

THE ELMIRA REFORMATORY

ALEXANDER WINTER, F. S. S.



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The New York State reformatory in Elmira



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THE NEW YORK
STATE REFORMATORY

IN

ELMIRA

DISCARDED

BY

ALEXANDER WINTER, F.S.S.

ORIGINAL ENGLISH EDITION

PUBLISHED SIMULTANEOUSLY, WITH THE GERMAN EDITION

WITH A PREFACE

BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS,

Author of "The Criminal" in the "Contemporary Science Series"



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P R E F A C E .

DURING the last fifteen years the study of the criminal has been carried on with great activity in many of the older countries of Europe. The chief impetus of this new scientific movement was given by Lombroso, whose great work, *L'Uomo Delinquente*, was published at Turin in 1876; and it is above all in Italy—although to a large extent in France and Germany also—that criminal anthropology, as it is usually called, has been most fruitfully pursued. The results obtained are still at variance in many respects, but it is now generally agreed that a considerable proportion of criminals are not merely moral criminals, but physical, intellectual and emotional criminals; that they are largely persons who, partly by defects of birth, partly by defects of nature, are abnormal, and who think, feel and act differently from other people.

It has not been in the old continent, however, that the practical treatment of criminals has of late years received its chief impulse. For the epoch-making movement in this matter we must turn to the United States, which do not present us altogether with a model prison system. Mr. Z. R. Brockway, who had

previously made an extensive study of the question, was enabled in 1876 to establish at Elmira the New York State Reformatory, at the head of which he has ever since remained, aided by many able assistants ; among whom Dr. H. D. Wey, the physician of the Reformatory, should especially be named. Thus, by a curious coincidence, Elmira was founded in the year in which Lombroso's *L'Uomo Delinquente* was published. The European criminologists, although some of them, notably Garofalo, have advocated principles very similar to the practice of Elmira, have worked for the most part purely as scientific investigators. The founders of Elmira, on the other hand, seem to have been guided purely by practical and social considerations, and to have had no knowledge of the scientific movement that was arising in Europe. In the future, there is now good reason to hope, these two currents of scientific advance and practical social progress will be united. The practical workers are beginning to see that the science of criminal anthropology is the formal justification, and eventually the guide, of the movement they are initiating. The purely scientific investigators, who have already shown the need of such a system, easily recognize in Elmira the practical outcome of their studies. The Elmira system is by no means yet in a perfect or final shape ; it is still in course of growth, but the rapidity and complexity of its growth is a measure of its vitality. The author of this book has for a long time studied the working of Elmira ; he has here supplied a careful and reliable

account, up to date, of the methods there adopted; and in the preparation of that account he has had the ever ready and generous assistance of Mr. Brockway. The reader has before him the most comprehensive account yet published of what is probably the most fruitful and interesting experiment in the treatment of criminals which the world has yet seen.

The main outlines of the Elmira system will be sufficiently clear to all who read this book. Our conventional attempts to deal with the criminal have been vitiated. We have reformed our prisons; we have been content to look upon the prisoner as, literally, a cypher. He is merely an incident in a huge system of routine, to the efficient working of which he is subordinated. Our prison authorities will sometimes take any trouble to improve the condition of a prison; if the drainage seems to be defective, they are prepared, if necessary, to rebuild the prison, as was recently done at Shrewsbury.

But it is the improvement of prisons only, not of prisoners, with which our prison authorities occupy themselves. They have no interest in considering the improvement of the prisoner, and it is by no means surprising that, as a matter of fact, the prisoner is not improved. In England, as is well known, there has been a considerable decrease lately in the prison population; at all events so far as minor offences are concerned. This decrease is not, however, due to our methods of teaching the criminal, but to a huge system, sensible enough in itself, of drafting off youthful criminals to separate establishments. We still have

a vast army of criminals to deal with, and so little attention is given to right methods of coping with them that even to-day the Bertillon system of registering and recognizing prisoners, by a scandalous and unexplained neglect has not yet been introduced among us; although that method is an elementary step in the detection of recidivists, the most dangerous class of offenders, and in the protection of the innocent.

But if the improvement, or even the detection, of the criminal, seems to be to a very limited extent the affair of our prison and police authorities, as at present constituted, it is certainly the affair of society. It is not in the interests of society that any persons should be brought within the sphere of an institution which is often an artificial incubator of criminals, and which, at the best, merely inculcates in the prisoner those virtues of the cloister, obedience and resignation, which will enfeeble his already enfeebled power of will; and multiply opportunities of evil to himself and to others when he is again let loose on the world. The first step in the rational treatment of the criminal is the introduction of a bracing moral training. This can only be effected by means of what is called the indeterminate or indefinite sentence. To allow a man to stagnate in prison routine until a capriciously fixed day arrives, as a *deus ex machina*, to open the prison door, is the height of absurdity. The prisoner must win his freedom by his own exertions. Not until he has shown himself capable of living a fairly human life may he safely be

liberated. It cannot be too frequently or too emphatically asserted that the indefinite sentence is the foundation of the rational treatment of the criminal. It is worthy of note that this has been recognized in the foundation of the International Association of Criminal Law, a society made up of criminologists from all parts of the civilized world. Wherever that fundamental principle is neglected the best prison system is condemned to hopeless routine and sterility. Wherever that has been introduced stagnation is impossible; it becomes at once the business and the interest of the prison authorities not merely to build fine prisons, and to give the prisoner good food, and to dispose of his excreta in accordance with the latest views of sanitary science—important as all this is—but to take in hand the prisoner himself.

Thus rational progress in criminal reform lies in abandoning routine, and in paying attention to the individual. As Lacassagne has epigrammatically said: "There are no crimes; there are only criminals." From among the miscellaneous crowd who commit offences against the law, we have to separate those accidental criminals, whose offence lies chiefly at the door of society; we have to distinguish the criminal by passion from the criminal by instinct, the occasional criminal from the habitual criminal. These distinctions are, however, elementary; we have to go farther, and to treat each criminal person as individually as we treat each diseased person. Such treatment on the physical side consists in strengthening and refining the flaccid muscular system and the blunted

senses which are so common among criminals ; on the moral side it consists in educating the will-power, in affording the bracing elements of struggle, in practically putting the prisoner's liberation in his own hands, while affording him every help in working towards that liberation. Not until, in the eyes of those who possess a shrewd and intimate knowledge of criminal nature, he is deemed to be no longer dangerous to society is he liberated, conditionally, and placed in a position where he may earn his own living.

This is the system, based (with certain restrictions) on the indeterminate sentence, which has been carried on for fifteen years at Elmira. Both in character and results, it is very unlike the barbarous and ineffectual code of prison customs which still prevails among us to so deplorable an extent. Its diffusion, as was frequently remarked with regret at the recent Congress of the United States National Prison Association, is slow, but it is steady ; and as Professor von Liszt, the distinguished founder of the International Association of Criminal Law, recently observed, it seems destined to make the tour of the civilized world. As seen at Elmira, it is still capable of improvement, and it is not adapted for indiscriminate application. But, at the least, it contains one of the keys of a great social problem, and it cannot be neglected by those who concern themselves with the study of social problems.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

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NEW YORK STATE REFORMATORY.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the year 1876 Mr. Brockway, who, up to that date, had been for many years accumulating a wide and comprehensive experience in the administration of prisons, laid before the State Commission appointed for their management and inspection, a plan of organization worked out entirely by himself, for the improvement and reform of criminals. By the Commission it was presented to the Legislative Body, where, without any opposition, it received legislative sanction; and the capital necessary for its institution was voted. Thus arose the Elmira Institution, which, owing to the astonishing capacity for work and the vigilance of its originator and conductor, has been worked up from quite small beginnings with 184 inmates, to a physical, intellectual, and above all things, a moral sanatorium of over 1,000 inmates, unique of its kind in the world. This steady growth clearly shows what confidence the Institution has won

amongst the administrators of the law and in the opinion of the public by the satisfactory solution of the problem which it set itself to solve. For several years the question of the erection of a second institution in the State of New York has been prominently brought forward—800 being considered the maximum number of inmates in one institution, if the system of reform is not to suffer in efficiency. In other States, such as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Minnesota, Kansas, Texas, California, etc., institutions on the Elmira model have either been long in operation, or are already in course of erection; whilst in nearly all States of the Union Brockway's system has more or less contributed to a reform in legislation and in institutions for criminals in general.

Erected on an elevation, on the western side of the romantic Chemung Valley, nearly two-and-a-half miles distant from the Elmira Town Hall, and commanding a most charming view of eighteen to twenty miles' radius, bounded by a range of hills, the newly erected establishment, so far as locality and style of architecture are concerned, gives any impression rather than that of a prison, or an asylum for criminals. The area of land belonging to the Institute, and farmed by its inmates, embraces altogether about 280 acres, of which some 15 acres are occupied by the Institution proper, being enclosed partly by buildings, partly by

walls 20 feet high. The front, with a length of 500 feet, faces the east. The architecture is attractive; the building material exclusively blue-stone and brick, consequently absolutely fireproof; whilst the interior arrangements are simply astonishing. The construction and arrangement of the whole, in regard to space, light, air and ventilation of each single room or cell are carried out with the greatest care, and realize from a practical and sanitary, as well as from an educational, point of view, ideas which are entirely in harmony with the most advanced views of the age. Up to the end of 1889 no less than 1,885,565 dollars have been expended on the Institute—that is to say, for buildings, workshops, schoolrooms, machines, tools, etc.

The Institution is limited to males of sixteen to thirty years of age, who have fallen for the first time under the penal code, that is to say, exclusively to individuals with whom successful reform is anticipated. In exceptional cases, relapsed criminals are admitted, when it appears judicious, and the possibility of realizing the purpose of reform appears to be not altogether excluded. The clause in the law relating thereto, says :—

“That individuals of the age of sixteen to thirty years, who are not known to have been previously sentenced to a State prison, either in this or any other

state or country, can be sent to the Elmira Institution, on conviction of a criminal act, by any court of justice in the State."

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that the period of life from the termination of school discipline to the age of manhood, is most inclined to irregularity of life, debauchery, to incapability of governing impure impulses and desires, to recklessness in regard to social duties, and to overstepping the bounds of law, and that prisons, and penal institutions in general, are for the most part filled with individuals of this age of life. Consequently, it will amply repay us to deal with the particular class who are passing through this age, and to subject them to a suitable mode of treatment. The application of a radical method of conversion and reform, is the more suitable, because in this age the abnormal motives and causes which give rise to the perpetration of crime are mostly capable of being eradicated, and the possibility of a radical change and reform still exists. Consequently the subject can for the long future of his life be made a useful member of our society.

From the court of justice the convict is simply handed over to Elmira; and here, without regard to the sentence, or to the length, nature, or mode of punishment, he is treated according to the rules of the establishment.

As soon as the subject has satisfied the necessary conditions of the Institution, and, consequently, is reformed, which may happen in little more than twelve months, he is liberated on parole, and after a further six months of good conduct, obtains absolute freedom, no matter whether the legal sentence would run for two, five, or ten years. The clause in the law relating thereto runs as follows :—

“The length of time of imprisonment of such a convicted and legally sentenced individual is to be decided by the managers of the Reformatory; but such imprisonment shall not exceed the longest term of punishment provided by law for the particular criminal case for which the individual has been convicted and sentenced.”

According to this clause, therefore, there is always a definite limit to the length of the term of imprisonment; and this, it has been shown, sometimes proves an inducement to the prisoners to manifest constant indolence and obstinate resistance to the aim and purpose of reform. There is a certain growing tendency to abolish this limit of time. When the subject is no longer supported by the knowledge that after the expiration of a determined period, he must be set free, he will no longer be influenced thereby in his endeavours to advance, and must with all his energy

tread that path of reform which offers the only means whereby he can regain his freedom.

At this point we may introduce a brief statistical review of the enormous increase of criminals and offenders against the law in the United States: a fact which, it cannot be denied, compels men of science and society in general to deal vigorously with criminal legislation and the treatment of criminally inclined individuals, and which seems to have given the chief impulse to the creation of such an original and thorough-going system of improvement and reform as that of Elmira.

Proportion of prisoners to population in America :—

In 1850 :	1 prisoner to 3,448 inhabitants.
„ 1860 „ „ „	1,649 „
„ 1870 „ „ „	1,172 „
„ 1880 „ „ „	855 „

Or to 1,000,000 inhabitants there were :—

In 1850 . . .	290 prisoners.
„ 1860 . . .	607 „
„ 1870 . . .	853 „
„ 1880 . . .	1,169 „

ORGANIZATION OF THE INSTITUTION.

IN accordance with the law, the administration, control, superintendence, and responsibility are placed in the hands of a Board of Managers and a General Superintendent. The former consists of five gentlemen chosen from public life, by the State Governor and the Senate, for a period of five years, receiving no pecuniary reward for their services. Besides certain special meetings called together whenever it appears necessary or desirable, the committee holds regular monthly and quarterly sittings: the former for the purpose of inspecting the accounts of the establishment; the latter, called Tribunal Sittings, for the purpose of considering with all care, and finally deciding, the conditional release—release on parole—of such individuals as come under consideration. The practical control and administration of the Institution rests in the hands of the General Superintendent. He has by law the authority to dismiss or to appoint any of the officers, whatever rank they may occupy; he lives in the establishment, devoting his whole time to it, and is, in short, the life and soul of the whole.

Next in importance come the Principal Keeper and the Transfer Officer.

On the Principal Keeper, under guidance of the General Superintendent, rests in particular the responsibility for the safe custody and the discipline and order of the prisoners, as well as the control and inspection of the inferior officers. In his hands lies the economical administration in all its details ; he has to keep a daily journal, and enter therein all the occurrences of the day. He has, further, to keep himself thoroughly informed of the work of the prisoners, and daily to inspect the quantity and the quality of the work performed, as well as tools, materials, etc.

The duty of the Transfer Officer is to superintend in particular the transfer of prisoners from the place where judgment has been given, to the Institution ; he has, further, to superintend the correspondence of prisoners with civilians, as well as to control the conduct of those who have been conditionally released, until they have won their full freedom.

A Physician visits the Institution daily ; he is responsible for the condition of the health of all prisoners, including also the regulation of physical exercise.

A Protestant as well as a Catholic Chaplain and a Rabbi from Elmira act as religious teachers in the Institution.

A Chief Clerk with the aid of an Assistant, keeps the books of the Institution, superintends the business carried on with the outer world, conducts visitors round the Institution, attends to the telegraphic apparatus, and performs such services as are directed by the General Superintendent.

A Book-keeper, with the assistance of prisoners qualified for the work, keeps the general report and discipline books in regard to the prisoners. These include the biographical register ; conduct, sickness and cell books ; the occupation and grade books ; the diet and clothing register etc., etc. He has, further, to see to the printing department and library.

The School Secretary is particularly responsible for the educational department, and he has to impart instruction in such classes and branches of knowledge as may appear necessary. He has specially to control the classification and transfer of the prisoners to the different school-classes ; he has to superintend the instruction given by the rest of the teachers, and to report thereon to the General Superintendent, as well as to accurately state the exact result of the monthly examinations.

Similar special functions, in their respective spheres of duty, fall to the military, technical, and physical teachers and instructors.

A Superintendent for Repairs under the direction of the General Superintendent, has to personally supervise

and direct all building operations and improvements in and around the establishment ; and to take care that the establishment with all buildings belonging to it is kept in good repair.

A Superintendent of the Farm sees to the cultivation of the land and soil belonging to the Institution, and is responsible for the best possible utilization of the same. He is specially answerable for the teams, cattle, wagons, machines, tools, and stores ; and has to keep the stables, sheds, barns, etc., inside and outside the Institution, in good condition ; and must hand in every morning a report of the various kinds of work performed on the previous day. The prisoners are put to work of every kind, but they are specially employed in farm labour. When engaged out of doors, the superintendent either carries a gun himself or is accompanied by one of the armed guards.

The Steward and Cook is answerable for the domestic affairs, including the kitchen. He has to see that all the rooms of the establishment are kept in a clean and orderly condition, to daily inspect the iron bars of the windows, etc. ; to personally superintend the cooking ; and, above all things, to carefully study and guard the economic interests of the establishment. Every Monday morning he has to present to the General Superintendent, for his approval, a bill of fare for the officers and prisoners for each day of the week ; and when approved to order meat and other provisions as required,

and further to hand in each day an accurate statement of the costs of the various tables, in order that it may be entered in the diet-book. He has to keep a receipt-book, and enter in it all receipts of provisions or other domestic articles.

An Engineer, with such assistants as he requires, is answerable for the engines, and all that pertains to them ; he has to see that the boilers throughout the establishment are kept in good condition, to see to the fires, and to be responsible for a constant and sufficient supply of gas ; and, when necessary, to carry out repairs and new plans for conveying steam, gas, and water. Further, the fire-engine, and all safety and rescue apparatus connected therewith, are under his control, and he is responsible for their being constantly in a good condition.

A Gardener has to keep the garden, ground, and greenhouses, as well as the paths and roads in and around the Institution, in good order.

A special Attendant, under the direction of the physician, undertakes the direct responsibility and management of the hospital and dispensary, and has to carefully carry out the prescribed treatment, and bestow every care upon the patients and their safe custody. He accompanies the physician in his daily visits to the patients who have remained in their rooms, and writes down the prescriptions dictated, prepares the medicine, and hands it to the recipient

together with the necessary instruction. He has to vaccinate each new inmate soon after his arrival. Should any sudden change occur in the condition of a patient he must announce it without delay to the principal keeper or General Superintendent, in order that the physician may be at once summoned if necessary. Finally, he must keep a journal, and enter in it each case of sickness, with all its details.

The Keepers are responsible for the direct discipline and safe custody, as well as the industry and behaviour, of the prisoners in their respective departments. They have to prepare daily reports, and hand these over, together with those of the civilian foremen, or the prisoners acting as overseers or foremen, to the principal keeper on his morning rounds. It is also their duty to prepare a weekly report of each single prisoner, regarding his behaviour and willingness to work—whether industry had to be forced from him, or admonition was necessary, or whether he worked entirely by his own free-will ; and whether the general results are unsatisfactory, mediocre, or good ; and, further, to state when a prisoner is absent, and in such case the cause and length of his absence. The transfer of a prisoner from one department or room to another, may only take place with the approval of the General Superintendent, and then the transfer must be conducted by one of the keepers.

The Foremen, who are mostly civilians, give the

work out to the prisoners and superintend it, and are responsible for tools, materials, and finished articles in particular.

Special Rules are also provided in the law for civilian contractors and their employees, who have occasion to be engaged in the interior of the Institution. Similar special instructions also apply to the gatekeepers and the day and night watchmen. The latter are provided with guns and revolvers.

The whole organization is so carefully elaborated, and the delicate threads are so accurately interwoven, that everything works with the utmost tranquillity, and irregularities are entirely excluded. It may be mentioned here, by the way, that in the United States the Official engaged by the State is remunerated for the effective services he performs as in the relations between employer and employee in ordinary life. Long, or indeed life-long, engagements, salaries, or pensions are in America, even in the military world, entirely unknown; and with the cessation of the conditions of contract entered into every further obligation on the part of the State or the State Institution comes to an end.

Of the general conditions of the establishment, which apply to the officers, we may refer to one, namely, that those in the rank of an overseer, who wish to dissolve their connection with the Institution, must give notice at least two months beforehand, and

the other officers and employees at least one month, except in particular cases when a longer term of notice has been agreed upon. Ten days' leave of absence from service are allowed in the course of the year with continued pay whether the absence is for business affairs, holidays, or sickness; if absence be prolonged beyond this time pay is stopped, except in special and exceptional cases when the Managers agree to make other arrangements.

With the exception of the physician, the ministers of religion, the teachers and lecturers, the whole of the officers live in the establishment.

The maximum salaries voted by law for the officers are, per annum, as follows:—

General Superintendent	up to 3,500 dollars
Physician	„ „ 1,500 „
Principal Keeper	„ „ 1,000 „
Chief Clerk	„ „ 1,000 „
Ministers of Religion	„ „ 1,000 „
Steward and Cook	„ „ 800 „
Hallkeeper	„ „ 800 „

The rest of the overseers, attendants, watchmen, etc., receive up to 500 or 600 dollars respectively. The school secretary receives 300 dollars.

When, however, the law relating to officers' salaries was agreed to, various other posts, which in time have been found to be practically necessary in the Institution, were left out of sight. Moreover, the salaries

as agreed to by the Managers and actually paid vary very considerably from the maximum as set down.

