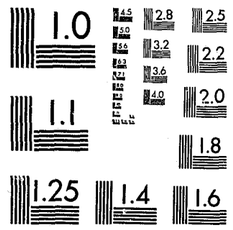

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT

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CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE WOMEN'S CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT Executive Summary

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ABSTRACT

This is a report on the origins and evolution of the system of state prisons for adult women; it covers the 48 continental United States and 54 different penal institutions. The study identifies every state prison for women founded between 1835 and 1979, discussing the reasons for their establishment, the types of inmates they held, and the kinds of program which they provided; more importantly, it locates the founding of individual institutions within the broader context of regional and national developments. The study also identifies historical origins of problems faced by the women's prison system today, finding that at least three of these problems--those involving the geographical isolation of many women's prisons, social class biases in aspects of their operation, and the fact that incarcerated women often receive care inferior to that accorded to male prisoners--are rooted in contingencies of the past.

Several developmental patterns characterize the evolution of the women's prison system. One relates to different types of prisons for women. The report identifies two traditional types (the custodial and the reformatory models) and a third (the modern campus model) which has begun to emerge in the last twenty years. A second developmental pattern relates to stages in the system's development: the first stage, during which the custodial model took shape, ran from the early nineteenth century to about 1870; the second stage, during which the reformatory model predominated in the Northeastern and North Central regions, ran from about 1870-1930; and then, after a period 1930-1960 during which the custodial and reformatory models somewhat merged, there began to develop the modern campus type of women's prison. A third developmental pattern relates to regional differences: the study finds that in each of the four regions of the country, the women's prison system evolved in a distinctly different manner, with some by-passing the reformatory stage. Although nearly all prior research on women's prisons has centered around institutions of the reformatory type, this type is far from representative of all women's prisons. Thus the almost exclusive focus on women's prisons which originated as reformatories has distorted our understanding of the nature and development of the women's prison system as a whole.

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1. GOALS AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This is a report on the origins and evolution of the system of state prisons for adult women. It covers the forty-eight continental United States and fifty-four different penal institutions for women established between 1835 (when the first separate prison for women was founded at Ossining, New York) and 1979.[1] Basically, it is an institutional history. We do discuss characteristics of the prisons' inmates and of their founders and early administrators as well. The primary focus, however, is on neither the prisoners nor those who served as their custodians and reformers but on the prisons themselves.

Women's prisons have been neglected in most of the criminal justice, historical, and sociological literature, both past and present. It is possible to read entire volumes on the history of penal institutions in the United States without finding more than a passing reference to women prisoners or the institutions in which they were held--a failure the more remarkable in that some women's prisons were innovators, preceding and often outdoing men's prisons in experiments with new methods of management and reform.[2] In instances where information is given on women's prisons, it is often inaccurate. For example, the 1980 edition of the American Correctional Association's Directory states that Indiana's Women's Prison was opened in 1973; that information is a century off-target, this institution in fact having opened in 1873. Similarly, a recent work titled Women in Prison states, "As we know,

women's prisons were created as a reform measure in the 1920s." That information, too, is seriously out of line with the historical reality. It has, however, been difficult to check such statements, for until now there existed no systematic study of the history of women's prisons.[3]

To determine and report fundamental information about the origins and development of the women's prison system was one central aim of this research project. That is, we hoped to create an empirical foundation of basic knowledge on which other researchers might build. The second goal of the research was to identify sources of problems faced by the women's prison system today. Women's prisons are currently beset by a number of difficulties, many of them unique to institutions of this type. Although attention is increasingly being paid to these problems, some of them are proving intractable. One reason these problems are difficult to address, much less alleviate, lies with the fact that we know so little about their origins.

The history of women's prisons sheds light on the origins of at least three sets of difficulties confronting women's prisons today. One of these stems from the relative isolation of such institutions. Women's prisons were often deliberately located on large and remote tracts of farmland. Their isolation has led to a variety of drawbacks, including lack of access to community resources, difficulties in hiring staff, and discouragement of visits from families and friends.

A second set of problems which are rooted in history relates to the social class biases of the women's prison system. Today as in the past, women's prisons tend to be administered by white, middle-class women but to incarcerate a population which is predominantly poor and heavily black. In itself, this class difference is not unique to women's prisons; other types of institutions also have middle-class administrators and lower-class popula-

tions. However, the women's prison system sometimes operates on the basis of class-grounded assumptions, attempting (for example) to train lower-class women to meet middle-class standards of attractiveness and propriety;[4] and this problem does flow from historical traditions.

The third set of problems involves differential treatment of the sexes: women's prisons provide care inferior to that of prisons for men. The former offer fewer programs and fewer opportunities for work or study release. Their limited vocational programs continue to be based on traditional notions about work "suitable" to women. Rules are more restrictive than in men's prisons and frequently infantilizing. Women's prisons, moreover, are often the last to be funded by male-dominated correctional bureaucracies.[5] Those who founded separate prisons for women hardly intended such negative results. However, many of them (as we shall see) fought for the establishment of women's prisons just because they fervently believed in the necessity of differential treatment of women and men. Such treatment became part of the tradition of these institutions.

Not all of the difficulties currently facing the women's prison system are historical in origin. Some, for example, stem from the simple fact that there are fewer incarcerated women than men. As a result of women's lower crime rates, most states operate only one prison for women, an institution which therefore must (in contrast to men's prisons) be multi-functional.[6] But many of the problems--especially those which involve isolation, social class biases, and differential treatment of the sexes--are susceptible to historical analysis. A better understanding of the origins of these problems, and of the ways they have become imbedded in the philosophy and operation of women's prisons, should improve our ability to correct them.

Design of the Study

Definition of a "State Prison for Women"

Before states established separate prisons for women, they usually held female state prisoners in a part of their central prison for men, sometimes off in an attic room or even a small separate building in a corner of the prison yard. We investigated conditions under which women lived in these units, but, because our intention was to focus on the origins of independent prisons for women, we wished to exclude these older, adjunctive units from our definition of "state prisons for women." Therefore we established, as one of our primary definitional criteria, an explicit legislative action which made the women's unit independent.

The primary definition became problematical, however, when we began to deal with some women's prisons established in the twentieth century, especially those founded during the last two or three decades. The difficulty resulted from the fact that in the twentieth century, as states centralized authority over prisons in departments of correction, these departments themselves began to make decisions about the establishment of new prisons, without going to their legislatures for anything other than funds.[7] We did not wish to exclude such recently established institutions from our survey and therefore modified our primary definition when dealing with twentieth century prisons so as to include those established through administrative as well as legislative action. (Had we attempted to use this modified definition for nineteenth century institutions, we would have been unable to exclude the older, adjunctive units which, though administratively established, were not in any way independent women's prisons.)

Our primary definition, then, described a state prison for women as a state-supported institution for mentally normal, adult female criminals which was legally separate from a penal institution for men or juveniles, having been established through legislative action and operated with some degree of administrative independence. This definition includes three main criteria:

(1) State-supported: This criterion excludes municipal and county jails and federal institutions.

(2) For mentally normal, adult female criminals: This criterion excludes specialized prisons which held populations differentiated by mental disability and those whose populations did not consist primarily of adult women convicted of crimes.[8]

(3) Legally separate and established through legislative action: This criterion requires that the prison have been established through a formal and explicit legislative gesture, as opposed to an administrative decision by a warden or prison governance board. Sometimes the legislative act created an entirely new institution; in other cases, it merely made independent a unit which had previously been administered by a nearby men's prison.

It should be noted that the primary definition does not include these criteria:

(1) Geographical separation from an institution for men or juvenile women: Geographical separation was frequently an accompaniment of the legislative action, but not always.[9]

(2) Administration by women: Legislation which established prisons for women often mandated that the new institution's director and most of its other staff be women. But such requirements

were not set by all states; moreover, at least one (New York) later changed its mind, amending the original legislation to permit a women's prison to be headed by a male;[10] and some women's units had female administrators for decades before the legislature established them as independent entities. Thus the presence of female administrators is not used as one of our definitional criteria.

(3) Total administrative independence from a male or juvenile institution: Like geographical separation and female administration, total administrative independence was also a frequent result of the legislative actions which established women's prisons. But in some cases this independence from another institution for adult males or juvenile females was not complete. Thus we did not use total administrative independence as a definitional criterion. A women's institution met our criterion of "operated with some degree of administrative independence" if its daily operations were supervised by its own staff, even if its chief matron or other head did not have exclusive authority.

As noted previously, it became necessary to modify the primary definition when we came to twentieth century institutions which, though not legislatively established, were clearly separate and independent women's prisons. The modified definition was identical to the primary one except that it omitted the "established through legislative action" criterion to permit inclusion of prisons established through administrative decision as well.

The National Survey

The research design had two main components, the first of which was a state-by-state survey to identify women's prisons established by the forty-eight continental United States. (The fifty-four prisons which we identified are listed in Appendix A.) Some states never established a women's prison; others established several. A few founded a women's prison only to close it at a later point; we covered these now defunct institutions as well.

Our aim was not to do full-scale histories of each prison but rather to follow the development of the women's prison system as a whole. Therefore for each prison we focused on the period from five years before the prison opened to the end of its first decade of operation. We collected information from documents pertaining to penitentiaries, jails, and other institutions where female state prisoners were held during the five-year period before they had a prison of their own.[11] For information on the new institution, we covered the first five and then the tenth annual report of each prison and other documents pertaining to this first decade of operation.

This phase of the research was guided by a list of key questions which we posed about each new prison. The first asked where female state prisoners were held previously and under what conditions. The second involved discovering who the backers of the new institution had been and what arguments they had used in their lobbying efforts. We then gathered basic factual information on each prison, asking a set of subsidiary questions about its original title, dates of establishment and opening, location, and the rationale for selection of that site. Next we asked if any restrictions had been placed on the type of prisoner the institution could legally receive, and we determined the types of sentences which applied to its inmates. We also tried to determine who the women were who were incarcerated in the prison in terms of their

age, race, nationality, and offense--an arduous and sometimes impossible task, given the nature of published reports. In addition, we asked questions about the physical plant, administrative structure, program, and disciplinary mechanisms of each new institution.

In-depth Studies

The second major component of the research design consisted of in-depth studies of five prisons, one in Tennessee and two each in Ohio and New York.[12] The in-depth studies, providing full-scale portraits of a few specific prisons over time, were included to supplement the overview of the evolution of the women's prison system as a whole which had been obtained through the national survey. Moreover, because the in-depth studies included collection of data from original prisoner registries, they provided more reliable information on inmate and offense characteristics than those we obtained (relying on published reports) through the national survey.

Sources

For data we mainly relied on five types of sources: (1) legislation (laws which established women's prisons were often quite comprehensive, specifying the institution's function, its structure of governance, types of programs, and so on); (2) the annual or biennial reports issued by the institutions themselves; (3) other annual or biennial reports issued by the prisons' supervisory bodies; (4) reports of the institution(s) where women were held before the independent prison was opened; and (5) archival materials, most importantly intake ledgers, which were used for the in-depth studies. Depending on need, we also utilized a number of other primary sources such as governor's messages, reports of special legislative investigatory committees, and newspapers.

We also used some secondary sources, although works which relate to the origins of women's prisons are few in number and limited in scope. Until very recently, the only book-length treatment of the subject was Eugenia C. Lekkerkerker's Reformatories for Women in the United States--a work published in Holland in 1933. Estelle B. Freedman's Their Sister's Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930 appeared in print just as the present report was completed; we were, therefore, unable to use it. We did, however, make frequent reference to the dissertation on which it was based. Also useful were articles in the recent women's studies literature which, though they do not focus directly on the history of adult women's prisons, do begin to locate conceptions of female deviance in a socio-historical context.[13]

The most striking characteristic of the relevant secondary sources is their almost exclusive concentration on women's prisons of the reformatory type[14] or on female prisoners held for minor offenses like waywardness or prostitution. The sole exception is W. David Lewis's study of female felons held at the decidedly non-reformatory prisons of Sing Sing and Auburn.[15] The other works deal mainly with juveniles or adult petty offenders and with the relatively "feminine" reformatories which held these populations. This concentration had led to a rather narrow concentration, in the literature as a whole, on institutions of the Northeast and Midwest, those regions where most women's reformatories were located. Higher security, more "masculine" prisons for women, and those of the South and West, have been largely ignored.[16]

2. TRADITIONAL TYPES OF WOMEN'S PRISONS: THE CUSTODIAL VERSUS THE REFORMATORY MODELS

The national survey of the development of the women's prison system revealed several developmental patterns, one relating to types of women's prisons, a second to stages in the system's evolution, and a third to regional differences in both the predominant type of prison and developmental stages. This section of the report identifies the two traditional types of women's prisons, comparing them along a number of dimensions. The next outlines the major stages in the national development of the women's prison system and observes the recent emergence of what appears to be a new type of prison for women. Section 4 discusses regional differences and some of the factors which seem to have shaped them.

Between the founding of the first cellular-style state prisons in the early nineteenth century and about 1930, there developed two different types of prison for women, one conforming to a custodial model, the other to a reformatory model. Women's prisons of the custodial type primarily served the purpose of punishment; retribution was their main function. They were high in security level and often dependent on a nearby men's prison for staff and other resources. Women's prisons of the custodial type might be described as "masculine," for they closely resembled state prisons for men. Those which conformed to the reformatory model, on the other hand, were designed to rehabilitate as well as punish; indeed, the women who founded and operated them often considered rehabilitation to be the central mission of institutions of this sort. Women's prisons of the reformatory type tended to be low in security level and operated with complete independence from a men's institution.

Administered by women and providing female-specific programs, women's prisons of the reformatory type frequently had distinctly "feminine" characteristics.[1]

Origins and Reasons for Establishment

The custodial model developed first, in fact originating with the prison system as a whole. When the first cellular state prisons were founded in the early nineteenth century, they held both sexes. Originally, it seems, women convicts were celled right next to men; but over time, as their numbers expanded, the women were gradually isolated into quarters of their own--separate wings or large attic rooms above the administrative offices. Later still, some states built separate structures within the prison walls for their female convicts, and at about the start of the twentieth century, the women were sometimes moved to a separate building outside the walls but nearby the central prisons. Eventually, some of these separate units became independent institutions through legislative action.

