In Prison

Being a Report by Kate Richards O'Hare to the President of the United States as to the Conditions Under Which Women Federal Prisoners Are Confined in the Missouri State Penitentiary, Under the Authority of the United States Department of Justice and the United States Superintendent of Prisons.

Based on the Author's Experience as a Federal Prisoner from April 14, 1919, to May 30, 1920

PUBLISHED BY
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Box 1033
St. Louis, Missouri

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co-operation instead of competition; a world where greed and avarice have been replaced by brotherhood, justice and humanity."

I now feel more than ever confident that this prophecy was true, and that out of the travail of war will come the new social order. My share of that travail was fourteen months in prison, but I have paid the price gladly and I await the future without fear. If my long months in prison can but help to make the public sense the wrongs of our prison system and use its intelligence, its industrial and political power to right those wrongs I shall know that my prison sentence was my life's greatest opportunity.

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE.

St. Louis, July 15, 1920.
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Introduction

There are more persons imprisoned in the penitentiaries and penal institutions of the United States than there are enrolled in all of our colleges and universities, and a far greater number of men and women are graduated yearly from prisons than from institutions of higher learning.

More than 200,000 ex-convicts come back from prison life each year to take their place and wield their influence upon the social life of this country.

The traits of character and social attitude of mind that these men and women bring back to normal life is of the most vital importance. Every citizen of this nation has not only the right, but should feel an impelling duty, to question deeply and critically whether or not our prisons send back to us men and women better fitted to take their places in our work-day life because of their months or years of penance behind prison bars.

The average person, who has the average knowledge of prisons and people confined in prisons, feels that, in a general way, penal institutions should serve a threefold purpose.

They should be places of social vengeance where society punishes persons who fail to conform to the laws enacted to protect the property, the comfort and the well-being of its members; they should be safe places to segregate men and women who interfere with our well-ordered plans of life; and they should be places of reformation where “bad” people who make us uncomfortable may be transformed into “good” people who will cease to trouble us.

If social vengeance is a proper purpose of the prison system then we must determine the nature of this vengeance. Is the deprivation of liberty sufficient? Or shall there be added to the loss of liberty the absolute violation of every normal instinct of the human being? Must social vengeance include undernourishment, bad housing, clothing that expresses social degradation, enforced
and unpaid labor, contamination from terrible diseases, mental stagnation, moral degeneracy and spiritual disintegration? If social vengeance must include these things then is it not necessary that we have a body of public servants coached and trained in the arts of prison brutality and terrorism? Is it possible for society to inflict mental and physical torture upon delinquents without injury to itself? And do the methods of prison cruelty as now applied have a tendency to graduate from prisons ex-convicts less disturbing to the public peace, and more comfortable neighbors with whom to live?

If prisons are primarily places of segregation where we isolate dangerous or annoying persons then we must determine to what extent these institutions shall be differentiated from ordinary human communities.

If prisons are institutions where "bad" people are to be made into "good" people, to what extent do our prisons fulfill this purpose? If they fail we must determine what treatment will be most effective in transforming "bad" people into "good" people and reconstruct our prison system accordingly.
I

The Prisoners

I lived for fourteen months the life of a Federal convict in the State penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri, and I perhaps had a better opportunity to study female prisoners and the conditions existing in this, an average prison, than perhaps any other person with a like degree of intelligence and intellectual background. And all the months I spent behind prison walls I was endeavoring to study as fairly and honestly as I could the prison system as I endured it and its efficiency as a means of social vengeance, a place of segregation and a method of reformation.

The Women

The women themselves were naturally the most vividly interesting features of my prison life. My first ideas of criminology had been of the older school of which Lombroso is the best known exponent and I had certain convictions, quite common I think, that there is such a thing as a "criminal" type and a distinct "criminal" class. My first view of my fellow prisoners was somewhat disconcerting because they did not seem to be just what one would naturally expect a group of "criminals" to be.

On that never to be forgotten "first day," after being "dressed in," I waited at noontime in the little hall leading to the dining room to find my place in the line of women convicts, as they filed by, about fifty colored women and thirty white. It was a tragic group, but apparently not particularly different from any group of women that one might see crowding about a bargain table in a department store. There were old women there, scarred by the marks of toil and marred by the hardships of poverty and the everlasting struggle for existence; there were young girls marked by vice long before the girlish beauty had been settled into the hardened lines of degraded womanhood; there were cripples and degenerates, consumptives and epileptics, demented and high grade imbeciles, an appalling group of society's "rejects"; but so far as I could determine there was none bearing the well defined stigmata of criminalism. I looked in vain for the physical marks of "criminal degeneracy" of which Lombroso and his type of criminologists write so glibly. And most astounding of all I found in this shuffling line of female convicts women and girls of such marked beauty and culture, good breeding and intelligence, women and girls so evi-
dently fine and clean, womanly and sympathetic that I could not convince myself that they were "bad" women. At the time I entered Emma Goldman was of course the outstanding person in the female department. I had known Miss Goldman but very slightly, and there was nothing in common between us so far as our political and social beliefs are concerned; our philosophies of life were very different, but I soon learned that in prison, down there in the bitter dregs and lees of life the only philosophy that matters is the philosophy of human brotherhood. In prison I never knew Emma Goldman the fiery agitator, the vehement propagandist of anarchist doctrine; I only knew Emma Goldman the tender cosmic mother, the healer of sick souls, the valiant supporter of beaten and broken spirits, the comforter of sad hearts, the vigorous and daring fighter for the rights of the downmost of the "underdogs," the female convict.

The prison population of Jefferson City is usually about 2,600, of whom eighty are women and approximately twenty of these are Federal prisoners coming from all over the country, leaving only about sixty Missouri women. This is a ratio of sixty women to 2,600 hundred men.

Ninety per cent of all convicts in the Missouri Penitentiary have been convicted of crimes against property; crimes that have their cause in poverty and the struggle for existence. Men have nothing salable but their brains and their labor power and when there is no market value for these, men commit crimes against property to secure the means of life. Women have not only brains and labor power to sell, but their sex also has a market price and when faced by the alternative of crime or prostitution, women usually choose the latter. It is quite possible also that women are not punished as severely for the violation of law as men.

Most of my fellow convicts were from the underworld. The white women usually remained in prison a very short time, particularly if they were young and good looking, profitable to their cadets and useful in the political machinery of the municipal governments. A certain Democratic politician from Kansas City and another from St. Louis seemed to have the power of securing paroles for these women of the underworld with but little difficulty. The white women were usually "sent up" for shoplifting, and almost without an exception they were charged with stealing clothing for their own use. The colored women were in the "stir" generally for the classic crime of "rolling." Technically this means highway robbery, but in reality it is simply that many white men
have the habit of consorting with negro prostitutes and then refusing to pay them. The negro girl waits her chance and the next time the white man consorts with her she gives some "knockout drops" and takes his "roll," in other words, all of the money he chances to have on his person.

**State Prisoners**

Of the State prisoners there was one charged with bigamy, one with forgery and one with embezzlement, showing that women are less apt to commit crimes that require skill and daring than men.

Perhaps the most interesting group of women in the prison were those "sent up" for "eliminating undesirable husbands" as they termed it. They were not only the most intelligent of the State prisoners, but they were exactly the opposite of what one would naturally imagine a husband murderer to be. They were practically all middle-aged, quiet, diffident, repressed, toil-worn women of the type who bear many children, toil unceasingly, endure poverty and hardship, neglect and brutality. Then some day the repressed emotions, the outraged love flames into mad rebellion, taut nerves snap, a man is murdered, a home is broken up and a woman enters the living tomb of the prison walls.

The most tragic group of all were the women convicted of murdering their newborn babies and they were of two types, the young, ignorant, mentally deficient girls and faded, worn, love-starved spinsters.

**Federal Prisoners**

The Federal prisoners were of quite a different type from the State convicts. They were more intelligent, better educated and for the most part charged with crimes more commonly committed by men, or those growing directly out of the war. I found that our little prison world had its classes and castes, its social distinctions just as the big world outside has them. The "common people" were the State prisoners charged with the smaller offenses against property, the "middle class" the women who had "eliminated undesirable" husbands, the "intellectuals" the Federals, and the "aristocrats" were the "politicals." Of the real "politicals" there were Emma Goldman, Mollie Steimer, myself and Ella Antolina. Then there were several women of a fine type, well educated, well bred and from middle class families who had been convicted of "harboring deserters from the U. S. Army." They were mothers,
aunts or sweethearts who had aided in some way their loved ones to elude arrest after deserting from the training camps. Only one other woman beside myself was sent to Jefferson City charged with violation of the “espionage law.” She was a timid, frightened, harassed looking little mountain woman from Kentucky who had been convicted of the crime of remarking that Germany made better dyes than America.

**Domestic Servants**

The theory that domestic service is the safest vocation for unprotected girls seems fairly well refuted in a vocational census of the women prisoners. Something more than eighty per cent of the women had never been engaged in any sort of work except housework and there were a far greater ratio of “housemaids” than any other vocation. Without exception I think every woman there charged with murdering her newborn babes were housemaids and practically every one declared that the “man of the house” was the father of the child.

Only three of the female convicts had ever enjoyed any professional training whatever, Emma Goldman, myself and a trained nurse. There was not an actress, chorus girl, stenographer, manicurist or artist's model there and these are presumed to be particularly “naughty” professions. On the other hand we had several rural school-teachers whose lack of training and miserable wages seemed to be contributing causes to their plight.

We have heard a great deal of the “woman question” of late, but I found while in prison that the “man question” looms large in the life of the female convict. I am sure that one-third of all the women “doing time” in Jefferson City are paying the price, not for their own transgressions but for those of the men they love. As mothers, wives and sweethearts they had assumed the guilt of the crimes committed by their loved ones and they served their time without a murmur. I also found that men are infinitely less loyal to their women in prison than women are to their men. Though a woman might be “doing time” for a man, it was rare indeed that the man was true to her through the ordeal. Mr. Painter told me that when a man was “sent up” his womenfolk never deserted him, never ceased to care for his comfort and haunted the office of the Parole Board, working and pleading and fighting for the freedom for their loved one, but that in nine cases in ten, when women were “sent up,” even when assuming the
man's guilt, the man usually left them to their fate and made little or no effort either to care for their comfort in prison or to secure their freedom. The exception to this rule was the "cadets" who looked after their women's comfort in prison and usually succeeded in securing their parole.
II

Cell House and Shop

The female wing of the Missouri State Penitentiary is about fifteen years old, better than the older prison building and less satisfactory than the newer and more modern type, for instance at Atlanta. It is of stone construction with tile and cement floors, heavily barred but plentifully supplied with windows, and a modern, but sadly dilapidated heating system. The cell house, which is the living quarters of the women, is a long building with a cage of cells in the center, twelve cells long and four cells high and two cells deep. These cells are seven feet wide, eight feet deep, and seven feet high. The ceiling sides and back are of solid steel, the entire front is of steel bars, the floor is cement, and each cell is supplied with a lavatory with running cold water and toilet. At the present time each woman has a cell and considerable latitude is given the women in furnishing and decorating it to her own taste and at her own expense. The cells are supplied with a steel bunk fastened to the wall; two bags of straw are furnished, one for a mattress and one for a pillow. Each girl is given three coarse, brown muslin sheets, two pillow cases and two brown crash towels, and two coarse blankets. Each cell is also supplied with a crude table, a kitchen chair, a broom and dustpan and the women are required under severe penalty to keep their cells clean and tidy. Thursday evening from four-thirty to five-thirty is housecleaning night and each girl must take everything from her cell, scrub and dust and disinfect it.

