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THE WOMEN AT THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION IN. HOLMESBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following report is the result of an investigation undertaken at the request of ex-Director Dripps of the Department of Public Safety. During his temporary holding of office, Mr. Dripps attempted to initiate certain administrative changes in the House of Correction, which should bring the work of that institution into line with modern principles and methods of corrective treatment as applied to minor offenders. Among the suggestions made by Dr. Hastings H. Hart and Mr. James A. Leonard, who conducted a brief but effective investigation of the Bureau of Corrections for Director Porter, was the following:

"We would particularly recommend the adoption of a systematic plan for the complete study of the physical and mental condition of each woman received, and for the classification of such insane or feeble-minded as may be found and for the transfer of those individuals to suitable institutions provided for their care. Every effort should be made to prevent their getting back into society where they become a source of contamination and infection and a constant burden to the community." (P. 28).

It was with the idea of defining the limits of such a plan of clinical diagnosis and treatment that the present study was undertaken. Our understanding was that a survey was to be made of a large enough group to be representative of the women as a whole and that this survey should consist of a preliminary examination of individual cases and the assignment of each woman to specialists in medical and psychiatric sciences who should as a result make an authoritative diagnosis. The work of the preliminary examiner was also to extend to the gathering of such outside data as might be needed by the specialists to complete their estimates. This expert service was in our understanding to be rendered by a board of physicians appointed by Mr. Dripps to serve in an advisory medical capacity. As a matter of fact this advisory board never was formed though the preliminary examinations were made. It follows that the estimates of individual

¹In charge of the Department of Research and Statistics, Municipal Court, Philadelphia.

women are based upon an examination avowedly of a somewhat superficial character, though they are even so more thorough than any examination heretofore given to inmates of the House of Correction. It must not be forgotten, however, that the statements as to physical condition and mentality are tentative and in the nature of recommendations for further attention rather than conclusive or authoritative.

The original report was submitted in July, 1916. Since that time many changes have been made in the administration of the Institution, notably the installation of lights in the cells, improvement in food and service, the permanent provision for recreation and gainful occupation, and probation service, and most recently a comprehensive system of medical treatment.

About one in every five persons committed to the House of Correction of the city of Philadelphia is a woman. The number of commitments of women averages about one thousand yearly. Owing to the fact that many women are committed several times during the year that figure does not accurately represent the number of women offenders. Thus during 1915 out of 1,024 commitments of women there were involved only 816 individuals.² This means that twenty-five per cent, or one in four of the women were committed at least twice during the year. This number varies little from year to year, and does not form an alarming proportion of the total population. In many ways the women present a different sort of social problem from that of the more numerous male offenders, and it was with the idea of determining the nature of this problem that the present study was undertaken.

METHOD AND EXTENT OF STUDY

The study covered the period between December 17, 1915, and March 17, 1916, during which time I went daily to the House of Correction. Some time was consumed in general observation of the place and of the women at work, at meals and at play. Information was secured from the docket in regard to all woman inmates during that period. Extended conversations were had with the various officials, particularly the chief matron and her assistants, and much valuable information was gained in this way. I was frequently present also when the women were being received, getting in this way a quite

²These figures resulted from a special study of the docket in which the names and number of commitments of all women were secured. They do not correspond to the figures given by the statistician at the institution, who reports 1,032 commitments without comment as to the actual number of women involved. As we have no means of checking up to detect the missing 8 and as the differences are negligible for statistical purposes, we shall retain our figures throughout the study.

different impression of the real character of the women than would be obtainable after they had been cleaned and dressed and rested and established in the daily institutional routine. After a general insight into the place and its inmates had been gained, I started examining individual women. The method of examination was that of quite informal interviews, in which I attempted to get the woman's own story of her life, beginning with the events leading up to the commitment, and working backward. Where there was any reluctance shown in answering questions I did not press for details, as my interest was not so much in ascertaining facts as it was in gaining an insight into the woman's mental condition and her point of view about life. For the most part the women seemed ready to talk. I followed up their stories to a certain extent, especially in cases of first commitments, or where there seemed to be some question of injustice in the commitment. Interviews with families, neighbors and welfare agencies familiar with the women were obtained by two field workers doing volunteer service as part of their training in the Pennsylvania School for Social Service. In most cases I talked with the matrons about the women, getting from them the details as to the working capacity of the inmates and their ability to get along with their companions. Records were obtained for 118 women, of whom 102 were white and sixteen were colored. This number is equal to the average daily population during the period under observation.

The women selected for special study differed slightly from the entire group in that all the women committed from the Municipal Court for disorderly street walking, and all first timers were examined. This made a proportionately larger group of prostitutes, 36% as compared with 19% of all women there, and 31% serving their first term as compared with 23% for the whole group.

Partly because of the somewhat selected character of the group studied and partly in order to have information for a greater number of cases, general information was taken from the docket in regard to all women in the institution from December 23, 1915, to April 14, 1916, and tabulated for three hundred cases. As this more general information serves well as a background for the more detailed study it will be given first. In each case seventeen details were secured as follows:

Term, Charge, Number of Commitments, Occupation, Age, Height, Weight, Religion, Literacy, Alcoholic Habit, Color, Civil Conditions, Number of Living Children, Time Out of Institution Since Last Term and the Magistrate Committing.

This is part of the information secured at the time of entrance from each individual. As the questions are given very rapidly and there is no effort to verify any details, for example, as to literacy, their accuracy is open to some question. The two questions as to literacy and drink habits are given very rapidly and in a single breath "Do you read, write and drink?" and at once the examiner without waiting to hear the reply, turns to the clerk and says, "Light, brown, blue, scar on nose—," which details as to coloring and markings serve for identifications. Occasionally the woman protests about the drink and then she is put down as total abstainer, or in rare cases as a moderate drinker. The coloring given is frequently most inaccurate. However, certain of the docket details seem to have some significance.

GENERAL CONDITION OF LIFE IN THE INSTITUTION

One of the most striking features about the House of Correction is the apparent passivity of the inmates. It is rare that any discontent is shown or expressed. The matrons and other officers are uniformly kind in their manner toward and treatment of their wards. There is considerable effort on the part of matrons to help the inmates, and on their discharge the matrons go down into their sparsely filled pockets to give the women carfare and money for the next meal. They also try to secure work for them among their friends, and keep in touch with them by letter. This is evidence of genuine devotion especially when the matrons' long hours of constant duty are considered.

After a few weeks of observation the very absence of discontent appears as a disadvantage, and one is convinced that there is literally nothing to stimulate hope or ambition for better things on the part of the women. The work is of a deadening character. Perhaps the single worst feature is that there is no progress possible in most of the activities. The women are assigned on entrance to a particular gang, and kept there day after day. The kinds of work arranged in order from the least skilled to the most are scrubbing, wing work (the care of the cells), bathroom work, heavy laundry, sewing patches, sewing garments and mattresses, matrons' chamberwork, hospital attendant, fine laundry, matrons' and officers' kitchen, service in the houses of superintendent and warden. In each department one or two women are assigned as runners to the officers in charge, taking their place with their gang when not on errands. The great majority are employed in scrubbing and heavy laundry work, where the work is heavy and exhausting and where there is no room for learning either helpful pro-

cesses or self direction. The daily schedule of work for women as it was when the investigation begun was as follows:

- 6:00—Awakened by night watch.
- 6:30—Day force comes on duty. Cells opened. Women dress.
- 6:45—Breakfast.
- 7:15—Women in wings (Cell Block) with no occupation.
- 7:45—Women go to work—laundry, scrubbing, sewing, mending.
- 11:45—Dinner.
- 12:15—Women again in wings, without occupation.
- 1:00-2:00—Outdoor recreation for all but fine laundry workers.
- 2:00—Women return to *same work* as morning.
- Women in fine laundry go back to work at 12:45.
- 4:30—Work ends.
- 4:45—Supper.
- 5:30—Every cell locked and ready for the night.
- 6:30—Night watch (matron) comes on duty.
- Day matrons alternate nights, being on duty from 5:30 p. m. to 6:30 a. m.

Although the law and this schedule provide for outdoor recreation for every inmate at least one hour a day, until a representative from the Municipal Court went up there there had been no attempt to carry this out. Many weeks passed without the women getting out at all even after the worker from Court was there. Although the ventilation is unusually good in the institution, and the outdoor surroundings are pleasant, and may be seen from the windows of the most of the work rooms, this means that for a period of from one month to two years the women may literally never breathe fresh outdoor air nor see a broad sweep of sky. Whether conscious of these deprivations or not, the women succumb to their depressing effect.

I made it a point to ask each woman what she disliked most about the place. With few exceptions they gave first the poor food and second the fact of being locked in their cells for thirteen hours daily. The second feature has been greatly modified. The food is more important and will be improved with greater difficulty. The usual diet is as follows: Breakfast, 6:45 a. m.; weak coffee, which most of the women say is not coffee, or tea and bread. Dinner at 11.45 a. m.; soup or stew and bread, except Friday, when they have fried fish, usually salt fish, and tea. Supper, 4:45 p. m.; tea and bread. It is customary for the women to be allowed to have as much tea as they want and they can have it between meals. The tea is boiled and very strong, and served in large tin cups that hold over a pint. Several of the women told me that they could never eat the meat in the stew, as it was offensive in odor. All spoke of the bread

as excellent. Fruit, fresh vegetables, milk and butter are unknown except to the women who work in the officers' kitchens.

I did not secure the menus from the officers, but depended upon the women's statements, and casual observation. This was because I did not wish to antagonize the authorities by appearing to intrude upon matters which to them would bear little upon examination of individuals. A thorough investigation, which should be made by the Department of Health, should include laboratory analysis and estimates of food values, and inspection of quality in a gross sense. The result of the excessive tea drinking and the great dependence upon starch is that the women almost without single exception stated that they suffered from chronic constipation, even though this was not their habit outside the institution. Others spoke of their difficulty in sleeping and attributed it to the tea. Much of this trouble may be in part due to the lack of exercise in the open air and of free body movements at work. It also is undoubtedly due to the low physiological tone of the women in general. But whatever the contributing causes, the single factor of a badly chosen and ill-balanced diet is the most important cause, and to effect a change even in those who are mainly suffering from chronic diseased conditions will require a thorough change in the quality of the food.