These steps toward increasing isolation of female prisoners in custodial institutions were primarily dictated by not rehabilitative considerations but administrative convenience: wardens found it troublesome to hold men and women in proximity. As a Wisconsin report put it, "wardens of prisons everywhere are unamimous in the belief that the housing of women and men prisoners upon the same ground is bad practice, and is the occasion of prison problems which can and should be avoided by wide separation of these two classes." From prisons and penitentiaries throughout the country wardens complained that when women and men were held within the same walls, they would wave at each other, send notes, and engage in lewd behavior. Some wardens felt that the sight of women drove male convicts to "moral perversion, sexual diversion and degeneracy." Occasionally a guard or other official impregnated a female

prisoner, newspapers got wind of the story, and scandals ensued. Hence the wardens' desire to isolate women in custodial quarters of their own.[17]

Women's prisons of the reformatory type had quite different origins. The reformatory model was conceived when, about 1870, penologists began to articulate the penal philosphy known today as the rehabilitative or treatment approach. Despairing of custodial prisons which aimed merely at punishment, they advocated a new system of prisoner management directed at reformation. The new penology was first set forth in detail at a national conference of prison administrators and reformers held in Cincinnati in 1870. There leaders of the prison reform movement introduced their large and influential audience to the new principles of reformation: a system of rewards, based on the then-innovative "Irish" method of prison discipline, which would enable convicts who evidenced reform to gain promotion to higher "grades" and greater privileges; and indeterminate sentencing, which could further reward "reformed" convicts with early release on parole. The leaders also strongly advocated classification of both prisoners and prisons. Their Declaration of Principles included a call for the classification of women prisoners into institutions of their own: "(T)here shall be . . . separate establishments for women, and for criminals of the younger class." This meeting of 1870, with its mapping out of rehabilitative strategies and its demand for separate women's prisons, was a major event in the origin of women's prisons of the reformatory type. The women's reformatory movement had begun slightly earlier, but the Cincinnati prison congress, by stamping the movement with official approval, gave it respectability and impetus.[18]

From roughly 1870 to 1930, women's reformatories were founded in most states of the North and North Central regions, and a few in the South and West as well. In contrast to custodial units for women, which (as we have seen)

were established mainly for reasons of administrative convenience, the reformatories were started with an explicit intent to rehabilitate. Those at whom the reform efforts were aimed, however, were usually not the female felons already being held in custodial units but rather less serious offenders who had traditionally been sent to local jails. Concern for "fallen" women in jails was perhaps the single most important motive which impelled backers of the reformatories, for such women were often mixed with men under filthy and crowded conditions which offered no opportunity whatsoever for reformation. Indeed, jail conditions appeared to degrade fallen women even further. According to Rhoda Coffin, founder of the country's first reformatory, Indiana stationhouses and jails in the late nineteenth century were an "almost unmitigated evil" in which women of all ages were

> hustled together, like cattle in a pen, often so crowded that there is not room, even so much as to sit on the floor; obliged to stand all night in that noxious atmosphere of physical and moral impurity, while all around their open cells . . . very frequently may be seen one surging, sickening mass of men and boys . . . pressing so close as to converse freely in such a manner as would make one blush to hear it.[19]

To remove women from unwholesome jail conditions, isolate them in all-female institutions, and provide for them a rehabilitative program including work, education, and moral training, was the aim of those who throughout the country backed establishment of women's reformatories. Their goal was not easily achieved, however. Despite the endorsement of separate women's prisons by the 1870 prison congress, the backers of women's reformatories often had to lobby long and vigorously to persuade legislators of the need for a new state institution.[20] Thus mobilization of public opinion, as well as the new penol-

ogy of rehabilitation, was frequently associated with the establishment of women's prisons of the reformatory type.

Locations, Architecture, and Operational Costs

The two kinds of women's prisons, custodial and reformatory, also differed considerably in their typical location, architecture, and operating costs. Custodial prisons for women, as noted earlier, originated as units within the walls of the states' central prisons for men; and even after separate structures were erected for the women, these were built adjacent to or close by the main men's prisons. In design they resembled men's prisons, usually containing cell blocks with tiers and being high in security level. Women held in such units frequently had less space for work and recreation than did their male counterparts, their small quarters having been added as afterthoughts to the basically male institutions. Custodial women's prisons cost relatively little to operate, for they aimed no higher than to maintain order.

Reformatories, on the other hand, tended to be located on large tracts of land of their own, often several hundred acres of farmland. They were often constructed on the "cottage plan," with a central administrative building around which were grouped separate "cottages," each with bed space for from twenty to fifty inmates. Within the cottages, women had their own "rooms," more spacious and comfortable living units than the cells of custodial institutions, though they too could be locked from the outside. The reformatories were unwalled and in other ways, too, low in security. Such plants were costly to operate. Each cottage had to have its own kitchen, dining room, source of heat, and staff; moreover, the farms often associated with reformatories required personnel and machinery. Because the reformatories incurred

such costs, and because they tried to provide rehabilitative programs, they were expensive to operate--usually the costliest penal institution in the state.

Administration

Predictably, the two types of women's prisons were administered in quite different fashions. Those which conformed to the custodial model were managed by men--the wardens of the adjacent men's prisons and their male clerks, physicians, and other staff. After the point at which the women were isolated in wings or small buildings of their own, custodial institutions usually hired a matron to oversee the daily details of operation, and these matrons were sometimes assisted by a few female guards. Ultimate authority, however, was very firmly in the hands of the officials of the nearby men's prison. The matrons and assistant matrons were required to live in the women's prison and to work very long shifts for extremely low pay. They were often older women, widowed, and poorly educated--women who had been forced by necessity to accept such unpleasant and poorly paid positions.

In sharp contrast, the reformatories were run entirely by women, and these women enjoyed high degrees of administrative independence. Reformatories were headed by female superintendents; moreover, many states required by law that the superintendent hire mainly female staff. Not only the guards but also the physician and the head farmer were often women in reformatories. This emphasis on female staff was in part a result of the theory (usually expressed most strongly by women reformers themselves) that only other women could understand and deal with the problems of criminal women. The emphasis also flowed from the concept of role models: late in the nineteenth century reformers began to develop the idea that, through example, "proper" women

could encourage fallen women to mend their ways. Both lines of reasoning were articulated in a plea of 1868 for matrons to care for female convicts at the Detroit House of Correction:

> There are mental peculiarities; there are dark and diverse shades of character; there are labyrinths and mazes of moral perversion, among female prisoners, that demand the presence and molding influence of thoroughly qualified matrons and lady teachers, who, by quicker and more exact intuitions, are enabled to treat and control more successfully the peculiarities of these erring ones.[21]

Many women's reformatories attracted well-educated, vigorous career women to their first superintendencies. Such women were usually a good deal younger than the matrons of custodial institutions. They weren't necessarily better paid than their matron-counterparts, and they too had to live on their institutions' grounds. But their living quarters were separate and more spacious, and such women seem to have enjoyed not only the authority of their positions but also the challenge of attempting to rehabilitate offenders--the new experiment in prisoner care.[22]

Inmate Characteristics

Just as custodial and reformatory institutions differed in their administrative structures, so did they differ in their types of prisoners. Women sentenced to the two kinds of prisons tended to be dissimilar in respect to their offenses, age, and race.

Custodial prisons held mainly felons, women convicted of serious crimes like homicide, robbery, and grand larceny. The reformatories, on the other hand, were mainly designed to hold misdemeanants, women convicted of prostitution and other minor public order crimes. Not all reformatories were able to

withstand pressures to also receive more serious female offenders, and as time went on, most gradually incorporated felons into their populations. But particularly in the early decades of the reformatory movement, some reformatories were able to maintain their ideal of receiving only those minor offenders who were, according to the new penology, most susceptible to rehabilitative efforts.

Women sentenced to custodial prisons thus resembled male state prisoners in their offenses; both sexes were committed to state-supported custodial institutions for felonies. But women committed to reformatories, especially in these institutions' early years, had no male counterparts in state-supported penal institutions in terms of their offenses. Although there were state-run prisons for men which were called reformatories, these held young felons, not misdemeanants.[23] Men who had committed crimes like fornication and drunkenness, if prosecuted at all, were simply not sent to state prisons; at most, they were punished with brief jail terms. The establishment of women's reformatories, then, carried with it unequal justice for women; it brought under state control female offenders who had previously been handled by cities and counties and previously treated more similarly to males.[24] Reformatory advocates and administrators felt they were doing such women a service by providing for them special care.[25] But in the course of this benevolence, they also instituted a double standard whereby women were expected to conform to a more difficult moral standard than men and were punished if they failed to do so. Female inmates of custodial prisons, on the other hand, were treated more like males.

Not surprisingly, women committed to the reformatories tended to be young. In fact, during the reformatories' early years of operation, many had populations in which the majority of the inmates were between the ages of 16

and 21. A few states went so far as to prohibit their reformatories from receiving women over age 30 at the time of conviction on the theory that women over 30 were unlikely to respond positively to rehabilitative programs. In contrast, the inmates of custodial women's prisons were older, this difference being in part a function of the different type of offenses for which they were convicted. In part, too, it was a result of the fact that women in custodial prisons tended to serve longer terms; in particular, the presence of lifers in such populations worked to raise the average age. Furthermore, none of the custodial prisons placed an upper limit on the age of women who might be received.

In terms of race, larger proportions of the inmates of the custodial institutions were women of color. Even in the North, up to 50 percent of the population of a custodial women's unit might have been black at the turn of the century; at the same time, one could have searched almost in vain for a non-white among the population of many women's reformatories.[26] Racial prejudice on the part of judges was probably one factor which created this difference: many judges--particularly in the South--appear to have treated white female felons with a degree of chivalrousness, finding ways to avoid committing them to custodial prisons.[27] Chivalrousness also seems to have operated when judges sentenced women to reformatories, but in this case it worked to exclude blacks. That is, while judges appear to have been ready to "save" white women by committing them to reformatories, they seem to have been reluctant to similarly "save" women of color, perhaps because they considered the latter less worthy of rehabilitative efforts. Another factor which worked to exclude blacks from the reformatories was racial prejudice on the part of the institutions themselves: two southern reformatories openly refused to receive black women during their early years of operation, and there are indications

in the records of at least one northern reformatory that its early administrators did not even consider the possibility of non-white commitments.[28]

Sentencing Practices

Another important difference between the two types of women's prisons to evolve prior to 1930 lay in their sentencing practices. During the nineteenth century, women sentenced to custodial prisons received determinate sentences keyed to the seriousness of their offenses. A woman convicted in 1880 of manslaughter, second degree, for example, might have received a determinate sentence of ten years, and she could have expected to serve the full term with the exception of some time off for good behavior. About the turn of the twentieth century (and as part of the implementation of the new penology articulated at the 1870 prison congress), many states introduced indeterminate sentencing, providing, for example, that a person convicted of manslaughter, second degree, could be held for up to ten years but released on parole after seven if she or he had behaved well. The crucial point here is that women in custodial prisons received the same type of sentence as did men convicted of similar felonies. These sentences were determinate or indeterminate, depending on the historical period, and their length was linked to offense seriousness. The sexes were treated with relative equality, then, in custodial institutions, and the principle of proportionality, according to which the punishment should fit the crime, still prevailed.

Sentencing practices were quite different in the women's reformatories. It is somewhat difficult to generalize on this point because the reformatories developed a great variety of sentencing structures. However, there was a type of sentence which was typical of the "pure" reformatory, the ideal institution which did not have to compromise reformatory ideals. That was the indeter-

minate three-year sentence, a type unknown in custodial women's prisons. The indeterminate three-year sentence had no minimum. Women could be released on parole at any time, but they could also be held for the three-year maximum if they failed to show evidence that they had been rehabilitated.[29] It is important to note that this type of sentence ignored the old principle of proportionality. It linked time-served to the prisoner's current behavior rather than to the seriousness of her past offense.

What of time-served? Did women in custodial prisons spend more time in incarceration than those in the reformatories? Our review of sentencing data indicated that women in custodial prisons did serve longer terms--a predictable finding since they had been convicted of more serious offenses and their sentence lengths were tied to offense severity.[30] However, the terms served by reformatory women, though generally briefer, were arguably more severe in at least two senses.

They were more severe in that, first, the principle of proportionality had been abandoned by the reformatories, at least those which adopted the three-year indeterminate (or an analogous) sentence. The typical reformatory inmate, it will be recalled, was a misdemeanant, convicted of a public order offense such as prostitution or drunkenness; up-to-three-years was a long term for such petty offenses. Some women who founded and managed the reformatories argued that it was quite proper to ignore the principle of proportionality because their aim was not to punish but to treat--to retrain and reform, a process which required time.[31] Other supporters of women's reformatories, those who subscribed to the principles of eugenics, argued that the long terms worked to keep genetically inferior women out of sexual circulation. Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, for example, went so far as to urge that the limited indeterminate sentence received by Massachusetts reformatory inmates be made

wholly indefinite in order to sexually restrain "irresponsible" women.[32] No matter what the justification, up-to-three-years (not to mention up-to-life) was a high price to pay for minor crimes from the standpoint of concern for proportionality between offense and punishment.

The second sense in which reformatory sentences were more severe than those of custodial prisons lies with the fact that they helped institute differential treatment of women. As observed earlier, there were no prisons for men comparable to women's reformatories; if a man was sent to state prison, he had to have committed a felony, whereas women could be committed to most reformatories for mere misdemeanors. Similarly, men could not be required to serve up-to-three-years for minor public order offenses, just as women were not required to serve such terms before the reformatories were founded. Thus the effect of reformatory sentences was, to repeat, to institutionalize and reinforce the double standard; women sent to reformatories were punished more severely than men who committed the same types of crime. Custodial institutions for women, in contrast, were more even-handed in that their inmates tended to receive terms comparable to those of men convicted of similar crimes.

Programs

The differing correctional orientations of the two types of women's prisons, the one toward punishment, the other toward rehabilitation, affected all aspects--vocational, educational, and recreational--of their programs.

Custodial prisons often ran an industry, one which was, moreover, likely to be organized along factory lines. In some inmates produced clothing for the rest of the state's prisons; in others they caned chairs or otherwise finished off products manufactured in the nearby men's prison. The industry

of a custodial women's prison was expected to turn a profit or at least to substantially reduce operating costs. In such institutions, women might labor eight or more hours a day, and they were sometimes paid a pittance for their work, money they could collect on release. In all these respects, custodial prisons for women resembled prisons for men, which also usually ran industries, tried to realize a profit, and paid inmates a small wage for their labor.