At the time I entered the prison the cell house and dining room were disgustingly dirty and in many essentials battered and shabby and unsanitary. No paint or whitewash had been applied since the building was constructed and the walls were streaked with grime; the dining room, which is not screened, was filthy with fliespecks, and the cracks and crevices of the steel cell walls are alive with vermin which no amount of scrubbing and cleaning can dislodge.

Bad Ventilation

Few prison buildings are so well supplied with windows, but for the most part they are quite useless. The entire ventilation of the building is placed in the hands of a negro trusty who has a horror
of fresh air; the matrons are dreadfully afraid that some of the female inmates might "flirt" with some of the male inmates, so many of the windows are tightly nailed down and all are thick with the encrusted accumulation of fifteen years of filth. In all the history of the institution the windows in the female department have never been cleaned, and where the dirt is not sufficiently thick to make them useless so far as light and sunshine is concerned thick coats of paint and whitewash has been supplied.

**Dining Room**

The dining room is a light, airy room that at the present time is perfectly satisfactory. At the time I entered this was far from true. My first prison meal is of course a vivid memory. I found the dining room filled with long wooden benches like old fashioned school desks, seating eight women at each. The white women occupied one side of the room and the colored women the other. The first thing that impressed me was the sickening, stale, dead odor. It was the typical institution smell, but much emphasized here. It was the concentrated smell of venerable hash, ancient stews and senile "wienie," mingled with the musty odor of decaying wood saturated with rancid grease and home-made soap. The table benches were very old; many generations of women prisoners had eaten from them. They had been scrubbed by countless hands and every crack and crevice was filled with well-established cockroach families.

During my term of imprisonment the dining room was nicely decorated; tables, chairs and white tablecloths were provided, and if proper flyscreens were added the dining room would be quite satisfactory.

**Bathing Facilities**

The bathing facilities gave me my first taste of real prison horrors. At the time I entered there were but two old bathtubs in bathroom and one in the unfurnished and unused hospital room for the use of nearly ninety women. Naturally among women largely recruited from the underworld venereal disease was very common. There was no effort whatever made to segregate the clean women from those infected and on bathing nights, which came but once a week, we were all compelled to use the same bathtubs. This condition has been much improved. As a result of the vehement protest I made shower baths have been installed and if only the women were permitted to use them more frequently
than once a week there would be little criticism to make of the bathing facilities.

At the time of my entrance, however, conditions were bad beyond the power of words to portray. On my first bath night I was called to bathe and as I waited for the tub the woman who had just finished using it came out of the bathroom. She was an Indian woman, a Federal prisoner from Alaska who died in the prison about three months before my release. At that time she was covered with horrible open sores that dripped pus, which the physician who was at that time prison doctor told me were syphilitic. I found the bathtub coated with the pus from her open sores, and when I asked the matron if I was expected to bathe in a tub in such a condition and reeking with the germs of the most loathsome disease of modern life, she replied that I was. When I protested she said that these bathing facilities were all that were supplied for the use of Federal and State prisoners; that I was no better than the rest and that I would be compelled to use them. I insisted that attempt to force me to use a bathtub in such a condition would be a crime against my husband, my children, my country and civilization itself. I said that I would refuse to obey such orders and the matron replied that there were means of forcing obedience to orders; that if necessary she would put me in the "black hole," which is the punishment dungeon, but that I would be compelled to use the same bathing facilities as the other women. I did not care to test the threat so I turned on the water and splashed loudly but I did not bathe.

Rats, Flies and Roaches

Rats, flies and cockroaches are the most annoying small pests of prison life. The rats overrun the place like a plague; they scamper over the dining-room tables, creep into bed with the inmates, chew up the shoes and carry off everything not fastened down or hung far above their reach. I have not the fear of rats and mice that many women feel, but for weeks I spent sleepless nights routing them out of my bed and chasing them from my cell. The cockroaches are ever present and the flies swarm into the unscreened dining-room and cell house. One of the most nerve-trying things I endured in prison was the fact that the Indian woman, of whom I spoke, occupied the cell directly under me. Until Dr. Clark became prison physician her open sores were never properly dressed and cared for, the stench arising from them
was terrible and the flies swarmed over her disease-infected body and then awakened me at four in the morning creeping over my face. The effect of these absolutely unnecessary pests upon human nerves can easily be imagined, and the sleepless nights caused by them were a large factor in punishments meted out to the inmates for "bad work" and "short work" in the shop.
III
Kind and Quality of Food

Food was one of the chronic sources of bitterness and friction in the prison and in spite of all the protests made no lasting improvement seems to have been made. Food is of vital importance to women compelled to do hard and wearing labor, and while it is understood of course that a prison is not a first-class hotel and meals de luxe are not to be expected, a ration that will sustain life and keep a prisoner in good physical condition should be provided. In the fourteen months which I spent in prison, except in very rare instances, the diet never varied and the disgust of deadly monotony was added to the annoyance of insufficient food badly cooked and badly served.

Prison Hash

The prison breakfast consists of corn syrup, bread, hash and some sort of a grey liquid, by courtesy called prison coffee. The bread is very good, the syrup seemingly wholesome and fairly palatable, but the hash was for the most part uneatable. Judging from its appearance, for I never had the courage to taste it, all sorts of table scraps went into the hash kettle. It was always stale, often rancid, and I have often watched the girls remove from its dark and mysterious depths nicely stewed maggots. Twice a week hot oatmeal was added to the breakfast menu and in the winter months it was a godsend for it was the only eatable food served hot. But as warm weather approaches so do the oatmeal worms, and as they are large and very hairy, which gives them a tendency to stick in one’s throat, we soon learned to forego this one hot dish. About Easter time hard boiled eggs are sometimes served for breakfast and now and again prunes make their appearance, but not very frequently.

Lunch consisted of beefstew, a vegetable, bread and cold water. At infrequent intervals muttonstew and “wienies” were served also, and on a few occasions liver and onions. The beefstew is usually very good and so far as I know no tainted meat was ever served in it. The “wienies” seemed to be of a very poor quality, and the muttonstew was rank.

Supper consisted of bread, syrup, sometimes stewed dried fruit and the alleged coffee. A very small portion of skimmed milk was
also served for both breakfast and supper. From the standpoint of the adequacy of the diet the worst fault is that there is not one atom of sugar and practically no butter fat while there is an over-proportion of starchy foods.

**Cold Food**

The kitchen is something like three blocks from the women's dining-room and our food was cooked early in the day and sent over as soon as prepared. Our dinners usually arrived about nine-thirty in the morning and stood by the elevator shaft in the overall factory until noon. Neither beef stew, mutton stew or liver and onions are fit to eat in the cold, soggy condition in which we received them. I made many complaints of the cold food and in each instance an improvement would be made for a week or two, then things went back to the former condition.

**Some Food Revolting**

The most revolting conditions we were forced to endure with our food were those common, I think, in practically all prisons and charitable institutions. Officials are limited to a criminally small sum for supplies, the labor is done by unskilled, unpaid and sullen workers, and the ever-present temptation for petty officials to add to their totally inadequate wages by graft causes intolerable abuses. Oatmeal and dried fruit infected with worms, macaroni filled with bugs, beans inhabited by weevils and cornmeal supporting a thriving population of meal worms can be purchased very cheaply, and harassed and sorely tried officials can not be fussy about a few bugs and worms more or less. So at Jefferson City any inmate dependent on the prison food for support must and does eat oatmeal worms, bean weevils, macaroni bugs and cornmeal worms as well as various other small life that may not be dangerous but is certainly most revolting.

The girls are forced to go directly from the shop to the dining-room, not even being permitted time and facilities for washing the dye from their hands. In summer they are hot and sweaty and deadly tired. Supper is served at four in the afternoon and even if the meal was adequate the women are in no condition to eat or enjoy it. The recreation hour follows supper; the women have all the exercise permitted them immediately following this insufficient and badly placed meal. The result is that by seven or eight o'clock they are ravenously hungry. Sometimes they take a bit of bread from the dining-room table, hide it in their blouses
and eat it before going to bed; but if this so-called theft is detected, the most severe punishments are inflicted.

Another source of great bitterness among the women is this: One of the best dairy herds in the State is on the prison farm. Splendid, rich, creamy milk is sent in. The management will tell you for the use of the women inmates, but that milk stops "down stairs." It is "set," and every speck of cream skimmed from it and the women receive only the skimmed milk while the cream is churned by convict labor and the butter used or sold by the petty officials. For some time after Mr. Fishman, the Federal inspector of prisons, visited Jefferson City last summer, butterine was served twice a month, but for several months it has been missing from the diet.

**Buying Food Outside**

The one thing that makes the food situation bearable in the prison is that the women who have money are permitted to order groceries once each week and may purchase anything that does not require cooking. We were permitted to take boiling water to our cells and soon became quite expert in heating all sorts of canned vegetables, soups, chowders and such things. We could also make tea, chocolate and the soluble coffee, and we learned to make many toothsome salads.

The privilege of purchasing food outside the prison while it adds to the comfort and well-being of the favored inmates produces many abuses. If the women are permitted to purchase food the temptation for officials to cut down the food, both in quantity and quality, is very great, and the maintenance of prisoners is thereby shifted from the prison officials to the families of the inmates who can ill afford it. The women who are adequately fed by outside supplies have a great advantage over the women underfed, and this fact is never considered when the "task" is demanded. The fact that women with outside means are well fed and the women, no more guilty, who are without funds are terribly underfed creates a dangerous degree of bitterness and envy. Petty graft, too, creeps into the matter. I ordered my groceries from an outside firm and the prices I paid were from twenty to forty per cent lower than the other women who ordered through the matron were compelled to pay and this also created an intense resentment.
IV

Clothing Supplied

The prison garb at Jefferson City still reflects the old idea that in order to make “bad” people “good” it is necessary to make them just as miserable and uncomfortable as possible. On being “dressed in” I was given two each of drawers, and chimese and nightgowns made of the very stiffest, coarsest, most raspy and irritating sort of brown muslin. I had never seen this particular grade of muslin used for garments, only for awnings or tent flys. It was unbearably hot in summer and unbearably cold in winter, and so stiff and heavy, that with only two garments which were laundered once a week, even a decent degree of cleanliness was utterly impossible. Our work dresses were the heaviest, coarsest and most hideous sort of blue hickory shirting which soon faded to a nondescript grey. Modesty was rampant among the matrons and they insisted that our chimese and dresses should be long and wide and made with plenty of room for shrinking so they fitted us like a circus tent draped about the center pole. Our Sunday dresses were made of a nice quality of light blue gingham; they were neatly made, fitted very well and were really quite satisfactory. We were furnished a pair of cheap, convict-made shoes that no normal human being could wear in any comfort and one pair of cheap black stockings a year.