The exercise of discipline over the prisoners rests immediately in the hands of the General Superintendent: no other officer is authorized to inflict punishment on a prisoner or to deprive him of a privilege, nor in any way to show favour or confer reward. When prisoners perform the offices of monitor, overseer, etc., they are always under the supervision or control of officers of the establishment; their reports must be attested by the supervising officer, and be submitted to the special revision of the General Superintendent. Actual disciplinary punishments do not exist; they are replaced by rewards for the fulfilment of duty, and, further, by the introduction of a mark system, which, in general, is regarded as quite sufficient. At the same time the General Superintendent is authorized to apply forcible restrictions according to certain regulations, whenever he considers them necessary and demanded by special circumstances. The cases in which such restrictions are applied occur very seldom, and then they are applied exclusively in the interest of the subject, not as a punishment, but as a necessary evil, on the assumption that a change and an improvement in the subject will be thereby effected.

RECEPTION OF THE PRISONERS.

As soon as an individual is sentenced by a court of justice in the State to be sent to Elmira, the Institution is informed of the fact, and has to send officers to the place where sentence has been given, in order to receive and transfer the convict. Soon after his arrival in Elmira the prisoner is subjected to a thorough cleansing of the body, is clothed in the appointed dress, such as is worn in the second or intermediate grade, is photographed, entered in the general register, medically examined, vaccinated, and then shut up in a cell for one or two days in order to give him time for contemplation. From the particular court of justice is sent at the same time to the Institution an accurate transcript of the whole proceedings in court, with an estimate of the utmost penalty established by the law for the case in question. The reform system is not, however, satisfied with such a report. After the necessary time for reflection the subject is brought before the General Superintendent, who in his own person makes investigations covering a far wider range, with the view of obtaining a much deeper insight into his inner nature, into the

mind and character of the man, so as to be able to apply a mode of cure suited to the individual. The whole past history of the patient is traced with the greatest care, and thus a complete diagnosis of his physical, intellectual, and moral condition is extracted. It is also sought to make clear the history, and above all the mode of life from a moral point of view of his parents and, where possible, of his grandparents, as well as the earliest surroundings and influences, natural inclinations, associations, occupation, and domestic life of the individual; and, further, at what age he began to depart from the path of rectitude, and when he descended to the perpetration of the actual crime. In this investigation not a single point is omitted that can have the slightest connection with the criminal and the circumstances of the crime; and the inquiry is carried out until the subjective defects, so far as they possibly can be, have been discovered. Feeling and thought, sense of shame, bold bestial impulse, ambition; egoistic aspirations for praise, rank or material gain; the education received, as well as the present degree of culture and its foundations; inclination, passion, excitability, vindictiveness—in short, all the intellectual and psychological veins of the individual are tested and exposed with astonishing care and accuracy. After Mr. Brockway has completed his scrutiny he knows his man, and in most cases

through the experience he has acquired, and his rare knowledge of men, would be in a position to predict when he will have satisfied the conditions necessary for his liberation. At the same time the prisoner will have also formed the conviction, that in the General Superintendent he finds himself face to face with a personality, deserving full confidence, with whom every concealment or misrepresentation of facts, or even the very attempt at it, would not only not prove of the slightest service, but would have a directly contrary effect. Experience shows that to play the part of a hypocrite is the characteristic feature of the criminal class, and even in Elmira it is often begun to be practised—only, however, to be discontinued when its fruitlessness is recognized.

The General Superintendent then consigns the prisoner, exclusively in the interest of the individual, and of the realization of the reformatory results which are aimed at, to a school class, an industrial department, and sometimes to a class in the technical school for the purpose of learning the trade, that may appear most appropriate to his degree of culture, and his health and bodily constitution.

The result of the scrutiny itself is entered in all its details in a special ledger, and observations regarding the intended method of treatment are added generally by the General Superintendent himself.

Finally, the prisoner is made to understand the

duties, rights and privileges of the Institution, according to law and practice, the arrangements of the credit-mark system, the conditions under which he can advance and regain his liberty, besides all the less important rules and customs. Everything is made clear to him in a consecutive, impartial and natural manner, until not a doubt is felt that a full understanding and consciousness has been come to on the subject. And herein the wonderful and absolute objectivity which the General Superintendent observes towards the prisoner is worthy of mention. Mr. Brockway seems not to represent the authority or speak in the interest of the State or the Reformatory, but exclusively in that of the prisoner, and explains most candidly to him all his advantages and disadvantages.

To be allured by prohibitions and the desire to resist absolute subjection is recognized to be an instinctive characteristic of man in general, and is much more likely to prevail in an individual whose body, mind and soul are either partially or wholly in a condition of abnormal action through external influences or natural irregularities. Nothing consequently is more effective and successful than objectivity; it necessitates self-contemplation, the arousing and developing of the natural spontaneous impulse to arrive by one's own efforts and by independent methods at a certain result, which is

more successful than all the methods of force and threat taken together; and from the first moment forms in the individual a solid and incalculably favourable foundation for the good result of this system of reform. The prevailing repugnance which generally manifests itself in prisoners at first, the awkwardness, the incapability of knowing and distinguishing right from wrong, and of allowing reason to prevail on all occasions in thought and action, is soon thrown into the background by the positive action of the objective compulsory improvement method; it forms of itself, though at times perhaps slowly, the path to consciousness and self-recognition which must infallibly lead step by step to complete conviction.

The following statistical table shows the result of the observations and inquiries made with the inmates on their admission to Elmira.

BIOGRAPHICAL STATISTICS.

I.—RELATING TO THE PARENTS OF THE INMATES.

	HEREDITARY	PER CENT.
Insanity or Epilepsy in ancestry . . .	499	or 13·7

DRUNKENNESS IN ANCESTRY.

Clearly traced	1,408	or 38·7
Doubtful	403	„ 11·1
Temperate	1,825	„ 50·2

EDUCATION AND CULTURE.		PER CENT.
Without any education	495	or 13·6
Simply read and write	1,385	„ 38·1
Ordinary common school or more	1,592	„ 43·8
High school or more	164	„ 4·5

PECUNIARY CIRCUMSTANCES.		
Pauperized	173	or 4·8
No accumulation	2,801	„ 77·0
Possessed of means	662	„ 18·2

OCCUPATION.		
Servants, etc.	376	or 10·4
Common labourers	1,197	„ 32·6
At mechanical work	1,343	„ 36·9
Traders	633	„ 17·7
The Professions :—		
Law 16	}	87 „ 2·4
Medicine 36		
Theology 10		
Teaching 25		

II.—RELATING TO INMATES THEMSELVES.

ENVIRONMENT.

(a) *Character of Home Life.*

Positively bad	1,883	or 51·8
Fair (only)	1,453	„ 39·9
Good	300	„ 8·3

(b) *Duration of Home Life.*

Left home previous to 10 years of age	187	or 5·2
„ „ between 10 and 14 years of age	226	„ 6·2
„ „ soon after 14 years of age	1,121	„ 30·8
At home up to time of crime	2,102	„ 57·8

(c) As to the 1,534 Homeless.

PER CENT.

Occupied furnished rooms in cities	390 or 25·4
Lived in cheap boarding-houses (itinerant)	280 ,, 18·2
Lived with employer	331 ,, 21·6
Rovers and tramps	533 ,, 34·8

EDUCATION AND CULTURE.

Without any education (illiterates)	710 or 19·5
Simply read and write (with difficulty)	1,814 ,, 49·9
Ordinary common school	979 ,, 26·9
High school or more	133 ,, 3·7

INDUSTRIAL.

Servants, etc.	1,041 or 28·6
Common labourers	1,853 ,, 51·0
At mechanical work	649 ,, 17·8
Idlers	93 ,, 2·6

NOTE.—It should be stated that very many of the above who claimed some occupation have not regularly been employed, nor are they steady workmen.

CHARACTER OF ASSOCIATIONS.

Positively bad	2,072 or 56·9
Not good	1,439 ,, 39·6
Doubtful	64 ,, 1·8
Good	61 ,, 1·7

NOMINAL RELIGIOUS TRAINING.

Protestant	1,531 or 42·1
Roman Catholic	1,667 ,, 45·8
Hebrew	207 ,, 5·7
None	231 ,, 6·4

PHYSICAL CONDITION.

	(a) <i>Health.</i>	PER CENT.
Debilitated or diseased	200	or 5·5
Somewhat impaired	301	„ 8·3
Good health	3,135	„ 86·2
	(b) <i>Quality.</i>	
Low or coarse	916	or 25·2
Medium	1,354	„ 37·2
Good	1,366	„ 37·6

MENTAL CONDITION.

	(a) <i>Natural Capacity.</i>	
Deficient	73	or 2·0
Fair	789	„ 21·7
Good	2,300	„ 93·2
Excellent	474	„ 13·1
	(b) <i>Culture.</i>	
None	1,572	or 43·2
Very slight	1,040	„ 28·6
Ordinary	916	„ 25·2
Much	108	„ 3·0

MORAL CONDITION.

(a) *Susceptibility to Moral Impression estimated.*

Positively none	1,318	or 36·2
Possibly some	1,310	„ 36·1
Ordinarily susceptible	851	„ 23·4
Specially susceptible	157	„ 4·3

(b) *Moral Sense, even such as shown under the Examination, either Filial Affection, Sense of Shame, or Sense of Personal Loss.*

Positively none	1,794	„ 49·3
Possibly some	1,112	„ 30·6
Ordinarily sensitive	553	„ 15·2
Specially sensitive	177	„ 4·9

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.

	NATURE OF OFFENCE.	PER CENT.
Against property		3,406 or 93·6
„ the person		217 „ 6·0
„ the public peace		13 „ 0·4

AGE OF INMATES WHEN ADMITTED.

Between 16 and 20 years of age	2,106 or 57·9
„ 20 „ 25 „ „ „	1,153 „ 31·8
„ 25 „ 30 „ „ „	377 „ 10·3

NOTE.—(a) Those who acknowledge the fact of their previous imprisonment immediately on admission, or who voluntarily make it known afterwards are to be detained until the “good time” expiration of their maximum term—with certain exceptions when the maximum is very great.

(b) Those who under special pressure reveal the fact of their former imprisonment, or when it is ascertained without their acknowledgment, are to be detained until the full expiration of their maximum term—except when the maximum is too great.

However, under (a) as well as (b) allowance is very often made in practice, according to the circumstances and the reformatory results obtained with the subject in question.

PROMOTION AND LIBERATION OF THE PRISONERS.

THE prisoners are divided into three grades, clearly distinguished one from the other. On entering the Institution the prisoner is placed in the second or intermediate grade, from which he may rise into the first or fall into the third or actual criminal grade. The process of promotion and final liberation depend on a continued and steady advancement. It is comparatively a short, but a far more difficult, process than it appears. The Reformatory is a compulsory school and training institution for its inmates. This compulsion, however, it must be understood, is only intended to arouse the individual, and to compel him by his own efforts to recognize and to improve his defective faculties; and it depends exclusively and solely on the will, industry and behaviour of the individual in question, whether and at what time he is promoted or liberated, or on the other hand degraded into the third or actual criminal grade. The regaining of his freedom is a prisoner's only aim and aspiration; it is constantly before his eyes, and is a miraculous force that never ceases to impel him, and

it is able to arouse the most insusceptible and dormant character. It is, therefore, impossible to make use of a more suitable foundation on which to build a successful system of reform. If a man's natural instinct to strive towards a definite goal is weakened, or either partially or totally suppressed, he falls into indolence and indifference towards his fellow-men; he loses self-respect and the power of moral judgment, even when he possessed these qualities before his imprisonment. And the longer such a degrading and hardening period lasts, the more firmly do such impressions take root in the individual, and the worse is the condition of the prisoner and his relationship to society when released.

In the Elmira System, this instinctive striving in the individual is not only not interfered with, but it is sought to promote it by all the means which our present knowledge of science and of practical experience affords. And it is indeed astonishing what striking results are thereby attained, no matter with how much indolence, and intellectual and physical inactivity the subject may have hitherto been afflicted. In most cases the existing insensibility and indifference begin to disappear forthwith; in a few cases they remain for a longer time, but never is the goal in view entirely without effect in rousing the individual, if he do not depart too far from a normal human nature; if his faculties are not too defective and

debased, or too dwarfed to be capable of being effectively awakened, and of developing in the individual that degree of self-interest and self-help which the system seeks to arouse as the true means of helping a man forward. The latest statistics show that, on the average, 35 per cent. of prisoners at once tread the path of reform, and keep steadily to it, so that they are released on parole within fifteen months. Other 36 per cent. develop less will-power and perseverance ; they hesitate and waver, fall and rise, and take from fifteen to twenty-four months, before they have worked out their liberation. Another 19 per cent. are men of such bad principle, so thoroughly uncertain and lacking in energy, that they require up to three years before they satisfy the demands of the Institution, necessary to obtain their release, unless this is necessitated in the meantime as a result of the expiration of the maximum sentence of punishment for the particular case. The remainder, amounting to some 10 per cent., require over three years, and are apparently recruited from incurables, who almost invariably pass the full maximum period of imprisonment, either in Elmira or in some other penal institution to which they have been transferred. Take away these 10 per cent., and the 35 per cent. who show themselves at once willing subjects, and there remain more than 50 per cent. whose individual training and care demand extraordinary personal efforts. But this again is

wonderfully assisted by the individual himself through that powerful driving-wheel—the desire for freedom.

It may be as well to point out here, that in Elmira experience has shown that it is advisable to apply the legally fixed *minimum* period of the training process less frequently than was the case in the earlier years of the Institution; because twelve months appear only in a few cases to be sufficient to allow the reform system to produce lasting and radical results. Using greater care and exactness, the authorities have been guided in recent years by the consideration, whether an individual is ripe for his liberty—the result being that the average period of imprisonment of an individual in the Institution has been raised from eighteen to twenty-one months.

The following table shows the duration of imprisonment in detail. The number of prisoners released on parole up to the end of 1889, amount altogether to 2,295.

Of these were released on parole :—		PER CENT.
After 12 months . . .	202	8·9
From 13 to 15 months . . .	595	16·2
" 16 " 18 " . . .	372	16·12
" 19 " 24 " . . .	469	20·4
" 25 " 36 " . . .	432	18·9
After more than 36 months	225	9·7

The process of working out one's liberation consists in earning credit marks. Nine marks in each month during a half-year, if not in uninterrupted succession,

at least with but little variation, win promotion from the second to the first grade.

These credit marks are : Three for Demeanour, three for Labour, three for School Progress.

While in Demeanour and Labour, the "perfect" attainment or 100 per cent. in full is necessary to earn credit marks, 75 per cent. is sufficient in School Progress.

"Perfection" in Demeanour requires, according to the law, obedience to rules, loyalty to the government of the Reformatory, and no improper intimacies with fellow-inmates. In Labour it requires the voluntary performance of a reasonable amount of work without wastefulness, and with care to produce good work. In School, diligence in the classes assigned, recitations in all studies not below 75 per cent., and a certain amount of observable progress in growth and development.

As marks are gained so they can be easily lost, through negligence, misdemeanour, careless work, insufficient development of the intellectual and bodily functions, etc. In such cases it not only affects the promotion, but the individual is eventually sent back into the third grade, and the mode of working out his release is longer and harder. Degradation to the third grade is always for one of the following three reasons :—

- (1) Deceitfulness (even in comparatively unimportant

matters, when it reveals the continued criminality of the man.)

(2) Quarrelling (when it culminates in an assault or a fight).

(3) Such disregard of rules or proprieties as shows indifference to progress, or great want of self-control, if continued for three months or more.

Deceitfulness, hypocrisy, or the slightest symptom of a criminal tendency in the subject is very severely dealt with. Flight, or attempt at flight, causes without exception degradation into the third grade.

MARKS : HOW LOST AND HOW REGAINED.

1. Six valid Neglect or pink reports, or three valid Derelict or yellow reports in one month cause the loss of one mark. A single valid Offence or chocolate report causes the loss of one or more marks, at the discretion of the General Superintendent.

2. Marks once lost, may be regained under the following conditions, viz. :—Marks lost in school in the most advanced class may be regained by obtaining 100 per cent. in two successive subsequent examinations in the same subject. Marks lost in any of the lower classes may be regained by the same method, or by earning promotion to a higher class, and successfully passing the next examination following the date of the promotion.

3. Marks lost through Neglect or Derelict reports may be eventually restored, when the subsequent demeanour shall have shown the fault to be corrected and the General Superintendent adjudges the offender entitled to such consideration.

4. Marks lost through deficiency in labour will be restored when the labour is made up.

5. Marks lost through valid Offence reports will invariably stand.

6. Marks lost in either Labour, Demeanour, or Study do not affect grade, when in the judgment of the General Superintendent, or upon the certificate of the physician, it is found that the loss was occasioned through some physical defect, or other cause for which the inmate is not responsible. In such cases, however, they are not restored.

7. Any inmate who is reduced to the third grade will forfeit all "nines" earned previous to the date of his restoration to the second grade, so far as they might have counted towards future promotion; and any marks lost, save labour and school marks, will not be subsequently considered or restored; and any inmate getting less than eight on his conduct book for any month will be shut out of all preceding "nines" if counting towards promotion, unless by some one of the foregoing methods the marking be raised at least to an eight.

Of incalculable importance, however, and of absolute

necessity, considered in the light of a modern theory of criminal reform, is the characteristic feature of the Elmira System, which consists in this—that less stress is laid upon the effective performance of the demands laid upon the individual than upon his capabilities, and the satisfactory development of all bodily and mental faculties, especially in the school and workshop; and this is the standard by which the results are measured.

By means of the mark system the individual is tested and kept under strict watch and control in his association with his fellow-prisoners in school, in the workshop, in his conduct towards the officers of the establishment, and when alone. Thought and deed, moral, intellectual, and physical capacities, and their actual application, are continually being subjected to the most searching and minute examination. All parts of the organism, visible and invisible, must be positively—and, indeed, simultaneously—brought into use, and kept permanently in full activity. So far as the condition of the prisoner permits, every function must be brought into play, exactly as the nature of things and the problem of life demand; for this is the only way to radically cure an abnormally constituted man, to eradicate the irregularities of his inner nature, and to permanently establish in him good and right principles. A further circumstance, upon which great weight is laid at Elmira, is the

accurate determination of the extent of a man's capacity for work and dexterity; as well as the care and economy with which he employs tools and material in order to be able thence to draw a conclusion with the greatest possible certainty, as to whether the prisoner, after regaining his liberty, will be in a position to earn by honourable means sufficient to supply his needs.

To the individual striving for his liberty there is absolutely no other way open than by exerting his own will-power to work. The mark system is not regarded or applied as a means of punishment, but solely in the personal interest of each individual; and it is uninfluenced by any thought either of encouraging with favour, or of goading by fear, or of using any kind of deterrent. Those who are really worthy advance; and those who are not deserving stay where they were or go backward; exactly in accordance with the nature and order of public life. However little this system may be understood, it is nevertheless an extremely powerful, almost miraculous, means of working moral improvement, and the evidence of facts at Elmira shows in an astonishing way, how men may be raised from the lowest sphere to a good, honourable, intellectual, and moral position, and make further satisfactory progress therein.

The contrivance and organization of the mark system at the same time render superfluous, at any

rate in the first and second grades, the disciplinary punishments which are generally in force in penal institutions ; and even in the third or actual criminal grade—which comprises only a diminishing percentage of the inmates of the Institution—it is considered to be effective and adequate.

When an individual has been promoted into the first grade, he is required to obtain—alike in work, school, and conduct—what is known as a “perfect” predicate : that is to say, he must obtain in each of these departments three, or altogether nine, marks per month for another six months, before he can be brought under the notice of the Board of Managers at their quarterly or tribunal meetings, at which Mr. Brockway likewise assists, to consider the question of liberation on parole. The qualification for discharge necessitates not only unexceptionable conduct and the fulfilment of the rules of the Institution, as well as a corresponding voluntary unfolding of the dormant or irregularly working organs of the body ; but it demands a certain assurance that the criminal has actually become a converted and a better man, and both can and will conduct himself with propriety in the future ; and that, above all things, he is thoroughly qualified to supply his needs, and to maintain himself by upright and honest means, so as to be returned to society a useful citizen and a peaceful member. The condition of discharge, however, though

only on parole, includes another point of great importance, namely, that for each prisoner who is to be discharged a definite and more or less permanent post in public life, suited to his capacity, is found, whereby he can support himself, and into which he can enter soon after his discharge. No difficulty of any kind is experienced in finding an opening for an inmate of Elmira ; friends or relations, with whom the prisoner can freely correspond, generally take upon themselves the task of finding a suitable berth, and when this is not the case, or the situation found does not appear acceptable to the Managers of the Institution, the latter try to find a suitable place by direct communication. Employers not only have no objection to giving employment to such discharged prisoners, but the men are frequently sought after and willingly engaged ; they are reformed, improved, different men from what they were before entering this Training Institution.