Reformatories, on the other hand, rarely ran prison industries. In them, work programs consisted of training in the womanly arts of sewing, cooking, waiting on tables, and cleaning. Although inmates of custodial prisons were also assigned to institutional chores, the reformatories glorified such activities, even to the point of offering "courses" in them. A few of the better-funded reformatories, for instance, set up cooking schools with a number of work tables, sinks, and stoves so that inmates could be instructed in food preparation. Many provided instruction in different types of knitting and sewing, courses which might culminate with the production of one's "parole outfit." Such elaborate training in what the reformatories often called "domestic science" could not have been found in custodial women's prisons. The reformatories developed such vocational programs because they aimed at producing "proper" women who would, on release, assume positions as domestic servants or marry and become good wives. As a New York report of 1927 on the Western House of Refuge explained, "No industries are maintained, but every inmate is taught to cook and care for a home. This is the most important thing in the work of the institution. Most of the girls when paroled go into homes where this knowledge is necessary . . . ."[33] Reformatory women tended to spend less time in work programs than their sisters in custodial prisons, usually no more than four hours day; and only rarely were they paid for their work.

As for educational programs, these were almost non-existent in the custodial prisons but played a crucial role in reformatory life. Insofar as the custodial institutions provided any educational training at all, they usually offered it in the evening--after the more important work program had been completed. Typically, the classes were taught by not trained teachers but educated inmates. If there was a paid teacher in a custodial women's prison, she was likely to be supervised by the male head teacher of the nearby prison for men.

Reformatories, in contrast, made considerable to-do about education, for it was part and parcel of their rehabilitative approach. Generally speaking, reformatory women were required to attend classes for four hours a day (this was the reason they had less time for work programs). There they received instruction in such subjects as reading, penmanship, and personal health care. The reformatories fell far short of providing high-quality education; most were constrained by both inadequate funds and a rather restricted view of what future domestic servants should know. But in contrast to custodial women's prisons, some did offer an abundance of educational opportunities.

In terms of recreational programs, too, the reformatories were superior. Custodial women's prisons allocated space for little other than cells; their inmates often had no yard for exercise and no room other than the mess hall for religious services, meeting with visitors, and socializing with each other. The reformatories, on the other hand, were usually designed to maximize recreational activities. Their extensive acreage made outdoor sports possible; their central buildings often contained a chapel which could double as an auditorium; and the individual cottage units frequently included "living rooms" where inmates could congregate in the evening. The reformatories, moreover, at least in their early years of operation, encouraged involvement

of outsiders in institutional activities. Women's clubs would donate books and props for plays, and some of their members might make a practice of regularly visiting the local institution. Involvement of outsiders in the recreational activities of custodial institutions was not unknown, but it occurred much less frequently.

Discipline

Perhaps the most significant contrast between the two traditional types of women's prisons lay in their differing approaches to discipline, using that term in a broad sense to cover not only specific rules and chastisements but also daily routine and more general behavioral standards. The two types of prison did of course differ in their correctional orientations; but even more important than the punishment-rehabilitation contrast is the fact that these varying orientations came to be operationalized, in the two types of women's prisons, in terms of sex roles. Women's prisons of the custodial type approached discipline--rules, punishments, routines, and general behavioral expectations--in a manner similar to that of the men's prisons with which they were closely associated; they applied to women much the same standards as were applied to men. Women's reformatories, on the other hand, "feminized" prison discipline, translating the penology of rehabilitation into an approach which stressed individualization of treatment, mildness of punishments for rule infractions, minimization of security precautions, and programs designed to teach womanly skills. The discipline of women's reformatories, moreover, was congruent with the female sex role in its emphasis on sexual purity and its tendency to infantilize inmates--to treat them as errant children. The translation of "rehabilitation" into feminine terms (a transformation which certainly did not occur in the male institutions classified as reformatories) can

only be understood in the context of two social movements--the more general women's reform movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the social purity movement of the same period--which fed into the women's reformatory movement, shaping the latter and stamping it with much of its distinctive character.

During the period 1870-1930, as Jill Conway and other historians have shown, middle-class women led a variety of reform movements aimed at improving the lot of "the dependent and defective classes" and other underprivileged or disenfranchised groups (including women themselves). Some female reformers became involved in suffrage, others in temperance, the settlement house movement, "child saving," women's prison reform, and so on. Most important to our discussion is the fact that these reformers clung to and even amplified sex-role stereotypes. Indeed, such stereotypes were the vehicle on which they rode into public life, for, as Conway has pointed out, "Intellectually they had to work within the tradition which saw women as civilizing and moralizing forces in society." However, in the process of creating settlement houses, the juvenile court, women's reformatories, and other institutions, "they naturally duplicated existing assumptions about the sexes and their roles."[34] This close link between the broad women's reform movement and the sex roles by which the reformers justified their public activities helps explain why those who founded women's reformatories feminized prison discipline--almost as a matter of course.

A second influence contributing to the feminization of prison discipline in the reformatories was the social purity movement, also roughly spanning the period 1870-1930. Fueled by anxieties about prostitution, "bad breeding," urbanization, alcoholism, and the like, and by concern about government corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency as well, the social purity movement

generally sought to reaffirm and reinstate traditional Anglo-Saxon standards. Its leaders, as Schlossman and Wallach have pointed out, "were, by and large, the same types of middle-class, nonethnic individuals who participated in the better-known political and social reforms of the period."[35] For our purposes, the social purity movement was significant because it encouraged the incarceration of prostitutes and other "immoral" women in reformatories and because it stressed middle-class, Anglo-Saxon standards of propriety--the standards which became institutionalized in reformatory discipline.

In part as a result of themes developed by the women's reform and social purity movements, discipline in women's reformatories came to be patterned after an idealized model of family life. The concept that the institution was to function as a family--protecting, nurturing, resocializing--was expressed in the very architecture of reformatories, structured as many were on the cottage plan with its relatively small, home-like units. "The idea of having small houses with little groups," one early advocate of women's reformatories explained retrospectively,

> was that each cottage should be a real home, with an intelligent, sympathetic woman at the head to act as mother for the often worse than motherless girls. Certainly many of the young girls and women who come into industrial schools and reformatories have never known real home life or true mother love. It was believed that if small groups could be placed in cottages enough motherly women could be found to give to them the sort of affection which would most surely help to redeem them.[36]

The family ideal also affected the kinds of rules formulated to maintain institutional order and the kinds of punishments meted out for rule-breaking. To the first superintendent of New York's Western House of Refuge, for example, the "family system" meant an "absence of rewards or penalties without any system of marking for conduct or misconduct." Like many other superintendents, this one also believed, significantly enough, that the "female temperament" could not abide the "arbitrary rules" and stern punishments which characterized discipline in institutions for men.[37] Reformatories conceived of their charges as temperamentally closer to children than to male criminals and punished them accordingly; priding themselves on underutilization of punishment cells, a number of reformatories chastized difficult inmates by sending them, like children, to their "rooms."[38]

An effort to "normalize" incarceration--to make the experience as non-stigmatizing as possible--was another result of the conceptualization of the reformatory as an institutional form of the family. The reformatories rejected traditional prison garb, substituting gingham dresses and other civilian-type outifts for the coarsely-woven striped dresses commonly found in custodial institutions. They also discarded traditional prison terminology, substituting "superintendent" for "warden" and "inmates" or "girls" for "convicts." In yet another manifestation of their anti-institutionalism, most declined to impose the ancient rule of total silence which characterized discipline in a number of custodial prisons for women well into the twentieth century.

Thus broader social concerns, especially those involving the nature of woman's "place" and the need for social purity, contributed to the feminization of discipline in women's reformatories. The result was a new type of prison discipline, one vastly different in style and function from that of penal institutions for men and custodial prisons for women.

These differences between the two traditional types of women's prisons are summarized in Table 1. Needless to say, not every custodial or reforma-

tory prison exhibited every characteristic attributed to these types in Table 1; the table merely identifies typical traits. As the next section of this chapter indicates, there were in fact a number of women's prisons which combined elements of the two models.

TABLE 1

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WOMEN'S PRISONS OF THE CUSTODIAL AND REFORMATORY TYPES

Origins and Establishment

	Time of Origin	Primary Reason For Establishment	Primary Backers	Prior Arrangements for Prisoners of this Type
Custodial Model	Ca. 1820; first true example founded in 1835	Administrative inconvenience of holding men and women together	Wardens and state boards of prisons	Previously held in states' central prisons for men
Reformatory Model	Ca. 1870	Desire to reform "fallen" women, especially those in jails	Women's groups	Previously held in local jails (if incarcerated at all)

Plant

	Location within State	Cost of Establishment	Operational Costs	Security Level	Layout	Individual Living Units
Custodial Model	Near to central prison for men; often in or near a city	Low	Low	High	Traditional prison architecture	Cell or dormitory
Reformatory Model	On a separate tract of land; rural	High	High	Low	Cottage plan	"Room"

Administration

	Ultimate Authority	Intermediate Authority	Institutional Head	Sex of Higher Authorities	Sex of Staff	Degree of Authority of Head Woman
Custodial Model	State boards of prisons	None	Warden, matron	Male	Often predominantly male	Low
Reformatory Model	State boards of charity & correction	Institutional boards of trustees	Superintendent	Female	Predominantly female	High

Administration (continued)

	Social Background of Head Woman	Staff-inmate Ratio
Custodial Model	Working class	Low
Reformatory Model	Upper middle-class	High

Inmates

	Conviction Offenses	Ages	Race	Rate of Prison's Growth Growth in Early Years
Custodial Model	Felonies	Older; often in late twenties or above at commitment	Disproportionately women of color	Slow
Reformatory Model	Misdemeanors and lesser offenses, esp. morals offenses	Younger; often under 21 at commitment	Exclusively or predominantly white in early years	Rapid

Sentences and Time-Served

	Sentence Type	Time-served
Custodial Model	Determinate till ca. 1900; thereafter indeterminate but keyed to offense seriousness	Longer
Reformatory Model	Indeterminate and not necessarily keyed to offense seriousness	Shorter

Programs

	Vocational Programs	Inmate Compensation—Labor	Educational Programs
Custodial Model	Hard labor in industries or on farms	Some pay	Minimal
Reformatory Model	Domestic labor at institutional chores	No pay	Played a very important role in total institutional program though often undercut by lack of funds

Programs (continued)

	Recreational Programs	Degree of Community Involvement
Custodial Model	Minimal or non-existent	Low
Reformatory Model	Relatively rich	Relatively high

Discipline and Care

	Overall Correctional Emphasis	Analogues Elsewhere in C.J. System	Emphasis on Rules
Custodial Model	Punishment	Men's prisons and jail units for women	High
Reformatory Model	Rehabilitation	Institutions for juvenile delinquents	Relatively low in early years

Discipline and Care (continued)

	Silent Rule	Punishments	Prisoner Classification	Degree of Moralism in Treatment	Degree of Differential Treatment of Women in Comparison to Men
Custodial Model	Often maintained into 20th century	Relatively harsh; similar to those of men's prisons	None other than racial	Low or non-existent	Low
Reformatory Model	Usually rejected as not conducive to reformation	Relatively mild (in theory at least); similar to those of children	Some other than racial	Often high	High

Discipline and Care (continued)

	Uniforms	Terminology	Quality of Care in Early Years
Custodial Model	Striped dresses, often of coarse material	Warden, convict (prisoner), prison	Poor; separation of women into custodial prisons usually spelled decline in quality of care; stigmatizing
Reformatory Model	Gingham dresses and similar garb	Superintendent, inmate ("girl"), reformatory	Relatively good; separation of women into reformatories usually spelled improvement over jail conditions; emphasis on avoiding stigma

3. STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WOMEN'S PRISON SYSTEM AND EMERGENCE OF A THIRD MODEL

The custodial model, as we have seen, originated with the founding of cellular, bastille-like prisons in the early nineteenth century. The first separate (but not independent) unit for women, that established in conjunction with the Ohio Penitentiary in 1837, conformed to this model as did the first legally established prison for women, that opened in New York in 1839. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, states took steps to isolate women prisoners into separate quarters of the custodial type. About 1870, however, the second traditional model, that of the reformatory, also began to develop. As a result of the recommendations of the 1870 Cincinnati prison congress and of lobbying efforts by women, reformatories were established in a number of states in the period running from about 1870 to 1930.

As noted earlier, the reformatories were designed mainly with misdemeanants--particularly morals offenders such as prostitutes--in mind; the lobbyists who struggled to establish reformatories were less concerned with the female felons for whom states had already made some sort of provision. Nevertheless, in some states the lobbyists were unable to achieve their goal without agreeing that the new reformatory should also receive the female felons held until then at or nearby the state's main prison for men. And in nearly all other states with reformatories, as time went on provision was eventually made for the transfer of felonious women away from the predominantly male state prison to a unit on the reformatory's grounds. This second development was forced in part by the continual build-up in the number of prisoners for whom space was needed at the central prison, a solution for which transfer-out of the women provided a temporary solution.