The Laundry

When I faced the problem of having my clothing laundered I found another of the loathsome horrors of prison life. The laundry in the female department of the prison has just the same equipment that our grandmothers used and no more. There is neither washing machine, wringer nor mangle there and the convicts who do the laundry work use old-fashioned washboards and wring the circus tent chimese and blue hickory shirting dresses by hand. Only half enough soap was supplied to properly launder our clothing and they soon assumed the appearance of badly cared for scrub cloths. But most loathsome of all was the fact that absolutely no effort was made to separate the clothing of the clean women from that of the victims of all manner of loathsome diseases. I asked for permission to have my clothing sent outside the walls to be laundered and this privilege was denied me, but later I was
permitted to hire one of the women in the laundry to wash my garments separately, though of course in the same tubs used for garments of infected women.

I wore the prison underwear for only a short time, but I still feel that it was one of the most unnecessary physical discomforts I suffered. After a few weeks of prison life I was given permission to have my own undergarments, hosiery and bed linens and was only compelled to wear the prison dresses. We were also later given permission to wear white lace or lawn collars which did much to sustain our sense of self respect. Just before my release the women were supplied with perfectly satisfactory white cotton crepe summer nightgowns and knitted vests, but no new petticoats. If instead of these vests the more practical and more comfortable union suits were supplied and simple petticoats it would mean much for decency, cleanliness and efficiency. Exactly the same sort of dresses, and with the exception of the new nightgowns and vests, underwear is supplied for wear in both winter and summer, and as a result are fit for neither. The heavy muslin and blue hickory shirting is unbearably hot in summer and quite as unbearably cold in winter.

One Pair Stockings Per Year

The custom which caused more complaints and quarrels between the inmates and matrons was that of supplying the women with only one pair of very cheap stockings each year. Unless the women could purchase hosiery of their own they were in a constant state of irritation because they had no change of stockings and could not, no matter how thrifty and neat, keep their feet in decent condition.
The Missouri State Penitentiary is under the management of the State Board of Control composed of William R. Painter, J. Kelly Poole and Henry Andrae. It is not only a great penal institution but it is also a great profit making industrial plant which last year transacted a business approximating $7,000,000, and all produced by convict labor. It is one of the trago-comedies of modern politics that this great industrial plant and penal institution, transacting such an enormous volume of business and having such unlimited power of life and death over three thousand human beings, should be placed in the hands of a small town editor, a mule buyer and a livery stable keeper.

Some years ago the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH waged a campaign of publicity aimed at the worst abuses then existing in the prison, and as a result the "contract system" of prison labor was abolished so far as the letter of the law is concerned, but the spirit of "contract labor" still exists.

I entered the prison shop on my second day of imprisonment. I found it a long, narrow room with windows on one side only and high against the ceiling, a double row of power sewing machines occupying practically all of the floor space. Here all of the "able-bodied" female prisoners were engaged in making suspenders for overalls and putting the collars on denim jumpers and unionalls. The shop building is one of the older buildings of the prison plant and the ventilation at the time I entered was very bad indeed. All of the windows were only half size, ten feet from the floor, and on one side of the room, making it impossible to secure any direct ventilation. The architect had placed one full length window in the end of the shop, but there was a legend that once upon a time one of the female inmates had smiled at one of the male inmates from that window and rampant virtue was so terribly outraged that the window had been nailed down and painted over with a thick coat of dirty, grey paint. Electric lights are necessary on the brightest day and as the lighting system is old and inefficient we suffered greatly from eyestrain. Four ancient fans were grouped about the matron's desk in one corner of the room but the larger portion of the shop was unbearably hot and stifling from
the vitiated air. Because of my protests a ventilating fan was installed and this condition has been improved, but at least two more ceiling fans should be installed to make the shop fit for human beings in the extremely hot weather.

The sewing machines are very old and most of them in very bad repair and naturally a source of constant annoyance to the women and a fruitful cause for severe punishments at the hands of the youthful foreman who finds it easier to punish a woman for "short work" or "bad work" than to repair the machines.

The Missouri State Penitentiary is one of the very few prisons in the country where the "task system" still endures. All modern penologists condemn the "task" as being an indefensibly antiquated and brutal method of forcing convict labor. It soon dawned upon me that the moment I entered the prison shop I had ceased to be a white woman belonging to a civilized race and a citizen of a civilized nation, and that by passing through the prison gates I had been swept back a century or twenty centuries, and was an even more helpless and exploited slave than Cassie on the plantation of Simon Legree, or a white slave in Rome at the beginning of the Christian era.

**The Task**

My first task was to hem both fronts and the bottom and make and attach the collar to blue denim jumpers, and the "task" was fifty-five each day. A little later I was transferred to more difficult work requiring a higher degree of skill which was to make and attach the collars to eighty-eight unionall bodies, and this work I continued to do during my entire term of imprisonment. Each one of those eighty-eight jackets required fifteen different operations and as four at least of these operations meant skillful and expert stitching of a collar's edge on a power machine making 3,500 stitches a minute the expenditure of human energy necessary to accomplish the "task" was terrific. At the prevailing rate of wages paid in overall factories who must sell their product in competition with the convict-made goods I actually earned a wage of about $4.20 per day.

Each new woman entering the shop is presumed to have sixty days' time in which to learn the work and accomplish the "task" but as the entire control of the women is placed in the hands of the shop foreman this presumption is far from being a fact.

**The Immature Foreman**

There were many things in my prison life that were hard to endure, but nothing perhaps so gallingly brutal as this shop fore-
man. He was an ignorant, illiterate, uncouth stripling of twenty-
one or twenty-two who had entered the prison shop at fifteen or
sixteen as an errand boy and had spent the formative period of
his life amid the abnormalities and ever present brutalities of the
"contract system" of convict labor. Unlimited and despotic power
always breeds cruelty and abuses, and to this callow adolescent is
given practically absolute power of life and death over sixty
women. He, like many youths of that age, if given despotic power,
is egotistical, bigoted and intolerant beyond words. In the prison
shop his word is law and any woman could be made the helpless
victim of his vicious temper, his adolescent egotism and his un-
curbed brutality. His vocabulary is rich with unspeakably vile
epithets and disgusting profanity, and his favorite pastime is
subjecting the women to his vicious vulgarity, which they of course
dare not resent. Day after day I sat in suppressed and impotent
rage and heard this stripling use such language to the women as
I never dreamed was a part of the American vocabulary.

But vile language is not the bitterest wrong this youth can visit
upon the women. He has the power of enforcing the "task" and
counting the jackets and at any time he can simply say that not
enough work has been done and the women are severely punished
without a hearing or an opportunity to prove that they have pro-
duced the required amount of work. The number of jackets one
can make in a day varies with the size. We had the privilege of
being credited on the books with all we made over the "task"
when working on small sizes and used these credits to fill out our
"task" when working on the large sizes. At any time this youth
felt out of temper for any reason he would simply mark the women's
credits off the books and punish them for "short work." This
foreman was also the sole judge of the quality of the work and
if for any reason his vicious temper became ruffled he would go
down the line of sewing machines ripping up and destroying the
work of the women without reason or mercy and they would be
forced to re-make the ripped up work in addition to their "task"
and be punished in addition for "bad work."

I had fourteen months to study the "task system" and found
that it had been placed at the absolute limit of the strongest and
most expert woman's strength and skill, and that every woman
who did not measure up to this extremely high standard of efficiency
was always at the mercy of this foreman. His theory was that
if the women were driven hard and brutally enough they would
"pull the task," and he drove and bullied, cursed and blackguarded,
harassed and punished until the women either "made the task" or were utterly wrecked by stupid and brutal punishments.

I could never decide whether it is a conscious, well thought out and carefully proven plan to make the "task" consume a woman's life in the average length of a prison sentence or not, but at any rate that is the effect. The average length of a prison term for a woman convict in the Missouri State Penitentiary is about two years and the amount of labor demanded is just about sufficient to wear the average woman out and send her forth a wreck, only fit for the human scrapheap in two years. The long term women are put in the shop for about two years, then when the physical break is approaching they are transferred to lighter work and new women take their places in the shop.

In theory our working day was of eight hours and forty-five minutes but many of the women could not finish the task in this time and were permitted to take the work to their cells to finish. The majority of them spent from one to two hours in their cells each day turning and trimming collars, trimming tickets and clipping the thread ends from suspenders, and the average working day was thus nearer ten hours than nine. And only by this overtime work was it possible for many of the women to accomplish the task.

Prison Products

Practically all of the products of the prison shops go into the market, not only in competition with free labor and free capital, but also under misleading labels. The first label I ever stitched in a garment in the prison shop bore the name of a firm located in a distant State and there was nothing to indicate that the garment had been made by convict labor. Some of these labels read "Made by," and here follows the name of the firm. Lessons in fraud imposed upon the inmates by the State is poor preparation for a life of honesty and uprightness upon release.

There is a bitter fight upon convict made goods both by free labor and free capital, but useful, interesting and suitable work must be provided for prison inmates. The system used in the Missouri State Penitentiary is a makeshift and dishonest throughout. It debauches State politics, the prison staff and the inmates. It produces among legislators, prison officials and inmates a mental atmosphere of bitter cynicism and a state of moral degeneration.
The fact that I was compelled to "scab" on every woman engaged in the garment industry and to help pull the wages of these women down below subsistence level was the most galling thing to my conscience of anything I endured in prison.
VI

Punishments

Our entire penal system is based on the theory that punishment will have a tendency to make "good" people out of "bad" people, and at the Missouri State Penitentiary punishments were the very foundation stones of the whole system of management. And it was in the administration of punishments that the very soul of the prison system was manifest and the fundamental causes of prison abuses are laid bare.

At the very heart of the whole problem of prison brutality is the ever present, and age old, problem of the exploitation of human labor and the profits accruing from it. In the letter of the law the "contract convict labor" system may have been abolished in Missouri, but the practice of it still survives, and seventy-five per cent of the punishments administered were to the end of protecting the profits of the "prison contractor," the other twenty-five per cent were for the protection and furtherance of the petty grafts of the under officials which I mention later. In the fourteen months I spent in prison I saw all manner of punishments and heartsickening brutalities and in every single instance, except one, the fact that profits were threatened was the cause of the punishment.

In theory, only "able bodied" prisoners in the female department of the Missouri prison are employed in the overall factory, but in fact every woman who can be driven to stand on her feet or sit at a machine is forced to submit to a form of slavery far more terrible than that of the negro slaves before the Civil War. The black woman who was a chattel slave at least had the protection of having a market value and being cared for and used as a valuable piece of property, but the woman convict in prison workshop has no market value whatever and has not even the advantage of being property. So I saw women worked for eight hours and forty minutes per day in an old, badly ventilated and inefficiently arranged factory in all stages of mental and physical subnormality and driven by the "task system," which in itself, is so stupid and inhumane that it has been abolished in practically all modern prisons in all civilized countries.

The "task" was set for the women in the Missouri prison by a prison contractor in the old days when "contract convict labor"
was permitted both in the letter and the spirit of the law, and
that same "task" prevailed during my imprisonment. In the female
department we made jumpers and the jacket portion of unionalls
and suspenders for the overalls made by the male convicts. I
worked on two different tasks, one was to hem both sides and the
bottom, make and attach the collar, stitch in the labels and stack
for inspection fifty-five heavy denim jumpers each day, the other
to make and attach the collars, label and stack eighty-eight unionall
jackets. The women who made suspenders did an equal amount
of work.