Uninterrupted activity is an indispensable desideratum, if the discharged convert is to be saved from falling again into his bad ways. Idleness is the direct path to crime. What an infinite amount of both direct and indirect harm could be prevented if this fact alone were recognized in its full significance, and the introduction of regulations in accordance with it were insisted upon !

It may be as well to mention here that the opinion has often been broached that a proposal should be

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exclusively to the prisoners in personal interviews ; and it is on these occasions that he has such exhaustive opportunities for seeing into the inner nature of the prisoners, and of considering their relation to the grade and position which they have attained. In the most objective and humane manner he discourses with them regarding the affairs which they have most at heart, seeking, where advisable, to remove evil conditions, and imparting advice and encouragement with impressive words, according to the necessities of the case. The prisoner need only make known his wish to speak with the General Superintendent to be admitted without further questioning at the following hour of audience. The number desiring such audiences is pretty great—on the average from forty to fifty each day, so that in the course of a month the number of consultations exceeds that of the prisoners. And we may here particularly call attention to the difference there is between an official who simply carries out his orders and instructions, and a man whose personal interest is closely united with the efficient working of the system and its results ; whose whole thought and aspiration, nay, whose whole existence, is devoted to the attainment of a definite end, and whose self-imposed moral sense of duty leads him to make sacrifices such as can only be appreciated and understood by one who knows what it is to feel the full force of devotion to a good cause. No past, no yester-

day, no punishment for wrong-doing ; but only a present and future—a reward for self-improvement—is the fundamental principle of the Elmira System ; and the motto with which the General Superintendent receives each prisoner on his arrival, and with which, as long as he is detained in the Institution, he continually encourages and cheers him. The sad and unedifying memories of his past life are forgotten, and are never alluded to again.

There is also a direct individual feeling between the Managers and prisoners. Whenever the former are present in the Institution—whether assembled at their official meetings, or singly, as is often the case—the latter, if they wish it, have free and unimpeded access ; even notice is given beforehand to the prisoners of the quarterly or tribunal sittings, with the reminder that they have an opportunity at these sittings of openly presenting any petitions either to the Managers collectively or to any one of them. The prisoners are not only in no way intimidated from freely and openly giving utterance to whatever they have at heart, and to whichever of their superiors they choose, but are directly encouraged to do so. They are not hardened by confinement in their cells, but remain continually in touch with men—with those who are capable of sympathizing with them. In prisons and other penal institutions it is thought to satisfy completely this much neglected want simply by the visit of a religious

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serve to a certain degree as a guide ; in practice each single case is estimated and dealt with specially, and according to the particular circumstances.

(1) Paroled men who, through "misfortune" or "inability," lose place and voluntarily return with our advice and consent, but without arrest or formal order, to be received as guests and again placed in situations, as soon as may be possible—with exceptions.

(2) Paroled men who, through "fault, but without crime," lose place and voluntarily come in on our request or order, to be placed in second grade for three months at least, and then to go through the first grade in the ordinary way—with exceptions.

(3) Paroled men, who violate their paroles by gross improprieties, or by crime, who are apparently in the way to commit crimes, when arrested and brought in, to be placed in the second or third grades, as the case may be adjudged on admission, and to work through their release in the ordinary way—with exceptions.

(4) Other inmates who escape, or attempt to escape, to be degraded to the third grade, and remain in such grade as they shall prove worthy of, until the "good time" expiration of their maximum term "at least."

A sudden change from one sphere to another—for instance, from wealth to poverty, from poverty to wealth, or from imprisonment to freedom—frequently leads directly to excesses, but is never productive of good results. In order to gradually accustom human nature to

the change from a condition of confinement or imprisonment to that of unbounded freedom, a transition period of some months is generally recognized as indispensable. It is, however, also further recognized, that the usual police supervision, which is the only device that has hitherto been known and adopted, and which is supposed to stand in the place of a transition period, is one of the worst and weakest features of our present system of punishment; because it generally deprives a man, who is striving to improve himself, of every chance, if he had any, of again working his way up, and of becoming a respectable citizen and member of our society. If such a transition position is to be really beneficial, it must, before all things, be of a character unassociated with police-control, at any rate outwardly. With rational organization why could not a special officer, either from the Institution or appointed by the district, exercise such a control, without being connected with the police so long as their help is not required? Under all circumstances, however, such a control and supervision ought to be of a secret nature, so that the past history of the individual is not unnecessarily exposed, and his struggle forward for self-improvement is not thereby hindered. For the Elmira Institution it suffices to have evidence that the individual in question is still working satisfactorily in his situation and is likely to continue there, and a certificate from the employer is all that is required.

SUMMARY OF DAILY ROUTINE.

THE purpose of the day's routine in the Institution, taking an ordinary working day as an example, is to fully occupy the mind of the prisoner during all the waking hours ; and, indeed, rather to direct it instead of leaving it to itself ; forming thus perforce, if need be, improved mental habits.

At 5.30 in the morning the inmates are summoned from sleep by three loud strokes from the gong in the guard-room, and in fifteen minutes are dressed and ready for breakfast. Then, on signals given by the gong, the first grade men are unlocked and proceed to their places in the dining-room, where silence is maintained until the word " Ready ! " is given by the officer on duty. When at table they are allowed to converse. The second and third grade men, remaining in their rooms, are supplied with food by inmate waiters, one on each side of a gallery. At another signal the first grade men return to their rooms and employ the interval before 7.30 as they wish. Before going out to work all are required to leave their rooms and cupboards scrupulously clean and in order. Shortly before 7.30, the last morning summons of the gong is struck, and

all inmates not confined by illness repair in orderly lines to the workshops, only the third grade men marching in lock-step. The first grade men march in three squads commanded by captains selected from their numbers ; the second grade is subdivided into many squads in charge of first grade sergeants ; while the third grade lines move under the eye of an officer.

The working hours extend from 7.30 a.m to 4.30 p.m., with the omission of the dinner hour from 12 to 1 p.m. During this time the various industries of the Reformatory—iron-founding, hollow-ware works, brush, shoe and broom making, and the labour incident to the domestic and clerical departments—are in active process.

[N. B.—Of late it has not been found possible to regularly adhere to these hours of work, partly on account of accumulation of labour-force, partly on account of want of work.]

Supper is given soon after the day's work is over.

About 9 a.m. the physician visits the establishment, and, with the assistance of the attendant, sees to the invalids. Particular attention is given to the sanitary condition of the Institution and the health of the prisoners ; to this end arrangements are made for each inmate to take a bath once a week, Fridays or Saturdays, either warm or cold according to the time of the year.

Mr. Brockway bases his theory on the fact that

bodily health is the fundamental condition of practical ethics—of that state in which the nobler impulses and principles of the human soul master and control the lower ones; and, that on sound physiology only is it possible to build moral principles, true religion, and reason. For this reason the prisoners are accustomed to bodily cleanliness with all care, and are instructed in the advantages of a healthy body, as well as in the means of attaining the same.

It does not require a very extended field of observation to convince one that an immense number of unfortunate individuals owe their physical, mental and moral disease, their disastrous disqualification as members of our society, and finally their early death, exclusively to the lack of bodily cleanliness. Want of moderation in eating and drinking, irregular mode of life and their only too well-known consequences can mostly be traced to an unhealthy and insufficiently active physical constitution.

They further receive once a week a change of underclothing, a pair of socks, drawers, shirt and working blouse. Each prisoner has his underclothing marked with his name and number.

At 12 o'clock the signal for cessation of work is given; the first grade march to their dining-hall, the second and third grades to their cells, in order to take their dinner in the same manner as breakfast.

At 1 o'clock work is again begun, and at 4.30

ceases for the day. From 5 o'clock the General Superintendent is accessible to the prisoners for private audiences, and for this purpose a ticket must be placed beforehand by the particular individual in the private letter-box. In the evening the time is occupied by instruction in the school and technical department, as well as by lectures, by scientific and entertaining discourses, and occasionally by musical performances, etc. Morning, noon and evening, whenever the prisoners are assembled for any purpose, they are carefully counted.

The cells are in winter warmed by steam pipes, and in the morning, as well as in the evening up till 9.30, are well lighted with gas, so that in their free time every opportunity is afforded for mental occupation, reading and studying.

On Sunday mornings the letters and packets delivered during the week are distributed to the prisoners privileged to receive them; similarly writing paper, when it is required for writing letters either home or in connection with the securing of a situation on conditional discharge; and the weekly journal of the Institution, *The Summary*, is distributed.

On Sunday the first signal for getting-up sounds at 6 instead of 5.30.

On Sundays and the established holidays of the year, a regular service for Protestants is held by a Protestant Minister, and after this lectures for the

Practical Ethics Class, and at times instructive and entertaining discourses, concerts, and musical performances for the whole of the prisoners. The Catholics receive twice a month special instructions in religion from a Catholic Priest ; once a month Confession is heard, and on the following Sunday Mass is said. For the small percentage of Jewish prisoners a special religious service is also held by a Rabbi on one Saturday in each month.

On Sundays the General Superintendent also usually delivers a short address to the prisoners, mostly on subjects which he considers it advisable to speak openly about, arising out of his daily intimate intercourse with the prisoners.

DIET OF THE PRISONERS.

The bill of fare for the prisoners of the first and second grade for one week is, for instance :—

Breakfast :—Beef hash, potatoes, bread, coffee, sugar.

Dinner :—Three times soup and meat ; twice mutton stew ; once beef and turnips and roast beef and gravy, always including bread. In addition the first grade receives daily, and the second grade four times in the week, coffee and sugar ; and, besides, the first grade sometimes receives dessert, preserved or dried fruits.

The diet of the third grade is exactly like that of the second, with the exception of tea and coffee.

Besides his ration a prisoner may ask for more, but in the third grade such supplement consists of bread only. Meat and all other provisions are of the best quality.

The diet may appear to be extravagant. When particularly questioned on this point Mr. Brockway replied : " We simply keep in view the pursuit of our purpose—*i.e.* reform. Good food is, for every one, of the first necessity for orderly life, if he wants to make the fullest possible use of the powers of his body ; and my long experience has taught me that I obtain far better results with the subjects by supplying a good diet."

DIFFERENCES OF THE GRADES.

THE distinction of the three grades is marked, as already mentioned, in the diet—that is to say, in its constituents and the manner of serving it. The first grade take their meals together in a special large hall ; they sit at tables of eight to twelve covers ; have table-cloths, porcelain ware ; can satisfy their appetites in a variety of ways ; and have the privilege of unrestricted intercourse with one another at meal times, and can spend the whole hour of noon in social intercourse.

The courteous behaviour of the men is, indeed, an excellent feature. One carves at the table, and they help one another politely.

The dress of the second or transition grade is a civilian suit of dark material, with a Scotch cap ; the dress of the third grade is of dark-red material, without a cap, and the first grade wear a neat blue uniform with a navy cap.

The first grade occupy larger and better cells—in some cases provided with spring mattresses.

As long as the overcrowding of the establishment lasts—that is to say, as long as the number of existing

cells does not correspond to the number of prisoners—it is usual to place a considerable number of those of the first grade together in pairs ; naturally, the choice of those who are to be placed together, is a matter requiring the greatest care.

Formerly, short extracts from the newspapers were read at table once a week to the prisoners of the first grade ; however, the publication of the weekly journal of the Institution, *The Summary*, which is distributed amongst all the prisoners of the first and second grades, has completely replaced this arrangement.

The first grade is allowed both to receive and write letters on Sunday. The second grade is allowed to receive letters every Sunday, but to write letters only once a month.

The first and second grades are permitted to receive visitors once in three months, though the visits must be short, and, naturally, in presence of an officer of the Institution. The first and second grades can receive and change library books every week. The third grade is excluded from all these privileges.

Writing materials and postage stamps are supplied gratis by the Institution. The whole of the outgoing and incoming correspondence of the prisoners is controlled by a special official—the transfer officer.

To and from the dining-room, workshop, school-rooms, etc., the prisoners march : the first grade four abreast, in three squads, generally under command

By special permission from the General Superintendent inmates can receive carpet or photographs from home or relatives ; and should any inmate have such carpet, etc., when reduced to third grade, it will be transferred to the store-room until he is restored from third grade.

When two or more inmates occupy the same room, conversation is allowed only in subdued tones; and no talking or noisy making of beds, moving of chairs, or other necessarily disturbing noises will be allowed after the second bell.

First grade men are allowed to burn their gas one half-hour after the second bell, that being the signal for second and third grade men to turn theirs off.

Any neglect to comply with the above rules will subject the inmate to report.

There are also special rules for the dormitory, the first grade men when in the dining-hall, for all inmates in assemblages, etc.

SCHOOL.

FROM the very first Education formed a leading feature in the Elmira Institute ; and this circumstance may to a great extent be undoubtedly ascribed to the want of any uniform and general standard of culture in America. Statistics show that about 70 per cent. of the prisoners on their arrival fail to come up to the standard of a simple elementary education ; an effort therefore to remove this lamentably defective condition, is as necessary as it is desirable. But not only in the more unequal and unregulated conditions which hold in America, but also in those which hold in England, is education and mental improvement—that is to say, the conversion of irregular mental activities into regular—one of the most important factors of a reform which is intended to operate radically, and also to produce permanent results. If only a slight investigation of the conditions obtaining in our prisons and houses of correction is made, one cannot but wonder, and again and again ask the question : Why is such an unlimited amount of valuable time—inexcusably wasted here ? When confinement and solitude in an often cold, damp and dark cell for

fifteen, sixteen, to eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, without occupation or proper mental and bodily activity is still to-day considered as a means of reform, one can only lament the degree of human knowledge and the state of culture and civilization in our times.

Such offenders as appear really susceptible to reform, require, before all things and without exception, mental elevation—not necessarily a higher standard of education, when, as is fortunately the case to-day in the United Kingdom, this exists in normal proportion ; but uninterrupted mental and psychological activity, applied in such a way that the mind is thereby compelled to further expand and strengthen its power of thought, and the psychological part of its ethical principles, so as finally to establish a rational self-consciousness.

The founder and present administrator of the Elmira Institution would say the three chief factors of reform—Work, Conduct and Education—if arranged in order of the importance and the power of the influence which they exercise on the man, would stand as Education, Conduct and Work—because the schoolroom is alone qualified to bring an individual to a full self-consciousness. Not until the inner man, imperfectly developed and governed by low and mean motives and inclinations, together with the irregular workings of his mental and psychological organism, has been eradicated, and a normal condition, governed

by right and reason, has been attained, can we speak of successful reform. We have not only the right, but it is our bounden duty, without regard to additional outlay of trouble, to endeavour by every practical means that science offers, to attain such an end, and not to rest until actual reform has been effected in the cases coming under consideration. Then, and not till then, can we boast of possessing an actual system of correction and reform. An orderly mode of life and regular work, it is true, may make a prisoner more amenable to prison discipline; and may even at times have an improving effect upon his whole conduct, but in accordance with the opinions of all authorities on the subject such a mode of treatment which merely touches the physical part of human nature will touch and effectively and radically improve his principles and character in a few cases only. Where the capability of distinguishing right from wrong, and where the impulse and effective power to prefer the former to the latter on all occasions, and under all circumstances has been lost—and this is the case with a far greater number of criminals than is usually supposed—an improved physical condition may, indeed, co-operate very advantageously, but alone it can never, or at least seldom, lead to the realization of true and sound reform: conversion must absolutely begin its process at the root, it must begin with the very motives which precede, or should precede, and occasion

an action, with the mind and soul, so as to be able to dictate their proper activity to the thus elevated physical constituents, which have become more tractable. The awakening of an interest in something outside the sphere in which the subject has hitherto moved—which must naturally be the path of improvement—proves, when the spontaneous impulse is developed by forced application, a sure ladder of reform, and stimulates the natural interest. The one-sided and narrow-minded assumption, that criminals make progress in their pernicious course by education and mental development, can only be maintained, where there is a lack of insight into the character, the nature and method of such a system of education. It must affect not only the mind but also the soul; the physical advancement must be in strict harmony with the intellectual; in fact, body, mind and soul, must be separately and yet simultaneously worked, schooled and developed, by individual treatment, if we wish to radically reform the subject. Confirmed criminals have in general a decided liking for all that is base and mean; they hate any physical or mental occupation which leads and forces them into a better and nobler vein of thought. And the experience in Elmira leads to the full conviction that compulsory education is actually one of the hardest punishments for the criminal. A rational system of education and improvement can, however, be applied without any

considerable difficulties and material sacrifices, without interfering with the hours of labour, and without in any way endangering the safe-keeping of the prisoners.

Education in Elmira begins with the lowest elementary stages—reading, writing and arithmetic—according to the degree of education of the particular prisoner; and is extended through the English language, grammar, higher mathematics and geography, up to English, American and universal history, politics, literature, law, political economy, electricity, chemistry, physiology, mental and moral philosophy and other subjects, which are of importance to society. Some courses, such as the literary, attain to such a perfection that Shakespeare and other classic authors are studied and discussed with fair understanding. From a very insignificant condition at the founding of the Institution, the educational department has slowly but steadily expanded and developed to an extraordinary degree of usefulness. Four chief points are sought to be realized in connection therewith:—

(1) To teach those subjects which are unquestionably an aid to any honourable trade;

(2) To teach those subjects which give a full understanding of the rights and duties of an honest citizen according to the law;

(3) To teach the ethics of truth and duty; and

(4) The chief points of general science, art, industry and health.

Twelve classes or more, according to requirements, are formed, in order to realize, as far as possible, uniformity in the various grades of education of the pupils.

The original division was into seven classes, as follows :—(1) Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and General Elementary Subjects ; (2) Physics ; (3) Political Economy ; (4) Civil Government ; (5) Algebra ; (6) English Literature ; (7) Practical Ethics.

The great increase in the number of prisoners last year—the average was over 900—necessitated, however, a further extension, so that altogether twenty separate classes had to be formed. This classification is so arranged that in pursuing the end in view all individual requirements are satisfied from one extreme to another.

On the one hand are those who, possessing little or scarcely any education at all, have to begin at the very lowest rudimentary stage ; and on the other hand are men of a high education of wide though generally superficial acquirements, but possessing actual culture in a very low degree, who are yet capable of beginning with academic studies. In fact, men of the greatest conceivable differences, with regard to mental equipment, have to be reckoned with in the department of education and culture, and with such men only an absolutely special study of the system of imparting instruction can be of any real efficacy.

Such subjects require individual treatment ; it is as indispensably the beginning and end of the school system as the alphabet is for every man.

The present school classes embrace, amongst others, the following courses of instruction ; a short description is given of some of them—without further comment it is evident what an amount of work is performed in this department, and what wide-reaching problems the Institution has undertaken to solve :—

Primary Writing, Reading, and Arithmetic ; Mental Arithmetic ; Primary Language ; Language—Analysis and Expression ; Practical Arithmetic ; Elements of Familiar Science.

American History.—Especially the growth and influence of civil institutions.

English Literature.—Including both the historical survey of the influences that have modified English and American thought, the biographies of great authors, and the critical reading and study of representative masterpieces, for the acquisition of thought and the culture and elevation of literary taste.

Physical Geography.—The study of the earth as the abode of man, especially noting the relation of its continental structure, water distribution, climate and productions, to the progress of man in manufacture, commerce and other elements of civilization.

Political Economy.—Tracing the growths and characteristics of industrial society, and thoroughly

examining and illustrating the principles applicable to economic life in the present condition of society—as to production, distribution, exchange and consumption.

Higher Mathematics.—Familiarity with such algebraical processes and geometrical principles as are necessary for the prosecution of advanced work in practical courses of science.

Physiology.—The study of the human body as a mode, both elementary and complete, of obeying the maxim, “Know Thyself;” especially noting the functions and hygienic laws relating to the great vital processes, and the influences of physical conditions upon mental and moral character.

