 500 years ago the monks had their daily meals. The prisoners worship in a church used by royalty and nobles at the time of the Crusades. Even a spreading mulberry tree in one of the court yards, furnishing shade from time to time for some of the inmates, was planted a thousand years ago by the founders of the monastery. In Rummelsburg, adjacent to Berlin, the walled workhouse embraces ample grounds, a spacious garden and attractive buildings. At Veenhuizen in Holland, the heath has been made to blossom like the rose and no finer views of Holland scenery can be found than those in the midst of the 9000 acres embraced by the colony.

5. *Not only do the vagrants live under such surroundings, but in nearly all instances they and their predecessors have thus created their surroundings.* Merxplas and Veenhuizen were so

Colonist

Labor.

the rest of the heath when they were founded. Today the cold north wind, blowing down from the North sea, is checked before striking the grounds and buildings of Veenhuizen by forests planted by colonists a generation or more ago. The large dormitories accommodating 500 men each in which the Merxplas colonists sleep were built by former colonists, most of whom have passed away. The arable farm land of Merxplas, which now supplies the bulk of the vegetable products needed by the colony, was made fertile by gangs of colonists in previous years, who rooted out the weeds and heather and utilized the street sweepings of Antwerp in a mixture of top soil. Shops, churches, officers' quarters, farm buildings, farm implements and wagons have been built by the colonists in these several institutions. Stock has been bred and raised at the colonies, and to the maximum extent the colonies are rendered self-supporting. In addition, industries are maintained to the maximum extent possible with hand and foot power, it being still a literal principle in the colonies and in the workhouses that by the sweat of his brow shall the colonist earn his bread. Oftentimes the rigor of the work impressed me unpleasantly, particularly the weaving by hand and foot power at Merxplas and at Veenhuizen.

In short, one of the important lessons taught by the colonies and the workhouses is that there is to be found in tramps and vagrants, at least in central Europe, a large amount of latent productivity, which, directed normally and under conditions offering the least resistance, can be made financially profitable to the state.

6. *European vagrants and beggars seem almost malicious and vicious.* The colonies in Belgium and Holland are not regarded as penal institutions, and in Prussia as only semi-penal. Discipline is comparatively easy, the proportion of infractions of rules being largely in proportion to the tact, discretion and humanity of the director and of his assistants. Throughout the Merxplas colony the words docility and obedience kept recurring

to my mind. In Merxplas and Veenhuizen the men come, and go, without the restriction of walls. Escape is easy and the possibilities are often taken advantage of. As noted in the special chapters that follow, little is done to prevent these escapes so long as the colonists show a disposition to re-establish themselves in industrial life. "Peace and good will" seem to be mottoes in the colonies. In the Merxplas colony one finds many mottoes printed in French and Flemish, admonishing the colonists to forsake the vices and cleave to the virtues. Other religious influences, however, are not very noticeable. By comparison, the atmosphere of Bielefeld, a voluntary labor colony of Prussia, seems permeated with devoutness and outward religious observance.

While further comparison of the colonies visited would be perhaps profitable, it is probably better to leave to the special chapters the description of many of the interesting details of organization and administration. Following the special chapters, it will be my effort to consider further our American problem in the light of European experience and to make certain suggestions looking to the organization and operation of an American labor colony along lines suggested by the European experiences of a century.

Chapter Ten

MERXPAS, A BELGIAN BEGGAR COLONY

NO careful study of the treatment of vagrancy can neglect Merxplas' Wortel and Hoogstraeten, the famous beggar colonies of Belgium, situated about twenty miles northeast of Antwerp. Merxplas is a compulsory colony for more hardened vagrants and mendicants, has an area of about 3000 acres, and is surrounded by heath and marshes. It is a village in itself, with administration buildings, great dormitories and refectories, shops, church, hospital, farm buildings, sheds, and a population of from 6000 to 7000 colonists, with a staff of over 100 employees. Some miles distant are the colonies of Wortel, for first offenders (vagrants and mendicants), and Hoogstraeten for incapacitated persons of the same class. So close to the western frontier of Holland is Merxplas that some of the Merxplas lands are in Holland. The colonies are reached from Antwerp by a steam tram that for nearly three hours tries the extreme patience of the traveler.

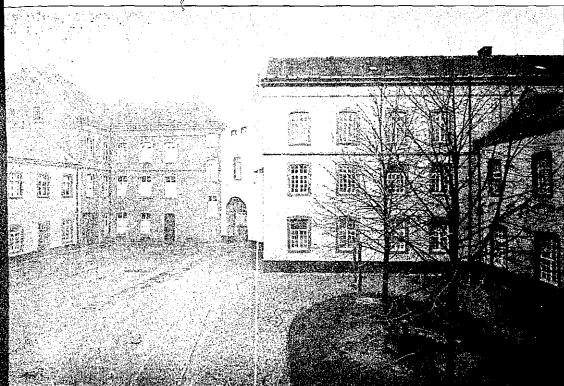
Merxplas and its sister colonies cannot be well understood without some knowledge of the Belgian penal code relative to mendicancy and vagabondage. The colonies were founded in 1823 by Dutch benevolent societies as colony homes for indigent families. In 1870, Belgium, then long separated nationally from Holland, bought the colonies and concentrated here at

**Belgian
Penal
Code.**

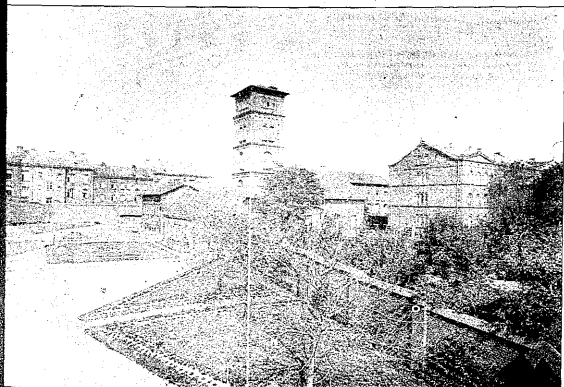
Merxplas, Wortel and Hoogstraeten the "human derelict heaps" that for many years had been increasing in population through ineffectual treatment of mendicants and vagrants in many local *dépôts de mendicité*. Conditions in the middle of the nineteenth century in Belgian institutions were analogous to present vagrancy conditions in county penitentiaries and county jails in New York. Vagabondage and begging were punished with light and brief imprisonment, after hurried consideration of the individual case by the magistrates.

The Belgian penal code of 1867, still in use today, defines vagabondage in the same terms as the French penal code, as follows: "Vagabondage is a misdemeanor. Vagabonds are those without known residence, or means of support, who habitually have neither occupation nor trade." To these three facts of no work, no means, no residence, is added in practice by the court, in arriving at a decision, the question of intention on the part of the accused to remain idle.

According to Belgian law the following cases of vagrancy are punished: (a) Entering of dwellings without permission of owner for purposes of begging; begging with pretence of wounds or infirmity; begging in company with others; imprisonment from eight days to one month. (b) Begging or vagabondage in disguise; imprisonment from eight days to two months. (c) Begging or vagabondage with false



Courtyard, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Workhouse Yard, Brauweiler, Germany

witnesses, with passes or wander-cards, with weapons, files, etc.; *three months to one year.* (d) Begging with threats against person or property; *imprisonment from one month to one year; if accompanied by violence, six months to three years.*

Beggars and vagabonds convicted under the above captions may after their imprisonment be placed under police supervision for periods of from five to ten years.

In 1870 the local *dépôts de mendicité* (beggar prisons) were discontinued and in their place were created the neighboring agricultural beggar colonies of Hoogstraeten, Wortel and Merxplas. From 1870 to 1890 begging and vagabondage continued to increase until in 1891 Belgium adopted a comprehensive law "for the repression of vagabondage and mendicity." This law deserves our attention.

The thesis upon which the law was based was that "rebellion against the laws relating to labor, and habitual intentional idleness alone, justify correctional measures; society may punish only those who will *not* work." Let us note that the man out of work is not necessarily a vagrant, nor is that beggar culpable who unwillingly "extends the hand" through force of misfortune. All the more severe is the law with the intentional work-shy or beggar, for every vagabond *must*, and every beggar *may* be arrested and arraigned before the magistrate who may, after careful investigation, sentence to confinement ("segregation" would be an excellent English synonym) in a *dépôt de mendicité* for from two to seven years able-bodied persons who instead of earning their living by legitimate work exploit charity as professional beggars, or who live in idleness, drunkenness or otherwise disorderly conditions in a state of vagrancy. To these classes have been added the cadets ("pimps," *souteneurs de filles publiques*).

In short, intentional vagrancy and mendicancy, in the case of able-bodied persons, has been punishable since 1891 in Belgium by

**Segregation
For Years.**

compulsory segregation in a beggar colony for from two to seven years. To cover the case of the occasional or the unintentional vagrant or beggar, the law provides that the court may discharge the less serious case or commit the offender to a *maison de refuge* (Wortel and Hoogstraeten for men, Bruges for women), where the offender may not be detained longer than one year against his will, nor beyond the time when his earnings shall have reached a certain sum (generally about \$3.00). The minister of justice, who in Belgium is the responsible head of the entire prison system of the nation, may release before the expiration of sentence.

As a distinction is made between the able-bodied (Merxplas and Wortel) and the incapacitated (Hoogstraeten), so also between those over 18 years of age and those of lesser years. Habitual mendicancy or vagabondage in those under 18 years is punished by sentence to a reform school, with the age of majority as a maximum. Children under thirteen in such schools are separated from older children. Of course a child may in time be indentured or sent back to his parents.

Noteworthy in comparison with American methods is the abovementioned fact that Belgium has done away with the short sentencing of vagrants and beggars, having learned the futility of short sentencing. Holland, Belgium, Germany, England and Scotland all bore witness, on my trip, to the uselessness of short and repeated convictions.

Belgium possesses at Brussels a very complete central registration bureau for records of mendicants and vagrants. Cases under arrest must be heard by the court within twenty-four hours, and the telegraph is brought frequently into play to complete the records of the arrested person.

Now, what is Merxplas? One of the leading officers of this beggar colony answered me: "A vast receptacle for human beings; a human refuse heap." Between six and seven thousand

men are here detained. Imprisonment in the penal sense does not exist. The dormitories and shops are not surrounded by walls; the farm lands and the church are unconfined. Indeed, ready means of escape are apparent on all sides, and actual escapes number approximately twelve hundred annually. In 1910, there were 1,197 escapes. In the same year, 1,026 persons were returned after having escaped. On one day the number of escapes has risen to seventeen. What seems to the American visitor a strange indifference of the administration toward such escapes does not seem remarkable to the Belgian department of justice. "These men are here because they cannot exist by honesty outside. If an escaped colonist can maintain himself when at liberty, the state is the gainer by one less inmate. If the colonist goes to begging again, he is soon arrested and returned here. Few colonists, whether escaped or discharged, ever permanently succeed in becoming self-supporting—one in one hundred. A number will keep their heads above water for a year or two, and then be brought back here."

Merxplas, therefore, is not a reformatory colony, but a custodial colony, with a three-fold way out: by ultimate discharge, by pardon through the minister of justice (readily given when seemingly justified), or by escape. Eighty-five per cent of the inmates are more or less alcoholic; the fact explains largely the great amount of recidivism.

Belgium is not trying to abolish vagrancy and mendicancy; has no hope of doing so. Nor have any of the other countries I visited. (Holland, Germany, England, Scotland). Belgium aims to concentrate, to corral, its vagrants and mendicants in one locality, removing them from boulevard, street, highway and lane, and assembling them where their partial powers of labor and industrial production may be used for the state's benefit. There are always mendicants and vagrants in Belgium outside of Merxplas and its sister colonies, but most beggars and vagrants pass through Merxplas a number of times and pass most of their time there. Furthermore, the citizens of Belgium know that Merxplas exists and that indiscriminate charity is not necessary.

MERXPLAS POPULATION.

The following tables show graphically the movement of the Merxplas population.

1910	
Total admissions.....	4,367
Total departures.....	4,435
Population, December 31, 1910.....	5,492
Of the admissions:	
Direct.....	2,930
By transfer.....	411
Returned after escape.....	1,026
Of the departures:	
Expiration of term.....	1,520
By act of minister.....	1,085
Conducted to frontier.....	31
Transferred.....	467
Escaped.....	1,197
Died.....	155

Of the population (5,492) in the colony on December 31, 1910 there had been already placed at the disposition of the government:

Once.....	501
Twice.....	554
Three times.....	122
Four or more times.....	3,882
	5,059

Of special significance is the fact that the great bulk of the population is made up of repeaters, only 501 out of 5,059 being first-comers in a compulsory beggar colony. That the population fluctuates greatly during the year is evident from the following tables, though the summer and winter populations of our New York jails and penitentiaries that house tramps in idleness show much greater variations.

POPULATION TABLES

Population on the first of each month, 1910.

January.....	5,560	July.....	5,048
February.....	5,507	August.....	5,039
March.....	5,712	September.....	5,943
April.....	5,564	October.....	5,115
May.....	5,476	November.....	5,228
June.....	5,095	December.....	5,374

Average population, first day of month, in 1910, 5,302 persons.
Average population, 1901-1910, by years.

1901.....	4,124	1906.....	4,935
1902.....	4,436	1907.....	4,716
1903.....	4,616	1908.....	5,029
1904.....	4,683	1909.....	5,352
1905.....	5,002	1910.....	5,305

Average population of year 1910, 5,305 persons.

Highest population (February 25) 5,729.

Lowest population, (August 6, 7) 5,009.

POPULATION TABLES 1910

	First day of month	Average in month	Highest in month	Lowest in month
January.....	5,568	5,610	5,667	5,568
February.....	5,674	5,791	5,729	5,671
March.....	5,708	5,783	5,718	5,594
April.....	5,565	5,445	5,565	5,276
May.....	5,276	5,186	5,282	5,095
June.....	5,104	5,046	5,104	5,017
July.....	5,055	5,042	5,064	5,010
August.....	5,025	5,030	5,050	5,000
September.....	5,050	5,074	5,115	5,050
October.....	5,111	5,155	5,228	5,098
November.....	5,236	5,304	5,374	5,236
December.....	5,381	5,434	5,497	5,381

POPULATION TABLES

	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Highest daily population.....	4,689 31 Dec.	4,850 31 Dec.	5,014 31 Dec.	5,136 24 Feb.	5,339 2 March
Average daily population.....	4,124	4,436	4,616	4,683	5,002
Lowest daily population.....	3,794 14 May	4,048 8 July	4,239 6 July	4,226 14 July	4,725 7 August
	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Highest daily population.....	5,484 23 Feb.	5,204 22 Feb.	5,492 31 Dec.	5,617 26 Feb.	5,729 25 Feb.
Average daily population.....	4,935	4,716	5,029	5,252	5,305
Lowest daily population.....	4,580 16 August	4,366 19 August	4,707 30 June	5,129 15 June	5,009 6-7 August

A second point. Merxplas is not a penal colony in appearance, but resembles in population far more that of a great American almshouse like the Blackwell's Island city home for the aged and infirm. And a comparison of the administration and results is not favorable to the American institution. At the Blackwell's Island almshouse we find the "in-and-out" habit with little or no compulsion by the authorities to check the pauper from leaving. We find there almost two thousand old men idling mournfully through their declining days. We find the almshouse a heavy burden on the city. The more able-bodied men are employed in the farm-colony at Staten Island.

At Merxplas, approximately two-thirds of the population are able-bodied and work at varied trades. The census of the population on December 31, 1910, showed the following general classes of occupations, and percentages:

TABLE SHOWING OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION ON THE LAST WORKING DAY OF 1910.

House service.....	941	17%
Farm and field.....	1,244	23%
Industrial.....	2,034	37%
Unoccupied.....	399	7%
Occupied at the colony of Hoogstraeten.....	159	2%
At Wortel.....	412	8%
At Reckheim.....	303	6%
Total.....	5,492	100%

An American visitor must be impressed with the great variety of trades pursued. Among them are the following: Weaving, spinning, printing, tailoring, tanning, foundry work, black-

The Industries.

smithing, mat making, trunk making, shoemaking and cobbling, carpet making, the manufacture of cement blocks, concrete, bricks, furniture, wagons, carriages, pearl buttons, preparation of tobacco. Great shops accommodate the more generally practiced trades. Rarely is power machinery employed, and an unique power producer is a great capstan manned by some sixty men, in two shifts, who slowly push the capstan, which generates power that is transmitted by belts and which is sufficient for all the grinding instruments of a large shop.

The following tables shows the admissions for 1910, classified in general industrial divisions:

INDUSTRIAL TABLE

Table showing admissions for 1910, classified in general industrial divisions.	
Laborers, gardeners, farmers, etc.....	319
Miners.....	129

Textile industries.....	184
Leather and skins.....	23
Industries in wood.....	32
Metalurgy.....	14
Metal manufacturing.....	184
Ceramics.....	14
Food supplies.....	123
Clothing and toilet.....	216
Furniture.....	40
Building trades.....	574
Transportation articles.....	16
Electricity, chauffeurs, firemen, etc.....	16
Arts, science, letters, etc.....	54
Transportation.....	226
Commerce.....	76
Domestic work.....	25
Unclassified.....	558
	<hr/>
	2,930

The products of the industries more than pay for themselves. So far as possible the products are utilized by the government or political subdivision of the state. There is found at Merxplas contract work in trunks, pearl buttons and some other branches. The secretary-general of the Belgian prison stated to me that he is eliminating the contractors as fast as possible.

The farm at Merxplas, though extensive, is not so profitable as the industries. The financial statement for 1910 shows that the institution is very far from being self-supporting, and is mainly dependent upon per capita payments from the state, the provinces and the communes.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1910¹

Receipts and expenditures, compared with average receipts and expenditures, 1900-1910.

	Average	
	1910	1900-1910
RECEIPTS	Francs	Francs
Maintenance of inmates.....	1,840,695	1,498,398
Farm.....	30,000	23,540
Workshops.....	475,000	372,500
Sundry.....	120,475	99,441
Total.....	<hr/> 2,466,170	<hr/> 1,993,779

¹The franc is valued at \$.193.

EXPENDITURES		
Salaries.....	250,057	230,943
Library and school.....	5750	4,980
Buildings and furnishings.....	62,000	49,840
Clothing, lodging and food.....	708,800	615,272
Remuneration to inmates.....	350,000	287,742
Office expenses.....	63,800	45,772
Manufacturing.....	400,000	355,865
Farm.....	74,600	55,141
Sundry.....	25,200	22,270
Total.....	<hr/> 1,950,207	<hr/> 1,667,825
Excess of receipts over expenditures.....	515,962	325,954

Merxplas is therefore, a "going concern" only because for every able-bodied man committed to the colony the sum of sixty-six centimes (13 cents) per day is paid in equal parts by state, province and commune. Non-able-bodied colonists are supported similarly by state, province and commune at the rate of one franc and fifty centimes (30 American cents) a day, paid in equal parts (10 American cents each) by the three parties. The administration of the colony may hope for no further subsidy from the government, even for improvements, new buildings or other extensions of the work.

Forty years ago the property consisted of but several small farms and an area of approximately 1,500 acres of heath and woodland. A recent estimate indicates a total valuation of the property of \$1,000,000, the increase in value being derived wholly from the labor of the colonists, who, supported by their own work and by the per capita grants, have built all the additional buildings and cultivated all the now arable land. The government has made, it is said, no further appropriations, save the per capita subsidies above referred to, since its initial advances on several occasions of \$20,000, which were subsequently paid off by the colony.

The colonists are stimulated to activity by daily wages and, in many industries, by the joy of work. The earnings of the colonists depend upon the financial value of the occupation. Able-bodied colonists earn at industrial work from three to five cents a day; at farm work, from two and one-half to four cents; at domestic, garden and other work from two and one-half to four cents. Numerous offices of trust are paid for at the rate of from four to six cents, and even in the punishment division from two to three cents daily may be earned.

The following tables show in detail the methods of payment of earnings to colonists, and also the total earnings of colonists, as well as supplementary "canteen money" to the unemployed and incapacitated, during a decade.

PAYMENTS TO COLONISTS¹

<i>Able-bodied colonists:</i>	Minimum	Maximum
	centimes	centimes
Industrial, construction, maintenance of buildings..	0.15	0.25
Special farm work.....	0.12	0.21
Farm and forest.....	0.12	0.18
Domestic or simple.....	0.12	0.18
Special, confidential, requiring more aptitude.....	0.20	0.30
Undergoing discipline.....	0.10	0.15

Persons not working by artificial light during the winter receive from November 1st, one-third less wages.

In general, all categories of workers begin at the minimum wage.

A slight bonus of 4 to 6 centimes may be given daily to the volunteer firemen, and 3 centimes to readers, singers and "prayers."

Non-able-bodied colonists, unable to work, receive a daily gratuity of 3 centimes.

If, at discharge, the amount saved up by the colonist does not aggregate five francs, the deficit is made up by the administration, in the case of deserving colonists.

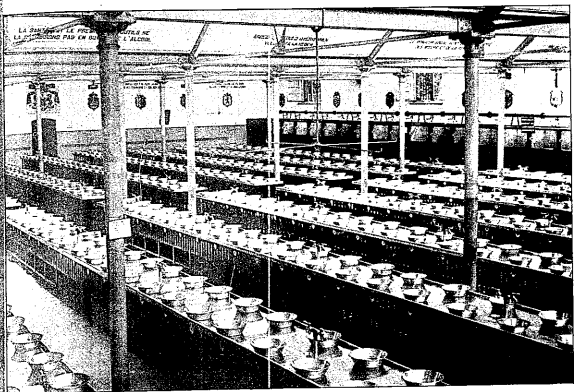
TABLE SHOWING SALARIES AND SUPPLEMENTS PAID TO COLONISTS FROM 1901 TO 1910, INCLUSIVE

YEARS	Average population	Salaries	Canteen money	Supplements
	Francs	Francs	Francs	Francs
1901.	4,124	249,982	95,086	22,747
1902.	4,436	264,576	128,180	19,723
1903.	4,616	276,846	135,785	11,711
1904.	4,683	294,483	145,184	9,788
1905.	5,002	319,578	157,665	13,979
1906.	4,935	332,426	164,033	19,283
1907.	4,716	332,669	164,511	21,545
1908.	5,029	352,893	176,148	23,488
1909.	5,352	363,364	181,519	23,791
1910.	5,305	364,318	182,409	24,144

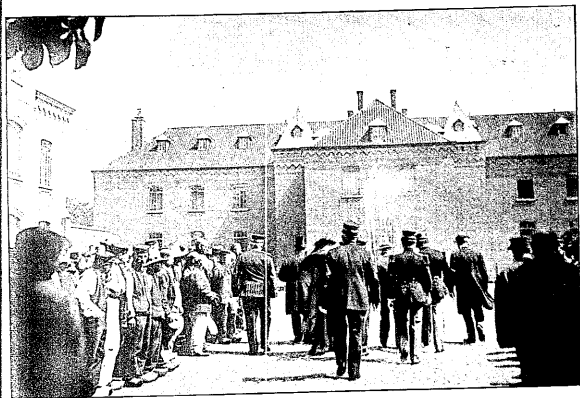
In short, with the institution receiving in 1910 the sum total of 2,466,170 francs or \$475,970, it paid back to colonists in earnings, canteen money, and supplements the sum

Daily Per
Capita Cost. of 570,871 francs, or \$110,178. If one should deduct from the total receipts of Merxplas the stipends from state and province and commune paid for maintenance of inmates (1,840,695 francs), and from the

¹The centime is valued at \$.002.



Wash Room, Beggar Colony, Marxplas, Belgium.



Minister of Justice Inspecting Marxplas, Belgium, Beggar Colony, August 8, 1911.

disbursements the amount paid to inmates for their labor, it would be found that the deficit of Merxplas was in 1910 approximately 750,000 francs, or approximately \$144,750, which with an average daily population of 5,395 gives an annual per capita cost of slightly over \$27, or a daily per capita cost of \$.68, certainly a small sum in comparison with the daily per capita cost in 1909 of the workhouse on Blackwell's Island of \$.42. To be sure, the workhouse has some earnings through the labor of its inmates, but these earnings are not computed in its annual report nor can the department of correction state what the earnings from the labor of prisoners are.

The following table shows the distribution of the payments made to colonists in 1910.

	Francs
Employed in new construction and maintenance of buildings	16,589
Employed in manufacturing	945,737
Employed in farm work and upkeep of plant	57,791
Employed in forests and on roads	4,729
Others	139,473
	364,319

The joy in work is plainly visible in many shops where the most skilled industries are conducted. Excellent pieces of carving, carpentry, weaving, trunk making and the like were conspicuous. Belgian vagrants are largely workmen "going to seed," so to speak. Nearly all have, or have had, a trade. Through alcoholism or other perverted habits they are unable to control or manage themselves "outside;" "inside" they shift easily all responsibility to the officers, and under direction are led to produce a moderate product in their trade. One often wonders in continental countries whether much of the docility and lack of initiative is not due to traditional class subordination, both socially and industrially.

Yet within Merxplas there is a considerable effort at classification by the administration. On April 1, 1910, there were nine classes:

(1) Juveniles (18 to 21 years)	39
(2) Invalids, able to work a little	1,330
(3) Invalids, incurable	153
(4) First offenders confined, but not in cells	58
(5) Recidivists, degenerates, weak minded	301
(6) Incendiaries	79
(7) Pederasts, immoral, souteneurs	89
(8) Dangerous	190
(9) Able-bodied, well behaved	3,521
	5,766

These various classes are kept in various sections of the colony, the courtyards and the dormitories and refectories being specially

constructed for such classification. For instance, the recidivists who are less tractable are segregated, as are also the immoral, the dangerous, the vicious and the youthful. A natural segregation of the invalids and incapacitated occurs. Yet the Belgian government is far from satisfied, and smaller new colonies, to supplant Merxplas, are contemplated.

The most concrete inducement to good behavior and industry is the "canteen," where the colonist may spend one-half of his earnings, the other half being retained and saved by the administration against the day of his discharge.

The Canteen.

During a typical year, 1910, articles to the total value of 102,330 francs (\$19,749) were purchased by colonists at the canteen. The principal items purchased and the receipts were the following:

	Francs
Milk.....	157.12
Beer.....	2,168.52
Rolls.....	27,437.64
Smoking tobacco.....	11,239.76
Powdered tobacco.....	87.39
Herrings.....	5,787.54
Pork fat.....	14,712.48
Lard.....	6,860.28
Butter.....	124.86
Cheese.....	3,342.24
Coffee.....	4,433.66
Chicory.....	2,359.76
Soap.....	207.12
Glycerine.....	599.44
Eggs.....	2,215.71
Bread.....	17,524.21
Salt.....	90.71
Boxes.....	80.00
Belts.....	143.10
Knives.....	17.71
Combs.....	59.89
Pipes.....	34.39
Mirrors.....	92.32
Paper and envelopes.....	190.89
Cigarette paper.....	598.12
Cocoa butter.....	1,691.86
Sundries.....	264.23
Total.....	102,330.29

The receipts of the canteen have risen since 1902 almost every year, the expenditures on the canteen being in 1902, 78,456 francs (\$15,142), and in 1910, 102,330 francs (\$19,749). The canteen is an incentive to good labor by supplementing a dietary that is acknowledged by the direction of the Belgian prisons to be insufficient.

RECEIPTS OF CANTEN, 1902-1910

	Francs		Francs
1902.....	78,456.43	1907.....	94,042.86
1903.....	91,523.74	1908.....	104,375.63
1904.....	95,661.36	1909.....	112,665.30
1905.....	97,545.90	1910.....	102,330.29
1906.....	94,441.27		

In comparison with dietaries or feeding customs in American correctional and charitable institutions, the dietary scales at Merxplas are certainly scanty. When the passing visitor notes in the weaving shop, for instance, the heavy looms being driven from eight to ten hours a

day by hand and foot power, by aged and decrepit looking colonists who in American almshouses would undoubtedly often be regarded as past any usefulness, and when the visitor then learns that solid meat is never given in the regular rations; that, at the most, meat soup is distributed at the second meal on Sunday and Thursday and that no meat appears on the bill of fare on other days, save a bit of bacon in a potato soup; then the passing visitor queries, and in my case, received, the answer from M. Dom, the secretary-general of the Belgian department of justice, "Yes, the able-bodied colonists are certainly underfed, yet they come back after their discharge, often several times. *Que faire?* If we starve them, there would be a great public protest; if we fed them better, Merxplas becomes too attractive. As it is, the canteen supplements materially the dietary."

The following are the dietary tables:

DIETARY TABLES

	Unit	Quantity per 100 rations
<i>First meal. Every day:</i>		
Bread.....	Kilogram.....	67.500
Chicory.....	".....	2.500
Skim milk.....	Litre.....	4.000
<i>Second meal. Sunday and Thursday:</i>		
Meat soup:		
Meat.....	Kilogram.....	7.000
Rice.....	".....	10.000
Peas.....	".....	7.000
Salt.....	".....	2.000
Pepper.....	".....	0.025
Vegetables.....	".....	2.000
<i>Second meal. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday:</i>		
Pork fat.....	Kilogram.....	0.750
Rice.....	".....	10.000
Peas.....	".....	7.000
Salt.....	".....	2.000
Pepper.....	".....	0.025
Vegetables.....	".....	2.000

		Quantity per 100 rations
<i>Third meal. Monday, Wednesday, Friday:</i>		
Vegetable soup:		
	Unit	
Beans.....	Kilogram.....	25.000
Fat.....	".....	0.750
Salt.....	".....	1.500
Pepper.....	".....	0.025
Vegetables.....	".....	4.000
Vinegar.....	Litre.....	1.000

Third meal. Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday:

Potato soup:

Potatoes.....	Kilogram.....	130.000
Vegetables.....	".....	8.000
Fat.....	".....	3.000
Salt.....	".....	1.500
Pepper.....	".....	0.025
Onions.....	".....	1.000
Vinegar.....	Litre.....	1.000

SPECIAL INVALID DIET

		Quantity per 100 rations
<i>First meal. Every day:</i>		
	Unit	
Bread.....	Kilogram.....	50.000
Chicory.....	".....	2.000
Coffee.....	Litre.....	0.200
Skim milk.....	".....	4.000

Second meal. Every day except Thursday:

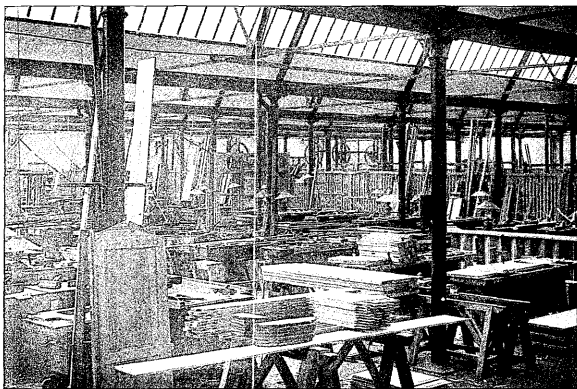
Meat soup:

Meat.....	Kilogram.....	20.000
Rice.....	".....	3.000
Vegetables.....	".....	10.000
Potatoes.....	".....	52.000
Salt.....	".....	2.000
Pepper.....	".....	0.030
Beer.....	Litre.....	50.000

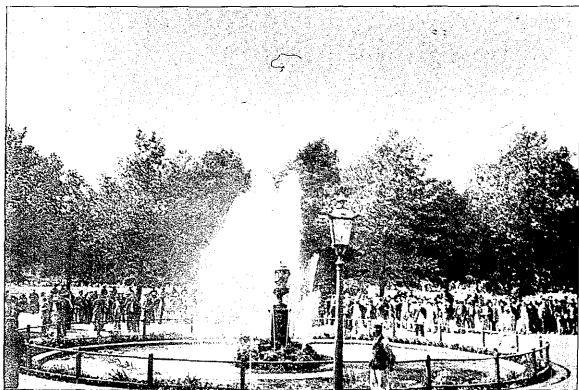
Second meal. Thursday:

Pea soup:

Pork meat.....	Kilogram.....	20.000
Peas.....	".....	20.000
Vegetables.....	".....	10.000
Salt.....	".....	2.000
Pepper.....	".....	0.030
Beer.....	Litre.....	50.000



Cabinet Shop, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium



Central Fountain, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium

Third meal. Every day:

Potatoes.....	Kilogram.....	125.000
Fat.....	".....	0.750
Vegetables.....	".....	5.000
Salt.....	".....	2.000
Pepper.....	".....	0.030
Vinegar.....	Litre.....	10.000
Beer.....	".....	50.000

The colony is run on a definite time table, varying with the season of the year, as follows:

DAILY PROGRAM

	April 1 to Sept. 15	Sept. 16 to Oct. 31	Nov. 1 to Feb. 15	Feb. 16 to Mar. 31
Rising.....	4.30	5.00	6.00	5.30
Distribution of bread.....	5.00	5.30	*6.30	*6.00
Work.....	5.45	6.15	7.15	6.45
Doctor's visit.....	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00
First meal and rest.....	8.00	8.00	.....	.....
Work resumed.....	8.30	8.30	.....	.....
Report of the Director.....	9.30	9.30	9.30	9.30
Second meal, first table.....	10.40	10.40	10.40	10.40
Second meal, second table.....	11.40	11.40	11.40	11.40
Work resumed.....	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15
Rest.....	4.00	4.00	.....	.....
Work resumed.....	4.30	4.30	.....	.....
Third meal.....	6.45	6.45	4.00	5.00
Bed.....	7.00	7.00	4.30	5.30
Third meal for men of work-shops.....	.....	.....	6.45	6.45
Bed for men of workshops.....	.....	.....	7.00	7.00

*Including coffee and first meal.

SUNDAY PROGRAM

	April 1 to Sept. 15	Sept. 16 to Oct. 31	Nov. 1 to Feb. 15	Feb. 16 to Mar. 31
Mass.....	7.00 and 8.15	7.00 and 8.15	8.00 and 9.15	8.00 and 9.15
General inspection of doctor..	After mass	After mass	After mass	After mass
Salute.....	2.30	2.30	2.00	2.00

As to punishments, the principal inflictions are: Reduction in earnings, three to sixty days' ordinary cells with ordinary diet, three days' punishment cells with ordinary diet, three days' punishment cells with ordinary diet and confinement in the punishment quarter for serious infractions of the rules. The ordinary cells are equipped as are the usual prison cells of Belgium, with all necessary articles; punishment cells are stripped of practically everything save hard, wooden bed. Dark cells are not used. In fact, nowhere in my tour did I see a dark cell.

The following tables shows the causes of punishments of colonists during 1910:

For escapes:

Simple and attempts.....	188
Complicity.....	399
Repeated complicity.....	475

Total.....	1,062
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For other causes:

Refusal to work or idleness at work.....	229
Feigning illness.....	51
Assaults on colonists.....	85
Rebellion against guards.....	34
Thefts, etc.....	91
Misconduct.....	547
Drunkenness.....	5

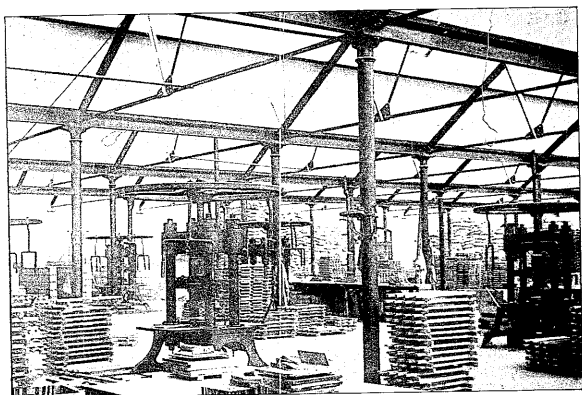
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A further summary will bring out salient facts regarding the frequency of punishments in relation to the population.

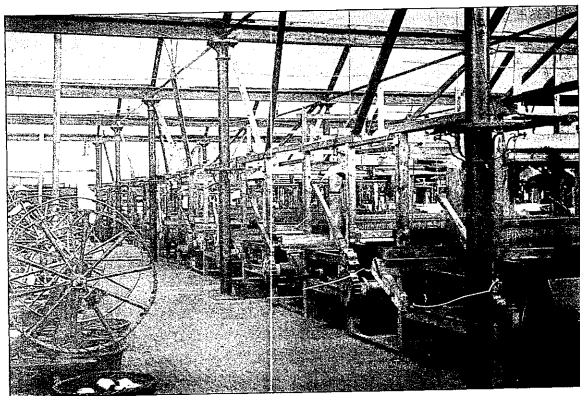
Daily percentage of persons punished for escapes, actual or attempted..	2.90%
Average number of punishments inflicted daily.....	.05%
Daily percentage of persons punished for other causes.....	2.85%
Average number of punishments inflicted daily.....	.0538

Until September 1, 1911, a detail of 150 soldiers and several officers were the military guard at Merxplas. Never has the military been called into action because of insurrection or riot, and on September 1st (so it was planned in August at the time of my visit), the military force was to

Guards. be materially reduced, and in place of the military more attendants were to be engaged. Formerly one or more soldiers accompanied the groups of farm laborers; with the departure of a goodly portion of the military, employee-guards will supplant them, with the additional advantage that they can work with the men. Escaping men were never fired on, and a sentry on guard at one of the enclosure entrances I found had no ammunition for his terror-inspiring rifle.