The "task" is rigid as the laws of the Medes and Persians and
absolutely no consideration was given in exacting it to the age,
the mental or physical condition, the previous training or the in-
dustrial efficiency or aptitude of the individual woman. Women as
old as fifty-five and girls who seemed mere children; cripples and
mental defectives; consumptives and syphilitics, all were subject
to the same task and suffered the same punishments if they failed
to produce the required amount of profit for the contractors. The
young, untrained and totally unfit foreman assessed the punish-
ments in the shop and the only things governing punishments were
his adolescent whims and boyish temper.

The Shop Matron

A shop matron was nominally in charge of women, and under
ordinary conditions should have acted as a means of protection
for the women, but quite an extraordinary condition really pre-
vailed. This matron was an elderly spinster who had lived a
drab and sadly starved life, and as is not at all unusual for love
starved and elderly spinsters she was in the grip of an obcessing
infatuation for the young foreman. Naturally, under those condi-
tions she was putty in his hands, and no matter how stupid or
unjust, how cruel and inhumane the punishment he assessed, she
was quite sure that he could do no wrong and his merest whim
was law. And from this law there was no appeal. No woman ever
dared oppose in the slightest degree any act of the youthful fore-
man, or suggest that he might be in the wrong. I tried it just once,
and called down upon my head such a wild tirade of abuse as could
only come from a madly infatuated woman in defense of the man
she loved. This matter of an elderly spinster's frost-bitten and
belated romance may seem a trifle of comedy but to these women
it is a tragedy of far-reaching social consequences, and in it, the
seeds of vengeance and hate will be sown whose harvest we cannot
even contemplate.
The "task" is so heavy that only a small portion of the women are able to accomplish it, and all who fail are always subject to any and all sorts of punishment that the young foreman may care to inflict. If a woman is physically, mentally, or from a lack of efficiency, unable to "make the task," she is punished again and again, with always increasing severity until an absolute breakdown comes, this being the only evidence that the young foreman will admit of inability to "make the task."

The lightest punishment for failure to "make the task" is to be sent to the cell after work hours, being deprived of letters, recreation and all communication with other inmates. If this does not bring the required amount of product, the convict is sent to the cell on Saturday at noon, sometimes without dinner, fed on two very tiny slices of bread and water and denied all privileges until Monday morning. If the "task" is still not forthcoming the woman is put in "black hole," or the "blind cell," as it is sometimes called. The blind cell is a cell built in the solid stone wall barely large enough to accommodate a human body. The only light or ventilation comes from a tiny hole in the outer wood door which covers the iron bars, and this hole is about three and a half by five inches. The "hole" is unheated in winter and unventilated in summer, and is without toilet accommodations. When I entered the prison its only furniture was one filthy old blanket and a loathsomely unsanitary and offensive toilet bucket. The floor is of cement and the women, absolutely regardless of their physical condition, were compelled to sit or lie on this cold floor with only one blanket for protection in the most bitterly cold weather. Because of a protest I made to the Department of Justice in behalf of the federal prisoners, Mr. Fishman, the federal inspector of prisons, demanded that a wooden sleeping board be provided and this was done.

While in the "black hole" the women are given two very thin slices of bread, about two by four inches in size, each day and about half a teacup full of water. This is the only food and drink permitted and if any of the other convicts are detected in giving additional food or water to a woman in the "hole," they are severely punished. The women are kept in the "hole" from two to fifteen days. That is, fifteen days is the limit of punishment administered while I was in prison, but before my advent there seemed to be no limit; so the older inmates told me.
Minnie Eddy

There is a tragic story, which I have substantiated by living witnesses, of a certain Minnie Eddy sent to the prison from Kansas City who was totally unable to "make the task" and who was punished again and again, finally spending twenty-one days in the "hole" on bread and water. She was taken out barely alive, permitted to gorge on the coarse prison food and died the next day from what the woman who nursed her told me was a perforated intestine.

Gag and Bridle

The first cell I occupied was directly across the narrow corridor from the "hole," and I was an eye witness to certain instances of brutality. A young colored girl, quite plainly demented, threw a pail of hot water on another woman who she thought was tormenting her. One of the male guards, whom the women called "The Gorilla," and this name is most apt indeed, beat the cowering, pleading dement with his maul-like fists as she staggered down the corridor, then the handcuffs were placed on her wrist, passed through the bars in the "blind cell" doors and snapped on the other wrist. The "bridle," which is a sort of gag, but which I never had opportunity to examine closely, was placed in her mouth to prevent her screaming and she stayed there "ringed" and "bridled" from early in the afternoon until about nine at night. She was taken down just before the lights were out for the night, and so far as I know was not "hung up" again. She, however, spent fifteen days in the "hole," then was kept locked in her cell absolutely without outdoor exercise of any privileges, except during the hours she spent in the shop, for three months. There were other instances when I heard the blows and cries and pleadings of inmates while they were being beaten by guards and matrons, but I did not see these brutalities because they were out of my range of vision, but not of hearing.

The most demoralizing effects of punishment in the "black hole" are those of which it is almost impossible to write and have the story printable. Nine-tenths of all the punishments for "short work and "bad work" (and the latter is a mythical term which covers everything from faulty material and bad cutting to the foreman's dyspepsia and diabolical temper), was meted out to the women during the periods when their physical and mental strength was at its lowest ebb because they were undergoing the physical
handicaps peculiar to women. During these periods of physical and mental depression, and in prison these conditions are morbidly exaggerated; the women are naturally inefficient, nervous and irritable. The "task" at such times is utterly impossible, and though I am unusually strong and have remarkable endurance I was never able to accomplish it during these periods, and the time when the women should have received rational, intelligent care and decent treatment, freed from the nerve-racking grind of a slavish "task" was the very time they were stupidly and inhumanely thrown into the "black hole" to lie for days on an ice-cold cement floor where congestion, pneumonia and consumption always lay in wait for their helpless victims.

**Solitary Vice**

In the maddening solitude of the fetid darkness and the dragging monotony there was only one emotional outlet for many of these women and that was solitary vice. As a result, when the women came out of the "hole" they were almost always polluted, pallid, disheveled creatures that had the appearance of having escaped from the foulest pit of the most orthodox hell.

**Pandering to Vice**

It is not "nice" or even "refined" to contemplate, but it is a stark, ugly fact nevertheless that homo-sexuality exists in every prison and must ever be one of the sinister facts of our penal system. In the Missouri State Penitentiary it is, next to the "task" the dominating feature of prison life and a regular source of revenue to favored "stool pigeons." There seems to be considerable grounds for the commonly accepted belief of the prison inmates that much of its graft and profits may percolate upward to the under officials. The negress "trusty" as the officials designate her, or the "stool pigeon" in the vernacular of the convicts, who had absolute control of the women's cell building and all its inmates from six in the evening until six in the morning handled the details of pandering to the homo-sexual vices so rampant in the prison, and there was a regular scale of charges for permitting the inmates to indulge. The charge for the use of a pervert was usually fifty cents, and the charge for having the cell door left open at night by the "stool pigeon" was one dollar. In fact homo-sexuality was not only permitted by this trusty, but indulgence was actively
fostered by this colored murdress, and in the case of young, helpless and unprotected women actually demanded and enforced. In two or three instances at least I managed to have young and unperverted girls moved into cells near mine where I could protect them from the demands made by the trusty that they submit to vicious practices.

Because this "stool pigeon" had sole charge of the cell house and the lives of the women at night; because her word was always and unquestionably accepted without investigation by the matrons; because she, in fact, held the power of life and death over us, by being able to secure endless punishments in the blind cell, she could and did compel indulgence in this vice in order that its profits might be secured.

The Tobacco Graft

Another concession held by this negress was that of the sale of tobacco. Among the women of the "under world" as well as among the women of the other extreme of society, "the upper crust," cigarette smoking is almost universal. The prison rules forbid cigarettes, but their use is general. It was an open secret that this rule was not to be enforced as long as the women secured their cigarettes from the proper source, which, of course, was the "stool pigeon." No one in constant contact with the women, as the matrons were, could possibly be ignorant of the fact that ninety per cent of the women smoked; the yellow stained fingers and the smoke-laden air of the cell house loudly proclaimed it and no punishments were ever administered during my time for smoking, but the most terrible punishments were administered for securing tobacco on which the "stool pigeon" did not secure her profits. For instance, Dora Campbell, a federal prisoner from Mississippi, convicted of "harboring a deserter from the U. S. Army was sent to the "hole" while ill, stayed there for a number of days, in fact, until some of the women secretly complained to the prison physician, and was taken out with a well-advanced case of pneumonia from which she never entirely recovered while in prison. Dora Campbell had secured a sack of tobacco without purchasing it from the "trusty." And these profits would have turned the most patriotic war profiteer green with envy. The "stool pigeon" received for a ten-cent sack of Bull Durham two dollars, for a book of cigarette papers fifty cents, and matches she retailed at three for a dime. There never seemed to be the slightest limit to the supply of tobacco the "stool pigeon" was able to secure and as long as the
women secured their supply from her they were safe; but if there was the slightest suspicion that they were securing contra-band goods, the punishments this vicious negress could and did secure for the offenders was soul-sickening.

Treatment of Drug Addict

This same "stool pigeon" had complete control of all of the women who were ill and since many of them were federal prisoners convicted under the Harrison drug act, and of course drug addicts, the punishments she was permitted to inflict makes one doubt our claim to being a civilized nation. When drug addicts enter Jefferson City absolutely all drugs are taken from them and they are left to "kick off the habit," as they say, without treatment or assistance. Naturally, their sufferings are frightful and quite as naturally they are noisy and troublesome. The "stool pigeon" uses any methods she sees fit to quiet and subdue these half-demented creatures undergoing the most frightful tortures because of the sudden cessation of their accustomed narcotics.

One instance stands out with glaring vividness in my mind. An elderly woman, a drug addict of more than twenty years came to the prison, naturally in the most terrible condition. When narcotics were taken from her she cried and moaned and raved and the "stool pigeon" and another convict quite as brutal ducked the poor, crazed old woman in a bathtub of icy water until she was too weak to make further outcry. I do not know the outcome for this woman was still ill in her cell from the experience when I left prison.

"Breaking" the "Bad" Ones

Of greater moment, no doubt, than the outrages of physical punishment upon physical bodies is the more distressing and degenerating punishments inflicted upon mind and soul. The theory of the prison management as expressed by the matrons and the shop foreman was that no "bad" woman could possibly be made into a "good" woman until she had been "broken," and that meant that she should be stripped of every shred of self-respect, initiative, will, intelligence and common human decency. Any woman having self-respect, initiative, will-power and intelligence was hated and feared as small, brutal, despotic minds always hate these qualities which they know they cannot dominate, and no form of punishment,
physical or mental that might have a tendency to "break" these "dangerous convicts was ever overlooked. Laughter, love and kindness are the three most heinous crimes possible to a convict and they were punished with the utmost severity. In all the fourteen months I spent in prison I never heard an inmate addressed courteously, never heard one single kind, encouraging or helpful word from the petty officials with whom we were in constant contact. One of my most horrible memories is that of the voices of our keepers; they never spoke to us as normal human beings speak; they either snarled at us, cursed us or screeched at us, and those snarling, rasping hateful voices still haunt my dreams.