Stenography, Type-writing, and Telegraphy.—Technical branches, largely involving the ready command of information acquired in the scholastic courses, and leading to the development of memory, ready and accurate perception, practical judgment and concentration of attention as essentials to success. Thus these studies are highly disciplinary, as well as prospectively useful for practical life: and one, stenography, is a valuable adjunct in the lectures of the school course.

Ancient and Mediæval History.—This is confined to those great peoples of antiquity, and to those civil institutions of later times, which have exerted an influence on the progress of humanity that the world should not forget. Egypt, Palestine, Phœnicia, Greece,

Rome, Germany and England are brought under review; their natural characteristics analyzed and contrasted, and the principles and lessons of their respective careers carefully studied. This branch is made to subserve a threefold purpose: the development of logical causes in investigation of historic causes and consequences; the elevation of sentiment in the recognition of heroism and nobility in the great characters of other times and countries; and the attainment of correct notions concerning practical government, as these are suggested by the history of the past.

Practical Ethics.—This branch takes for its special subject that to which every other study of the course points, and for which all reformatory agencies prepare, namely, “right living.” By lectures, by reading — from the works of great authors, by class discussions, and by the individual studies of suggested practical questions, involving a delicate application of ethical principles, the pupils are brought to face the great questions and foundation principles of “duty,” and to grow thereby into the consciousness of the moral spheres to which they belong, thus giving to many the revelation a new world of thought and feeling; and to all a truer and more profound sense of their relation to that world.

This course not only gives the means of future acquisition of knowledge, but much that is of present

use and direct value, particularly some acquaintance with the constitution of the world ; with the achievements of great nations in the past ; with the treasures of thought found in the literature of their own country, and with the principles that determine duty and that should regulate the conduct of life. Its aims in the lower branches, are not to teach over again what common observation has learned itself ; but to rectify, complete, and analyze such knowledge, so that the pupil will comprehend its principles and understand its relations.

In place of printed books loose sheets of paper, printed with the respective themes and questions which come under consideration, are distributed to the pupils of the advanced classes before each lesson or lecture. In order to form an idea of the character of the same, I will here refer to one such printed leaflet which was distributed before a lecture in the class of Practical Ethics. It runs as follows :—

LECTURES ON PRACTICAL ETHICS.

OUTLINE OF THE DISCUSSION ON NOVEMBER 7TH.

BY PROF. CHAS A. COLLIN.

IV.—Certain Fundamental Principles of Bodily Health.

A.—MODERATION.

“MODERATION is, according to my idea, a sort of order and control in certain pleasures and desires ; this is

signified by the motto: 'Everyone is his own master.'

"There is something ridiculous in the expression: 'To be his own master;' for, the master is also slave, and the slave master. The true meaning, however, I believe, is, that the soul of the man has better and worse principles. When the better principles control the worse ones, then it is said: 'The man is his own master.' But, when the better principles are overpowered by the worse ones, then we say: 'The man is his own slave, and possesses no principles'" (Plato, "The Republic," 430; Jowett, ii. 256).

"And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell" (Jesus, Matt. v. 29-30).

"Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend" (St. Paul, 1 Cor. viii. 13).

(1) Bad and unhealthy bodily constitution or disease is *primâ facie* a disgrace. No laws, with regard to our conduct, are written by our Creator more distinctly than the laws of physical health, and no violations of the law are punished more infallibly

and severely than the violations of these laws—for they comprise the first and most unpardonable, or at least the most inexcusable, sins. Disease renders a man incapable, and causes sufferings both to him and his friends around. For disease there is no place in our nature, except when it is the result of external causes and is no fault of our own. According to our conception the soul of the man—the man himself—only profits by passing through this earthly life, when this life is healthy.

(2) The man is on this earth first earthly. The physical mass is developed slowly. Our first surroundings, parents, teachers, teach and train us for a long time in physiology only. A sound physiology, or hygiene, is the elementary basis of morality and true religion, and forms the only foundation stone of the physical spiritual life. The most of us would improve in physical and hygienic morality if we would try to care as well for our bodies as the beasts of the field do for theirs.

(3) Proper nourishment is the first and most important law.

The first point of this law is moderation. Cleanliness—that is to say, the removal of the refuse—is the next point ; perhaps of equal importance.

When these two conditions are strictly satisfied by a healthy bodily constitution, then the activity, the organisms, resulting therefrom will fulfil the

purpose for which the human machine has been constructed.

The fundamental principles of bodily health, by a person of sound bodily constitution, are moderation, cleanliness and activity.

(4) Food and drink in sufficient quantity, and of proper quality, are apparently much appreciated, but seldom according to their full importance. The generally customary carelessness in this respect reduces the sphere of life into a lower standard, and shortens the life ; very often unconsciously extinguishes it suddenly. These dangers, however, rarely come forth in a direct or fatal way, and therefore do not attract the general attention. A few evidently starve directly. Yet the illness of a good many, and finally their premature death, is exclusively the consequence of inadequate or improper nourishment.

(5) Evidently the greatest danger with regard to the provision of food and drink lies in excess. As the process of eating and drinking is a pleasant one, mankind is always inclined to increase and multiply in an irregular proportion the pleasure connected therewith. In this way they not only annihilate the real purpose for which they strive, but tantalize themselves by the continued development of their desires, which become insatiable, and are never to be satisfied.

It is no wonder that, in contrast to physical excess,

properly understood, and suitably applied to the end in view, by one who devotes himself body and soul to the purpose, and who is assisted by wide acquaintance and knowledge of the world and of men, and a deep insight into practical life. Brockway very rightly starts from the undeniable truth that the result mostly depends upon the first attempt to expand the mind. And, however difficult and complicated this problem may be, yet Brockway appears to have solved it in Elmira, and that, too, not theoretically only, but practically. Of course, his ultimate discharge, ever hovering before the eyes of the subject, is to be considered as the powerful incentive, so that the originally prevailing aversion to culture and mental occupation in the prisoner soon either consciously or unconsciously vanishes, and gives place to animation, from which a spontaneous liking and appetite for mental food is soon formed. This is most plainly seen in the choice of books from the library of the Institute. At first, almost exclusively light works of fiction are sought after, principally for the purpose of killing time. However, through the unfailling influence of the method of education adopted, a decided change is soon noticeable, and the man who in public life perhaps had never taken a book in hand, and who began to read novels, etc., in the Institute, now takes to ethical, economic, historical, ancient classics, and other works. School books are not used in the classes, but

the instruction is only imparted orally, in a manner easily to be understood, by the most eminent authorities in the sphere of education, science, etc., engaged in public duties in the neighbourhood; and for this purpose remuneration is allowed out of the means at the disposal of the Institution. There are also many well-known persons who deliver discourses and lectures in the Institution gratis; and, further, amongst the prisoners themselves, there are to be found many sufficiently capable to be selected as teachers and lecturers.

Their advanced physical condition, age and experience make the prisoners, as a rule, when the process of schooling works successfully and in accordance with the purpose in view, industrious pupils, and usually leave better results than are obtained in the corresponding school classes for boys, in spite of the fact that here mentally and physically inert and sluggish subjects of criminal tendencies have to be dealt with. Indeed, to observe the thirst for learning and the apparent self-interest of the pupils of a school-class creates a peculiar and delightful impression; it is astonishing, and nowhere, in any school in ordinary life, however well it may be organized and kept in discipline, can the quality of the pupils be found to be better. The newly awakened zeal to learn, to know, and understand, seems to have opened to them a new world, an altogether different sphere of life. No

better proof can be produced than the fact that out of the originally enormous number of 70 per cent. in a state of ignorance, there remain scarcely 4 per cent. upon whom the school system produces apparently slight results ; the bulk of 66 to 95 per cent. make steady progress, and many of them reach the very highest attainable degree of culture. The main point in the method is the thorough individual treatment which the prisoner receives. The teachers and instructors have special orders to place themselves in touch with each individual pupil, in order to judge as accurately as possible their individual needs and capacities, and to be able to deal also specially with their dormant ones.

Teachers and instructors are also required to watch carefully over the mental conditions and behaviour of the pupils, and to report the slightest change, or anything worthy of notice, at once to the General Superintendent.

Once a month the inmates undergo a written examination, and the teacher and instructors are required to produce promptly the examination lists containing the exact percentage of the result which each pupil obtains. This is then used as a basis for advancing into a higher, transferring into a lower, or retaining in the same class. Transfer to a lower class only occurs, when the pupil is absolutely unfit for the class in which he finds himself, or when the percentage

obtained at an examination is so low as to make it appear desirable.

The necessity for strict impartiality is impressed upon teachers and instructors, as upon all officers ; and we may here remark that they lie under no responsibility for the realization of good results ; but their functions in this respect are considered to be discharged with the simple announcement of the percentages. In connection with the individual treatment is the personal responsibility which rests upon the prisoners, which is cultivated from the first moment of their admission. The individual can only rely upon himself ; there is no other way but the straight, no other means but his own activity. This individual responsibility is forced upon the prisoner in such a way that at every step, every thought, and every act, he is obliged to reflect. Advancement and early regaining of freedom rest exclusively on the individual himself ; and he must be thoroughly in earnest if he will reach his goal. It is not mere blind obedience to the letter of the law and the performance of duty, or the mere submission to the more or less important customs and regulations of the Institution, that is demanded ; nor is much stress laid upon them, as if any great purpose were accomplished by such submission : but what is desired is the development of the individual's power of self-contemplation. He must, in his inmost self, be convinced of the immorality of wrong-doing, and of

the benefits associated with an orderly and upright life.

The unfolding of the moral faculties of the individual prisoner, simultaneously with those of the mind, is a special feature in this educational and training department. The moral feeling is imparted, not merely through religious instruction, sermons, discourses, etc., from the ministers of the respective creeds, but to a great extent, if not to the greatest, by the teachers and instructors. The whole school system is based upon moral tendency, and all its aims and purposes end in the instilling and due comprehension of the idea: Practical Morality. And the end in view is less the mere imparting of knowledge, of stereotyped facts and ideas, than it is the arousing of the mind and soul of the man, so as to leave a true comprehension of the moral order of the world, and a complete recognition of our relation to it. In order to keep alive and to promote the pupil's interest, free discussion of this or that point is always allowed to the school classes; and this is found to be in the highest degree essential and effectual for Practical Ethics. The religious ministers connected with the Institute, in their yearly reports, are unanimous in their praise of the behaviour of the prisoners, and their progress in religion; and confirm the great and beneficial effect of the class in Practical Ethics. The examination papers in this class also show, beyond a doubt, what progress has been made

in the treatment and answering of deep questions on Ethics. And we must particularly mention, in connection therewith, that falsehood and dissimulation are less associated with the answers and questions on the part of the individual than is generally assumed. Every utterance, however superficial a view it may express, is freely and openly—if at times hastily—expressed, and deserves unbounded confidence in its sincerity. Some answers of different pupils at one of the last examinations may follow as examples :—

“ No. 2,422. In the pursuit of pleasure I have found an inexhaustible source of happiness.” “ Before, excess was my delight ; now it is moderation.”

“ No. 2,737. I have profited most by having learnt to understand the wrongfulness of anger.”

“ No. 2,236. The lectures have taught me that it is always the wisest and most profitable plan to choose the golden middle course—viz. not to despise legitimate pleasure nor honest work but to combine both, to a harmonious whole.”

“ No. 2,768. In consequence of the lectures, free discussions, etc., I have already found how worthless is the epicurean theory which I was following unconsciously. I think that reason and conscience and at the same time absolute subjection to the law should be the dominating elements in every system of teaching morality.”

“No. 1,973. I have learnt more about the right ways to happiness than I ever knew before,—viz., happiness in the right sense; and further, that a person, who acts with reason and careful reflection, will only do what he considers most beneficial in the interest of moral comfort; and that nobody, except the madman, will think of committing suicide.”

“No. 1,890. I have learned most on the moral point that everyone is your brother.”

Of great interest is also a report of Professor Charles A. Collin, lecturer on Practical Ethics, written in 1883, about a year after the formation of the Practical Ethics Class, the extract of which I will add as follows :—

“The class—that of Practical Ethics—at first consisted of about seventy young men from sixteen to thirty years of age, selected as the brightest minds out of the prison population of nearly 600—in 1885. A majority of them had graduated from the classes in the Reformatory schools, and had enjoyed from one to three years’ high-school training in the Reformatory, especially in Political Economy under my professional brother, our county judge; in Physics, under the professor of that department and in English History and Civil Government, under the Principal of the Elmira Free Academy.

“Expressly discarding oratory, funny stories, and

similar nonsense, I set to work dryly, but cheerily and heartily, to discuss on a low plane the most comfortable methods of living. At the outset I ignored all authority, the Bible included, and took up the problem of life as though for the first time—my favourite and frequent recurring illustration being the analogy of individuals in society to locomotives on a demoralized railroad, all wild-cattling and frequently colliding and wrecking. Bodily comfort and physical health quickly brought up the general topic of temperance. Upon the special application of temperance to stimulants and narcotics, with a reckless indulgence in intellectual honesty, I gave a fair exposition of the argument for temperance as opposed to total abstinence. My pupils had hitherto listened with dubious interest, but now began to scent rank heresy. The General Superintendent sat nervously watching for me to fall over the edge of the precipice along which I was treading. At the first meeting of the class I had attempted to force discussion by calling up members and asking questions, but ten minutes' trial satisfied me with that experiment. Now the discussion needed no urging. I was rebuked for encouraging intemperance, and we have some very forcible total abstinence lectures from members of the class. I took my castigations meekly, and conceded that total abstinence was possibly the only true rule for anyone, and was certainly the only safe rule for very many.

“By this time my pupils had decided that their teacher was not smart, nor particularly good. They could not see how they were to pass their examinations in such a study. The Practical Morality Class became decidedly unpopular, and was known throughout the Institution as the class in ‘Practical Rascality.’

“The discussions naturally passed from physical health to the health and diseases of the soul. Here I was met by a spirit of scepticism, of which the following extract from a note sent to me, was one of the manifestations :—

“‘DEAR SIR,—I think that the man who said last Sunday that he knew he had a soul, made a very strong assertion; and I am not near as sure as he is about the matter, and I would like to be convinced of the fact.’

“Strange to say, the proposition that man has a soul troubled me for several Sundays, in spite of the assistance of the orthodox majority of the class. I finally clinched the proposition, as follows: ‘If I called you a fool you would say I insulted you. Then there is something of you besides body, and this something can be happy or suffering, healthy or diseased. Let us call this something, whatever it is, *soul*, without regard to whether it continues to exist after the death of the body.’ John Doe, the leader of the sceptics, a bright young burglar about eighteen years old, said to

me privately, as we were walking out of the classroom : ' Well, I see that in the sense in which you use the word *soul*, man has a soul : but whether man has a soul in the religious sense or not I don't know, and I am going to wait and see what I can make out of it.'

"The topic of revenge was quickly reached in discussing the diseases of the soul. A recklessly honest discussion of the utility of revenge again put the General Superintendent on tenter-hooks. This was further heresy, and was more strenuously resented by the class. 'Revenge was what brought me here,' said some members frankly. I presented the other side of the question by reading some elected passages from the Socratic dialogue of Plato, with running comments, elaborating the proposition that doing injustice is a greater misfortune than suffering injustice. I was quite satisfied with my argument, but John Doe was not. He sent me the following note :—

" " I have only attended up till now two lectures, and therefore do not know what may have been said in the other three. But in the lecture on the 24th, I think you go a little out of the line. You say that if a man from pure cussedness strikes you, it is better to let him alone. Reason: because a man in doing so hurts what we have agreed to call his soul, and if he continues to hurt it in such a way he will find in the end that he

has hurt himself more than you. This is hardly 'Practical Morality.' That which is unnatural can hardly be called practical. Revenge is not only gratification of a desire, but also a mode of protection. All our legal punishments are based on a spirit of revenge, for the purpose of protection. A fine country we should have if the Government were to let men go on doing all the wrongs they pleased, consoling themselves by the knowledge that the men were injuring themselves more than anybody else. To show you that revenge is instinctive, and a natural protection: a man strikes you one blow, and your impulse is to strike him two, so as to let him see that it does not pay to strike you, and to make him, from impulses of fear, quit. Therefore revenge, in such a case, is a natural protection, the impulses of which are instinctive, and so universal that they must contain some good. Farther on you say that a man in striking you has only hurt the flesh. Let us see. Suppose he has struck you on the cheek. It hurts. The organic matter has been bruised. But is that all? What makes your hands close and your teeth come together? Ah, then, another source of feeling has been touched, and let's see what it is. . . .

“Look at yourself, and then see if the man who struck you is not the better off. Besides, what kind of forgiveness do you call that, where you allow a man to strike you, when you believe that

by so doing the man will, in time, pay dearly for his action? You will have the world think you turn to him the left cheek, while in your heart you expect your pound of flesh.

“ ‘Please excuse my freedom, and look upon me as your attentive and respectful scholar.’

“ I frankly acknowledged to the class the superiority of my pupil’s moral reasoning.

“ NOTE.—Here may be mentioned that John Doe was exceptionally heavily burdened with criminal heredity and environment. His father a professional burglar, his mother a professional black-mailer, and both in State Prison when John, barely sixteen years of age, entered the Reformatory for taking his father’s calling to support his younger brothers and sisters. How hard he struggles to keep to the right, which he sees so clearly! However, what finally the struggle led to is indicated by his contribution about a year afterwards to *The Summary*, the Reformatory newspaper, written from the depth of his heart as follows :—

“ ‘GOD AND THE ROBIN.

“ ‘Early in the morning, before the lazy cock crows, you may hear the robin singing his welcome to the sun. All is quiet till his music rends the air, and as you listen you are inspired with thoughts of Him who made

the robin and you. Perhaps the sweet song is a prayer of thanks to God for sheltering them from the dangers of the night. Do they know of God? Who can tell? Perhaps He is the cause of what we, in our ignorance, call instinct. Once, as I listened to their music, I fell asleep, and dreamt of a house near the sea. It had a lawn in front, on which was a robin hopping in search of food for her young. But as she hopped about the sky seemed to grow darker. I knew that a storm was approaching, and when it came I saw the robin cling to the tree for shelter. But the wind was fierce, and it tore her from the branch, and in spite of all her efforts, bore her out over the ocean, farther and farther from the land, till at last, when its energy was spent, its fury gone, it left her on the ocean with no land in sight to guide her to her home. And as she flew she thought of her little ones at home, and of her mate. She thought she was flying to them, but every little effort was taking her farther away, though she knew it not. In her frightened cry I seemed to hear her say: "Oh where shall I rest my weary wing?" But in the murmuring of the ocean she heard no reply, so she could but fly on till darkness came, when, utterly exhausted, she fell upon the cruel waves and died. And He who made her will receive her when the course of life is past. Cannot the little robin find in that house of many mansions a place to rest her weary wing? Is heaven made for man alone? Are not

these little creatures who never offend God, but worship Him with the purity and happiness of their little hearts, entitled to the joys of hereafter? Who can doubt it?'”

Professor Collin goes on :—

“ We continued the readings from Socrates on ‘ Punishment as a Remedy for Diseases of the Soul.’ That a man should run to a judge to be punished as he would to a surgeon when wounded, and should do the same for his friends and relatives, was a new and strange doctrine; and the professionally orthodox could not tell which side to take. The only trouble with the discussion now was to control it. Half-a-dozen hands would be up at once, waiting for the leader’s nod, and even the General Superintendent could not always keep his seat.

“ We were progressing with quickly increasing interest for several weeks on such topics, when a dispute, which had arisen between two men, as to whether a certain expression constituted swearing, was referred to the class. I tried to explain the value of religious reverence. But, however indifferent they might be to attacks upon their theories of morality, their religion they were ready to fight for. The Hebrews felt insulted by the Roman Catholics, and *vice versâ*, and so on through all the variations, even to the Agnostics. The discussion got away from me, and

but for the presence of the prison 'paidagogoi' our class would have broken up like the famous society on the Stanislaus.

"The General Superintendent deemed it prudent to prohibit the first grade men from continuing the discussion at their meals. The next two Sundays I occupied the floor mainly myself, on the *rationale* of religious controversy. Thereafter, only a hint was necessary to stop the symptoms of a religious riot. But the repression of the debating society spirit, and of the *argumentum ad hominem*, was constantly being called for. These were the only points on which the momentum of the older membership did not keep the freshmen in order.

"The membership gradually increased to about 300—in 1886. The popularity of the class had become established, as might be inferred from the following note, received by the General Superintendent, given *verbatim* :—

" 'Gen'l Sup't :—Please helow me to attend the lectures on Practical Morality sundays fornoon. I ges I can pas examination. I would much like it, as I think morality is my weakest point.