The matter of service of the food is next in importance to its quality. At present the women are better off than the men in that they eat in a dining room instead of in their cells. The dining room, however, has no direct ventilation from the outside, and the tables are crowded. Food is served most unappetizingly in tin plates and mugs. The importance of orderly and aesthetic table arrangements in educating and developing self-respect should not be overlooked. In the Sherborn Prison for Women in Massachusetts no effort is spared in making the table arrangements as pleasant as possible with tablecloths, and white china, and plants. The women are not allowed to talk at meals, but they are seated at tables accommodating about twelve, and a matron or one of their own members reads to them. The women almost uniformly respond to this. This would cost little more than the present arrangement at the House of Correction.

PHYSICAL AND MEDICAL CARE

When the superintendent or senior warden has interviewed the women for the docket information, they are sent to the dressing room, where a matron, assisted by inmate attendants, supervises their bathing and dressing in the institution clothes. There are two small basement rooms set aside for this. Several women undress and bathe at

the same time with no provision for privacy. The bath tubs are in one room without partitions. The tubs are black iron which was once painted white. Black tar soap is used, which yields almost no lather but stains the water black. The tubs are used several times without being cleansed, though the water is changed for each person. The floor in the bathroom is uneven and wet. Some, but not all, the women are given a shampoo. Women with verminous hair have it shaved off. Verminous clothes are burned unless a garment seems in fair repair, when it is soaked in the tar soap water, the tub in which someone has bathed or will bathe being used for the purpose. Any money the women have with them is handed over to the matrons, likewise any trinkets or other personal belongings. Occasionally a very clean woman is allowed to retain her underwear and very occasionally her corsets. The greater number, however, have all their own clothes taken from them and they are given heavy cotton garments alike in winter and summer. The institution stockings and shoes are put in a pile, and after the bath the women return to the room where they undress and select the shoe and stockings nearest in size to their needs. The women's own clothes are washed, without any special sterilization, but as hot water, sometimes boiled, and strong soap are used, this process is as cleansing as would be any formal sterilizing process. The outer garments are brushed and aired thoroughly and hung in a cold, well-lighted room on hooks that set a little closer together than is strictly sanitary.

After the women have put on the institution clothing they are sent up to be examined by the resident physician. This examination consists of asking a few routine questions and looking at the eyes, nose and mouth, and making a vaginal inspection, for the purpose of detecting the presence of acute contagious disorders. There is no general medical examination of heart, lungs, and bones, etc. and no bacteriological or blood testing work is done; there is likewise no attempt at treatment for eyes or teeth. If the women complain of poor eyesight they are allowed to select by a process of trial and error from the stock of glasses owned by the house until they find a pair that apparently gives them better vision. The women are not given toothbrushes, and very few have them.

HOSPITAL PROVISIONS

There are two classes of women cared for in the hospital, which is well lighted and a quite cheerful place; these are (1) the acutely ill, those suffering from delirium tremens and the effects of narcotic drugs, and (2) the women with little children. There are usually three

or four women who have babies or young children with them. The most serious feature about this is that the children share their mother's exile from all outdoors, and that there is no provision for their play, even indoors. The mothers act as hospital helpers and in some cases spend their entire time in the hospital, though when their children are past the nursing period they spend their nights in the regular cells.

The House of Correction is justly proud of its clean record in regard to epidemics, of which there has been none for at least 40 years. This freedom from epidemics is to be attributed to the cleanliness and good ventilation of the buildings, and to the fact that the inmates are past the age at which they would readily succumb to infection; also they are probably fairly well immunized to most contagious diseases. This does not mean that they are healthy or well, or in fit condition to do work of a high grade in any field.

Women with good records of work in the institution, such as cooks in the officers' kitchen, have told me that when they go out they are unable to keep positions requiring hard work or involving changes in temperature, such as general service on farms, because they become readily fatigued and chilled, owing to their low physical resistance.

It is probable that if special care were given to the personal hygiene of the women while in the institution, especially as regards eyes, teeth and diet, that they might be sent out in fairly good condition to look for positions and keep them. This is true certainly as regards those who are not mentally defective or abnormal. Adequate care even of a purely physical kind would require longer terms than are the rule at present.

WOMEN A SELECTED GROUP OF THE COMMUNITY

One of the prominent features about the women is that they represent a highly selected portion of the community. This is specially true in regard to the white women. In most cases where their stories were investigated it was found that the woman had been known to the police in the district for some time before the first arrest and that she was seldom committed by the magistrate until she had been arrested a number of times. There seems to be a distinct tendency on the part of the policemen to give women many more chances than they are likely to accord to men, and the magistrates show the same characteristic.

Another indication of the selected character of the women is the fact of their many re-commitments. They are to a high degree a self-perpetuating body. This point is treated in great detail later in the report.

In order to determine what relation existed between Correction women and women convicted of higher crime, I obtained permission from Captain Tate of the Detective Bureau to examine a large number of index cards selected at random from the files of this department. Detective Lindner spent several hours helping me in this. We selected cards of Philadelphia women and noted the crime of which each was accused and whether or not the woman had a House of Correction record against her. It was the plan to go over at least 200 cards, but when 178 cards were read and not a House of Correction commitment had been discovered, the search was abandoned. In the opinion of Captain Tate and Mr. Lindner, as well as of the matron and the superintendent at the House of Correction, there are few women committed there who have records of higher crime. It also appears that the Correction women are not drawn later into higher forms of crime. Of one hundred cases examined in detail only five had other court records against them, and of these but two charges were of essentially different nature from the charges which sent them to the House of Correction. The exact relation between the two classes of offenders might only be determined after years of recording of individuals by the Bertillon system.

TIME OF YEAR OF MOST COMMITMENTS

Part of the yearly report of the House of Correction consists of lists of figures showing the monthly number of commitments of the men and women. In the case of the men there is a remarkable uniformity in the increase during the winter months. The lowest number of commitments occurs in the three fall months, the highest in the winter, February being the heaviest, from which time the number steadily drops through the other seasons. In the case of the women no such curve is evident. The general tendency is for the number to remain nearly the same from month to month, showing only a slight tendency to increase during the spring and summer. As this difference between the two sets of figures is so marked they were subjected to further analysis with the following results:

During the four successive years 1911 through 1914 the number of men committed totaled 20,470 in the fall and winter months and 17,320 in the spring and summer. The figures for the women were 4,857 in the fall and winter and 5,065 in the spring and summer. In Table I (p.—) the average figures for each month of the year are given and the months ranked in a series of twelve, number 1 being the month in which there were the highest number of commitments of each sex. If the seasons are then graded according to the rankings by adding

the ranks together it will be seen that the seasons with the lowest total were the ones with the highest number of commitments. The significance of this may be seen in Figure 1, in which the figures are presented graphically.

There are evidently quite different causes operating in the seasonal commitment of men as compared with women. In the case of the men there are periods of unemployment due to seasonal shifts in occupations. Stress of winter weather probably makes many men seek saloons, where they get into trouble. Among the women there are apparent no such sociological and economic stresses. The difficulty is an internal one. Studies in the seasonal aspects³ of crime and violence, and of commitments to insane asylums, and of illegitimate conceptions indicate that all of these occur with the greatest frequency in the spring and summer months. The explanation seems to lie in the effect of weather changes upon the human nervous organism. The restlessness of which large numbers of normally constituted persons are conscious with the coming on of spring and the greater responsiveness to stimuli which is shown by the higher scores in all forms of athletic contests in warm weather, operate in the case of unbalanced persons and result in troublesome and anti-social acts. If this line of interpretation be correct, one would expect to find a large proportion of psychically abnormal cases among the women committed to the House of Correction, and such is the case; out of one hundred women examined with great care I was able to make an estimate of normality in only thirty-one. This is given detailed consideration in a later section of the report.

TABLE I.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS OF MEN AND WOMEN BY MONTHS FOR FOUR-YEAR PERIOD.

MONTHS	Men	Rank by Month	Rank by Season	Women	Rank by Month	Rank by Season
March	961	4	..	203	8	..
April	602	12	..	215	2	..
May	746	5	21	223	1	11
June	672	8	..	212	3	..
July	666	9	..	202	9	..
August	685	7	24	210	4	16
September	643	10	..	206	7	..
October	642	11	..	206	10	..
November	741	6	27	209	5	22
December	980	3	..	209	6	..
January	1,040	2	..	186	11	..
February	1,063	1	6	184	12	29

³Leffingwell, *Illegitimacy and Influence of Seasons Upon Conduct*. London, 1892.

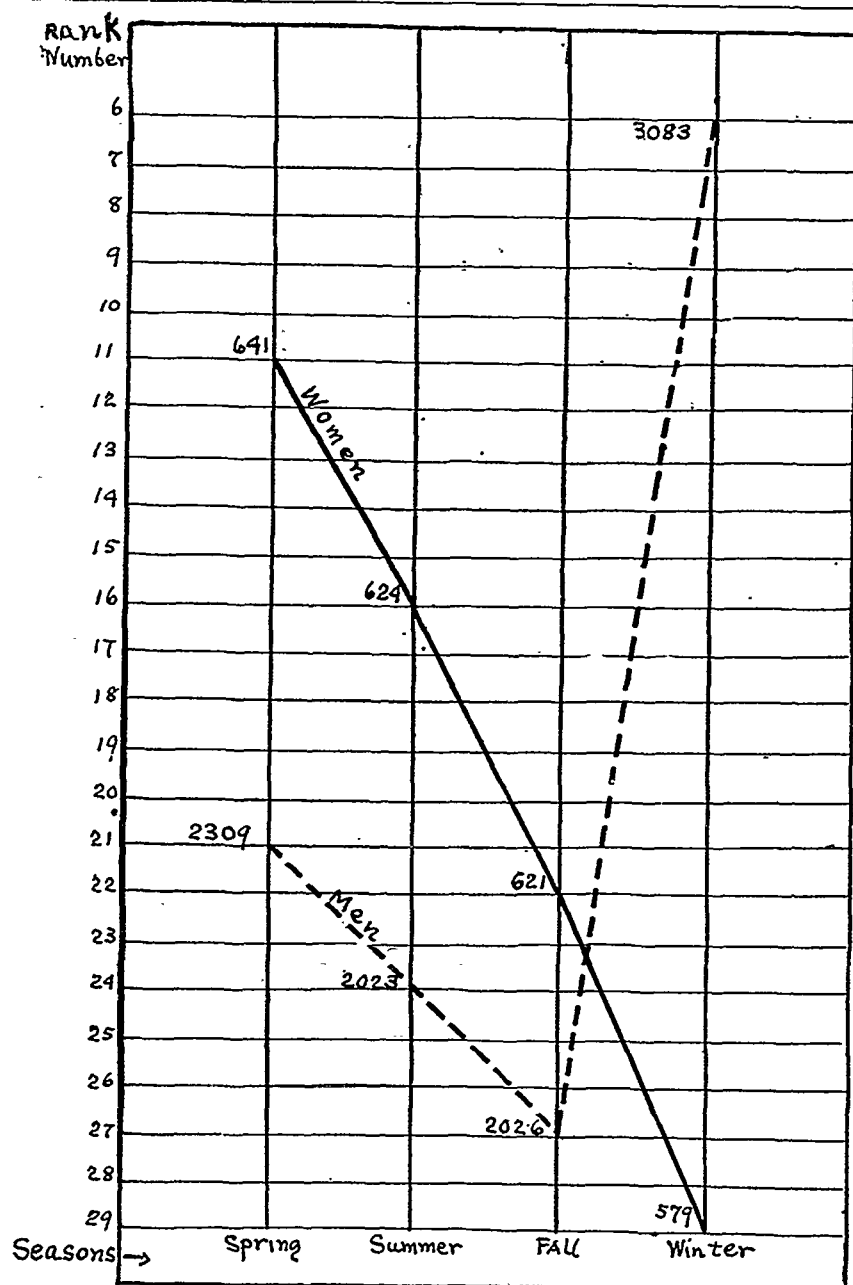


Figure 1. Variation in Number of Commitments According to Season and Sex. Solid line indicates number of women and broken line indicates number of men.