Cabinet Shop, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium



Weaving Shop, Beggar Colony, Merxplas, Belgium

A thousand pounds of potatoes are required daily, and the farm can produce but about one-half the potatoes and grain needed. Over 1,000 men are generally working on the farm during summer months in groups of from fifty to sixty. Among the farm products are maize, wheat, oats, hemp, tobacco, flax, chicory, horses, oxen, cattle, pigs, sheep. A considerable body of colonists is utilized in reclaiming the unfertile land.

The colonists sleep in large dormitories containing about 500 beds. There seems to be no law in Belgium like that in Holland that requires of all inmates of state correctional and charitable institutions entire cellular separation at night. For refectory colonists there are two classes of cells — ordinary and punishment. The colonists eat in large dining halls, some of which seat up to a thousand persons.

Chapter Eleven

HOLLAND AND VEENHUIZEN.

FROM the end of the sixteenth century, when Holland founded its "Rasp-houses" and "Spin-houses" for the repression especially of beggars and mendicants, to the present day, when the vagrancy colony at Veenhuizen stands as an example of thousands of acres of land reclaimed not from the seas but from the desert heath, the little kingdom of Holland, numbering only about a million more inhabitants than live in greater New York, has given much attention to the reduction of vagrancy.

The present Dutch law is as follows:

1) *Imprisonment up to twelve days is inflicted upon (a) a person who publicly begs or (b) a person who intentionally wanders about without means.*

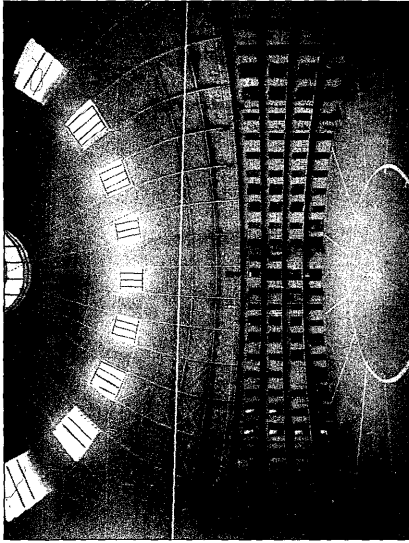
Dutch Penal Law.

As in Belgium, in practice it must be proved to the court that the person begging has not been forced by "overpowering circumstances" to beg, and that the accused has been wandering with the deliberate intention of not working. In short, Holland in practice recognizes that it is not the act of begging and vagabondage that should determine the disposition of the case, but the intent of the beggar or the vagrant.

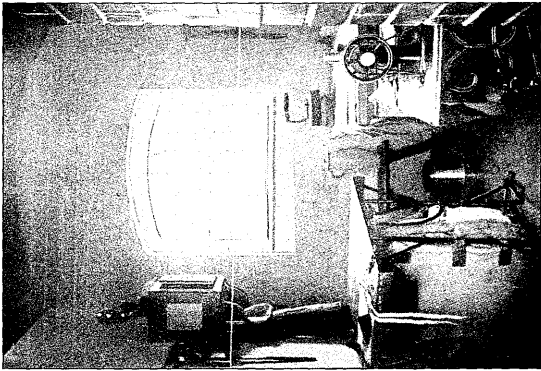
2) *Begging and vagrancy of three or more persons over sixteen years is punishable with imprisonment up to three months.*

3) *A person or persons found guilty under 1) or 2) may, if able-bodied, be sentenced to transfer and detention in a state-workhouse, on the expiration of his or their imprisonment.*

There may be thus two imprisonments, one in the nature of punishment for the act, the other (and longer detention) because society through its laws has expressed its conviction that beggars and vagrants should be prevented from further illegal practices of this nature. The American student meets this theory of post-prison detention frequently in European countries. Belgium has given up the first short period of imprisonment for beggars and vagrants, save in certain definite cases, and instead permits the immediate sentencing of the convicted mendicant or vagrant to a kind of preventive detention for from two to seven years. Germany, in the draft of its proposed imperial penal code, has raised the question of the utility of the first short prison sentence before the transfer of the offender to the workhouse. In the case of habitual criminals, England has recently (1908) passed a significant "Prevention of Crime Act," providing for a separate and additional period of preventive detention, in a separate prison, for habitual criminals subsequent to the imprisonment of the said criminals in a convict prison for the crimes of which they have been convicted.



Interior of State Prison, Haarlem, Holland



Typical Cell in a German Prison

Far in the northern part of Holland, some thirty miles east of the Zuyder Zee, is situated Veenhuizen, the celebrated vagrancy labor

colony. About eight miles from Assen, it is surrounded by uncultivated heath. The traveler, riding out from Assen along the brick-paved highway and the narrow canal, sees the road stretch before him through a flat and treeless country that resembles the sea-surface under which it once undoubtedly lay. After an hour's drive, the visitor to Veenhuizen sees before him a broad "oasis" of forest, intersecting canals, broad roads, neat Dutch houses, fertile gardens, sweeping fields of grain; and finds himself in a few moments at Colony No. One. Formerly there were three colonies or divisions, in a region of over 3,000 hectares, about 7,500 acres. One colony has recently been abandoned, the population committed to the colonies having fallen off markedly in recent years.

The impression on the American student of delinquency cannot fail to be striking. I say this with confidence, for inspection of the visitors' book seemed to show that I was the first American visitor (not an inmate), at least in many years. Perhaps the most potent impression is that of the interminable extent of the beautiful colony. Miles of excellent roads, lined with trees often a generation or more old, and with sluggish canals that make heavy transportation facile; ever-recurring groups of houses, where officers and employees live; frequent larger buildings, serving as workshops, dormitories, refectories, offices; vistas of grain fields, woods, forests, and then more settlements, more large buildings; and every little while the passing of colonists shuffling along in wooden shoes, or children playing at canal-side or by the road, the sons and daughters of employees and officers; women, the wives of officers, at work by cottage door or walking along the highways as in any other village; employees in uniform; now and then a squad of colonists with farm wagons or implements, unaccompanied by guards, going to or from the daily work in field or shop. No walls surround the community's 1,200 colonists and some 300 officers and employees who live and work in very passable harmony. The colony is a world in itself; the rest of Holland was spoken of during my stay as "out there." And the rarest thing one sees at Veenhuizen is a policeman, though as in Belgium a military company acts as guard. Here at Veenhuizen nine rural military guards and twenty-eight policemen are adequate, and find it hard to keep occupied.

Veenhuizen has a long history. In 1818, the Dutch Society of Beneficence, having organized with 20,000 members within one year,

founded several agricultural colonies for dependent families, called Frederiksoord, Willemsoord and Wilhelminasoord. Two years later, in 1820, a colony of about 1,900 acres for mendicants and vagrants, was established at Ommen, and was christened Ommerschans (Ommer barracks or fort). A second colony, called Veenhuizen (fen-dwellings), of 2,380 acres was also founded some eight miles west of Assen.

This report can, because of limitations of space, give no extended history of the Dutch free labor colonies. Between 1819 and 1840, no less than 137,378 persons had been received into the colonies, both free and beggar. Both Ommerschanz and Veenhuizen were in active existence in 1851, when the following table of population was compiled on December 31.

First time at Ommerschanz and Veenhuizen.....	1,923
Second time.....	1,163
Third time.....	721
Fourth time.....	458
Fifth time.....	190
Sixth time.....	42
Seventh time.....	14
Ninth time.....	3
Tenth time.....	1

4,515

In 1853 Sir John McNeill of England reported after a careful study of Holland colonies that

1) Indigent families can rarely be made self-sustaining by providing them with houses and land, with all that is necessary for its cultivation and for their own maintenance until they are able to support themselves.

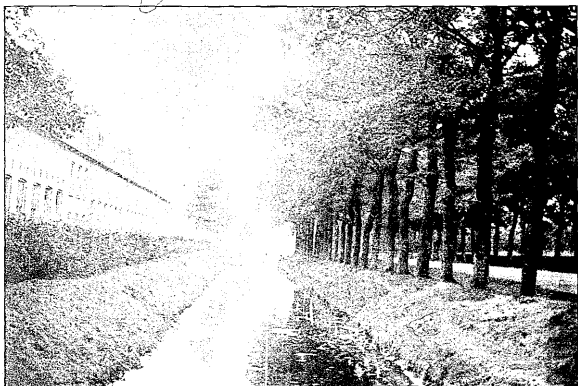
2) Paupers, even when able-bodied, cannot be made to contribute to their own support by employing them at agricultural labor or land belonging to the body which undertakes to maintain them, but, on the contrary, the attempt so to diminish the cost of maintaining them tends to augment it.

3) Paupers can be more advantageously employed in manufactures and handicrafts than in agricultural pursuits, but it is doubtful whether the price obtained in the market for the produce of their industry, after deducting expenses, will diminish the charge of their maintenance.

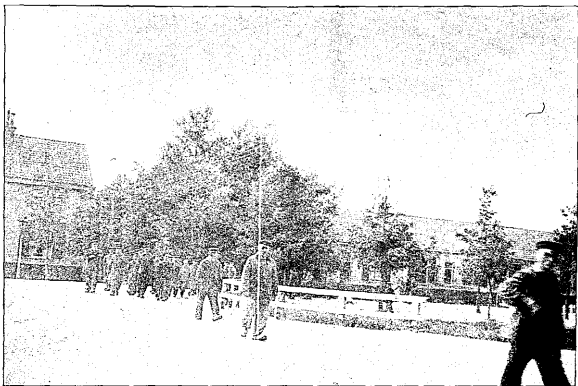
The above remarks referred not only to the beggar colonies, but to the free (family) colonies.

In 1859 the Dutch government took over both the beggar colonies (Ommerschanz and Veenhuizen), when the Dutch Society of Beneficence was over two million dollars in debt. By degrees the government concentrated the beggars and vagrants at Veenhuizen. Begging became almost without exception the charge upon which the colonists were committed. At no time have the beggar colonies been self-supporting, though because of the system of book-keeping employed by the government it was not possible for me while in Holland in the summer of 1911 to learn even approximately the annual receipts and expenditures.

In 1885 an Englishman, H. G. Willinck, made a careful study for his government of the Veenhuizen and Ommerschanz colonies, and reported that in respect to neither repression nor prevention of mendicancy were the colonies at that time a success. The paupers had no dread of the place, but rather liked it, the doctor of one of the colonies reporting: "It is too comfortable; their dinner is always ready!"



Shops, Canal and Road, Vagrancy Colony, Veenhuizen, Holland



Colonists Coming in to Dinner, Vagrancy Colony, Veenhuizen, Holland

Out of 3,253 beggars and vagrants at Veenhuizen and Ommer-
schanz on December 31, 1885, there were there:

For the first time.....	425 or 13 per cent.
Second time.....	631 or 20 "
Third time.....	391 or 12 "
Fourth time.....	344 or 10 "
Fifth time.....	277 or 9 "
Sixth time.....	230 or 7 "
Seventh time.....	178 or 6 "
Eighth time.....	169 or 5 "
Ninth time.....	142 or 4 "
Tenth time.....	140 or 4 "
Eleventh time.....	116 or 3 "
More than eleven times.....	210 or 7 "
	3,253 100 "

Nor did the colonies seem to Mr. Willinck in 1885 to exercise any reforming influence. "Inefficient work, safe board and lodging, free intercourse night and day with hundreds of others of the same almost hopeless class, nothing to lose by stagnation; what is there in this to raise a man? The best that can be said for such an institution is that it keeps decently and out of sight, and in a condition of animal well-being, a class of men who, if not in its keeping or under some other kind of restraint, would, as in England, be a public disgrace and shame, and would also be raising up children to succeed them."

That was thirty years ago. In 1890 the colony of Ommer-
schanz was discontinued. In 1903 the colony contained about the present acreage, divided thus:

Heath, moor, water, highways.....	1,920 hectares ¹
Forest.....	484 "
Meadow and field.....	123 "
Tillable land.....	588 "
Buildings.....	34 "
Garden.....	31 "
	3,180 "

The proportion of lands cultivated and uncultivated has not changed materially, nor have the religious persuasions of the colonists, which in 1901 were as follows:

Reformed Dutch.....	3,126
Roman Catholic.....	2,066
Other Protestant faiths.....	88

¹A hectare is 2.471 acres.

In 1903, M. Louis Rivière, perhaps the keenest and most widely recognized French student of vagrancy and mendicancy, visited Veenhuizen. He found an average population of

In 1893. 3,200, and in the four previous years an annual average of escapes of 226, of whom on the average 177 were recaptured. This proportion is about one-third the annual number of escapes at Merxplas, in proportion to the number of colonists. M. Rivière found the average length of detention (there are no walls around this village on the heath) about two and one-half years, and the annual number of admissions 1,700, of whom only a fourth were for the first time.

What were M. Rivière's conclusions? "By means of the beauty of its lay-out, by the varied occupations of the colonists and by the comparative liberty which is allowed them, the Dutch government has been able to remove from its colony the character of a *dépôt de mendicité* (beggar colony). But what as regards the moral point of view? Are the persons who leave Veenhuizen after more than two years' stay transformed, and do they become then sober and industrious workers?"

"To claim this would be an exaggeration. Reformations do occur and they are an encouraging thing; but they are the exception. The majority of the colonists revert to their old errors; three-fourths of those admitted to Veenhuizen have already been at the colony."

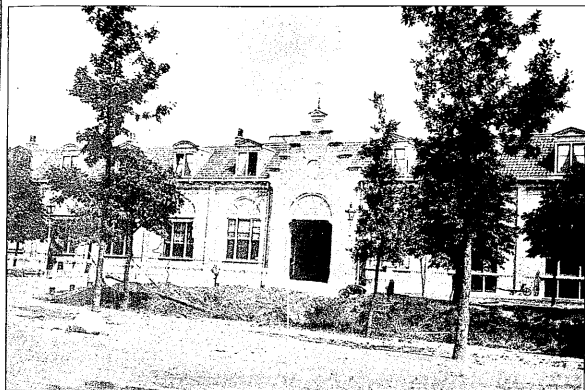
M. Rivière then attempts to estimate the cost of this colony, but finds difficulty, because the prison statistics embrace the expenses of several colonies in common. Approximately it would seem (in 1903) that the daily cost of a colonist was sixty Dutch cents (24 cents American) a total annual cost of 694,839 florins, or approximately \$277,932. "Of course," states M. Rivière, "there are important receipts that lower the total expense, so that the ultimate net cost is slight in comparison with the results obtained." In conclusion M. Rivière states that the population of the colony was divided by ages as follows:

Less than 20 years old.....	24
Between 20 and 50.....	3,172
Over 50.....	2,084
	5,280

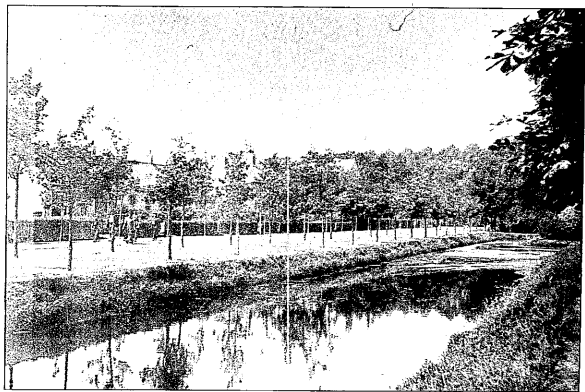
The average population was in 1901, 3,172 and the total days' work 1,158,065. There were 40,522 days of sickness, an average of 111 persons sick, or 3.5 per cent of the population.

In 1905, two members of the English Church Army, the Reverend Wilson Carlile, and Victor W. Carlile, visited Veenhuizen.¹ They reported that Veenhuizen seemed in many ways an improvement on Merxplas. "The system, applying as it does to so low and hopeless a class, is a remarkable success. It is humane, elevating, economically sound, practicable and desirable." On the other hand, the

¹The Continental Outcast, Unwin, London, 1906.



Gateway of Administration Building, Colony Number Two, Beggar Colony,
Veenhuizen, Holland



Canal and Road, Within Beggar Colony, Veenhuizen, Holland

impressions of the English visitors are not accompanied by statistics regarding cost of management, per capita cost, and recidivism.

In 1910 Dr. Albert Wilson of Edinburg, in a study of tramps and beggars,¹ wrote of Veenhuizen that "they get encouraging results, for the system rewards and stimulates industry in lazy non-workers. Many of these recover and get into honest work again. Many of the drunkards recover. But, as in all such discouraging, hopeless undertakings, there are many failures and some return two or three times."

Turning now to my own visit to Veenhuizen in the summer of 1911 I would express at the outset my admiration of the "plant" in general, of the remarkable development of this great community through its own labor and industry, of the varied character of the work, of the high grade of the officials, and of the plan in general of segregating over a thousand beggars and vagrants in reasonable, comfortable and humane surroundings, and, as in Belgium, ridding to this extent the roads and communities of the wandering regiment.

Analyzing the activities and conditions of Veenhuizen, I found the following situation:

POPULATION.—The men are in general much older than American tramps and vagrants, resembling in the main the aged, broken-down groups so characteristic of our almshouses. Few young men were to be seen; on the other hand the lame, the halt, and the blind were frequent. The population on July 25, 1911, was about 1,200, about evenly divided into Colony No. 1 and Colony No. 2. Colony No. 3 has recently been abandoned, the explanation at The Hague being that the courts are now becoming far more severe upon mendicants and vagrants, sending them to prisons instead of to the colony. In short, the colony is regarded as too attractive, making too much for recidivism. The average age of the colonists is over fifty years.

BUILDINGS.—The main administration building of each colony is a large square structure with a great open interior court, serviceable for the leisure periods of the colonists. A separate central kitchen in the central building serves for each colony. Food is conveyed by certain colonist helpers to the large refectories. Twenty dining-rooms are each equipped with sixty seats, thus admitting of classification of population.

The sleeping quarters are in the second story of the central building, on three sides of the court, and according to Holland law are fitted with separate cubicles (inside rooms) partitioned off in a large room, open at the top, the partition rising about seven feet, a wire grating being substituted for the ceiling. This plan, employed also in the children's institutions, is of course effective in preventing any physical communication at night.

¹Unfinished Man, Greening, London, 1910.

There are ten dormitories in Colony No. 2, each containing 120 beds, separated as above mentioned. The dormitories are well ventilated, but the cells are without the water closet and running water conveniences now so common and so generally approved in our prisons and similar institutions.

Around the central building and at irregular intervals for a considerable distance are the shops and the farm buildings, all built by the colonists. Colony No. 1 is 2 mile distant from Colony No. 2, and three miles from the abandoned Colony No. 3.

INDUSTRIES.—The variety of industries, and the amount of work and of products obtained from aged vagabonds and beggars, are the two most impressive points in connection with the industries. About two-thirds of the able-bodied colonists are working in the shops, and about one-third are in agriculture, for as yet only one-third of the vast acreage (3,200 hectares, about 8,000 acres) is under cultivation. There is a twelve-hour day for the colonists, from 6 to 6, with 2 hours respite at noon; this applies to all able-bodied men. Rising time is at 5 A. M.; bed time at 9 P. M.

Employees' detached houses line the canals every little while, and behind the cottages lie many of the shops. The industries strongly resemble those of Merxplas, among the most important occupations being weaving, carpentry work, cabinet work, tailoring, cobbling (wooden shoes for the colonists being one branch), rug making, repairing of clothes, book-binding, foundry work, concrete making, harness making.

There are eighteen farms in all in the two colonies. Each farm is in general charge of a farmer whose salary is low but who enjoys such perquisites as a garden, chicken, eggs, etc., and a certain amount of the time of one or more colonists. Although salaries of officers are low at Veenhuizen, the gardens, the poultry and the labor of colonists are inducements to remain.

Power machinery is conspicuous by its absence. Power for a circular saw is obtained, for example, by the labor of two colonists who crank a large wheel which by belting conveys power to the saw. In one shop each man was building from start to finish a small hand-propelled post-cart, which takes about three weeks to build, and would sell in the outside market

The Absence of Power Machinery.

for about \$20. All tools are sharpened by hand; all polishing, drilling, cutting and planing is done by hand. The theory obtains that this is well, since most of the able-bodied occupied colonists had their trade "on the outside," and are competent to do with the assistance of hand power what they formerly may have done much more quickly by steam or electric power. Furthermore, much physical energy is purposely thus consumed, and, moreover, the installation of machine power would so increase the industrial products of the colony that the government would find much difficulty in disposing of them.

A very important point is thus raised. Contract labor seems not to be forbidden in Dutch correctional institutions, but it is not favorably regarded by the government. All European countries I visited were obviously hampered by inability at times to find a clear open market for their products. No law in Holland compels the state or its political subdivisions, such as counties or cities, to purchase prison made goods. If the post-office department or the telegraph department orders or purchases products of Veenhuizen, it is probably as an accommodation — at least, not because mandatory. Too much of an excursion by the Dutch prisons into the open market as a field for their products would undoubtedly rouse the labor unions. In none of the countries visited did I find any law approaching that of New York, whereby the state and its political subdivisions are required by law to give first chance to the prisons to sell or make goods required by the former. So the Veenhuizen colony, as Merxplas also, is forced back on itself and upon the market furnished by the institutions under the department of justice. This feature, and the favorable attitude of the department of justice toward the retention of hand and foot power, are matters of some irritation to the director of Colony No. 2, who knows that the colony could greatly increase its output through the installation of power machinery.

The American visitor notes, similarly, an absence of time-saving devices, as well as of modern sanitary facilities. No drainage system has as yet been installed, though such a system could well be utilized for the fertilizing of the fields in connection with a sewage disposal plant.

Old Methods.

Kerosene lamps persist in being the only illumination in dwellings and shops that are by no means fireproof. Nor has the central power plant or the central heating plant heating idea penetrated to Veenhuizen. In short, save for the twenty telephones in this great colony, one could readily believe himself from the industrial standpoint back a generation or more. This is not economical nor is it necessary as a work-supplying expedient, for the director could utilize all his present workers under power machinery, and even if this were not so, the men released from the industries could reinforce the agricultural colonists, who still face the reclaiming of many thousand acres of land.

The lasting impression produced upon me was, however, that everybody who could work was really working; that just exactly the group we feel to be one of the most unproductive in the United States was here at Veenhuizen, as at Merxplas, working hard, and very often with joy in their work, for they often have the entire article to complete, rather than the repeated production of a small part of an article; and that some of the men were worked even too hard, as in Colony No. 1, where old men in the weaving rooms drove by hand and foot power the looms and the shuttles, ceaselessly and laboriously producing the cloth, expending an energy hour after hour that more nearly approached the line between punishment and apparent torture than anything else I saw on European soil.

FOOD AND EARNINGS.—As is customary in European institutions, meat is a rare article of diet. The noon-day meal on July 25, 1911, was mainly potatoes, half mashed, with vegetable greens. A great plateful equivalent to the contents of an ordinary sized wash-basin was the portion for each man; the colonists sit in groups of eight at small tables. One colonist serves the portion from a central dish and the eager and often jealous eyes of the other seven colonists, measuring each portion, convey vividly the idea that the vegetarian diet does not result in over-feeding. The potato hash was very palatable. Mornings and evenings the colonists are served with plenty of bread and have coffee, not of a very good grade, I was informed.

As at Merxplas, so at Veenhuizen, a canteen flourishes. The colonists may earn up to twenty-five Dutch cents (ten American cents) a day, of which they may use two-thirds to purchase at the canteen such articles as butter, bacon, salt, tobacco and pipes. No alcoholic drinks are sold or permitted. It is noteworthy that most of the men patronize the canteen sparingly, saving their money for the time of discharge.

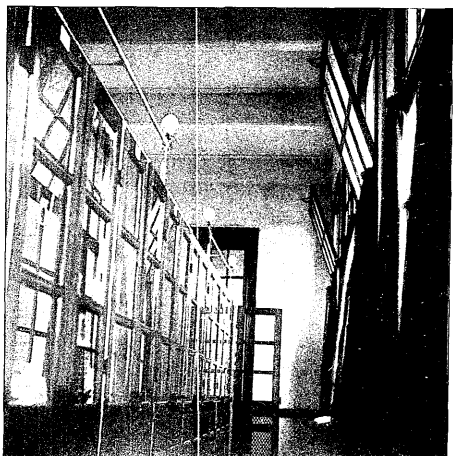
The dietary for the noon meal is fixed, as follows:

Sunday, potatoes and vegetables; Monday, bean soup; Tuesday, potatoes and vegetables; Wednesday, soups and boiled beef; Thursday, potatoes and vegetables; Friday, sago soup; Saturday, soup and boiled beef.

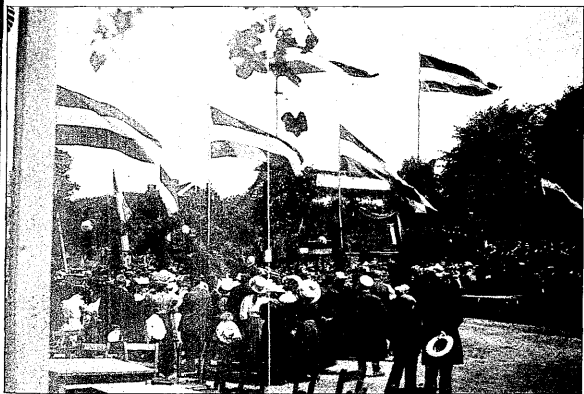
The colonists are fed much less liberally than in American correctional institutions. Apart from the supplementary use of the canteen as a stimulus to work, the European prison administrations believe that their dietaries are sufficient, and that ours are too liberal.

ESCAPES AND PUNISHMENTS.—From forty to fifty colonists escape each year, most of whom are recaptured. While colonists do not stay willingly in Veenhuizen, they often find the colony the lesser of two evils, and revert to vagabondage partially in order to gain entrance again to the colony. In general the colonists are not temperamentally or physically fit to earn their self-support permanently on the outside. As in Merxplas, the administration makes little effort to recapture the runaways. Significant indeed is the statement of Director Hondius that the Veenhuizen colonists are not in the main the professional beggars and vagrants, but rather the incompetents and the half-ables.

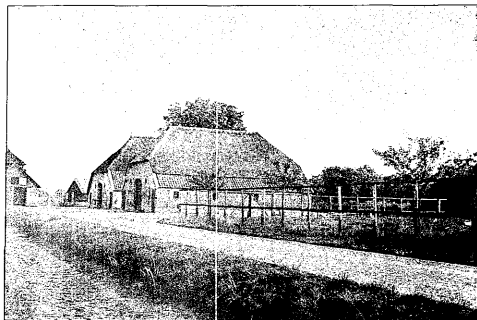
This is confirmation of Professor Von Hippel's statement 'that the penal code is insufficient for any successful campaign against begging and vagrancy. Non-public begging is not punishable, even if it is practised by professional work-shys. "The law guarantees complete freedom to any one who is fairly careful. On the other hand, the definition of vagrancy is too sweeping, for it hits also the penniless but honest wanderer seeking work away from his place of settlement. The threatened punishments are unjustly severe for the unfortunate, but completely worthless for the professional beggar and vagrant."



Corridor in Dormitory with Separate Rooms, Juvenile Reformatory, Amersfoort, Holland



The Prince-Consort of Holland Opening a Juvenile Reformatory, Avereest, Holland, July 24, 1911



Farm Buildings, Dutch Prisoner's Aid Society's Colony for Discharged Prisoners, Apeldoorn, Holland



Dutch Prisoner's Aid Society's Home for Discharged Prisoners, Apeldoorn
Holland

Von Hippel, commenting on the vagrancy colony, says further:¹ "Far worse than the law is its practical working out. The treatment in the colony is so mild that the detention

The Results. has lost its punitive character, only to come to seem a despicable provision, and the most begging and vagrancy occurs in those judicial districts where sentence to the colony is most likely. After leaving the colony the same career begins again, ending with return to the colony."

Mr. Hondius, the director of Colony No. 2, said to me frankly that after ten years at the colony, he had gained a firm conviction that little can be done to reclaim the colonists, and that Holland's efforts should be directed toward the prevention of mendicancy and vagrancy, and not toward the cure.

In the colony comparatively little trouble occurs with the men, who go back and forth from work without guards. Apart from squabbles among themselves, violence rarely occurs. To be sure, the general tone of the colony is conditioned largely by the attitude and personality of the director. Mr. Hondius, a man of wide experience, first as teacher in South Africa, then as director at Veenhuizen, has in ten years reduced the punishments from a daily average of sixty to a daily average of three, through stern and humane treatment of the colonists, and the locating of definite and ample responsibility upon each officer and employee. One prison at the colony has been discontinued, and a second prison is nearly empty. On July 25, I counted four prisoners in cells, being punished as follows:

Colony No. 1, 1 sentence 100 days for accumulated disobedience.

Colony No. 2, 1 sentence 10 days for attempted escape.

Colony No. 2, 1 sentence 6 days for having things unlawfully in his possession.

Colony No. 2, 1 sentence 1 day for disobedience.

Even though the population has fallen from about 3,000 to 1,200, this is an excellent showing.

¹Vergl. Darstellung d. deutschen u. aush. Strafrechts, Special part, II Vol., p. 136, ditto p. 137

Chapter Twelve

GERMAN COMPULSORY WORKHOUSES.

THERE are approximately fifty compulsory workhouses for vagrants and beggars in Germany, of which half are in Prussia. In Prussia these are not state institutions, but county or provincial institutions. The organization of some goes back into the eighteenth century. Outside Prussia the workhouses are state controlled. Most of the workhouses receive not only beggars and vagrants, but often also persons convicted of even very serious crimes. In most of the workhouses there are male and female divisions, and often youths under eighteen years of age are found in these institutions, either partially or wholly separated from adults or lacking such separation.

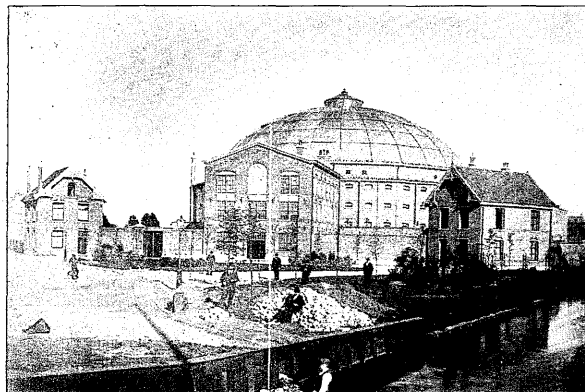
The capacity of the workhouses varies in size from 1,000 to 100. Association during the day is customary, the workhouses thus differentiating themselves markedly from the prisons (Gefaengnisse) and the convict prisons (Zuchthaeuser). Single cells are rarely present in the workhouses, nor is there in general a careful attempt at classification.

The workhouses do not belie their name. The daily program embraces on the average from 11½ to 12 hours in summer and 10½ to 11 hours in winter, a fact that makes the workhouses frequently more dreaded by the offender than the prison. Work is quite vigorously carried on, and agricultural and forestry labor is a prominent feature of many workhouses, a third of the population of many workhouses working in the fields. Women inmates rarely work outside the workhouse, but are occupied in sewing and other domestic branches. The industries for male prisoners are very varied and educative. In almost all institutions the inmates receive very moderate earnings, which are in part withheld until the day of discharge, the remainder being available for canteen purchases.

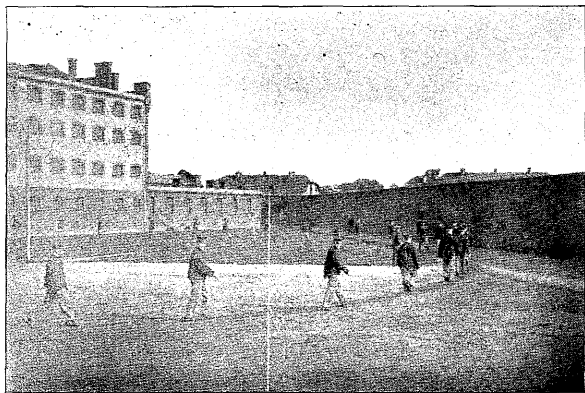
Religious observance is regarded as important, not only on Sundays, but briefly in the morning and in the evening; moreover the chaplains visit occasionally the inmates of their faith.

Punishments are: the withdrawal of privileges, reprimands, reduction of diet, and transfer into the punishment class. Cellular imprisonment is permissible, both ordinary imprisonment in a light cell and imprisonment in a dark cell, generally with plank bed. Both forms of imprisonment may be made severer by reduction of diet to bread and water. Chaining and flogging are occasionally practiced.

The results of governmental efforts to help prisoners after their discharge have proved of little success, according to von Hippel,



State Prison, Haarlem, Holland



Exercise Yard of a German Prison

partly because of the reluctance of released prisoners to seek the aid of discharged prisoners' aid societies, and partly because the ex-prisoners often leave a position thus obtained as soon as the first wages are received.

The imperial German penal code has in the main the following provisions regarding the legal treatment of mendicancy and vagrancy.

The following are subject to imprisonment:

1. A person wandering as a vagabond.
2. A person begging, or who persuades children to beg or who fails to prevent from begging such persons as are under his oversight or control, and who are members of his household.
3. A person who is so addicted to gambling, drinking or idleness that he is forced to require public aid for his own support or for the support of those legally dependent upon him.
4. A prostitute.
5. A person who, receiving charitable aid, refuses to perform proper labor for public authority in return.
6. A person who, having lost his means of support, has not within a time designated by proper authority secured other support, and cannot prove that he has been unable to support himself in spite of his own efforts.
7. A person who, though able to provide support for those legally dependent upon him, refuses to provide such support, with the result that such persons must be aided by the authorities.

The duration of such imprisonment may be up to six weeks. Instead of imprisonment a fine up to 150 marks (\$36) may be imposed. An important feature of the law is that after the sentence of imprisonment is imposed, the convicted person may be sentenced to be placed at the disposition of the provincial police, which through the police court may sentence the offender to a supplementary imprisonment up to two years either in a workhouse or at public works.

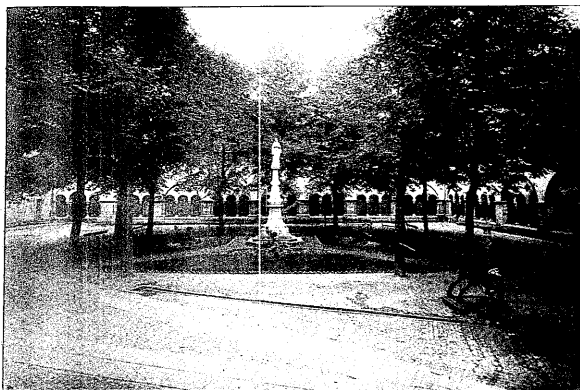
There is no precise definition of vagrancy in the imperial German penal code. Vagrancy in practice is regarded as the state of wandering without work, without means of support and without the intention of working legally. A clearer definition of vagrancy would be, according to von Hippel, "A vagrant is one who wanders illegally and at the expense of others." In short, the vagrant is a professional and penniless parasite.

Nor is the penal code definition of begging more precise. Begging is generally understood as the request for a gift having value, which request must be based upon real or alleged need, and must be directed toward a *strange person*; and the article requested must be for the use of the person requesting the gift or for those dependent upon such person. Begging in time of direct need is not subject to punishment, nor when the person asking alms directs his request to a public authority appointed to bestow relief.