" 'Yours truly

" '____'

"I soon went floundering into the *terra incognita* of business morality, with unaffected ignorance, hunt-

ing for some standard of right and wrong, whereby to test the morality of business transactions. I took positions confidently, and abandoned them freely. Some called me Socialist and Communist; but they soon found that names did not trouble me in my search after substance; and that I was desirous only to follow my intellect wherever it might lead, wholly regardless of my landing-place. So great was my faith that the truth will bear the keenest investigation without damage either to the truth or to the investigator. Finally, we are plunged together into the unstable waters of doubt and inquiry; but after a time we came slowly scrambling out again, into the solid ground of New Testament doctrine. The suggestions from the class were of wonderful assistance to me in my own pursuit of the truth. Indeed, I doubt if anywhere a club could have been formed, capable of discussing this special line of topics with such freedom from conventional prejudgment, such unguardedness of expression, with such genuineness and sincerity.

“Their strong, practical tendency, coming from a hard and narrow mature experience, held their leader down to the ground, and often took the nonsense out of his idealistic theories.

“I must skip a longer period without telling how I came to read selected passages from the *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo*, giving the dramatic story of the trial, imprisonment and death of Socrates.

“ I would not voluntarily have gone on to undertake the difficult and delicate task of comparing the life and teachings of Socrates and Jesus, but the class forced me into it. It would have done you good to hear Jews and Agnostics joining with the rest of the class, in literally and sincerely praising Jesus as they had formerly been praising Moses and Socrates. All symptoms of the old religious wars had disappeared.

“ A discussion of the fundamental propositions of religion naturally followed, and could not be avoided. I confined the discussion as closely as possible to the points in which the principal religions agree; and, strange to say, the only fundamental beliefs which do not admit of critical intellectual treatment—the existence of God and the life hereafter were not once questioned. It was strong confirmation of my faith, that men so disposed to question anything, accepted so readily my assumption of these fundamental truths.

“ Some utterances of the class sounded blasphemous, but were not repressed, as free utterance seemed like the proper relief to a festering sore, and the speakers thereof were afterwards ready to reverentially consider the doctrines they had denounced.

“ One speaker raised the point that a man can only reverence but not love God. The following contribution in *The Summary* the next Sunday, from a very young

member in the third grade, closed the discussion of that topic.

“‘LOVE.

“The love that prompts embrace, and tender sign ;
 That resteth on desire of human joys,
 And doth not bear the test of time, but cloys,
 Partaketh not, nor comes of the divine.
 'Tis but attraction coarse of human clay ;
 Its aim, that man to man should e'er be kind,
 But, there's a love, life's traveller does not find
 By chance, nor yet acquireth in a day.
 'Tis that which draws the hearts of noble men
 To hearts of some grand, heaven-ordainèd ones,
 Whose words they read, though forms they may not see :
 'Tis that which thrills the human spirit, when
 It views the love of Him who made the suns
 And worlds that roll in wondrous harmony.’

“ [‘ The writing of the above sonnet was suggested by the remark in the casuistry class last Sunday, that, although reverence and respect may be felt, it is impossible for the human soul to feel any love towards God. This, I have attempted to show to be false.— F. J. D.’]

“ F. J. D., for a considerable period after his entrance to the Reformatory, had continued in a state of morbid despondency. He has since demonstrated that there was truth, as well as poetry, in his contribution to *The Summary* the next Easter, as follows :—

“AN EASTER SONNET.

“BY F. J. D.

“Back from the door that bound the sepulchre,
 Wherein my soul was gyved with chains of Sin,
 This morn of Life, the rock of Death has been,
 By hands seraphic, rolled away fore'er.
 From out the dark, cold sleep, I cried aloud
 Unto the Lord, within whose hands doth rest
 A myriad worlds ; who doeth for the best
 All things. He cast aside my bond and shroud ;
 And Death's armed sentries, who through all the night
 Had watched beside my prisoned spirit's cave,
 Fled, blinded by the rays of heavenly light
 That circled Him who stood beside the grave
 With angel cohorts ; come my soul to save,
 And wake from out the sleep of wrong to right.’

“That the Socratic philosophy took sharp hold of the class is indicated by the following answer given in an examination paper to the question whether it is better to beg or steal in a case of emergency :—

“ ‘ Beg, or, if you are too prond, die. For none but an utter fool or coward is afraid of death itself, but he is afraid of doing wrong.’

“ One of the questions for examination at the close of the religious discussion asked for the difference between the teachings of Socrates and Jesus as to God's love of men. Whatever else the class failed on every man answered this question with abundant variations of language, substantially as follows : ‘ Socrates taught

that God loves and rewards those who honour and obey Him ; but Jesus taught that God is the Heavenly Father, who has not forgotten or ceased to care for the poor, down-trodden, miserable children who seem to be good-for-nothing.'

"A very practical friend inquires : 'Well, after you have got through with your moral and intellectual gymnastics what is there in these men to show for it ? What is the final outcome of sharpening the wits of such men with your high-toned discussions ?' My answer will be somewhat to this effect ; However it may be with religion, there is no such thing as a sudden conversion to morality. Morality means firmly set habits acquired by long practice and severe discipline. Men can quickly recover from sudden and sharp attacks ; but it is not in human nature to resist the effects of a steady pound, without any let-up. Men cannot be kept steadily thinking, with a genuine interest, on better or higher themes, with reference to better ends, without acquiring better habits of thought.

"I shall never forget one Sunday. A gentleman, well known among prison reformers, was a visitor in my morning class, when we were discussing the fundamental questions of religion. We were all doing our best, feebly struggling with great questions, beyond our abilities. I had remained to hear our visitor's address in the afternoon, in place of the regular religious

service to the entire university. Never did I hear such noble thoughts, couched in such noble language, delivered with such solemn eloquence. He seemed to cover the whole field of essential religion, and yet without a word or colour of thought to check the unrestrained admiration of Hebrew, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Agnostic alike. That was a model of the true system of ethics—religious education—the sharpening of the critical faculties over questions of practical conduct in the morning, the solemn appeal to the religious emotions in the evening, with the leaders of both exercises present and taking part in both. And as I looked into the faces of those two or three hundred young men, with the sympathy which cannot but come from working side by side in the same pursuits, and saw their brightness and moistened eyes, and watched the lights and shadows play over their uplifted countenances, with their quick apprehension of fine intellectual distinction and solemn spiritual truths—condemned felons every one, yet men whom I had learned to love—I said to myself: ‘Here must be the substance of things hoped for; this is the evidence of things not seen.’

“CHARLES A. COLLIN.”

This chapter may fitly close with “Professor Collin’s Memorial on a Convict, George E. Lyons, published in 1885 in *The Summary*.”

“When a comrade passes from our mortal sight the impulse instinctively arises to erect a memorial to mark the place he filled. As a man is conspicuous among his fellows it is natural and customary that his memorial should be likewise conspicuous. That George Lyons was, by virtue of his force of character, conspicuous among his fellows here there can be no question. It seems, therefore, fitting that his memorial in *The Summary* should be more than a mere mention of his death.

“If Lyons was a weak man, his weakness arose not from the lack of forceful emotions, strong will, or brilliant ability, but from the closely balanced conflict between forces opposing each other with more than usual power. His soul responded quickly to the invitation to broader intellectual activity and to religious meditation. He soon revealed that he was by Nature endowed with strong religious and domestic emotions, and a remarkably clear and logically working intellect. I have met with few young men so highly gifted with what is known among lawyers as a legal mind. At the same time he was subject to malignant passions of like strength. When these gained control he lost his intellectual clearness. In his better moods he was most amenable to sweet reasonableness. Upon a mere hint he would anticipate, and sometimes surpass, the best counsel of older and more experienced advisers. For a considerable

period there can be no question but he fought a good fight to give his better emotions the mastery. It is difficult to believe that the effect of that struggle would ever be wholly lost on his character. The near prospect of certain release from the Reformatory, and the contention between the desire to preserve home ties and the desire to break old associations and pursue a lawful career, apparently caused him to abandon the struggle, and to relapse under the control of his worse nature. I have seldom heard from any man expressions of purer religious aspiration or of more malignant passion. Each at the time was, as I believe, equally sincere. He seemed almost cruelly weighed with equal capacities for goodness and for badness. At the best his life here was to be a severe struggle, with the probability of apparent failure, even if he kept up the fight. Does it, then, seem irreverent or disrespectful to say that it was with a sense of relief that I heard that Lyons had died a natural death? And surely it is not unreasonable to believe that in parting from his mortal body he has been freed from the heaviest burdens which oppressed and blinded him; and that, like his poor robin, he will sometimes find in that house of many mansions a place to rest his weary wing.

“This George Lyons was the son of a notorious burglar and professional shop-lifter. The young man himself had been in the House of Refuge before

admission to the Reformatory, where, on his entry, he was pronounced thoroughly criminal and devoid of moral susceptibility, though intellectually bright. His career in the Institution sufficiently confirmed this view. He oscillated between the highest and the lowest grade for fifty-one months, leaving fights, insubordination, numerous great and small violations, and an attempted arson in his track. He was usually unbalanced and quarrelsome, and yet he had intervals of noble impulses and manly behaviour; and violent, passionate outbursts were not rare with him. He developed rapidly and surprisingly in education and mental power, but at every step he was handicapped by his heredity—a matter upon which he at times openly displayed a sort of tragic feeling. When a young lad, before coming to Elmira, his mother had him placed in a Roman Catholic boarding-school in Canada, which he left to shift for himself. Once, when he was travelling by railroad he flew into an ungovernable rage because she had not secured better accommodation for him, and denounced her as a shop-lifter before all the passengers. Again, when his mother visited him at the Reformatory, he besought her to work outside for his release, and, when she objected, he became furious, abused and ordered her out of the room, saying : ‘ God pity me if I ever see you alive.’

“From first to last Lyons was an active, if not always

consistent and decorous, participant in the Practical Morality Class debates. A few times he made himself so objectionable that his exclusion was imperative. In December 1885 he was removed altogether from the Reformatory as incorrigible and of evil influence, by transfer to the Auburn State Prison, where he died about two months later.

“Physically Lyons was diseased, undersized, of low quality, and had a peculiar head, the back of which dropped vertically into the cervical line.”

THE LIBRARY OF THE INSTITUTE.

It is important and almost necessary for the efficiency of the school and educational system, that means should be at hand for giving occupation to the mind during hours not devoted to instruction; and indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, to pave the way towards the realization of the end in view. Beginning with a very small supply of books in the Elmira Institute there has now been established, thanks to the unwearied efforts to expand and complete it on the part of the school secretary, and especially of the General Superintendent—a very respectable library of 3,970 volumes, and 650 magazines, amongst which are *The Century*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *The Forum*, *The North American Review*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, etc., as well as 240 illustrated weekly papers. Of the 3,970 volumes, 1,250 are for purposes of education and instruction or travel; 1,100 are religious and ethical, 292 historical, 227 biographical, 208 scientific, and 893 are of light literature—such as novels, romances and poetry. The library is carefully arranged, and possesses printed catalogues; one of the officials of the Institution

is appointed librarian; there are certain library regulations, and the arrangement of the whole is like that of a great public library. Of the general library regulations the following may be specially mentioned:—

(1) The librarian has, in the first instance, to try to meet the views of such readers only as make request for useful books. It will always be ineffectual, therefore, to ask for particular works of fiction.

(2) Each reader, so soon as he is assigned to a class in the school, must write the name of his class opposite the word "Grade" on his library card.

(3) Readers desiring to exchange on regular days must place their books in door, or on the threshold, or on their pillows if sleeping in the dormitory, so as to leave no doubt as to their wish. No exchanges will be made between regular days.

(4) Readers who exchange books with other inmates, or who mutilate or grossly soil book or card, will be deprived of the library privilege for a length of time to be determined by the magnitude of the offence, and to be usually not less than two weeks.

(5) Notify the librarian as soon as you are through with books from Reference Library, as other men may be waiting for them.

(6) Do not dog-ear the pages of your library books, nor mark with pen or pencil.

(7) The librarian will distribute incoming letters on Sundays, and collect those which are written by the inmates, and will also supply paper. Letters for mail are not to be folded or rolled ; and on the top of the page the full name and address of the party for whom the letter is intended is to be written. The name of the inmate in full as well as consecutive number is also to be given. Ink can only be used by the General Superintendent's special permission. Letters must be ready for collection immediately after supper on Sundays.

In order to form some idea of the circulation of books amongst the prisoners, we may give the statistics of one month—those of September, the last month of the State Year 1888-9, the prisoners numbering over 900 :—

During this month there were read :

In the Academic Classes	616 books
„ „ Intermediate „	459 „
„ „ Elementary „	1,109 „

—altogether 2,184 books. Taking this number as a monthly average, it amounts to a yearly circulation amongst the prisoners of 26,208 books from the circulating library. The use of the library is not compulsory ; on the contrary it is a special privilege, which always taxes the reader with a certain responsibility. Where—in what country—can one find a place

whose inhabitants are so anxious to read and learn as those in the Elmira Institute, where each man reads more than twenty-six books regularly in the course of the year? Fiction is the most popular reading, but it is represented exclusively by works of the very best and most renowned authors, with regard to whom no doubt exists that they are likely to prove an important co-operating factor towards the realization of the purpose of intellectual and moral improvement and reform. The rest of the works, with the exception of those of biography and travels, are included in the Reference Library, which is open and accessible to the prisoners on Monday and Thursday evenings; its object is to at once supply a reliable answer to the questions arising in the course of instruction, or at the lectures. On the average 220 readers consult this Reference Library in the course of the month, and of these 40 ask for works on Electricity, 42 Political Economy, 36 on Technology, 22 on Physics, 21 on History, 15 on Geography, and 35 for works on Miscellaneous Subjects. The yearly circulation of the magazines amounts to 20,256 numbers, and those of the weekly papers to 9,934 numbers.

It is, of course, impossible to estimate exactly the beneficial influence which the Library exerts upon the inmates; at the same time, when one takes into consideration the fact that by far the greater part

of the men coming into the establishment, previously possessed no mind for reading, and indeed first learnt to read here, or at most in their free life had a liking for the low and flashy novel, etc., and here for the first time learnt to value and understand something better,—it is evident that the results, although they cannot be proved by statistics, are strikingly shown in their indirect effect.

The General Superintendent hopes this year to so far extend and complete the Library, as to be able to realize his ideal—namely, to suit the reading to the reader. Although this plan has hitherto been kept well in view, yet very much is wanted to attain that standard which it is hoped to realize, and the completion of which appears necessary.

The number of works, as well as the arrangement of the library and of means of access to it, for the prisoners, does not yet satisfy Brockway's unwearied spirit. He says: "Learn to know man, his habits, thoughts and the condition of his mind, and give him a suitable book to read, just as you give a sick man the proper medicine for his recovery, and you will then understand what has yet to be obtained, before the Library of the Institute has reached the position which it should occupy, as an aid to the work carried on in the Institution."

Let it be observed, too, that in the Institution many

letters arrive from the parents of discharged prisoners, greatly expressing their astonishment, that the son who formerly wandered about the streets of an evening after work, now hastens home and takes his pleasure in books.

THE JOURNAL OF THE INSTITUTE :
“ *THE SUMMARY.*”

ONE of the most original features, and one in certain respects closely united with the educational department, is the publication of a weekly Reformatory paper, which is distributed every Sunday morning to all the prisoners, except those of the third grade.

One of the officers of the Institution, under the direction of the General Superintendent, has charge of the editorial management of the paper. Amongst the inmates there are always men who can be employed as printers and compositors ; whilst at the same time the printing department itself serves several other purposes, as, for instance, for the printing of the official annual, etc., reports, the papers for the school-classes, which are specially prepared for each lesson, etc. ; and generally, whenever any paper, however insignificant it may be, is required in a number of copies it is immediately taken to the printers.

The Summary is edited with the utmost care. It consists of eight pages—printing, paper and the

whole arrangement leave nothing to be desired. Besides giving concisely a summary of all the news that has been worth mentioning, both at home and abroad, during the preceding week, it also reports all events and changes which have occurred in the Reformatory, or anywhere else in connection with it, or are likely to take place in the following week. It further contains original contributions from writers of authority; and articles, or extracts of them, from the best and leading newspapers and magazines, carefully selected for the purpose of indirectly developing a moral tendency; and such as are worth reading and of general interest—important novelists, and the great questions of the day in politics, political economy, science, art, literature, technology, pedagogy, physiology, strategy, trade, industry and shipping; whilst a special correspondence column gives answers to all kinds of reasonable questions.

In this way the inmates live and advance with the time, and could scarcely have better opportunities in ordinary life. The publications referring to the Institution embrace everything which occurs outside the usual daily programme; for instance, how many prisoners arrived last week, how many were discharged, and how many the present number amounts to; arrangements or alterations in next week's programme for school, labour or religious

services, in the technical, military or physical training departments; in the cultivation of the land, in domestic arrangements, library, music, band ; in the *personnel* of the officers or prisoners ; and in the case of the latter not only transfers from one grade to another, but promotions and degradations in school labour or military service.

The paper, besides being a means of education and culture, dispenses with the otherwise usual system of giving orders orally to the prisoners. Consequently a distortion or mutilation of an order is not possible ; everything works with the most perfect regularity. The whole machine moves and revolves with the finger of the telegraphist.

Many remarkable communications from prisoners who have been discharged sometimes many years before frequently appear, either in entirety or in abstract, in *The Summary*—generally without publication of the name. They at the same time afford evidence of the influence which the school and reform system in Elmira has exercised on those who have been discharged.

In conclusion, I may just refer to a short notice which was printed in the number of *The Summary* for December 29th, 1889. However naturally it takes its place, and however unimportant it may be to those who know Elmira yet it is of great importance for strangers, because it helps to give a correct

idea of the true relations between the General Superintendent and the convicts :—

“The General Superintendent herewith publicly expresses his acknowledgment of the hearty Christmas congratulations which he has received from a great number of men through the letter-box.

“ (*Signed*) _____

“ GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT.”

UTILIZATION OF THE WORKING POWER OF THE INMATES.

NEXT, if not of equal importance, to the department of education and culture, the development and exercise of the intellectual and moral faculties, in a reform system which is intended to be rational, radical and of lasting success, is the regular employment and training of the physical parts of the man, or, to use the general expression, "labour." In Elmira they distinguish productive and instructive labour. The latter signifies the teaching of a handicraft or trade, which, up till now, has been carried on theoretically and practically on a polytechnic basis; whilst the former means what is generally understood in prisons, penal and other such establishments by the word "labour," the utilization of the physical working power of the inmates. This utilization of the individual working power has, since the foundation of the Elmira Institute, in consequence of the constant political struggles, experienced great revolutions. At first the "public account system" was in vogue. This means that the State is itself manufacturer and merchant at the same time, it conducts the whole manufacturing business,

invests the necessary business capital, undertakes the buying of the raw materials and the sale of the manufactured articles either wholesale to certain contractors or in the open market. The public account plan is a method very frequently employed in America for utilizing the individual working power of the inmates of State prisons and other such establishments. In consequence, however, of complaints about the apparent competition created by the State, from the business men who suffered thereby, the Elmira Institute had according to a special law in 1881 to cease working under the "public account system," and the working power was contracted to manufacturers. However, in consequence of the strong agitation of the labour party, the "public account system" was in 1884 again adopted by the State on a larger scale, and it is hoped will be permanently adhered to.

Keeping reform as the end exclusively in view the "public account system" is undoubtedly the most suitable means for keeping complete control over the labour of the individual and the satisfactory development of his bodily faculties. At the same time serious considerations are involved in its introduction. In addition to the great difficulty of profitably conducting, under a clumsy State construction, a manufacturing business which can only be managed by business men of proper ability, the important politico-economic question has to be considered: whether the State is justified in

entering, on at all a considerable scale, into direct competition in any branch of business or manufacture with free labour and with tax-paying citizens? Justice demands due regard for the outside world; and besides that, the State would not be less capable of fulfilling its duty in regard to preserving and protecting the tendency to reform, if the individual working power, measured by the effectively performed labour of the prisoner,—*i.e.* on the principle of payment by the piece of finished work,—were let out to contractors; and likewise if, more of course in the interest of reform than of material profit, as much variety as possible were introduced in trade and manufacture—at least if the most important branches of industry connected with outside life were practised. In a manufacturing business rationally conducted by the State, it is calculated in America that a working capital of about £200 is generally required per labourer or prisoner,—that is to say, for raw materials, finished and unfinished articles, machinery and general business capital, so that an institution with 500 hands would require £100,000.