AGES OF THE WOMEN

In general the women are old. Of 300 cases the average age was 40 years, the median 41 and the most frequent age was 39. There were 162 over 40 and 138 under forty. In many institutions of the reformatory type, persons are not accepted if over thirty-five. If this rule were followed only 20 per cent would come in the group upon which reformatory influence might be expected to work.

As might be expected there is a distinct difference in the ages of women arrested for disorderly street walking and for other kinds of disorderly conduct, such as vagrancy, habitual drunkenness, etc. Of women accused of disorderly street walking, three-quarters are under thirty-five. Of women not so accused, only one in ten is under thirty-five.

RE-COMMITMENTS

Taking the year 1915 as the basis, of the 816 separate women involved in the 1,024 commitments, 59 per cent were re-commitments, and 35 per cent were serving their fourth or more than their fourth commitment. If we calculate the number of commitments that all women in the House during 1915 had served, we find that it totals 4,509. This is an average of 5.5 apiece. Among the three hundred women in the institution during the period of observation the average number of commitments was higher, amounting to 8.9 apiece. This difference is to be accounted for by the fact that it was during the winter when the number of women is smaller, and when the number of those serving their first commitment is lower, thus bringing up the average.

WHY THE LAW REGARDING LENGTH OF TERMS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS IS NOT OBSERVED

The law in regard to length of terms is as follows: (Act of 1871, P. L. 1301, p. 27).

"First offenders must be committed for a term not less than three months nor more than one year; for the second time shall be committed for a term of not less than nine months nor more than eighteen months; for the third time for a term of not less than eighteen nor more than twenty-four, and for four times, or at any time thereafter, for a term of not more nor less than twenty-four months."

In tabulated form the law is as follows:

TIMES COMMITTED	Minimum Term in Months	Maximum Term in Months
One	3	12
Two	9	18
Three	18	24
Four and over.....	24	24

A most casual observation discloses the fact that this section of the law is a dead letter. Magistrates repeatedly commit persons for "thirty days," and there are records of ten-day commitments. For persons well known to magistrates, six months is considered a long sentence. In addition to the variable length of term there has been no consistent plan followed in regard to keeping the prisoners for the time specified, or providing for an indefinite commitment whose termination would depend upon good conduct. For persons committed without a detainer, a custom has grown up of taking off a proportionate number of days, amounting to approximately one week from a three-month's term, and two weeks from a six month's and a month from a year's term. For women doing machine work in the sewing room the inducement is held out that they will get "time off."

Because the section of the act providing for increasing length of sentences for recidivists is such a fundamental provision for making the institution correctional, it has seemed worth while to examine the facts in detail. Table II presents a comparison between the number of commitments and the length of the term in each case of 300 women. It will be seen that the average term length for all cases is three months. There seems to be a slight tendency to increase the length after the first commitment, so that the average length for the second through to the eleventh commitment, is four months, but this is not carried out after the eleventh commitment. No woman was committed to the maximum term of two years. Table 3 shows a comparison between the aggregate number of months called for by terms assigned, and the number of months that would fulfill the legal minimum requirement. Figure 2 shows the difference between these figures in graphic form. Summarized, the law regarding re-commitments is a dead letter, and is obeyed to only one-fifth of its extent.

TABLE II.

COMPARISON BETWEEN NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS AND LENGTH OF TERM
IN 300 CASES OF WOMEN.

COMMITMENT NUMBER	Total	TERM LENGTH						Total Term Length	Average Length of Term
		Thirty Days	Three Mos.	Six Mos.	Nine Mos.	Twelve Mos.	Eigh- teen Mos.		
Total.....	300	7	241	38	7	5	2	.....	.....
1.....	70	3	59	6	.....	2	.....	240	3 mos.
2.....	42	.....	29	10	3	.....	.....	174	4 "
3.....	27	.....	22	4	1	.....	.....	99	4 "
4.....	24	.....	18	4	.....	2	.....	84	4 "
5.....	13	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	39	3 "
6.....	16	2	11	2	.....	1	.....	59	4 "
7.....	14	1	10	2	.....	.....	1	61	4 "
8.....	9	.....	7	2	.....	.....	.....	33	4 "
9.....	5	.....	4	.....	1	.....	.....	21	4 "
10.....	6	.....	5	1	.....	.....	.....	21	4 "
11.....	3	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	12	4 "
12.....	8	.....	7	1	.....	.....	.....	27	3 "
13.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
14.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
15.....	7	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	21	3 "
16.....	7	.....	4	3	.....	.....	.....	30	4 "
17.....	4	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	15	4 "
18.....	5	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	30	6 "
19.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
20.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	2 "
21.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
22.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	3 "
23.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
24.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
26.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
27.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
30.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
32.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	9	9 "
34.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
35.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
36.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
40.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3 "
41.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	6	6 "
42.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
45.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	3 "
46.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	12	6 "
50.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
57.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
62.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
64.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
65.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "
91.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3 "

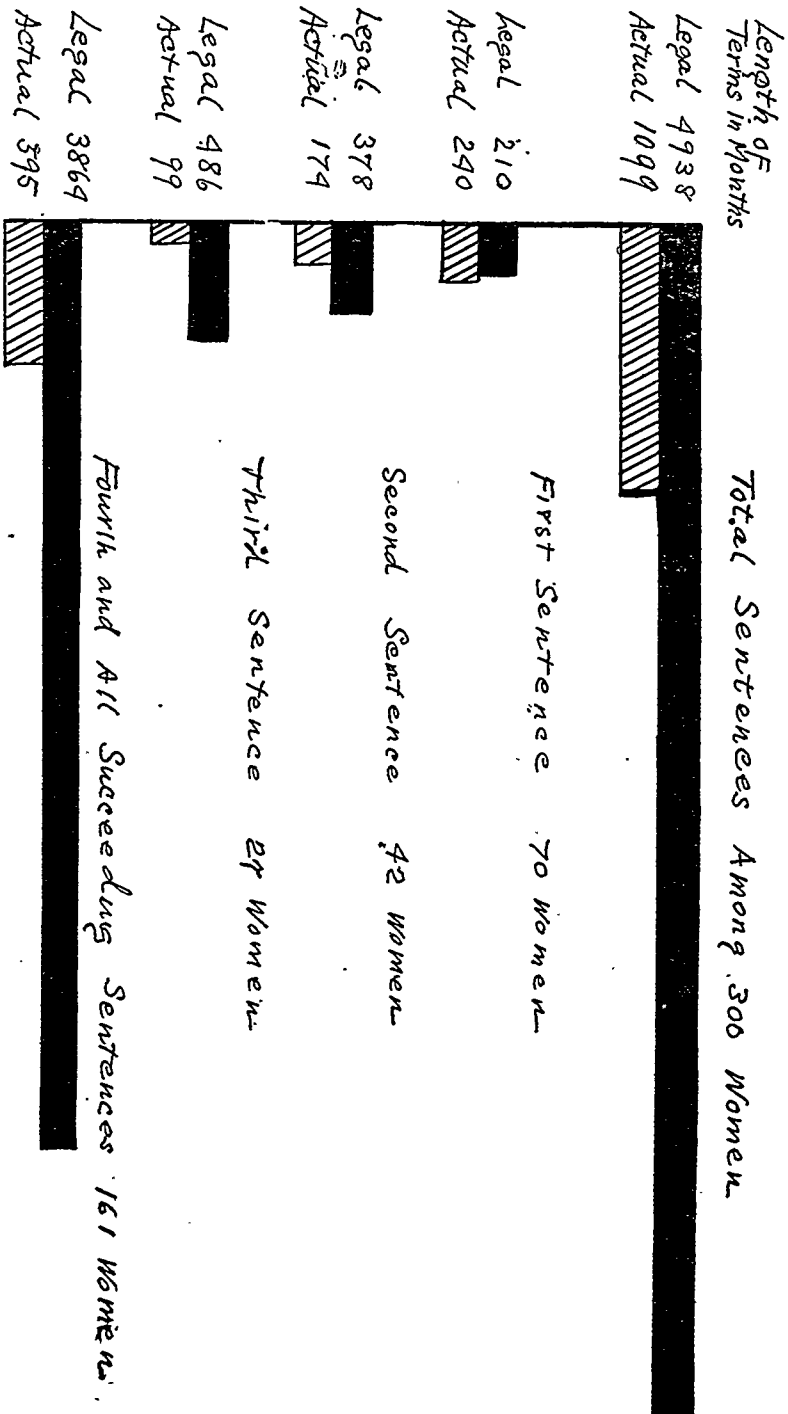


TABLE III.

AGGREGATE NUMBER OF MONTHS CALLED FOR IN TERMS OF 300 WOMEN COMPARED WITH LEGAL MINIMUM ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS.

NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS	Number of Women	Aggregate Months in Actual Terms	Legal Minimum Number of Months
Total	300	1,099	4,938
One	70	240	210
Two	42	174	378
Three	27	99	486
Four and over.....	161	586	3,864

If the customary sentences imposed upon persons accused of higher forms of crime be compared with the legal requirement in regard to the sentence imposed upon those guilty of what may in general be termed nuisances, it will be found that the latter far exceed the former in length and severity.