I feel absolutely positive that no perfectly normal person can endure the life of an under-prison official and that a psychopathic survey of the Missouri prison will prove that practically all of the guards and petty officials, and possibly some of the higher ones as well, are sadistic to a marked degree. I know that it was always the timid, shrinking women who blushed scarlet at a sneer and who gave outward evidence of mental torture who were punished most often and most severely.

The Merit System

What is designated as the "merit system" is used in the Missouri State Penitentiary, and the federal prisoners receive the disadvantages of it, but none of the advantages. On entering one is placed in C class; this permits the usual privileges and permission to write one letter each week, and to receive fifty cents per month pay. If an inmate is perfect in production and deportment for three months she is promoted to B class, permitting two letters each week and seventy-five cents per month wages. Three months more of perfect record advances the inmate to A class where three letters each week are permitted and the salary is one dollar per month. Three months perfect record is necessary for promotion to a higher class but one punishment, either for an alleged infraction of the rules or for "short work" or "bad work" in the shop is sufficient for demotion. The state prisoners are given what is called "good time" in addition. The C class prisoners get the usual one-fourth off for good time; B class prisoners get an additional five days' good time each month, and the A class prisoners ten days per month. This good time for higher classes is not given federal. The woman who cannot make the task or is punished for any cause is reduced in class. In D class prisoners can write but one letter
per month and have no Sunday recreation. In E class they write once a month and have no recreation and lose all good time. A woman may hold her position in A or B class for a year or more thereby earning considerable good time, but a single punishment can take it all away from her. No punishment is so dreaded by the women as losing their "good time," and no abuses are so galling as the power of the shop foreman, the matrons and the negro trusty to punish the women justly or unjustly, thereby reducing them in class and robbing them of the so hardly earned "good time."
VII

Care of the Diseased

In no other department, perhaps, is the Missouri State Peniten-
tiary so inexcusably and inhumanely deficient as in the facilities
and methods of caring for the mentally, morally and physically dis-
eased women. Very many improvements were made during my in-
carceration, but very many more must be made before the institu-
tion is able to qualify as an even semi-civilized organization.

The average number of inmates of the female department is about
ninety; one-third federal prisoners and two-thirds state. I feel
quite positive that if a careful and really scientific survey of the
institution were made that it would be found that eighty per cent
of the women are subnormal physically or mentally and that prac-
tically all of them are anti-social minded to an extent that they
are extremely psychopathic.

No Hospital Facilities

There are absolutely no hospital facilities whatever in the fe-
male wing, and regardless of how serious or contagious the illness
that may develop the women must be kept in their cells. When
the female cell building was erected a fairly good hospital room
was provided, but in spite of the fact that this wing has been used
something like fifteen years, this hospital room is still unfurnished
and worse than useless for hospital purposes, having been used
principally as a place of isolation for punishment. Five hundred
dollars intelligently invested would fit this room for use and pro-
vide the facilities demanded by common human decency, but no
prison board or warden has ever felt it necessary to spend this
sum to provide decent care during illness for the women under
their charge.

I was desperately ill twice during my imprisonment and know
by personal experience how frightful the conditions really are. On
one occasion I suffered a heat stroke because of the unventilated
and unbearably hot shop. I was dumped into my cell at two o’clock
in the afternoon, the door was locked and the “trusty” before men-
tioned gave all of the women orders that no one should approach
my cell and that on pain or punishment no one should give me a
drink of water. She afterwards told me that in giving this order
she was acting on the orders of the matron who had decided that
I was not really ill, but "stalling," as she said, to avoid work, though I had never made the slightest objection to doing the task assigned me. In the scorching fever and the torturing thirst of a heat prostration I lay from two o'clock until the women came in from the recreation yard at six without medical attention and without ice or even a drink of water.

Two days later the matron ordered me back into the shop in violation to the prison doctor's orders and I suffered a relapse. Only the fact that my husband was alarmed at the failure to receive my accustomed letter and came to investigate, saved my life. My husband protested to Mr. Painter, the prison doctor interfered in my behalf, and I was permitted to remain locked in my cell until I had partially recovered.

During the epidemic of influenza I and about thirty or forty of the other inmates were critically ill; no hospital facilities were provided, no effort of isolation made and we were simply all left in our cells to be cared for in the most inefficient and haphazard way by the "trusty," aided by a particularly obnoxious and vicious negro convict and an elderly white convict who was kindly, but absolutely unfit to act as a nurse. There were only half a dozen hot water bottles, two of them belonging to me, no ice bags and no fever thermometer, and until I had sufficiently recovered to make a vigorous protest no one paid the slightest attention to whether or not we had any temperature. When the thermometer arrived I was the only person in the cell house who knew how to read it and the old woman who cared for us would trot about taking temperatures and bringing the thermometer to me to read.

Caging the Ill

Our cell bunks were so located that our heads were only about six inches from the doors and eight times each day these heavy steel doors were clanged open and closed with the result that the misery of the nerve-racking noise sent my fever skyrocketing. The women who were not ill were compelled to take their recreation in the corridor just outside our cells and the noise was almost unbearable.

Unless a woman is critically ill the cell door is always kept locked and during convalescence the women are compelled to endure the inexpressible misery of being caged like wild animals, and if they can possibly creep out of the cell they must dress and go down the stairs to see the doctor on "sick call." No diet is provided for the women while ill, as a rule and as soon as they are
able to eat anything they are served with the coarse, greasy prison food. Favored prisoners did receive additional food during illness, but unless the busy, overworked prison doctor made a determined fight for sick diet, it was not provided.

I have already mentioned the utter lack of civilized means of protecting clean women from infection by the venerally diseased but much more must be noted. A few months before my release every convict in the prison was given the Wassermann test and from the eighty women who took it at the time I did, I was informed that fifty-six gave positive reactions. So far as I was able to determine no other forms of venereal disease is considered and absolutely no efforts to prevent infection is made. I do know that the fever thermometer I managed to secure was not an unmixed blessing, for the "trusty" would thrust it in the mouth of a woman suffering from the most communicable stages of infection, and then without even wiping thrust it in the mouth of helpless and uninfected women.

Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is present in a large percentage of the women, just how large I do not know, for no survey has ever been made. I do know, however, that the "black hole," the underfeeding, the lack of fresh air and sunshine, the overwork and the dusty, polluted, lint-laden air of the shop reduces the physical resistance of the women until they become easy prey for the germs always present, and I feel sure that few women escape contamination.

So far as handling the mentally diseased is concerned conditions are, if possible, worse. And all of the sins committed against the mentally diseased there, cannot be charged to the prison officials. It seems to be the custom of judges faced with the problem of handling these disturbing products of our social system to solve it by simply dumping them into the state penitentiary, and I was told by an officer of the Federal Prison at Atlanta that federal judges have also been known to meet perplexing problems of that kind in the same way.

Subnormal and Demented

I know that in Jefferson City fully seventy-five per cent of the women were mentally and psychically subnormal and an appalling
number were evidently demented. No effort was made to segregate these mentally diseased, no intelligent consideration was given them in the work or discipline, and no helpful or curative treatment was provided. The tragic and appalling thing is that the most revolting instances of mishandling, harshness, cruelty and actual brutality were directed to the women absolutely and utterly unable to “make the task,” or to conform to the requirements of prison discipline, and who should have never been sent to prison, but institutions for the insane or feeble-minded.

The methods of dealing with the psychopaths were even more benighted, for the prison management seemed blissfully unconscious of the entire theory of modern psychology and dealt with the spiritually ill with the same degree of intelligence as the old witch doctors did with the physically ill in the days of pre-civilization. The witch doctors beat sick men to drive the devils out of them and in Jefferson City the officials punished the psychically sick to attain the same results.

In fairness I am glad to say that in the handling of the diseased women, conditions have improved marvelously since Dr. W. E. Clark became prison physician. He is overworked and underpaid and continually annoyed and hampered in his work by certain of the under officials, but he is doing much to bring the institution to a better position. He does succeed in having his orders obeyed to a certain extent; he has shorn the “trusty” of her most despotic powers so far as his patients are concerned and he is making a heroic fight that should have the support of every American citizen, to secure hospital facilities, sick room supplies, decent nursing and better housing conditions for the convicts.
VIII
Recreation

The Missouri State Penitentiary still uses the “silence system” which has been discarded by practically all modern prisons as being antiquated, stupid, brutal and a constant provocation to break rules and thereby cause the infliction of punishments.

The Silence System

The rule forbidding any conversation or communication between the inmates except during the “recreation hour” was very strictly and rigidly enforced in the shop and dining-room, and the most severe punishments were inflicted for its violation. In the cell house the rule was the letter of the law, but it was only enforced spasmodically and at the whim and discretion of the colored “trusty.” The fact that the violation of the “silence” rule was winked at by the matrons for the most part, but could be enforced by the “trusty” gave rise to wretched abuses. The inmates who by tips, liberal gifts and sycophancy had a “stand in,” could talk as much as they liked to their fellow prisoners, but if for any reason a woman “got in bad” with the “trusty,” she would be severely punished for a violation of the rules openly permitted to the majority. And in this as in all other matters the “trusty’s” word was law and on her report the women were sent to the “hole” or put on bread and water for the purely mythical crime of “disturbing the cell house.”

Recreation

In the matter of recreation the Missouri prison is somewhat in advance, I think, of most prisons and its management deserves commendation. On Mondays and Tuesdays we had an hour or an hour and a half in the bare but moderately large court yard after our suppers. Here we could move about freely, converse, sing, dance and play games. No equipment for games was provided by the management, but the inmates could have anything purchased by themselves or sent by friends. A phonograph sent to me was in constant use and proved to be a never-ending source of joy to the women. On Wednesday evening a young music teacher gave us lessons in chorus singing. I was never able to learn whether this teacher was paid by the state or gave her services, but the singing was a very pleasant feature of our prison life. Thursday evenings we cleaned our cells and on Friday evenings we had our weekly bath which took the time of “recreation.”

Picnics and “Movies”

The working hours were so arranged that we made the work required for Saturday afternoon during the other work days and we did not return to the shop on Saturday afternoons. During the summer months all of the women inmates were taken in trucks to McClung Park, some two or three miles from the prison every Saturday afternoon, where we had a most refreshing and enjoyable picnic. There is a beautiful pavilion, the prison band from the male department played for us and we danced and sang and walked about in the fresh air. On Sunday morning we had an hour in the yard and after chapel services another. During the winter we were taken over to the large assembly hall in the male wing for a movie show on Saturday and Sunday afternoons.
IX

Training and Education

There are absolutely no provisions in the Missouri State Penitentiary for education or vocational training. The women leave at the expiration of their terms, not only physically worn to depletion, but as illiterate and untrained to wage the struggle for existence as when they entered. I found that about twenty per cent were totally illiterate, unable to either read or write and with very few exceptions the others had not finished grade schools. Only three of the inmates during my time had entered high school and one had finished the high school course.