In the New York State prisons, the “public account system” has been in force for several years, and the results are considered to be most satisfactory; the business capital invested for the purpose amounts to over £600,000. It is conducted by Superintendent Baker and a Commission drawing a salary of £3,000.

This Commission consists of three gentlemen, and bears the name of the "Prison Labour Reform Commission." In other States, such as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, the "public account system" has been adopted in place of the "central system." In Michigan, the proposal fell through in the Legislature, only for want of other suitable occupation. Another method very frequently applied in America is the Piece-price-plan, by which the State enjoys the full use of the effective labour of the prisoner; that is to say, the contractor has to pay for each piece of finished goods.

In the Elmira Institute, under the "public account system," the manufacture of hollow glass-ware, chairs and tobacco-pipes has been conducted on a large scale; and for this purpose about £22,500 has been invested as business capital; and that, too, in the first instance, in the interests of reform without regard to the financial results, although when the labour forces are fully employed the financial results are expected to be better than those of the contract system. However, the income derived from an independent manufacturing business, has of late years never amounted to more than 56 per cent. of the cost of maintenance, whereas in the last years of the contract system it approached 70 per cent. The cause of this unfavourable result is ascribed to a large extent to the fact that the means at hand for

carrying on trade were hardly sufficient, and that in consequence the individual working power could not be fully utilized. It was hoped that this unfortunate circumstance would be removed in time, and more favourable results were looked for in the future. Meanwhile, during the last two years, the condition of things in this respect has not only not improved, but, in consequence of new laws which partly prohibit and partly limit particular branches of industry, it has grown much worse. In fact, last year no receipts at all could be recorded as derived from productive labour—nay the account shows a considerable loss, which however must be ascribed only to the fact that deductions for the wear and tear of tools, machines, etc., which should have been made in previous years, were made up for this year, and that the market price of products last year showed a considerable falling-off as compared with the previous year.

Since the passing of the so-called Yates Bill, in 1888, the law entirely prohibits the utilizing of the labour of the inmates for the manufacture of shoes, boots, stoves and hollow glass-ware; whilst the 5 per cent. limitation clause, which was conceded in an amendment through the Fasset Bill of 1889, has the effect of practically hindering the resumption of the manufacture of chairs brushes and brooms. It limits the making of tobacco-pipes, for which there are tools

and machinery for 75 men, to 11 men. The same clause reduces the employment of prisoners in the manufacture of hardware, a branch of industry which was recently taken up, and was intended chiefly to replace the manufacture of hollow glass-ware, as being more profitable, and for which tools and machinery have been made for 250 men, to 120. The Yates Bill of 1888 actually threw 854 prisoners out of employment in August 1888, these being at that time employed in the following industries:—

Hardware	251
Brushes	190
Brooms	68
Tinware	31
Chairs	39
Tobacco pipes	32
Packing and paper boxes	25
Otherwise employed	218

In this way it has been found impossible, during the past year, to keep to the eight hours working-day in Elmira; and the Managers have consequently been in a position to apply the best methods more and more to the realization of the purposes of reform. Besides devoting the free time to physical exercises, and a more comprehensive extension of the trade school for technical instruction, it has been also applied to a new organization that has been called into existence, namely military training.

The number engaged in various employments at the end of last year, was as follows:—

Hardware	121
Pipes and other Swedish novelties in woodwork	54
Chairs and cabinet-making	36
Packing cases	5
Tinware	26
Pasteboard boxes	11

The division of time was as follows:—

Productive Work.—Five hours daily.

Technical Instruction.—Two hours daily, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Military Training.—Dress parade every day at 4 o'clock, and on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons two hours' drill.

Evening School.—Class exercises and instruction every evening from 6 to 9.30.

A departure from this arrangement of time is allowed in the case of about 200 of the 1,000 inmates, who are either engaged in domestic, agricultural and other services, or are undergoing special treatment in the class of physical culture.

The Institution at Elmira has suffered considerably through the confusion in the labour question in New York. In so far as, owing to the continual changes in all branches of manufacture, it is extremely difficult on all occasions to find at once suitable foremen, who satisfy all requirements, and above all things are

capable of teaching quickly and thoroughly the new hands who are constantly arriving—discharges and new arrivals are continually taking place; and further, as the customers, the purchasers of the finished articles, could not be regularly supplied, they have frequently formed other connections, and so ceased to take the products of Elmira.

It remains now to be seen what position the legislative body and the people in general will take up, and whether they will permanently remain contented with the small earnings of the prisoners in proportion to their cost of maintenance. In my opinion it would be just if matters could be so arranged that the prisoner earns by his labour a large part, if not the whole, of his maintenance; and this can be easily accomplished with ordinary economy, without any prejudice to the cause of reform.

Besides the chief branches of industry, a further number of prisoners find either temporary or regular employment exclusively in the service of the Institution—as bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, shoemakers, tailors, machinists, as well as in agricultural and domestic service, etc.

The General Regulations for the behaviour of prisoners in the workshops, are given in abstract as follows:—

- (1) Upon entering the shop at any time, you must

go directly to your place, and arrange your clothing ready for work; you must not leave your place under any circumstances, even if ordered by another, unless permitted by the overseer in charge.

(2) All permits must be obtained from the overseer by signalling with the hand held high above the head, and immediately after attracting his attention indicate your desire by a motion of the hand.

When you are in need of stock, tools or instructions, you must immediately notify the citizen foreman or inmate foreman by hissing slightly to attract his attention.

(3) Talking to any one is strictly forbidden, and those who have not previously obtained permission for necessary conversation cannot get the overseer's permission by the usual signal.

(4) Anyone who has the privilege of talking relative to work, and abuses such privilege, will be deemed untrustworthy, is subject to report, and may suffer the loss of confidence which is so essential to release.

(5) You must give close attention to the work, and not glance about, laugh, motion or make signs to other inmates, stare at visitors or speak to the overseer or other person louder than in an ordinary conversational tone; or in any other manner create disorder. You are not allowed to sit during working hours, while in the shop; and when out of work you must stand at your place in an erect position, and with arms folded.

(6) You are not permitted to cease working before quitting-time, even if you have completed your requirement, but must keep yourself constantly employed all the time during working hours, unless actually compelled to remain idle because of insufficient or improper stock, lack of tools or any other cause for which you are not to be blamed; and at such times you must immediately notify the overseer at the exact time of stopping and resuming work; to the end that he may make proper allowance, which will be credited to you on your task.

(7) When marching in double or single file you must keep about two and a half feet in the rear of the man preceding you; and when marching by fours, each set must keep about six feet behind the preceding set. Third grade men will, at all times, when marching in the yard, maintain single file and the lock-step, and their faces turned at an angle of forty-five degrees from the front, and toward the side on which the overseer is walking. All inmates must go up and down stairs in single order.

(8) It is not permitted to lend, borrow or trade tools, stock or appliances with another inmate, without the knowledge and consent of the foreman having charge of the same. Stock or tools must not be wasted, and the latter must be carefully kept in their proper place and in good condition, as everyone will be held responsible for them, and will be required to

make good by an amount of overwork equivalent in value to any loss through wilful damage or culpable carelessness.

(9) A fellow-inmate's place must not be encroached upon. In case of finding the room insufficient, complaint is to be made to the foreman, and he will adjust the matter if there be real cause for the complaint.

(10) Another inmate must not be assisted to perform his task, by doing work for him, or in any way or manner aiding him to complete his requirement; neither is it allowable to receive assistance from another inmate.

(11), (12), (13).

(14) The overseer will give instruction as to the time and place for washing up, and at the signal it is required to move to and from the sinks or washing bench promptly and quietly. Upon returning to the place, work must be resumed immediately, and each prisoner must be constantly employed until the second general whistle has blown, when the proper clothing, preparatory to marching to the hall, must be put on.

(15).

(16) No inmate is permitted to raise or lower a window except when ordered to do so by the overseer.

(17) It is not permitted to step upon overseer's platform, or to hold an extended conversation with him; but merely to state briefly the complaints or requests, and to return to work,

(18) Any inmate not having permission, who is found to have upon his person, or in his possession, or who is shown to have prepared for or given to another inmate, a knife or other dangerous weapon, will be reported and marked at least, and may also suffer deprivation, degradation or other correction.

(19) It is not allowed to give or receive any article whatever, as a gift to or from any officer, employee, citizen or fellow inmate, no matter of how trifling a value it may seem, without the knowledge and consent of the General Superintendent or principal keeper.

(20) When in doubt about the propriety of an action, adopt David Crockett's rule: "First find you are right, then go ahead."

From the General Labour Requirements, there may be mentioned :—

(1).

(2) Upon commencing work, each one has to apply himself diligently, and to pay close attention to everything shown by instructor or foreman,

(3) Each one is expected to do the work in a thorough and workman-like manner, and to work carefully, avoiding damage to stock or tools, as any loss or damage, if such result through negligence or carelessness on the part of the man, will be charged to him, and he may also lose demeanour marks for the same.

(4).

(5) By complying voluntarily with the requirements laid down in this book, full marking will be secured. By neglecting to do so the labour will become compulsory, in which case full marking cannot be secured, even if afterwards worked up to the requirements, for the effort would fall under the head of "forced labour," which does not entitle to full credit.

(6) A strict credit and debit account of work done by every one is kept, and balanced at the end of each month.

(7) Overwork will be credited. In case of falling short of the requirements from any cause the whole of the shortage must be made good before a credit can be claimed. If through indifference, obstinacy or carelessness a debit is run up, this debit must be made up or cancelled by the Managers before "parole" can be granted.

(8) At any time, when employed in a non-tasked capacity or department, the duties must be performed industriously and faithfully, and the overseer must be satisfied as to the quality and quantity of the production in order to gain "perfect" marking for labour.

Besides these there are special rules applying to the iron foundry, and the manufacture of hollow glass-ware, shoes, brooms, brushes, etc.

TECHNICAL TRAINING OF THE PRISONERS.

WHEN it is considered that of the individuals sentenced to Elmira, at least 75 per cent., or perhaps even 90 per cent., have actually learnt no trade, or have not learnt it in a way to ensure their finding a regular and sufficient livelihood; and that in round numbers 94 per cent. of all crimes are committed against property; it is not to be wondered at that, from the very first special care and attention have been given to this circumstance in Elmira, and that more and more attention is continually being devoted to it. We can only speak of a radical improvement in the individual, when not only the mental and moral but also the physical nature has been trained and improved; when indolence and lack of skill have been banished from the body; and when, thanks to its increased suppleness, the habit of regular activity has been established, and if possible, a definite manual occupation or knowledge of a trade to serve as an honest means of support in public life has been taught. To this, and especially to the last mentioned point, the efforts of the Elmira Institution are directed. When it is realized that by far the greater part of all

crimes committed, not only in America but also amongst ourselves, originate directly or indirectly in material causes; and that these circumstances again find their origin to a considerable degree in the lack of capacity for obtaining the necessaries of life in an honourable way; it is evident that nothing can be more to the purpose and more essential than instruction and training in a particular branch of labour, in order to place the individual after his discharge in a position to be able to secure with less difficulty the satisfaction of the necessary wants of life. Every kind of work in prisons or in reformatories should be directed to this end, so that the prisoner may be sure of a means of livelihood after his discharge; for only when this is realized, and mental and moral culture have been successfully applied, is there a certain guarantee that for the future an honest citizen has been created, who will be a protection instead of a danger to society. To possess moral principles is all very well, but as soon as want and distress knock at the door, as soon as the pangs of hunger begin to be felt, then the temptation to overstep the paths of law and right, almost unconsciously one may say, presses hard on our weak human nature, especially in a youthful person in the full vigour of life, whose impulses, inclinations, desires and needs instinctively recognize and understand only the passing moment—the present day, and not the morrow. The noblest characters, the

first and most deeply rooted natures in this way become the mere play-balls of fate, like the solitary adventurer in his skiff on the open sea. In accepting any real theory of reform, then, the first and indispensable condition is that care should be taken, at least in certain relations, for the future of the individual—a problem which, when rightly understood, is less difficult than it appears, and will be crowned with astounding results; in fact, by a general improvement throughout the whole of society. The individual capable of improvement, and above all one who judging from his age has a long future before him, ought not to lose the charm of existence, the striving after a definite goal; and this particularly happens when the prisoner in a long term of imprisonment sees no opportunity of making use of the occupation imposed on him, after his release from prison, or when it appears to him to be beneath his dignity and repulsive. When this is the case, outward compliance can only be effected by the use of force; freedom of thought and action, with the consciousness of a purpose in life, no longer exist when absolutely normal requirements are not satisfied, or when such irregularity has already taken root; the bodily functions no longer correspond to those of the mind—the body is driven forwards by the power of the machine, and without thought or sense fulfils its functions in this mechanical arrangement, like the dead tooth of a living wheel; whilst

thoughts and feelings rise up in the mind or else their already existing forms take deeper root, in which one fails to find any good and sound qualities. Hypocrisy, deceit, dissimulation, a mania for obtaining advantage by long circuitous means—in short, lying and deceit in the widest sense of the words, are the most common and prevailing evils. It is these qualities that are the greatest foes of society, the worst and most dangerous that can be possessed by a man; yet it is these which are systematically, though perhaps unconsciously, nourished and cultivated, instead of our endeavouring, in accordance with the true conception of reform, to eradicate them by all available scientific means. Body, mind and soul must at all times be so linked together that no thought, no feeling, can arise without knowledge of the body, and that the latter should yield itself to no acts which are not simultaneously accompanied or preceded by a mental or moral activity. Consequently, in connection with the department of education and culture, a schooling and moralizing of the body is an indispensable condition of a reform system that aims at being really efficacious. The work may be instructive or productive, or both at the same time, but it must be capable of producing reform, and must keep in view the future of the individual.

Although the question of a physical training has, from the beginning, received special attention in

Elmira, it was not until the year 1884, after the contract system had been entirely abandoned by the legislature, that the initial step was first taken in the founding of a well-organized department of technical instruction. In the previous year the experiment had been tried in a summer course of a technical art school under the direction of a professional artist. The results obtained and the interest shown by the scholars were so encouraging that in 1885 the building and arrangement of places for instruction in various branches of trade was proceeded with. At the beginning of 1886 this trade school was opened with six experimental classes, viz. : for blacksmiths, bricklayers, polishers, stonecutters, carpenters and plasterers, with over 800 prisoners as apprentices. The instruction took place at first on Mondays and Thursdays, and the teachers and instructors were, with one exception only, drawn from the outside world. Since then the development and expansion of the trade school has progressed so rapidly that last year 1,006 prisoners received instruction and training in 25 different branches of trades and industries, and that, too, by properly qualified professional men, generally possessing a practice of their own in public life. Special weight is laid upon instruction in drawing in all classes, the object of which is to initiate the pupil in the advantages of drawing in connection with his work, and to advance him so far that he may be able

at once to read, understand, and eventually realize in his work any drawing of the subject on which he is engaged. For instance, the bricklayer should not only learn how to lay one brick on another, but he should know before he begins his work what is to be produced from the whole—that is to say, he should work according to a well-elaborated plan, instead of proceeding blindly and without aim and end. A similar necessity is felt in many other trades.

Amongst the 25 trades there exist classes for machinists, blacksmiths, stonecutters, carpenters, wood-turners, carvers, polishers, varnishers, plasterers, bricklayers, decorators, plumbers, metal-workers, bookbinders, printers, tailors, shoemakers, bakers, barbers, etc. During last year, in consequence of the lack of regular productive work, four hours were daily devoted to the trade school, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays when military exercises took place. Technical and drawing instruction is at the same time a great and valuable contribution to the general education and culture of a man. It is worthy of remark that before the tribunal sittings, last October, many who were recommended for conditional discharge, on being asked what they would do to maintain themselves on their discharge, replied in a tone which showed no doubt or hesitation as to their future success : “ Why ! by following the trade, or working in the profession, which I have learnt here.”

In one of the latest audiences of the General Superintendent, a prisoner, nineteen years of age, confessed with tears in his eyes that he had misrepresented himself on being brought to the Institution. He stated that he had already served in both the Westboro' Reformatory School, and in the Charlestown (Massachusetts) State Prison, and most earnestly added: "If I had been taught a trade, either in my first or second imprisonment, I should never have known a third conviction for crime."

It may further be remarked that, of late years, almost the whole of the work, the improvements and additions, both in and around the Institution, buildings, etc., have been exclusively carried out by the pupils of the Technical School.

Up till now the department of Technical Instruction has devoted itself to instruction alone; at the same time strenuous efforts have already been long made, with the express purpose of uniting therewith actual production and material utility, in order to give each individual, as far as possible, technical practice and accuracy, and to better guarantee their advantageous application in public life after liberation.

INTRODUCTION OF A SELF-SUPPORTING SYSTEM AMONGST THE PRISONERS.

THE introduction of a system of self-support amongst the prisoners is the outcome of a plan which was conceived in Elmira some years since, and to the realization of which considerable energy has been devoted in recent years. According to this plan, the prisoner is to receive, for work done, an actual wage, according to an established scale ; out of this he has to pay for all that the Institution supplies him with, such as board, lodging, clothing, etc., and even medical treatment ; the rest of the wages earned then remains the property of the individual. Whether this settling of wages is to take place weekly with the prisoner, and the amount of his credit paid over to him at once, or whether payment in cash is to be held over until the prisoner is discharged from the Institution, has not yet been definitely expressed in the proposals. Had it not been that the regular occupation and material utilization of the prisoners experienced during the last few years such complete revolution and continual changes, there is no doubt that a system

of self-support amongst the prisoners would have already been introduced. The plan was originally conceived chiefly in regard to productive labour, and calculated for the ordinary branches of industry. But, on account of the difficulties in regular work already mentioned, the principal attention is at present given to the trade school. There is besides not the least prospect at present of these legal obstacles being either soon, or at any time, removed. Even if in a favourable moment a law is passed by the Legislature for this purpose, it is only too often soon after, perhaps in a few months, buried by the busy gravedigger, until it is once more brought to light by the caprice of a majority. The popular representatives of the inhabitants of the New World are agitation-loving, ambitious, and contentious politicians. Whether in Elmira, in the trade school, that is to say, when the trades are placed upon a productive basis, or in regular labour, or in both departments, the self-support plan will be introduced, depends largely upon the position which the legislative body will take in the near future in relation to the employment of prisoners. However, if Brockway's ideals should ever be realized, and the trade school fulfil the purposes of production as well as of instruction, and many more departments of industry and professions be included, and all pupils be engaged in it for the whole working day—and that, too, on a self-supporting basis—it is impossible to

conceive any arrangement of a system of reform which could be taken up with greater pleasure, which would bear such fruit and bring such blessings, which would be so conscious of a purpose and a goal, and be so calculated to fill up with unfailing promptitude an immeasurable gap in sociology in general and penology in particular.

It is evident that a two, instead of a one, years' technical schooling allows of decidedly better results being attained, and that a course extending over only one year has in many cases a very imperfect effect upon the individual, so far at least as technical education is concerned. Even in Elmira the authorities are thoroughly persuaded of these facts, and would long ago have placed the technical school on a self-supporting basis; were it not that in many cases a large part of the twelve months' minimum period of imprisonment is used up before the prisoner has so far progressed with his particular trade, as to be able to use tools and materials without loss to the Institution, and to be able to work for himself. At the same time there is every reason for believing that, with the energy and vigour with which problems are usually attacked in Elmira, a way will sooner or later be found which will bring these all-important considerations to a satisfactory solution.

In the general introduction of all the more important professions and trades, commonly practised in public

life, for the purpose of providing regular productive occupation and of introducing the greatest possible variety, there is further this great politico-economic advantage, that thereby no one trade suffers any competition worth mentioning. Indeed society is surely in duty bound to bear a certain amount of competition from those who are kept in prison ; for they belong to society, and if they were free and orderly citizens, instead of prisoners, they would pursue this or that branch of industry, and consequently be natural competitors in the daily struggle for bread.