Another consideration which forced states to commit female felons to their reformatories was financial: to maintain both a custodial unit and a reformatory simply became too expensive. Significantly, it was about 1930, just after the start of a major economic crisis, that a number of states authorized transfer of their female felons to units on the grounds of their reformatories. At about the same time states also appear to have begun doubting the wisdom of spending large sums to incarcerate female minor offenders, usually for periods lengthier than those they would have served if held in local jails. In any case, after 1930 expansion in the number of felons, in combination with a decline in enthusiasm for rehabilitating "fallen" women, led to the gradual squeezing out of misdemeanants from the reformatories. The misdemeanants became, once again, the responsibility of local jurisdictions, and those state prisons for women which had begun, in whole or in part, as reformatories for misdemeanants came to hold populations mainly comprised of felons.[39]

Increases in the number of felons and the gradual exclusion of misdemeanants spelled the end of the reformatory type in its pure form: women's prisons which had begun as reformatories now changed character, perforce incorporating elements of the custodial model.[40] This intermingling of the two types, however, evidently caused little, if any, dismay among members of the groups which traditionally had backed women's reformatories; at any rate, we found no evidence of objections. That merger of the two types occasioned little resistance is in fact not surprising: by 1930, the women's reformatory movement had run its course, having largely achieved its objectives. Moreover--in part just because the women's prison reform movement had lost its energy--the concern of penologists had by 1930 somewhat shifted from rehabilitation of individuals to efficient management of the state-wide systems.[41]

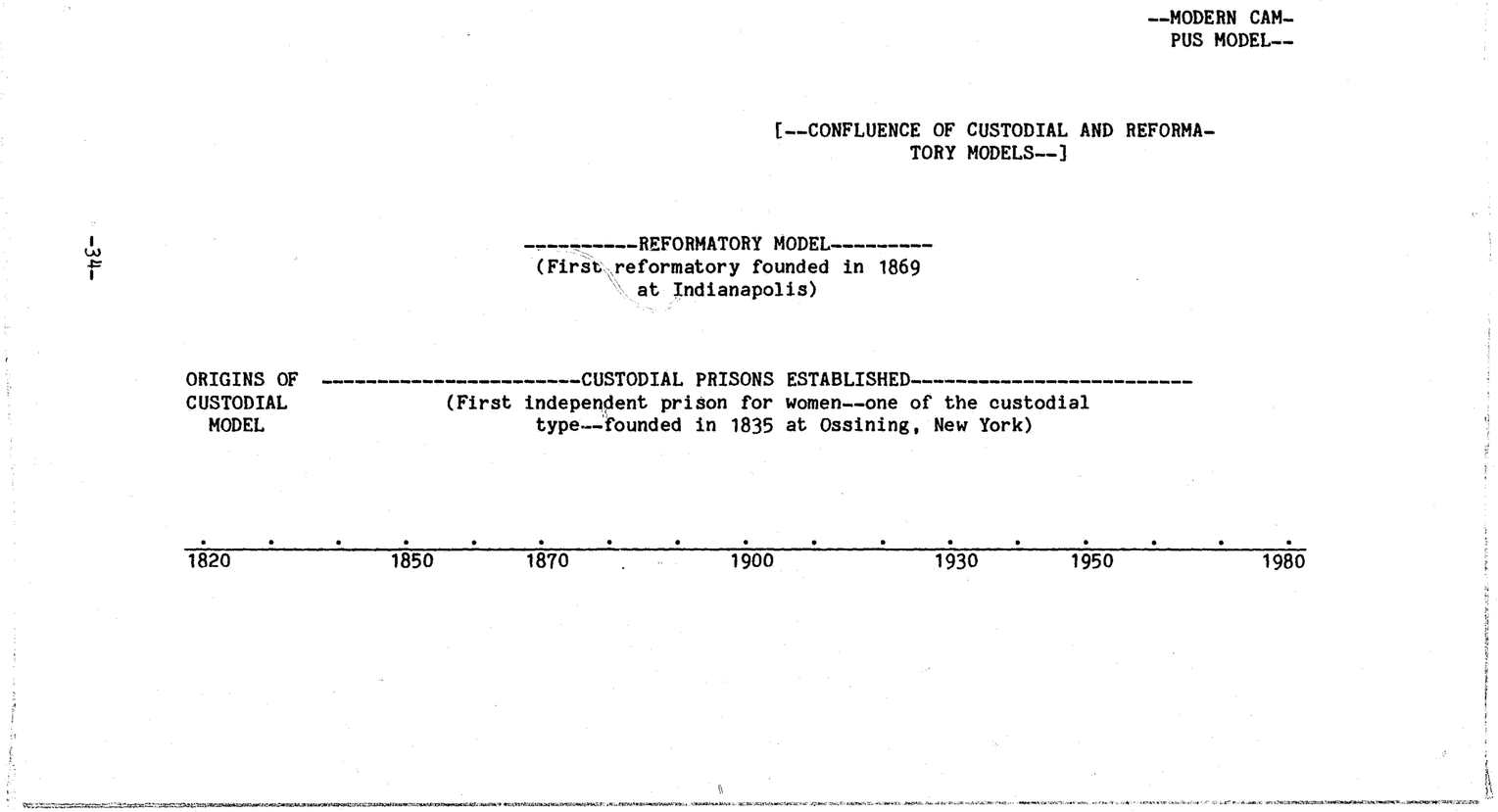
Since 1930, a number of new women's prisons have been established, mainly in the South and West--regions which had founded few prisons for women in earlier years. Several of these post-1930 institutions (most notably California's Institution for Women at Tehachapi) mixed modes, drawing upon elements of the original reformatory plan even though their populations were mainly comprised of felons. Others were purely custodial institutions. Within the last two decades, moreover, there has begun to emerge what appears to be a third model of women's prison, one which might be labeled the modern campus type.

This emergent third type of women's prison incorporates characteristics of the two traditional models, but it does so in such a manner as to constitute more than merely a mixed mode. Like the custodial model, it concentrates on felons, not misdemeanants; it may be headed by a male; and it is established for reasons of administrative convenience. Like the reformatory model, it shuns outer trappings of security such as walls with guard towers, preferring a campus image; and it too stresses rehabilitation. However, in a number of important respects this modern campus model resembles neither of its predecessors. Architecturally it does not conform to either the traditional prison layout or to the cottage plan but rather to that of a new college campus: institutions of this type tend to consist of low, landscaped buildings of brick and glass, structures among which most inmates may pass with relative freedom during daylight hours. Few of these institutions have the funds to provide adequate vocational training programs or rehabilitation services, but a number are struggling to break away from the traditional reformatory equation of female rehabilitation with sex-role training. In other words, they continue the reformatory's emphasis on rehabilitation, but they hope to achieve that goal not through domestic training and courses in cos-

metology but rather through training for competitive jobs (including work with computers and in industry), work and study release, and physical and mental health care (including drug and alcoholism programs and the maintenance of family ties). The best known prison of this new type is Washington's Purdy Treatment Center for Women, although several others have been established around the country.[42] Most institutions of the modern campus type are severely overcrowded and unable to realize their goal of developing programs different from those which have traditionally characterized women's prisons. It is significant, however, that they have broken (in theory at least) with both mere custodialism and the marked sex-stereotyping of the reformatory to develop a type of women's prison new in both its plant and ideal program.

These stages in the national development of the women's prison system are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Stages in the Development of the Women's Prison System



4. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WOMEN'S PRISON SYSTEM

Women's prisons vary greatly by type according to region. Today in the Northeast, every women's prison is one which began as a reformatory, and most current women's prisons of the North Central region also originated as reformatories. But in the South and West, the custodial model prevails. Moreover, those women's prisons which conform to the modern campus model are to be found, with only one exception, in the South and West.

As noted previously, those few researchers who have given attention to women's prisons have mainly focused on institutions of the reformatory type. This has been true historically, and it holds for recent works as well.[43] The almost exclusive focus on the reformatory model has distorted our understanding of the nature and development of the women's prison system. It has led to neglect of prisons which conformed to other models and of women's prisons outside the Northeast and North Central regions. Furthermore, it helps perpetuate the stereotype of "the" women's prison as a feminized institution. That the regions are characterized by women's prisons of different types is one of the key findings of this study. By implication, the reformatories of the Northeast and North Central regions should no longer be considered typical of all prisons for women.

Another important finding is that the women's prison system of the various regions evolved in different stages. That of the Northeast began to develop an entire century earlier than that of the West. Moreover, it evolved fairly steadily from the custodial to the reformatory stage, as did the women's prison system of the North Central region. But for the most part the

women's prison systems of the South and West skipped the reformatory stage. Some states in these regions moved directly from custodialism to use of the modern campus model; others continue to adhere to the custodial model today.

Northeastern Region

The women's prison system of the Northeast was more deeply affected by the reformatory movement than that of any other region. The goal of the women's reformatory movement--removal of females from custodial prisons to separate, independent institutions run by other women and organized to rehabilitate--influenced the design of penal institutions for women in nearly every state of the region. While it is true that a few institutions of the custodial type were also established in the Northeast, none of these survived the 1930s.[44] Every one of the region's current prisons for women was affected by the reformatory movement to some extent, some of them radically.

The reformatory movement's new approaches to the treatment of criminal women were in fact first implemented in the North Central region rather than the Northeast; however, the nature of what was to become the ideal women's reformatory was by and large worked out in three reformatories opened in the Northeast in the late nineteenth century. These reformatories--at Sherborn, Massachusetts, and at Hudson and Albion in New York--were highly experimental institutions which took increasingly bold steps to break with older prison traditions and develop the entirely new model. The two New York State institutions in particular helped define reformatory ideals: they were the first to use the cottage plan for the incarceration of adult women; the first to consistently use the type of indeterminate sentence which became associated with women's reformatories;[45] and the first to exclude older women from their populations. Along with the Massachusetts reformatory, moreover, they devel-

oped the program of domestic training, remedial schooling, and "refined" leisure activities which became a hallmark of the reformatory plan. These achievements were, in large part, the work of the women who founded and first administered these institutions.

The Northeast not only developed the reformatory model; it was also more successful than other regions in excluding elements of custodialism from both the design of individual prisons and its women's prison system as a whole. Only two of the northeastern reformatories (those of Vermont and Rhode Island) seriously compromised reformatory ideals in their architecture, sentence types, and/or types of inmate received. Moreover, by 1933 all northeastern states except New Hampshire (which has never established a women's prison) had founded reformatories, and all the region's custodial prisons for women had been closed. The almost complete success of the women's reformatory movement in the Northeast helps explain why no women's prison of the modern campus type has been established in this region in recent times: by the 1930s every state in the area except New Hampshire had a reformatory-type prison for women, and thus there was no vacuum which might be filled by an institution of another kind.

North Central Region

The development of the women's prison system of the North Central states was also heavily influenced by the reformatory movement. North Central states played less of a leadership role in the movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; earlier, however--in the late 1860s and 1870s--several of them did much to pave the way for the sucesses which followed. At the House of Shelter operated in conjunction with the Detroit House of Correction between 1868 and 1874, Emma Hall and Zebulon Brockway pioneered in such

radical innovations as indeterminate sentencing, prisoner classification into "grades," and sex-specific treatment of female prisoners, including efforts to create a rehabilitative context of "family" life.[46] And the Reformatory Institution established in Indianapolis in 1869 by Rhoda Coffin and her associates was the first reformatory for adults in the country, an institution completely independent from a prison for men and also the first to be run by a predominantly female staff. Even more than the House of Shelter, the Reformatory Institution helped feminize reformatory discipline through its emphasis on familial treatment, domestic training, and moral reform.[47]

Early in the twentieth century, the North Central states embarked upon an intense period of reformatory-building: between 1916 and 1930, seven reformatories were opened in the region.[48] In the process of pushing legislatures to found such institutions, North Central lobbyists pointed to the example of reformatories already founded in the (by now) more progressive Northeast; in some cases, they even called upon northeastern experts to support their lobbying efforts.[49] The reformatories which they managed to establish were, however, more custodial in nature than northeastern counterparts. On the whole, these institutions provided weaker programs; they were characterized by a relative absence of the "pure" reformatory sentence; only one excluded felons and only one placed an upper limit on the age of women who might be received; and several (including the overcrowded, unambitious institution at Marysville, Ohio) made but feeble efforts to achieve reformatory aims.[50]

Also characteristic of reformatories of the North Central region was the heavy emphasis some placed on the treatment and cure of venereal disease. Alarm about the potential of prostitutes to infect society both physically and morally figured prominently in the arguments put forth by the region's reformatory lobbyists.[51] Moreover, in four North Central reformatories, particu-

larly those of Kansas and Nebraska, treatment of venereal disease constituted a major element of the program. Women could be sentenced to these institutions merely because they were infected, and in some cases release was predicated on cure.[52] Concern about venereal disease also motivated a number of prison reformers in the Northeast, but this concern was reflected far more strongly in programs of North Central institutions.

There is today more variety in type of women's prison in the North Central region than in the Northeast. The women's prison system of the latter, as just noted, consists wholly of institutions which began as reformatories. But that of the North Central region includes one women's prison (that of Missouri) which began as a custodial institution. In addition, one prison of the modern campus type has recently been founded in the region, Michigan's Huron Valley Women's Facility. Michigan had no separate prison for women until Huron Valley was established in the 1970s; thus there was a vacuum which could be filled by an institution of this new type.

Southern Region

The most striking characteristics of the southern women's prison system are its relative lack of institutions which began as reformatories and, concomitantly, its dominance by institutions of the custodial type. In a number of other ways, too, women's prisons of the South differ from those of the Northeast and North Central regions. They did not begin to be established until a good deal later, the first (Texas's Goree Unit) not being founded till 1910; on the other hand, many more women's prisons were built in the South in the years after 1925. Most southern women's prisons, unlike those of other regions, originated as farm units or through the mitotic process of breaking off from previously established prisons.[53] Fewer, moreover, were legislatively established. In part because they were not firmly anchored by legislation to a particular location, they were frequently relocated. In interior design many employed the dormitory style of housing rather than the cell; this phenomenon helps explain their generally very poor quality of care, for dormitories provide less privacy, less security, and less healthy living conditions. Southern women's prisons were more likely than those of the North to have male administrators. Lastly, they tended to hold larger proportions of blacks and to discriminate even more strongly against black women than did prisons of other regions.[54]

The South was not entirely unaffected by the reformatory movement, for four institutions of this type were established in the region.[55] The southern reformatory movement, however, was characterized by a lesser degree of activism on the part of indigenous women's groups. (In fact, in the case of Arkansas, the reformatory was established mainly through the work of Martha P. Falconer, a visitor from the Northeast.)[56] Southern women's reformatories were less likely than those to the North to be entirely separate from institutions for men; only two of the four conformed to the cottage plan; none placed an upper limit on the age of women who might be received; and only one (that of North Carolina) excluded felons.[57] Their programs, furthermore, were notably thin. Significantly, the two which most closely resembled northern counterparts (those of Arkansas and North Carolina) were eventually closed. Thus the women's reformatory movement was not only less extensive in the South; it also produced but weak institutions in those states where it did succeed.

Today as in the past, many southern prisons for women provide care which is, at best, abysmal.[58] It is tempting to point to the racial composition of their populations--to the fact that the great majority of their inmates have

been and are women of color--as a factor which helped determine their very poor quality of care. While this hypothesis is difficult to prove, it is supported by the fact that there is a hierarchy in the quality of care furnished by women's prisons in general, a hierarchy which correlates with racial composition. At the top of the hierarchy, offering the best conditions of confinement, were the women's reformatories. The populations of both northern and southern reformatories, in their early years of operation, tended to be overwhelmingly white.[59] At the middle level in terms of quality of care were some northern custodial prisons for women. The populations of these prisons were disproportionately black (in comparison to the populations of the states as a whole), but they included sizeable numbers of whites.[60] At the lowest level in terms of conditions of confinement were the custodial women's prisons of the South, and these held the largest proportions of black women. That a strong reformatory movement did not develop in the South was due to factors in addition to race, such as, apparently, a relative lack of interest in feminist reforms by middle-class southern women. That southern custodial prisons for women have treated inmates with considerable inhumanity, on the other hand, does seem to be a function of the fact that their convicts were, and are, predominantly women of color.