Prison Library

At the time I entered no library facilities were provided for the women and they were without reading matter except what they could purchase, and where the food problem was so critical it is quite natural that the little money the inmates could command was spent to feed their stomachs and not their minds. This condition was later remedied and the female inmates have access to the prison library which is very old and almost useless so far as educational purposes are concerned. The non-fiction section contained little of value except a few really good works on history, and the fiction was largely of the lightest and least educational sort. But in spite of its limitations the library is a great comfort to the women and the killing monotony of the long hours in the cell is relieved for the women who can read.

A few weeks after I entered the prison I sent a formal request to Mr. Painter, president of the Prison Board, asking permission to open a night school in the female wing. One of the women who had been to high school offered to teach the illiterates and I tendered my services as teacher to the more advanced. The women were pathetically eager for the opportunity, and I would have been more than glad to have taken on the additional labor, but the Prison Board entirely ignored our request and the prison still has no school for its female inmates.

Denial of Initiative

One of the most galling effects of prison life is the complete denial of all initiative on the part of the convicts. Many of the women had lost relatives in the world war and Memorial Day was to them a day of special significance. So two weeks before Memorial Day, 1919, a letter signed by all the inmates of the female wing was sent to the Prison Board asking for a half holiday on Memorial Day and permission for the women to arrange and conduct their own services. They would have been willing to make up the work lost, or would have compromised on a service in the evening after work hours, but they wanted to conduct the affair
themselves. This perfectly courteous and certainly modest request was ignored also. At Christmas time the woman again requested, this time of the matron, permission to arrange an entertainment and the request was denied. Later I asked the matron for permission to write a playlet for the women and coach the production, this request was also denied. The matron gave as her reason for refusing that the women were too tired after work to study and rehearse and to a degree this is true. When the "task" has taken its share of human energy from the women there is little left to live or grow mentally.

I felt that a series of very simple popular lectures on modern psychology would be of inestimable benefit to the inmates, both men and women. On Christmas day Governor Gardner and all of the prison officials visited us and I personally requested permission of them to give such a series, but this request was also denied. Seemingly there is a positive antipathy in the minds of the prison management to any sort of educational work being carried on among the inmates, and a condition of ignorance on their part to be desired.

Chapel

The spiritual lives of the women inmates of the prison are just as barren and depressing as their mental condition. The women all hate the chapel services, their antagonism varying in degree from bored indifference to blazing revolt. Possibly one reason is that it is forced upon them. The women must either attend chapel or lose their Sunday afternoon recreation, and every moment of outdoor life is a precious thing.

The state legislature has set the salary of the prison chaplain at a sum so disgracefully inadequate that only a man of the least desirable attainments would possibly accept it. As a result the only resident protestant chaplain we had was the sort of a person who would make any one loathe a religious service he conducted. The Catholic chaplain, having a church in Jefferson City, is not dependent on the salary paid by the state and we found him perfectly satisfactory, except for the fact that he never enters the prison between the monthly services which he conducts, and he gives the women no personal attention, advice, comfort or help. I want to say in justice to this young priest, however, that the women feel that the blame for this seeming neglect on his part really lies with the matron who bitterly resents any one doing anything comforting or helpful for the girls.

The resentment the women feel and the loathing for so-called religious services is not that they are irreligious; quite the contrary is true, but they feel that the men hired and paid by the state, disgraceful as the salary may be, are unfaithful to their trust. They feel that those men are hired and paid to look after their moral and spiritual welfare and to bring them the comfort and solace of religion, and that except for the fifteen minutes of cut and dried formalism once each week they are utterly abandoned and neglected.

At one time a very beautiful soul, an old man too old to serve a charge acted as our chaplain for two months, and except for the
fact that he was too feeble physically for the work, he was all that a chaplain should be. But aside from this most lovable and loyal old minister, no clergyman ever displayed the slightest personal interest, not one ever offered a word of help or sympathy or comfort to the soul-sick and heart-broken women in their care. No matter how great the sorrow, how deep the suffering, how terrible the tragedy that comes to these social outcasts, there is never the slightest personal interest, help or comfort.

**Visiting Clergymen**

Because of the inadequacy of the salary paid the state, the prison was without a regular chaplain the greater part of the time during my imprisonment. The management was really very conscientious in securing the local clergymen to take over the chapel services and our experiences with volunteer chaplains was both comedy and tragedy. The lack of any glimmer of understanding on the part of these sincere and well-intentioned clergymen of prison problems and the prisoners' psychology was tragic in the extreme, and the things they said and did were often high comedy. Almost invariably they were "professionally cheerful," and every prisoner detests that silly affectation. They usually begin their sermons by telling us that though we were "fallen women, deep in sin, God loves you still," and the women knew that they had not "fallen," they had simply been knocked down and trampled upon by society in the mad struggle for existence, and that if "God loved them still," he was criminally neglecting his job of caring for those behind prison bars. Practically the only outlet the women could find for their resentment against the smug ignorance of the clergymen was to invent nicknames for them and these not only showed a keen sense of humor, but a shrewd understanding of human nature as well. Possibly because convicts are always hungry, every uncensored expression has to do with food or sex. So we had "Old Ragweed," "Rev. Apple Dumpling," "Preacher Blinky Milk," "Elder Cream Puff," "Deacon Pie Face" and "Mr. Green Apple" to preach to us.

Of all the clergymen who tried to "save" and "uplift" us there was one, the pastor of the Christian Church of Jefferson City, whom the women really respected and whose services were welcomed.
X

The Intelligent Study of Criminology

I found the prison officials quite as much averse to any intelligent study of criminology within the prison walls as they were to any efforts to provide opportunities for education for the inmates.

When I found that I might be compelled to spend many months in prison I decided that it would be best to make those months of social value if possible, by making a detailed study of my fellow convicts.

With the co-operation of the heads of departments of universities, heads of social service institutions, scientific societies, employers, labor leaders and other interested individuals I prepared the outline for a casebook of criminology which is given here.

When the outline was complete I visited Governor Frederick D. Gardner of Missouri, submitted a copy and asked his co-operation in securing permission to make the survey in case I should be compelled to serve as a federal prisoner in the State Penitentiary at Jefferson City. Governor Gardner seemed to feel quite sure that such a survey and resulting casebook would be of great social value and gave me his unqualified promise to see that the prison officials not only gave me permission to make the survey and secure the data desired, but every co-operation.

I visited the Missouri State University at Columbia, Mo., and found that the department of psychology and the medical school would be willing to make the psychological examinations and the medical examinations and were keenly anxious that such a study in criminology should be made.

I also visited Governor Lynn D. Frazier, of North Dakota, the State University of North Dakota at Grand Forks and the warden and physician of the Dakota State Penitentiary at Bismarck, North Dakota.

These state officials were eager to arrange with the Superintendent of Prisons of the United States Department of Justice for my incarceration in the North Dakota State Penitentiary, where I would have been given every opportunity for making necessary studies and the services of certain prisoners capable of doing clerical work. When Mr. Fishman, the U. S. Inspector of Federal Prisons visited me in Jefferson City I made a formal request to be transferred to Bismarck, North Dakota, in order that I might do this work which I felt to be of far greater social value than the work of the prison workshop. Permission to make the survey and secure the data desired was denied me by the prison officials at Jefferson City and the United States Department of Justice refused to transfer me to Bismarck, N. D., where I might have worked
intelligently and with the best of co-operation. I feel that this attitude on the part of the prison officials and the Department of Justice was both stupid and anti-social. Such data as I wished to secure would be great value to persons wishing to study the causative factors in crime and my opportunity to secure this data never has, and will not again, in all possibility, come to any person desirous of making such studies. Because of the many months I could have given to the work, the research could have been exhaustive, and because I was a fellow convict suffering from all of the wrongs of the prison system, and not an outsider totally unable to comprehend the psychology of the prisoners, I would have been able to secure and check information inaccessible to any ordinary social worker.

I am asking the careful and critical study of the outline of my proposed study in criminology and an honest opinion as to whether or not such work as I sought permission to do would not have been of greater social value than making jackets for a prison contractor in a prison sweatshop.
A PROPOSED STUDY IN CRIMINOLOGY
By Kate Richards O'Hare

INTRODUCTORY

It is but recently that any serious study along modern lines and with present day methods and conceptions has been given to the problem of the causes for crime, the prevention of the development of criminals and the rehabilitation of the offenders. No such detailed studies have been made in the field of crime as have been made in the realm of sanitation; little data exists for the use of the student; no general accepted conclusions are available for the guidance of those responsible for the safety, moral health and general well being of the community. Crime is as old as disease, quite as wasteful and more of a menace to society. Modern science bids fair to conquer disease in the near future, and it would seem but common sense that we should, if possible, determine scientifically, whether crime is a social disease, or the result of social disease, and to what extent the criminal is mentally or physically deficient and unable to cope with an adverse environment.

The agencies in charge of the administration of social life in all countries have become aware that disease and death are subject, within certain limits, to human control. The research work of the students of hygiene and sanitation and the achievements of sanitary engineers have demonstrated the value of detailed investigations as a necessary basis for their work. Because of such investigations an immense literature and technique now exists dealing with hygiene and sanitation, which organized society is making use of. Everywhere prevention is replacing efforts to cure in the world of physical well being.

Pioneer work must be done in the investigation of the life histories of individual inmates of penal institutions in order to determine, if possible, the forces that foster the inception and development of criminalistic careers. No progress can be made in reducing the appalling social waste due to crime until it is accurately determined to what extent crime is an individual reaction, separate and apart from social causes, and to what extent there are causes external to the individual as sure to produce crime and criminals, as unsanitary conditions are sure to produce physical disease.

Field

The inmates confined in the State Penitentiary of Missouri.
Methods to Be Used

Personal examination of each individual, along the following lines:
1. Family history—data regarding parents (heredity).
2. Economic status—training in useful labor, etc.
3. Social background—during youth, adolescence and maturity, etc.
4. Psychological examination.
5. Physical examination.
7. General.

Scope

Sufficient individuals would be examined in the course of the survey to insure an ample mass of data for scientific study. The inquiry in the case of each delinquent would be made with considerable detail, as is shown by the schedules included herewith.

Case Book of Criminology

The data secured to be published for the free use of public officials, social workers, educators, pastors, sociologists, psychologists, criminologists, and physicians, as a source book in the study of the causes of crime and methods of prevention.

NOTE 1—The examination under heads 1, 2, 3, 6, and 7, to be conducted by Mrs. O'Hare; expert specialists to handle 4 (psychological) and 5 (physical).
A PROPOSED CASE STUDY IN CRIMINOLOGY.

100. ECONOMIC STATUS.

110—Industrial classification:
111—Unskilled.
112—Trade.
113—Business.
114—Profession.
115—Migratory.
116—Seasonable labor.
117—Sedentary labor.

120—Training for occupation:
121—Apprenticeship.
122—Technical education.
123—Any other training.

130—History of gainful employment:
131—First gainful employment—at what age, what wage, what employment.
132—Give history of successive employments.
133—Causes of changes in employment.
134—Preferred employment.

140—Regularity of employment:
141—Period of time, first employment to latest employment.
142—Percentage of time employed during above period.
143—Causes of unemployment during above period.