The failure upon the part of magistrates in Philadelphia to obey the law in this regard is in all likelihood due to their feeling that it is unjust to punish these relatively harmless persons more severely than so-called real criminals. House of correction and reformatory institutions generally are based upon a fundamentally different concept of the function of penal systems than that underlying the institutions for the punishment of crimes of a more serious nature. In the latter the idea is in the main to make it so unpleasant for the individual convicted of crime, that not only will he be deterred from repeating the offense, but that others may be restrained by force of his example from so doing. Another feature is that it is the crime not the person who is the center of attention. The concept of a prison as a place for the reformation or reconstruction of the individual prisoner is a relatively recent one and has had its origin in a widely separate group of facts and principles of government. This latter concept is the one upon which was organized the present House of Correction for Philadelphia, but it has apparently found little favor with the magistrates, who still adhere to the concept of a numerical ratio between isolated crimes and punishment for them; so much crime, so much pain inflicted.

Either the magistrates in general do not believe in the more modern penological concept or they have no faith that the present House of Correction is able to do any of the things which it says it exists for. In any case unless the terms are lengthened for the inmates even the most approved system of treatment within the institution will be powerless to carry out its designs.

WOMEN FORM A PRACTICALLY STABLE POPULATION IN THE INSTITUTION

From Table IV it may be seen that the women form a practically stable population, as 77 per cent of them return, and of these, 66 per cent return within a year of discharge.

TABLE IV.

COMPARISON BETWEEN TIME OUT AND RECOMMITMENTS IN 230 CASES.

TIME OUT	Number of Women	Number Out Less than One Year	Number Out More than One Year
Total	230	153	77
Less than one week.....	4	153	..
One week to one month.....	12	..	..
One to three months.....	30	..	..
Four to six months.....	60	..	..
Seven months to one year.....	47	..	..
One year to two years.....	39	..	77
Three to five years.....	26	..	..
Five years and over.....	12	..	..

ILLEGAL COMMITMENTS

It would appear from investigation that there are relatively few illegal commitments of women if they are considered from the point of view of justifiability. There is some question as to whether this applies to the colored women. (See later section of report). Many commitments are technically illegal in the charges assigned. For example the charge of "habitual drunkard" is supposed to apply only to those convicted more than once of drunkenness, whereas a considerable number of first commitments were found so designated. It is probable, however, that the woman had been brought before the same magistrate and discharged several times before commitment. One magistrate has sent people up on the charge of being a "worthless person." This term may have a psychological value in relieving the mind of the magistrate, but it hardly expresses a legal distinction. Among women put down as committed at their own request, at least two who were interviewed said they had applied to a local police station for aid in going to a hospital and had no idea that they would be sent to the House of Correction. These two were first commitments. The physical and mental examinations revealed the fact that in a large number of cases women were committed for "correction" who should have been sent to a hospital for chronic and sometimes acute mental and physical ailments.

CHARGES

For purposes of general comparison the women may be divided into two groups according to charge; the prostitutes and the non-prostitutes. The division is not strictly accurate because frequently a prostitute will be arrested on some other charge like that of disorderly conduct, or drunkenness, but in the main the two groups are distinct, and are so regarded by the officers of the institution. The non-prostitutes are almost without exception alcoholic, as it seems rare for a woman to be arrested for vagrancy or for being idle and disorderly unless she is known to be frequently drunk.

The prostitutes are in general the younger women, and they seem more able to keep out of the hands of the policemen than do the drunkards. Table V shows the relation between time out of the institution and the charge in 250 cases. It will be seen that more than half of the prostitutes were either serving their first terms or had been out for over a year, while only a third of the non-prostitutes were serving their first term or had been out of the House more than a year.

The actual charges among 300 women were distributed as follows:

Charge.	Number
Habitual drunkard	126
Vagrancy	71
Disorderly street walking.....	57
Vagrancy and idle and disorderly conduct.....	27
Idle and disorderly.....	16
Own request	3

TABLE V.

COMPARISON BETWEEN TIME OUT OF THE INSTITUTION AND CHARGE IN 250 CASES

CHARGE	Total	TIME OUT								
		Less than 1 Wk.	1 Wk.-1 Mo.	1-3 Mos.	4-6 Mos.	7-12 Mos.	1-2 Yrs.	2-3 Yrs.	5 Yrs. and Over	First Com.
Total.....	250	12	26	53	39	31	24	11	8	46
Prostitutes...	48	.....	3	7	10	5	8	1	3	11
Non-prostitutes.....	302	12	23	46	29	26	16	10	5	35

NATIVITY

In Table VI are given the details as to the nativity of 300 women. It will be seen that over one-half of all are native born Americans, the largest group being contributed by Philadelphia. Of the

non-Americans the English speaking countries contribute the larger share, leaving for all the non-English speaking nations only one in ten. This is quite out of proportion to the relative national make-up of our city population, which contains a far higher per cent of non-English speaking foreign-born people, and would indicate that recent immigration cannot be held responsible for this class of woman offender.

TABLE VI.
CHARGE AS COMPARED WITH NATIVITY.

CHARGE	Total	NATIVITY						
		Phila.	U. S.	Penna.	Irish	Eng-lish	Ger-man	All Others
Total.....	300	105	53	19	73	21	14	15
Percent.....	100	35	18	6	24	7	5	5
Disorderly street walker....	57	22	13	6	8	.....	3	5
Habitual drunkard.....	126	46	20	7	31	11	7	4
Vagrancy.....	71	21	9	2	25	10	2	2
Vagrancy, idle and disorderly.....	27	11	5	3	4	.....	1	3
Idle and disorderly.....	16	4	6	1	3	.....	1	1
Own request.....	3	1	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....

In the same table are given the details as to charge as compared with Nativity. It will be seen that the English born fall exclusively in the non-prostitute groups, and that the native-born Americans contribute a disproportionate number of prostitutes.

The docket information as to the occupations of the women is meager and not accurate, particularly as the term housework includes both those occupied in their own homes and in domestic service. It is significant, however, that the large majority of committed women are those occupied in the home, there being 255 registered for housework and other forms of domestic service, and only 45 in all other occupations.

RELIGION

The religious affiliations as given by the women are as follows: Roman Catholic, 199, or 66 per cent; Protestant, 96, or 32 per cent; Hebrew, 5, or 2 per cent. In several instances we found that women recorded as Roman Catholics were not so, but this number probably is not great enough to effect the total averages.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Docket information is obtained for the number of living children. These figures are far from accurate for a number of reasons. In the first place no question as to children is asked in cases reporting themselves as single women; this eliminates all illegitimate children. The women frequently do not understand the question and give the number of children they have had altogether or only those who are not yet of working age. Of 300 women 211 reported having no living children. The others reported from one to eight each, totaling 214 children for 89 mothers, or slightly over 2 apiece. Investigations disclosed the fact that practically all the women with children had been unable to care for them, and that their homes had been broken up some time before their commitments.

SPECIAL STUDY OF 118 WOMEN

METHOD OF EXAMINATION

Each woman was interviewed separately, the average time being over an hour for the first interview. In several cases I saw the woman many times. There was no effort to hurry or to cover a large number of questions. The object was to determine in a general way the woman's mental content and temperamental reactions, and to observe her physical condition. The women were told that I was to interview them for the purpose of following up any injustice to their commitment, and that I might be able to secure their parole. They also expected me to help them find work. When I first started to examine the rumor went abroad that I was to "examine their brains" and would commit them all to insane asylums. This rumor died down after a few examinations had been made, and in general the women liked to come up to my office, as it afforded a change from monotony. I encouraged them to talk freely, having it understood that anything they wished would be kept strictly confidential.

Records were kept in a certain regular order as indicated in Form A.⁴

FOLLOW-UP WORK

In a large number of cases follow-up work was done in the way of home visits and interviews with other agencies knowing the women or their families. This was for the purpose of verifying statements

⁴This is the order of recording followed by the authorities in the Sherborn Reformatory and Prison for Women, South Framingham, Mass., where remarkably careful individual studies are made of prisoners. The plan was originated by Mrs. Hodder, the Superintendent of the prison, and Miss Burleigh, State Supervisor of Parole for Girls in Massachusetts, and was presented at the International Congress on Prison Reform held at Paris.

and only incidentally for the purpose of social service, though the number of things to be done for the women in the way of securing charitable and medical care for their families and for themselves after discharge could have easily taken all my time.

Outline Used in Special Study of Women in House of Correction, 1916.

Form A.

- I. IDENTIFYING DATA.
Name. Age. Color. Date of birth. Place of birth. Religion. Register number.
- DESCRIPTION.
- II. REASON FOR DESIRING PAROLE.
- III. DATA FROM COURT.
A. IMMEDIATE COURT HISTORY.
 1. Charge.
 2. Plea.
 3. Court.
 4. Judge.
 5. Date of commitment.
 6. Term of sentence.
 7. Expiration of sentence.
- B. PREVIOUS COURT HISTORY.
- IV. DATA FROM INMATE.
A. FAMILY HISTORY.
- B. PERSONAL HISTORY.
 1. Infancy.
 2. Childhood.
 3. Adolescence.
 4. Delinquencies.
 - a. First offense.
 - b. Arrest and sentence.
 - c. History of present commitment.
 5. Attitudes.
 - a. Toward the past.
 - b. Toward family.
 - c. Toward future rehabilitation.
- V. DATA FROM OFFICERS OF INSTITUTION.
A. REPORT OF RECEIVING MATRON.
- B. REPORT OF PHYSICIAN.
 1. Medical.
 2. Mental.
- C. INDUSTRIAL REPORT.
- D. EDUCATION REPORT.
- E. SOCIAL REPORT.
- F. SUPERINTENDENT'S IMPRESSIONS.
- VI. DATA FROM OUTSIDE AGENCIES AND INDIVIDUALS.
A. FAMILY AND RELATIVES.
 1. Mother.
 - a. Heredity.
 - b. Pre-natal.
 - c. Birth and infancy.
 - d. Childhood.
 - e. Adolescence.
- IMPRESSIONS OF MOTHERS.
- CHARACTER OF HOME.
2. Father.
 IMPRESSIONS OF FATHER.
- B. EMPLOYER.
- C. PROBATION AND POLICE OFFICERS.
- D. CLERGYMEN, SOCIAL WORKERS AND OTHERS INTERESTED.
- VII. PAROLE RESOURCES.

The negro and white women will be treated separately because of the generally superior character of the former.

AGES

Because of the large proportions of prostitutes, and of first timers among the group specially studied they were younger on the whole; those under 40 formed 57% instead of 33% as among the 300.