In recent years at least four women's prisons of the modern campus type have been established in southern states: those opened at St. Gabriel, Louisiana, in 1961; at Nashville in 1965; at Gatesville, Texas, in 1975; and at Hardwick, Georgia, in 1976. There may, in actuality, be more prisons of this type in the South; limitations in our data sources made it impossible to determine the nature of some of the recently established institutions.[61]

Western Region

The women's prison system of the West began to develop late--even later than that of the South: until the mid-1960s, the region had only one independent prison for women, that originally established at Tehachapi, California. In addition, the West was even less affected than the South by the reformatory movement. Only the California institution was designed along reformatory lines. Even it excluded misdemeanants, the traditional reformatory population, after its first few years of operation; and it was, moreover, eventually abandoned as an institution for women.[62]

Between 1961 and 1979, seven women's prisons were established in the western states. Two of these (those of Oregon and Colorado) conformed closely to the custodial model. They existed in the shadow of their states' central penitentiaries for men, were relatively high in security level, and allocated few funds and little space for programs. Initially both were dependent on the nearby men's institution, and although they later became independent, they were sometimes headed by men. At the Colorado Women's Correctional Institution, moreover, discipline was during the 1970s notably repressive.[63] Less custodial in their orientations were the women's prisons established in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming. For the most part these were located in fairly modern plants and headed by women, and they offered at least some work release, study release, and furlough programs.

The last of the seven recently-established women's prisons of the West, Washington's Purdy Treatment Center for Women, provides the outstanding example of the new modern campus model of women's prison; a recent survey nominated it "the best women's prison in the country."[64] Legislatively established in 1967 and opened in 1971 on an eighty-acre tract near Tacoma, Purdy is remarkable in part for its physical plant. "(T)he Center's low brick and

concrete buildings face a landscaped and paved inner courtyard," according to one discription, adding that the planners "captured more of a community college atmosphere than that of a prison." The plant includes minimum, medium, and maximum security units, but "All rooms are private (each resident has her own key) and each wing has a living area with fireplace, a kitchenette, laundry room, visiting room and lavatory and shower facilities." The plant also includes a school building and a playground for visiting children. Near the entrance is a separate building with apartments for inmates on work release.[65]

Another remarkable feature of Purdy is its highly structured "behavioral management" program. Like similar programs in several other western prisons for women, this one draws upon the very old principle of rewarding inmates for good behavior and other signs of progress.[66] After an initial period in maximum security, prisoners are promoted to a medium security level in which they can participate in educational and recreational activities. During the last six months before release, they are allowed to live in the apartments and leave the institution on work release. This program is not without its critics; inmates have described it as "juvenile" and "ridiculous." Purdy does in fact provide little vocational training; and aspects of its program are sex-stereotyped.[67] Yet the institution pays more than lip service to the goal of rehabilitation, no matter what one may think of the means it uses to achieve that end. In addition to its behavior modification program, it has drug counselors and other therapists and encourages contact with community groups. Moreover, it fosters contacts between inmates and their children.[68]

The women's prison system of the West today is most notable for its diversity. Indeed, the region provides a way to summarize the development of the women's prison system as a whole, including as it does institutions at most stages of that system's development over time. Three western states

(Idaho, Montana, and Utah) remain at the earliest developmental stage, continuing to hold their few women in their central, predominantly-male prisons just as other states did in the early nineteenth century.[69] The region includes several institutions of an almost purely custodial nature and one which began as a reformatory. It also includes Purdy, the outstanding example of the campus type of women's prison which is, today, developing as a third model among women's prisons.[70]

Sources of Regional Differences

What were some of the sources of these regional differences? We can identify at least three. First and most obviously, the regions of the country did not develop simultaneously; the points in time by which they were sufficiently populated to "require" or support a prison for women varied, and these variations influenced selection of model. For example, a state preparing to establish its first women's prison in 1950 would have been unlikely to choose the reformatory model, which went out of fashion decades earlier.

Second, the women's reformatory movement varied in strength from region to region. Where it was vigorous, states founded reformatories. But in those regions where middle-class women did not take an active part in prison reform, states continued to hold women in custodial units.

Third, there are regional "styles" which help determine the general nature of institutions (including prisons for women) in an area. The South developed prison farms, for example; other regions did not. These styles were influenced by factors such as climate and racial composition of the prison population: a report of 1908 rejected a proposal for development of a prison farm in Ohio on the grounds that "while a State farm might be practical in the South where 85% of the prison population is colored, and where there is no

hesitancy about using fire-arms in case any should attempt to escape, and where the winters are mild so that the prisoners can be worked out of doors all winter, . . . in the North a prison farm for felons would not be practicable."[71] Whatever the style in question, and whatever its causes, these characteristics of a region's prison system as a whole influence the nature of its women's prisons as well.[72]

5. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE TWO TRADITIONAL MODELS

Each of the two traditional models of women's prison, custodial and reformatory, generated its own set of disadvantages. When the two models began to merge in the early twentieth century, they pooled these drawbacks, feeding them into the women's prison system which we have today. In what follows, we (1) specify the problems associated with each model; and (2) identify ways in which these continue to affect women's prisons. In conclusion we assess the potential of the newly emergent modern campus type of women's prison to overcome some of the difficulties which have, historically, troubled prisons for women.

Problems Generated by the Custodial Model

Among the problems associated with the custodial model, most serious was its tradition of providing for female state prisoners care inferior to that afforded to comparable males. This is a somewhat difficult point to make, for earlier we stressed the similarity of treatment of women in custodial institutions to that of male counterparts. This very even-handedness, however, in combination with the fact that female felons were so few in number, worked to produce inferior care for women. For example, in the early nineteenth century women held in predominatly male custodial prisons were at times subjected to the same routines and guarded by the same turnkeys as men. But because they were so few in number, they ran a higher risk of sexual victimization; moreover, lacking same-sex guards, they probably also suffered more from lack of privacy and company.[73] Similarly, after women were isolated into custodial units of their own, they were handled in ways which, though similar to those

used with male prisoners, were at the same time also somewhat inferior; shunted off into small buildings of their own, the women were now more difficult to service. Their buildings, for example, often lacked separate kitchens; because food had be to delivered, it would arrive cold and, in some institutions, only once a day.[74] Then again, the women in custodial units were usually dependent on the nearby men's prison for staff; but because the women were more isolated, they had less access than did male prisoners to the physician, chaplain, and instructors. Moreover, these officials were less likely to be familiar with or sympathetic to the special problems of women than with those of other men.[75]

Thus as a function of the very way in which they evolved, custodial institutions for women provided for their inmates care which, while it generally resembled that for men, was also of a lower quality. Wardens and other prison administrators frequently deplored this fact, but they were powerless to do much about it, given that the women's units were added as afterthoughts and held so few prisoners.

A number of other problems (or, rather, constellations of problems) came to be associated with women's prisons of the custodial type. One was poverty of resources. This disadvantage derived not from the tradition of providing care somewhat inferior to that of male prisoners (the last point) but rather to the impoverishment typical of custodial institutions in general: like their male counterparts, female custodial prisons were poorly staffed and offered few programs. A second group of problems related to their physical plants. These tended to be small and cramped, with no yard or other provision for recreation. High in security level and arranged either into cell blocks or dormitories, they provided bleak, uncomfortable, and frequently unhealthy living accomodations. Third, there was little opportunity for prisoner classification in women's units of the custodial type, due mainly to their small size but also, where the dormitory arrangement prevailed, to absence of any subdivisions whatsoever.[76] Fourth and fifth, women held in custodial prisons were often subjected to rigid rules and harsh punishments, and they had little access to the outside world. Last, these were highly stigmatizing institutions; because their aim was punishment, they made no more effort to relieve the psychological than the physical pains of incarceration.

At least two of the major problems which afflict women's prisons today can be traced to roots in the custodial tradition. The first pertains to the practice of according less adequate care to women than to men prisoners. Women's prisons in many states continue to be poorly funded and inadequacies in their facilities and programs to be ignored.[77] Moreover, just because most prisoners are male, even similar treatment of the sexes means that female-specific problems will be slighted. Women prisoners seldom receive adequate gynecological care, for example--gynecology is simply an area in which most prison physicians are not expert; and because women are more frequently responsible than men for dependent children, they suffer more from the apparently "equal" separation from family.[78] The second set of current problems associated with the custodial tradition relates to the generally impoverished care offered by custodial prisons to males and females alike: understaffing, rigidity in rules and punishments, lack of programs and other resources, and harsh living conditions are all part of the legacy of custodialism.[79]

Problems Generated by the Reformatory Model

An entirely different set of drawbacks accreted to the reformatory tradition.[80] The most significant of these involved social class biases. As we have seen, the reformatory movement was led by middle-class women determined

to isolate female lawbreakers, especially those convicted of morals offenses, into institutions where they could be trained to become obedient domestic servants or proper wives. The movement thus involved the imposition of middle-class standards of morality on lower-class women. It also involved differential treatment on the basis of sex: reformatory inmates were punished for behaviors often overlooked in the case of men; establishment of reformatories was often accompanied by special sentencing provisions which allowed such institutions to hold minor offenders for periods of years; and the reformatories were dedicated to "feminine" training. This differential treatment was essentially procapitalist and functional to the middle-class. It affirmed the place of woman in the home, where she worked for a minimum wage or none at all. It greatly increased state control over "deviant" women--those who asserted sexual equality and autonomy. And, not incidentally, it helped train a body of domestic servants who were then paroled to work (often for very low wages) to middle-class homes in the vicinity of the reformatories.[81] Social class biases and interests were, then, intrinsic to the very concept of the women's reformatory.

Conceptually distinct but intimately related to the reformatory's social class biases was that set of problems generated by their emphasis on female sex roles. Sex-role stereotyping affected not only inmates but their keepers as well. Inmates were limited by, for example, the reformatories' refusal to provide industrial or other types of "unwomanly" training which would have helped released prisoners obtain competitive jobs. Reformatory administrators opened the door to correctional positions for themselves by arguing that only women could understand and reform other, less fortunate, women; but by employing this sex-role argument, they professionally locked themselves out of positions in (the far more numerous) prisons for men and in prison administrative hierarchies.[82] Furthermore, the rigidity of such sex-role stereotyping worked to prevent cross-fertilization between the men's and women's prison system; ignoring the women's system as irrelevant to their own concerns, male administrators sometimes overlooked experiments within it from which they might have learned.[83]

Yet other problems associated with reformatories also derived from these institutions' emphasis on female sexual purity and woman's place in the home. Some reformatories attempted to rehabilitate prostitutes through treatment of venereal disease; these treatments, however, no doubt negatively affected inmates' health, involving as they did frequent vaginal examinations and injections of arsenic and mercury compounds.[84] And many reformatories (to give another example) approached discipline and punishment in a manner which, though ostensibly mild and maternal, was also belittling and degrading, treating as it did adult women as though they were children.

This is not to say that all of the problems associated with women's reformatories stemmed from their social class biases and concomitant amplification of sex roles. One, for instance, was simply a function of the rural location of most reformatories: isolated in rural areas, these institutions were difficult to visit and supply. Another was a function of the cottage plan: subdivided into a number of separate units, each requiring its own heating system, kitchen, and staff, the reformatories were expensive to operate.[85]

Nearly all of the problems historically associated with the reformatory tradition continue to affect women's prisons today. Despite the growth of suburbs, the location of those women's prisons which began as reformatories continues in many cases to be problematic, cutting inmates off from families and community resources. In addition, these institutions continue to have

high overhead expenses due to their subdivision into a number of separate units. Far more significant is the fact that the original reformatories' social class biases and their resultant insistence on conformity to "proper" women's roles have fed into a women's prison system which continues to be moralistic, unsympathetic to working-class women's problems, and infantilizing. Today as in the past, women's prisons try to cultivate inmate "self-respect" through encouragement of ladylike appearances; cosmetology courses and "personal grooming" programs continue to play major roles in the curricula of such institutions (and often to be better equipped than any other department). Lacking both the physical capacity to provide industrial training and a tradition of such training, women's prisons still fail to offer adequate preparation for competitive jobs. Women continue to be called "girls" and in other ways, too, subjected to the child-like treatment still considered appropriate for females.[86] The tradition of sex-stereotyping persists in its effects on administrators as well: the women who today direct women's prisons have little more access to positions in men's institutions or administrative hierarchies than did their forerunners.

In conclusion, it is important to note that both the custodial and reformatory traditions generated differential treatment of women, though for different historical reasons. Custodial prisons for women tended to provide poorer treatment; they did so less on the basis of assumptions about special characteristics of women than because women prisoners, being few in number and isolated in small units of their own, attracted little attention. Reformatory institutions were more deliberate in their provision of differential treatment, justifying it with assumptions about women's "nature." The quality of physical care they provided in their early years was frequently superior to that of custodial institutions, including those for men; but for this superior

care inmates paid a psychological price in terms of the roles to which they were expected to conform. In both cases, then, differential treatment was in fact disadvantageous to women.

Potential of the Modern Campus Model

The modern campus model now emerging as a third type of women's prison has the potential to overcome many of the problems associated with women's prisons of the past. Having broken with traditional prison architecture, it can avoid the physical problems linked to the custodial model (such as knee-jerk reliance on the cell or dormitory and on traditional security mechanisms) on the one hand and those linked to the reformatory model (such as geographical isolation and expensive separate units) on the other. Moreover, because these new institutions are totally independent of a men's institution, in theory at least they can avoid the differential treatment problems (especially resource difficulties) which traditionally plagued custodial institutions; because they are new, they also should be able to by-step differential treatment traditions (especially the social class moralism) of the reformatories.

Whether these new institutions will in fact realize such potentials remains an open question, however.[87] As observed earlier, many of them are already too overcrowded to deliver programs of much quality. Furthermore, due to underfunding and, at times, unimaginative leadership, a number of them continue to provide minimal and very traditional programs. The most that can be said, then, is that the opportunity exists to begin breaking with some of the traditions which have in the past worked to provide women prisoners with inferior treatment. But unless steps are taken to reduce their populations and strengthen their programs, institutions of the modern campus type will do no better than their predecessors.

6. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the goals of this study was to establish a base of information on the origins and development of the women's prison system on which other researchers could build. Now that the basic contours of the system's evolution have been drawn, it seems appropriate to suggest some of the directions which future historical research on women's prisons might most profitably take. Three areas for further exploration appear to be particularly important:

(1) We need fuller histories of individual institutions. With few exceptions, this study was unable to follow prisons for women past their first decade of operation. Full-scale portraits of individual institutions, similar to those which have been made of some prisons for men, would give a more complete sense of the nature of these institutions over time and richer data on their prisoners. They would, moreover, flesh out and perhaps modify some of this study's findings on the characteristics of regional developments.

(2) Also needed is a more complete investigation of the effects of race on the nature and development of women's prisons in the various regions. Our research capacity did not permit us to collect the data necessary to fully explore the effects of the racial composition of a region or prison population on the nature of incarceration, nor were we able to give as much attention as we would have liked to differential treatment of blacks and whites. We did, however, gather enough information to hypothesize that the predominance of very weak custodial prisons in the South may have been a by-product of the large proportion of black women in southern prisons populations and racist attitudes toward them. This hypothesis calls for further investigation, and it is clear that others pertaining to the effects of race and racial prejudice might be formulated as well.