150—Self-dependence:
151—At what age self-support began.
152—At what age upon leaving home, and why.
153—Dependence upon others.
154—Independent income.
155—Initiative.
156—Determination.

160—Financial success:
161—Give earnings for each period or year during the time from first employment to latest employment.
162—Savings, insurance or property accumulated.
163—Economic dependence.
164—Oppressive debts.

170—Labor affiliations:
171—Membership in labor union, state which.
172—Active member.
173—Passive member.
174—Antagonistic, and why.

180—Participation in labor controversies:
181—in what strikes?
182—in what capacity?
183—Ever blacklisted?

190—Civic outlook:
191—Voter?
192—If not a voter, why?
193—Political party preferred?
194—Active worker?
195—Indifferent to political matters?
196—Any knowledge or opinion regarding Socialism, Philosophical Anarchism, Syndicalism.
200. FAMILY HISTORY.

Fill out a report for each parent, grandparent, step-parents, and collateral relatives as far as possible.

200—
201—Relationship to delinquent.
202—Name.
203—Born when?

210—
211—Nationality.
212—Birthplace.
213—Came to U. S., year.
214—Lived in U. S., years.
215—Lived in country, village, city.
216—Married, when?
217—Died, when?

220—Education—opportunities and acceptances:
221—Grade reached.

230—Religion:
231—Attitude toward.
232—Affiliation.
233—Character of.
234—Intensity.

240—Occupational:
241—Character of work.
242—Industrial training.
243—Earning capacity.
244—Steadiness of employment.
245—Farm owner.
246—Farm tenant.
247—Frugality.
248—Thriftiness.
249—Property accumulated.
250—(Delinquent's mother only) Employment after marriage and why.

250—Political affiliation.
251—Reason.
252—Intensity.

260—
261—Ever convicted of crime—and what.
262—Intemperance—character of.
263—Addicted to drugs—when and what.
264—Normal mentality—epileptic, insane and variety.
265—Psychopathic.
266—Feeble-minded.
267—Physical disability.
268—Health.

270—Attitude toward offspring (take for father and mother).
271—Paternal-maternal attitude toward offspring.
272—Maternity-paternity desired.
273—Affection toward delinquent.
274—Delinquent's affection toward.
275—Number of children born to.
300. SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

310—Infancy—birth to 5 years:
  311—Birth.
  311a—Year of birth.
  311b—Place of birth.
  311c—Sex.
  311d—Siblings.
  311e—Birth rank.
  311f—Male parent or guardian.*
  311g—Female parent or guardian.*

312—Domicile (infancy):
  312a—Lived with.
  312b—Economic situation.
  312c—Location.**
  312d—Neighborhood conditions.
  312e—Housing.
  312f—Physical care.
  312g—Affectional care.

313—Stamina:
  313a—Physical disabilities.
  313b—Other disabilities.

314—Principal recollections and events:

320—Childhood—6th year to —— year inclusive (to puberty):

321—Household:
  321a—Male parent or guardian.*
  321b—Female parent or guardian.
  321c—Siblings living.
  321d—Other children.
  321e—Other inmates of household.
  322—Domicile (childhood).
  322a—Lived with.
  322b—Economic situation.
  322c—Location.**
  322d—Neighborhood conditions.
  322e—Housing.
  322f—Physical care.
  322g—Affectional care.
  322h—Family recreations.
  322i—Family harmony.
  322j—Father's interest in you.*
  322k—Mother's interest in you.*
  322m—Your regard for Father.*
  322n—Your regard for Mother.*
  323—School.
  323a—Location.**
  323b—Opportunities.
  323c—Attendance.

*Indicates parent or person taking parent's place in household.
**Location—indicates country, village, city, mining or other camps.
300. SOCIAL BACKGROUND—CONTINUED

323d—Grade attained.
323e—Interest.
323f—Played hookey.
323g—Educational difficulties.
324—Employment.
324a—Kind of.
324b—Duration.
324c—Earnings.
324d—Disposition of earnings.
325—Moral development (during childhood).
325a—Teachings, from whom and character of.
325b—Sex information, from whom, when, character of.
325c—Sex practices.
325d—Religious interests, affiliation, character, intensity.
326—Stamina (during childhood).
326a—Physical disabilities.
326b—Other disabilities.
327—Play or recreation.
327a—Opportunities.
327b—Choices.
328—Emotional reactions (during childhood).
328a—Marked attraction toward and aversion toward (persons).
328b—Marked affection from and aversions from (persons).
328c—Day dreams, fears, shocks.
328d—Ambitions.
329—Most important incidents and influences in childhood.
330—Youth—from —— years (time of puberty) to 21 years:
331—Household.
331a—Male parent or guardian.*
331b—Female parent or guardian.*
331c—Siblings living.
331d—Other children.
331e—Other inmates of household.
332—Domicile (during youth).
332a—Lived with.
332b—Economic situation.
332c—Location.**
332d—Neighborhood conditions.
332e—Housing.
332f—Physical care.
332g—Affectional care.
332h—Family recreations.
332i—Family harmony.
332j—Father's interest in you.*
332k—Mother's interest in you.*
332m—Your regard for Father.*
332n—Your regard for Mother.*

*Indicates parent, or person taking parent's place in household.
**Location—Indicate country, village, city, mining camp, etc.
300. SOCIAL BACKGROUND—CONTINUED.

333—Schools (during youth).
   333a—Location.**
   333b—Educational opportunities.
   333c—Attendance (years).
   333d—Grade obtained.
   333e—Interest.
   333f—Success.
   333g—Educational difficulties.

334—Employment (during youth).
   334a—Kind of.
   334b—Duration.
   334c—Earnings.
   334d—Disposition of earnings.

335—Moral development (during youth).
   335a—Teachings, from whom, character of.
   335b—Sex information, from whom, when, character of.
   335c—Sex practices.
   335d—Religious interests, affiliation, character, intensity.

336—Stamina (during youth).
   336a—Physical disabilities.
   336b—Other disabilities.

337—Play or recreation (during youth).
   337a—Opportunities.
   337b—Choices.
   337c—Athletics.
   337d—Games.
   337e—Dancing, theater, cards.
   337f—Music, reading (kind of).
   337g—Vacations.

338—Emotional reactions (during youth).
   338a—Affection for and antagonism toward (persons).
   338b—Affection from and antagonism from (persons).
   338c—Day dreams, fears, shocks.

339—Associates (during youth).
   339a—Associates of same sex normal?
   339b—Associates of opposite sex, describe.
   339c—Most important incidents and influences in youth.

340—Adult life (after 21 years):
   341—Household (during adult life).
   341a—Inmates.
   342—Domicile (during adult life).
   342a—Lived with.
   342b—Economic situation.
   342c—Location.**
   342d—Neighborhood conditions.
   342e—Housing.
   342f—Physical comfort.
   342g—Affectional environment.

**Location—state whether country, village, mining camp, city, etc.
300. SOCIAL BACKGROUND—CONTINUED.

342h—Family recreations.
342j—Family harmony.
343—Educational (adult life).
343a—Location.**
343b—Educational opportunities.
343c—Attendance (years).***
343d—Grade obtained.
343e—Interest.
343f—Success.
343g—Educational difficulties.
344—Employment (during adult life).
344a—Kind of.
344b—Regularity.
344c—Earnings (yearly).
344d—Disposition of earnings.
345—Moral development (adult life).
345a—Teachings, from whom, character of.
345b—Sex information, from whom, when, character of.
345c—Sex life.
345d—Religious interests, affiliations, character, intensity.
345e—Use of tobacco.
345f—Use of alcohol.
345g—Fraternal or lodge.
346—Stamina (adult life).
346a—Physical disability.
346b—Other disabilities.
347—Play or recreation (adult life).
347a—Opportunities.
347b—Choices.
347c—Athletics.
347d—Games.
347e—Dancing, theater, cards.
347f—Music, reading (kind of).
347g—Vacations.
348—Emotional reactions (during adult life).
348a—Affection for (persons), mention whom.
348b—Antagonism toward (persons), mention whom.
348c—Interest or affection from persons (whom).
348d—Antagonism from persons (whom).
348e—Fears, shocks.
348f—Ambitions.
349—Associates (adult life).
349a—Associates of same sex normal?
349b—Associates of opposite sex.
349c—Most important incidents and influences in adult life.
350—Conjugal life:
Fill out the questions in Groups 351, 352 and 353 for each marriage.
351—
351a—Which marriage (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.).

**Location—state whether country, village, mining camp, city, etc.
***Describe schools attended in detail.
300. SOCIAL BACKGROUND—CONTINUED

351b—Age at marriage.
351c—Spouse’s age at marriage.
351d—Spouse—turn to Section 2, and answer the questions in headings 200, 210, 220, 230, 260 and 270.
352—Domicile (during married life).
352a—Lived with.
352b—Economic situation.
352c—Location.**
352d—Neighborhood conditions.
352e—Housing.
352f—Physical comfort.
352g—Affectional environment.
352h—Family recreations.
352j—Family harmony.
353—
353a—Marriage successful?
353b—Marriage unsuccessful, why?
353c—Your age when widowed.
353d—Age when separated—cause.
353e—When divorced and cause.
354—Children. Answer the following questions for each child:
354a—Which child (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.).
354b—Year of birth.
354c—Sex.
354d—Normal physically?
354e—Normal mentally?
354f—Living? If dead give cause.
354g—Anything else important?
355—Attitude toward offspring.
355a—Did you desire children?
355b—Are you fond of your children?
356—Emotional recreations (during married life).
356a—Affection for (persons), mention whom.
356b—Antagonism toward (persons), mention whom.
356c—Interest or affection from persons (whom).
356d—Antagonism from persons (whom).
356e—Fears, shocks.
356f—Ambitions.
357—Effect of your conviction on family.
357a—Is spouse loyal to you since conviction?
357b—Are children loyal to you since conviction?

**Location—state whether country, village, mining camp, city, etc.
600. HISTORY OF DELINQUENCY.

610—Classification:
   611—Originally juvenile offender.
   612—Originally adult offender.

620—History of juvenile offenses:
   621—Character of offense—against person, property, sex.
   622—Age at the time.
   623—Where detained.
   624—Segregation from old offenders.
   625—How long detained?
   626—Pardoned or paroled.

630—History of later offenses:
   631—Character of offense—against person, property, sex.
   632—Age at the time.
   633—Where detained.
   634—Segregation from old offenders.
   635—Term.
   636—Pardoned or paroled.

640—History of present offense:
   641—Character of offense—against person, property, sex.
   642—Age at the time.
   643—Sentence.
   644—Began serving term.

650—Summary:
   651—Years in reformatory.
   652—Years in jail.
   653—Years in penitentiary.

660—Previous medical or physical examinations:
   661—To what extent.
   662—Where made.
   663—By whom..............position.

670—Previous psychological examinations.
   671—To what extent.
   672—Where made.
   673—By whom..............position.

680—Efforts to reform:
   681—Occasions when efforts to reform were made.
   682—What co-operation received from officials.
   683—What co-operation received from organizations.
   684—What co-operation received from individuals.
   685—What failures, and why.
700. GENERAL.