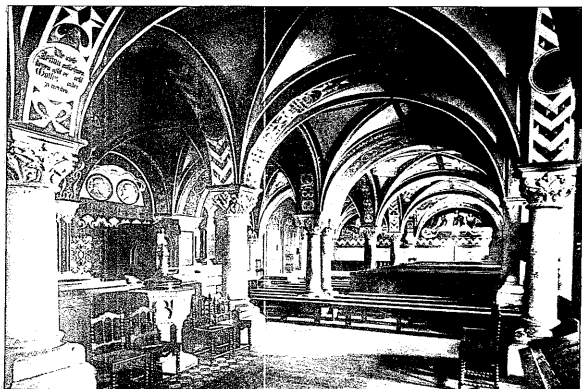
Von Hippel states that there is no unanimity in the various police courts as to the inflictions of the supplementary sentence to the work-

house, in respect either to age nor ability to work. The law is not mandatory that *all* beggars and vagrants shall be after their imprisonment (Haft) remanded in charge of the police authorities; nor is there any rule as to procedure by the police courts in the matter. Far more frequently the provincial court sentences the mendicant or beggar simply to a few days' imprisonment without remand thereafter to the police authorities. Through divided responsibility of courts, the speedy decisions by the judges, and too little investigation of the previous careers and "conditions of servitude" of the defendants, there results this situation, according to von Hippel, that a large proportion of the offenders get into the workhouse only after they have repeatedly been punished with short sentences.

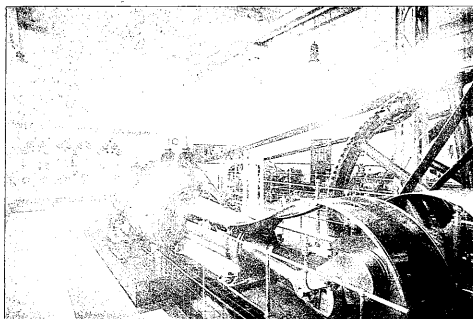
Convicted mendicants and vagrants may be sentenced to the workhouse for from six months to two years, the first time for the minimum period, the length of the sentence increasing proportionally with each further commitment. Under special circumstances the police judge may reduce the sentence to not less than three months.



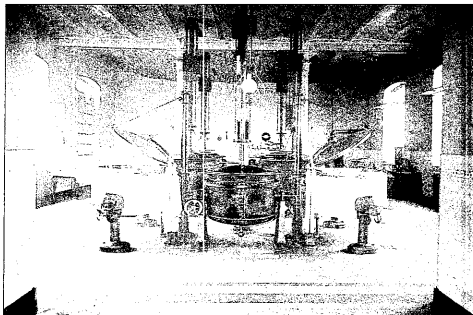
Prison Yard, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany.



Protestant Chapel, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany.



Engine Room, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Kitchen, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany

Chapter Thirteen

RUMMELSBURG, A BERLIN WORKHOUSE

A few miles from the center of Berlin and still within the city limits, is located the municipal workhouse, which in administration differs from the majority of German workhouses in that it is under city management, instead of under county or state control. To a New York visitor it offers especially interesting comparisons with our own workhouse on Blackwell's island.

In acreage it is restricted, as compared with compulsory labor colonies. Where Veenhuizen has some 8000 acres, Rummelsburg has hardly 20 acres. A wall surrounds the buildings,

A City Workhouse. though sufficient acreage exists for a garden of reasonable size. Rummelsburg is a beggar colony, compressed into city dimensions. In area

a vivid contrast to Veenhuizen and Merxplas, it serves as prison for the same classes of offenders — beggars, vagrants and *souteneurs*. Consequently Rummelsburg can answer our question: "How are beggars and vagrants dealt with when a great labor colony is not available?"

The population in the fiscal year 1909-1910 was:

	Men	Women	Total
April 1, 1909.....	1,628	83	1,711
Admissions.....	1,173	105	1,278
Discharges.....	1,361	196	1,457
Died.....	7	3	10
Remaining March 31, 1910.....	1,433	89	1,522

The daily average population for the past ten years has been:

	Men	Women	Total
1900.....	1,107	151	1,258
1901.....	1,128	150	1,278
1902.....	1,600	152	1,752
1903.....	1,660	117	1,777
1904.....	1,694	145	1,839
1905.....	1,849	129	1,978
1906.....	1,685	117	1,802
1907.....	1,369	65	1,434
1908.....	1,403	58	1,461
1909.....	1,478	80	1,558

However, only a part of the inmates are confined at Rummelsburg. The city possesses great sewage disposal plants outside the city, which are manned largely by inmates from Rummelsburg, who are housed in

great barracks, containing dormitories, refectories, overseers' quarters, other rooms, discipline cells, etc.

The average daily population, classified according to location, was as follows in 1909-1910, the year to which all following statistics apply unless otherwise noted:

	Men	Women
Institution, Rummelsburg.....	575	80
Hospital Reinickendorf.....	9	.....
Night-asylum (Berlin).....	3	.....
Sewage disposal plants.....	891	.....
	1,478	80

As indicated in the introductory paragraphs, Rummelsburg, like other German workhouses, serves as place of detention and labor for those sentenced to after-imprisonment from 6 months to 2 years, after the completion of their short imprisonment. In the fiscal year 1909-1910 there were admitted thus 1025 men and 101 women, while 148 men and 4 women were admitted because of recapture or completion of the term of imprisonment.

Within the institution the male inmates work in the shops, the laundry, the bakery, kitchen, woodyard, and as clerks, or attendants in the hospital. Outside, at the sewage disposal plant, the thirteen gangs work under overseers, generally reaching the plants shortly after their admission to Rummelsburg, and remaining at this work until their discharge. The women inmates at Rummelsburg perform the work customarily assigned to their sex in prison.

Sentences are from six months to two years, according to previous prison records. According to the official report of Rummelsburg, "the majority of the inmates are old 'customers' of the institution, who never reform, or who because of social conditions cannot reform and therefore return ever within the walls of their second home in order there to pass two years more. These people, who within the institution generally do their tasks willingly and industriously, lack for the most part strength of character, because of their wretched education. Frequently they leave the institution with the best of intentions to 'make good,' find at times a suitable occupation, and lead for a time a proper and honest life. After some misfortunes or unsuccessful trials they soon fall back into the old ways, beg, wander, and give up to their worst enemy, drink, until the judge returns them to the shelter of the workhouse.

"The *souteneurs* form a distasteful and annoying class, ever plotting escape and ever discontent with enforced labor. It is interesting to note that the other inmates avoid the *souteneurs* as much as possible."

As regards the discharged inmates, the report continues: "Although the reformatory results of the institution are relatively slight, Rummelsburg nevertheless succeeds in forcing the work-shys to

labor for the betterment of the community, which they assuredly do not do 'on the outside.'"

The discharges in 1909-1910 were as follows:

Discharged with residence.....	101
Discharged without residence.....	1,112
Discharged to police or court authorities.....	192
Discharged to hospital or insane hospital.....	9
Discharged to hospital after discharge or release from Rummelsburg.....	33
Died.....	10
	1,457

That many of the inmates are old-timers is graphically shown by the records of previous convictions.

	Men	Women
Korrekionshaft (local jail).....	418	71
Korrekionshaft more than 3 times.....	517	10
Geschaerfte Haft (local jail), more than 10 times.....	290	14
Geschaerfte Haft more than 20 times.....	375	21
Gefaengnis (prison).....	769	54
Zuchthaus (convict prison).....	102	5
Admitted within a year after discharge from institution.....	193	7

The causes of commitment to the institution are, as might be expected, largely mendicancy and vagrancy:

	Men	Women
Vagabondage.....	2	2
Begging.....	658	71
Prostitution.....	309	28
Homelessness.....	55	.....
Souteneurs.....	1,024	101

Comparatively few are discharged on a minimum sentence. The sentence is determinate, the term being fixed by the police judges.

	Men	Women
Up to 6 months.....	131	44
Over 6 months and under 2 years.....	433	47
Two years.....	461	10
	1,025	101

At Veenhuizen the average age of the colonists was said to be not far from 50 years. At Rummelsburg the admissions of persons between 30 and 60 years of age form practically eighty per cent of the admissions.

Age at time of admission:	Men	Women
18 years.....	2	2
19 years.....	5	3

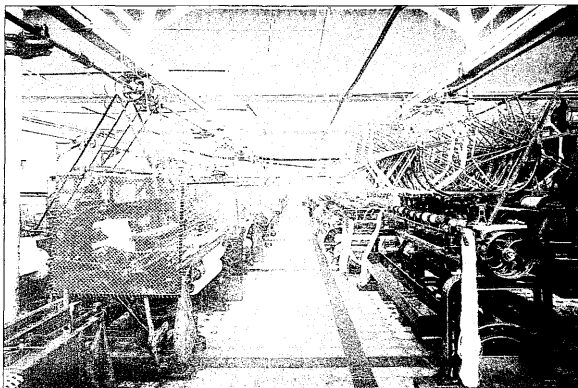
Age at time of admission — <i>Continued.</i>	Men	Women
20 years.....	3	3
21 years.....	.....	2
21 years up to 25.....	45	30
25 years up to 30.....	86	12
30 years up to 40.....	246	13
40 years up to 50.....	300	19
50 years up to 60.....	266	15
60 years up to 70.....	71	3
70 years and over.....	2	.....

The institution keeps certain annual social statistics that throw light on the characteristics of the inmates.

	Men	Women
<i>Birth:</i>		
Legitimate.....	971	96
Illegitimate.....	54	5
<i>Religion:</i>		
Evangelical.....	854	81
Catholic.....	168	20
Jewish.....	2	.....
Other.....	1	.....
<i>Education up to 14 years:</i>		
At home.....	947	86
With strangers.....	78	15
Public institutions.....	.....	.....
<i>Parents:</i>		
Died before inmate was 14 years old:		
Father died.....	115	11
Mother died.....	78	8
Both parents.....	23	6
Stepfather.....	1	.....
Stepmother.....	1	.....
<i>School education:</i>		
None.....	.....	.....
Scanty.....	5	3
Common school.....	1,013	98
High school.....	7	.....
<i>Language:</i>		
German.....	1,016	98
Polish and German.....	7	3
<i>Military:</i>		
Served in.....	94	.....
<i>Conjugal condition:</i>		
Single.....	723	65
Married.....	162	21
Widower.....	74	9
Divorced.....	66	6



Forge Room, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Weaving Shop, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany

Income:	Men	Women
Without.....	1,025	101
<i>Health:</i>		
Able to work.....	1,024	97
Partially able.....	1	4

Analysis of the above figures can be but partially satisfactory, yet it is to be noted (a) that the population is almost entirely Protestant and Catholic; (b) that a considerable proportion, about 5 per cent, acknowledged their birth as illegitimate; (c) that about 20 per cent had lost either one or both parents by their fourteenth year; (d) that the general average of schooling was good, although few (seven in all) had gone beyond the *Volkschule* (common school); (e) that the population was almost entirely German, or at least spoke German, apparently therefore nonforeign or but little mixed with foreigners; (f) that less than 10 per cent had served in the army, an unintelligible fact to the writer in view of compulsory conscription in Germany; (g) that only 5 out of 1126 were even partially incapacitated for work, which is explained by the presence of a hospital adjoining the institution, to which practically all infirm convicted prisoners are sent.

The homogeneous character of the population is undoubtedly one ground for the relatively small proportion of cases of discipline, which amounted to 9.7 per cent with the male inmates and 4.9 per cent with the female inmates.

Turning now to the occupations of the inmates, our chief interest will be to learn not only the variety of occupations and the output in each occupation, but also the relative cost

Occupations. of administration as well as the receipts from the institution's activities. German institutions measure labor by "working days" as well as by the number of persons employed. In explanation of the following figures, it is to be stated that the so-called "earnings" of the inmates are estimated, and are not represented by actual payments of money. Thus, the men working at the sewage disposal farms, are estimated to earn each 40 pfennigs (10 American cents) a day in the seven summer months, while inmates employed in gardening "earn" 70 pfennigs (17½ American cents) a day, etc. The following scale of imputed earnings is of interest:

	Pfennigs ¹
Sewage disposal farms (summer).....	40
Helpers in municipal buildings.....	70
Gardening at orphan asylum.....	70
Piece work, boys shirts.....	25
Piece work, girls shirts.....	15
Laundry, 1 kilogram of washing.....	13
Amounting to daily wage of.....	76
Shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, cabinet makers, machinists (extra) etc..	70

¹One cent=four pfennigs

	Pfennigs ¹
Agricultural work.....	70
Shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, cabinet makers, machinists, etc.....	50
Pickers of bed-feathers, rope, etc., for 1 kilogram bed-feathers.....(marks)	2
For 100 kilograms rope.....(marks)	10

In the last ten years the average daily per capita earnings have been as follows:

	Pfennigs (divide by 4 for American cents)
1909.....	54
1908.....	58
1907.....	56
1906.....	62
1905.....	40
1904.....	39
1903.....	40
1902.....	47
1901.....	56
1900.....	56

50.8 pf.=\$.125

Turning now to the total days' work in the various activities, and also to the imputed earnings, we have:

	DAY'S WORK		EARNINGS	
	Men	Women	Total	Per capita average daily
PAID WORK			Marks (\$23.8)	Pfennigs (4c.)
(1) <i>Outside the Workhouse:</i>				
(a) On the sewage disposal farms				
April to October.....	148,142		59,256	40
(b) For other municipal departments.....	2,374		1,660	70
(c) For officers of orphan asylums and night shelter.....	15		11	70
(2) <i>Inside the Workhouse:</i>				
(a) Sewing.....		212	99	47
(b) Laundry.....	7,380		35,577	76
(c) Wood chopping.....	22,307		6,408	29
(d) Other inside work.....	4,999		3,488	70
(e) Farm work.....	1,406		984	70
(f) For officers in the shops.....	5,332		2,095	50
(g) Picking of bed-feathers.....	9,162		565	6
(h) Oakum picking.....	6,874		81	1

¹One cent=four pfennigs

UNPAID WORK	DAY'S WORK		EARNINGS	
	Men	Women	Total	Per capita average daily
(1) On the sewage disposal farms, November-March.....	102,113			
In the municipal night shelter.....	961			
(2) Laborers and artisans.....	32,399			
Gardeners.....	1,393			
Kitchen workers.....	12,887			
Sewing and mending.....		18,201		
Laundry workers.....	7,429			
Domestic work including clerks, hookbinders, attendants, watchmen, foremen, etc.....	37,437			
Cooks and domestic workers.....	26,531			

The earnings above mentioned (Marks 75,798) are largely imputed earnings. In reality the institution and its sewage disposal plants are a comparatively heavy expense to the City of

Earnings and Gratuities. Berlin. Before turning to the annual financial statement of the Rummelsburg workhouse, let us note the debit and credit accounts relating to the gratuities paid or allotted to the inmates.

In the year 1909-1910 the following gratuities were allotted (I use the word gratuities to differentiate these allotments from the imputed earnings).

Not paid out of workhouse funds:	Marks
For work on the sewage disposal farm.....	28,099
Other work outside institution.....	424
Other work inside institution.....	456
Work for officers of the workhouse.....	539
Paid from workhouse funds:	
Work on bakery of workhouse.....	324
Work on farm and garden.....	140
Other work in workhouse.....	11,972
	41,956
Add sums received from other prisons or departments on account of inmates.....	7,388
	49,344

Expenditures in favor of inmates:	Marks
Additional food.....	10,355
Stamps, etc.....	123
Military papers and passes.....	269
Fines for damaged or destroyed articles.....	1,613
Clothing for time of discharge.....	3,023
Sundries.....	398
Payments at discharge.....	33,129
	*48,914

Definitely, therefore, on behalf of the inmates there are spent yearly approximately \$12,000, of which nearly three-fourths is given the inmates on their release, and practically all of which is considered earned by the inmates. Since in 1909-1910, 1457 persons were released, the average amount per person given on release was about 33.6 marks or about \$8.00, a fair sum for German conditions.

This city workhouse of Berlin is far from a paying investment financially. The budget of the workhouse for 1911 showed the following probable receipts and expenditure on an estimated average population of 2147 (including 686 persons in two attached hospitals under the same administration as that of the workhouse):

	Marks
Receipts (estimated).....	297,100
Expenditures (estimated).....	870,000
	Deficit (to be met by city)..... 572,900

The budget figures do not permit a ready division of expense between workhouse and hospitals. The per capita per diem cost in 1909-1910 of the following categories will be instructive.

	Marks
Workhouse inmates, ablebodied.....	0.97
Incapacitated persons in hospital, not ill.....	1.41
Ill persons in hospital.....	1.79

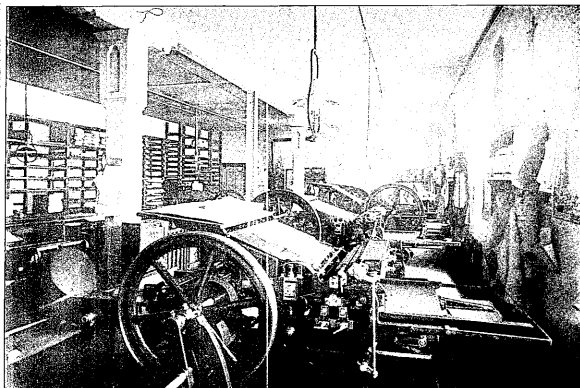
It seems probable that if the workhouse administration were not burdened with the expenses of the hospitals, and contained only able-bodied inmates, its annual expenditures would not be more than 20,000 marks above its receipts. On the other hand, the hospitals receive a large number of the broken-down, sick and incapacitated offenders that with us would be sent to the workhouse.

In short, the Berlin workhouse is a correctional institution where all able-bodied inmates are required to render a reasonable amount of work; where the terms of imprisonment are sufficiently long "to be felt," and where an average daily population of between 1400 and 1500 is maintained at an approximate total annual expense of from

(*) The pennings in connection with each amount have not been given in the list. Hence the sum total seems slightly larger than the sum of the separate amounts given.



Bag and Paper Shop, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Printing Shop, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany

\$50,000 to \$75,000, including the costs of necessary improvements, interest, etc.

Turning now to the daily life of the Berlin workhouse inmates, we find a long day and an active day, with a dietary far below that of the average American prison or penitentiary. The days program is as follows:

	Summer, workdays
Rising hour.....	4-45
Work.....	5-6
Breakfast.....	6-6.15
Leisure.....	6.15-6.30
Work.....	6.30-12
Dinner.....	12
Work.....	1-5
Supper.....	5.15-5.30
Work.....	5.30-7.30
Bed.....	7.30
Locking up.....	7-45

In short, twelve and one-half hours' work, forty-five minutes for meals, one hour and fifteen minutes of leisure, and nine hours and fifteen minutes of bedtime. A program in which the work feature, if carried out, is pre-eminent.

On Sunday the inmates rise an hour later, have church in the morning and reading aloud in the afternoon, and go to bed at 5-45 in the evening; certainly an uneventful Sunday.

In winter the inmates rise at 5-45 instead of 4-45, but in other respects follow the summer week-day routine. On Saturday evenings the workday ends at 6-30 instead of 7-30.

To one who has previously visited Veenhuizen or Merxplas, the Rummelsburg workhouse is not particularly interesting. Industries within the institution are not very varied. The modern equipment of kitchen and laundry is noteworthy. The *souteneurs* are used in the laundry, partly because it is considered more laborious and disagreeable work, and partly because active persons are needed. The bakery and laundry supply the needs of several neighboring charitable institutions. Among the industries at the workhouse are the picking of feathers, oakum picking, cobbling, carpentry, book-binding, tailoring, gardening, matmaking. But the heavy work is done on the sewage disposal farms.

The population of the workhouse on the day of my visit, August 2, 1911, was as follows:

	Men	Women
In dormitories.....	404	40
Hospital.....	52	17
Clerks.....	10	.....
Bakery.....	14	.....
Kitchen.....	10	.....

	Men	Women
Under arrest.....	4	.....
Isolated.....	11	.....
Sewage disposal plants.....	696	.....
	1,200	57

What are the results of the Berlin workhouse? No greater apparently than at Veenhuizen or Merxplas. Scanty diet, long work hours, a fearful monotony of existence, final discharge—and in the majority of cases an eventual return of the inmate. Would better diet alter the proportion of recidivists? It would probably increase the number. Would more varied trades equip the men for self-support? The men are, most of them, old and under-willed. Is the regime too severe? The director is an enthusiastic, warm-hearted, sincere man with the interest of his charges at heart.

What can be done? The answer, echoing down from decades and generations of experience—for the Rummelsburg workhouse was founded by Frederick the Great—is: Prevent the young man from becoming a beggar or a vagrant.

In a separate small room an old man was cutting out the parts of institutional suits. "Let's see the old tailor," said the director. The door was unlocked, and the aged worker stood at his task. I asked him this question: "If you were a judge and had to decide what to do with vagabonds, would you send them here?" "I would." "Can you cure or reform the men who have taken to the road?" "You can't." "Then what society has to do is to lock them up repeatedly?" "That's it. And remember this—the only time to cure fellows like me is—when we're boys. When we get along later, we haven't the grit to fight any longer to be honest and industrious. So we get sent back here."

Chapter Fourteen

BRAUWEILER, A COUNTY OR PROVINCIAL WORKHOUSE

A thousand years ago a German count Eberhard of the Rhine caused a vast territory west of the city of Cologne to be denuded of trees. Then, near the city, he established a little settlement called Brauweiler. The count's son married at Brauweiler an emperor's daughter in the village church. This was in 988 A. D. The legend relates that the happy bridal pair, wandering into the castle yard, planted a mulberry tree taken from the bridal bouquet.

Nearly a thousand years have passed. The earthly remains of the royal bride and her husband lie beneath the stones of the church, while the mulberry tree has through ten centuries flourished as a guarded and powerful tree in the cloister court. And where once royalty was

History.

wedded, and where through centuries the Benedictine monks lived and worked within monastery walls, here now the unhappy "brothers of the highway," the beggars and the vagabonds of the Rhine province of today, labor and live.

For the old monastery has become a prison. The old church, rich with valuable paintings and frescoes, has become the workhouse chapel, and beneath the vaulted arches of more than one corridor where it is easy to imagine the Benedictine brothers once eating in silence, now the mendicant and the vagabond sit at long tables eating their scanty fare.

Forcibly indeed was I struck at Brauweiler with three things: the wonderful historic surroundings of the cloister-converted workhouse; the remarkable productivity of the institution; and, in the director, Herr von Jarotsky, the embodiment of a double personality, that of a devout lover of the ancient arts of painting and architecture and that of an enterprising business man, who prides himself on his workhouse output hardly less than upon his extensive knowledge of the thousand-year history of the Brauweiler community.

Not every country or province could turn a tumble-down monastery into an up-and-coming factory, manned by the cast-off work-shys of the land, yet at Brauweiler more than in any other one institution on the continent, did I see the wheels of industry go round.

We have in New York state four mainly idle county penitentiaries. Brauweiler in the Rhine province is a county penitentiary. Let us study it, and we can learn much about what county penitentiaries can produce.

Brauweiler is reached from Cologne by a half hour's railroad journey, followed by a carriage ride of two miles across a prairie-like plain billowing with grain, the product of the workhouse. The land, after a thousand years of often intensive cultivation, is still remarkably

fertile. The village of Brauweiler clusters about the old monastery church. The workhouse buildings are numerous, but largely within the original monastery enclosure. The motto of the workhouse might well be: "Made in Brauweiler." Not only have the buildings been renovated and new buildings erected by the inmates, but artistic restorations of the directors' room, of the superintendent's room, of the Protestant chapel and other historical rooms have been done by the inmates under direction. Let us note at the outset the financial statement of the Brauweiler workhouse for 1908, and the budget for 1911.

	1908	1911
	Marks	Marks
<i>Receipts:</i>		
Care of county and local poor, dependent children and insane.....	86,130	74,460
Farm and stock.....	36,000	36,000
Industries.....	259,650	335,000
Store.....	29,000	34,000
Mill and bakery.....	97,000	15,000
Sundries.....	5,520	4,040
Subsidy from provincial government.....	163,000	215,000
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	590,000	714,000
<i>Expenditures:</i>		
Salaries and wages.....	218,587	261,622
Food.....	210,000	259,000
Clothing.....	45,000	50,000
Bedding, etc.....	12,000	12,000
Laundry and cleaning.....	8,500	9,500
Implements.....	9,500	11,500
Heat.....	33,700	44,400
Light.....	9,100	10,700
Water.....	4,000	2,800
Medicine.....	3,100	3,400
Church and school.....	3,650	3,050
Upkeep of building.....	18,000	18,000
Sundries.....	15,863	28,028
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	590,000	714,000

In brief the institution (including also a department for dependent and delinquent children, a poorhouse and an insane hospital) was run in 1908 at a net expense of 163,000 marks, or approximately \$38,974, or at a daily per capita expense of 36 pfennigs, or 9 cents. In 1911, the net expense was 215,000 marks (\$51,170), a daily per capita expense of 42 pfennigs, or 10 cents.

To perceive more clearly what this means we must note that the department for the insane, town and county poor and for dependent children were but slightly, if at all, industrially productive. Without

these "appendages" the workhouse itself might well become self-supporting. The population on April 1, 1911, was as follows:

	Male	Female
Workhouse.....	1,118	191
Capacity of workhouse.....	1,500	300

We find in Brauweiler as in other similar correctional institutions two classes of inmates: (a) professional beggars and vagrants, many of them of feeble mentality and most of them weakened by alcoholic excesses. The average age of this class at Brauweiler is 45 years. They are easy to control, and work willingly and industriously. (b) The *souteneurs*, the despicable male creatures who live upon the earnings of prostitutes; they are mainly young, strong men, protesting against the compulsion to work, plotting escape and maintaining in general a vicious, malicious attitude toward the purpose of the workhouse.

The term of imprisonment is from six months to two years as in Berlin. The average length of imprisonment at Brauweiler is fourteen months.

The inmates work almost entirely in association, at the industries and on the farm. There is a noticeable contrast between the attitude of the Prussian prison and of the Prussian workhouse in respect to freedom of intercourse and of work. The prison lays stress on the rule of silence, separate employment and separate cells. The workhouse, recognizing that most of its inmates are not dangerous to society, allows comparative freedom of speech, allows work in association, but lays far more emphasis than do the prisons on work. Many men much prefer the prison to the workhouse. The inmates work therefore in common in workrooms by day and sleep in dormitories, which are not in general divided into cells or cubicles, although there were 138 iron cubicles for men and 42 iron cubicles that were utilized for inmates whose habits would tend to demoralize or corrupt the other inmates.

At the time of my visit in August, 1911, an isolation disciplinary building with separate cells was being constructed by inmate labor to accommodate 200 unruly or perverse inmates, as well as those whom it may be necessary to isolate because of contagious disease. This building will cost about \$125,000.

In general the inmates are fairly trustworthy as regards both work and conduct. Window gratings and locks are not of prison strength

and some of the windows being wired instead of barred. Little care is taken to guard the individual inmate during the day. The work in the fields, occupying a large proportion of the inmates, is supervised by guards without weapons. The men for the farm work are chosen from those who have shown themselves more "trustworthy." Escapes from inside the workhouse are rare, but men in the fields make frequent attempts, the temptations of "earth and field and sky"

being too strong. As in Veenhuizen and Merxplas, the escapes are not taken very seriously by the director of the workhouse or the government, for the escaped inmate is rarely a menace to society, and he is generally soon caught and brought back. Such inmates lose the "costs" of their escape from the money they have earned, and if the detention period does not amount to two years they are detained for some months beyond the time of their original sentence. No corporal punishment is permitted.

The inmates rise at half past four in the summer, in winter at 5.30 and go to bed at 7.15 p. m. The daily routine is similar to that at Rummelsburg. The actual work period is in summer 10 hours, in winter 9 hours. The dietary is similar to that of the prisons, and the food is supposed to be sufficient for a vigorous, able-bodied man. No meat is provided, yet, according to official report, the physical condition of a majority of the inmates is satisfactory. Sick diet is of course provided as needed, and special diet is provided for special cases; and as a reward for good conduct and special industriousness, the latter diet containing three times a week 150 grammes of meat.

All inmates not occupied in the open air must exercise a half hour a day in the open air. Bathing is compulsory at least every two weeks.

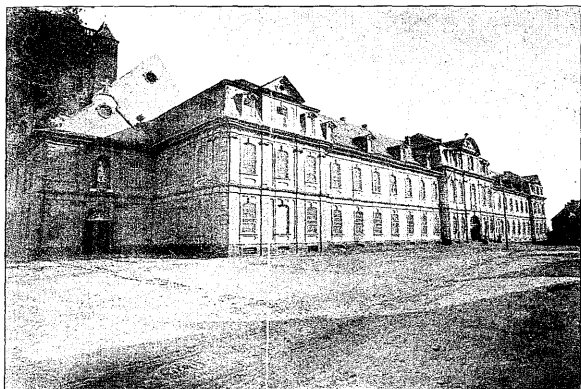
The hospital is modern. There are 10 male wards with 96 beds, and 5 female wards with 26 beds. There is a house physician trained in psychiatry. The hospital had an average daily population in 1910 of 27 men and 5 women. There were during the year 13 deaths of male inmates, and 2 deaths of female inmates.

The official report of the institution states that the clothing of the inmates consists of a complete cloth suit and a complete linen suit (summer). School instruction is given in common school branches, and the workhouse has a library of 7500 volumes. There are five religious services during the week.

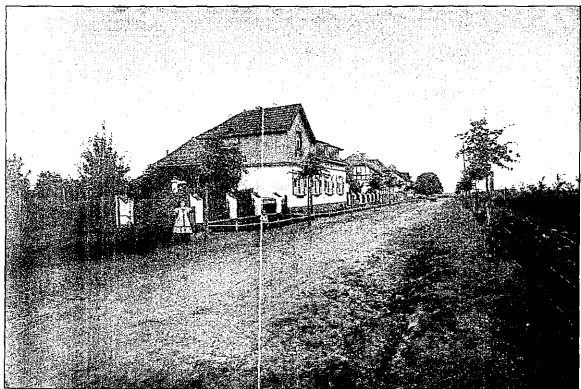
But it is the industrial work and products of Brauweiler that command particularly the attention and admiration of the visitor. The

institution aims to carry on as varied industries as possible, not only to give the inmates larger chances in occupations already familiar to them, but also to offer as little competition as possible to free labor in any one branch. Consequently—and very exceptionally so far as my European visit showed—machinery and electric power are used in manufacture to the same degree as is customary in the world outside.

The workhouse supplies primarily the needs of the government of the Rhine province. Many of the heavier or coarser tasks of the province are executed by the inmates, such as the construction of provincial institutions, as well as work on roads, in fields and in forest and on other improvements. All equipment of public institutions, so far as possible, is manufactured by the workhouse. Hospitals, juvenile protectories, reform schools, deaf and dumb schools and blind asylums requisition equipment from the workhouse. This kind of outside work and other work for the government is done by preference.



Exterior, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Officers' and Employees' Cottages, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany

Only when orders are slack does the workhouse, it is claimed, do work under contract for private parties.

About 450 inmates are constantly at work outside the workhouse in building or in work on the soil. Particular attention has been given for some years to the improvement of a neighboring heath. During the summer months 18 gangs (12 men and an overseer to a gang) are used on the neighboring roads. Two special road-wagons are utilized for each gang, one wagon serving for kitchen and dining room, the other for sleeping quarters. The wagons are drawn by one or two horses. The mentally incompetent inmates are used when possible in the workhouse brickyard. Within the workhouse no contractors are allowed. The workhouse buys all the raw material and sells all its finished products.

There follows now a list of some of the articles manufactured in quantity in a recent year. While the individual items may not be

**An Impressive
List.**

of interest to all, the total amounts of the various articles manufactured will no doubt be impressive, especially when it is remembered that these are largely the products of the labor of beggars and vagrants.

Carpenter Shop

- 34 tables
- 102 cupboards
- 24 benches
- 500 metres looking glass frames
- 1 complete outfit for winter school Bergheim
- 1 complete equipment for a children's home
- 1 room furnished in oak
- 44 church benches

many mirrors, sofas, commodes, chairs and stools, wooden floors, windows, doors for director's home and insane hospital. Also carpentry work on two office buildings.

Weaving:

750	metres cloth for shirts and spreads
4,040	" " gray aprons
6,030	" " sacks
4,700	" " table cloths
11,000	" " towels
1,500	" " napkins
70,000	" " shirts and bedspreads
3,300	" " kitchen towels
2,500	" " cleaning towels
1,800	" " sail cloth
7,900	" " drilling for mattresses
15,000	" " drilling for garments
7,000	" " woollen cloth for clothes
5,800	" " nightclothes
3,200	" " aprons
7,500	" " beds

Weaving—Continued:

750	metres cloth for shirts and spreads
800	" " neckties
3,200	" " handkerchiefs
1,400	" " curtains
13,500	" " padding
3,500	" " undergarments
1,000	" " bandages
4,000	" " twine
4,000	" " cloth
2,400	" " cloth
6,000	" " gray cloth
2,500	" " woolen coverlids
2,500	" " flannel shirts
225	" " packing bags

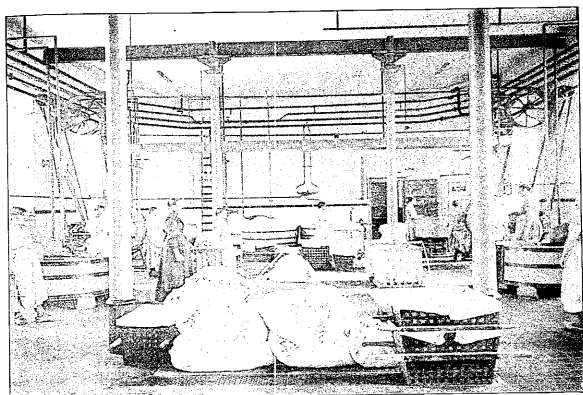
The value of the products was 250,000 marks.

Iron work, foundry, etc.:

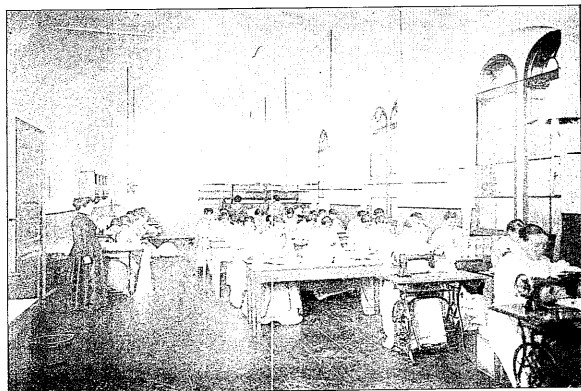
450	iron beadsteads
85	tables for sick room
33	washstands
300	wire mattresses
100,000	tree holders
	Several dozen each of milk cans, ice cans, pails, etc.
	All iron work for the insane hospital, such as window gratings, weighing 15,000 kilograms.

Tailor shop, pieces:

1,430	coats cloth
1,380	trousers cloth
850	vests cloth
1,200	coats
860	trousers
500	vests
1,450	underdrawers
40	overcoats
550	caps
9,500	shirts
325	garments, woolen
270	underskirts
250	undergarments, women
1,650	aprons
660	nightgowns
3,500	neckties and handkerchiefs
1,650	bedclothes
900	bed coverlids
1,850	pillow cases
600	straw sacks
3,600	pairs of socks and stockings
750	towels
6,000	tablecloths



Laundry, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Sewing Room, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany

Cobblers' shop:

6,700 pairs of shoes soled and patched
3,500 pairs of shoes or slippers manufactured

Mattress shop:

340 mattresses
385 pillows

Paper industry:

For contractors, envelopes and paper bags to value of 48,000 marks

Printing shop:

2,575,000 formulas
Many smaller jobs

Bookbinding:

Books for provincial government
Many other smaller industries, not cited in detail.

In the women's division 80 females are occupied with domestic duties, sewing and laundry work. The laundry work of about 600 private residences is handled, many customers living in Cologne. In six years the earnings of the laundry have met the cost of machines costing 53,000 marks.

It is interesting to note the attitude of the administration toward the financial value of the inmates' work, and toward the earnings to be allowed the inmates. The labor efficiency of the inmates does not equal that of the average free laborer; therefore the estimated value of the inmates' labor is lower, a further reduction of 15 per cent to 20 per cent being made for the province and its institutions. The average daily earning capacity of the inmates for the workhouse is 1.09 marks (26 cents), a sum considerably higher than the per capita per diem earnings of the prisoners in the state prison. In 1907 the earnings of the workhouse through the labor of prisoners amounted to 344,975 marks.

The industrious inmates receive a daily gratuity of from 3 to 15 pfennigs ($\frac{3}{4}$ cents to 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents), a part of which may be used for the purchase of supplementary food, for the support of their families and for the purchase of additional clothing. The larger portion of the prisoner's gratuities is saved up for the time of discharge, a part of the amount saved being given to the inmate on release, and the remainder to the prisoners' aid society that is to aid the inmate.