(3) Finally, the development of the women's prison system needs to be placed in the more general context of women's history as a whole. It needs, for example, to be related to the ebb and flow of moral reform movements; to migrational patterns, such as the northward movement of black women after the Civil War and the immigration of European women in the pre-World War I period; and to changes in sex roles.

If nothing else, this report should make it more difficult for future students of incarceration to perpetuate the traditional disregard of prisons for women; as we hope we have made clear, the various states founded and operated a large number of women's prisons, some of them far more innovative and, in their own terms, more successful than prisons for men. Hopefully we have also demonstrated the biasing effects of the scholarly tradition which ignores women's prisons of the non-reformatory type and those founded outside the Northeast and North Central regions. Finally, we hope we have indicated how strongly the legacies of the past can affect the present, shaping the latter and at times thwarting even the most determined efforts of those who would bring about change.

Notes

In the footnotes which follow, references to annual reports (ARs) and biennial reports (BRs) have been standardized. The date following the abbreviation AR or BR is that of the last year spanned by the report. Thus an annual report covering July 1917-June 1918 is referenced AR 1918, and a biennial report covering April 1888-March 1900 is referenced BR 1900.

[1]See Appendix A. The study in fact covers fifty-five institutions, fifty-four of which meet our definitional criteria for a "state prison for women" and one (the women's annex operated for most of the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth at the Ohio Penitentiary) which does not. The latter was included to give us some understanding of the nature of women's units excluded by our definition. In addition, we also covered the House of Shelter operated by the Detroit House of Correction between 1868 and 1874, a unit which pioneered in techniques which soon became central to the women's reformatory movement.

[2]The most obvious example of leadership by women's prisons, and of the ways their contributions have been slighted, relates to the origins of reformatories. Nearly all the prison history literature, including David J. Rothman's new Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and its Alternatives in Progressive America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1980), holds that the first reformatory was the men's institution opened at Elmira, New York, under Zebulon R. Brockway in 1877. The first reformatory was, in fact, the women's institution opened in Indianapolis in 1873. Moreover, the Massachusetts Reformatory Prison for Women was also opened in 1877, the same year as Elmira.

[3]American Correctional Association, Directory 1980 (College Park, Maryland: The Association, 1980):84; Kathryn W. Burkhart, Women in Prison (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1973):366.

[4]See, for example, Ruth M. Glick and Virginia V. Neto, National Study of Women's Correctional Programs (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA, 1977):xxii, describing efforts by women's prisons

> to ascribe these characteristics ["deviant," "bad"] to women who were not white and middle-class, since . . . standards of femininity and of appropriate female behavior were defined largely in terms of an idealized norm that reflected dominant white, middle-class, male values.

[5]Burkhart, Women in Prison; Clarice Feinman, Women in the Criminal Justice System (New York: Praeger, 1980): Chapter 3; Estelle B. Freedman, Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); U.S. General Accounting Office, Comptroller General's Report to the Congress, Women In Prison: Inequitable Treatment Requires Action (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, 1980); Glick and Neto, National Study of Women's Correctional Programs; Judith Resnik and Nancy Shaw, "Prisoners of Their Sex: Health Problems of Incarcerated Women," in Ira Robbins, ed., Prisoners' Rights Source Book: Theory, Litigation, and Practice (Clark Boardman, 1980); Linda R. Singer, "Women and the Correctional Process," American Criminal Law Review 11 (Winter 1973):300-308.

[6]Ironically, then, women pay a price for committing less crime. For comparative data on the numbers of men and women in prisons, see, for example, the General Accounting Office report on Women in Prison: Inequitable Treatment Requires Action:21.

[7]For example, in 1923 Alabama completed a new prison to which male prisoners were transferred from the old Wetumpka penitentiary. Wetumpka's women inmates, however, were left behind, and so the penitentiary in effect became a separate women's institution; this was accomplished, however, not through legislative action but rather through the administrative transfer of the men. In a variation on this process, in 1967 Michigan decided to build a new prison for women. Funds for preliminary planning were obtained from the legislature in that year, but thereafter initiative for location and construction of the new facility lay (insofar as we have been able to determine) with the Department of Corrections, which opened the Huron Valley Women's Facility in 1977.

[8]New York operated an Institution for Mentally Defective Delinquent Women at Albion between 1931 and 1970; for a history of this institution, see Nicolas Fischer Hahn (Nicole F. Rafter), "The Defective Delinquency Movement: A History of the Born Criminal in New York State, 1850-1966" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 1978):Chapter IX. There seem to have been few (if any) other such specialized and independent female institutions in the country.

[9]In the case of Indiana, for example, the legislation created a new institution (the Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls) divided into two "departments," one for juveniles and the other for adults. In time the girls were removed to an institution of their own, but from the start the two departments were divided in all aspects of their activity, even to the extent of having their own kitchens and yards. Thus we dealt with this adult department, and with other institutions which met the definitional criteria but were not geographically separate from an institution for men or girls, as separate prisons for women.

[10]Clifford M. Young, Women's Prisons Past and Present and Other New York State Prison History (Elmira Reformatory: The Summary Press, 1932):38 (pam.).

[11]We wanted to look at the situation of women convicts in the five year period before the independent prison was opened to see if this situation had built up pressure for creation of the new institution (if, for example, the warden of the penitentiary where the women were previously held had for some reason been anxious to get rid of them). We were also interested in the prior arrangements because we wanted to determine how (if at all) conditions for women prisoners changed after the opening of the independent prison (if, for example, a better program became available to them).

[12]Tennessee did not establish an independent prison for women until 1965; however, we traced the incarceration of women in that state from the early nineteenth century through the founding of the independent institution. We also followed the history of the women's annex to the Ohio Penitentiary, which was operated from 1837-1917; of the Ohio Reformatory for Women from its founding in 1911 through 1943; of New York's State Prison for Women at Auburn from its opening in 1893 until its closing in 1933; and of New York's Western House of Refuge at Albion from its founding in 1890 until its closing in 1931.

[13]Eugenia Cornelia Lekkerkerker, Reformatories for Women in the United States (Batavia, Holland: Bij J.B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1931); Estelle B. Freedman, Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930 (see note 5) and "Their Sisters' Keepers: The Origins of Female Corrections in America" (doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1976). Also see Freedman, "Their Sisters' Keepers: An Historical Perspective on Female Correctional Institutions in the United States: 1870-1900," Feminist Studies 2 (1) (1974):77-95. Another work which directly examines the history of female prisoners is W. David Lewis, "The Ordeal of the Unredeem-

ables," Ch. VII in From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965). Useful articles in the women's studies literature include Barbara Brenzel, "Domestication as Reform: A Study of the Socialization of Wayward Girls, 1856-1905," Harvard Educational Review 50 (2) (May 1980):196-213; Peter L. Tyor, "'Denied the Power to Choose the Good:' Sexuality and Mental Defect in American Medical Practice, 1850-1920," Journal of Social History 19 (2) (Summer 1977):472-489; Steven Schlossman and Stephanie Wallach, "The Crime of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency in the Progressive Era," Harvard Educational Review 48 (1) (February 1978):65-94. Also see Mark Thomas Connelly, The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) and Nicolas F. Hahn, "Too Dumb to Know Better: Cacogenic Family Studies and the Criminology of Women," Criminology 18 (1) (May 1980):3-25.

[14]This type is defined in the next section of this report.

[15]Lewis, "The Ordeal of the Unredeemables."

[16]For a fuller description of the sources, see Appendix B.

[17]Wisconsin State Board of Control, BR 1926:36; Virginia, Board of Directors of the Penitentiary, BR 1923:5 ["moral perversion"].

[18]E. C. Wines, ed., Transactions of the National Congress on Penitentiary Discipline Held at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 12-18, 1870 (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1871):543 [quotation]. This was the first meeting of the body which became the National Prison Association and which is today known as the American Correctional Association.

[19]Mrs. C. F. [Rhoda] Coffin, "Women's Prisons," National Prison Association Proceedings 1885:193.

[20]See, for example, Helen Worthington Rogers, "A History of the Movement to Establish a State Reformatory for Women in Connecticut," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology XIX (4) (February 1929):518-541.

[21]Detroit House of Correction, AR 1868:40.

[22]See, for example, Florence Monahan, Women in Crime (New York: Ives Washburn, 1941). Monahan was superintendent of, first, the women's reformatory in Minnesota and, later, that of California.

[23]For example, the first reformatory for men, that at Elmira, New York, took felons only. In connection with the in-depth research on the Ohio Reformatory for Women we made some use of prisoner registries (held by the Ohio State Archives, Columbus) listing males sent to the men's reformatory at Mansfield in the early twentieth century. We found that some males were sent to the Mansfield institution for sex and family related crimes; our search turned up cases of bigamy, transporting a female for immoral purposes, and non-support. Moreover, some Mansfield prisoners (like some of the women held at the Marysville women's reformatory) had been convicted of Juvenile Delinquency. In the latter instances, however, the cases were those of males under 18 who had, in fact, committed felonies (breaking and entering, carrying a concealed weapon, stealing a motocycle, pocketbook snatching). And none of the sex and family related offenses were of the "fornication-or-insubordination" variety for which many women were sent to their reformatory. Thus the point made in the text still holds: males simply were not sent to Mansfield for the minor offenses for which some women were sent to Marysville.

[24]In fact, those who founded women's reformatories explicitly argued that such institutions were needed in order to hold minor female offenders for longer terms. This argument was used, for instance, by Katherine B. Davis, superintendent of New York's reformatory for women at Bedford, in the course

of pleading with a group of Ohioans to establish a similar institution in their state ("A Reformatory for Women," in Ohio Board of State Charities, Ohio Bulletin of Charities and Correction 7 (2) (July 1911):43-48). For authority Davis cited Josephine S. Lowell, the founder of several New York State prisons for women, writing (p. 45):

> Mrs. Lowell made an appeal to the legislature. She said: "Do you know you are doing a very foolish, extravagant thing? What is the use of sending these women for thirty or sixty days, or for six months to these places [local jails] to learn more crime . . .?" . . . Mrs. Lowell told them it would cost the State less in the end to take these girls and women and keep them long enough to train them so that a reasonable percentage could go out as respectable and self-supporting women.

[25]For example, the 1889 report of the New York reformatory at Hudson countered objections to its sentence, which was at that point an indeterminate sentence of five years, with the exclamation that "surely five years is not too long for the sundering of old and evil associations, the breaking of pernicious habits, the formation of new, and the practice and continuance of such till they become fixed and stable" (Hudson House of Refuge, AR 1889:10). The founders of the juvenile court system--also (and not incidently) upper middle-class women--similarly considered their work to be an act of benevolence. As Anthony M. Platt has shown, however, (The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency [2d. ed., enlarged; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977]), they too were extending the mantle of state control. See, especially, Platt's "Introduction to the Second Edition."

[26]The following table shows the racial breakdown of prisoners in samples drawn from the records of women held at the Tennessee Penitentiary (TENN. in

the table), State Prison for Women at Auburn, New York (AUB.), Western House of Refuge for Women at Albion, New York (ALB.), Ohio Penitentiary (OP), and Ohio Reformatory for Women (ORW) for the periods 1893-1903 and 1912-1922. (For a description of sampling procedures, see Appendix D.)

RACE BY PRISON, 1893-1903 AND 1912-1922, IN PERCENTAGES

1893-1903

	TENN.	AUB.	ALB.	OP	ORW
Blk.	90.5 (237)	29.8 (76)	2.3 (5)	39.4 (87)	(Not yet opened)
Wht.	9.5 (25)	70.2 (179)	96.8 (210)	60.6 (134)	
Oth.	...	...	.9 (2)	...	
	100.0 (262)	100.0 (255)	100.0 (217)	100.0 (221)	

1912-1922

	TENN.	AUB.	ALB.	OP	ORW
Blk.	85.4 (204)	26.9 (53)	2.3 (12)	51.9 (54)	25.6 (45)
Wht.	14.6 (35)	72.1 (142)	96.6 (509)	47.1 (49)	74.4 (131)
Oth.	...	1.0 (2)	1.1 (6)	1.0 (1)	...
	100.0 (239)	100.0 (197)	100.0 (527)	100.0 (104)	100.0 (176)

As the table indicates, the custodial units (TENN., AUB., and OP) held larger proportions of women of color (for the period 1912-1922, about 85, 27, and 52 percent, respectively) than did the reformatories (ALB. and ORW) (2 and 26 percent, respectively). That the Ohio reformatory held a greater proportion of black women than did that at Albion seems to have been a function of its proximity to the South; reformatories farther north (according to our review of published records for these institutions) tended, like Albion, to receive few black women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[27]While it is difficult to document low-visibility decisions of this type, we did find evidence that New York state judges at the turn of the century avoided sending some felons to the State Prison for Women at Auburn; we cannot identify the criteria (which may have included race) they used in making their decisions as to whom to commit to this custodial institution, but we are fairly confident that they did choose. In the early years of the prison's operation, judges took advantage of a law giving them discretion to send felons with terms under five years to local penitentiaries instead of to the prison. That some judges exercised this discretion when they sentenced women caused bitterness among the State Commissioners of Prisons, who worried about underutilization of the newly-established women's prison, with its capacity for 250 inmates. In 1901, the Commissioners had the Penal Code amended to force judges to send all female felons with sentences of a year or more to Auburn, even though this might mean separating them by long distances from families and friends. "If their friends were acquainted with the prison for women at Auburn," the Commissioners explained, "they would ask as a favor that the unfortunates be sent there" (New York State Commission of Prisons, AR 1896:5-7, AR 1898:68-69, AR 1899:17, AR 1902:82 [on 1901 change in law], AR 1896:43 ["If their friends . . ."].

Thus in New York there was a struggle between the state prison authorities (such as the Commissioners) with a desire to see their prison full, and judges, who apparently felt Auburn was an unsuitable place of commitment for all but the most hardened women. This struggle continued, but after the opening in 1901 of the reformatory at Bedford (which could receive some felons as well as misdemeanants), judges began committing women to Bedford in preference to either the penitentiaries or Auburn. Now state authorities blamed Bedford rather than the penitentiaries for siphoning off women who might have

been sent to Auburn. "For some reason," the Superintendent of State Prisons observed irately in 1903,

> many women convicted in this State who might be sent to the State Prison for Women at Auburn, are sent to other institutions. This is very greatly to be regretted. In its equipment and its resources for dealing with women under sentence it is not equalled by any other institution in the State.