The charges were distributed as follows: Among 100 white women:

Disorderly street walkers.....	34
Habitual drunkards	44
Vagrants	16
Idle and disorderly persons.....	3
Own request	2
Habitual drunkard and cruelty and neglect.....	1

INVESTIGATIONS FOR PAROLE

In a few particularly urgent cases definite efforts were made to secure parole or to transfer the woman to the Philadelphia General Hospital. However, in 17 out of 29 specially followed the results of investigation was that no further effort was made to secure parole. In the 29 were included 6 disorderly street walkers, 14 habitual drunkards, 5 women accused of disorderly conduct, 2 of vagrancy, 1 being idle and disorderly, and one who was registered as committed at her own request. Most were first commitments. In several cases the actual facts bore so little resemblance to the woman's story that we were forced to the conclusion that she was suffering from a real delusion.

The general conclusion to be derived from this experience is that in a large majority of cases the women are where they belong; that is there are few unjustifiable commitments. This is somewhat different from the situation as regards the men. The problem as regards the women largely reduces itself to a question of the treatment accorded them in the institution and after their discharge.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND

As it appeared quite evident that the women represented a very definite section of the community special attention was given to their social relationship of all kinds. In every respect, they appeared as a maladjusted group, and this failure of adjustment seems due in greatest measure to inherent and constitutional defects in the woman rather than to any general and immediately controllable environmental features. This does not mean that the individual defects were not themselves conditioned by gross environmental factors, such as nutrition,

housing and education. It does mean, however that any attempt to deal with particular cases must proceed along the line of providing a suitable environment for definitely pathological types, rather than with the expectation of modifying the individuals in such a way as to make them normal members of the normal social group.

OCCUPATIONS

In Table VII are given the details as to the occupations of 100 women as compared with charges. It will be seen that the largest number, 22, are drawn from those occupied in their own homes, and that if with these are included the 40 engaged in various types of domestic service, three-fifths of all are house workers. Of the remaining two-fifths, 14 acknowledged that they had no regular occupation. It is probable that many of those giving housework as their employment really had no employment, as the great majority lived in furnished rooms.

TABLE VII.
OCCUPATION OF WOMEN COMPARED WITH CHARGE.

OCCUPATION	Total	Disorderly Street Walker	All Other Charges
Total	100	34	66
Housework	22	8	14
None at all	14	5	9
Day's work	12	5	7
Factory	11	6	5
At service, living in	7	..	7
Laundress	7	2	5
At service, living out	6	1	5
Waitress in hotel, etc.	4	3	1
Chambermaid	3	2	1
Saleswoman	3	1	2
Cashier	2	..	2
Agent	2	..	2
Factory home work	2	1	1
Housekeeper	1	..	1
Typewriter	1	..	1
Bookkeeper	1	..	1
Dressmaker	1	..	1
Bookbinder	1	..	1

CIVIL CONDITION

In Table 8 are given the details as to the civil conditions of 100 women. It will be noted that the large majority, 80, had been married and of them 21 were widows and that very few of the remainder were living normal married lives. In all the cases where a

legal divorce was reported, it was the man who secured it. Of the 21 widows, 20 were alcoholics. In a number of cases they reported that they had begun to drink with their husbands and that discouragement and loneliness had made them continue lately.

TABLE VIII.
CIVIL CONDITION OF 100 WOMEN COMPARED WITH CHARGE.

CIVIL CONDITION	Total	Disorderly Street Walker	All Other Offenses
Total	100	34	66
Widowed	21	2	19
Separated	21	12	9
Single	19	6	13
Married	19	5	14
Deserted	6	2	4
Common law	5	2	3
Divorced	3	1	2
Wife deserted husband.....	3	2	1
Paramour after desertion.....	3	2	1

CHILDREN

In Tables 9 and 10 are given the details as to the number of children born to 100 women, and the number surviving. The street walkers are seen to be not so fertile as the other women, a fact which is probably directly due to their manner of living, which leads to diseases resulting in sterility. Of 195 children, only 109 survived. The large majority of these children are charges either upon private or public charity, and only 13 women reported living with their children.

TABLE IX.
NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO 100 WOMEN.

NUMBER REPORTING			Disorderly Street Walker		All Other Offenses	
	Total Women	Total Children	Women	Children	Women	Children
Total.....	100	195	34	33	66	162
None.....	38	.....	19	.....	19	.....
One.....	17	17	5	5	12	12
Two.....	10	20	5	10	5	10
Three.....	7	21	2	6	5	15
Four.....	7	28	1	4	6	24
Five.....	4	20	.....	.....	4	20
Six.....	3	18	.....	.....	3	18
Seven.....	4	28	1	7	3	21
Eight.....	2	16	.....	.....	2	16
Nine or more.....	3	27	1	1	2	26 plus
Unknown.....	5	.....	.....	.....	5	.....

TABLE X.
NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN AMONG 100 WOMEN.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	Women	Children
Total	100	109
None	51	..
One	16	16
Two	11	22
Three	9	27
Four	2	8
Five	3	15
Six	1	6
Seven	1	7
Eight	1	8
Nine and over.....	..	..
Unknown	5	..

Information as to the number of illegitimate children was secured in 93 cases. Of these 10 reported having had one, and two had had two illegitimate children, making a total of 14, which is doubtless far below the actual number.

As an index to the general physical condition of the women, information was asked as to the number of miscarriages and still births, the results of which were as follows:

	Number of Women	Number of Miscarriages
Reporting no miscarriage.....	70	..
Reporting 1 miscarriage.....	10	10
Reporting 2 miscarriages.....	18	36
Reporting 3 miscarriages.....	3	9
Reporting 4 miscarriages.....	4	16
Reporting 8 miscarriages.....	8	64
Total	43	135
		Number of Stillbirths
Reporting 1 stillbirth.....	6	6
Reporting 2 stillbirths.....	2	4
Reporting 3 stillbirths.....	3	9
Total	11	19

These numbers are in excess of the normal number of miscarriages and stillbirths in the population at large, and indicate a low physiological tone on the part of these women.

Another evidence of the lack of ability on the part of the women to maintain a normal manner of home life is shown by the fact that 73 reported living in furnished rooms. This means almost inevitably the

breaking up of all home ties with people of the social and economic grade under consideration. The fact that they do not own their furniture, and can move at a day's notice, means that a very real factor making for stability in personal and working life is removed. Of the remaining 27, 17 reported living in a rented house, 9 were at service or in hotels, and one owned the house.

KNOWN TO CHARITABLE AGENCIES

With this large amount of broken up family life it was not surprising to find that of 52 cases specially investigated, 37 were known to charitable agencies of various kinds, some of them being known to as many as ten separate agencies. The Society for Organizing Charity and the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty were the most usual ones. The cases not so known were originally single women without children.

INSTITUTION RECORD

Many of the women had been in other corrective or outside institutions. One woman who had served five terms in the House of Correction had also served four terms in the House of Good Shepherd. Her husband had kept her alternating between the two places for eleven years. In between her commitments she bore five of her seven children, and had four miscarriages. The majority of the alcoholics had been in the Philadelphia General Hospital at one time or another. Of the 32 women who admitted having been in other institutions, 19 had been in the House of Good Shepherd; 9 in the County Prison, including 2 who had also been in the House of Good Shepherd; 3 had been in the Salvation Army Home, and one in a private sanatorium for the insane, one in the Magdalen Home, and one in the Sherborn Prison, Massachusetts.

OBSERVATIONS AS TO THE PHYSICAL CONDITION OF 100 WOMEN

The appearance of the women as a whole is that of a poorly nourished, undersized group. The fact that they are old, and that they wear no corsets makes them appear shorter than they really are. Each woman is weighed and measured upon entrance by an inmate attendant. The work is carelessly done and the results are not accurate, especially as the measurements are taken with clothes on, including outer garments. However the measurements confirm the general appearance. The average weight of 300 women was 127 pounds, and the average height slightly over 5 feet 3 inches. The vast majority, 240, are under 5 feet 6 inches. The average figures are not so

significant as the actual proportions, which seldom showed a proper balance between height and weight.

PHYSICAL DEFECTS AND SYMPTOMS OF DISEASE

Observations as to the physical condition of each woman were made under twelve heads. There was first a general estimate made of their nutrition, as shown by growth, color and texture of the skin, especially of the mucous membranes about the mouth and eyes, carriage and tenacity of muscles, and the condition of the hair. In fifty-three cases out of the hundred this was noted as poor. Where an acute condition of mal-nutrition was evidenced by extreme emaciation, pallor and by other skin signs, this was noted as a distinct defect, and occurred in thirty-three cases. The nutritional condition is extremely important because of the close relationship between mental and nervous balance and the general bodily metabolism. Energy for thought and the making of decisions affecting conduct and the appreciation of social values is derived from the residue after mere physical life is supported. If the store is low, the margin that should go toward supporting conscious life is used up.

Other conditions noted were the presence or absence of symptoms that would indicate a need for further examinations of the following sorts: General medical, for diseases of heart, lungs, and the alimentary tract and skeleton; gynecological; for suspected drug using; for venereal diseases; for special nervous disorders; for skin diseases; and for defects of the eyes, ears and teeth.

In Table XI are given the results of these observations. The statements are not in the nature of diagnosis, but express merely what the examiner thought was necessary in order to form the basis for complete individual diagnosis and treatment. The defects are listed in their numerical order, and are further sub-divided according to the charge against the women. In the case of drugs, there were 14 street walkers about whom there was definite information that they were drug users, and 4 women accused of other offenses who were also known to be drug users. In the case of venereal diseases, there were 4 women in each group known to have had either syphilis or gonorrhea. Thorough medical examinations of all the women would doubtless disclose many more defects particularly of the last two sorts.

The figures in Table XI do not show how many defects there were per person, but there were obviously more than one, the average being nearly five. Some women presented many defects, and there were a very few who might be called fairly healthy. It is noticeable that there is some relation between the defects and the nature of the

charges. If the defects were similarly distributed there would be a constant ratio of about 1 to 2, which is the numerical ratio between the two groups as a whole. It will be seen that the street walkers have nearly six defects apiece and show a disproportionate number of defects associated with nutrition, venereal diseases, suspected drug using, gynecological trouble and suspected tuberculosis, while the other women show a high number of eye defects and nervous diseases.

TABLE XI.

PHYSICAL CONDITION COMPARED WITH CHARGE IN 100 CASES.