The object of the self-supporting system is, in the first place, that each individual during his imprisonment may show and develop his disposition and qualifications in such a way that no doubt remains as to his capability to maintain himself in free life. If the individual does not earn his own maintenance in the Institution, there is less reason for assuming that he can and will earn his living when free in an honourable way ; and it is necessary to continue the schooling and practical training, in combination with the other usual means for developing power of will, until the end which is kept in view is reached, and a satisfactory capacity for work has been absolutely formed. The individual is also accustomed to practise reasonable economy ; he knows how much he is obliged to work in order to be able to obtain a comfortable maintenance, and soon finds out that

surplus earnings are welcome as a means of increasing comfort, or when laid by can become a still more welcome reserve for certain unforeseen occasions. Moreover, in the interest of the State, such an industrial arrangement ensures that the prisoner, if regularly employed, earns, if not all, at any rate a certain share of the total cost which his imprisonment entails upon the State.

EXPERIMENTS IN PHYSICAL CULTURE.

JUST as great stress is laid in Elmira on the sanatory condition and the proportional physical development of the subject, so also men suffering notoriously from physical, and consequently from mental, incapacity are continually subjected to special experiments in physical culture. In the summer of 1886 Brockway arranged that experiments in physical culture should be made for the first time with a class of 12, composed of men who, in the course of one to two years spent in the Institution, had made little or no progress in the department of education ; and who appeared completely incapable of continuous mental application, although they could not be regarded as mentally unsound or imbecile.

The object which was held in view in the formation of such a class was to ascertain as far as possible whether special physical treatment, such as frequent bathing, rubbing the body, and daily gymnastic exercises under a competent instructor, would not result at least in a partial awakening and arousing of the sluggish, sleeping powers of the mind. The class

was from the first an entirely new experiment, and no anticipation as to the results to be attained were formed, and still less was it supposed that a process of physical culture would change a blockhead into an intelligent and industrious scholar, which, according to the ordinary view, would require mental rather than muscular development.

The experiments took place under special direction of the physician. The class was formed on June 6th, 1886, of 10 white and 2 coloured men; the average age of them was 22·9 years, varying from 19 to 29 years of age; 10 men were born in the United States, 1 in Canada, and 1 in Ireland.

The crimes committed were: for bodily injury in the first grade in 1, for burglary in the third grade in 5, for high-arson in the first grade in 1, for high-arson in the second grade in 3, for rape in 1, and attempted rape in 1 case. It may be mentioned that offences of an unintelligent individual against property are, as a rule, of little importance, and their execution does not require much genius. But when their offences are committed against the person they are generally of the worst and most brutal kind; then the uncontrollable passions and hideous criminal elements of the instinctive animal nature show themselves in their fullest and most terrible form.

The maximum term of punishment for the 12

cases amounted to 85 years according to law, or an average of $7\frac{1}{2}$ years—5 years and 20 years respectively being the extremes.

Of the 12 men there were, before entering the Reformatory : 3 temperate, 1 confirmed drunkard, and 1 periodical drunkard ; whilst 7 took beer whenever they had the means or it was paid for by friends. This statement is based upon the best possible information that could be obtained.

Not one of them knew a trade, or had been in permanent employment ; but all had maintained themselves most miserably when outside gaol, as common labourers, vagabonds or idlers. The surroundings of most of them had been equally bad ; in many cases the parents were intemperate, whilst the mother of one was insane, and of another epileptic.

With regard to moral principles, the whole class, taking the scale of three, would most properly be ranged as zero and the susceptibility to moral impression as 0.008.

The physiognomy of many represented features which clearly indicated criminal tendencies, whilst in 2 cases forehead and head in profile nearly resembled the type of an idiot. In short, there was no face amongst them which did not express mental and moral degeneration.

Instead of the prison-diet the men received special food ; the ration for each man was weighed separately,

so that one received exactly the same quantity and quality as the other.

Instead of taking their meals in their respective cells, they were taken under the special supervision of an officer at a reserved table in the dining-hall of the first grade.

The bill of fare for one week, for instance, was as follows :—

BREAKFAST.

Cocoa or coffee	1 pint
Bread	8 oz.
Butter	$\frac{1}{2}$ "

DINNER.

<i>Sunday :</i>	Meat, free of bones (roast pork, beef or mutton)	5 oz.
	Vegetables	9 "
	Bread	3 "
<i>Monday :</i>	Meat, free of bones (boiled ham or salted pork)	5 oz.
	Vegetables	16 "
	Bread	3 "
<i>Tuesday :</i>	Meat, free of bones (boiled beef or mutton)	5 oz.
	Vegetables	9 "
	Dumplings	5 "
<i>Wednesday :</i>	Meat, free of bones (meat-pie)	3 "
	Pie	4 "
	Vegetables	12 "

<i>Thursday</i> :	Meat, free of bones (boiled-ham or salted pork)	. . . .	5 oz.
	Vegetables	. . . .	16 ,,
	Dumplings	. . . .	4 ,,
<i>Friday</i> :	Fish (fried or boiled)	. . . .	10 ,,
	Vegetables	. . . .	9 ,,
	Bread	. . . .	4 ,,
<i>Saturday</i> :	Meat, free of bones (Irish stew)		3 ,,
	Stew	. . . .	16 ,,
	Bread	. . . .	6 ,,

SUPPER.

Tea, cocoa or milk	. . . .	1 pint
Bread	. . . .	8 oz.
Butter	. . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$,,

The meals were taken at 6 a.m., noon and 5 p.m.

Of the standard of culture of the men an idea can be formed from the following facts: 1 could neither read nor write; 1 could read and write with great difficulty; 4 understood the principles of arithmetic sufficiently to work a problem in long division, but were never able to arrive at a proper result; whilst the attainments of the other 6 men were not beyond simple division.

At 8 a.m. the men were taken into the schoolroom, where the school secretary personally took charge of them. After the school, at 9.30 a.m., there was bathing. No rule was observed at first as to how often a man could bathe; but the effect was carefully

noted in each particular case, and it was decided from that how often the individual was to be taken to the bathing-place. It was begun with one bath daily ; but when it was found to be too enervating for the subject one day was sometimes omitted until finally each regularly received three baths weekly, viz., two tubs and one Turkish bath, alternately with one tub and two Turkish baths. In the tub bath the temperature of the water was about 100° Fahrenheit. The subject was left in the bath for at least fifteen minutes to rub and soap his body thoroughly, then he came under a hot and cold water douche bath after which he received a proper massage-treatment : muscles and joints were strongly kneaded and pinched, and then the body rubbed with a rough towel in order to remove all dirt and superfluous matter from the body and the skin. All these bathing and other operations were executed by a professional masseur, whom the Institution was fortunately able to engage during the time.

In the Turkish bath the temperature of the room was 115° Fahrenheit. A stage, six feet off the floor, was erected, provided with seats where the men had to place themselves ; each one had at his side a pail, with cold water and a sponge, in order to wash and cool his face as often as it pleased him. Here they had to perspire for about twenty minutes, after which they were soaped and subjected to the same

douche and massage operation as in the tub bath. After the bath the men were locked up in their cells, and there they generally wrapped themselves in their sheets and lay down on the bed until dinner.

After dinner the men were drilled for two hours in bodily exercises ; they had not, however, to perform labour or any other kind of duty.

As it was anticipated, in consequence of the enforced bodily exertions and a ration of food strictly provided and sufficient for a normal condition, after one month's experiments the weights of the bodies of the respective men showed a loss.

After five months however—that is to say at the end of the experimental period—this loss was more than regained (see Tables pp. 139, 140).

The average weight of the 11 men under consideration amounted, on June 5th, to 133·13 lbs., and on July 1st to 129·34 lbs., or a loss of 3·79 lbs. on the average— $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and 9lbs. being the lowest and highest loss, while 2 men actually showed an increased weight of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb. respectively.

In the school, personally conducted by the school secretary, with the utmost care, the course was commenced with exercises in writing and reading and daily exercises in mental arithmetic with problems suited to their individual abilities. After a comparatively short time an increase in mental activity was observed, and the working of their minds required less

At the formation of the class on June 5th, the subjects showed:—

No.	1215	1311	1319	1375	1490	1555	1691	1835	1898	2005	2086	2135.
4. The weight of the body undressed, lbs.	135	107	141½	132½	145	117½	105	150	144	147	136½	140
5. The height barefoot	5'1½"	5'4½"	5'4½"	5'4½"	5'4½"	5'1"	5'3¼"	5'7½"	5'5¼"	5'4½"	5'4"	5'8½"
6. Circumference of the chest.	33"	30"	32½"	32"	36"	31"	31½"	33½"	33"	33½"	33"	34"
7. Enforced expiration	31"	29½"	32"	31"	34"	30½"	30¼"	32½"	32½"	32"	31½"	32½"
8. Enforced respiration	34"	32"	36½"	34"	37½"	33½"	33"	36"	35"	35"	34"	36"
10, 11. According to the proportional scale of the weight and height of a human body—as recognized by the Mutual Life Insurance Co., in New York there was an over or under weight, lbs.	12½	30	4½	5½	7½	2½	26	3½	3.	9½	1½	1½
	over	under	over	under	over	under	under	over	over	over	over	under

On July 1st, the condition of the respective bodies showed:—

No.	1215	1311	1319	1375	1460	1555	1691	1895	1898	2005	2096	2135
4. The weight of the body, undressed, lbs. . . .	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	107 $\frac{1}{2}$	137 $\frac{1}{2}$	128	139	114 $\frac{3}{4}$	106 $\frac{3}{4}$	145 $\frac{3}{4}$	139	138	Was in hospital, owing to erysipelas.	132
6. Circumference of the chest.	33"	30"	33 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	32 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	37"	31 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	31 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	34 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	33 $\frac{1}{2}$ "		35"
7. Enforced breathing	31"	29 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	32"	31"	34"	30 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	30"	32 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	32 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	32"		32 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
8. Enforced respiration	35 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	32"	36 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	34"	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	34"	33"	36 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	37"	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ "		36 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
10, 11. Over or under weight according to the proportional scale, as above, lbs.	12	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	$\frac{1}{2}$		19 $\frac{1}{2}$
	over	under	nil	under	over	under	under	under	under	over		under

enforcement than at the beginning. In mental arithmetic however they made the best progress, and were soon able to work exercises with three or four single numbers comparatively quickly and easily. Arithmetic was begun in the most elementary stage, and continued with the greatest care and attention, so that every branch of the subject was fully understood.

Experience having shown that the greatest weakness of the prisoners in the school is conspicuous in arithmetic, it was taken up with special care in this culture class. It is a characteristic fact that the criminal classes generally distinguish themselves by a remarkable ignorance of the science of numbers.

The ignorance of some of these men went so far that they were unable to say in which country or state they were living. Indeed, men like these seem simply to exist, without purpose and aim, in a confined and low animal sphere.

At the bodily exercises the men were at the beginning heavy, clumsy masses ; and one may easily understand what amount of patience and perseverance it required to impart to them precise bodily movements. At first they had to learn to understand an order, and then to execute it with deliberation. Then it was begun with slow step, with placing of the right and left foot, exactly as it is required from recruits, until they were able to march singly and together and keep proper time. Quite in the same way other bodily

movements were proceeded with. After a few weeks hand weights were added to the bodily exercises ; at first they were of 3 lbs. each, being gradually replaced by heavier ones, until the maximum weight of 8 lbs. was reached. "It gave a most pleasant impression," says the official report, "to watch on a hot summer afternoon the exercises of these men, the accuracy and quickness of their movements. The sweat-bathed forehead and face which proved their actual exertions, while the resolute look, the expression of the countenance of each clearly showed the determination by all means to endure it to the utmost and persevere to the end" (see Table, p. 143).

Since June 5th, the weight of the men had increased 16.75 lbs., or relatively per head 1.395 lb. In fact, the weight of 8 men had increased, and that of 4 decreased. All superfluous matter was removed from the body, and the functions of all organisms were brought to their normal active condition. The general result obtained by the physical training and culture with regard to improved mental activity was indeed surprising. During the five months preceding the experiments the standard of the school examinations of the 12 men amounted on the average to 45.25 per cent. This average increased during the five operation-months to 74.16 per cent. However, the actual measure of the success obtained cannot be proved mathematically, nor approximately estimated at

The experiments were continued for five months; on November 6th, the physical investigation resulted as follows:—

No.	1215	1311	1319	1375	1460	1555	1691	1835	1838	2005	2096	2135
4. Weight, undressed, lbs. . .	127	115	149½	135	152	121	112	152	153	130½	133	138
6. Chest circumference	32"	31"	34"	32"	35"	31½"	32"	33"	35"	32"	32"	34"
7. Enforced breathing	31"	30"	33"	31"	32"	30"	31"	31½"	33"	31"	31"	31"
8. Enforced respiration. . . .	34½"	31"	38"	35"	38"	34"	34"	36"	37½"	35"	35½"	36½"
10, 11. Over or under weight, according to the proportional scale as above, lbs. . . .	5½	22½	12	2½	4½	1	19½	6½	12	7½	2	13½
	over	under	over	under	over	over	under	over	over	under	under	under

all. One must form a judgment from the nature of the experiments, and it appears quite sufficient to add, that the men were completely reformed physically, and consequently also mentally and morally. They all exerted themselves to their utmost in the school in making the best possible progress, and even worked diligently in their cells in preparation for the school. "Only those," states the official report, "who had an opportunity of coming daily into close contact with the men are able to give a right judgment of the change, and of their increased mental activity."

Encouraged by these experimental trials in 1886, further culture classes have since then been formed and now belong to the regular programme of the Institution. Bathing arrangements, etc., have been so far extended that all prisoners whose physical condition made it appear desirable can be subjected to a special process of treatment. A training officer expressly appointed for this purpose, under special supervision of the physician of the establishment, has the management of these individuals. A special building, 140 feet by 80, has been erected during last year, with an exercising hall 100 feet by 80. Space and bathing arrangements are calculated for 200 persons. At the end of last year 31 men were under special treatment in the Physical Culture Class.

MILITARY TRAINING OF THE PRISONERS.

WHEN, in 1888, all the prisoners were thrown out of work through the Yates Bill, the idea was conceived, for want of any other means of employment more profitable from a material point of view, of a military organization, in order to provide the individual with a substitute for labour by means of the beneficial physical exercises involved in military training. A duly qualified military instructor, to act as commander, was forthwith engaged, and 60 of the most suitable men were selected from the first grade, and were instructed as quickly as possible in the first principles of military movements. These 60 men were designed for officers and non-commissioned officers, and in less than a month a regiment of eight companies was formed. For this military course Upton's System, which has been generally introduced into the army of the United States for the last twenty years, was adopted. It began with deportment and marching in file, followed by marching in line, company, wheelings, and general evolutions. Finally, the men received arms, and the handling of the bayonet and gun, including charging and discharging, was imparted

with military accuracy. During the time of want of work five to eight hours were daily devoted to exercises, when the weather permitted in the open air, otherwise in the foundry building, which, having a level floor of 6,000 square feet, makes an exercise hall such that a better can hardly be found in the United States. This foundry building was soon christened the "Armoury;" and it is here that the military orders are given out every morning. The afternoons were generally devoted to exercises in the formation of battalions. After the afternoon service at 4 o'clock there was always dress parade. Instead of real guns the men have imitation wood guns, made in the trade school after the Springfield model, mounted with iron, polished, weighing from 6 to 8 lbs. each, and serving every purpose that was required of them.

Out of the original 8 companies, 10 were subsequently formed, owing to the increase of prisoners. These included last year 803 men. There were attached to the regiment 36 officers of the field, staff, and line—namely, 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 1 adjutant, 1 bandmaster, with 1 captain and 2 lieutenants for each company; further, 35 non-commissioned officers: 1 sergeant-major, 1 drum-major, 1 colour-bearer (the regiment also boasts a standard), 1 commander of the right and left flanks, and 3 non-commissioned officers for each company. The

officers carry long steel swords, and the differences of rank are indicated by gold and silver stripes on the shoulder. The non-commissioned officers wear their stripes on their coat-sleeves.

The band of the regiment also deserves special notice ; like the officers and non-commissioned officers it is exclusively composed of prisoners specially trained for the purpose. It began with a dozen drums, then fifes were added, and, finally, metal instruments, until a complete band of music, 40 men strong, was formed, which, besides being employed for military service, is also sometimes engaged on Sundays or other occasions to give a concert to the prisoners, in which the pieces are played according to a selected programme.

The arrangement of a credit mark for good conduct is also employed in connection with the military service, just as in the departments of school and labour. The highest number of credit marks which can be obtained for faithful service by a prisoner in a month is three. For offences against discipline there are the following regulations:—There are three classes of offences ; in the first class one or more credit marks are lost according to circumstances, and as the General Superintendent thinks fit ; such degradation is made known when the general orders are given out. In cases in which a doubt exists as to the guilt of the accused a court-martial is held, which

is formed out of the officers of the regiment. In the case of offences pertaining to the second class a third part of a mark is lost, and in those of the third class a sixth.

During last year the whole of the prisoners not otherwise employed were daily drilled morning and afternoon, whilst regular exercises took place every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon; this arrangement will be adhered to in the future till further orders. Once in the month a special exercise competition between the different companies is held, and the best company receives a mark of distinction in the form of ribbons of honour, which are worn by the officers of the company until the next monthly competition.

For the officers a weekly instruction class is held under Colonel Bryan, in which military strategy and tactics are taught.

THE RESULTS OF THE REFORM SYSTEM

I WILL now give, at least as far as the existing official statistical material permits, the results arrived at in the prisoners under the Elmira Reform System.

STATISTICS OF THE INMATES SINCE THE OPENING OF THE REFORMATORY TILL SEP- TEMBER 30TH, 1889.

GENERAL STATISTICS.

TOTAL NUMBER RECEIVED.		
Definites	353	
Indefinites	3,637	
	—	3,990
Total number discharged	3,074	
Indefinites returned from parole and now in custody	28	
	—	3,046
Actual count, September 30th, 1889	944	<u><u> </u></u>

DEFINITES.

Of the definites received there were:—

Directly sentenced by State Courts	80	
" " " the United State Courts	86	
Transferred from other prisons	187	
	—	353

Of the total number of definites discharged there were :—

Discharged by expiration of sentence	293
Transferred to Criminal Insane Asylum	3
Pardoned by the Governor	2
Escaped, not yet retaken	2
Committed suicide	1
Died while incarcerated	1
Re-transferred to State Prison	15
	— 317

INDEFINITE.

Of the whole number received there were :—

Sentenced by State Courts	3,635
„ „ U. S. „	2
	— 3,637

Of the whole number of indefinites discharged there were :—

Absolutely released without parole	14
Paroled	2,295
Released from the Reformatory by expiration of the maximum term	139
Released from Auburn State Prison by expiration of maximum term	80
Released by expiration of maximum term while escaped	11
Released from Clinton State Prison by expiration of maximum term	5
Released from the Insane Asylum by expiration of maximum term	6
Released from the Insane Asylum by special order of Managers and placed in the care of relatives	10
Carried forward	— 2,560

Brought forward	2,560
Released from State Prison by special order of Managers	5
Released by habeas corpus	1
Pardoned by the Governor	8
" " " President	1
" from State Prison	2
Killed by falling elevator	1
" " an inmate	1
" " accident	1
Committed suicide while incarcerated	3
Died in Auburn Prison	6
" " Reformatory from natural causes	39
" at Insane Asylum	1
" while escaped	1
Escaped, not yet retaken	6
Transferred to Criminal Insane Asylum, and now there remaining	10
Transferred to Auburn State Prison, and now there remaining	25
Transferred to Clinton State Prison, and now there remaining	77
Sentence superseded	5
Returned to place of conviction, warrants untenable	4
	— 2,757

INDEFINITES PAROLED.