Other productive activities of the workhouse were in a recent year the following:

Bakery:

475,000 kilograms of bread baked

Mill:

230,000 pounds of wheat ground
670,000 pounds of rye ground

Gas:

All gas generated in the gas plant of the workhouse

Electricity:

Generated in the workhouse

Heat:

Generated by central heating plant of workhouse

Water:

Obtained from artesian wells belonging to workhouse

Farms:

Very fertile land of 59½ hectares (149 acres), a third of which is rented to officers of the workhouse, while another third is pasture land. Rye, wheat, hay, potatoes, beets, and other vegetables are raised. The stock consisted on April 1, 1911, mainly of 218 pigs, 18 cows, 10 horses and 85 hens. The net profit from the farm and stock in 1907 was 34,325 marks.

What results does Brauweiler achieve? What percentage of reformations are recorded, and of restoration to industrial life? Are results more gratifying than at Mierxplas, Veenhuizen, or Rummelsburg?

I quote from a recent official report. "Though detention in the workhouse rarely has noticeable results, this arises from the fact that in most of the inmates the tendency to vagas bondage is so deeply rooted that even two year-of confinement are not sufficient to overcome the trait. Most of the discharged men soon fall back

into vagabondage voluntarily or under the influence of their old companions. One important cause of recidivism is in many cases advanced age, as well as physical and mental weakness. Alcohol plays an important part in many instances. Prisoners' aid societies can in some instances achieve results, but frequently the men will not take the places secured by the societies, or soon give the employment up.

"Although the reformatory and educational influences of the workhouse cannot be regarded as very effective, it is nevertheless of importance that the workhouse does remove from the highway a large proportion of those people who cost society many thousand marks annually through their vagrant life; furthermore, the workhouse occupies them in a manner useful to the community in general. This is the significance of the Brauweiler workhouse."

Chapter Fifteen

GERMAN VOLUNTARY LABOR COLONIES

NEAR Bielefeld, an important manufacturing city of central Prussia, is the thousand-acre voluntary labor colony of Wilhelmsdorf, founded in 1882 by Pastor von Bodelschwingh, a remarkable constructive philanthropist, known for his good works among men throughout the German empire. At Bielefeld a

A Voluntary Labor Colony.

veritable town of philanthropic institutions has arisen in the last thirty years, and the voluntary labor colony, some half-dozen miles distant from the city, is but one of the undertakings inspired and carried through by him. This colony is specially significant as being the first of thirty-six similar colonies, not for the compulsory detention of vagrants and beggars, but for the voluntary entrance and reception of the stranded and indigent "brothers of the highway" of whom there were in the early eighties of the nineteenth century in Germany so many as to be a veritable plague.

The voluntary labor colonies of Germany have had a religious origin, and their organized and systematic treatment of the brothers of the highway has been largely forced upon the colonies by the world-wide ingenuity of the professional penniless idler in getting something besides sympathy for nothing.

There is much confusion in American minds regarding the difference between German compulsory labor colonies and German voluntary labor colonies. To German compulsory labor colonies, like Rummelsburg and Brauweiler, inmates are committed by the courts, and are held as prisoners. To German voluntary labor colonies come wanderers of their own will, and leave very largely as they will. The German compulsory labor colonies or workhouses are state or provincial institutions; the voluntary labor colonies are private organizations, subsidized in various amounts by public funds.

I visited Wilhelmsdorf on Sunday, August 6, 1911. A gentleman from Bielefeld, whom I joined on the two-mile walk from the railroad station to the colony, was going to visit his son, picknicking for a week with a group of schoolmates at this cluster of charitable buildings and institutions on the heath, the heath itself on both sides of the highway having been reclaimed during

thirty years by colonists. The colony itself is Wilhelmsdorf, not exclusively for wanderers. A home for epileptics, another for insane poor, another for inebriates, and still another for inebriates able to pay something for their care and rest-cure, were a part of the colony. The labor colony started the settlement; other institutions for the unfortunate and afflicted classes have been added. The layout of the colony is most attractive, resembling Veenhuizen in Holland, although much smaller

in area. When the colony was founded in 1882, there was only one road through the forest; now the district has been fully opened up by the roads built by the colonists.

In the comparatively brief limits of my report, I cannot take up in detail the administration of this single colony of Wilhelmsdorf, but must rather cite important generalizations regarding the place of voluntary labor colonies in the treatment of vagrancy and mendicancy in Germany. No better authority can be quoted than the president of the union of German voluntary labor colonies, von Massow, who in September 1908, after an intimate administrative experience of over fifteen years, gave a careful history of the movement. I quote from his facts and statistics, and also from various files of the "Wanderer," the official monthly journal of the above mentioned Union.

There were at the end of 1910 thirty-six labor colonies, with a total population on December 31st of 4,707 persons. The following table shows important admission and population statistics.

Admissions in all colonies since opening of first colony in 1882 226,935
Admissions in all colonies in 1910 12,303

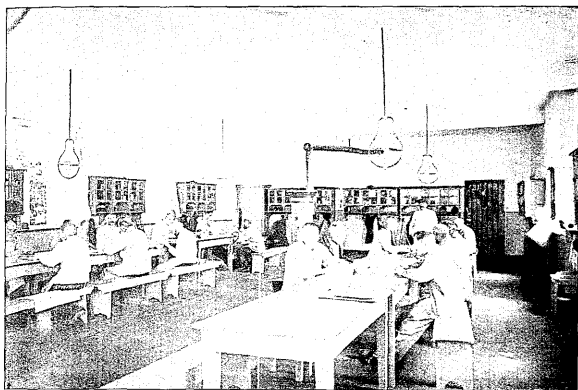
	1910	1909	1908	1907
Admissions.	12,303	12,878	12,587	9,856
	(Nov.)	(Nov.)	(Oct.)	(Nov.)
Maximum monthly admissions.	1,296	1,301	1,442	1,252
	(Dec.)	(Feb.)	(Apr.)	(Mar.)
Minimum monthly admissions.	889	807	894	648
Average monthly admissions.	1,025	1,073	1,048	822
Beds in colonies, December 31st.	4,888	4,919	4,687	4,703
Lowest population in year.	3,350	3,412	3,089	2,338

The labor colonies did not spring up over night, but developed through the incentive of successful, or apparently necessary, institutions already established. The dates of the founding of the labor colonies follow:

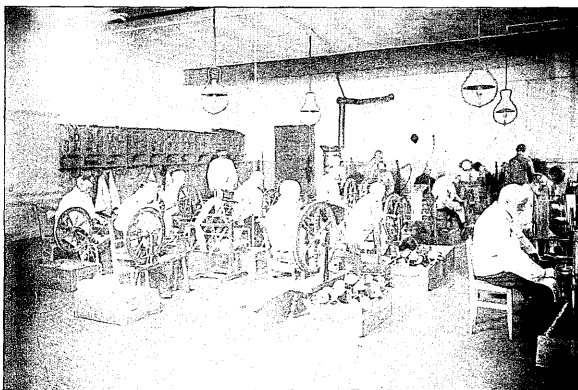
1882.	1 colony.	1894.	1 colony.
1883.	6 colonies.	1897.	1 colony.
1884.	4 colonies.	1898.	1 colony.
1885.	2 colonies.	1899.	2 colonies.
1886.	4 colonies.	1900.	1 colony.
1888.	4 colonies.	1902.	1 colony.
1889.	1 colony.	1905.	2 colonies.
1891.	2 colonies.	1908.	1 colony.
1892.	2 colonies.		

No colony has been discontinued as a failure. The network of colonies, except one gap between Hamburg and Kolburg, stretches over the entire German empire.

The fundamental purpose of the colonies is, of course, to be a haven for the unfortunate and penniless wanderer without employ-



Paper Bag Shop, Brauweiler Almshouse, Germany



Spinning Shop, Brauweiler Almshouse, Germany

ment. The colony differs from the relief station or the friendly inn in that the latter institutions are for distinctly temporary assistance "along the road," so to speak, while the colony should theoretically serve as a place not only of recuperation to the "brother of the highway" but also of industrial rehabilitation, should the brother elect to stay long enough.

Speaking as of the last day of December, 1910, the thirty-six colonies embraced a total of 6,804 hectares (16,812 acres) of own property, and 676 hectares (1,670 acres) of rented property. On August 15, 1909, the colonies possessed a total of 754 buildings and 14,750 animals. The insurance valuation of the properties was four million marks, approximately one million dollars.

On August 15, 1910, there were

Officers.....	183
Other employees.....	88
Women employees.....	69
Members of families of officers and employees.....	282
Total.....	
Non-colonists.....	622
Colonists.....	3,421
Pensioners.....	90

Many of the farms can be regarded as models for the vicinity. The neighboring peasants are often astonished at the products and the fertility of the farms, and find the stock also excellent.

Seeking to answer at once the general question "What have the colonies accomplished?" President von Massow says, "This, that

except perhaps in the months of December and January, or in other words, when the labor market is not wretched, a chance to work can be found for every destitute man who wishes to work, so that he is not forced to beg or to revert to prison. The proof of this lies in the fact of the greatly differing conditions in which the colonists of twenty-five years ago found themselves, in comparison with their present conditions. At that time the great bulk of colonists came to us in rags and with vermin. Nowadays they do not wait to get into this condition, but come earlier. The chance is thus provided for them to return to a regular and decent life, after accustoming themselves in the colony to an orderly life and to the renunciation of liquor. After having remained at the colony for some time, they leave dressed in a decent suit of clothes and with as much money as they really need. Not only the 'brothers of the highway' come to us, but also those who are temporarily without means, and discharged prisoners, and also the half-invalids. For these latter classes our colonies are of the greatest value."

Turning again now to statistics for 1910 and previous years, we find that less than fifty per cent of the colonists were there for the first time, the percentage of new comers in 1910 being 38.6 per cent.

ADMITTED	1910	%	1909	%	1908	%	1907	%	Per cent for four years
1st time.....	4,742	38.6	5,503	42.4	5,675	45.2	3,967	40.3	41.8
2d time.....	2,548	20.7	2,515	19.6	2,447	19.4	1,775	17.9	19.5
3d time.....	1,445	11.7	1,423	10.9	1,345	10.7	1,152	11.6	11.2
4th time.....	925	7.5	928	7.3	835	6.7	799	8.0	7.3
5th time.....	547	4.3	583	4.6	588	4.7	532	5.4	4.8
6th time.....	461	3.8	454	3.5	407	3.1	374	3.7	3.4
7th time.....	293	2.4	292	2.4	288	2.3	297	3.1	2.5
Over 7 times.....	1,342	1.0	1,200	9.3	1,001	7.9	953	10.0	9.5
Total.....	12,303	100%	12,878	100%	12,587	100%	9,856	100%	100%

Facts as to "first time in colony," and subsequent times, must necessarily be gathered from the colonists' own assertions, fortified or disproved by such facts as the individual colony may command. Probabilities are that the number of "more times than one" is much larger than appears from the tables.

The colonies receive every one not absolutely incapacitated that presents himself, with no questions asked as to past life. He may go to work at once, and may leave when he wants to, unless he has (as in most cases) signed a contract to remain for a definite time. At Wilhelmsdorf the minimum contract is for two months. The colonies being founded for the permanent moral improvement of the men, have naturally a Christian basis, and they pay special attention to the *confessional* needs of their inmates. The record of length of time spent by the men at the colony is often a discouraging one. As seemingly everywhere else in the world, a great part of the wandering class will recover physically to some extent without a corresponding moral recovery. As a result we find the statistics of the labor colonies regarding length of stay as follows:

PRESENT IN COLONIES DEC. 31	1910	%	1909	%	1908	%	1907	%
Under 2 months.....	1,978	42.	1,870	38.6	1,926	39.3	2,087	51.3
2-4 months.....	1,107	23.5	1,252	25.8	1,452	29.6	911	22.4
4-6 months.....	574	12.2	608	14.3	628	12.8	426	10.4
6-12 months.....	586	12.5	668	12.5	553	11.3	387	9.5
Over 1 year.....	462	9.8	423	8.8	344	7.0	259	6.4
Total.....	4,707	100%	4,849	100%	4,903	100%	4,070	100%

Evidently, from the above figures, less than one man in ten stays in a colony during even one year. From three to five out of every ten colonists have been at any one time of count less than two months at the colony. Yet, if vagrancy or mendicancy is to be cured, a detention period of considerable length is necessary, if cure can be effected at all. The deduction is obvious. *The colonies neither cure the individual vagrant or beggar in general, nor do they withdraw for any extended period the wanderers from off the highway.*

On the other hand, they serve as great "catch-alls," temporary havens of shelter for the friendless and homeless, and their inmates are not of a vicious class. Men must come sober to the colonies or at least stay sober after arrival. No alcohol is allowed within the colonies, and any cases of insubordination are dealt with by discharge at short notice. In the twenty-five years there has been no case of serious insurrection in a labor colony.

The ages of the colonists show a maturity that probably exceeds by considerable that of the American "brother of the highway." Incidentally we should note that the American highway is generally the railway, and that the agility of youth is required to jump successfully the freights. Bearing in mind that the American peregrinating tramp is generally supposed to be less than thirty years of age, we compare the ages of the German colonists.

AGES OF COLONISTS	1910	1909	1908	1907	Per cent for four years
Under 15.....	1	1	4	2	.....
15 or 16.....	18	29	27	23	.2
17 to 20.....	527	645	578	515	4.8
21 to 30.....	2,166	2,350	2,360	1,712	18.
31 to 50.....	6,380	6,655	6,617	5,141	52.1
51 to 60.....	2,458	2,489	2,379	1,926	19.4
61 to 70.....	687	633	573	494	5.0
Over 70.....	66	70	49	43	.5

Only twenty-two per cent of the colonists are under thirty years of age, while one in every two is between thirty and fifty years old. The colonies obviously do not take any large number of the extremely old. The general categories of colonists are, according to von Massow:

1. Seasonal laborers (mainly of the building trades).
2. Persons often punished for mendicancy and vagrancy. They come to the colonies mainly to get their certificate of "work done," thereby avoiding arrest when they wander further.
3. Discharged prisoners. Out of 8,679 colonists entering between October, 1906, and September 30, 1907, 443, or 5 per cent, were from prison.

4. The principal category is those who are limited in physical ability, that is, more or less handicapped. They furnish the backbone of the colony workers.

And now comes the especially important point. Von Massow says: "The great mass of the population of the highways will have nothing to do with the colonies, because at the colonies they must work, and there is no alcohol there!"

Of those who do come, the laborers predominate, about four in ten giving that as occupation. The great bulk of the colonists claim to be single, the proportion of married men to single in the colonies in 1910 being one in eighteen. About one in ten claims to be either separated or widower.

In 1910, out of 16,201 applicants for admission to the colonies, 3,898 were refused admission. This is practically one in every five applications, showing that considerable discretion is used. The causes for refusal were the following:

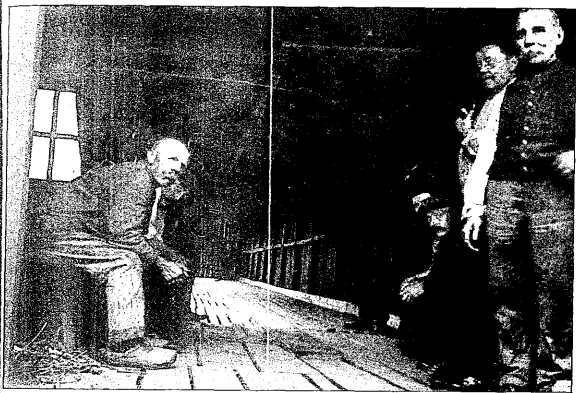
Refused admission —

Because of overcrowded condition.	1,244
Applicants not belonging to district.	634
Too young.	46
Too old.	82
Ill.	172
Incapable of working.	75
Drink.	47
On the black list.	179
Other reasons.	1,419

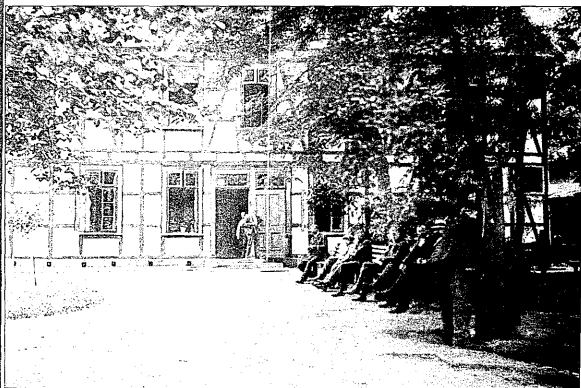
The black list is a list of colonists who have left the colonies under disgrace, or before the expiration of their promise in contract form, or who have run away with colony property, or have otherwise incurred the censure of the administration. The colonies are banded together in a central body or conference that meets once a year, each year at a different colony. This union maintains a small secretarial staff through the year, and each month there is returned to the central office of the union a black list from each colony for the preceding month. The complete black list is forwarded to each colony as soon as possible, and the rule is that no colony shall receive a colonist from any other colony who is on the black list, save that the colony so listing him may take him back at its discretion.

Some of the causes of leaving in 1910, not all of course meriting the black list, were the following:

Died.	37
Illness.	502
Incapable of working.	51
Requisitioned by government.	74
Time expired.	542
At own request.	6,324



Bowling Alley, Voluntary Labor Colony, Bielefeld, Germany



Sunday Afternoon at Bielefeld Voluntary Labor Colony, Germany,
August 2, 1911

Work found by colony.....	911
Work found by own efforts.....	1,295
Went back to family.....	439
Refused to work or broke contract.....	1,254
Unwilling to work.....	196
Drunkenness.....	222
Immoral conduct.....	10
Otherwise improper conduct.....	225
Ran away.....	366
Total number leaving.....	12,445

In short, of the total discharges, eighteen per cent were for bad conduct, ten per cent were at the request of the men themselves to go to work which they had found by their own efforts, fifty per cent were discharged because they wished to go away, and only a little over four per cent were discharged because they had stayed their allotted time, while only seven per cent went to work which had been found for them by the colonies.

What would be plainer than that the above figures show the essentially temporary curative nature of the colonies? I emphasize this fact, not because of any lack of appreciation of the colonies, but because we ought not to acquire an admiration for the German voluntary labor colonies for things that they do not do. Let us not, as Americans, vaguely claim before bodies of people who are naturally unaware of the facts that the German labor colonies offer a striking solution of the vagrancy problem. They do not, and apparently never will. On the other hand, they are the shelter and asylum of thousands of poor fellows who otherwise would be the miserable spectacles on the highways and in the cities that their predecessors were thirty years ago throughout the empire.

Let us turn again to von Massow. "The means of removing the vagrants and mendicants from the highways has not yet been discovered. Labor colonies of the voluntary order, way-stations for wanderers, and registry bureaus serve in general only the better elements of the population of our roads, but not the real professionals. Originally we started the scheme of the daily walk from station to station for the vagrants and the homeless unemployed, with the exception of Sunday, when no work was required. As this system was enforced throughout large portions of Germany, the results were strikingly successful. The highway population decreased remarkably, and the houses of correction became empty. But let no one think that vagrancy ceased; no, it transferred itself into territory where there were no such stations, and overflowed in great masses the border countries of Germany, particularly the Netherlands, Austria and France and even reached down into Italy.

"In my opinion," continues von Massow, "it will be very difficult to rid the highways of the wandering population. At the most, the

laws against vagrancy could be strengthened and the offender could be required to become an inmate of a house of correction for a considerable period.

"The per cent of those who have been successfully restored by a life in our colonies is uncommonly small, even though they work industriously in the colonies. Particularly have they fallen victims to drink. Yet I would answer the question as to what avail, after all, our colonies are, as follows:

"First: There are a certain number of persons, who, through our colonies, are restored to self-support and self-respect.

"Second: The average beggar in Germany makes about two marks (\$1.48) a day. The number of days of maintenance in our colonies totalled in 1905 about 900,000. We can reckon that our people 'on the outside' on these days begged about 1,800,000 marks (\$428,000), while the total subsidies for all the colonies in 1905 were 517,800 marks (\$123,236), a difference of about 1,280,000 marks (\$304,640). Moreover, the colonists were making out of sand dunes and heath and moorland fruitful land and meadows, and increasing the value of same thereby.

"Third and principally: For the half-able and the handicapped, the colonies furnish the only self-respecting kind of existence in which they can live day by day without fearing to be thrust again into despair and pauperism."

Chapter Sixteen

WITZWIL, A SUCCESSFUL PENAL FARM¹

IN this day, when imposing prison architecture has lost its novelty to the student of penology, a simple farm used as a penal labor colony in the Canton Berne, Switzerland, has visitors from all parts of the world. Edmond Kelly of New York, author of "The Elimination of the Tramp," visited Witzwil in 1906 and wrote in the visitor's book: "The best of the labor colonies I have seen; far ahead of those in Belgium and Holland." Edith Sellers, an English authority on European social work, wrote in 1908: "The best of its kind that I have visited." Because of the present active discussion of the plan of farm colonies in America, and especially in New York state, it is perhaps worth while to report the impressions gained last summer at Witzwil in repeated visits made to discover the secret of the unique success this institution has attained.

The Witzwil farm consists of 2,000 acres of level moorland, a part of a tract redeemed from the waters of Lake Neuchatel a generation ago by an intercantonal drainage enterprise. It is still flooded at times of very high waters. Good gravel roads traverse the fields. No fences, walls, or signs tell the visitor when he has entered the prison grounds. Here and there may be seen substantial farm houses, each with a large, plain, practical barn. A paid farmer lives with his family and four working prisoners at each of these outposts ("courts") where about thirty cows are kept. In the center of the farm is a group of buildings including the director's (warden's or superintendent's) house, a cellhouse, and large barns and workshops.

After this land has been drained it was owned and cultivated by a large private agricultural corporation. The company did not prosper; its property came into the hands of creditors, and drainage assessments due to the Canton Berne were in arrears. To collect a bad debt the canton took the land. For the first few years the cantonal workhouse nearby supplied the labor needed, while old buildings were being repaired and new ones erected. In 1895, however, Witzwil was made a penitentiary farm under separate management. Since then other buildings and new roads have been made, and a large area of pasture lands in the Simmental Alps has been acquired for summering the young cattle.

This farming enterprise in which most of the work is done by prisoners has proved to be a good business investment for the canton. There has been expended by the canton, all told, for land \$200,000, for building material \$100,000, and other cash advances (net, after deducting the so-called rents paid to the canton), \$50,000, a total

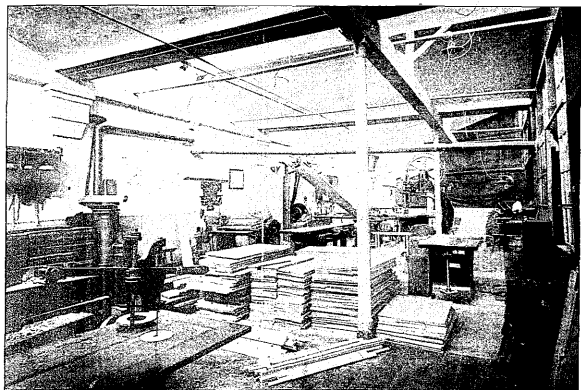
¹By Prof. F. A. Fetter, Princeton University. From the Survey, February 4, 1911.

of \$350,000. The present worth of the whole plant (land, buildings, stock, cash fund) is at a low estimate \$550,000. an average gain for the time the institution has been in full operation of over \$13,000 a year.

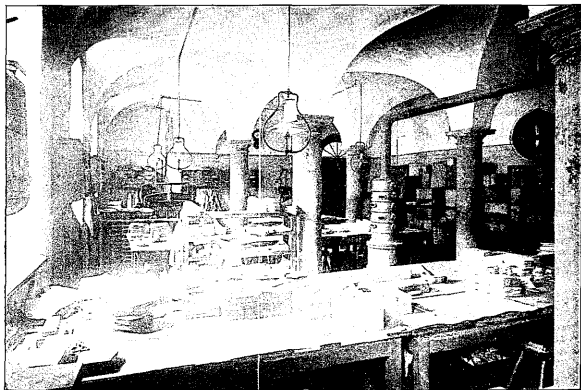
An inventory valuation is somewhat a matter of opinion and the rise in the price of lands accounts for part of this increase. But let us look at the account for 1909, which is fairly typical. In any comparison we must take account of the peculiar practice of the canton in giving a nominal, or apparent, cash appropriation to be used for new construction, but charging rent for land and buildings on the basis of four per cent rental, sometimes to an amount exceeding the appropriation. What would American institutional managers think of that? Last year Witzwil paid to the canton a net cash sum of \$1,000 (excess of the rental above its appropriation) and expended a net sum of \$7,000 for materials in new construction, paid all expense of the institution, including salaries and insurance, and laid away a reserve of \$9,000 for building a railroad on the grounds. In 1908 it paid the canton \$1,000 and expended \$10,000 for new materials. In 1907 it got from the canton about \$1,000 net but expended \$24,000 for new materials. While the care of the 200 (sometimes over 250) prisoners is without cost to the public, the actual outlay on new buildings and equipment has amounted to a good return on the investment in grounds and buildings. Yet this has been done without the lease or the contract systems of labor, and with no injurious competition with, or protests from, free labor. Within the last year the land has at length been brought fairly under cultivation, so that it would seem that the results in the future would be still more favorable.

In view of such facts and figures, the interesting question is, how was it done? The most obvious answer is, by good management. Otto Kellerhals was but twenty-four years of age when he entered upon this work in 1891, becoming director, in full charge, in 1895. He was a practical Bernese farmer boy with an education. Graduated at the cantonal agricultural college at Berne, he attended the famous institute in connection with the University of Halle, Germany. He was versed in the new agricultural science and he knew how to put good theory into practice. He is a quiet, plain man who reads widely and works with his hands. He thinks, schemes, dreams of Witzwil, but he finds time to go out wheeling with his four boys. His wife takes charge of the institution in his absence and is at all times a helpful co-worker in the administration.

The answer to our question, however, must be found not alone in the director's ability, but in his use of it, in his spirit and in his plans. Light was thrown on these by a remark of Mr. Kellerhals: "A superintendent should manage his institution as if it were his own farm. The buildings are for use, not for show. They should be just what a good farmer would put up; the workshops and machinery should be just what a manufacturer would choose for the same purpose." This proposition may sound like a truism; but would not its application work a revolution in many an institution? It is not only



Cabinet Shop, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany



Envelope Shop, Brauweiler Workhouse, Germany

that buildings and equipment have been in practice too expensive and elaborate, but also that many officials and citizens hold the very different theory that a penal institution is a place where labor ought to be wasted.

Consider, for example, Director Kellerhals's policy as to the use of machinery. Here we saw a row of American mowing machines, there an automatic potato digger built on the farm; here electric motors in the machine shops, there an automatic bread mixer enabling one prisoner to do all of the baking for the institution; here the best laundry machinery, there a model creamery through which passes the enormous product of the farm. These things were far more remarkable because of the exceedingly slight use made of labor-saving machinery on private farms in Switzerland. It was a sight to delight an American, but not so the Russian prison official who was that day making a study of Witzwil. In the Russian prisons, as he said, everything is done by hand. The hand-work policy is followed on principle in the otherwise excellently managed prison system of Prussia. In visiting other Swiss institutions I had just been hearing various arguments (not needing to be repeated here, as they are not unknown in America) in favor of excluding machinery from institutions. It is evident that Director Kellerhals is not uttering a truism or practicing a commonplace in Europe. He does not cherish the official fear that the prisoners will be without occupation. "There is always work here," he said, "there is never any labor to waste;" and he ran over a list of plans he has in mind for the improvement of the great estate in the next few years. This does not mean, as I understand him, that all these things could be done profitably with free labor; it means that he believes in using in the most productive way open to him the labor force put into his charge by the state.

In its variety of occupations and products Witzwil is a challenge to any other institution of its size anywhere. Convicts have helped draw the plans of the buildings, and have built them all with a minimum of supervision, and out of the raw materials. Structural steel, iron plates, and steel rods are bought in straight, plain pieces to be cut and shaped in the Witzwil shops to many uses. The cellhouses are of cemented stone, without steel in the walls, yet only one man has ever dug his way out. The doors are of heavy wood, and all hinges, locks and grates were forged by prisoners. All plumbing, wiring, tinning, roofing were done by convicts, even the making of the lighting rods. The convicts made all of the furniture that is in the cells and in the offices. They made all the stoves out of flat iron plates. They make all the field tools, rakes, hoes, shovels, picks, baskets, brooms, brushes, boxes, barrels, besides a number of complex farm machines. Most remarkable of all, they make excellent wagons and carriages in various patterns, not merely assembling the parts, but with the exception of the springs forging all of the metal parts: tires, rims, steps, in the blacksmith shop from plain rods, and shaping the woodwork in some cases from logs cut in the forest. These things are not made to show what can be done regardless of

expense; a careful cost account is kept of every article to determine what it pays best to do.

All these and the other industries are, after all, but auxiliary to the main industry of farming. Five-sixths both of the gross and of the net industrial receipts are from agriculture. Yearly there are sold \$20,000 worth of cattle and hogs, \$12,000 worth of milk, and \$40,000 worth of other agricultural products, and through the winter 400 hogs and 800 neat cattle are kept. Agriculture is the paramount interest and — here is another feature of the Witzwil system — everyone is helping to farm. When the weather is fine the shops are all but deserted, and so far as possible, every one, free or convict, from the director to the last prisoner, is out in the fields. It is the Witzwil policy to have the tailors and the shoe makers make hay when the sun shines, for so they are worth more to the institution than making clothes and shoes. "Besides," said the director with a smile, "the days they pick hay they need no other exercise." On the other hand, almost any work pays on bad days rather than to have prisoners idle in their cells. At such times the shops are the busy places. In the trades of basketry, hat-weaving, saddlery, woodworking, iron-working, tailoring, shoemaking, bookbinding, etc., the number of working days per month, as shown by the official figures, is twofold to manifold as great in the winter as in the summer. Other large labors are so far as possible crowded into the winter and early spring months, an adjustment favored by the mild winter climate. Such labors are house and road building, drainage, peat-cutting, forestry, and melioration of the soil.

Is the unusual variety of industries at Witzwil due to a superior quality of the inmates compared with those of other institutions? No evidence of such a fact appeared. To Witzwil are sent men sentenced for the first time for felony (the English word most nearly corresponding) for less than three years, whether they are young men or old. Many have served time in minor institutions or have been convicts in other countries. A large proportion have been chronic drinkers. Only ten per cent have had more than primary school training. When a skilled man comes, his skill is used, nor wasted. The surveying for the new buildings, roads, and new railway is being done by a convicted engineer, and the complicated calculations of materials and costs are being made by a convicted banker, a victim of the American panic of 1907 — at least that revealed his peculations. Switzerland has not as yet put the indeterminate sentence into practice, and the average term of the Witzwil inmates is short. One-half of them serve less than six months, four-fifths less than a year, and only one in twenty serves over two years. A more shifting and unpromising labor supply would hardly be found in any American prison or penitentiary.

On its material and financial sides Witzwil is in many respects a model. What as to its equipment and agencies for reforming the prisoners? Here, it must be confessed, something is lacking. Not only is there no school for the almost, or quite, illiterate prisoners

(many of whom are young), but the intellectual stimulus in other ways falls short of good modern reformatory standards. But this said, the criticism is about spent. The conditions of physical health are so excellent as to make a citizen of the state of Sing Sing feel very humble. The simple, dry, light cells, built in one story along a central hall, and with outer windows opening directly to sun and air, are architecturally and hygienically much superior to those at Elmira. The food is bountiful and varied, and the clothing, both in winter and in summer, excellent for its purpose. There is no prison pallor on any face in Witzwil. Some motive to ambition is given by grouping the prisoners in three classes with three grades of wages, small sums each month which are sent to the prisoners' families or kept until the sentences expire. The different classes have also differing privileges, including for the more trustworthy that of living at the farm houses in semi-liberty. Punishment plays a small part; tempers keep sweet better out-of-doors. There are ten solitary cells which I inspected, but none of them had been occupied since weeks before the time of my visit.

Whatever merit of a reformatory nature Witzwil has consists in its teaching of the hard lesson of regular toil under healthy physical conditions. The spirit of work, so far as I saw it, is remarkable. This is fostered partly by the policy of giving responsible tasks to prisoners without oversight, and partly by another noteworthy policy, that of keeping no idle guards at Witzwil. The paid employees all work with the prisoners, setting an example of industry. The combined moral and financial advantages of this plan are self-evident; every guard earns his salary in the increased product, and as the convicts come they are put to work under good paid workers from whom they learn. It may well be that Witzwil is a better practical school of agriculture and the trades than some reformatories with a showy educational equipment.

An essential part of the Witzwil system are the homes, in the neighborhood, for unemployed men. The little colony of Nussdorf, belonging to the institution, can give employment to ten liberated convicts at a time, until they can again get a foothold in the world. Tannenlof, conducted by a private society, at the border of the Witzwil farm, can house and give work to forty men at a time. It shelters many former inmates of Witzwil, and is a haven to which they later return when hard pressed by temptation and by unemployment.

With the large liberty enjoyed by many of the prisoners, and with the nearness of the French border, ever in sight, there are on the average each year about seven escapes, and of these two are not recaptured. Most of the attempts are made by foreigners.

Many of the men in Witzwil are such as in America largely recruit the army of tramps. Most competent officials whom I consulted in Berne agreed that in the canton the tramp problem, as we know it in America, no longer exists! Other influences (especially the wayfarers' lodges) have helped to produce this desirable result; but

Witzwil doubtless has done its share, along with smaller and less distinctive institutions shaped somewhat on the same lines. Witzwil teaches an impressive lesson in its proof that dissolute and untrained prisoners may be made industrious and self-supporting in an open-air prison colony, and it challenges America to a trial of the same plan. Witzwil has its lesson further for all American public institutional management, whether correctional or charitable, in its economic use of labor, in its union of agricultural and manufacturing industry, and in its outdoor work for adult men in an unvalled institution.

Could the plan of a farm labor colony succeed in New York as well as in Switzerland? When this question was put to Mr. Kellerhals he at once replied: "It should succeed better. In Europe land is dear and labor is cheap; in America land is cheap and labor is dear; and labor is the factor of production which the prison has in abundance."

A large state such as New York, with fifteen times the population of the Canton Berne and twice that of all Switzerland, would have the economy resulting from size in an institution. In a thoughtful paper (not yet published), to be presented to the Swiss prison society, Mr. Kellerhals has shown that a larger institution could be more economically managed.

A further advantage over the Swiss institution could easily be had in New York with its precedents and present public opinion, by the application of the indeterminate sentence to habitual drunkenness and vagrancy. Such a change, favorable to the welfare both of the public and of the pitiable victims of vicious habits, would, by giving to the institution a more stable working force and a longer period for training, promote greatly its financial as well as its reformatory success.

Finally, Witzwil, remarkable as it is, can be surpassed in America, if to its economic merits can be added the best modern reformatory discipline. The opportunity awaits the progressive state that will found such an institution, and the able management that will guide it to success.

Chapter Seventeen

VAGRANCY IN ENGLAND

VAGRANCY has long been one of the social plagues of England. Severe repressive laws have alternated with more humane treatment. At present, with grave annual problems of unemployment, the "sturdy beggar" and the "sleeper out" add by their thousands to the gravity of the problem.

England has no compulsory labor colonies, the local prison being the place of imprisonment of the vagrant. Casual wards (temporary lodgings of a punitive but not penal character) correspond partially in motive with our municipal lodging houses. The workhouses, corresponding to our American almshouses, shelter the non-able-bodied pauper homeless.

Tramping in the British Isles is not on railroads. Hence the migratory habit is less developed. In addition, chances of casual employment are far less than in our country. There seem to be larger local armies of the unemployed than with us.

In 1904 the president of the local government board of London appointed a departmental committee on vagrancy, "to inquire and

The Departmental Committee on Vagrancy.

report with respect to England and Wales as to (1) the law applicable to persons of the vagrant class; (2) the administration of the law applicable to these persons; and (3) any amendments which should be made in it or in its administration."

This committee sat for about two years and published a most exhaustive and painstaking report on vagrancy conditions in Great Britain and on the continent.

Briefly, the committee found that

The present English system neither deters the vagrant, nor affords any means of reclaiming him, and the Committee is unanimously of the opinion that a thorough reformation is necessary. The army of vagrants is increasing of late years, and there is reason to

Summary.

fear that it will continue to increase if things are left as they are. The object of the scheme which the Committee proposes is to place vagrants more under the control of the police, help the *bona fide* wayfarer, and to provide means of detaining the habitual vagrant under reformatory influences. Estimates of the number of vagrants in England and Wales vary from 20,000 to 150,000. Mr. Loch, of the London C. O. S., estimates between 60,000 and 70,000.