EXAMINATION NEEDED FOR	Total	Disorderly Street Walker	All Other Charges
Total women	100	34	66
Total defects	474	198	276
General medical	78	26	52
Teeth	74	25	49
Nervous disorder	54	20	34
Poor nutrition	53	20	33
Eyes	45	14	31
Venereal disease	43	27	16
Drug using	37	25	12
Gynecological	36	16	20
Acute malnutrition	23	13	10
Tuberculosis	21	9	12
Skin disease	6	2	4
Defective hearing	4	1	3

MENTAL CONDITION OF WOMEN SPECIALLY EXAMINED

"Even to a lay mind, it is manifest, on a cursory view, that many of the inmates are either insane or feeble-minded." This was the statement made by Dr. Hastings H. Hart and Mr. Leonard in their report on the Bureau of Correction in 1915. This impression was more than confirmed by a closer examination of individuals. The main object of the interviews with the women was to arrive at a fair estimate of their mentality. No attempt was made to make a close diagnosis. The object was rather to make a general classification which should, as in the estimates of the physical conditions, serve as a basis for a more detailed examination and ultimate disposition of each case.

The final test of mental competency is a social one. Judges and juries are rightly conservative in the matter of declaring persons fit subjects for permanent custodial care unless they are quite incapable of the ordinary social adjustments. The standard, therefore, adopted in the making of these classifications was the practical one of considering

how any given case would appear in the eyes of a judge or a jury concerned, not with highly specialized psychological distinctions, but with quite obvious social values.

Two-Fold Classification

Each woman was classified in two ways, first as to her place in scale measuring mental content, whereby she was adjudged either of average or more than average intelligence, dull or very dull, or of subnormal intelligence. This is a scale indicating mental levels and is essentially quantitative. The second classification was according to the presence or absence of mental abnormalities considered from a qualitative point of view. On the mental level side of the classification "above normal" is taken to mean above the normal for the group under consideration. Some of these so marked, were above the average for the general population. These classed as "subnormal" were those of either defective mentality of congenital origin or of such marked deterioration that their mental level was subnormal at the time, however it may have been earlier in life.

An essential feature of this classification is that it is descriptive rather than analytical and was based upon combinations of symptoms actually found to exist rather than constructed a priori. In Table XII is shown each person's place in the two groups. The meaning of the terms used is as follows:

1. *Alcoholic Psychosis*.—Mental instability or deterioration apparently resulting from excessive use of alcohol. The symptoms of this condition, which range from simple confusion of mind to distinct delusions and hallucinations of vision and hearing, may be present either periodically or immediately after indulgence, or they may persist long after.

2. *Insanity and Borderland Insanity*.—By this is meant a condition of permanent mental derangement which may have preceded alcoholism, and of which alcoholism was the result rather than the cause, or it may have developed after prolonged alcoholism. To be placed in this category the woman would have to show defective orientation for time or place or persons, or of delusions and obsessions, or complete incoherence or mania. Among these was one woman 78 years of age suffering from senile dementia of an acute form.

3. *Psychopathic Personality*.—This is the term used commonly by alienists and psychologists to designate persons with unstable and defective volition, who are neither feeble-minded or insane. These persons may possess a high degree of native intelligence and ability

and they are capable of forming moral judgments, and may be productive members of society provided they are not called upon to make personal adjustments with other individuals. They yield too readily to impulses to gratify immediate desires, being incapable of holding an idea against a present suggestion, whether this be to show off, or get drunk, or experiment with drugs, or to get angry, and so forth. This instability of emotion and weak will are psychic defects, but they are not mental defects as the term is ordinarily used. They concern that part of the mentality which has to do with social relationships and with conduct. The psychopaths are probably the most important group met with in criminology, as they generally outnumber the feeble-minded with whom they are frequently confused. Many of these suffering with distinct alcoholic psychoses are at base probably of psychopathic personality.

4. *Delinquency Mentality*.—This term indicates a group of persons commonly recognized among recidivists who seem to be persistently anti-social in their inclinations and conduct in spite of apparent ability, understanding and strong will. To quote Dr. Anderson of the Boston Municipal Court:⁵

"They are not impulsive, poorly balanced, neurotic individuals; they are not lacking in inhibition and liable to great emotional extremes, violent outbursts of temper, etc., as are the psychopaths, who are often quite conscientious and sincere and try repeatedly to do better, but fail because of their marked nervous and mental instability. On the contrary this particular type . . . are fairly intelligent. . . : They have a stable mentality, are cool and calculating, deliberate, planning out situations in advance, indolent and superficial, very selfish, egotistic, heartless and even cruel at times. In them the self-preservation instincts are undisciplined and the nobler sentiments are lacking. They are strongly individualistic.

"In short, they possess a mentality that differs from the average or normal in that it is particularly non-social . . . their mental condition is to be explained purely on psychological rather than on pathological grounds, is acquired rather than innate. . . . These individuals have not had at the proper stage of their development those socializing influences that discipline the instincts and emotions."

As will be seen from Table XIII this was not a type frequently found in the House of Correction. Five of the seven women so marked were unusual in that they had criminal records outside, and they were in no way typical of the house population generally. Each one had had unusual schooling and other advantages in the way of good family and freedom from extreme economic pressure.

⁵Anderson, Victor V., in *Borderline Mental Cases*. This JOURNAL, Vol. VI, No. 5, pp. 689-695.

5. *Doubtful* cases are those presenting symptoms, which may, on closer examination, be indicative either of fundamental defectiveness or feeble-mindedness, or of the deterioration of insanity.

6. *Borderline Feeble-Minded* are those who are probably feeble-minded, but who would require a more careful examination to determine their exact status:

7. *The Feeble-Minded* individuals were obviously imbeciles.

TABLE XII.

MENTAL CLASSIFICATION OF 100 WOMEN ACCORDING TO LEVEL, OF INTELLIGENCE AND ABNORMAL MENTAL STATE.

ABNORMALITIES	Total	LEVELS				
		Above Normal	Normal	Dull	Very Dull	Sub-normal
Total	100	17	30	13	7	33
None present.....	31	8	17	2	4	..
Alcoholic psychosis..	19	2	6	3	2	6
Borderline insanity..	12	1	2	1	..	8
Psychopathic personality	11	2	3	5	1	..
Delinquent mentality..	7	3	2	2	..	..
Insanity	7	1	..	..	..	6
Doubtful	6	..	..	..	..	6
Borderline feeble-minded	4	..	..	..	..	4
Feeble-minded	2	..	..	..	..	2
Epileptic	1	..	..	..	..	1

Mentality and Charges

If the two groups of women divided according to charge are compared as to their mentality, certain differences appear, as shown in Table 13 and Table 14. The general ratio between the figures should be in each line as 1:2, comparing street walkers with other offenders. This ratio holds fairly well except in the group marked above average where it is 7:10, and in the dull where it is 8:6 and in the subnormal where it is 12:21. The street walkers are apparently more variable, being both above and below the average level of mentality with greater frequency than the others. As regards mental abnormalities, the street walkers contribute more than their share to the groups of psychopathic personalities and delinquent mentality. They furnish less than their quota of those free from mental abnormality.

Relation of Mentality to Re-Commitments

In Tables 15 and 16 are given the results of comparing the number of commitments of each woman with her mental condition considered, both according to level and deviation. It will be noted that the first timers fall largely in the normal groups in both cases, so that out of 28 first timers, 71 per cent were of normal mental level, and 60 per cent presented no mental abnormality. Of those below mental level, three-fourths were repeaters, and of 69 presenting mental abnormalities, 52, or 75 per cent were repeaters.

TABLE XIII.

MENTAL LEVEL AS RELATED TO CHARGE AMONG 100 WOMEN.

CHARGE	Total	LEVELS				
		Above Normal	Normal	Dull	Very Dull	normal Sub-
Total	100	17	30	13	7	33
Disorderly street walker	34	7	5	8	2	12
Habitual drunkard...	44	7	18	2	3	14
Vagrant	16	3	4	2	1	6
Idle and disorderly..	3	..	1	1	1	..
Own request	2	..	2	..	..	..
Habitual drunkard and cruelty and neglect.	1	..	..	..	..	1

TABLE XIV.

CHARGE AS RELATED TO ABNORMAL MENTALITY.

MENTAL ABNORMALITY	Total	Disorderly Street Walker	Hab'l Drunk.	Vagrant	Idle and Disorderly	Own Request	Hab'l Drunk. and Cruelty
Total.....	100	34	44	16	3	2	1
None present.....	31	8	16	5	1	1	.....
Alcoholic Psychosis.....	19	3	11	2	2	.....	1
Borderline Insanity.....	12	4	5	2	.....	1	.....
Psychopathic personality....	11	5	3	3	.....	.....	.....
Delinquent mentality.....	7	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Insanity.....	7	2	4	1	.....	.....	.....
Doubtful.....	6	2	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Feeble-minded.....	4	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Borderline feeble-minded.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Epileptic.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE XV.
RELATION BETWEEN MENTAL LEVEL AND NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS.

NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS	Total	LEVELS				
		Above Average	Average	Dull	Very Dull	Sub-normal
Total	100	17	30	13	7	33
1	28	4	11	3	2	8
2	16	3	6	4	1	2
3	9	2	2	2	1	2
4	5	2	2	..	..	1
5	8	2	2	2	..	2
6	6	..	2	..	1	3
7	3	1	..	..	1	1
8	1	..	..	..	..	1
9	1	..	1	..	..	..
10	1	..	..	1	..	..
11	2	1	..	1	..	..
12	2	..	..	..	..	2
14	1	..	..	..	..	1
15	1	..	..	..	..	1
16	3	1	1	..	1	..
18	1	..	..	..	..	1
20	2	..	1	..	..	1
21 and over	10	1	2	..	..	7

TABLE XVI.
RELATION BETWEEN NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS AND MENTAL ABNORMALITIES IN 100 WOMEN.

MENTAL ABNORMALITIES	Total	NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11-91
Total	100	28	16	9	5	8	6	3	1	1	1	22
None present	31	11	6	3	..	..	4	1	..	1	..	5
Alcoholic psychosis	19	3	2	4	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	6
Borderline insanity	12	3	2	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Psychopathic personalities	11	3	2	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Delinquent mentality	7	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Insanity	7	2	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	1
Doubtful	6	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Borderline feeble-minded	4	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1
Feeble-minded	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Epileptic	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

SCHOOLING

In this connection it is interesting to observe a direct relation between schooling and number of commitments. The results are given

in Table 17. A rather surprising number reported no schooling. This is probably related to the advanced age of many, who were young in the days before compulsory education was general, and also in the fact that many come from countries where there is little free public education. Of the 25 women with no schooling, 21 were repeaters. Of the 44 who had gone beyond the fourth grade in school, 18 were first timers. Of the 44 who had not gone beyond the fourth grade, only nine were first timers.