(New York Superintendent of State Prisons, AR 1903:19-20.) It is likely that judges in other states also used their discretion to avoid committing some women to custodial institutions; racial imbalances in the populations of such institutions suggest that one of the criteria judges used in making these decisions may have been race.

[28]The two southern reformatories were those of North Carolina and Virginia. The northern reformatory was the Western House of Refuge at Albion; its intake ledgers leave space for the recording of information on a large number of variables (including mental disabilities of the inmate's grandparents) but none for race, thus indicating that only one race--the whites whom the institution did in fact almost exclusively receive at first--was expected at the time the ledger format was prepared.

[29]The "pure" reformatory sentence was developed by the two New York state reformatories founded in the late nineteenth century, those at Hudson and Albion. Originally, women sent to these institutions could be held for up to five years (New York, Laws of 1890, Ch. 238, sec. 8). Some judges objected to the disproportionality involved in such lengthy sentences for women convicted of petty offenses, however (Hudson House of Refuge, AR 1888:5-6), and in 1889 the maximum term was lowered to three years (Laws of 1899, Ch. 632, sec. 1).

[30]However, findings from the in-depth studies, for which we used prisoner registries to determine time-served (see Appendix D), suggest that influences other than offense severity also operated to determine time-served. The following table shows time-served in months for samples of inmates from the Tennessee Penitentiary (TENN. in the table), State Prison for Women at Auburn, New York (AUB.), Western House of Refuge at Albion, New York (ALB.), Ohio Penitentiary (OP), and Ohio Reformatory for Women (ORW).

AVERAGE TIME-SERVED IN MONTHS AT FIVE INSTITUTIONS, FOR ALL CASES* AND CASES RECEIVED 1893-1903 AND 1912-1922

	All Cases		1893-1903		1912-1922	
TENN.	41.1	(592)	53.4	(96)	41.9	(188)
AUB.	39.7	(483)	37.5	(225)	36.2	(156)
ALB.	34.0	(1360)	40.9	(211)	32.1	(435)
OP	28.1	(551)	29.3	(209)	23.2	(90)
ORW	25.7	(597)	(Not opened)		24.0	(170)

*All sampled cases for which such information was available. Numbers in parentheses show the number of cases on which the averages are based.

As the table indicates, prisoners in two of the three custodial institutions (TENN. and AUB.) did, on the whole (first column) serve longer terms than did those in the reformatories (ALB. and ORW). Moreover, overall, prisoners at the custodial institutions of Ohio and New York served longer terms than women incarcerated at these states' reformatories. However, overall, prisoners at the custodial Ohio Penitentiary served less time than did reformatory women at Albion (28.1 and 34.0 months, respectively). And when we look at the breakdown by period we find that in the period 1893-1903, reformatory women at Albion served more time (40.9 months on the average) than did those at the custodial Auburn prison (37.5 months on the average). Similarly, in the period 1912-1922, Ohio reformatory women served slightly more time (24

months) than did those at the Ohio Penitentiary (23.2 months). Clearly, offense severity alone does not account for time-served. Given the fact that the women in the custodial institutions were generally felons while those in the reformatories were generally misdemeanants, these figures support our contention that the reformatories were harsh in their sentencing, from the perspective of concern for proportionality between crime and punishment.

[31]See notes 24 and 25.

[32]Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, Five Hundred Delinquent Women (orig. 1934), as excerpted in Freda Adler and Rita James Simon, The Criminology of Deviant Women (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979):30.

[33]New York State Commission of Correction, AR 1927:87.

[17]Jill Conway, "Women Reformers and American Culture, 1870-1930," in Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade, eds., Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought (2d ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976):309. For a related analysis of women's prison reform in particular, see Freedman, Their Sisters' Keepers; on child saving, see Platt, The Child Savers.

Nineteenth century social theorists frequently distinguished between the "dependent and defective classes" (socially problematic through no fault of their own) and the "delinquent classes" (those responsible for the problems they caused).

[35]Schlossman and Wallach, "The Crime of Precocious Sexuality":86. Schlossman and Wallach deal with the social purity movement as spanning the period 1900-1920. We prefer to locate its origins in the 1870s, the point at which Richard Dugdale published one of the key works of the social purity movement, his study of the degenerate Jukes family ("The Jukes." A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease and Heredity [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1877]). For another analysis of an aspect of the social purity movement as it related

to deviant women, see Egal Feldman, "Prostitution, the Alien Woman and the Progressive Imagination, 1910-1915," American Quarterly 19 (Summer 1967):192-206.

[36]Isabel C. Barrows, "The Reformatory Treatment of Women in the United States," in Charles R. Henderson, ed., Penal and Reformatory Institutions (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910):133. Also see Brenzel, "Domestication as Reform."

[37]New York Western House of Refuge, AR 1898:16-17.

[38]The reformatories did, however, tend to set large numbers of petty rules.

[39]Ohio limited the population of its "reformatory" at Marysville to felons in 1929. In 1933, New York closed its State Prison for Women at Auburn, transferring its inmates to newly-acquired property across the street from the Bedford reformatory. Similarly, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Illinois closed the custodial units for women at their central state prisons in 1933, transferring the felons to their reformatories. Due to our procedure of following most prisons only through their first decade of operation, we may have missed similar developments of about 1930 in other states.

[40]Of course some reformatories had held both misdemeanants and felons from their time of opening; in these, elements of the two models had naturally been mixed from the start. However, even in these, as felons came to predominate in the population, the character of the institution necessarily changed.

[41]This shift in concern to system management occurred a bit earlier in New York (which had a large system to manage), where its start was marked by the publication in 1920 of the Lewisohn report (New York State Prison Survey Committee, Report [Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, 1920]). The shift is observed at the federal level in Claudine SchWeber, "'The Government's Unique Experiment in Salvaging Women Criminals': Cooperation and Conflict in the Administration of a Women's Prison," in Nicole H. Rafter and Elizabeth A. Stanko, eds., Judge, Lawyer, Victim, Thief: Women, Sex Roles, and Criminal Justice (forthcoming, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982).

[42]These are identified in Section 4 of this report.

[43]See notes 13-15 and accompanying text. One of the best-known recent sociological studies of a women's prison, Rose Giallombardo's Society of Women: A Study of a Women's Prison (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), also deals with a reformatory.

[44]All three of the northeastern custodial institutions for women were established by New York State--The Mount Pleasant Female Prison founded at Ossining in 1835, the State Prison for Women established at Auburn in 1893, and the short-lived Farm for Women established at Valatie in 1908.

[45]See note 29 and accompanying text.

[46]The House of Shelter is described in Zebulon R. Brockway, Fifty Years of Prison Service (orig. 1912; repr. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969) and in the annual reports of the Detroit House of Correction for the years in question.

[47]For information on the Reformatory Institution see Mrs. C. F. [Rhoda] Coffin, "Women's Prisons"; Freedman, "Their Sisters' Keepers: The Origins of Female Corrections in America"; Sara F. Keely, "The Organization and Discipline of the Indiana Women's Prison," American Prison Association Proceedings 1898:275-284; Lekkerkerker, Reformatories for Women in the United States; and the annual reports of the prison itself.

[48]These are listed in Appendix A.

[49]The most active proselytizer was Katherine B. Davis, superintendent of the New York reformatory at Bedford Hills. To held with lobbying efforts in

Ohio, for example, she wrote the address referred to in note 24. Backers of the women's reformatory in Wisconsin went so far as to send a delegation to Bedford to "see in what measure that institution would meet the needs of Wisconsin" (Katherine Van Wyck, "Reformatory for Women--Wisconsin's Outstanding Need" [Wisconsin Conference on Charities and Corrections, Proceedings 1912]:94).

[50]The Illinois reformatory could exclude felons because the state operated a custodial Women's Prison for that population. The reformatory which excluded women over age 30 was that of Wisconsin, which removed this restriction in 1933.

[51]According to one reformer, for example, "The problem of the woman offender in Illinois is not a criminal problem. It is a sex problem. Eighty-two percent of the arrests of women each year in the State of Illinois are for sex offenses." Better conditions were necessary, this reformatory advocate argued, if the female offender was to be corrected and society protected from women who "scatter disease through every community" (A. R. Bowen, ed., The Institution Quarterly IX (4) [December 31, 1918]:226).

[52]For information on Kansas's practices, see W. R. Ward, "The Social-service Work of the State Industrial Farm for Women," Proceedings [of the] Kansas Conference of Social Work . . . 1922:45-47 and Kansas Women's Industrial Farm, BR 1920:20 [of 755 women received during the biennium, 626 were held for "quarantine," with no specific sentence]. According to Nebraska, Laws of 1919, Ch. 238, sec. 3, women with venereal disease should not be paroled but rather held at the reformatory "under such rules and regulations relating thereto as shall be adopted by the State Department of Health"; also see, for example, Nebraska Board of Control, BR 1925:6. On Wisconsin practices, see Bernett O. Odegard and George N. Keith, A History of the State

Board of Control of Wisconsin and the State Institutions: 1849-1939 (Madison: State Board of Control, 1939):228 [". . . the Board of Control has designated this home (Industrial Home for Women) as one of the state institutions to which the judge of any court of record may commit any female person afflicted with a venereal disease and who has refused to take or continue treatments"] and Wisconsin Industrial Home for Women, BR 1926:477 [examples of cases sentenced for term of pregnancy or until cured of venereal disease]. The annual reports of the Ohio Reformatory for Women during the 1920s record thousands of Wassermann tests and hundreds of injections of salvarsan, an arsenic compound thought to cure syphilis; see note 84, below.

[53]Some southern prisons for women began as parts of prison plantation systems. Several of the states owned very large tracts of land on which were located various prisoner "camps," one of which was set aside for women; others sent convicts (including women) to private farms whose owners shared the profit from prisoner labor with the state. Five southern women's prisons originated as farm units: the Goree Unit of Texas; the current Women's Unit at Pine Bluff, Arkansas; the Louisiana Women's Prison (currently called the Louisiana Correctional Institute for Women); the Georgia Rehabilitation Center for Women (today the Georgia Women's Correctional Institution); and the Oklahoma Women's Unit at McAlester. Other southern prisons for women originated through the mitotic process of splitting off from a mainly-male prison or a previously established prison for women; the usual reason for their establishment was overcrowding in the predecessor institution (whether mainly male of wholly female). Architecturally, women's units of this type were more prison-like from the start than those which began as farm units; but they closely resembled the latter both in the nature of their origins (which usually occurred through administrative, not legislative, decision) and in the

forthrightly custodial nature of the care. In addition, they, too, were frequently relocated. Women's prisons which originated through this mitotic process were located in Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia. (To name them here would merely be confusing, for a number were later closed or relocated).

[54]For particularly appalling examples of mistreatment of black women, see Tom Murton, Accomplices to the Crime (New York: Grove Press, 1969). Also see note 28 and accompanying text.

[55]The four women's reformatories established in the South were the Arkansas State Farm for Women (created in 1919), the North Carolina Industrial Farm Colony for Women (1927), the Virginia State Industrial Farm for Women (1930), and the Maryland Women's Prison (1941), later renamed the Maryland State Reformatory for Women. If titles alone were a reliable guide, we would also include the Arkansas State Reformatory for Women, established in 1951 at Cummins Farm. But the women's institution at Cummins Farm, a purely custodial operation, bore no resemblance to a reformatory; even an Arkansas penal investigatory committee referred to it as "the so-called Reformatory for Women" (Arkansas Penitentiary Study Commission, Report of the Arkansas Penitentiary Study Commission [January 1, 1968]:3.18).

[56]David Y. Thomas, Arkansas and Its People: A History, 1541-1930, Volume II (New York: The American Historical Society, 1930):505.

[57]The reformatories of Maryland and North Carolina were built on the cottage plan. Felons were excluded from the North Carolina institution by that state's Laws of 1927, Ch. 219, sec. 8.

[58]See, for example, Joan Potter, "In Prison, Women are Different," Corrections Magazine, December 1978:18-20, on conditions of women prisoners in North Carolina. To give another example, Glick and Neto reported in 1977

(National Study of Women's Correctional Programs:17) that at the time of their visit to the women's institution at Goree, Texas, this prison held 709 women in space intended for 485. On pp. 104-105 of the same report, these authors give data on the racial composition of women's prisons.

[59]See notes 26-28 and accompanying text.

[60]See note 26. To use Ohio as an example: of our sample of women held at the Ohio Penitentiary between 1888 and 1917, 40.5 percent were black; but according to U.S. census reports for 1880-1920, the total population of Ohio in those decades ranged between only 2.3 and 3.2 percent Negro (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. Part I (Washington, D.C., 1975):33.

[61]Other recently opened southern prisons for women which may conform to the modern campus model are the Women's Unit of Oklahoma (opened 1971); the Mabel Bassett Correctional Center, also of Oklahoma (1973); South Carolina's Women's Correctional Center (1974); the Women's Unit located at Pine Bluff, Arkansas (1975); and Kentucky's Daniel Boone Career Development Center (1976).

[62]According to Lloyd L. Voigt, History of California Correctional Administration From 1930 to 1948 (San Francisco, 1949 [no publisher given]:7-8), the legislation which established the California Institution for Women enabled it to receive misdemeanants as well as felons; also see Lekkerkerker, Reformatories for Women in the United States:123. From its opening in 1932 until 1936, the CIW was involved in a jurisdictional dispute between its own trustees and the state's Board of Prison Directors, a dispute which was settled by voter endorsement of an amendment to the state's constitution in 1936. This amendment eliminated the possibility that misdemeanants be sentenced to the prison. See California, Statutes 1935, Ch. 497, amending Statutes 1929, p. 490. The original Techachapi plant was abandoned and the prison relocated to Frontera in 1952.

[63]Colorado Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Colorado Prison Study (typescript; September 1974).

[64]Potter, "In Prison, Women Are Different":22.

[65]Jim Horne, Hazel Robinson, Lora Stonefeld, and Martha Wandel, "Female Recidivism in Washington From 1966-1976" (typescript with no publication data other than "University of Washington, PBAD 542, Marc Lindenberg"):2; we are grateful to Martha Wandel, Research Analyst for the Washington Department of Social and Health Services, for sending us a copy of this report.

[66]In the 1970s the women's prisons of both Arizona and Nevada utilized a "step" rewards system similar to that of Purdy. The principle upon which such programs are based was endorsed by the 1870 prison congress (see note 18 and accompanying text).

[67]Horne et al., "Female Recidivism in Washington From 1966-1976":2-3 and Potter, "In Prison, Women are Differerent":24 [program descriptions]; the criticisms appear on page 24 of the Potter article. On this same page Potter states that the institution's vocational education program consists mainly of a cosmetology course and nurses' aide program.