The proportion of *bona fide* working men traveling in search of employment is estimated as less than 3%. There is much truth in the saying, "once on the road, always on the road." The habitual vagrant in a sense belongs to the criminal class. The existence of this class gives rise to the greatest difficulties

when any attempt is made to deal with the question of the unemployed. All old and infirm persons, handicapped and unemployable, many of whom are crazy, and all of whom live by begging, give much trouble to the police and magistrates.

The vagrant class as a whole is not much addicted to the worst forms of crime, but minor offenses are very common. The "masterful" beggar intimidates the farmer's wife and assaults persons on the highways; hay-rick firing and robbery are often attributed to vagrants. In casual wards their offenses generally take the form of refusing to work, destroying clothes, or window-breaking. On the average every vagrant in Northumberland is committed to prison once a year, whereas convicts among the ordinary population average only about 25 per thousand. The number of prisoners of the vagrant class is about one-quarter of the whole prison population.

The majority of vagrants are in the able-bodied period of life; the number below 16 or above 65 is very small; 70% of the whole number were between 35 and 65. Vagrants are not an ill-fated class; their bodies are as a rule well-nourished, as a rule their boots are sound. The modern tramp lives an unsocial and wretched sort of existence. He has no object in life; his mere contentment with his miserable surroundings renders any improvement in his condition practically hopeless.

There is no uniformity whatever in the sentences for vagrancy offenses. The great majority of sentences are for 14 days, a sentence impossible to defend from any practical point of view. In the case of the inebriate, short sentences aggravate the habit of drunkenness, and involve great expense. The vagrant deliberately commits offenses to obtain a short imprisonment. The short sentence is very ineffectual in getting work out of prisoners. A sentence for less than fourteen days should be limited to one day, and the conviction recorded. The general conditions in modern prisons are superior to those to which the ordinary tramp is accustomed. Habitual vagrants should be sent to labor colonies with detention for not less than six months or more than three years.

In 1905, while the departmental committee on vagrancy was still sitting, a royal commission on the poor laws was appointed "to inquire (1) into the working of the laws relating to the relief of poor persons in the United Kingdom;

Royal Commission on
Poor Laws

adopted outside of the poor laws for meeting distress arising from want of employment, particularly during periods of severe industrial depression." The committee was also to bring in recommendations.

This very important and standard-setting committee recommended in 1909 that

"For those unwilling to work, and for those whose character and behavior are such that no employer will engage them, detention colonies under the control of the home office should be established. No system of labor on industrial colonies can be properly worked unless there is in reserve a semi-penal institution to which those who refuse to comply with the rules and regulations of the colony can be sent on proof of repeated or continuous misconduct.

"At Lingfield and Hadleigh and at the German colony at Ware good results in a certain number of cases have been obtained . . . but we cannot,

on the evidence and figures given, speak positively as to the actual percentage of those thus benefited, nor as to the period during which the improvement lasted."

After recommending the establishment in England of voluntary labor colonies to supersede in large measure the pauper workhouses, for those classes "whose unemployment is due to causes wholly beyond their own control", the report passes to the question of detention colonies, "without which no system of colonies can be effective."

"We endorse the recommendations of the departmental committee on vagrancy. For imprisonment we propose to substitute committal to a detention colony during any period between six months and three years, for a wilful and persistent repetition within a given period of any of the following offenses:

- (a) Neglect to support self or families, with result that the persons or their families become public charges.
- (b) Refusal of person receiving assistance to work or observe regulations.
- (c) Refusal to comply with conditions of receiving relief.
- (d) Giving way to gambling, drink or idleness so that person or family becomes chargeable to the charitable authorities."

Turning now to vagrancy conditions in 1911, as related to the penal treatment of offenders in England, we first define those who fall into the vagrancy class. The law rests on the vagrancy act of 1824. Three classes of persons are defined:

- (1) Idle and disorderly.
- (2) Rogues and vagabonds.
- (3) Incurable rogues.

CLASS (1) Idle and disorderly, includes:

- (a) Those refusing or neglecting to maintain self or family, thus forcing self or family on charitable assistance.
- (b) Those removed from community, but returning and becoming dependent upon charitable assistance.
- (c) Workhouse inmates refusing or neglecting to perform a prescribed task, or destroying their clothes, or damaging the property of the poor law officials.
- (d) Similar provision regarding persons relieved by workhouse.
- (e) Those applying for relief and not disclosing money or property in their possession.
- (f) Paupers absconding from casual ward, workhouse or asylum; those giving false names or statements to obtain relief.
- (g) Unlicensed pedlars, also mendicants and prostitutes under certain conditions.

CLASS (II) Rogues and Vagabonds, includes:

- (a) Paupers repeating above offenses.
- (b) Family deserters.
- (c) Mendicants exposing wounds and deformities; also persons gathering alms under false pretenses.
- (d) Certain offenders against decency and morality.
- (e) Fortune tellers, etc.
- (f) Persons found in enclosed places, etc., or frequenting certain places with unlawful intent, or in possession of house-breaking tools or armed with felonious intent.
- (g) Deserters from navy.
- (h) Immigrants or aliens guilty of offenses under the aliens act.

CLASS (III) Incurrible Rogues, includes:

- (a) Persons previously convicted as rogues and vagabonds.
- (b) Persons escaping from legal confinement before expiration of a term of sentence under the vagrancy act.

The terms of imprisonment are as follows:

CLASS I Idle and disorderly. Not more than one month.

CLASS II Rogues and vagabonds. Not more than three months.

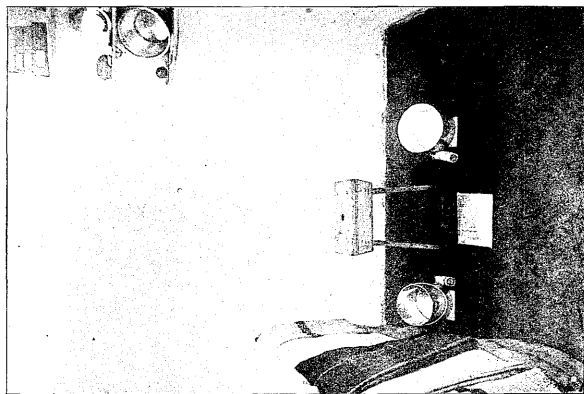
CLASS III Incurrible rogues. Not more than one year. Male offenders may be whipped.

The great majority of sentences under this act are for fourteen days. Let us turn to the report of the prison commission for 1910-1911 to learn of the deplorable nature of the vagrancy problem today.

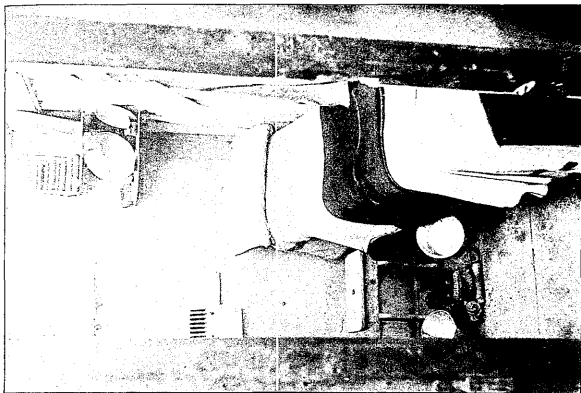
In the first place the terms of imprisonment of 35½ per cent of the persons committed to prison in England in 1910-1911 were one week or less. Over 60 per cent of all English prisoners received sentences of two weeks, or more than one week. Only 20 per cent of English prisoners received sentences of over one month.

The vagrant class continues to furnish nearly 20 per cent of the total commitments to local prisons. "Additional evidence is furnished this year (1910-11), if such were needed, not only that the offenses of habitual vagrancy should be made the subject of special legislative enactment, but that any provisions along the lines of the committee of 1906 might be expected to produce effective results."

In short, English and American experiences and methods are similar. Conditions are more acute in England. We can learn from England's plight the direction in which we are moving. Vagrancy causes with us 20 per cent of commitments to penal institutions, according to the 1904 census. In England it caused 19 per cent in 1910-1911. England is still condemned to the short-sentence evil. So are we. England has a large percentage of vagrancy repeaters. So have we. England has as yet no compulsory labor colony, but strongly urges one. We in New York have the first compulsory labor colony authorized by law. The experience of England proves that it is time.



Single Cell in Old Part, Portland Prison, England



Single Cell, Portland Prison, England

Chapter Eighteen

ENGLISH PRISONS

It is now 4.30 in the afternoon," said Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, the chairman of the English prison commission to me one afternoon last summer in London, and I know that just now that at every local and every convict prison in England the same things in general are being done, and that in general they are being done in the same way."

That is the keynote of the English prison system. Definite rules of administration — so many that the rules and regulations for local prisons fill an official volume of five hundred pages — and within the limits of these carefully prescribed rules, a liberty of action and discretion. The result is plain. "Do I need to see such and such prisons?" I asked, mentioning several that were located on my way from England to Scotland. "Not if you see such and such prisons," was the answer. In short, if one sees a typical local prison and a typical convict prison, one learns the idea that all embody.

The result is that the American visitor, far from finding the diversity of prison architecture, administration and appointments that characterize our own states of the Union, finds in each prison in general a like equipment, like uniforms, officers that resemble each other so much that one no longer differentiates them in different prisons, always a governor or a deputy governor, always a chief warden (often the storehouse of prison wisdom) and a small army of subordinates. Cells are equipped in prison after prison with the same appointments, placed in each prison in the same order in the cells. So many tins, so much furniture, so big a mattress, rolled in such and such a manner upon such and such a chair. In short, such systematic order in the cells that the prison inspector can see at a glance what is out of place or missing.

Order and orders seem to be fundamental features of the English prison system. Centralization of authority is paramount. At the head of the prison system is the secretary of state; under him the prison commissioners, of whom the chairman is Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, a distinguished criminologist. The prison commissioners are salaried officials, giving their entire time. They appoint all subordinate officials, from the governor of the prison down. The tenure of office of officials is during good behavior, and is remarkably permanent. Worry about loss of position is practically eliminated, so far as political influences are concerned. Inspectors of prisons are appointed by the secretary of state. A visiting committee of magistrates is appointed for each prison annually by quarter sessions, to be a kind of "watchdog for the public."

The present administrative system came into existence in 1877, through the prison act. In 1876 there were 113 local prisons, governed

by local authorities. Conditions of management and inefficiency then were strikingly like conditions still existing in our own county jails. There was no standard of architecture, administration, punishment, promotion or privileges. The prison act of 1877 at one stroke centralized the control and conduct of all English prisons under the prison commission, although for a time there was great objection to such a drastic change. To-day no one would urge in Parliament a return to the old conditions. Not only are the English prisons managed at present satisfactorily to the English public in general, but the number of prisons has been reduced from 113 in 1877 to 57 at present.

The American penologist finds in English prisons and English penal laws conditions differing so much from American conditions that analysis is sometimes difficult, because at first the contrasts of English "conservatism" and American so-called "progressiveness" are apt to react disadvantageously to the English system. Let us note some of the contrasts. In the United States we have in each state a different penal system; in England we find one state and one system. In our country, the state prisons may be managed by one board, the reformatories by another, the county institutions by sheriffs, the city institutions by municipal commissioners, and the many private or semi-private reformatories by separate boards. In England, one board of commissioners manages all institutions, from the reception or remand prisons to the convict prisons (our state prisons). With us, each institution is an experiment station to try out new ideas in penology; what one state succeeds in appeals to other states; what one state fails in teaches other states a lesson. In England, the prison commissioners do the experimenting for the entire system; four or five men. No sudden surprise can come from Portland, or Bostral, or Wormwood Scrubs. As competition in new ideas is the life of American penology, so the conservative weighing of advantages and disadvantages of an innovation, which generally must be applied to the entire system, causes England to make haste slowly.

Let me cite some specific instances. New York state introduced at Elmira in 1876 the reformatory system for felons between ages of 16 and 20. Rhode Island, Colorado and a number of other states initiated children's courts over a decade ago. Massachusetts developed a probation system thirty years or more ago. Colorado announced recently great success in working prisoners on roads far away from the prison. Kansas City manages a municipal farm work-house. Sheriff Tracy in Montpelier, Vermont, lets his jail prisoners out, free to work for farmers during the day. The parole system is being developed intensively by the Prison Association of New York. The State Charities Aid Association of this state puts through the legislature a bill authorizing the city of New York to establish a board of inebriety. Throughout the country new ideas, new principles in the treatment of the offender spring up, are tried out, are reported

upon at conferences, fail or succeed; and we make progress, sometimes directly, often laterally, and not infrequently backward.

But in England the steps are slow and sure. The history of the last ten years of prison administration are of exceptional interest to American students. Let us briefly review some of the innovations and developments of prison science in England since 1900.

In 1898 an English prison act passed, providing that prisoners not sentenced to hard labor might be further classified according to the gravity of the offense and the character of the offender, and that the labor of prisoners in local prisons might, under due supervision be in association instead of cellular. Cellular separate confinement has until recent years been the backbone of the English prison system. Formerly, cellular confinement continued in local prisons for two years, after which the prisoners were transferred to convict prisons for the rest of their sentence.

Corporal punishment, by the terms of the prison act of 1898, was to be awarded less frequently, and for fewer offenses; ordinary prisoners might earn a remission of a portion of their sentences through good conduct; the payment of a portion of a fine might cause a remission of a portion of their sentences; boards of visiting magistrates were appointed; there were provided increased opportunities for school instruction, increased privileges as to letters, visits and library books; and in the later stages of imprisonment the privilege of talking might be awarded to certain deserving prisoners.

What had been the results up to 1900? In the classification of prisoners and in the development of associated labor, good. The cellular system of confinement still remained the law, but prisoners whose conduct was good might be associated if practicable. The two years between 1898 and 1900 brought a reduction of cases of corporal punishment; the remission of a certain part of the sentence in the cases of prisoners whose sentences exceeded six months brought great stimulus, as did the chance to pay off a portion of the fine, in lieu of which payment imprisonment had been imposed. The privileges of conversation in exceptional cases seemed to be but partially appreciated by the prisoners.

These innovations, only a little more than ten years old in English local prisons, will seem to Americans extremely conservative, but they furnish us a background upon which to consider the changes that have occurred in the decade 1900-1910.

The principal improvement in the English penal system in the last 10 years has been undoubtedly the treatment of so-called juvenile adults, children less than 21 years of age. Between the years 1893 and 1903 there had been committed to prison juveniles as follows:

	Males	Females
Under 12.....	490	28
12 or under 16.....	15,419	1,129
16 or under 21.....	147,239	27,974

The
Prison
Act of
1898.

More than half of those under 16 were committed to prison in default of payment of a fine, and for such slight offenses as trespass, playing games in street, throwing stones and sleeping out (i. e., vagrancy).

By 1900 the juveniles were being collected into certain local prisons, and a plan of separate treatment of a partially reformatory character,

**Juvenile
Adults.**

and not in association with the older offenders, was being tried out, but the "movement" was not yet a law. In 1901 it was decided to surrender a portion of the convict prison of Borstal for the

detention of juvenile adults (i. e., those between 16 and 21). A reformatory plan was proposed, the fundamental principles of the new treatment to be: (a) strict classification; (b) firm and exact discipline; (c) hard work; (d) organized supervision on discharge. In the same year an association of visitors of London prisons was formed for the supervision after discharge of young Borstal prisoners. Meanwhile the special treatment of juvenile adults was being tested at Bedford and other prisons with eminent success.

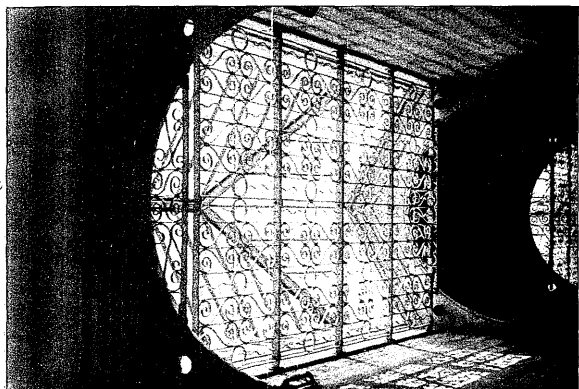
The prison commission was all the more concerned with the provision for more adequate reformatory treatment of young offenders — there being at the time no reformatory in England for such juveniles — because the prison committee appointed by parliament in 1894 had come to the conclusion that the age when the majority of criminals are made lies between 16 and 21. It appeared to the committee that the most determined effort should be made to lay hold of these incipient criminals, and to prevent them by strong restraint and rational treatment from recruiting the habitual class. Short sentences had proved neither a deterrent nor a remedy.

In the following chapter, upon Borstal institutions, I have outlined in detail the present status of the treatment of juvenile adults, and so give the matter no further direct attention here.

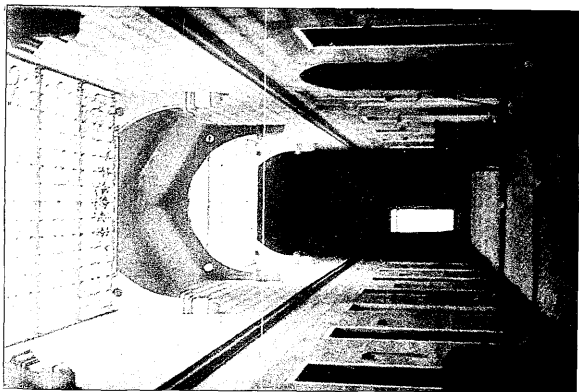
Just at the beginning of the century a census of convicts was taken in English prisons, which showed that no less than 56 per cent had been previously convicted five times or more. A

**The
Habitual
Criminal.**

public inquiry in 1894 had recommended 'severer corrective measures. In 1908 a law, entitled the prevention of crime act, was passed which not only provided for the reformatory treatment of juvenile adults, but also — and most strikingly — for the preventive detention of habitual criminals after the sentence for which they should be imprisoned had been served. In other words, England has given the courts power to declare a man who has been persistently leading a dishonest and criminal life to be an habitual criminal; and where a person is so proved, a subsidiary sentence may be passed, ordering that on the termination of the sentence of penal servitude — not less than three years — he may be kept for a further period not exceeding ten nor less than five years in a state of "preventive detention."



Corridor, Glass Roof, Preventive Detention Prison,
Camp Hill, England



Corridor, Preventive Detention Prison, Camp Hill,
England (Under Construction)

The question of placing the said habitual criminal under an indeterminate sentence was considered in parliament, and was opposed by the majority, for in England still the feeling is uppermost that the courts should set the limits quite definitely within which the sentence is to be served. So the present maximum of ten years was a compromise. In announcing the new departure, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise stated that he believed that there is no analogy to the preventive detention act in present European law.

The preventive detention prison is now practically completed, being located at Camp Hill, next to Parkhurst Prison, Newport, Isle of Wight. My visit to this prison was of special interest to me, because the surveyor of English prisons, Major Rodgers, was the builder, and had embodied into the prison for the first time in the history of the English prison system, certain American features that in England are still very new. I refer particularly to the group system of cell houses, containing approximately 30 cells each, and being practically a cottage system construction within prison walls. Also as to the common dining room the prison commissioners have sanctioned an innovation, for so far as I know there are no common mess halls in other English prisons, and, still further, I found a common lounging room, or reading room, where the men may gather, in each cottage. In short, this prison is to be not a severe penal institution, but a place of segregation, where society places humanely away its persistent offenders, and where strict discipline and safe custody will prevail, while admitting of certain indulgences and privileges, earned by industry and good conduct.

More and more the feeling grows in England and elsewhere that the weeding-out of the habitual offender will reduce considerably the amount of crime, the deeds and their cost to society of habitual criminals being far greater in number and importance than those of the occasional offender. Reverting again to the governmental inquiry into prison administration held in 1894, we find figures there adduced to show that though of every 100 of those who go to prison for the first time, 70 per cent do not return again, yet of those convicted a second, third, fourth and fifth time, there returned to prison respectively 48, 64, 71 and 79 per cent.

In the matters pertaining to the daily routine life of the prisoner a considerable amelioration has taken place in both local and convict

**Separate
Confinement.**

prisons during the last decade. As mentioned above, the separate cellular confinement has been a fundamental principle in English penology. Evolved early in the last century for the purpose of preventing moral contamination through the promiscuous association of prisoners, it became largely solitary confinement with the breaks in the fearful monotony made possible, only through the visits of prison officials. In 1857 the provision for eighteen months of separate confinement for each convict was embodied in the penal servitude acts. Later, after repeated experiments, the period of separate confinement was reduced to nine months.

By the prison act of 1898 the sentences of local prisoners up to two years, which had been passed prior to that in cellular confinement, might henceforth be passed, under certain conditions, in association so far as labor was concerned. The separate confinement of convict prisoners was later reduced to six months. In 1904 provision was made in convict prisons for a new classification of prisoners, whereby there should be three classes of convicts, the star class (those never before convicted), the intermediate class and the habitual class. Furthermore, those convicts having particularly long sentences had their conditions of life ameliorated. From 1905 to 1910 the period of separate confinement had been for the first offender in convict prisons, three months; for the intermediate class, six months; for the recidivist or habitual, nine months. These terms had been served in local prisons, after which the convicts were transferred to convict prisons, where the work was carried on largely in association.

In 1910, partly as a result of a general agitation on the question of separate confinement, stimulated to some extent by the publication and staging of Galsworthy's "Justice," Secretary Churchill caused the periods of separate confinement to be very sensibly reduced, so that at present the first offenders and intermediaries among those sentenced to penal servitude pass the first month in separate confinement, and the recidivists pass three months in separate confinement.

This question of separate confinement save for exercise periods has in general but an academic interest for the American penologist. The separate confinement plan as maintained until recently in England and still in Belgium, Holland and Germany, among other European countries, was long ago abolished from American prisons. No American prison so far as I know pursues this system now. Indeed, we have in our country jails and many a municipal institution swung disgracefully to the other extreme, and allow to unconvicted prisoners the freedom of corridors and "bullpens" and promiscuous association with their fellows that has brought down upon this country the just criticism of all the civilized world of penology. It is also an academic question with us what mental and physical results attend the long separate confinement. Suffice it for our consideration at present that England has abolished the long terms that caused such criticism, often replete with terrible citations of experiences endured.

It is also within the last decade that the treadwheels and the crank have been abolished in English prisons, that futile and debasing exercise forced upon the prisoner to keep him occupied, or as a punishment. As late as 1895, 39 treadwheels and 29 cranks were in operation. By 1901, only 13 treadwheels and 5 cranks had remained. The prison commissioners in that year stated that strict separation and some onerous task, such as picking oakum, had taken the place of the treadwheels. The treadwheel used to be the hard labor of the first twenty-eight days of the prisoner's sentence, a humane way, forsooth, of inculcating kindly feelings in the prisoner's heart toward the state that placed him upon the wheel.

During the decade, also, corporal punishment decreased nearly every year in the number of instances. The law still allows corporal punishment, but now only for assault cases upon officers of the prison. The governor himself may not direct the punishment, but it must be sanctioned and ordered by the board of visitors of the prison, and shall not take effect until after the sanction of the secretary of state. It was felt by the prison governors with whom I talked that for the exceptional cases of aggravated offenses the cat is a salutary punishment. In the year 1910-1911 there were 19 cases of corporal punishment in local prisons, and four cases in convict prisons. The total number of offenses committed in prison for which some form of punishment was administered was, in 1910-1911, in the local prisons 24,630 males, 1,205 females. In the convict prisons, 1,358 males, 29 females. The forms of punishments were as follows:

	LOCAL PRISONS		CONVICT PRISONS	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Irons or handcuffs.....	180	28	98	.....
Close confinement in special cells.....	133	154	30	21
Corporal punishment.....	19	.....	4	.....
Close confinement in ordinary cells.....	17,955	846	1,574	41
Dietary punishment.....	17,095	694	1,632	39
Loss of stage or privilege.....	20,837	450	1,681	48
Total persons punished.....	19,575	1,218	1,358	29
Nature of offenses:				
Violence.....	423	28	603	7
Escapes and attempts to escape.....	2	.....	3	.....
Idleness.....	12,393	53	239	.....
Other breaches of regulations.....	11,812	1,124	1,732	46
Total offenses.....	24,630	1,205	2,577	53

The industrial problem in prisons is closely related to the punishment problem. The reader will note that idleness or "sojering" on the work caused the largest number of punishments. The American who is familiar with the great industrial development of many of our prisons will feel that the English prisons are securing a small output indeed for the number of men that they have. It should be remembered, however, that the president of the prison commission does not desire the possible financial return from the labor of prisoners to wield an important influence in the shaping of prison administration, and that furthermore, until recently a considerable part of each prisoner's term has been spent in separate confinement, each prisoner occupying a cell to himself, and that

labor in consequence had to be fitted to the capacity of the prisoner, the cell and the motive power, which in general is foot or hand rather than machinery. In short, the industrial capacity of European prisons, except the few most modern ones that have introduced power machinery and also work in association, seemed to me pitifully small.

Yet during the decade, the output of the prisons has considerably increased. In 1900 the cellular system of confinement of prisoners in local prisons was still in general use, up to two years for those who had sentences of that length. While the total value of the labor of all the prisoners of local and convict prisons in 1899-1900 was estimated by the comptroller of industries to be 200,000 pounds, the earnings were imputed earnings, that is, largely the estimated value of work performed in manufactures, farms, and buildings, and including domestic service. The situation in English prisons was well shown in the report of the prison commissioners for 1907, in which they call emphatic attention to the difficulty of obtaining a market for prison labor, the government departments of the general post-office and the admiralty being practically the only departments to take the products of prison labor, it being optional with government departments to take such products. And the report continues: "That we should be obliged to rely entirely upon the good will and consideration of other public departments for the furnishing of industrial employment for prisoners is of course a very precarious position upon which to rely for the performance of what theoretically is regarded as the first duty of a prison authority. Should orders from these government departments—the general post-office and the admiralty—be reduced, as the experience of the year seems to suggest that they may be done in the future, we shall be confronted with a very serious problem."

In 1908 the difficulty still continued. According to the 1911 report, the financial statements regarding expenses of maintenance and the earnings of prisoners were as shown below. It should be remembered that work in English prisons is generally less extensive than in corresponding American institutions, with less high tension. Contract labor or state account did not appear in any significant amount in the prisons I visited.

Cost:	Local prisons	Convict prisons
Staff.....	£274,506 1 11	£73,866 12 ..
Maintenance.....	144,622 4 ..	43,801 17 4
Other expenses, exclusive of new buildings.....	101,001 7 4	10,818 .. 10
Total for year.....	£520,129 .. 4	£128,486 10 2
Total annual charge per prisoner....	30 .. 4	40 14 9

Deductions:	LOCAL PRISONS		CONVICT PRISONS	
Value of labor (measured), exclusive of employment in the service of the person.....	128,530	12 8	56,857	2 11
Incidental receipts.....	3,083	14 ..	1,228	10 4
Total deductions.....	£131,614	6 8	£58,085	13 3
Net cost, after above deductions.....	£388,515	10 9	£70,400	16 11
Net annual charge per prisoner.....	18	6 7	22	6 5

In short, the net annual per capita cost, exclusive of imputed or estimated earnings, was in 1910-1911, for the local prisons \$90.06 and for the convict prisons \$108.59. But it is to be noted that "as the result of the work upon which prisoners are employed is principally for the government, only a small portion of the amount is actually received in cash." The sums "earned" under each branch were:

Manufacturing department.....	£122,470
Farm.....	6,362
Prison building department.....	58,309
Admiralty building department.....	5,804
Service of the prison.....	63,877

In the statement it is to be observed, for the purpose of proper comparison with earnings of American prisons, that an item of £63,877, or \$310,825 was imputed earnings for domestic service in the prisons, an item that is, so far as I know, not generally estimated in the per capita earnings of American prisons. Only in the convict prisons, especially at Portland, are industries maintained on a scale similar to that of many American prisons. In Holloway, Pentonville, and Wormwood Scrubs many prisoners were employed either in their cells or while seated in the corridors, at hand labor, such as oakum teasing, bag making, or at sewing. Small shops were running at Wormwood Scrubs. Parkhurst Prison, on the Isle of Wight, is largely a prison for the incapacitated, with a large percentage of old persons, sick and feeble-minded prisoners. It is found that with the extension of associated labor, the work done is better in quality and greater in quantity than that done in the cells.

At Holloway prison I found the bulk of the women (it being a women's prison) engaged in needle work, and in the laundry. One trade, bead-portiere making, was carried on for the outside market. The women were also employed at mattress making and pillow making. The inmate's uniforms are coarse in quality, but of a pleasant brown shade, and the English custom of wearing a neat, small cap extends even to the prisoners. Of course the prisoners are also utilized at domestic service.

Pentonville prison is the historic first modern prison and was built on the Pennsylvania radial plan in 1840. To-day it impresses one as cheerless and old, and is reminiscent of Sing Sing, both as to age and crowded buildings added from time to time in a limited area. Pentonville receives largely a low-willed and dissolute idle class from the poorer parts of London, with whom it is claimed little can be accomplished industrially. Little work, relatively, can be done, in proportion to the large average population of the prisons. The estimated value of the services of a daily average of 1,067 male prisoners was in 1910-1911, £11,504, or a little over ten pounds or fifty dollars per prisoner, about fourteen cents a day. The principal occupations are sack making, coir picking, oakum picking, tailoring, cotton sorting, mailbag making; many inmates are also used in domestic service in the prisons.

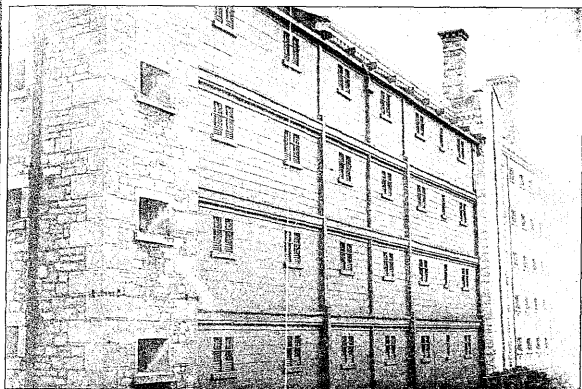
Wormwood Scrubbs is also a local prison in London, much more modern than Pentonville and built upon the cellblock plan more familiar to Americans, although with outside cells instead of inside cells. The principal activities are much the same as at Pentonville, save that a number of shops furnish employment for picked groups. There were, out of a daily average of 1,022 prisoners in the manufacturing trades, a daily average for instance of 21 basket makers, 27 book-binders, 57 carpenters, 41 mat makers, etc. The proportion of those industrially employed at Portland prison was as follows. Of a total of 671, in manufactures 108; in building operations, 270; for the admiralty (carpenters, excavators, laborers, plate-layers, quarrymen, riggers, etc.), 148; service of the prison, 103; non-effective, 42.

Four types of prisons are under the prison commission, as follows:

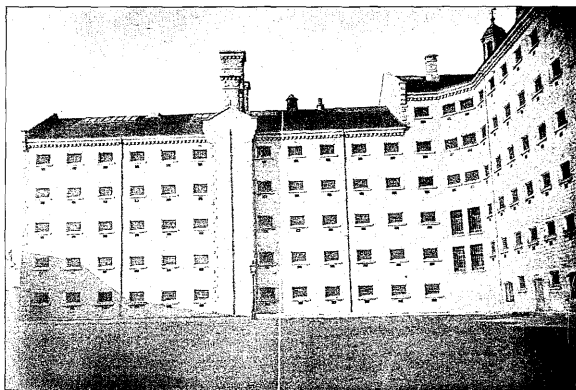
	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
	1910-11	1909-10	1910-11	1909-10	1910-11	1909-10
Local prisons.	14,596	16,026	2,386	2,495	16,982	18,521
Convict prisons.	3,195	3,069	114	120	3,309	3,189
Borstal institutions.	508	208	27	8	535	216
State inebriate reformatories	24	30	54	62	78	92

Convict prisons correspond in general to our state prisons, and receive those committed to penal servitude, the minimum term being three years. Local prisons are for those committed for shorter periods than three years. To the Borstal institutions, three in number, are committed persons between the ages of 16 and 23, who are not first offenders and who are physically and mentally able to profit by the strenuous reformatory treatment there given. The state inebriate reformatories are institutions of the nature designated by the title.

**The
Prison
Population.**



Portland Prison, England. Portion Erected in 1849



Portland Prison, England. Block Erected in 1909

The total commitments to the above institutions for the years 1909-10 and 1910-11 were as follows:

	1910-11	1909-10
Sentenced to penal servitude.....	926	1,115
Sentenced to imprisonment.....	166,608	178,963
Sentenced to detention in Borstal institutions.....	530	284
Imprisoned as debtors or on civil process.....	17,437	18,841
Imprisoned in default of sureties.....	894	1,062
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	186,395	200,265

This decrease of 13,870 in the total number of prisoners over 1909-10 resulted in the lowest percentage (464.8 per 100,000 inhabitants) reached by the prisons, except in one year, in the last thirty years, and leads the present commissioners to believe that crime is actually decreasing in England. I comment in the next chapter upon the decrease in juvenile criminality.

Let us now summarize briefly certain fractures of the treatment of the prisoner during his term. English prison discipline is strict. The surroundings of the prisoner are severe but humane. English prisons are not ornate; many of them are old and show frequent renovations. Persons with less than twenty-eight days' sentence serve their entire period, except for exercise, in cellular confinement. The cells in the local prisons are of sufficient size to enable cellular work to be carried on in them, having the following measurements: 13 x 7 x 9 feet, or 819 cubic feet. Of course "living" cells should be larger, perhaps, than night cells, but the convict prison cells of England are also spacious, measuring 10 x 7 x 9, or 630 cubic feet. When we consider that it has been until recently necessary frequently to put two men into a Sing Sing cell that measures approximately 200 cubic feet, we can see what separate cells for separate prisoners mean in England.

English prisoners find in their cells a certain amount of fixed furniture, such as the wooden table, the hinged bed board or iron bed, the cast-iron corner shelves, and the table. There are no water closets in the cells, the bucket system, long since discarded in our modern prisons, being still in vogue. Nor did I find running water in the cells. I was constantly impressed with the seeming fact that English prisons cannot get away from the idea that uncomfortable and traditional severity must be preserved in cell fixtures. Only recently apparently has it been allowed the prisoner to have even the photographs of a few "respectable" friends in his cell. To the American eye the fixed bathtubs, even though admitting of cleaning after each prisoner's bath, seem

ultra-conservative, although the Englishman, I fancy, feels that our showers are not sufficiently cleansing.

As regards cell windows, noteworthy changes are occurring, in order to give the prisoner a chance to see the sky and to have more direct air. The opaque glass and the small dungeon-like apertures are giving way, at a considerable cost, to larger panes, sliding panes for ventilation, and clear glass, alterations being made at a cost of from \$40 to \$50 a window. The cell doors are of wood, often sheathed with sheet iron. All doors open inward. The older cell floors are of stone flags, the newer floors being laid of concrete.

The English prisoner can envy his American brother as regards illumination, for instead of the electric light in each cell, the older prisons still have the naked gas jet, in a gas box outside the cell, the box often serving for two cells. The jets are being rapidly fitted with thirty-candle-power incandescent mantles, which increase the power of the light very much. "The reasons why electric light has not been more largely adopted," states the surveyor of English prisons, Major Rodgers, "are that in existing prisons there was a ready-made gas service, and also that the cost of electricity compared to gas has invariably worked out higher. Now that metallic filament lamps are on the market the price of the light may be such as to allow of its successful competition with gas."

The English prisoners finds that a temperature of about 60 degrees Fahrenheit is maintained in the cells in winter. The ventilation in the older cells is by forced draught through high chimneys. New prisons are introducing hot water heating, and ventilation through mechanical means as well as by the sliding panes in the windows, as above referred to.

If the prisoner is sent to an older prison, that edifice is probably on the radial plan, that is, consisting of cellblocks built from a central building or rotunda; the newer prisons, like Wormwood Scrubbs, are built upon the separate cellblock plan. The newest prison, as above mentioned, at Camp Hill approaches the cottage. The local prisons have from 100 to 1,400 cells. Until the Camp Hill prison was undertaken, the latest entirely new prisons built in England were two local prisons in the 80's of the 19th century. In the new Camp Hill prison it is estimated that the cost of prison construction, through the employment of prison labor at making and laying concrete blocks, may be reduced about 40 to 60 per cent. "As the prisoners can do all the work, from mixing the concrete and casting the blocks, the placing them in the wall," states Major Rodgers, "the cost of the walling is that of the cement and aggregate only, and as the latter is frequently found on the estate its cost (but possibly running a crusher) is eliminated. Moreover, the use of large blocks of uniform sizes goes far toward remedying the most aggravating factor in prison work, namely, slowness, for the speed with which concrete block walls rise when compared with brick and especially with stone is considerable."