Considering the mental condition of the women as shown by the amount of schooling they had and by the results of observation of their present state, there seems to be clear evidence that there is a distinct relationship between mentality and their liability to get into the kind of trouble that will bring them to the House of Correction.

TABLE XVII.

RELATION BETWEEN SCHOOLING AND NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS.

NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS	Total	SCHOOLING											
		None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	High School	Special Training	No Information
Total.....	100	26	1	3	5	9	5	5	5	23	5	1	12(a)
1.....	28	5	...	...	2	1	3	3	2	9	2	...	1
2.....	16	5	...	...	...	2	2	...	2	3	1	1	...
3.....	9	3	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	3	...	...	...
4.....	5	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1
5.....	8	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	2	1	...	1
6.....	6	3	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
7.....	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
8.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
9.....	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10.....	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11-91.....	22	7	...	2	2	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	7

(a)—Of these cases seven were so rambling and incoherent in their remarks that exact information was not to be secured.

COMPARISON BETWEEN WHITE AND COLORED WOMEN

In the first entertainment given by the women themselves, after the introduction of evening entertainments by the special worker from the Municipal Court, one of the outstanding features was the evident superiority of the colored women in their ability to plan and execute a varied program and in the quality of leadership. It is a matter of common comment among the matrons that the negro women are, on the whole, of a higher class than the white women, and that this is

shown by their greater docility, obedience and working capacity. A study of the docket information, especially in regard to number of commitments, shows this, and the fact was again emphasized when individual examinations were made. In Table XVIII are given the distribution of charges according to color. It will be seen that the proportion of street walkers is relatively high among the colored, while there are relatively few habitual drunkards.

The following is a summary of the findings in regard to sixteen colored women studied. There were not enough cases to warrant a correlation of the details as in the case of the white women:

Known to Other Agencies.

Of six registered with bureau for the registration and exchange of confidential information, none was known to other agencies.

Institution Record.

Five had been in county prison on similar charges.

General Home Conditions.

Living at home with husband and children	5
With husband, children with relatives.....	1
Home broken, children with relatives.....	1
Unmarried, no children	7
Home broken, no children.....	2

Habitation.

Furnished room	10
Rented house	3
At service	3

Living With.

Strangers	5
Husband	6
Relatives	2
Promiscuously	2
Parents	1

Schooling.

Second grade	1
Third grade	3
Fifth grade	4
Sixth grade	2
Eight grade	2
High School	1
Special training (dressmaking).....	2
None	1

Religious Affiliation.

Protestant	13
Roman Catholic	3

Literacy.

Illiterate	2
Literate	14

Alcoholic Habits.

Alcoholic	3
Abstainer or temperate	13

Children.

Total number born	9
Total living	7
Total illegitimate	6

Nativity.

States outside Pennsylvania.....	9
Philadelphia	3
Pennsylvania	3
Philippines	1

Occupations.

Housework at home	3
None	3
Day's work	3
Living in at service.....	1
Living out at service.....	3
Laundress	1
Waitress in hotel	1
Washwoman	1

Number of Commitments.

One	9
Two	4
Four	2
Seven	1
Weighted average No.....	2

Charges.

Disorderly street walker.....	9
Idle and disorderly.....	7

Mental Level.

Above average	3
Average	6
Dull	4
Subnormal	3

Mental Abnormalities.

None present	12
Feeble-minded	2
Borderline feeble-minded	1
Psychopathic personality	1

Physical Condition.

General poor nutrition.....	8
Acute malnutrition (included in above).....	6
Suspected drug users.....	4
Suspected venereal disease.....	10
Needing general medical examination.....	12
Needing gynecological examination.....	5
Needing nervous examination.....	4
Suspected tuberculosis	6
Eye defects	6
Defective teeth	8

TABLE XVIII.

CHARGE AS COMPARED WITH COLOR IN 300 CASES.

CHARGES	Total	COLOR AND PER CENT			
		White		Colored	
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Total	300	270	100	30	100
Habitual drunkard.....	126	122	45	4	13
Vagrancy	71	65	24	6	20
Disorderly street walker.	57	49	18	8	27
Vagrancy and idle and disorderly	27	23	9	4	13
Own request	3	3	1	..	..
Idle and disorderly.....	16	8	3	8	27

The totals, however, show a striking contrast in nearly all respects between colored and white. As regards mental level, only 3 were subnormal, and a large proportion were average and above average. The twelve presenting no mental abnormalities are in striking contrast to the meager 31 per cent of white women. The general physical condition was better. Schooling had apparently been better. Only three reported entirely broken up family life, as compared with the two-thirds of the white women reporting this condition.

Of all the differences the relative number of commitments is most significant. Among the thirty colored women in the House of Correction during the period of observation, 43 per cent were first-timers, as compared with only 21 per cent of the white. The average number of commitments per person was slightly over 2, as compared with 9 among the whites. There were no cases of negroes who had several unusually large numbers of terms, while among the whites, twelve per cent had served twenty-one terms or more. Of the 16 specially studied it was noticeable that those serving the largest number of

commitments were the mentally abnormal; so that of the two feeble-minded women, one was serving the fourth and one the seventh, and the one with psychopathic personality was serving her fourth.

Apparently the colored women are not a highly selected group of the population as are the white women. The reason for this seems to be that policemen and magistrates do not feel the same chivalrous disinclination to arrest and commit colored women that they display in regard to white women. The relatively small number of recommitments is to be further accounted for by the fact that the colored women respond more readily to the discipline of the institution because of their greater docility. Investigations showed that in a number of cases the woman bore a good reputation in her neighborhood with her local police, and had been committed at the time of her first arrest.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. This study covers a period of three months and involves 300 women.
2. Information on 300 women was gathered under seventeen heads, and detailed examinations were made of 118 women, resulting in information under thirty-eight heads. In addition, the figures relating to recommitments were analyzed in 816 cases.
3. The general provision for physical care of the women, while it fails to measure up to modern requirements, would probably compare favorably with similar institutions of equal age. The most serious deficiency in the general physical provision is in regard to the food, which is of poor quality, ill-balanced and wretchedly served.
4. There is little provision for individual care, and no assurance that the women will be in any fundamentally better condition upon leaving than they were on entrance, except that some improvement is inevitable as a result of quiet and regular hours.
5. The women represent a highly selected group in the community. This is shown by their small numbers as compared with the men; the fact that they are not committed as readily as the men, and that they serve a large number of terms, averaging during the entire year over five commitments apiece and during the winter months nine apiece. There is apparently little relation between the class of offenders committed to the House of Correction and women convicted of so-called higher crime. The women apparently strike their level, a low one, rather early in life and remain there.
6. Study of the time of year during which most women are committed shows that there are different causes operating in their case

from that of the men. Apparently the men are largely influenced by external conditions, such as economic and weather stresses, while the women are committed because of internal factors making for personal maladjustment. Examinations of individuals confirmed this.

7. Of 300 women, 162 were over 40. Women under 35 are nearly all those charged with disorderly street walking.

8. The law in regard to increasing terms with successive recommitments is a dead letter. Comparison showed that the legal minimum length of sentences was five times as great as the length of sentences actually being served.

9. Magistrates fail to obey the law in regard to increasing the length of sentences, either because they do not agree with the concept of justice, which this represents, or because they do not consider that the House of Correction, as it is at present equipped and organized, can do the work of reconstructing individuals for which it was designed. Probably both of these factors are operative.

10. Investigations showed few illegal commitments of women, except in the single respect of length of term. The women are apparently committed justly in nearly all cases.

11. Although there are found technically five charges upon which women are committed, habitual drunkenness, vagrancy, idle and disorderly conduct, own request and disorderly street walking, these may be reduced practically to two groups, the street walkers and the alcoholics, as it seldom happens that a perfectly sober woman of known temperate habits gets into trouble with the police. This is apparently a different condition than is found in the case of the men.

12. The street walkers are better able to keep out of the House of Correction than the alcoholics, as shown by the fact that the time between recommitments is shorter in the case of the latter.

13. A study of the nativity of the women shows that 59 per cent are native-born Americans, and the largest number are Philadelphians by birth. The next largest group come from English-speaking nationalities, while only a tenth are non-English speaking. This would indicate that immigration and the inability to speak English cannot be held responsible for the problem of the drunk and disorderly women in the city.

14. A study of the occupations of the women shows that work outside the home is not responsible for their getting into trouble. It is questionable whether there is any relation whatever between occupation and these classes of offenses. Probably women capable of following regular wage-earning occupations are also capable of taking

care of themselves, and this would account for the extremely low number of skilled occupations represented.

15. The greater number of women had been married, and had 214 living children.

16. Examinations of 118 women were made in detail, including 102 white women and 16 colored. The information was tabulated in the case of 100 white and 16 colored women. These women are fairly representative of the entire group, differing only in the relatively large number of street walkers and first timers.

17. Part of the object of the examination was to determine the proportion unjustly committed or eligible for parole. Among 29 cases specially investigated, 17 were dismissed from consideration for parole. Transference to the Philadelphia Hospital was asked for in 6 cases and secured in 4. Parole was asked for and secured in 5 cases.

18. Study of the social background of the women revealed the fact that they were socially incompetent and unable satisfactorily to meet the obligations and responsibilities of life outside. The most striking evidence of this was the fact that nearly all had not even the material basis for normal home life, which is a permanent habitation, but lived casually about in furnished rooms. Although they had nearly all been married and had borne on an average of two children apiece, their families were scattered and the children in the care of institutions or relatives, and this condition in most cases far antedated their commitments. The large majority of the women were known to charitable agencies, and a considerable proportion had been in other institutions of a correctional or custodial character. These facts indicate the need for comprehensive community planning and care for these women, if for nothing other than financial reasons.

19. Examination of a most superficial sort revealed the presence of symptoms of a large number of acute and chronic physical ailments, there being an average of nearly five defects for each woman. Need for general medical examination of heart, lungs and alimentary canal was the most apparent, and next in order came defective teeth, poor nutrition and bad eyes.

20. Observations as to the mental condition of 100 white women resulted in the conclusion that only 31 were not mentally abnormal in some way or other. A twofold classification, involving both quantitative and qualitative standards, shows that 33 were below the normal level of intelligence, because of congenital feeble-mindedness or deterioration from acquired mental disorders, while 69 presented signs of distinctly abnormal mental conditions.