710—An effort to obtain delinquent's idea of the condition that led to his delinquency as,
711—Wage conditions, living conditions, security of employment.
712—Home conditions, school conditions, social life, associates, example and imitation, desire for adventure, prowess.
713—Intemperance, drugs.
714—Ill health, debt.
715—Loneliness, sex-hunger, marital unhappiness.

720—An effort to obtain delinquent's reactions toward institutions:
721—Law.
722—Courts.
723—Juries.
724—Police.
725—Jailors.
726—Penal and reformatory institutions.

730—An effort to obtain delinquent's idea as to the adequacy of his defense at time of trial:
731—Financial means at his command.
732—Satisfaction with conduct of defense.

740—Summary of trials and punishments, pardons and paroles with any unique feature not provided for elsewhere.

750—Delinquent's reactions toward present confinement and punishment:
751—Mental.
752—Physical effects—outward marks.

760—An effort to obtain delinquent's attitude toward society, his sense of social responsibility and moral ideas through a series of questions, any answer to which will afford information.

770—An effort to ascertain the existence of any normal or pathological sexual psychology likely to disturb other departments of the delinquent's life, as his attitude toward society, ambition, economic efficiency and physical condition.

780—The delinquent's plans and hopes for life after leaving prison.
XI

Where Responsibility Lies

One of our striking nationalistic characteristics is our proneness to retreat from disturbing facts into the quieter region of ideas. Individually and collectively we shut our eyes and wrap the mantle of our abstract ideas around us and lie down to pleasant dreams in the midst of horrible realities. My fourteen months in prison convinces me that the time has come for us to remove the gilded and self-complacent lid of ignorance from our penal system and look with honest eyes at the horrible facts within.

I am quite convinced by my prison experience that our prison system is the most hideous part of our social system. It has become the scapegoat for all of our social shortcomings, and each of us individually must bear the responsibility for its horrors and its barbarities. Our prisons are but the reflection of us, of our ethics, our morals, our ideals and our sense of justice. None of us can draw aside and say that we guiltless of the crimes of our judicial and penal system. And no matter how stubbornly we shut our eyes to facts, those facts still are there, and our responsibility for them cannot be shifted.

High minded men make laws to punish other human beings, but they never enforce them; enforcement is left to illiterate, sadistic officials who are not hampered by ideals or ethics. Noble, high-minded judges pass sentence, then like Pilate, wash their hands of responsibility and never disturb their souls with the physical facts entailed by the execution of their mandates. The state makes contracts with the manufacturers for the use of convict labor, but the public officials who enter into these contracts never harass their minds with the facts connected with the execution of those contracts; these facts are left to brutal overseers working under orders to wring the last penny of profits from the unpaid and slavish labor of helpless convicts.

Buried deep down in the sub-conscious soul of each of us is the instinct to hate, to wish to destroy what is unpleasing to us and what has a tendency to make us ashamed and uncomfortable. And without doubt our prison population is unpleasing and ugly; they shame us and make us uncomfortable. For fourteen months I watched the tragic stream of blasted lives, lives that were marred and scarred, warped and distorted, and they were not pleasant to look upon and I understand why we are so ready to hide them away from the sight of men behind prison walls and forget them as speedily and completely as possible. But they are flesh of our flesh, soul of our soul, and for all that they are, society is responsible. Prison walls cannot break the human ties that makes us one in human brotherhood.
The time has arrived when we must, if we would make good our boast of being a "highly civilized" nation, face frankly and intelligently the facts of our prison system. In all things except war and prisons we have been forced, by the bitter realization of utter failure, to discard the Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye," and to accept, because more efficient, the law of Jesus, "love thy neighbor as thyself."

Social vengeance as executed by our modern prison system has proven an absolute failure, and there are few today who defend repression, suppression, harshness, cruelty and brutality as effective methods of dealing with the socially delinquent. I know by actual experience and intensive study while behind prison walls that the brutalities of social vengeance cannot and do not reduce crime and will never reduce or reclaim our criminal population.

I know that prisons as they are, are not safe places to segregate men and women who fail to conform to our laws. The modern prison with its heterogeneous mass of physically, mentally and spiritually diseased, herded together in unsanitary surroundings, exploited by prison contractors and subjected the despotic domination of untrained, illiterate, and often brutalized and sadistic keepers, appointed to their positions by political influence, is neither socially safe or sane. If every convict was "sent up" for life and could never come back to civil life, prisons might be safe places for segregation at least. But few convicts are "sent up" for life. Most of them remain in prison only long enough to add to the abnormalities of body, mind and soul the degenerating diseases that are bred in prison atmosphere. The criminal enters prison, stays a few months or years, then returns to society with all of the anti-social traits with which he entered multiplied. set and hardened by the brutalities of the prison system, broken by unpaid labor and possibly contaminated with terrible communicable diseases. The released convict brings back to society all the dangerous things he took to prison as well as many more which he acquired there.

Prisons Fail to Reform

As places where "bad" people may be made into "good" people, prisons are failures as the ever-increasing criminal population and the enormous number of "repeaters" prove. Possibly the reason prisons fail so completely as institutions of reformation is that "good" people are usually normal people while "bad" people are almost always abnormal or subnormal people. Prison life as I lived it violated every normal urge of human life and intensified every abnormal tendency. Modern psychology teaches that there are three primal urges whose normal gratification makes possible all human progress upward from the lower to the higher life. The first is the urge for food which embraces all physical comforts; the second the urge for mental development which includes all that we call education and culture, and the third the urge for love, which includes everything from the most primitive sex attraction to highest form of religious expression. Our modern prison system violates all three. Not only are convicts always physically hungry, but by
the very conditions of prison life they are prevented from securing adequate food by their own labor. Prison life as I lived it made impossible any educational activities or cultural processes and by the absolute denial of all individual initiative deadened and stultified the mind. Behind prison bars love is crime to be punished unmercifully whether it be the normal expression of sex love, the sublimated emotion of love for humanity or the spiritual outpouring of love for God. By a system of discipline based on abysmal ignorance of human psychology and executed in the blind accept ance of the efficacy of brutality as a means of reformation, individ ual initiative and responsibility, the greatest builders of human character; education, the wholesome developer of human minds; and love, the only creative and regenerative forces of human life are denied the convict.
XII

Recommendations

I recognize the fact that crime and prison systems have their causes deeply laid in the economic conditions of modern society and that prisons are merely the cesspools of our mal-adjusted social system. I believe that crime will not be considerably lessened until the economic struggle for existence is mitigated and the living conditions of the masses cease to breed human abnormalities. I believe that the ultimate goal must be, not the reformation of prisons, but the reconstruction of our whole system of dealing with unfit members of society; I realize that the prison as we know it today must go with all of its stupidities, crudities and cruelties, and that the reformatory institutions of the future must be hospitals where trained physicians and psychologists, sympathetic and kindly nurses, cultured and understanding teachers shall deal with subnormals, not as criminals to be punished, but as unfortunate children upon whose helpless heads have fallen the "sins of the fathers." I understand quite well that "prison reform" is but a palliative, a sort of narcotic to ease the pain of unbearable social ills, but I also understand that there are conditions under which palliatives and narcotics must be made use of until time and progress have had an opportunity to work a cure.

There are certain things that can be done during this transition period of social progress that will make prison life less degenerating and pave the way for really sane and rational handling of the vexing problem of social delinquents. To narrow the question down to the Missouri State Penitentiary and the care of female federal prisoners there are certain recommendations I make in the light of my fourteen months actual prison experience.

Build Model Female Reformatory

The federal government should immediately build and equip an institution of its own for the care of its female prisoners to be a model for the many state institutions. To peddle the women out to any prison authorities willing to accept them for the niggardly sum of eighteen dollars per month is a disgraceful proceeding. None of the better and more humane penal institutions will receive female federal prisoners and the institutions that do receive them seem to be the least desirable. The Superintendent of Prisons of the Department of Justice cannot control the conditions surrounding the female prisoners when peddled out to the lowest bidder among the state penitentiaries, and while he is morally and legally responsible, cannot protect them from the most terrible abuses.

There are never more than a few hundred of these federal women, two hundred perhaps being the limit. For the most part they are women convicted under the "Harrison Drug Act," and are not
really criminals, but drug addicts, and should be cared for in a hospital under trained physicians and employed so far as possible in healthful, outdoor work. This federal hospital for delinquent women should be separate from the prisons for men, or at least far enough distant to avoid the constant friction caused by the perfectly normal desire of the men and women to communicate. It should be a large farm where complete segregation of the diseased from the normal can be secured. It might be placed near some great universities where specialized work in abnormal psychology is being carried on, and the prison could furnish clinical cases for intensive study by those who are giving their lives to the investigation of these problems. If this federal hospital for female delinquents is placed near enough to a high-class university for the civilizing influences of knowledge and culture to reach it; if only the doors are opened to scientific study and research, I feel sure that prison abuses will tend to disappear, and that the whole problem of the care of delinquents will receive much needed attention and be nearer solution.

Useful labor under healthful conditions should be provided for the inmates suitable to their capacities and the women should be paid for this work at current wages less a deduction for their subsistence.

Immediate Changes in Missouri Prison

For the immediate alleviation of conditions in the Missouri State Penitentiary, pending its entire reorganization, the Governor of Missouri and the State Prison Board have sufficient power to correct these minor abuses in the women's department by the following changes:

The task system should be immediately abolished.

A shop foreman of mature years, wisdom and patience, should be put in charge of the shop.

The "blind cell" should be abolished.

Some form of self-government and individual responsibility for the inmates should be established.

No punishments pertaining to shop and labor should be permitted without a full and fair hearing before a member of the Prison Board.

Rewards for good behavior should balance punishments for misbehavior.

The silence system should be abolished in the shop and dining-room. (This would reduce friction between officials and inmates to a minimum and do away with much punishment now inflicted.)

The women should be given permission to buy tobacco at the commissary on the same terms as the men.

Modern hygienic laundry machinery should be installed.

Women should be permitted to use shower baths daily.

The hospital room should be immediately furnished and equipped with necessary appliances to provide proper care for the ill.
Provision for instructions in common school branches for at least one hour per day should be provided.

The matrons should be married women and mothers, women who have lived normal lives, and because of the experiences of motherhood have training in handling infantile minds.

Until such time as the state legislature provides adequate pay for the prison physician, a prison nurse, the prison chaplain, the matrons and the shop foreman, public spirited citizens must supply funds to adequately pay properly qualified persons for these positions.

I respectfully suggest to the Governor of the State of Missouri that he invite the State Medical Associations to provide a fund for the prison physician in addition to the salary provided by the state; that the same invitation be extended to the Church Federations in regard to the chaplain, and that the Organizations of Women be asked to provide for the matrons and prison nurse.

Reorganize Corrective Institutions of Missouri

For the state of Missouri I suggest that a representative commission be appointed of persons nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, the Bar Association, Church Federations, the State Medical Association, the State Federation of Labor, the Federation of Women's Clubs, State Farmers' Organizations, the State Association of Charities and Corrections, and by the faculties of the Universities in Missouri. This commission should thoroughly investigate the Missouri State Penitentiary. This would involve a study of the fiscal affairs of the prison, the factory conditions, the task system and the general care given the inmates.

This commission should bring in a bill to the legislature providing for a complete reorganization of the corrective institutions of the state. Enough time should be given this so that a thorough and practical plan may be perfected.