The prisoner's dietary is far less than the customary diet in the United States.

Grade A, for first week.

Breakfast: bread, 8 oz., gruel, 1 pint.

Dinner: varies between bread, 8 oz., and porridge, one pint; bread, 8 oz., and potatoes, 8 oz.; and bread, 8. oz and suet pudding, 8 oz.

Supper: bread, 8 oz., and gruel, 1 pint.

After the first week, the prisoner receives Grade B diet, which adds to the dinner on Sunday and Thursday 4 oz. of cooked meat, and on other days soup or beans or potatoes. Those imprisoned beyond four months receive a more abundant diet.

A further classification occurs in regard to first offenders, who are placed in the star class, and removed from the more frequent offenders. Each prisoner has a cell to himself. A strict prison rule provides that two prisoners shall not at any time be confined in the same cell, and that if ever the crowded condition of the prison requires it, three or more prisoners must occupy the same cell. In no prison on the continent or in England or Scotland did I see more than one prisoner in a cell.

Turning to the problem of the discharged prisoner, let us note that in the case of the men discharged from local and from convict prisons there is no parole, such as the Prison Association of New York administers in the case of reformatory and state prison released men. For many years a number of societies have aided discharged prisoners, but only as these men have been willing to apply to the societies for aid. The number helped has been remarkably large, for there were during the year 1907-1908, 44,561. That the aid extended was in many instances but temporary and inadequate, there is little doubt, and with the increasing concern felt by the prison commission in the problem of the released prisoner, it was natural that in the year 1910-1911 an organization, called the central association for the aid of discharged convicts, should have been established. The latest report of the prison commissioners speaks of the society thus:

"The present system of aiding and controlling discharged convicts has proved in various ways inadequate and defective. The state has hitherto made no special provision for the purpose. A number of philanthropic societies, working independently of each other, with no effective authority over the convict, have for many years done their best to fulfill the important

Discharged Prisoners.

function of after-care. The state has been content to hand over to these bodies the gratuity which a convict can earn under the progressive stage system, and has trusted that this gratuity, judiciously handled by the society to which the convict went on discharge, would furnish the funds and the leverage to help a prisoner to make a fresh start. The societies have received from the Government nothing beyond this gratuity in cash, and there has been no cooperation between them and the official authority for any general plan of relief of discharged prisoners. The societies in many cases have been able to do no more

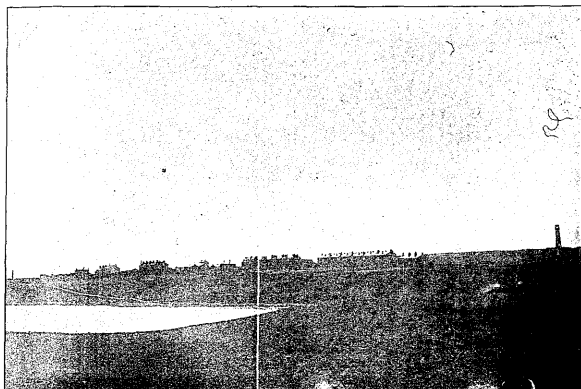
than pay out the gratuity, either in bulk or by instalments. The natural desire of the convict has been to get the whole of the money which he considers he has earned as soon as possible, and free himself from a form of control additional to the police supervision prescribed by law. The amount of the gratuities themselves has been considerably reduced. In old days, when sentences were much longer than at present, larger gratuities were earned, and this provision may then have been more nearly adequate; but the reduction in 1891 of the minimum period of penal servitude to three years has greatly affected the amount of gratuity earnable. The maximum gratuity which the law allows is £6; but this takes six years to earn, and half the sentences are for three years only, in which period a gratuity of only 20s. on the average is earnable.

"It is obvious that the power of the societies to influence the prisoner for his good has stood upon a very weak foundation, and any success which they have achieved in humane endeavor has been due to personal service and enthusiasm unsupported by extraneous power.

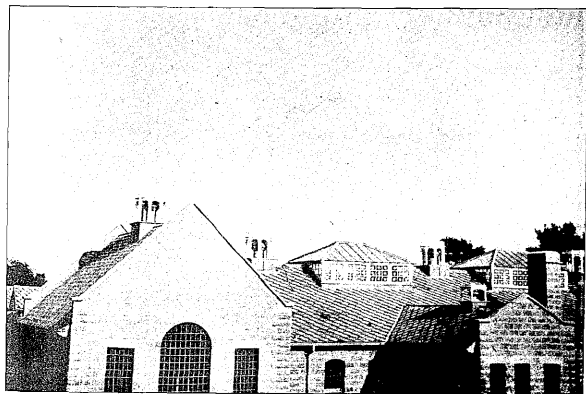
"On the other hand, in complete detachment from this body of philanthropic effort, there has existed the strong control and supervision of the police in what is commonly called the 'ticket-of-leave' system. The police have discharged their duties as well as they possibly can, and have done their best not to hamper any discharged prisoner in his efforts to find employment or to rehabilitate himself. But a system which maintains a complete divorce between philanthropic service and authoritative state control must be regarded as imperfect.

"When, in the early part of last year, the secretary of state drew the attention of the directors of convict prisons to the very large proportion of convicts who failed to regain their position in the world of labor, and returned time after time to crime and punishment, and asked that proposals should be made with the object of reducing this recidivism, the directors proposed that a central agency for the aid of prisoners on discharge should be instituted. The essence of the new reform is the combination in one hand, and under one directing authority, of all the influences, whether of force or friendship, which can be used to guide and aid the prisoner on discharge. The directors proposed that all the agencies at present engaged in this sphere of philanthropic endeavor should be coordinated to each other and to a central body; that this central body should be supported by a contribution from the state and clothed with the necessary authority. By this means earnest personal effort would not in the last resort be unsupported by power, nor would the supervision which the law requires be forced to operate independently of the agencies of moral and religious endeavor.

"Negotiations which the directors were authorized by the secretary of state to enter into with all the societies concerned have now been brought to a successful conclusion. A new association has been formed called the 'central association for the aid of discharged convicts.' This body will combine for the common purpose of aiding prisoners on discharge from penal servitude all or nearly all those societies which have hitherto been operating independently at convict prisons. The following societies have already agreed to cooperate with the official authority in forming the general council of the association: the Royal Society for the Aid of Discharged Prisoners, the Church Army Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, the Salvation Army Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, the Catholic Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, the United Synagogue Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, and the Borstal Association.



Convict Prison, Peterhead, Scotland



One "Cottage," Preventive Detention Prison, Camp Hill, England

"From the 1st April next persons discharged from penal servitude will come under the cognizance and control of the central body. Representatives of the different societies will be admitted to the convict prisons if they so desire, and this will enable them to divide the ground up fairly as between the different agencies, and to make a special study of each individual case which will be assigned to their care in ample time to deal with it on the release of the prisoner. On discharge from prison the convict will keep in touch with the society to which he belongs, and it is proposed, except in unsuitable cases, to make arrangements which will suspend altogether the supervision of the police as prescribed by the prevention of crimes act, 1871, so long as the convict keeps straight and obeys the conditions imposed upon him by the central association, working through the particular society. If he afterwards misbehaves, or in the opinion of the authorities charged with his care is not sincere in his efforts to abstain from criminal courses, he may be returned to police control under the full strictness of the present arrangements. But so long as he honestly endeavors to regain his position under the guidance and with the aid of those who have no other thought but to work for his welfare, he will be entirely freed from direct contact with the police or from anything likely to obtrude his past upon the notice of his neighbors or employers. The funds of the various associations and portions of the government grant will as heretofore be available for the purposes of maintenance and aid.

"The Association will furnish periodical reports as to the success, or otherwise, of this new departure. Experience up-to-date justifies us in taking a hopeful view as to what may be effected by well-organized machinery acting under central direction in the way of rehabilitation, even where bad antecedents and a long record of crime would seem to discourage, if not to render useless, any effort, however earnest and well-directed.

"There has been considerable discussion during the year whether it might not be desirable to create an analogous confederation of all discharged prisoners' aid societies operating in local prisons. Our chairman has presented a scheme for the consideration of the central committee of discharged prisoners' aid societies with this object. It is not proposed that there should be a further subvention from public funds than at present, but a change in the method of distribution, involving the abolition of the gratuity system. Opinion varies as to the value of the gratuity system in local prisons. Our chaplain-inspector who has had a large experience is in favor of abolition. At the present stage we are not in a position to approach the secretary of state on the subject, but whether there be any change in the financial arrangements or not, it is most desirable that there should be a greater cohesion than at present among all those different societies operating at different prisons, and often employing different methods. It will be desirable also to introduce a system of periodical conferences, gradually reaching a greater *solidarité* among all those engaged in this work, and with that a greater facility of communication, resulting in mutual sympathy and aid. If it should be possible to arrive at any common agreement as to the best methods to pursue, the secretary of state will be duly informed."

Let us turn finally for a moment to the state inebriate reformatories. The treatment of drunkenness is in New York one of our crucial problems, and our proposed colony for inebriates is to be an expensive institution, at least in its establishment. What can England tell us

as to the reformation of inebriates who have been committed by courts to the state inebriate reformatories, of which there are two?

Since 1898 fifteen inebriate reformatories have been established of which only two (Aylesbury and Warwick) are state institutions.

Three of the reformatories were shortly abandoned, and now twelve are in regular work. The total accommodation for inmates is 196 beds for males and 1,121 for females. The total commitments of males from 1898 to 1908 inclusive were: Males, 484; females, 2,548; Total, 3,032.

Commitments are under two sections of the inebriates act. Under section one may be committed as habitual drunkard one who is convicted on indictment of an offense punishable with imprisonment or penal servitude. In 10 years only 443 persons were thus committed. Under section two the number committed in ten years was 2,589, "ridiculously small" says the official report of Dr. Branthwaite, inspector under the inebriates act, "in comparison with what it might and should have been. This is mainly due to a controversy over the maintenance question."

The mental conditions of those committed have been carefully studied with the resulting classification as follows:

1. Insane—persons who since admission to reformatories have been certified and sent to asylums.	63
2. Very defective—persons who, after admission to reformatories, are found to be more or less congenitally imbecile, or degenerate or epileptic.	377
3. Defective—persons who are eccentric, silly, dull, senile, or subject to periodical paroxysms of ungovernable temper.	1,487
4. Of average mental capacity—on admission or after six months detention	1,105
Total admissions.	3,032

In short, the insane and very defective were approximately fifteen per cent of the commitments, the defective fifty per cent, and those of average mental capacity 35 per cent.

Quoting from Dr. Branthwaite's report to the international prison congress of 1910, we find that "the promoters of the inebriates' act of 1898 had two purposes in mind—reform when possible, and when this should prove impossible, detention of 'irreformables' for the benefit of the community. . . . It has been found that

**Can
Inebriates
be
Reformed?**

the majority of persons included in groups 1, 2 and 3 of the above classification are more or less unable to exercise the will power which is necessary to enable a victim to throw off his fetters—a struggle which in some cases has to be sustained through a long life in order to maintain sobriety when it has been attained. From 10 to 15 per cent of class 3 recover a fair amount of mental stability after long continued detention and

treatment. But with the exception of this 10 or 15 per cent, all persons in these three classes are too mentally impaired to appreciate that they are inebriates or that there is any necessity for amendment. So our probability of producing good results has been limited to inmates in class 4—those of average mental capacity—in addition to the 10 or 15 per cent of class 3 above referred to.

This estimate, based on scientific ground, has been amply confirmed by practical experience during the last ten years, efforts to reform the mentally defective have proved valueless, and all the persons who have done well have been those gifted with the possession of a fairly well-balanced mind. Only about forty per cent of all cases sent to reformatories have been possibly reformable, and of this number about half have done reasonably well. . . . From a reform standpoint, therefore, the experiment has been successful, not so much in the actual number of reformations that have been produced, as in demonstrating the possibility of reform even in bad cases, and the certainty of being able to produce a large number of good results under more favorable conditions.

"Considered from the second standpoint—the benefit to the community resulting from the segregation of irreformable inebriates—there is no doubt as to the success of the act. Our ten years' experience has taught us the advantage of removing such persons from the streets, the peace resulting from this action, and the safety to the public. The public has a right to claim protection from the unpleasant effects of inebriates that have their freedom, and detention is therefore justifiable, apart from any question of reformation. A recent official inquiry into the working of the acts in England has been held with a view of deciding whether or not they have served their purpose. The verdict is a favorable one; the departmental committee has recommended amendment of the acts to enable not only continuance but also extension of the work."

The space limits of my report make further consideration at this time of the English prison system impossible. I have tried to outline some of the principal features; the American penologist may judge from the citations given above as to what extent we may learn from our English cousins, and to what extent we have been fortunate in forging ahead. Yet that has not been the purpose of these chapters. Neither England nor the United States has uttered the last word in the domain of penology. So long as our jail system exists we must hang our heads in shame whenever we undergo the inspection of foreign visitors—or our own. So long as English prisons continue mainly prisons and make little progress toward the general adoption of reformatory prisons and the modern facilities so generally recognized in the United States as a fundamental part of prison administration and prisoners' rehabilitation, we Americans will continue to feel, probably, that we have in some respects worked out more successfully some advanced ideas in prison science.

Chapter Nineteen

THE BORSTAL SYSTEM

BORSTAL is the English Elmira. Elmira reformatory was opened in 1876, and its administration was modelled largely on the classification system then existing in English and Irish prisons. Borstal in England was established after gradual experiments since 1902, and was certainly largely influenced by American reformatory methods, although some recent English and continental writers on the Borstal system largely ignore the fact.

Borstal is not so much a separate institution as a system. Borstal as a location is the village of Borstal, on the hills above Rochester in the southeast of England, near the sea. Borstal as a system is found at the Borstal institutions of Borstal, in Feltham (in the valley of the Thames), in Aylesbury (for girls), and in a wing of Canterbury prison (for unsatisfactory cases).

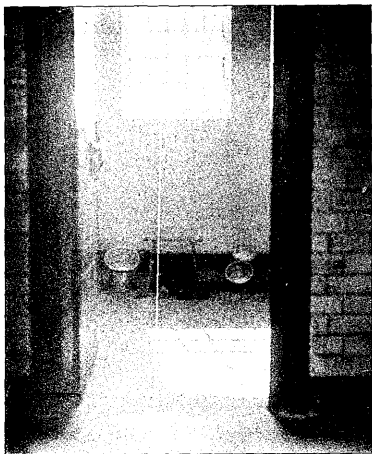
What Borstal Is.

The Borstal system is the last word in England in the treatment of young convicted persons between 16 and 23 years of age. There is also a "modified Borstal" treatment, maintained in local prisons for young persons called "juvenile adults," who receive thus a semi-reformatory course of physical and industrial education that incidentally is quite superior to the attention paid in American local or county or even in many state prisons to young prisoners, in distinction to older prisoners.

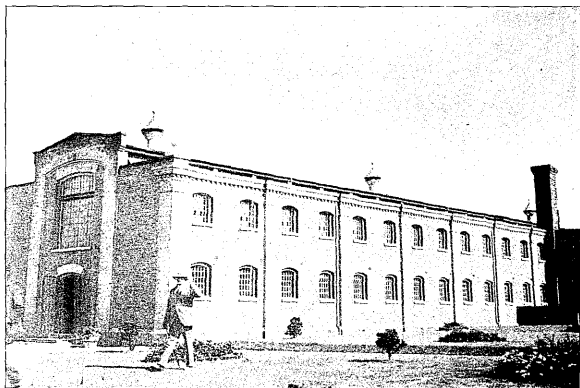
In 1908 the prevention of crimes act was passed, several clauses of which dealt with the reformation of young offenders, as follows:

"1. Where a person is convicted on indictment for an offence for which he is liable to be sent to penal servitude, or imprisonment, and it appears to the court (a) that the person is not less than 16 not more than 21 years of age, and (b) that, by reason of his criminal habits or tendencies, or association with persons of bad character, it is expedient that he should be subject to detention for such a term and under such instruction and discipline as appears most conducive to his reformation and the repression of crime, it shall be lawful for the court, in lieu of passing a sentence of penal servitude or imprisonment, to pass a sentence of detention under penal discipline in a Borstal institution for a term of not less than 1 year, and not more than 3 years, and for the purpose of this act, the secretary of state may establish Borstal institutions, that is to say, places where young offenders may be given, while under detention, industrial training and instruction."

This act also gives power to the prison commissioners to discharge on license such offenders as they think fitted for conditional liberty; but no license can be granted till the offender has served at least 6 months of his sentence, every offender, whether released on "license" or serving his complete sentence, re-



Ordinary Cell, Borstal Institution, Borstal, England



Type of Cell Block, with Outside Cells, Borstal, England

maintaining after his discharge under the supervision of the prison commissioners for 6 months; but the commissioners may release him from such supervision.

Another part of this act provides that young offenders sentenced to Borstal treatment must be of good physical and mental health, and further provides that young men up to the age of 23 may now be admitted to Borstal treatment.

Let us analyze the Borstal system, drawing a parallel column with the Elmira system. The principal features are the following.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.
Elmira (U. S. A.) and Borstal (England).

ELMIRA.	BORSTAL.
<i>Ages, 16-30.</i>	<i>Ages, 16-23.</i>
<i>Sentence.</i> Indeterminate, averaging about 15 months, but not to exceed the maximum that could be imposed by law, were a definite sentence to be imposed.	<i>Sentence.</i> Not less than one year nor more than three.
<i>Class of offenders.</i> Felons.	<i>Class of offenders.</i> Felons and misdemeanants.
<i>Classification.</i> Three grades, promotion to be gained by inmates.	<i>Classification.</i> Three grades, promotion to be gained by inmate.
<i>Privileges.</i> First grade.	<i>Privileges.</i> Special grade.
Special table.	Special dress.
Better food.	Better diet.
Inmate officers chosen from this grade.	Works without supervision, even outside walls.
More freedom of conversation.	Evening recreation in gymnasium or library.
Designation on uniform.	Saturdays, football or cricket.
Less supervision.	Etc.
Etc.	<i>Punishments.</i>
<i>Punishments.</i>	Reduction to penal grade.
Reduction to third grade.	If incorrigible, sent to Canterbury prison.
If incorrigible, transferred to state prison.	<i>Industries.</i> Varied and educational.
<i>Industries.</i> Varied and educational.	<i>Farming.</i>
<i>Farming.</i>	<i>Promotion.</i> In not less than six months after entrance.
<i>Promotion.</i> In not less than six months after entrance.	<i>License.</i> May be gained by inmate at any time after six months on vote of special board.
<i>Parole.</i> Gained by inmate through marks—in not less than one year.	<i>Institution Board.</i> Consisting of governor, deputy governor, chaplain, medical officer and chief warder.
<i>Parole Board.</i> Board of managers.	<i>Organization to whom paroled.</i> Borstal Association, London.
<i>Organization to whom paroled.</i> In New York City, Prison Association.	<i>Period of Parole.</i> Until maximum sentence—and then six months if necessary.
<i>Period of Parole.</i> Six months minimum; maximum, the maximum sentence.	<i>Power to return Delinquent?</i> Yes.
<i>Power to Return Delinquent?</i> Yes.	

The above is but a partial list of similar or somewhat differing regulations. To the American penologist, the Borstal system is interesting not because it is a novelty, for it is not, but because of the divergent lines upon which it has developed from those of Elmira.

The day's work is arranged to prepare lads for a full day's work on their release, and is as follows:

- 5.30. Milk and a biscuit. The lad makes his bed and cleans his cell.
- 6.10. Gymnastics or drill.
- 7.00. Breakfast, consisting of porridge, bread and margarine. (Lads in the special grade have the addition of tea or coffee.)
- 7.40. Work in the open or in workshops. The working parties consist of blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, farm hands, gardeners, laborers, painters, bakers, bootmakers, cleaners, cooks, laundrymen and tailors.
- 11.45. Farm hands learn milking, care of farm stock, hedging, ditching, thatching and ploughing.
- 11.45. General parade.
- 12.00. Dinner, consisting of bread, potatoes, meat or soup or suet pudding.
- 1.00 to 5.30. Work as above.
- 5.30. Tea, consisting of bread, cocoa, milk and cheese.
- 6.10. Chapel, with short addresses by the officers in turn or by visitors. Opportunity is taken to read out letters from old boys.
- 6.30. Those who have not reached the special grade attend evening classes or read in their cells until 8.
- 8.30. Lights out.

Let us now note some of the differences. Elmira receives felons only; Borstal both felons and misdemeanants. (Apropos of this

fact, I call attention to unsuccessful efforts during many recent years in New York to secure a state reformatory for misdemeanants.) Elmira receives

Differences.

men between the ages of 16 and 30 years; Borstal is limited fortunately to the reception of males between 16 and 23 years old. Elmira, originally planned to be a relatively small institution, now has not infrequently a population of 1500. Borstal had a population last summer of approximately 400. Elmira's population is heterogeneous; Borstal's homogeneous. Elmira's population is housed in several great cellblocks. Borstal is lodging its men in four small cellblocks for 100 inmates each. Elmira has the inside cellblock system. Borstal has the outside cellroom system. Elmira is mainly industrial. Borstal is to a considerable extent agricultural.

This comparison is not intended to be derogatory to the Elmira reformatory. In my opinion it is but natural that a very recent institution like Borstal should avoid certain conditions now inevitable at Elmira, such as a great congregate population, great cellblocks and a subordinating of the farm and extramural work to industrial work.

In one further respect does Borstal differ from Elmira. The American reformatory receives all males between 16 and 30 years of age whom the judges commit to Elmira as felons without a previous

conviction for felony. But from the English reformatory (called Borstal institution to distinguish it from the English "reformatories," our juvenile reform schools) are debarred certain classes of young fellows, those who are first offenders and therefore should not be thrown in with more hardened offenders, and those who are physically unable to undergo the steady and strenuous life of the Borstal system.

Two important points are here emphasized. We Americans strive to erect reformatories for first offenders, to keep them out of jails, the plague spots of our American prison system. The English law works to force the first offender (juvenile adult) into jail (i. e., a local prison) because the English local prison is a decent institution, and because within each local prison the J. A.'s (juvenile adults) receive a special treatment modelled on the Borstal plan, as will be described elsewhere. For misdemeanants short-sentenced to a local prison for a few weeks the modified Borstal system appears helpful — and the entire segregation of youths from older offenders is a blessing.

But in barring from the benefits of the Borstal institution the physically unfit offender, I believe the law has perhaps not been wise. Certainly we Americans are coming to believe that about the first step in the reformation of delinquents is to get them into good physical condition. This belief found expression among English penologists whom I met last summer. Probably Borstal institutions will become soon makers of strong bodies out of weak bodies also.

I visited Borstal on Monday, August 14. Borstal is situated about forty miles southeast of London, and about three miles from Rochester, on a hill from which the view sweeps the country for miles. A quarter of a mile from the institution is old Fort Borstal, which temporarily was being used as a prison. Borstal itself was once a convict prison.

The institution is walled, and the enclosure is rather limited. Obviously this is one way of preventing too many buildings from going up, for the yard is already fairly full. The main impressions the American visitor receives are that a useful, economical and rather plain set of buildings in uniform style are being erected, and that there is an air of business-like activity about the inmates, though without the rather nonchalant or jovial and often precocious air frequently noted in American reformatories. I am tempted to designate the Borstal spirit as sober or even sombre, in comparison with the markedly resilient spirit of Elmira. Yet again this must not be regarded as necessarily a criticism, for by their fruits shall prisons be known, and we are yet to study the results of the Borstal system.

Skilled workmen act as instructors to the boys, who show marked interest in the trades. Some of the occupations are

bricklaying, plastering, glazing, painting, carpentering, filling, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, shoemaking, farming in its various branches, including the care and breeding of stock, milking, ploughing and gardening; also in the service of the prison, which comprises cooking, cleaning, washing, mending and knitting.

The educational and industrial activities meeting the eye of the American visitor remind him strongly of our own reformatory methods. There are parade and gymnasium, chapel service and classes, games and sports — days full of varied and useful activities.

While the first buildings in the reorganization of Borstal were built by contract labor, as for instance a block containing 100 cells, a bathhouse and a gymnasium, later buildings were built by the boys. "There is very little of the old Borstal of convict days left now," states the governor's report for 1911. "All the old cellblocks, except one half of one of them, have been pulled down and three large halls, each holding one hundred lads, put in their places. The fourth and last is just being started, and by this time next year will, I hope, be occupied. It is being built on a different plan, there being classrooms and dining-rooms below, and dormitories above. It is meant for the special grade only."

Two important questions remain to be answered. (1) What does Borstal cost? (2) What are the reformatory results of Borstal?

I append the statement of the governor as to the employment of inmates for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1911. To gain the equivalent in American money multiply the pound by \$4.86½. In the estimate of the value of inmates' labor as \$38,141.60, we find the following:

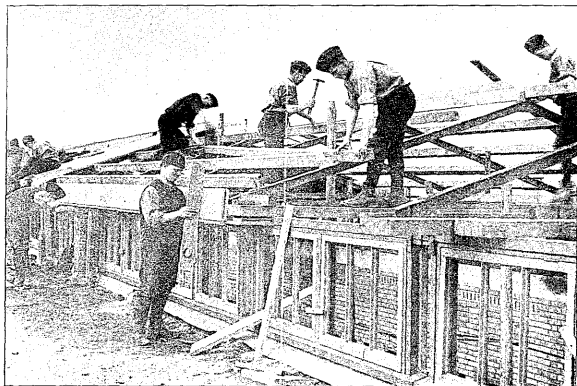
Average grand total working.....	346
Of whom	
In manufactures.....	46
On farms.....	42
In buildings.....	168
In service.....	80
Non-effective.....	10

The *average per diem* earnings in each branch are as follows:

In manufacturers.....	\$.159
On farms.....	.207
In buildings.....	.402
In service.....	.260

Turning now to the cost of the Borstal institution at Borstal for the fiscal year 1910-1911, we find the following statement:

Pay and allowance of officers, including uniforms, etc., and fine fund.....	£	s	d
	7760	9	0
Maintenance:			
Victualling.....	2821	13	10
Medicines, etc.....	41	16	2
Lighting, water, etc.....	908	1	1
Clothing, bedding furniture.....	1555	3	3
	13087	3	4
	or \$63,682.15		



Borstal Institution, Borstal, England.



Carpentry, Borstal Institution, Borstal, England.

Per capita per diem cost.....	\$	.504
Per capita annual cost.....		184.05

I do not find that the earnings of the boys are more than "imputed" earnings. That is, the institution profits to the extent of the industriousness of the inmates in the several branches, but the per capita per annum cost seems to be \$184, including the boys' labor. Indeed, the report of the prison commissioners for 1910-1911 (vol. 1, page 89, footnote) states that "as the work on which prisoners are employed is principally for the government, only a small portion of the amount is actually received in cash."

For the Borstal institutions (Borstal and Feltham) the expenses for the year were as follows:

Staff.....	\$51,165.52
Maintenance.....	35,493.45
Other expenses exclusive of cost of new buildings, etc.....	14,666.00
Total for year.....	\$101,324.97
Annual charge per prisoner.....	253.31
Deduct value of labor (measured), exclusive of employment in service of prison.....	\$35,997.50
Deduct incidental receipts.....	157.60
	\$36,125.10
Net cost (after deduction).....	\$65,200.00
Net annual charge per prisoner.....	162.75

The net per capita annual cost for 1910-1911 in the local prisons, after deducting the estimated or imputed value of labor, was \$90.18, as compared with \$162.75 in the Borstal institutions.

Evidently England is ready to expend considerable sums on the maintenance of Borstal institutions, approximating the net cost per inmate at Elmira reformatory. Considering the greater purchasing power of the equivalent amount of English money, England is liberal indeed in its Borstal experiments.

What are the results of the Borstal training? Nothing is more difficult than to estimate the results of a new undertaking, especially the reformation of men. The prison commission entertains strong hopes of the Borstal treatment, and of the "modified Borstal" system in the local prisons. That the health and moral calibre of the Borstal inmates improve during imprisonment there seems no doubt. As to parole

Results.

results, we read in the last report of the Borstal association (parole agents in London) that

"Of 212 lads committed to the care of the association and in their charge during the year

174 are at present satisfactory; that is, 82 per cent.

2 are on hand.

2 are dead.

18 are at present unsatisfactory, irregular at work through their own fault. 1 is lost sight of.

15 have been reconvicted. All but one of these threw up the work that was found for them.

212 Total.

"The help given by the association to these lads is summarized as follows:

	Total.	Satisfactory.	Unsatisfactory.	Reconvicted.	On hand or dead.	Lost sight of.
Work found for....	193	150	18	15	.....	1
Less done for.....	9	9	.....	.....	.....	.....
Could not be helped.	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Did not need help..	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
On hand, 2; dead, 2.	4	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
Total.....	212	174	18	15	4	1

"In nearly every case a complete outfit was supplied, and in the majority of cases wages were at first supplemented and clothes renewed or tools supplied.

"Of the 212 mentioned—

118 came from homes apparently respectable.

50 had no homes.

18 came from homes apparently indifferent.

26 came from bad homes or surroundings."

More significant is the analysis of results in the case of 221 lads on parole to the Borstal association between August 18, 1909, when the Borstal act came into force, and the end of July, 1910. Every boy on the list below had been "in the open" for seven months and some for eighteen months.

"133, or 70 per cent, satisfactory.

17 are believed to be satisfactory, but have not reported recently, many being at sea.

36 unsatisfactory.

31 reconvicted.

2 on hand.

2 dead.

221"

These parole statistics seem to approximate those for Elmira men paroled to New York city. Six years of statistics (1906-1911) kept by the Prison Association show that 69 per cent of the paroled men pass satisfactorily their parole period which averages about seven months.

What are the results of the Borstal treatment on the boys before they leave the institution? Not so good as would be the case were the boys held longer. Those boys with the shortest sentences are the least interested and the most disturbing element at Borstal. In this respect Elmira reformatory with its indeterminate sentence is far better off. The length of sentences in the case of 393 boys sent to Borstal in 1910-1911 were as follows:

3 years.....	77
Over 2 years.....	1
2 years.....	165
21 months.....	1
18 months.....	91
17 months.....	1
16 months.....	1
15 months.....	17
12 months.....	38
9 months.....	1

393

In short, 150 of these boys were given sentences of under two years, and of those discharged during the year, about one-third were discharged before the expiration of the sentence.

The Borstal association is a prisoners' aid society, founded by Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, chairman of the prison commission. This society embodies the belief of Sir Evelyn that the corner stone of any system for dealing with juvenile adults must be a well organized after-care association, which will be in possession of sufficient funds

The Borstal Association

to give the needful assistance. The society has been founded under the patronage of some of the best known and most distinguished persons in English public life. The president is the home secretary, and among the patrons are the archbishop of Canterbury, the prime minister, the bishop of London, and the lord chief justice of England. The treasurer's statement for the year ending March 31, 1911, shows:

<i>Receipts:</i>	
Subscriptions and donations.....	\$3,997
Government grants.....	4,379
Refunds.....	201
	\$8,637
Balance from last account.....	1,053
	\$9,290

Expenditures:

Relief.....	\$3,272
Salaries.....	3,345
Office and traveling expenses.....	2,715
	\$9,332

American prisoners' aid societies doing parole work will look with approval and perhaps some envy upon the instructions given by the home secretary to the police throughout England, asking them to receive any Borstal boy that comes to them stating that he is out of resources, and to communicate at once with the Borstal association at London. "This is useful," the association reports, "in case a boy leaves a country job suddenly or is unexpectedly laid off from his ship." In short, England is developing a state-wide system of parole supervision by a private society — a system that the Prison Association would gladly develop in New York state if means were at hand.

The Borstal institution at Aylesbury for girls is still in a very experimental stage. Up to March, 1911, 57 girls had been received at Aylesbury and only 27 girls had been discharged since August 1, 1909, of whom

- 4 decided to stay at the reformatory.
- 11 were doing well.
- 3 were feeble-minded.
- 6 were unsatisfactory.
- 1 at home.
- 2 recently discharged.

The Aylesbury treatment embodies much outdoor work, drilling and gardening, as well as sewing. The girls are classified, and the special grade brings special privileges with it. The after-care of the girls presents the complicated moral problems familiar to American reformatories. Thus far, a number of the girls have been placed in training homes for domestic service.

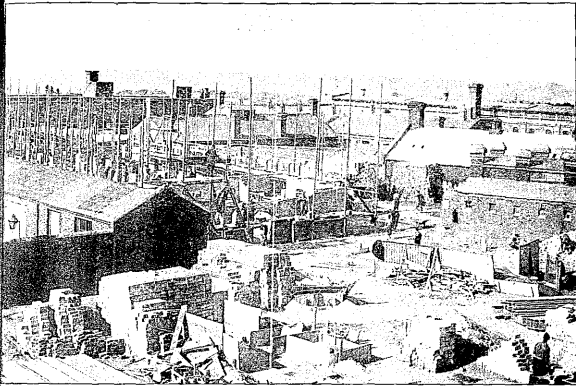
This is the only women's reformatory in England.

As for the results of the "modified Borstal" system in the local prisons, "excellent results continue to follow this system, that applies so far as practicable to short sentences over a

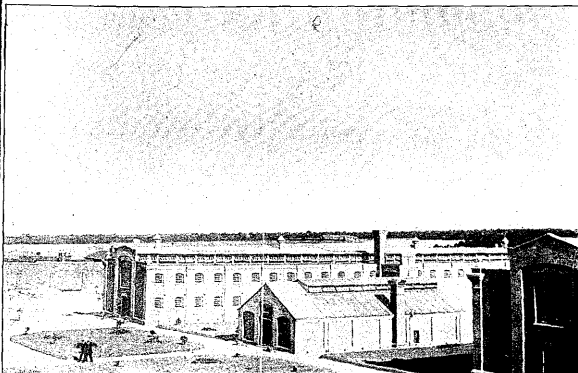
Modified Borstal Treatment month that personal care and individualization, which is the underlying principle of the full Borstal system. The results for 1910-11 were

as follows:

"Treated under modified Borstal system.....	1810
Of these, sentenced to four months or over.....	470
Discharged from collecting centers.....	651
Doing well.....	56%
No unfavorable report received.....	26%
Reconvicted.....	8%
Doing indifferently.....	9%



Building Operations, Borstal, England



Types of Buildings, Borstal, England

Discharged from other prisons, after sentences of less than four months and over one month.....	1364
Doing well.....	36%
No unfavorable report received.....	44%
Reconvicted.....	10%
Doing indifferently.....	9%

Such statistics, while interesting, are not very conclusive, for the period under observation is far too short. To be of value the careers of the "modified Borstal" graduates should be subject to investigation after one year or two years from time of release.

As yet only about half the "juvenile adults" between 16 and 21 years of age are sentenced for over one month. The modified and the full Borstal systems do not apply to young persons sentenced to one month or less. Of 1506 females, moreover, over 1200 were sentenced to a month or under. The prison commission feels that the time has now come for a strong step forward in dealing with the facility and harmfulness of repeated short sentences in the case of young and trivial offenders. Yet, comparing the statistics of juvenile crime in England for nearly a score of years, there has been since 1893 a diminution of over 40 per cent in the convictions of persons between the ages of 16 and 21. In the summer of 1910 the secretary of state announced in parliament that it was his intention to introduce legislation at an early date:

"(1) To secure a certain period of time to every person of fixed abode for payment of fine.

(2) To provide, if possible, alternatives of imprisonment in the case of young offenders between the ages of 16 and 21, either by

(a) disciplinary correction outside the prisons or
 (b) the creation of a system of disciplinary probation for dealing with minor offences and mere rowdism, without recourse to imprisonment, the object being to ensure that no youth should go to prison unless shown to be incorrigible, or to have committed some serious offense."

Most striking of all seems the statement of the prison commissioners that carefully studied statistics show that the mass of crime in England is being committed by men who are gradually advancing from one age category to another, and leaving a diminished number to take their places. "Ten years ago 32 per cent of offenders convicted on indictment were first offenders; now that number is only 23 per cent of the total so convicted. If it be true that the mass of crime is confined to recidivists, and not to the spread of crime in the community generally, then England, by gradually drying up the source, is diminishing crime. In fact, the number of persons received into prisons on convictions, 464.8 per 100,000, is the lowest point reached, except for 1900-1, for 30 years."