Of the whole number paroled there were :—

Sent out of the State and therefore absolutely released at date of parole	151
Correspondence and conduct maintained for six months and more, and then absolutely released from further liability to sentence here	1,389
Carried forward	— 1,540

Brought forward . . .	1,540
Correspondence and conduct now maintained, the period of parole not having expired . . .	111
Correspondence ceased, thus failing to fulfil obligations, and lost sight of . . .	174
Returned to Reformatory by arrest . . .	130
" " " voluntarily . . .	20
Died	9
Sent to other prisons while on parole . . .	45
Discharged by expiration of maximum term . . .	266
	— 2,295

Of those returned to the Reformatory there were:—

Re-paroled	77
Transferred to Auburn State Prison (maximum term having since expired)	10
Transferred to State Prison, and thence par- doned	1
Transferred to Criminal Insane Asylum and now remaining there	1
Transferred to Clinton State Prison, and now remaining there	15
Discharged from Reformatory by expiration of maximum term	14
Remaining at Reformatory	27
Transferred to Auburn State Prison and still remaining there	3
Died at Reformatory	1
Discharged by special order of Managers . . .	1
	— 150

Of those paroled the second time there were:—

Sent out of the State, and therefore abso- lutely released at date of parole	4
Carried forward	— 4

Brought Forward	4	
Correspondence and conduct maintained for six months, and then absolutely released from further liability to sentence	24	
Correspondence and conduct now maintained, the period of parole not having expired	2	
Sentence superseded	1	
Correspondence ceased, thus failing to fulfil obligations, and lost sight of	4	
Died	2	
Discharged by expiration of maximum sentence	25	
Returned to Reformatory by arrest	13	
" " " voluntarily	2	
		77

Of those returned the second time there were :—

Re-paroled	8	
Discharged by special order of Managers	2	
Transferred to State Prison (maximum term since expired)	1	
Remaining at Reformatory	1	
Transferred to Auburn State Prison, and there remaining	1	
Transferred to Clinton State Prison, and there remaining	2	
		15

Of those paroled the third time :—

Correspondence and conduct maintained for six months, then absolutely released from further liability to sentence	1	
Correspondence ceased, thus failing to fulfil obligations, and lost sight of	1	
Carried forward		2

Brought forward	2	
Discharged by expiration of maximum sentence	3	
Returned to Reformatory by arrest	3	
	<u> </u>	8.
Of those returned to the Reformatory the third time there were :—		
Discharged by special order of the Managers	1	
„ „ expiration of maximum term while in the Reformatory	2	
	<u> </u>	3
		<u> </u>

SUMMARY.

Of the total number paroled there were :—

Absolutely released, page 151	151	
Ditto, ditto, page 151	1,389	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	4	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	24	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	<u> </u>	1,569
On parole, not yet absolutely released, page 152	111	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	174	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	2	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	4	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	<u> </u>	292
Returned to Reformatory and now in custody, page 152	27	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	<u> </u>	28
Discharged by expiration of maximum term, page 152	266	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	14	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	25	
Ditto, ditto, page 154	3	
Ditto, ditto, page 154	2	
	<u> </u>	310
Carried forward		<u>2,199</u>

Brought forward	2,199	
Discharged from the Reformatory by special order of the Managers, page 152	1	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	2	
Ditto, ditto, page 154	1	
	—	4
Transferred to Auburn State Prison (maximum term since expired), page 152	10	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	1	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	—	12
Sentence superseded, page 151	45	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	—	46
Died, page 151	9	
Ditto, page 151	1	
Ditto, page 151	2	
	—	12
Transferred to Auburn State Prison, and there remaining, page 152	3	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	—	4
Transferred to Clinton State Prison, and there remaining, page 152	15	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	2	
	—	17
Transferred to Criminal Insane Asylum, and there remaining, page 152	1	
		<u>2,295</u>

STATEMENT SHOWING RATIO OF PROBABLE REFORMATION.

Whole number paroled (of these 77 were paroled twice and 8 three times), page 152	<u>2,295</u>
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Of these the whole number who served well, and earned their absolute release, is, page 151	1,389	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	24	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	<u>1,414</u>	
Serving well on parole now, page 152	111	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	2	
	<u>113</u>	
While on parole, lost sight of, page 152	174	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	4	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
	<u>179</u>	
*One half of those		89
Discharged by maximum expiration, page 152	266	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	10	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	1	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	14	
Ditto, ditto, page 152	1	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	25	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	2	
Ditto, ditto, page 153	1	
Ditto, ditto, page 154	3	
Ditto, ditto, page 154	1	
Ditto, ditto, page 154	2	
	<u>326</u>	
*One half of those		163
Absolutely released because paroled out of the State, correspondence and conduct maintained for six months or more		101
Carried forward		<u>1,880</u>

* See footnote on p. 157.

Brought forward	. 1,880	
Sent out of the State, and absolutely released at date of parole, ceased correspondence, and lost sight of .	54	
*One half of those		27
		<u>27</u>
		<u>1,907</u> or 83·1%
Returned to the Reformatory and now there remaining		28 „ 1·2%
Died		12 „ 0·5%
Probably returned to criminal practices and contact :—		
One half of those lost sight of	90	
One half of those discharged by maximum expiration	163	
One half of those, who, being sent out of the State and absolutely released at date of parole, ceased correspondence and were lost sight of	27	
Sent to other prisons	68	
		— 348 or 15·2%
		<u>100·0</u>

* That one-half can be assumed to be reformed, appears to be completely justified. The whole of the Reform System and the schooling in the Institution is of such a nature, that, on no subject can it be without special effect and influence on future life. The fact that correspondence is interrupted, and the subject lost sight of does not necessarily show that he has relapsed into criminal courses; and even if the half who are assumed to be reformed do not on the average reach the level of those individuals who are shown to be reformed, yet the specific improvement of the whole number is certainly not set too high by assuming the half.

Of the men paroled to other states and countries, there were sent to :—

Africa	1	Brought forward	111
Arkansas	2	Massachusetts	28
Austria	1	Michigan	22
California	2	Missouri	4
Connecticut	3	Nebraska	1
Canada	16	New Jersey	29
Colorado	4	North Carolina	1
District of Columbia	1	Ohio	34
England	6	Pennsylvania	102
France	2	Rhode Island	13
Georgia	3	Russia	1
Germany	9	Sea	5
Illinois	36	Switzerland	1
Indiana	3	Tennessee	8
Iowa	5	Texas	1
Ireland	2	Vermont	1
Kansas	2	Virginia	5
Kentucky	6	Wisconsin	6
Maine	2	Wyoming Territory	1
Maryland	5		
Carried forward	111	Total	<u>374</u>

The above statement shows a probably complete reformation of 83·1 per cent. General Superintendent Brockway, however, up to September 30th, 1887, made special inquiries with scrupulous care, with relatives, employers, friends, acquaintances, authorities, etc., about every man, in order to verify as much as possible the statistical statements of the preceding annual reports, with regard to the reform-results. Those

inquiries gave definite information about satisfactory and orderly conduct of 1,125 out of 1,722 individuals released up to that date, viz.:—

					PER CENT.
Of the year 1880	.	.	.	142	or 81·0
” ” ” 1881	.	.	.	127	” 74·1
” ” ” 1882	.	.	.	108	” 64·1
” ” ” 1883	.	.	.	145	” 73·1
” ” ” 1884	.	.	.	124	” 71·8
” ” ” 1885	.	.	.	134	” 79·9
” ” ” 1886	.	.	.	143	” 83·2
” ” ” 1887	.	.	.	202	” 91·0
				Total 1,125,	average 78·5

According to this inquiry—inquiries made after those released before 1880 were owing to the long interval impossible—there is ascertained without any doubt to be a positive improvement and reform of at least 78·5 per cent. If taken into consideration that no reliable information could be obtained of a considerable number of released prisoners, who had left their original places, without in the least necessitating their having also left the right way, one will soon arrive at the conclusion that the fore-mentioned estimated statement, of 83·1 per cent. reformed is not only to be fully accepted, but that the percentage of the relative reform is probably much higher.

I will, however, also add some proofs of the qualitative reform of the individuals. With the communica-

tions reaching the Institution from the discharged prisoners themselves, or from their relations, employers, friends, etc., giving evidence of undoubted change, reform and conversion, and expressing thanks and acknowledgments, one might indeed fill volumes. Until recently such letters were printed, either word for word or in extracts, in the journal of the Institution; but this plan, in consequence of the enormous expansion which this correspondence has undergone, is now no longer adhered to. I will confine myself simply to the original rendering of some few of the productions of this kind, not specially selected but taken in order.

“DEAR GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT,—

“It is impossible for me to describe the feeling of my heart, when I returned to my home. My home—how can I describe how charming it appears now to me? To-day I cannot imagine how I ever could do such an act. However, it is past. The schooling I went through in the Reformatory has taught me another future, and an inward voice of God speaks constantly to me; a better time is to come. God gives a drop of balsam to the worst sinner who is penitent, and that I am so is only owing to your merit. My father has recognized his son again; he has welcomed me again and equipped me with the utmost care—yes, a thousand times more than I deserve. However, I will not

speak, my future itself shall give proof of my character and further behaviour.

“ Accept a thousand thanks from my father, as well as from—

“ Yours obediently,

“ C. R.”

No. 2,296 writes: “ I find that the bricklaying, which I have learnt in the Reformatory, will be the means of making me a mason and a man.”

No. 2,419 says that he only earned twenty dollars in March, but adds: “ It was earned honestly, and therefore it gives me more pleasure and satisfaction than if I had earned any sum by dishonest work.”

No. 2,424, formerly printing apprentice, says: “ I make good progress in my new situation as distributor, and have good prospect of earning in a short time twenty-four dollars per week, as compositor.”

No. 2,458 writes: “ Now being Holy Lent, I apply myself more to worship than to study, but I hope to make it up next month.”

No. 2,312 writes: “ I get twenty-seven dollars per month—certainly not bad for a young fellow eighteen years of age! I go regularly once a week to St. Paul’s Church, and think it will not do me any harm.”

No. 2,021 writes: “ I will show the police-inspector, who said I would soon commit something again and

fall into his hands, that he is wrong—I will show him that I can make a man out of myself. I receive your paper every Monday, and am always impatient to hear some news from Elmira, especially how my friends are getting on.”

No. 2,029 writes : “ I am saving as much as I can to start a business for myself. Many of my old friends watch me closely, and doubt whether my conduct will be the same in future as it is now. While I am working for my employer I also work for myself. These friends and acquaintances shall see what I am able to do.”

No. 2,568 writes : “ They scarcely recognized me again at home, so much have I improved.”

No. 1,641 writes : “ At last I have received a letter from my parents in Germany. You can scarcely imagine my feelings now on receiving a dear letter from my beloved mother. For her sake I will exert myself to the utmost, and I am confident of success.”

No. 1,986 writes : “ Just a year has passed since I left the Reformatory. I am infinitely glad to have had an opportunity of going through the different grades of your school. The education and culture received there alone enabled me to obtain the place which I hold now, and I am glad to be able to report my progress to you. At first I worked as a painter for three months, then I obtained a situation in a railway office with twenty dollars per month, just sufficient for my support.

Meanwhile I learnt telegraphy, and advanced from one place to another ; I am now second telegraphist of the station, receive sixty dollars salary, and have good hope of further advancement. That is not bad ! I should be glad to hear what my former friends, J. C. S. and F. H., are doing, and I hope that they are released long ago. Please inform them also of my position."

C. S. writes : " I have now a hard fight, if I am to succeed in maintaining my family. On account of my weak eyes I have unfortunately to give up my trade ; but I shall remain an honest man, as I promised you, whatever may befall me."

J. D. : " My son works the whole day and behaves well. For the trouble and care you have taken with him, I consider myself always bound to you ; he has been thereby made a good and reasonable man."

No. 2,527 writes : " I earned sixty dollars in March, of which I spent thirty dollars for clothing, living, etc., and saved a round thirty dollars. Your confidence has not been ill-bestowed upon me ; I lead an honest life. I only wish others could as much enjoy the fruits of a successful struggle as I do. I cannot thank you enough, and only hope that you will succeed in making others as happy and as light of heart as you have made me."

No. 2,444 writes : " Business is flourishing, and it keeps me constantly on the trot. I have to work hard,

but it is the only way to regain my good reputation. I am glad when I come home in the evening after the day's work, that I have learnt to appreciate the value of a good home. You may rely upon it that I shall always keep away from bad society, and make earthly journey pleasant through an upright mode of life. Up till now I have saved forty dollars, and I shall add something every week. Thanking you with all my heart for your great kindness, etc.—J. M.”

No. 2,220 writes : “I am now happy and content, having no more trouble about constant work. I have now saved so much that I could live for three months without earnings.”

The employer of No. 2,435 writes : “I am very glad, indeed, that I can say C. S., in consequence of the great care and training which he received in the Reformatory, has much improved. Since his return he is really the model of a young man. I am much interested in him, and shall always assist him as far as it is within my power.—O. H. H.”

E. E. B. writes from his home in Macon in Georgia, after the elapse of two years and a half since his leaving the Reformatory : “I choose to-day, a bright Easter Sunday, to write you some lines and to inform you of my success. I am glad to say that I have recovered from my illness, and enjoy the gifts of God and men. I am still in my old business, but I intend making the South my future home, and I have con-

fidence that, for the sake of my mother and sister, prosperity will also follow me. I have found that only by perseverance and firm energy are we able to overcome the obstacles and difficulties which surround us in life.

“We had a peculiar winter, this year, etc., etc.

“In the month of September I shall come to New York to settle some business, and I shall avail myself of the opportunity to pay you a visit. It will be the greatest pleasure for me to once more clasp your hand, and to look fearlessly as an honest man into your eyes.”

V. in B. writes : “The four years which I spent in the Reformatory have rid me of the most of my bad inclinations. I am now able to appreciate honesty and the regard towards a fellow-creature ; and I cannot thank you enough for the kindness which you have shown me.”

S. S. writes : “I am working constantly and with success in the glass-trade, and well know how to appreciate an increase of salary. It is impossible to fully express my feelings of duty and thankfulness towards you. The recollection of my past seems like a dream. I cannot imagine how I could have so far been carried away as to do the act which brought me to you ; however, it is past ! I gain more real friends every day, and indeed they need not be ashamed of me.”

T. B. writes : " I lead a happy life, and am still working with the same employers. My return took place just in time ; my father was ill, and I am of great assistance to him ; in fact, I am now the only supporter of the whole house."

W. S. writes : " Up till now I have saved forty-five dollars, which are lying at the bank, and which I have earned as a man by honest means. In the same way as I have begun my life I shall continue it. My former employer, Mr. H., always smiles when we meet, and he has invited me to call on him. I shall keep this old friendship warm. No one would be more unhappy, if I relapsed, than he."

J. R. T. writes : " When one considers the number of unemployed men here in Chicago, I must think myself fortunate, although I earned only 15·12 dollars last month instead of 50 dollars, which I should have earned."

W. A. writes : " My mother says she would not have thought it possible that such a change could have taken place with me. My employer is perfectly satisfied with me. I thank you with all my heart for the great care which you took with me."

The following is the letter of a German, who, after leaving the Reformatory, returned to his country :—

" W—, *December 6th*, 1889.

" According to the promise which I gave you before

my departure, I herewith send you my first monthly report. On my arrival in New York I presented myself immediately at the Prison Association, one of the members of which brought me on to the steamer the following morning. I arrived at Bremen on the 26th ult., and at my native place a few days later where I was received with great joy. My father provided me with means so that I could equip myself completely, and appear like a gentleman. I am working in my father's business and hope to become partner within a short time ; my father promised to do it as soon as I get my absolute release. Allow me to thank you once more heartily for all the kindness and care shown to me. Had I not come to you then I should have most probably had to serve a long time in a prison."

Finally, I may mention another German, who, like many of his countrymen, came to America, where he was unable to find his daily bread. In his helpless and penniless position he resorted to stealing, and was sentenced to Elmira. After a thirty-five months' schooling he was paroled to the care of his cousin in New York, who promised to assist him. The discharged prisoner had up to that time not learnt a proper profession and, still unable to find a permanent living, he preferred to return voluntarily to the Reformatory, instead of trying to obtain his

necessary wants by dishonest means. Now he had to learn a trade ; and in this, although at first reluctantly, he persevered. After twelve months he was again paroled ; this time not to his cousin's care, but to the care of an employer of the trade he had learnt. Two weeks after his release he said in his letter : " I am getting on nicely, and no longer regret having returned voluntarily to the Reformatory, for the trade which I learnt makes me happy, and will never let me want."

THE COST OF MAINTENANCE.

THE continual and sweeping change in the productive employment of the prisoners, due to the legislation of 1881, 1884 and 1888, had a very prejudicial effect upon the financial results of the Institution. Whilst in earlier years, when the labour force was fully utilized, the receipts from the prisoners' work amounted to 60 or 70 per cent. of the cost of maintenance, in the year 1888, only about 30 per cent., and in 1889 absolutely nothing, were realized. For this reason I will confine myself exclusively to the respective expenditures for maintenance, without referring to the receipts.

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS.

THE COST OF MAINTENANCE FOR 1889.

	DOLLARS
Steam, gas and water apparatus	921·87
Clothing and bedding	17,032·23
Fuel and light	13,028·96
Room furnishings	162·57
Prisoners' transportation	6,063·07
Kitchen	3,174·12
General expense	9,447·24
Discharged prisoners	3,347·45
Carried forward	<u>53,177·51</u>

	DOLLARS
Brought forward	53,177·51
Salaries	30,190·41
Repairs and alterations	6,468·56
Provisions	35,048·86
School-books and teaching	2,825 25
Physical, technological and military training.	9,398·42
Total	<u>137,109·01</u>

NOTE.—4,199·51 dollars, earnings from the farm, turned over to provisions and general expense.

The total expenditure of 137,109·01 dollars for the last year's average of 922 inmates, means 40·8 cents per head *per diem*. The gross cost, as above stated, includes items peculiar to this Reformatory as follows :—

	DOLLARS
Physical, technological and military training	9,398·42
School-books and teaching	2,825·25
For transportation of prisoners	6,063·07
Making a total of	<u>18,286·74</u>

—this without computing the additional cost incident to the system here. If the above items alone be deducted, the gross expenditure for the year is reduced to 118,822·27 dollars, and equals cost per day 35·3 cents. The cost for provisions was last year 10·4 cents per day an inmate ; this includes the provisions of the greater part of the officers, who receive full board, separately prepared.

The following table shows an analysis of the cost of the maintenance for the last seven years:—

	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
Average number of inmates	520	558	647	711	785	809	922
Steam, gas, and water apparatus	Dollars 4,761.76	Dollars 4,109.15	Dollars 1,627.21	Dollars 1,383.68	Dollars 1,061.32	Dollars 622.04	Dollars 921.87
Clothing and bedding	10,713.73	13,239.24	14,132.95	15,487.13	15,745.41	14,285.64	17,032.23
Fuel and light	9,237.54	10,379.33	7,626.89	7,613.64	11,322.84	16,136.32	13,028.96
Room furnishings	511.39	811.99	1,570.50	346.37	1,715.46	530.77	162.57
Prisoners' transportation	2,535.16	3,324.80	3,437.27	3,591.09	3,940.45	4,679.83	6,063.07
Kitchen	1,801.47	4,032.64	2,793.65	1,909.63	2,203.59	2,381.13	3,174.12
General expense	5,346.03	5,337.72	8,396.18	6,737.70	9,671.80	12,093.04	9,447.24
Discharged prisoners	2,526.80	2,219.88	2,337.33	2,455.60	3,069.40	3,358.50	3,347.45
Salaries	19,279.82	19,375.13	21,482.35	23,469.13	26,191.76	31,496.58	30,190.41
Repairs and alterations	4,098.80	2,615.23	6,196.45	5,498.37	8,974.45	6,541.09	6,468.56
Provisions	34,473.62	31,277.79	29,525.11	32,580.08	29,325.51	39,566.34	35,048.86
School books and teaching	2,606.91	1,996.51	3,218.32	3,758.45	3,063.94	3,528.30	2,825.25
Fire repairs	—	—	2,066.95	—	—	—	—
Physical, military and technological training	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,398.42
Total	97,893.03	98,719.41	104,411.16	104,880.87	116,275.93	135,219.58	137,109.01

Analysis of cost of maintenance per day:—

	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
	Cents	Cents	Cents	Cents	Cents	Cents	Cents
Steam, gas, and water apparatus	2.5	2.0	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.3
Clothing and bedding	5.6	6.5	6.0	6.0	5.5	4.8	5.1
Fuel and light	4.9	5.1	3.2	2.9	4.0	5.4	3.9
Room furnishings	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.1
Prisoners' transportation	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.8
Kitchen	0.9	2.0	1.2	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.9
General Expense	2.8	3.6	3.5	2.6	3.3	4.1	2.8
Discharged prisoners	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0
Salaries	10.1	9.5	9.1	9.0	9.1	10.6	9.0
Repairs and alterations	2.2	1.3	2.6	2.1	3.1	2.3	1.9
Provisions	18.2	15.3	12.5	12.6	10.2	13.4	10.4
School books, and teaching	1.4	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.2	0.8
Fire repairs	—	—	0.9	—	—	—	—
Physical, technological and military training	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.8
Total	51.5	49.3	44.2	40.4	40.6	45.7	40.8

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