21. Comparison between the charges against the women and their mental condition showed that the street walkers were, on the whole, of a better grade mentally than the alcoholics. This may be partly explained by their relative youth. There was also evident a greater variety of mental condition among the street walkers, more of them being distinctly above or below the average, both quantitatively and qualitatively considered.

22. There was a distinct relation between the number of commitments and the seriousness of the mental condition observed, the great majority of repeaters falling in the abnormal groups, with the general ratio maintaining that the more numerous the commitments the greater the abnormality. A similar ratio obtained between schooling and number of commitments.

23. Comparison between the colored and white women showed the former to be of a higher grade in every respect, particularly as regards mentality and number of commitments. This would indicate a distinct difference in the condition of their commitment originally, and that the colored women are not so highly a selected group of the population as are the whites.

General Conclusion

24. The House of Correction does not correct women. This may be due to one of two factors, either the lack of adaptive treatment of individual cases or inherent incorrigibility of the women, due to pathological constitutions. The inherent defects are both (a) congenital, as in feeble-mindedness, epilepsy or the psychopathic types, or (b) developmental, as in alcoholic psychoses, other forms of insanity and delinquent mentality. The women with constitutional defects requiring medical rather than correctional treatment form the great majority—70 per cent.

For the remaining 30 per cent correctional treatment may be assumed to have potential value, but its form requires considerable modification.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Provisions for Individual Treatment

The most important principle of modern penology is that the individual offender, rather than the particular offense, is the concern of society. This principle is gradually remodeling our penal institutions, beginning, curiously enough, with prisons for serious offenders rather than in the houses of correction, workhouses and so-called reformatories where offenses are punished of such character that society

has no particular reason to fear the offenders, and so be blinded into punishment of a retaliatory character. A reformatory institution does not automatically result from the removal of the mechanism of vindictive punishment that formed the basis of the older prisons, any more than wise child care results automatically from the sparing of the rod. The House of Correction of Philadelphia is strikingly free from any signs of harsh, humiliating or degrading treatment. The officers are uniformly kind, and in three months I never heard anything approaching complaint by the inmates as to personal treatment. But the fact remains that the women, at least, are neither "corrected" nor "reformed." It is probable that only a small proportion of the women are fit subjects for reformatory treatment, even of the most approved sort. The few, however, should be given the benefit of this, and for the others the same treatment would be the best means of studying them and making provision for their permanent care. The basis of all of the following recommendations is that reformation is possible only with the most complete attention to the needs of each separate individual, and with treatment varied in accordance with this.

II. *Legal Considerations*

A. *Law of Increasing Length of Sentence.*—The single, most serious defect of the present practice in regard to commitments to the House of Correction is the failure to obey the law regarding increasing the length of the terms with successive commitments. Repeated short sentences for minor offenders were declared by the American Prison Congress at Cincinnati in 1870 to be "worse than useless; that, in fact, they rather stimulate than repress transgression. Reformation is a work of time; and a benevolent regard to the good of the criminal himself, as well as to the protection of society, requires that his sentence be long enough for reformatory processes to take effect." No one familiar with prison conditions has ever seriously questioned the wisdom of this statement.

One difficulty in the way of the individual magistrates obeying this law is that no central records are kept, or at least consulted, whereby they can know certainly how many times a person has served. The House of Correction authorities, however, know, and it would be a simple matter to leave the question of the term indefinite, to be determined by the superintendent after the person has arrived at the institution.

B. *Alternative of Formal Trial.*—It is probable that it will be some time before the general public, as represented by our magistrates, will accept the principle of treating individuals rather than isolated offenses, and until they do so, it will be practically impossible to enforce

this law. The alternative is suggested, therefore, of requiring a formal trial by jury, or at least in a court of record, before sentencing an individual for more than three months. This would relieve the magistrates of facing the dilemma of breaking the law or violating their own sense of justice. It would also force attention to this problem, so that there should result some sort of comprehensive plan of community care for this unfortunate and dangerous class.

C. *Parole System*.—There should be developed a full system of parole, which should include the following features:

1. Indeterminate sentence, with graduated minimum terms for repeaters, along line of present law.
2. Preliminary investigation of all first offenders, with provision for temporary commitment pending investigation.
3. Investigation of all cases while serving time.
4. Making of plan for each case before discharge, which shall include aid in securing employment. Special attention should be given to work in non-license districts.
5. Place of refuge while seeking work, and help in going to place of work.

D. *Permanent Custodial Care*.—More important for this particular class of offenders than a system of parole would be legal provision for the automatic transference of all cases found to be truly inebriate or otherwise mentally incompetent to institutions for permanent custodial care. At present there is no permanent provision, except for the violently insane and a small percentage of the feeble-minded. Alcoholics are treated for a few days only at the Philadelphia General Hospital, and are sent out as soon as they can be, while commitment to Norristown under the Habitual Drunkards' Act is extremely cumbersome. There should be either in or officially connected with the institution some body of people who should have authority to act in these matters on behalf of the city, without intervention of private individuals. In other words, permanent custodial care for all found to be socially incompetent, should be compulsory, and the burden of securing it should rest upon society through governmental agencies.

III. *Matrons*

A. There should be more matrons in order to secure:

1. Shorter hours of work, making possible eight-hour schedules, with provision for evening occupations of inmates. At present the matrons are on duty 12 hours, with 30 minutes for dinner.
2. Fewer women to a matron.

B. The matrons should be paid more, the ideal being equal pay for equal work as compared with the men officers. As this is practically impossible at present, owing to women's lack of political value, the salaries should at least approximate those paid to women of whom equally intelligent service is required in other branches of public service.

C. There should be greater opportunities for normal and wholesome living for the matrons, if they are to render intelligent service. At present the matrons live within the walls of the institution and in constant contact with the inmates. They have nowhere to receive their friends. This is a needless and harmful waste of human energy. The matrons should have a house separate from the institution, similar to those provided for the superintendent and warden. Every encouragement should be given them to the freest contact with normal human society, and means provided to this end. At least weekly visits to town should be provided for, including carfare.

D. The matrons should be relieved from having to supply their own uniforms.

IV. General Physical Provisions.

A. *Food.*—There should be a thorough investigation into the question of the food provided for the inmates. This may be undertaken by the Department of Health. Particular attention should be directed to the securing of a well-balanced ration, including butter, milk and eggs and fresh fruit and vegetables. It is probable that the fruit and vegetables, as well as the eggs and butter, might be produced on the place. The amount and kind of tea allowed should be carefully considered. Attention should be given to the matter of the service of the food, which is at present most unappetizing.

B. *Exercise.*—Immediate provision should be made for regular outdoor exercise daily, through the year, for every woman. This should not be voluntary, but compulsory, except in cases of real illness.

C. *Corsets and Shoes.*—The question of providing corsets for the older women and such as have borne children should be carefully considered. The stated objection to allowing the women to keep their own corsets on entrance is that they might use the stays to injure themselves or others. I do not know whether this is simply a precaution or whether it is based on experience. Careful physical examinations would unquestionably reveal many cases of lapsed muscles and viscera that might be benefited by properly fitted corsets.

The same sort of consideration applies to the care of the women's feet. Many are obviously flat-footed, and the shoes provided are of archaic design. The point that is important in both these connections is that defective posture from whatever cause sets up a series of nervous irritations, which, in the end, diminish seriously the store of energy available for use in the higher mental processes, and, in consequence, lessen the chance of character development.

V. Provision for Study of Individuals

The more seriously the task is undertaken of making the House of Correction a reformatory in fact, as in name, the greater need will there be for a comprehensive plan of study of each individual. There are two reasons for such a study:

A. Elementary justice requires that the charges upon which individuals are deprived of their liberty for any period whatsoever should be thoroughly substantiated. It would be impracticable with our scattered magistrates' courts to expect the investigations to be carried on through the local offices. With a central Municipal Court handling all minor offenses, as there is in Boston, it might be possible to investigate all cases before commitment. Under the circumstances that are likely to prevail in Philadelphia for some time to come, it would be feasible to have the magistrates and the House of Correction use the Probation Department of the Municipal Court for their investigating staff in connection with the institution, and to look into the conditions of all first commitments by magistrates, and to verify statements made by any person committed at any time.

B. If, as it appears, in the case of the women at least, that nearly all inmates are in the institution for sufficient cause, a study of individuals becomes even more important, in order to properly deal with them while there, and to make a plan for their future which shall protect them and society most effectively.

The essentials of any plan of individual study are as follows:

A. *Physical and Medical Examinations.*—Each person should be examined by a competent physician on entrance, who should determine not only the presence of contagious diseases, but look for chronic ailments and physical defects that may be alleviated, if not entirely relieved. Most important in this respect are: Defective eyes; defective ears, intestinal disorders, anemia, orthopaedic defects, heart trouble, gynecological disorders, venereal diseases and nervous disorders. Laboratory facilities should be available for bacteriological and serological tests.

B. *Mental Examinations*.—Including tests both for feeble-mindedness and all forms of insanity and borderline insanity. Special attention should be given to the type known as psychopathic. In most cases it will probably be better to defer the mental examination until some time after commitment. This will give the person time to become adapted to the institution routine, and to respond more normally than he would immediately upon entrance. It would also give the examiner the benefit of the reports as to the individual's conduct and working ability.

C. *Social Investigation and Follow-up Work*.—All available outside history, including family history, should be secured. This could be done in the great majority of cases by registering with the Bureau of Registration and Exchange of Confidential Information, as most of the people sent to the House of Correction are already known to one or more of the private and public welfare agencies in the city.

D. *Recording*.—All the information obtained in the various examinations, as well as the court record and reports by the receiving officers and other officers, should be kept in the form of individual case records.

VI. *Use of the Information*

After all this various information has been secured, a consultation between all the institution officers concerned should be held, and all the facts in the case taken into consideration in the making of a plan both for the treatment of the individual and for possible parole and after-care. This consultation should take the form of a clinic, which might be held at a certain time daily or several times a week. A case summary should be presented by one of the officers, after which the individual concerned should be given a chance to tell his side and present his own plan. These clinics would be of the utmost benefit not only to the welfare of the individuals studied, but in developing an intelligent interest on the part of the officers for their daily task. At the Sherborn Prison for Women in Massachusetts, such a clinic is held daily, and usually takes an hour. It is attended by the superintendent, the resident physician, the field worker, the recorder and the matrons who are personally acquainted with the women whose cases are to be presented. There is nothing presented that is in the least too technical to be understood by all there and the officers unanimously are in favor of the practice.