Even though there has probably been an increased use of the probation act, resulting in many young offenders being dealt with in ways other than imprisonment, there is no doubt in the mind of the

Howard association of England, that serious crime in England has diminished. As regards the significant reduction in the number of boy prisoners, the Howard association attributes the "wholesale reduction" not so much to the effect of the Borstal system, good as it is, as to the increasing habit of the magistrates of not committing boys and girls to prison for trivial offenses. Of special significance is the statement of the association that the probation act of 1908 has fallen practically into desuetude as relating to young offenders. Hence, boys either go free or to prison.

Chapter Twenty

THE TRAMP PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES¹

WHAT we in the United States need to do first with the tramp problem is to wake up. We have dealt with it too long as we do with a disagreeable visit to the dentist, that ought to be paid but is not.

We have a rural tramp problem and a city vagrancy problem. Let us first take up the general question. Tramps don't tramp very much; they ride. The railroads are the best and the worst friends of the tramps; best, because, as Josiah Flynt has said, they enable the man who begs from you on the streets of New York on Monday to accost you on the streets of Chicago on Saturday; worst, because the railroads are the severest prosecutors of the tramps.

The tramp problem is both easy and hard to understand. Easy, because it is easy to understand what makes tramps; hard, because it is hard to know how to deal with the products of the causes, or with the causes themselves. Because it is easy to get rid of an individual tramp, and so hard to handle rationally a group of tramps, the almost overpowering tendencies of individuals and communities are to do as the man did with the dead cat: throw it into his neighbor's yard, from which it in turn progressed through other yards until it arrived again in the yard of the original neighbor.

There is much unclear thinking about tramps. The bulk of people probably do not know what they mean when they talk about tramps. Some of them have learned about tramps from funny papers; some from the stranger in the street; some from having their summer cottages robbed or burned; some from being boards of managers of hospitals that give costly free treatment to worthless outcasts. Charitable societies, missions, city lodging houses, courts and prisons have all dealt with, and often do deal with the "hobo" with relative unintelligence. When the solution of a problem is hard and costly and perhaps useless in the end, it is apt to be side-tracked. Thus with the related problems of inebriety and vagrancy.

Yet in the census of 1904 it was shown that drunkenness ranked first among the causes of commitment to penal institutions in the United States, and that vagrancy ranked second. Between them they caused forty-three per cent of the commitments in the year 1904. That is a pretty costly price to pay for neglect to solve, if possible, the problems of drink and voluntary idleness.

I do not wish to lead the readers of this journal again through the array of the well-known or widely announced facts and opinions regard-

¹Article by O. F. Lewis, general secretary of The Prison Association, in *Annals of American Academy of Social and Political Science*, March 1912.

ing the extent, the costliness and the futility of vagrancy and the tramp evil. Since we are a nation of newspaper readers, it must be familiar to us that the railroads report that in the aggregate they lose at least \$25,000,000 a year through railroad vagrancy; that there are perhaps a half million tramps in the United States; that their paths lead like cow tracks all over their rich pastures, the states of the Union; that they are a most unproductive and most disagreeable group; that they cost charitable and correctional institutions and organizations millions a year to take care of them; that they corrupt the young and rob the older; that they disseminate disease, perpetrate and encourage crime, maintain indecent standards of living, and are altogether unlovely.

I would point out, first, some movements toward a reduction of vagrancy, and secondly, some vitally necessary things that have not yet been undertaken. First and foremost, *we must deal with the tramp evil along broad and national lines, not by federal laws, but with the keen sense of the national character of the problem.* Our methods must be tested, not primarily by the question whether they will rid the particular community of tramps, but whether they will, when adopted in general by other communities, tend to successfully reduce vagrancy and its attendant evils.

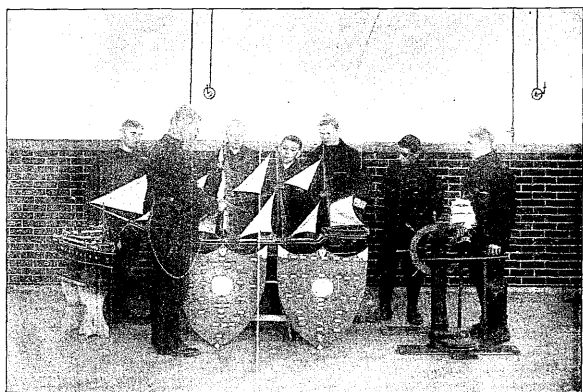
First then, I cite the agitation for farm colonies for tramps and vagrants. New York state has established a board of managers of such a compulsory farm colony, "for the detention, humane discipline, instruction and reformation of male adults committed thereto as tramps and vagrants." This is an experiment, brought to its present stage by a strong group of social workers in New York who have become sick and tired of the palliative and trivial treatment of the tramp evil in the past. The colony will have not less than five hundred acres; will be probably from fifty to one hundred miles from New York city; will receive persons on indeterminate sentences of a maximum of eighteen months unless since arriving at the age of sixteen they have been committed to a penal institution. The colony will probably be largely upon the cottage plan, and will maintain a system of marks and merits, privileges and deprivations, and a system of parole.

What will be the result? Prophecy is dangerous. It is believed that the best weapon with which to fight vagrancy is compulsory work, just as there is nothing like water after all with which to fight a large fire, although chemicals may do with small blazes. Wherever work is announced at workhouses, jails, almshouses and other institutions and organizations, the attendance of the loafing vagrant falls off. Wherever in cities the mendicancy squads are active and persistent, the city is relieved of the influx of the panhandler and the whining, shuffling man who has work to go to on Monday.

The farm colony will combine compulsory work with a long enough term of imprisonment (even under restricted liberty) to make the predatory vagrant careful about traveling through the state or seeming to be for a considerable time without employment. And I would say here that the law expressly states that the colony is not meant for



Building by Inmate Labor, Borstal Institution, Borstal, England



Instruction in Seamanship, Borstal Institution, Borstal, England

"reputable workmen, temporarily out of work and seeking employment." The courts will be instructed by the board of managers of the colony when it is ready to receive inmates, that the colony is meant not for those tramps who can be readily swung back into industrial life and self-support, but for those "customers," as the Germans call them, who have purposely and persistently defied the efforts of the law and the customs of the community.

Hence it is reasonable to expect that the total number of vagrants in the state will be reduced. But, says the inhabitant of New Jersey, you are simply throwing the tramps into New Jersey and Connecticut. True; but the advice of New York is that both New Jersey and Connecticut establish farm colonies. Then, in two ways, the deterrent influence of the colony will be more or less potent. For those who pass through the colony the idea of giving another year or more to the service of the state at hard work, if again convicted of vagrancy, will not be agreeable. For those who have shunned the colony by staying in another state the deterrent effect of the New York colony is obvious.

In short, the farm colony is simply typical of what in general the method must be of counteracting vagrancy. The tramp is the most volatile of all dependents or delinquents. Pages of proof can be presented of this fact, and perhaps most striking of all would be the facts gathered from juvenile institutions.

Will the colonies reform the shiftless, work-shy tramp? Probably not to any great extent. In individual cases, yes. But I am firmly of the opinion that to reduce vagrancy we need to employ strong and persistent corrective measures. I have this last summer visited the leading labor colonies of Belgium, Holland and Germany. Everywhere the testimony is the same, although some of the colonies have been in existence nearly one hundred years. The foreign vagrant, in four cases out of five, is a repeater, not permanently reclaimable. The great service rendered by foreign compulsory labor colonies is to act as a segregating center for the half-efficient and intentionally idle, and as a deterrent for those who can foresee that a life of vagrancy will mean frequent compulsory segregation in the colonies. The European countries would not think of giving up the forced labor colonies, but they do not make claims that they are reformatories. We must not allow ourselves in this country to hail the new farm colonies as reformatories or as strong factors in the elimination of the tramp, for I have no belief at all that the tramp can be eliminated so long as the world takes summer vacations, and rich people follow their bent and go to Florida in the winter, and so long as Cook's tours find a justification for being. The tramp has the same desires, but not the same means. Being without means, he tramps, or, as I have already said, he rides.

Which leads me to the second point. *We must bend our best energies to the reduction of railway trespass.* I believe no one wishes this reduction so much as the railways themselves, for they are the sufferers. Where the individual community suffers somewhat, the

long trunk line suffers grievously. Apart from the hundreds of thousands of dollars lost by our great railways, the lives of trainmen are frequently imperilled. A never-ceasing state of warfare exists between the trainmen in general and the tramps in general, although exceptions to the "state of war" exist of course.

What are the results of railway trespass? First, the loss to the railroads in property destroyed, stations burned, obstructions placed on tracks, signals tampered with, lives lost, persons injured, and, indeed, the not infrequent suits that are brought by tramps themselves for injuries sustained while riding or while walking on the railroad.

Then also the cost to the community. Railroads will literally "dump" a group of tramps upon a village or a town. The village reasons with justice that the railroad gives, therefore let the railroad take away, and is frequently known to load the tramps upon the next freight. Or the justice of the peace or the police court judge suspends sentence on condition that the tramp betake himself to the next settlement, where the next judge may still further pass along, or send to the local jail.

How can railway vagrancy be reduced? By making the cost of maintenance of vagrants and tramps in correctional institutions a state charge. Just as long as the local authorities have to stand the expense of imprisonment of tramps and vagrants, just so long will the passing-on system continue. Railroad detectives may work twenty-four hours a day, only to have the local court release or speed the parting plague during the twenty-fifth hour, because the town cannot afford to stand the expense.

This movement requires legislative action. Such action must be propelled by a strong force. I believe that a national vagrancy committee is a necessary organization. The railroads should be large factors in supporting it financially. Their gain in the reduction of railway vagrancy would be the communities' gain. Therefore the communities should uphold the railroads in fighting vagrancy and not look upon their efforts as another example of the persecutions of a soulless group of corporations.

In the third place, almshouses should not be used as the abode or resting-up place for able-bodied workshys. In the absence of "tramp houses" with work tests one cannot blame the timid farmer's wife from quickly bolting the door and shouting through the crack of the door to the rural tramp to go to the poorhouse over night. That raises two questions. First, will the community establish a tramphouse with work test? Secondly, does not the farmer's wife run a real danger in refusing the tramp food or shelter? Answering the second question first, I would say that the testimony of tramps with whom I have talked is that the tramp, if not sustaining violence, is not very liable to wreak any physical revenge for not receiving aid. It is a battle of wits. The tramp is generally lying as to his need. He has little admiration for the gullible housekeeper. If refused, he says to himself: "She didn't fall for my yarn." I have lived several years in the suburbs of New York on a farm, and commuted to my work

in New York. We have refused many tramps, or offered them work, and we have never suffered any physical harm.

Furthermore, the more violence that there might be, the stronger is the argument for bringing about a change in the present nuisance. We do know, from newspaper articles, of the physical violence occasionally wreaked upon defenseless women. The best way to overcome that danger is to deter the assailants from being in the country at all. And here the "tramp house" with work test attached will be a potent local remedy. The state of Massachusetts in 1905 passed a drastic tramp law, providing, that able-bodied vagrants, whenever lodged by a community, shall be required to render reasonable work in return for food and lodging, which shall be adequate.

The result in one year was as follows:

In 1905, 89 almshouses lodged 23,341 vagrants.

In 1906, 61 almshouses lodged 7,000 vagrants.

In 1905, 17 towns lodged 2,711 vagrants.

In 1906, 17 towns lodged 254 vagrants.

Bringing history down to date, we find the comparative absence of tramps at present to be the result of the rigid enforcement of the tramp law. "It is the opinion of tramp officer Barrett that most of the tramps who formerly infested Massachusetts in large numbers cross over the state as quickly as they can from Connecticut or New York to New Hampshire or Vermont. The state can readily be crossed at almost any point in a day's travel over the roads. Rather than take a chance of a term in a Massachusetts jail, the real tramps hurry across the state to a point where the law is not so thoroughly enforced."

The Massachusetts law further provides that if tramps are to be lodged at all, they shall not be lodged in the almshouses in association with the paupers. In short, the laws of the Bay State are well calculated to make it disagreeable to be a tramp, and the burden of my argument in this paper is that that is the point of view we must adopt in general.

Is this uncharitable? In no sense. What are the facts? The tramp is of no use even to the moralist, for he has other horrible examples from which he can draw his lessons and examples. He is not useful to the labor agitator, for the honest unemployed are sufficiently numerous without the tramp. He is not useful to the charitable societies as cases, or to the hospitals. He is not useful to the prisons, for he is the least susceptible of reformation. To whom is he useful? Not even to himself, for he is a miserable outcast. Then why should we encourage his vice to get the better of his will by being indifferent to the tramp problem? If we are not to be indifferent, we can use but one of two methods, gentle persuasion and charitable help, or rigorous prosecution and drastic treatment. The gentle persuasion and the charitable help are in my opinion generally failures; if they are not,

¹The Review, February, 1912.

why have we not reduced vagrancy? Any one will be apt to say today that vagrancy is more widespread than five years ago. Gentle persuasion and charitable help are useful in individual cases, and the spirit of charity toward the fallen and the outcast should never cease out of the land, but we must interpret what we mean by the spirit of charity. To my mind real charity in the problem of the tramp evil means the reduction to the least possible point of bread lines, free meals and lodgings given by missions, charity societies and prison associations, and the elimination of private or public lodging houses which give free lodging and meals without work tests, or their reorganization into work-test lodging houses. In short, charity in the cases of vagrancy means cutting off every chance for the individual vagrant to find an excuse to continue his life of workshyness and parasitism.

This sounds perhaps harsh and hostile, and so it would be, did not my recommendations carry with them provision for constructive assistance to the vagrant, which I shall shortly mention. I cannot too strongly emphasize, however, the folly of looking with tolerance and even pity upon the gradual descent of the vagrant into entire uselessness, instead of performing a major operation upon him, if necessarily early, an operation which while it will hurt and be drastic, will not endanger life or even reasonable comfort, and will make him literally "sit up and take notice" that life is not one wild ride from city to city and one long series of idle days and debauched nights.

Returning now to our deterrent forces for the reduction of vagrancy, I would put next the great desirability, and even necessity, of having certain state officials to arrest and prosecute vagrants. The graphically designated "tramp officer" is such a one. The state constabulary of Pennsylvania are such. We must protect the rural communities from the vicious wanderers of the highway. The village constable is no person to prosecute tramps. In the first place, it is not his business to be a patrolman, and secondly, the farmer who calls him in has to pay fees for the arrest that he makes, if the laws of other sections of the country are the same as those prevailing in the town in which my small farm is located. A mounted constabulary is a great desideratum. Foreign countries have such, and the vagrants and the beggars shun them.

In the next place, persistent effort should be made in all states to do away so far as possible by law with the short sentence and the idle jail. This is not easy. New York has for years sought to establish reasonable industries in the county penitentiaries, but those institutions are under county management, which means often stupid political indifference. So long as counties maintain winter resorts for idle tramps, they can obtain a houseful without publishing any prospectuses. How ridiculous that the very persons who moan and burst into denunciations about the burdens of tramps, are the very ones often that show immovable indifference to the jail or penitentiary problem as a penological question, or as anything except a plum for the spoils system.

I have outlined certain reasons for the continuance of the tramp evil in the country. In the city—which is not a subject for special discussion in this series on *Rural Life*, the lodging houses, the complacent five-cent charity-monger on the street, the "rescue-and-advertised results" missions, the municipal lodging houses without work tests, the woodyard without other industrial features, and the lack of cooperative efforts to deal with the vagrancy question on a large scale and with differentiation of function, are some reasons why we see fully as many vagrants now as we did some years ago.

What shall we do? Organize the national vagrancy committee. Get funds enough and a general secretary of sufficient caliber to engineer a number of movements along the lines mentioned above. The vagrancy business at present is often nobody's business. Its ramifications are so many and so far reaching that the charity worker naturally spends his energy on problems more local, nearer home. If there is one problem that should be dealt with on a national basis, it is the tramp problem.

In some states the problem has been forced to the front. New York is fortunate in the group of social workers on public boards and in private organizations who have urged successfully in recent years not alone the tramp colony for habitual tramps and vagrants, but also the establishment of a farm colony for inebriates by the city of New York, and the removal of the city reformatory for misdemeanants from New York city into the country. To catch the tramp young; to cure him if possible of his drink habit; to impress upon him in a tramp colony that tramping is a thing the state of New York does not intend longer to ignore; such are some of the recent moves in the Empire State.

But, along constructive instead of deterrent lines, a national vagrancy committee must make active studies. Inevitably there must be developed in our country some comprehensive form of free employment bureaus, which will eliminate the excuse of vagrants that, being down and out, there is no ready chance for them to get employment again. To the statement that charitable societies already try to "bring the jobless man and the manless job" together, the answer may be made that the general effort to find employment for the unemployed should be in appearance or in actuality a charitable effort.

In connection with the development of free employment agencies there should be lodgings at frequent intervals, that is, in contiguous cities and communities where the unemployed may eat and sleep, in return for work done. Never can we conscientiously prosecute the intentially idle vagrant at all points until we establish the means of temporary employment for him that will remove the plausible excuse that he cannot find employment.

The "way-ticket" plan, adapted from the German identification card, will be probably long in coming into the United States. It is still repugnant to the great majority of citizens to consider being tabbed or "mugged" and numbered. Such measures have been

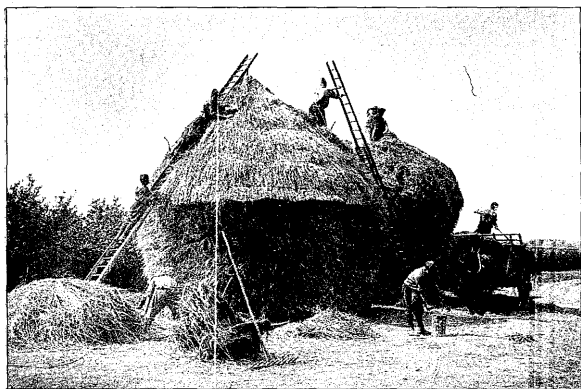
advocated, but their realization is far off. We cannot expect to control the progress from city to city of the unemployed seeker for a job, as is done in Germany. What we can do is to follow the general lead of Massachusetts, and make the entertainment of the vagrant conditional upon separating such entertainment from that given to paupers, and in return for work.

Along sanitary lines, we can do something by *cleaning up the low lodging houses*, where the poorest and the most shiftless of the unemployed sleep and "hang out." Slowly the rules and regulations for common lodging houses are being improved in many cities. New York city has recently put in force a rather drastic series of rules and regulations for the government of common lodging houses, after having received the suggested rules in 1907 from two of the large charitable societies of the city, which had compiled them from the experience of many American and foreign cities.

A very tangible method of reducing vagrancy to some extent is rigorously to *prosecute begging on the streets or in public places*. Abroad, the courts make a careful distinction between begging in localities where poor relief is obtainable and in places where it cannot readily be obtained. In our large cities, poor relief for the homeless is accessible, and there should be no toleration of the street mendicant. New York city has suffered for several years from an increased amount of mendicancy, due to the removal in 1906 of the mendicancy squad that had under Mr. Forbes rendered such excellent service to the city under the general control of the Charity Organization Society. The street mendicant perverts the charitable impulse without which society cannot maintain its philanthropic work. In the country the beggar has a ground for his story of need, unless there be in the neighborhood a place where he can find shelter and food — and work.

As I have said before, I shall not attempt to indicate the causes of vagrancy. They are in general the same as the causes of poverty — plus, often, the strong desire to wander. *The very most effective check on vagrancy is the proper kind of education of the young during the years from ten to twenty.* The schools, the home, the church must all do their part in preparing the youth for a reasonable, honest and efficient life. Child labor, illness, mental defectiveness, congestion of population, truancy, orphanage, inefficiency, low wages, overwork, industrial accidents, diseases of occupation, the temptations of crime seasonal and irregular trades — all these causes and many more, operate to produce the youthful tramp. When such influences gain possession, the railroad is ready at hand to bear the boy from his hated surroundings to the wide, wide world beyond the horizon — a horizon often of dismal walls, and sooty chimneys, and slovenly backyards.

Yes, we need a national committee to take up soberly and comprehensively the treatment of the problems of vagrancy. For nearly a half century, responsible persons in our country have intermittently emphasized the growing seriousness of the vagrancy problem. The



Outdoor Work, Borstal Institution, Borstal, England



Cricket, Borstal Institution, Borstal, England

so-called larger social movements are well under way. We have our consumers' leagues, our national child labor committee, our national committee for the study and prevention of tuberculosis, our national housing committee, our national association of charity organization societies, and even our national prisoners' aid association. There remain for comprehensive national treatment the two leading causes of commitment to penal institutions — inebriety and vagrancy. The two offenses against society frequently overlap. Should not the next step, or one of the next steps, be the establishment of a national movement to reduce one or both of these great social evils? .

Chapter Twenty-One

Treasurer's Report

For 12 Months Ending December 31, 1911

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES AT DATE OF DECEMBER 30, 1911

SCHEDULE "A"

ASSETS

Cash:			
Treasurer's Fund:			
Mechanics & Metals National Bank	\$3,357 46		
Endowment Funds on deposit subject to transfer to U. S. Trust Co.	59 44	\$3,416 90	
General Secretary's Funds:			
Bank of the Metropolis	\$19 63		
Petty cash	109 83		
		129 46	
Endowment Fund:			
U. S. Trust Co.		226 69	
Reserve Fund:			
New York Life Insurance & Trust Co.		3,010 43	
Mary H. Brush Fund:			
Union Trust Co.		534 85	
Total cash		\$7,318 33	
Real estate (at cost):			
House and lot, 135 East 15th St.		22,500 00	
Due from Napanoch reformatory		25 00	
Interest accrued or due:			
Investments		658 96	
Total assets		\$30,502 29	

TREASURER'S REPORT.

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LIABILITIES

Accounts payable		\$421 62
Various Funds:		
Endowment Fund	\$66,053 63	
Less amount invested	65,767 50	
Uninvested	\$286 13	
Reserve Fund	3,010 43	
Mary H. Brush Fund	3,034 85	
Less amount invested	2,500 00	
Uninvested	534 85	
Russell Sage Foundation	81 94	
Special donations for relief (see Schedule "E")	\$661 83	3,913 35
Funds held in trust for I. Lipschitz	8 00	
		669 83
Capital at date of December 31, 1910	\$25,633 92	
Loss for year ending December 30, 1911	136 43	
Capital at date of December 30, 1911		25,497 49
Total liabilities		\$30,502 29

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE 12 MONTHS ENDING DECEMBER 30, 1911

SCHEDULE "B"

CURRENT FUNDS

Balance, December 31, 1910:		
In Mechanics and Metals National Bank	\$4,487 94	
Of which endowments afterward transferred	1,152 00	
		\$3,335 94
In general secretary's hands	257 12	\$3,593 06

INCOME

Donations:		
General	\$20,431 28	
Special	1,558 19	
Relief	618 00	
Library	75 00	\$22,682 47
Interest:		
Investments	\$1,754 37	
Bank balances	377 62	2,131 99

Reformatory:

New York State, Elmira.....	\$1,300 00	
Napanoch.....	300 00	
		\$1,600 00
Terrace Garden entertainment.....	390 00	
Funds held in trust.....	364 00	
Transferred from Reserve Fund (net).....	290 00	
Rents in 1910.....	136 50	
Refunds.....	55 00	
		\$27,649 96
		\$31,243 02

EXPENDITURES

Special donations for relief.....	\$896 36	
Funds held in trust.....	538 62	
Terrace Garden entertainment.....	450 97	
O. F. Lewis, European trip.....	400 00	
Russell Sage Foundation.....	194 58	
D. E. Kimball, vacation.....	150 00	
Exchange on cheques.....	7 23	
		\$2,637 76
General secretary:		
Salaries.....	\$7,686 75	
Printing and stationery.....	1,875 30	
Postage.....	1,633 40	
Transportation, hotels and carfares,	473 02	
Telegrams, telephone and messenger.....	275 39	
Office supplies.....	173 70	
Library.....	162 56	
Newspapers and periodicals.....	139 77	
Sundries.....	49 66	
Express and cartage.....	19 99	
Furniture and fixtures.....	17 38	
Conference membership and organizations.....	17 00	
Photos and films.....	14 12	
Publicity.....	13 99	
		12,552 03
House:		
Salaries.....	\$434 00	
Repairs.....	422 44	
Supplies.....	242 40	
Light.....	228 10	
Fuel.....	178 25	
Insurance.....	136 25	
Labor.....	98 75	
Water.....	27 30	
Express and cartage.....	3 50	
Sundries.....	3 00	
Transportation and carfares.....	80	
		1,774 79

Parole bureau:

Salaries.....	\$4,336 90	
Transportation, agents' expenses and carfares.....	374 14	
Sundries.....	27 87	
Labor.....	12 50	
Express and cartage.....	1 00	
		\$4,752 41

Probation bureau:

Salaries.....	\$3,217 88	
Transportation and agents' expenses.....	162 28	
		3,380 16

Relief:

Food and meals.....	\$973 05	
Rent.....	854 12	
Sundries.....	299 00	
Labor for and by applicants.....	103 67	
Clothing.....	100 95	
Medical and surgical.....	80 75	
Transportation and carfares.....	76 01	
Tools.....	56 25	
Mrs. S. J. Atwood, employment agency.....	59 20	
Pensions.....	18 00	
Agency fees.....	13 00	
Coal.....	12 00	
Loans.....	11 85	
Laundry.....	10 10	
		\$2,658 95
		\$27,756 10
		\$3,486 92

Balance, December 30, 1911:

In Mechanics and Metals National Bank.....	\$3,416 90	
Of which, endowment funds, subject to transfer to U. S. Trust Co.....	59 44	
		\$3,357 46
In general secretary's hands:		
Bank of the Metropolis.....	\$10 63	
Petty cash.....	109 83	
		129 46
		\$3,486 92

*See also first item under expenditures, p. 190

INVESTMENTS AT DATE OF DECEMBER 30, 1911
SCHEDULE "C"

DATE OF PURCHASE	Investment	Rate	Interest due	Valuation at cost	Interest accrued or due at December 30, 1911
	<i>Endowment Funds:</i>				
Feb. 9.....	B-M. P. J. R.....	4½%	May & Nov.	\$42,000.00	\$315.00 Accrued.
Mar. 13.....	5 Bonds - C. R. I. & P. Ry.....	4 %	Jan. & July	4,813.75	100.00 Accrued.
May 15.....	B-M. C. M.....	4½%	May & Nov.	12,000.00	90.00 Accrued.
June 6.....	5 Bonds C. & N. W. Ry.....	4 %	May & Nov.	4,943.75	33.33 Accrued.
Interest due on these Bonds at Nov. 1, 1911, not collected.					
Nov. 13.....	B-M. M. F. C.....	4½%	Apr. & Oct.	2,000.00	100.00 Due 11.25 Accrued.
	<i>Mary H. Brush Trust:</i>				
Nov. 13.....	B-M. G. M.....	4½%	June & Dec.	\$65,767.50	\$649.38
				2,500.00	9.38 Accrued.
				\$68,267.50	\$658.96

TREASURER'S REPORT.

CONDITION OF THE VARIOUS FUNDS AT DECEMBER 30, 1911.
SCHEDULE "D"

STATEMENT OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND	
Balance at credit of fund, December 31, 1910.....	\$32,166 24
Received from donors.....	33,865 00
Received from United States Trust Co., interest (transferred below).....	225 26
Received from United States Trust Co., interest (not transferred).....	22 39
	<hr/>
Transferred to treasurer's fund.....	\$66,278 89
	225 26
	<hr/>
Balance at date of December 30, 1911:	
On deposit in United States Trust Co.....	\$226 69
On deposit in Mechanics and Metals National Bank.....	59 44
Invested (per Schedule "C").....	65,767 50
	<hr/>
	\$66,053 63

STATEMENT OF THE RESERVE FUND	
Balance at credit of fund, December 31, 1910.....	\$3,255 50
Received from New York Life Insurance & Trust Co., interest (transferred below).....	49 37
Received from New York Life Insurance & Trust Co., interest (not transferred).....	44 93
	<hr/>
Transferred to treasurer's fund.....	\$1,790 00
Transferred to treasurer's fund, interest.....	49 37
	<hr/>
Transferred from Treasurer's fund.....	\$1,839 37
	1,500 00
	<hr/>
	339 37

Balance at date of December 30, 1911, on deposit in New York Life Insurance & Trust Co.....	\$3,010 43
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STATEMENT OF THE MARY H. BRUSH FUND	
Balance at credit of fund, December 31, 1910.....	\$3,058 36
Received from Union Trust Co., interest (transferred below).....	44 63
Received from Union Trust Co., interest (not transferred).....	34 85
	<hr/>
Transferred to treasurer's fund, interest.....	\$58 36
Interest.....	44 63
	<hr/>
	102 99

THE PRISON ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

Balance at date of December 30, 1911:

On deposit in the Union Trust Co.....	\$534 85	
Invested, per Schedule "C".....	2,500 00	
		<u>\$3,034 85</u>

STATEMENT OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION FUND

Balance at credit of fund, December 31, 1910.....	\$276 52
Expenditures.....	<u>194 58</u>
Balance at credit of fund, December 30, 1911.....	<u>\$81 94</u>

We hereby certify that we have examined the books, accounts and vouchers of the Prison Association of New York for the fiscal year ending December 30, 1911, and that the above statement is correct.

TOWNSEND, DIX AND YALE,
Accountants

Life Patrons.

By Contributions of \$500 or More at One Time.

Barbey, Mrs. Henry I.	McHarg, Henry K.
Benjamin, Mrs. Eastburn.	Phipps, Henry.
Billings, Frederick.	Pyne, Percy R.
Brewster, Robert B.	Rhineland, Miss Serena.
Brown, M. Bayard.	Rockefeller, John D.
Clarke, F. Ambrose.	Sage, Mrs. Dean.
Dodge, Cleveland H.	Schiff, Jacob H.
Gold, Cornelius B.	Schiff, Mortimer L.
Harkness, E. S.	Scott, William H.
Harrah, Charles J.	Stetson, Francis Lynde.
James, Arthur Curtis.	Stewart, Lispenard.
James, Mrs. D. Willis.	Thorne, Samuel.
Lewisohn, The Misses Alice & Irene.	Tiffany, L. C.
"M. G. S."	Weerishoffer, Mrs. Anna.

Honorary Life Members.

By Contributions of \$100 at One Time.

Agnew, A. G.
 *Archer, George B.
 Astor, Mrs. John Jacob.
 Baker, George F.
 Barhydt, Mrs. P. Hackley.
 Billings, Mrs. Frederick.
 Bishop, David Wolfe.
 Bliss, Miss Catherine A.
 Bowdoin, George S.
 Bowen, Mrs. Harry S.
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 Brown, James.
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 Bruce, Miss Sarah E.
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 "C. P. S."
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For the Year Ending December 31, 1911.

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Moligneux, Edward L.	5 00		
Moligneux, Roland B.	10 00		
Moller, Edwin Clarence	20 00		
Montant, Alphonse	5 00		
Monteath, Miss Sara J.	5 00		
Montgomery, Henry B.	5 00		
Montgomery, James M.	1 00		
Montgomery, Mr. and Mrs. John S.	S 10 00		
Moody, Harry A.	10 00		
Moore, F. C.	10 00		
Moore, Miss Faith	10 00		

N

Naething, Mrs. Charles F.	5 00
Nathan, Mrs. Harmon	10 00
Neave, Mrs. Charles	5 00
Nelson, Mrs. Charles N.	50 00
Nelson, Mrs. Edward T.	5 00
Neustadt, Mrs. S.	S 5 00
Neustadter, Mrs. Caroline	20 00
Nichols, Mrs. Acosta	10 00
Nichols, Mrs. Edward T.	10 00
Nichols, Seth	5 00
Nichols, William H.	10 00
Nichols, William W.	5 00
Nicoll, James Craig	5 00
Nielson, S.	10 00
North, Nelson L.	5 00
Northrup, Mrs. William P.	2 00
Norton, Mrs. Frank L.	10 00
Norton, I. L.	10 00
Not, Mrs. Edward	1 00
Noyes, Mrs. Henry D.	10 00

O

Oakley, Mrs. Walton	5 00
O'Connor, Thomas H.	25 00
O'Connor, John Christopher	5 00
Oell, Daniel	10 00
Oelrichs & Co.	10 00
Ogden, Mrs. Charles W.	10 00
Ogden, Miss Mary L.	10 00
Ogden & Wallace	10 00

Ogilvie, Mr. and Mrs. J. S.	\$ 5 00	Pearl, Mrs. Frederick W.	\$50 00
Olcott, Dudley	25 00	Pearson, Mrs. Frederick	5 00
Olcott, Mrs. E. E.	5 00	Pearson, Miss Josephine S.	3 00
Olcott, George M.	25 00	Peck, Miss Ellen W.	5 00
Olyphant, James T. & Co.	15 00	Peck, William E. & Co.	5 00
Olmsted, Mrs. Charles Tyler	1 00	Peckham, Mrs. Wheeler H.	25 00
Olney, Mrs. Peter B.	5 00	Pederson, James	2 00
Olyphant, P. M.	5 00	Pegram, Edward Sanford	5 00
Olyphant, R. M.	10 00	Pegram, G. Lawrence	6 00
O'Neill, Mrs. Hugh	10 00	Penick, Siegfried	5 00
Oochoot, Mrs. Jane E.	10 00	Pell, Alfred Duane	10 00
Opydecke, Mrs. Emerson	10 00	Pell, Mrs. H. H.	5 00
Opydecke, William S.	5 00	Pell, James D.	5 00
Openhym, Mrs. Adolphe	5 00	Penfold, Miss Josephine	25 00
Openhym, William & Sons.	10 00	Pepper, C. H.	1 00
Oppenheimer, Mrs. Laurent	2 00	Perkins, Miss Dorothy	5 00
Oppenheimer, Henry S.	5 00	Perkins, Mrs. E. H. Jr.	10 00
Oppenheimer, Louis S.	5 00	Perkins, Mrs. G. W.	25 00
Oppenheimer Bros. & Co.	10 00	Perkins, Mrs. Gilman H.	2 00
Orr, Alexander E.	20 00	Perry, W. Herbert	2 00
Orr, Charles D.	10 00	Peters, Miss Alice R.	5 00
Osborn, Mrs. George W.	1 00	Peters, E. B.	5 00
Osborn, William Church	25 00	Peters, Mrs. W. R.	5 00
Osborne, Dean C.	10 00	"Peters, William R.	10 00
Osborne, Thomas Mott	5 00	Peterson, Mrs. Wilson	5 00
Osgood, Charles H.	10 00	Plister & Vogel Leather Co.	5 00
Ostrom, Mrs. H. I.	5 00	Phelps, Mrs. Charles	5 00
Otis, Miss Anna	5 00	Phelps, Mrs. Von R.	25 00
Oterson, Miss Lucy	5 00	Phelps, Mrs. William W.	50 00
Otley, James H.	10 00	Philbrick, Edwin C.	5 00
Oudin, Mrs. Lucien	10 00	Phipps, Miss Ada	5 00
Owens, William W. Jr.	5 00	Phitney, Mrs. Francis S.	5 00
		Pillet, Miss Clara	15 00
		Pinchot, Mr. and Mrs. Amos R. E.	10 00
		Pinchot, Mrs. James W.	25 00
		Pinckerton, Allan	5 00
		Pitkin, Mrs. A. J.	25 00
		Pitkin, William F.	12 00
		Plantan, John R.	10 00
		Plaut, Albert	10 00
		Pohlmann, George	2 00
		Polk, Dr. and Mrs. William	10 00
		Pollak, G.	3 00
		Pollak, Gustav	5 00
		Pomroy, Mrs. H. K.	25 00
		Poor, Mrs. Charles L.	5 00
		Poor, Mrs. James H.	25 00
		Porter, Miss Elizabeth A.	5 00
		Pope, Miss Theodate	10 00
		Pope, Miss Elizabeth A.	10 00
		Post, Mrs. Carroll J. Jr.	5 00
		Post, James H.	25 00
		Potitsky, Mrs. H. J.	50 00
		Potter, John E.	5 00
		Potts, Mrs. William B.	5 00
		Pouch, Alonzo B.	4 00
		Pouch, F. E.	5 00
		Powell, Bradford	5 00
		Pouch, Mrs. Charles	10 00

* Deceased.

Pratt, Herbert L.	\$25 00	Robinson, Henry J.	\$10 00
Pratt, S.	5 00	Robinson, Miss Julia B.	5 00
Presbey, Mrs. Stella S.	5 00	Robinson, Mrs. Kenneth D.	5 00
Presbey, Clifton H.	1 00	Robinson, Mrs. Thomas D.	5 00
Preston, Mrs. Sarah Fuller	2 00	Rockefeller, John D.	500 00
Proudft, Mrs. Alexander	3 00	Rockwood, George G.	1 00
Pruyn, Mrs. Charles L.	10 00	Rodewald, Miss A. Leon- line	3 00
Pruyn, Mrs. Robert H.	5 00	Roe, Livingston	1 00
Fryer, Mrs. S. Morris	2 00	Rogers, Miss Elizabeth B.	5 00
Pugh, Thomas	5 00	Rogers, Francis	5 00
Pulitzer, Miss Constance	10 00	Rogers, Mrs. H. H.	10 00
Purrington, Miss Amelia J.	5 00	Rogers, Mrs. W. B.	5 00
Putnam's, G. F., Sons	10 00	Rook, Charles T.	50 00
		Rose, Henry R.	1 00
		Rosenbaum, Selig	10 00
		Rosenbaum, Solomon	10 00
		Rosenberg, Mrs. William	1 00
		Rosenfeld, Edward L.	4 00
		Rosenthal, Miss M. Grace	1 00
		Ross, W. A. & Bro.	10 00
		Rosshack, Jacob	10 00
		Rothbarth, Albert	10 00
		Rothschild, Mrs. Jacob	5 00
		Royce, James C.	1 00
		Rusch & Co.	10 00
		Rushmore, J. D.	2 00
		Russell, Mrs. Etwood W.	2 00
		Russell, Mrs. Howland	2 00
		Russell, James W.	2 00
		Ruston, C. Jr.	1 00
			S
		St. James P. E. Church	25 00
		St. Michael's Church	6 90
		St. Thomas Church	109 72
		Sabin, Charles H.	10 00
		Sabine, William T.	10 00
		Sachs, Paul J.	5 00
		Sachs, Samuel	25 00
		Sachs, Charles H.	10 00
		Sackett, Henry W.	5 00
		Sage, Dean	200 00
		Sahler, Mrs. A. F. Thomas	5 00
		Sahler, Mrs. Helen G.	5 00
		Salks, Isadore	10 00
		Salant, Aaron B.	5 00
		Samuel, Isadore	5 00
		Sanford, Edward T.	5 00
		Sanger, Isaac	5 00
		Sard, Grange	10 00
		Satterthwaite, Mrs. E.	15 00
		Saul, Charles R.	5 00
		Saunders, Arthur C.	5 00
		Sawyer, Deatur M.	10 00
		Sawyer, Mrs. H. E.	3 00
		Sawyer, Miss Mary Hall	5 00
		Sayres, Gilbert V.	1 00
		Schenck, Frederick B.	10 00
		Schenck, Miss Susan B.	5 00

* Deceased.

Schermerhorn, P. Augustus	\$25	00	Simon, A. L. & Co.	\$10	00		
Schieffelin, Mrs. William H.	5	00	Simon, Franklin	5	00		
Schieffelin, Mrs. William J.	5	00	Simons, Mrs. W. R.	2	00		
Schieffelin, Mrs. William J.	S	5	00	Sisday, Mrs. W. W.	10	00	
Schieren, Mrs. Charles A.	5	00	00	Skougard, Jens	25	00	
Schiff, Jacob H.	S	100	00	Slade, Mrs. A. M.	2	00	
Schmid, F. Leopold	5	00	00	Slade, Francis	5	00	
Schneiwind, Heinrich Jr.	10	00	00	Slicer, Mrs. Thomas R.	5	00	
Schramm, Frederick	1	00	00	Sloan, Miss Mary A.	5	00	
Schultheis, Henry	2	50	00	Sloan, Mrs. William S.	5	00	
Schuyler, Miss Georgina	5	00	00	Smith, Mrs. Alfred	5	00	
Schuyler, Miss Louisa	5	00	00	Smith, Mrs. Andrew A.	5	00	
Schwab, Miss Emily	5	00	00	Smith, Mrs. Andrew H.	25	00	
Schwartz, Louis F.	10	00	00	Smith, Arthur C.	25	00	
Schwarz, Henry E.	5	00	00	Smith, Augustine C.	1	00	
Schwarzenbach, Robert J. F.	2	00	00	Smith, E. Munroe	4	50	
Scofield, Henry C.	5	00	00	Smith, Edwin F.	1	00	
Scott, Donald	10	00	00	Smith, Eugene	25	00	
Scott, George S.	5	00	00	Smith, Miss Fanny R.	5	00	
Scott, Mrs. George S.	10	00	00	Smith, Mrs. Fitch W.	5	00	
Scott, Miss Louise B.	10	00	00	Smith, George C.	10	00	
Scott, Peter	5	00	00	Smith, Howard C.	10	00	
Scott, Walter	5	00	00	Smith, Pierre J.	15	00	
Scoville, Miss Grace	100	00	00	Smith, William H.	2	00	
Scribner, Mrs. Arthur H.	10	00	00	Smith, William W. R.	5	00	
Scribner, Mrs. I. Blair	20	00	00	Smith, Mrs. W. Wheeler	10	00	
Seager, Henry K.	5	00	00	Smithers, Charles H.	1	00	
Seaman, Lloyd	C	100	00	Solomon, Elias L.	1	00	
Seidwick, Henry D.	5	00	00	Soltsman, Edward G.	10	00	
Sec. A. B. Electric Elevator Co.	15	00	00	Soper, Frederick D.	10	00	
Seeley, Mrs. Nathan	5	00	00	Spears, E. Ray	10	00	
Seeman, Daniel W.	10	00	00	Spirit, Mrs. Louis Dean	1	00	
Selbert, Charles L.	2	00	00	Spencer, Charles H.	5	00	
Sigelstein & Dvorkin	2	00	00	Speranza, Gino C.	10	00	
Sellierre, Baroness	S	50	00	Sperry, W. M.	10	00	
Selden, A. K. Jr.	2	00	00	Spoyer & Co.	10	00	
Seligman, Edwin K. A.	5	00	00	Speyers, Mrs. James Bayard	2	00	
Seligman, George W.	5	00	00	Spool Cotton Co.	25	00	
Seligman, Isaac N.	25	00	00	Spring, Miss Anna Riker	5	00	
Seligman, Joseph L.	5	00	00	Squire, George A.	5	00	
Senior, Mrs. S. P.	2	00	00	Standish, Mrs. Myles	10	00	
Sergeant, Mrs. J. E.	S	5	00	Standish, Mrs. Myles	S	10	00
Shaw, Samuel T.	5	00	00	Starr, Louis Morris	10	00	
Sheldon, Edwin B.	10	00	00	Stauten, Mrs. E.	1	00	
Sheldon, George G.	10	00	00	Stebbins, George Le	2	00	
Shepard, Augustus D.	10	00	00	Stedman, Emory A.	1	00	
Shepard, Edward M.	10	00	00	Steele, Charles	10	00	
Shepard, Mrs. Elliot F.	25	00	00	Steers, James R.	10	00	
Sherman, Mrs. Charles Austin	10	00	00	Stein	5	00	
Sherman, Mrs. Charles E.	10	00	00	Stein, Miss Helen A.	2	00	
Sherman, Mrs. Frederick	10	00	00	Steinhardt, Henry	5	00	
Deming	5	00	00	Steinhardt, Irving D.	1	00	
Sherman, Frederick T.	5	00	00	Steinway, Mrs. Frederick T.	5	00	
Shillaber, William	10	00	00	Stephens, Mr. and Mrs. John L.	5	00	
Sibley, Mrs. H. W.	15	00	00	Stern, Albert	5	00	
Silberberg, H.	S	40	00	Stern, Benjamin	10	00	
Silberstein, Abraham	2	00	00	Stetson, Francis Lynde	C	200	00
Sills, J. Stanley	5	00	00	Stetson, Francis Lynde	S	10	00
Simmons, John S.	5	00	00	Stetson, N.	5	00	

* Deceased.

Stevens, Mrs. Byam K.	\$15	00	Thiele E.	\$	10	00	
Stevenson, Mrs. Richard W.	10	00	Thomas, Edgar M.	S	1	00	
Stewart, Lispenard	25	00	Thompson, Mrs. C.	2	00	00	
Stewart, Lispenard	E	500	00	Thompson, Mrs. Frederick P.	25	00	
Stewart, Mrs. Louis	10	00	00	Thompson, Mrs. Joseph T.	25	00	
Stewart, Mrs. P. H.	10	00	00	Thompson, Mrs. S.	10	00	
Stegday, Mrs. W. W.	10	00	00	Thomson, George M.	5	00	
Stieglitz, Leo	5	00	00	Thomson, John W.	10	00	
Stillman, Miss Charlotte R.	50	00	00	Thorne, Josiah	25	00	
Stinson, Henry L.	10	00	00	Thorne, Samuel	25	00	
Stimson, L. A.	10	00	00	Thorne, Mrs. William	25	00	
Stires, Ernest M.	10	00	00	Thorne, J. S.	10	00	
Stirn, L. & E.	10	00	00	Tiebout, W. T.	25	00	
Stock, Annapolis	5	00	00	Tiffany, Mrs. Ella A.	25	00	
Stone, Miss Anna	5	00	00	Tiffany & Co.	25	00	
Stone, Miss Ellen J.	50	00	00	Timony, Mrs. James	10	00	
Stone, Junius H.	5	00	00	Tinsley, A. L.	5	00	
Stonham, Arthur C.	S	75	00	Titus, Henry	5	00	
Storer, Albert H.	5	00	00	Todd, Mrs. Henry A.	5	00	
Storer, Mrs. Albert H.	10	00	00	Todd, Mrs. Judson Scott	10	00	
Storey, Miss Lydia M.	5	00	00	Todd, W. Parsons	2	00	
Straight, Mrs. D. Willard	25	00	00	Todd, William R.	1	00	
Strassberger, Reinhard W.	10	00	00	Tompkins, Calvin	5	00	
Strauss, Albert	10	00	00	Tompkins, Hamilton B.	10	00	
Strauss, Nathan F.	10	00	00	Tompkins, Kilbourne	5	00	
Stratton, Mrs. D. Willard	C	100	00	Tompkins, Mrs. William W.	25	00	
Strong, George A.	10	00	00	Townsend, Arthur O.	10	00	
Strong, Henry M.	2	00	00	Townsend, Mrs. Howard R.	2	00	
Strong, Mrs. J. K.	5	00	00	Townsend, Isaac	25	00	
Strong, Selah B.	5	00	00	Townsend, Dir. & Yale	10	00	
Stroock, Louis S.	5	00	00	Tracy, Miss M. M.	10	00	
Sturgis, Miss Helen R.	1	00	00	Tracy, Miss M. M.	S	15	00
Sturgis, Thomas	5	00	00	Trask, Gustavus D.	1	00	
Sullivan, Mrs. Arthur B.	S	2	00	Trempier, Mrs. Clara A. P.	5	00	
Sullivan, Mrs. Emily S.	3	00	00	Trinity Church of New York	7	16	
Sullivan, Miss Isabella	10	00	00	Rochelle, N. F.	7	16	
Sullivan, Mrs. James	4	00	00	Troesch, A. F.	20	00	
Summer, Miss Emily D.	5	00	00	Trowbridge, James A.	10	00	
Suquehanna Silk Mills	5	00	00	Tuck, Mrs. Henry	5	00	
Sutro, Ludwig	2	00	00	Tucker, Mrs. S. A.	15	00	
Swain, E. A.	2	00	00	Tuckerman, Alfred	10	00	
Swezey, Mrs. Christopher	5	00	00	Tuckerman, Bayard	5	00	
Swift, A. J.	25	00	00	Tuckerman, Bayard	10	00	
Swins, E. J.	3	00	00	Tuckerman, Paul	5	00	
T							
Taber, Miss Mary	3	00	00	Turnbull, Miss Helen	5	00	
Tabor, Theodore E.	10	00	00	Turnbull, Mrs. Ramsay	5	00	
Taft, Mrs. Theodore M.	10	00	00	Turser, Mrs. Herbert B.	5	00	
Talcott, Miss Anna M.	5	00	00	Tuska, Mrs. M.	1	00	
Talmadge, Mrs. Edward T.	5	00	00	Tuttle, George M.	5	00	
Talbot, Miss Anna M.	5	00	00	Tyrell, B. H. W.	5	00	
Tannenholz, Maurice	5	00	00	U			
Tapper, Thomas	10	00	00	Ullman, E. S.	10	00	
Tappin, G. L.	5	00	00	Uman, Morris	2	00	
Tappin, Mrs. M. M.	5	00	00	Ullmann, Carl J.	10	00	
Taves, Mrs. A. W.	S	5	00	Underhill, Mrs. A. C.	2	50	
Taylor, Mrs. Alexander	10	00	00	Underhill, Adna A.	5	00	
Taylor, S. Frederick	15	00	00	Underhill, W. P.	5	00	
Thayer, Thomas	10	00	00	United States Bung Mfg. Co	2	00	
Thacher, Mrs. Thomas D.	5	00	00	Upham, Mrs. E. K.	10	00	
Thayer, Reginald H.	5	00	00				

V			
Van Beuren, Mrs. Frederick T.	\$10 00	Well, Isaac	\$ 5 00
Van Beuren, Michael M.	10 00	Weinman, J.	1 00
Van Bokkelen, Mrs. L. M.	1 00	Weinman, J.	5 00
Van Brunt, J. B.	5 00	Wellng, W. Brexton	15 00
Van Buren, E. M.	1 00	Wellington, Miss E. R.	15 00
Vanderbilt, John L.	5 00	Wellman, Mrs. Francis L.	10 00
Vanderpoel, Mrs. John A.	5 00	Wells, Mrs. C. L.	5 00
Van Dyke, Mrs. Henry	5 00	Wells, Henry C.	5 00
Van Gerbig, Mrs. B.	25 00	Wemple, Mrs. Susan J.	5 00
Van Hoorn, G.	5 00	Wemple, W. Y.	10 00
Van Ingen, Mrs. E. H.	5 00	Wenner, G. W.	2 00
Van Nest, Mrs. Frank R.	5 00	Werbelowsky, Jacob H.	5 00
Van Raalte, Z.	10 00	Wesendonck, M. A.	1 00
Van Santvoord, Miss Anna T.	20 00	Wesley, Joseph J.	5 00
Van Winkle, Edgar B.	1 00	West End Miss I. T. Church.	10 00
Van Winkle, Miss M. D.	1 00	Weston, Mrs. Theodore	5 00
Verdi, C. M. de S.	5 00	Wetmore, Miss Edith M.	10 00
Verplanck, Mrs. W. E.	5 00	Wetmore, Mrs. George P.	25 00
Verplanck, Mrs. W. G.	10 00	Whesler, Edward	5 00
Vezen, Charles	5 00	Wheeler, Miss Emily M.	10 00
Villard, Mrs. Henry	20 00	Wheeler, F. A.	5 00
Villard, Oswald Garrison	10 00	Wheeler, H. W.	1 00
Voght, Bernhard H.	5 00	Whesler, Miss Laura	10 00
Von Lilienthal, A. W.	5 00	Wheeler, Miss Mariana	5 00
Voorhes, James D.	2 00	Wheelock, William E.	10 00
Voorhaus, Louis J.	5 00	White, Alexander M.	10 00
W		White, Alfred T.	10 00
Wadhams, A. V.	\$ 5 00	White, Alfred T.	E 100 00
Wadsworth, W. A.	25 00	White, Miss Caroline	10 00
Wainzfelder, Albert	5 00	White, Miss Francis E.	20 00
Wakete, Mrs. J. I.	5 00	White, Harold T.	10 00
Wakeman, Miss Elizabeth		White Miss Henrietta.	5 00
K		White, Miss Mary	5 00
Wales, Mrs. Edward H.	10 00	White, Miss May W.	10 00
Walker, Mrs. Emily S.	5 00	White, William	10 00
Walker, Frederick W.	5 00	White, Mrs. William P.	2 00
Walker, H. L.	5 00	Whitehouse, Mrs. J. H.	10 00
Wanamaker, John	5 00	Whitley, Thomas	5 00
Wandling, James L.	5 00	Whitlock, Miss G.	10 00
Warburg, Felix	C 100 00	Whitman, Nathaniel	25 00
Warburg, Mrs. Felix M.	25 00	Whitney, J. B.	10 00
Ward, Mrs. Charles H.	5 00	Whitney, J. F. & Co.	3 00
Ward, Mrs. George C.	25 00	Whittemore, Sidney	10 00
Ward, Henry C.	25 00	Whittlesey, C. E.	10 00
Ward, J. Seeley	10 00	Wicke, William	10 00
Wardwell, Allen	10 00	Wiener, Mrs. C.	5 00
Ware, Mrs. Moses Weld	3 00	Wiggins, Theodore C.	5 00
Warren, Mrs. E. W.	5 00	Wilkinson, E. T.	5 00
Washburn, William I.	5 00	Wilkinson, Thomas P.	1 00
Waters, Henry	1 00	Wilkinson Bros. & Co.	3 00
Watson, J. H.	10 00	Wilcox, William G.	10 00
Watson, Mrs. James S.	25 00	Wilcox, Mrs. William G.	10 00
Watson, John J. Jr.	S 10 00	Wilmington, C. & Co.	5 00
Watts, Mrs. E. H. W.	S 2 00	Wilets, John T.	5 00
Wayland, John Eaton	10 00	Wilets, Mrs. John T.	S 6 00
Webb, J. Watson	10 00	Williams, Frank D.	5 00
Weber, Adna F.	2 00	Williams, Mrs. I. T. Church.	25 00
		Williams, Mrs. S. S.	5 00
		Willis, Mrs. Joseph G.	6 00
		Wills, Charles T.	5 00
		Wilson, H. L.	10 00
		Wilson, Orme Jr.	10 00
		Wineburg, Michael	5 00

Winthrop, Egerton L.	\$25 00	Worrall, Petera B.	\$ 5 00
Wiss, Edward H.	10 00	Wotherspoon, Henry H.	5 00
Wissner, Miss E. H.	20 00	Wright, L. A.	5 00
Wissner, Miss Josephine	15 00	Wright, William J.	5 00
Witherbee, Mrs. F. S.	15 00	Wurzburger, Adolph	5 00
Woerishoffer, Mrs. Anna	25 00	Wyckoff, Mrs. P. B.	15 00
Wolfe, S. Herbert	5 00		
Wolf, Mrs. Julius R.	5 00		Y
Wolf, Lewis S.	10 00	Young, Edwin A.	1 00
Wolf, Louis	2 00	Young, Thomas	6 00
Wollman, Henry	1 00		Z
Wood, Charles Morgan	25 00	Zabriske, Andrew C.	10 00
Wood, Miss E. M.	1 00	Zabriske, Mrs. C.	10 00
Wood, James	10 00	Zabriske, George	S 5 00
Wood, Henry	5 00	Zabriske, Mrs. George	5 00
Woodhill, J. Clifford	10 00	Zabriske, George Gray	5 00
Woodley, Mrs. J. V. S.	1 00	Ziegler, Mrs. Henry	5 00
Work, J. Henry	10 00	Zimmerman, Mrs. J. E.	10 00
Wormser, William	10 00		

Anonymous Contributions

1 of \$200	\$ 200 00	B. B. S.	\$ 5 00
2 of 50	100 00	C. B. S.	1 00
2 of 25	50 00	C. T. G.	S 10 00
1 of 20	20 00	D. W. F.	S 2 00
5 of 10	S 50 00	E. A. S.	S 10 00
3 of 10	30 00	E. E. A.	S 25 00
1 of	7 00	E. L. Y.	S 2 00
3 of 5	S 15 00	G. W. W.	10 00
3 of 5	S 15 00	J. H. A.	5 00
1 of	S 4 44	L. B. H.	S 10 00
1 of	S 3 00	L. J. W.	S 10 00
2 of 2	4 00	M. A. P.	2 00
1 of	S 10 00	M. H. C.	S 10 00
3 of 1	3 00	M. M. H.	10 00
4 of odd	1 10	O. F. L.	S 1 00
"Cash" contributions:		O. P. M. Z.	2 00
3 of \$10	30 00	S. F. H.	5 00
4 of 5	20 00	W. W. A.	10 00
1 of	S 5 00	W. W. L.	S 10 00
5 of 1	5 00	X. Y. Z.	5 00
26 of 1	26 00	D. W. C. A.	2 00
1 of	S 1 00	J. V. V. B.	20 00
2 of odd	1 11	O. B. M. Z.	15 00
J.	3 00	"O. B. M. Z.	E 10 00
Mrs. L.	2 00	"A. Friend of Eugene Smith"	2 00
Mrs. L.	S 1 00	A Friend.	25 00
A. H.	S 1 00	A Friend.	25 00
A. Z.	10 10	A Friend.	10 00
C. C.	100 00	A Friend.	5 00
D. W.	5 00	A Friend.	5 00
E. S.	S 10 00	A Friend.	5 00
F. S.	10 00	A Friend.	2 00
H. R.	S 5 00	A Little Sunday School in	S 5 00
L. R.	5 00	Newark	S 1 00
M. L.	12 50	A Self Supporting Woman	S 1 00
W. C.	2 00	Baby Adele Alice	S 1 00
A. B. X.	5 00	East Orange	S 5 00

From a Sister.....	2 00	New Yorker.....	S	1 00
In Honor of St. Anthony... S	1 00	Sammy.....		5 00
In Memory of A. H.....	10 00	Sympathizer.....	S	3 00
Lucille & Baby.....	3 00	Three Friends.....		5 00
Montclair.....	5 00	X 40611840.....		1 00
New Haven, Conn.....	3 00			

Donations of Clothing, Reading Matter, and

Other Helpful Articles.

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Bartlett, Mrs. P. G.	Looser, G. C.
Bayless, Mrs. N. E.	Ludlum, George P.
Bayne, Miss C. L.	Madden, Mrs.
Benedict, G. W.	Mali, Mrs. P.
Benton, A. A.	Miller, Mrs. A.
Bigelow, A.	Miller, Mrs. W. L.
Butler, Charles Stewart.	Moffat, Mrs. R. B.
Church of the Messiah.	Mommer, E.
Coombe, T. Corton.	Moran, Miss.
Crosby, Miss Eleanor.	Mygatt, Mrs. L. C.
Davis, C.	Neddlwork, Guild.
Demison, Mrs. B. F.	Opdycke, Mrs. Emerson.
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Fackler, D. P.	Polk, Mrs. F. L.
Fountain, Miss L. E.	Pollack, Miss L.
Frank, Mrs. L. E.	Preston, Thomas C.
Goodkind, Miss M.	Rachau, William H.
Grunting, Dr. Emil.	Rathacker, Miss Grace.
Guthrie, Mrs. C. S.	Sahler, Mrs. H. G.
Hernshein, Mrs. Joseph.	Schartz, Mrs.
Hill, Mrs. Elizabeth L.	Schermerhorn, F. A.
Holt, Mrs. L. E.	Sigelstein & Dvorkin.
Hospital Book & Newspaper Soc.	Silcock, Mrs. John J.
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Ingersoll, W. H.	Spring, Miss Anna Riker.
Jones, W. Strother.	Stanwood, Mrs. C.
Kaufmann, S. Walter.	Stebbins, Mrs. E. Vail.
Kendall, Miss.	Stinson, Thomas.
Kunhardt, W. B.	Tompkins, Mr.
LeBoutillier, Thomas.	Vail, Mrs. O. W.
Lech, Mrs. J. E.	Webster, Dr. George S.
Leo, Miss.	Wolfson, Dr. A. M.

Chapter Twenty-Two

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

AN ACT to incorporate the Prison Association of New York. Passed May 9, 1846, by a two-thirds vote. (As subsequently amended.)

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

§ 1. All such persons as are now and hereafter shall become members of the said association pursuant to the constitution thereof, shall and are hereby constituted a body corporate by the name of The Prison Association of New York, and by that name have the powers that by the third title, of the eighteenth chapter, of the first part of the Revised Statutes, are declared to belong to every corporation, and shall be capable of purchasing, holding and conveying, any estate, real or personal, for the use of said corporation, provided that such real estate shall never exceed the yearly value of ten thousand dollars, nor be applied to any other purpose than those for which the corporation is formed.

§ 2. The estate and concerns of said corporation shall be managed and conducted by its executive committee, in conformity to the constitution of the said corporation; and the following articles that now form the constitution of the association shall continue to be the fundamental laws and constitution thereof, subject to alterations in the mode therein prescribed.

Article First.

The objects of the association shall be:

1. The amelioration of the condition of prisoners, whether detained for trial, or finally convicted, or as witnesses.
2. The improvement of prison discipline and the government of prisons, whether for cities, counties or states.
3. The support and encouragement of reformed convicts after their discharge, by affording them the means of obtaining an honest livelihood, and sustaining them in their efforts at reform.

Article Second.

The officers of the society shall be a president, vice-presidents, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and there shall be the following standing committees, viz.: a finance committee, a committee on detentions, a committee on prison discipline, a committee on discharged convicts and an executive committee. The number of the executive committee shall consist of not more than thirty-five, of whom not more than ten shall be officers of the society, and not more than twenty-five shall be persons other than officers.

Article Third.

The officers named in the preceding article shall be ex-officio members of the executive committee, who shall choose one of their number to be chairman thereof.

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Article Fourth.

The executive committee shall meet once in each month, and keep regular minutes of their proceedings. They shall have a general superintendence and direction of the affairs of the society, and shall annually report to the society all their proceedings, and such other matters as shall be likely to advance the ends of the association.

Article Fifth.

The society shall meet annually in the city of New York, at such time and place as the executive committee shall appoint, and at such other times as the president, or in his absence, one of the vice-presidents, shall designate.

Article Sixth.

Any person contributing annually to the funds of the association not less than five dollars shall, owing to such contribution, be a member thereof. A contribution of five hundred dollars shall constitute a life patron; a contribution of one hundred dollars shall constitute an honorary member of the association for life, and a contribution of fifty dollars shall constitute a member of the association for life. Honorary and corresponding members may, from time to time, be appointed by the executive committee.

Article Seventh.

A female department shall be formed, consisting of such females as shall be selected by the executive committee, who shall have charge of the interest and welfare of prisoners of their sex, under such regulations as the executive committee shall adopt.

Article Eighth.

The officers of the association shall be chosen annually at the annual meeting, at which time such persons may be elected honorary members as shall have rendered essential service to the cause of prison discipline.

Article Ninth.

Any society having the same objects in view may become auxiliary to this association by contributing to its funds and cooperating with it.

Article Tenth.

The executive committee shall have power to add to any of the standing committees such persons as, in their opinion, may be likely to promote the objects of the society, and shall have power to fill any vacancy which may occur in any of the offices of the association, intermediate the annual meetings.

Article Eleventh.

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the majority of the society at any meeting thereof, provided notice of the amendment has been given at the next preceding meeting.

The officers elected for the current year, under the constitution, shall continue to be the officers thereof until others shall be duly chosen in their places. And it is hereby further enacted that no manager of said society shall receive compensation for his services.

§ 3. The said executive committee shall have power to establish a workhouse in the county of New York, and in their discretion, to receive and take into the said workhouse all such persons as shall be taken up and committed as vagrants or disorderly persons in said city as the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, or the Court of Special Sessions, or the Court of Oyer and Terminer, in said county, or any police magistrate, or the commissioner of the almshouse may deem proper objects, and the said executive committee shall have the same powers to keep, detain, employ and govern the said persons as are now by law conferred on the keepers of the bridewell or penitentiary in said city.

§ 4. The said executive committee may, from time to time, make by-laws, ordinances and regulations, relative to the management and disposition of the estate and concerns of said association, and the management, government, instruction, discipline and employment, of the persons so as aforesaid committed to the said workhouse, not contrary to law, as they may deem proper, and may appoint such officers, agents and servants as they may deem necessary to transact the business of the said association, and may designate their duties. And the said executive committee shall make an annual report to the Legislature and to the corporation of the city of New York, of the number of persons received by them into the said workhouse, the disposition which shall be made of them by instructing or employing them therein, the receipts and expenditures of said executive committee, and generally all such facts and particulars as may exhibit the operations of the said association.

§ 5. The said executive committee shall have power, during the minority of any of the persons so committed to the said workhouse, to bind out the said persons so being minors, as aforesaid, as apprentices or servants, with their consent during their minority, to such persons and at such places, to learn such proper trades and employments as in their judgment will be most conducive to their reformation and amendment and future benefit and advantage of such persons.

§ 6. The said executive committee by such committees as they shall from time to time appoint, shall have power, and it shall be their duty to visit, inspect and examine, all the prisons in the State, and annually report to the Legislature their state and condition, and all such other things in regard to them as may enable the Legislature to perfect their government and discipline. And to enable them to execute the powers and perform the duties hereby granted and imposed, they shall possess all the powers and authority that by the twenty-fourth section, of title first, chapter third, part fourth of the Revised Statutes are invested in inspectors of county prisons and the duties of the keepers of each prison that they may examine shall be the same in relation to them, as in the section aforesaid, are imposed on the keepers of such prisons in relation to the inspectors thereof; provided, that no such examination or inspection of any prison shall be made until an order for that purpose to be granted by the chancellor of this State, or one of the judges of the Supreme Court or by a vice-chancellor or circuit judge, or by the first judge of the county in which the prison to be examined shall be situated shall first have been had and obtained, which order shall specify the name of the prison to be examined, the names of the persons, members of the said association, by whom the examination is to be made, and the time within which the same must be concluded.

By-Laws.

I. There shall be a stated meeting of the executive committee on the third Thursday of each month, and special meetings shall be held on the requisition of the chairman or any three members of the executive committee. The call for a special meeting shall, in all cases, state the business to be transacted at said meeting.

II. At every meeting of the executive committee five members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum.

III. The order of business at the annual meeting shall be as follows:

1. Election of chairman and secretary.
2. The reading of the minutes of the last meeting.
3. Report of committee on nominations.
4. Election of officers.
5. Report of corresponding secretary on the work of the year.
6. Annual report of the treasurer.

IV. The order of business at every other stated meeting shall be as follows:

1. The reading and approval of the minutes of the last preceding meeting.
2. Report of treasurer.
3. Reports from standing committees.
4. Report from the corresponding secretary.
5. Reports from special committees.
6. Report from the general agent.
7. Miscellaneous business.

At a special meeting no other business shall be transacted than that for which the said meeting was called.

V. The chairman shall appoint all standing and special committees and decide all questions of order, subject to an appeal; and the rules of order shall be those embodied in Cushing's Manual, so far as they are applicable.

VI. The recording secretary of the association shall be the secretary of the executive committee; and it shall be his duty to keep the minutes of the proceedings of said committee, to record them in a book provided for that purpose, and to give due notice of all meetings of the committee.

VII. The corresponding secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the executive committee and of each of the standing committees; and shall act as the general financial agent of the association, and shall report at each stated meeting of the committee.

VIII. The treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the association, and shall give such security as the executive committee may require. His duties are more fully defined in by-law X.

IX. There shall be six standing committees, namely, on finance, detentions, discharged convicts, law, house, and library.

X. The committee on finance shall be charged with the duty of raising and caring for the funds.

The funds of the association shall be divided into three parts to be known as:

1. The endowment fund.
2. The reserve fund.
3. The general fund.

The Endowment Fund.—The endowment fund shall consist of such contributions as shall be given with the restriction that the income only shall be used for the purpose of the association, and all legacies.

The Reserve Fund.—The reserve fund shall consist of such sums as may be set aside from the general fund from time to time by the executive committee for investment. Whenever any part of the reserve fund shall be appropriated by the executive committee, such sum shall be immediately transferred to the general fund. The endowment and reserve funds shall be under the immediate direction and control of the committee on finance, and all investments of these funds shall be ordered by the committee. The treasurer of the association shall be a member and act as the treasurer of the committee on finance, and shall be responsible for the safe-keeping of the securities of the endowment and reserve funds.

Any uninvested balance of the endowment and reserve funds shall be kept each in separate trust companies in the name of the association, subject to check of the treasurer, and shall, whenever possible, bear interest. All income from the endowment and reserve funds may be transferred to the general fund as soon as received.

No part of the reserve fund shall be used for any purpose except by resolution of the executive committee, and whenever any part shall be appropriated by the executive committee it shall immediately be transferred to the general fund.

The General Fund.—The term "general fund" shall cover all receipts of the association not constituting a special fund or specified for the endowment fund, the intention being that all the income, except legacies, including donations for general purposes, and income from endowment and reserve funds, shall be credited to the general fund to which the authorized disbursements of each activity of the association shall be charged at the close of the fiscal year.

The treasurer shall notify the corresponding secretary at once of all transfers of income from the endowment and reserve funds to the general fund.

The treasurer shall notify the corresponding secretary, immediately on receipt by him of any sum for the account of the association, that such receipt may be entered at once to the credit of the proper account on the books of the association.

The corresponding secretary shall be the general disbursing agent of the association, the object of the provision being to keep in the central offices of the association all receipts for payments by him for the association of any kind, nature or description, and to have in the central offices immediate record of all his disbursements. This provision shall not apply to the endowment and reserve funds.

All donations received by the corresponding secretary shall be entered by him upon the proper books of the association and then deposited in such bank

as directed by the treasurer to the credit of the association. Whenever the executive committee shall make an appropriation out of either the reserve or general fund, the corresponding secretary shall send to the treasurer a copy of the resolution making the appropriation, certified by the recording secretary, which certified copy shall be the treasurer's authority for transferring the appropriated amount to the corresponding secretary.

The treasurer shall keep an account covering the general fund in the name of the association, subject to his check as treasurer in such bank as may be selected by him and approved by the committee on finance. Such account shall be separate and distinct from those accounts opened for the uninvested balance of the endowment and reserve funds.

The corresponding secretary shall keep a bank account in the name of the association, subject to his check as corresponding secretary for current disbursements, and shall deposit to the credit of said bank account all moneys he may receive from the treasurer drawn from the general fund.

The committee on finance shall audit and report upon accounts of the treasurer and of the corresponding secretary.

At each regular meeting of the executive committee the treasurer shall make a detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the preceding calendar month. He shall make a statement showing investments and the receipts and disbursements of the endowment and reserve funds; he shall make, at the annual meeting of the association, a detailed statement of receipts and disbursements for the fiscal year.

XI. It shall be the duty of the committee on detentions:

1. To inquire, as far as may be practicable or necessary, into the causes of commitment of persons in the prisons or houses of detention in the cities of New York and in Brooklyn, and to adopt proper measures for procuring the discharge or providing for the defense of such as shall appear to be entitled thereto.
2. To visit frequently the prisons under their charge, and to endeavor to improve both the physical and moral condition of the prisoners in all suitable and practicable ways.

XII. It shall be the duty of the committee on discharged convicts:

1. To correspond with prison agents or superintendents relative to the character and trades of prisoners, and to ascertain, previous to the discharge of each prisoner, his feelings, views and capabilities, with a view of making the best arrangements for his future employment.
2. To keep a record of all persons who will employ discharged prisoners and of their several occupations; to procure such employment for prisoners and applying therefor as seems best adapted to the capacity of each; to hold correspondence with employers; to keep a record of the conduct and prospects of those for whom places have been obtained, that they may be sustained and encouraged with the idea that a continued friendly interest is felt for them.
3. To secure suitable boarding places for discharged prisoners, where they will not be exposed to corrupting influences, taking care not to have more than one in a place, where it can be avoided.
4. To see that the prisoners are provided with suitable clothing, of a kind that will not attract particular attention.
5. To consider the internal organization of the management of prisons, and the physical and moral influences to be exerted on the prisoners during their

confinement; to report upon their health, reformation, upon convict labor, administration and internal police, on the comparative merits of different prison systems, and on the visitation of prisons and houses of reformation.

XIII. It shall be the duty of the committee on law to examine and report from time to time upon the penal legislation of the State, with their suggestions for the amendment thereof, to consider questions relating thereto which are under discussion in the press or the Legislature, including pending bills, and report their views and conclusions upon them; also to care for the law business of the association.

XIV. It shall be the duty of the committee on house to care for the maintenance of the real estate of the association.

XV. It shall be the duty of the committee on library to see that it is properly housed and catalogued and to take steps for its increase.

XVI. One or more agents may be appointed by the executive committee to assist the standing committees in their duties.

XVII. The president, chairman of the executive committee, and corresponding secretary shall be members, ex officio, of all the standing committees.

XVIII. No alteration shall be made in these by-laws except upon notice of the proposed amendment given at a previous meeting of the executive committee.

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