[68]Potter, "In Prison, Women Are Different":23-24; also see R. V. Denenberg, "Profile/Washington," Corrections Magazine, November-December 1974:36.

[69]According to the American Correctional Association, Directory 1980:139, an average of 11 females were held at the Montana State Prison at Deer Lodge in 1970. However, conflicting information appears in Potter, "In Prison, Women Are Different":15, according to which "Montana's 12 women are divided between a separate Life Skills Center in Billings and a coed facility in Missoula." The ACA Directory 1980:233 states that Utah recently opened two work release facilities for women, the Salt Lake Women's Community Corrections Center (1976) and Parkview Community Corrections Center in Ogden (1979);

apparently, however, female felons in Utah continue to be sent to the State Prison until near the end of their sentences.

[70]As noted earlier, California's first independent female prison, the California Institution for Women, was designed along the lines of a reformatory even though it mainly held felons. In addition to Purdy, several other recently opened western prisons for women may conform to the modern campus model: Nevada's Women's Correctional Center, opened in 1964 at Carson City; Wyoming's Women's Center, opened in 1977 at Evanston; and New Mexico's Radium Springs Center for Women, opened in 1978. As in the case of some southern women's prisons, our data simply were not extensive enough for us to be able to determine the nature of these institutions.

[71]Ohio Governor, Report of the Special Committee of the Seventy-Seventh General Assembly of Ohio Appointed to Investigate Penitentiary Buildings, Management and Convict Labor . . . , December 1908 (typescript held by the Ohio State Archives, Columbus).

[72]For example, five southern prisons for women originated as farm units; see note 53.

[73]For example, according to our examination of prisoner records held by the Tennessee State Archives, only twenty-one women were received at the Tennessee Penitentiary between 1840 and 1858; in some years, the prison held only one woman, and we found no evidence that such women were treated differently from the men. In later years, our national survey indicated, some southern states included women in chain gangs and worked them in mines beside men, situations which also did little to ensure privacy or safety from sexual victimization.

[74]This example applies to women held at New York's Auburn prison in the early nineteenth century and at the Tennessee Penitentiary in the late nineteenth century.

[75]"Our department," wrote the physician of one Indiana prison in 1873, "was very much relieved on the removal of the females . . . , both by way of expense and annoyance" (Indiana State Prison South, AR 1873:11).

[76]However, one form of prisoner classification--by race--seems to have been practiced in nearly all women's prisons until about twenty years ago. Even in small buildings with dormitories, the races were kept apart, usually by confining whites to one floor, blacks to another.

[77]See, for example, U.S. General Accounting Office, Comptroller General's Report to the Congress, Women In Prison: Inequitable Treatment Requires Action, which begins (p. i) with these words:

> Women in correctional institutions do not have access to the same types of facilities, job training, jobs in prison industries, and other services as men prisoners.
>
> Inequitable treatment is most prevalent at the State level, but it also exists at the Federal and local levels. Correctional systems have not been aggressive in providing programs and services to females due to the relatively small number of women prisoners, and because many officials feel that women do not need the same type of training and vocational skills as men.

[78]Resnik and Shaw, "Prisoners of Their Sex: Health Problems of Incarcerated Women"; Kathleen Haley, "Mothers Behind Bars: A Look at the Parental Rights of Incarcerated Women," New England Journal on Prison Law 4 (Fall 1977):141-155.

[79]For vivid examples, see Colorado Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Colorado Prison Study.

[80]Those aspects of the reformatory plan which now appear to be drawbacks were not, of course, considered disadvantageous by those who instituted them.

[81]For example, of the 1,583 prisoners in our sample from records of New York's Western House of Refuge at Albion, about one-quarter were paroled to domestic positions, mainly in the area of the prison. Employers were required to sign a form (examples of which are held by the New York State Archives at Albany) agreeing, in effect, to act as parole officers and to guard the paroled woman's "morals, language and actions, and aid her as much as possible by advice . . . , and . . . to uplift and strengthen her in all things that tend to her future well being." The paroled woman signed the same form, agreeing for her part to "be obedient, respectful and courteous;" to "accept the wages agreed upon between the Superintendent of the Western House of Refuge and her employer;" and "to consult employer as to her amusements, recreation, and social diversions."

[82]See note 34 and accompanying text.

[83]For example, as a result of the reformatory movement, many women's prisons drastically lowered security levels, though some did maintain (or later erect) one secure unit on their grounds. Most men's prisons are less flexible on security levels.

[84]We are grateful to Dr. Ronald Gold of the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children for his help in understanding the treatment of venereal disease in the early twentieth century. According to Dr. Gold, severe side effects of mercury treatments for syphilis

> were so common that most [free] patients did not complete the course of treatment. The same applies to salvarsan. Combined treatment with salvarsan (arsphenamine) and mercury was the standard regimen in the 1920s and the series of weekly injections for six weeks seems to have been a very popular method. However, because the side effects of mercury and of arsenic compounds were so severe, the U.S.

Public Health Service began a study in the 1930s of not treating syphilis--the Tuskegee experiment. . . . (D)octors had finally realized that mercury plus arsenic treatment may have killed as many patients as syphilis. The major fatal reactions was from the severe liver damage caused by salvarsan.

. . . Mercury was usually given by intramuscular injections and was very painful. . . . The most common severe side effects of mercury treatment were kidney damage, stomatitis (inflamation and ulceration of the mouth), and severe skin rashes. . . . Arsphenamine . . . caused fatal adverse reactions more frequently.

(Personal communication of 27 January 1980.)

[85]It could of course be argued that even the rural location of reformatories and their typical cottage plan were functions of their founders' class biases and firm belief in inborn gender-role differences. Reformatories were founded in the country in part to isolate inmates from the negative influences of city low-life; they were subdivided into cottages on the theory that life in small "family" groups would be rehabilitative for women.

[86]U.S. General Accounting Office, Comptroller General's Report to the Congress, Women In Prison: Inequitable Treatment Requires Action [industries]; Glick and Neto, National Study of Women's Correctional Programs:41-43; Burkhart, Women In Prison, Ch. 5 [infantilization].

[87]There are, of course, some problems of women's prisons which cannot be overcome even by a switch to a new model and improved funding. One of these is the need of women's prisons to be multi-functional. As noted earlier, because there is usually only one women's prison in a state, it must serve a variety of functions; because there are usually a number of men's prisons in a state, they can specialize.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONS COVERED BY THE REPORT, BY REGION AND DATE OF OPENING

	Original Name	Location	Date Established	Date Opened
NORTHEAST				
NY	Mount Pleasant Female Prison	Ossining	1835	[1839]
MA	Reformatory Prison	Sherborn (Framingham)	1874	1877
NY	House of Refuge for Women	Hudson	1881	1887
NY	Western House of Refuge	Albion	1890	1893
NY	State Prison for Women	Auburn	1893	1893
NY	State Reformatory for Women	Bedford	1892	1901
NJ	State Reformatory for Women	Clinton	1910	1913
NY	State Farm for Women	Valatie	1908	1914
ME	State Reformatory for Women	Skowhegan	1915	1916
CT	State Farm for Women	Niantic	1917	1918
PA	State Industrial Home for Women	Muncy	1913	1920
VT	State Prison and House of Correction for women	Rutland	1921	1921
RI	State Reformatory for Women	Cranston	1922	1925
NORTH CENTRAL				
OH	Women's Annex	Columbus	[1837]	1837
MI	House of Shelter, Detroit House of Correction	Detroit	[1868]	1868

(continued)

IN	Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls	Indianapolis	1869	1873
OH	Reformatory for Women	Marysville	1911	1916
IA	Women's Reformatory	Rockwell City	1915	1918
KS	State Industrial Farm for Women	Lansing	1917	[1918]
IL	Women's Prison	Joliet	1919	[1919]
MN	State Reformatory for Women	Shakopee	1915	1920
NE	Reformatory for Women	York	1919	1920
WI	Industrial Home for Women	Taycheedah	1913	1921
IL	State Reformatory for Women	Dwight	1927	1930
MO	State Penitentiary for Women	Jefferson City	1955	[1955]
MI	Huron Valley Women's Facility	Ypsilanti	[1972]	1977
SOUTH				
TX	Goree Farm	Huntsville	[1910]	1911?
AR	State Farm for Women	Jacksonville	1919	1920
AL	Wetumpka State Penitentiary (later moved to Julia Tutwiler Prison)	Wetumpka	[1923]	[1923]
NC	Industrial Farm Colony for Women	Kinston	1927	1929
DE	Women's Prison	Claymont	[1929]	[1929]
VA	State Industrial Farm for Women	Goochland	1930	1932
NC	Women's Prison	Raleigh	[1933?]	1934
KY	Women's Prison	Pewee Vally	[1938?], 1964	1938
MD	Women's Prison	Jessup	1941	1940

(continued)

WV	State Prison for Women	Pence Springs	1947	1948
AR	State Reformatory for Women (moved in 1975 to Pine bluff)	Cummins Farm	1951	1951
FL	(Orig. name unkn.; today Florida Correctional Institution)	Lowell	[1956?]	1956
LA	Women's Prison	St. Gabriel	[1961?], 1970	1961
SC	Harbison Correctional Institution for Women (moved in 1975 to Columbia)	Irmo	[1964]	1964
TE	Prison for Women	Nashville	1965	1965
GA	Rehabilitation Center for Women	Milledgeville	[1968]	[1968]
OK	Women's Unit	McAlester	[1971]	[1971]
OK	Mabel Bassett Corectional Center	Oklahoma City	[1973]	1973
TX	Mountain View Unit	Gatesville	[1975],	1975
KY	Daniel Boone Career Development Center	Burlington	[unkn.]	1976
FL	Broward Correctional Institution	Ft. Lauderdale	[1977?]	1977?
WEST				
CA	Institution for Women (Female Dept. of San Quentin) (later moved to Frontera)	Tehachapi	1929	1933
NV	(Orig. name unkn.; today Women's Correctional Center)	Carson City	[1961]	1964
OR	Womeen's Correctional Center	Salem	[1962?], 1971	1965
CO	Women's Correctional Institution	Canon City	1967, 1975	1968

(continued)

WA	Correctional Institution for Women	Gig Harbor	1967	1971?
WY	Women's Center	Evanston	[unkn.]	1977
NM	Radium Springs Center for Women	Radium Springs	[unkn.]	1978
AZ	Center for Women	Phoenix	[1979]	1980

NOTES: Dates of establishment are bracketed in those instances in which the women's institution was established administratively rather than through legislative action. Dates of opening are bracketed in instances in which the women were in fact held at that location before the institution's opening as a women's institution. A question mark indicates that we were unable to confirm the date.

APPENDIX B

NOTE ON SOURCES FOR THE NATIONAL SURVEY

Most of the material for the national survey of state prisons for women was obtained from government documents and reports. These generally consisted of four types, listed here in the order in which we usually covered them:

(1) The legislative act establishing the women's prison;

(2) Annual or biennial reports issued by the institution itself;

(3) Annual or biennial reports issued by the institution(s) where women were held prior to the opening of the separate facility;

(4) Reports of the body or bodies which supervised the women's prison.

Data-gathering for each state prison for women began with a review of the legislative act (if any) which established the facility. In the case of most prisons legislatively established before the mid-twentieth century, these laws tended to be quite comprehensive, specifying the official name and function of the institution; its structure of administration; the type of facility to be built or purchased (the law might specify, for instance, that the institution be built on the cottage plan, in a rural area, on a tract of not more than 300 acres); and the group responsible for oversight of construction or purchase of the institution. Such laws also often specified that the institution was to be run by a female superintendent who would have the authority to appoint and supervise other members of the staff. Further, the laws often defined the type of offender to be received (age, offense type, and so on) and the mechanisms for parole and final discharge. Finally, the establishing legislation frequently outlined the nature of the vocational and educational programs to be provided by the new facility. Thus, at least in the earlier periods, the

establishing legislation usually proved to be an excellent source of information on the basic structure and orientation of the state's prison for women. We found a useful guide to such legislation in Helen Worthington Rogers' "A Digest of Laws Establishing Reformatories for Women" (Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1922).

Our major source of information on day-to-day life within each institution was usually the reports issued either annually or biennially by the prisons themselves. These reports to the state legislature or the institution's supervisory body commonly consisted of a major section by the superintendent supplemented by shorter commentaries by other officers--the chaplain, physician, steward, and head teacher. Such reports typically presented an overview of conditions within the institution, information on programs, and demographic data on the population held by the institution during the past year(s). Often, particularly in the case of older institutions for women, these reports also included philosophical discourses by the chief officer on the nature of female crime and corrections. Institutional reports issued during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were typically lengthy and comprehensive, touching upon virtually every aspect of correctional life (albeit at times in biased and self-serving detail). More recent annual or biennial reports, on the other hand, when they exist at all, tend to be brief and general in nature. Often they are merely a subsection of an annual report issued by a state department of corrections or other supervisory agency, and it is difficult to glean demographic data on female inmates from them.

Prior to the establishment of a separate facility for women, most states held female offenders in city or county jails and in state prisons or penitentiaries established primarily for men. We examined annual reports issued by such institutions for information on the conditions under which women were

held before the separate women's prison opened. They often revealed the extent to which the women were kept physically separate from male prisoners; the type of work (if any) assigned to the women; and whether or not the women were supervised by a matron. Furthermore, such reports (many of them written by the warden of a predominantly male facility) often shed light on the reasons why a women's prison came to be considered necessary and why the warden may have been anxious to see the women transferred elsewhere.

Most states placed their new women's prison under the authority of a supervisory agency. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such agencies generally had control over many state institutions--social service as well as correctional--and were known by titles such as the Board of Charities, Board of Charities and Correction, Board of Control of State Institutions, or Department of Public Welfare. These agencies tended to go through periodic changes of title and authority until finally the state invested responsibility for all penal institutions in a separate correctional agency. Regardless of their title or scope of authority, however, most of these supervisory agencies issued yearly or biennial reports on the institutions under their care. Based on inspections of the institutions by agency personnel, their reports provided us with a supplement and balance to the reports of the prisons themselves by giving another view of life within the institutions. In some states, moreover, special boards of visitors existed as adjuncts to the supervisory agency; their reports provided yet other data on women's prisons.

In addition to the four major types of official documents used as data sources for the national survey, other government materials were also utilized in a number of cases. These include governor's messages, reports of special legislative investigatory committees, and legislative journals. The need to use such supplementary documents and reports became particularly acute in the

case of recently-established institutions for which there were no full and descriptive annual reports. Such government documents are often poorly indexed, however, and some states have not indexed them at all; thus a thorough search of all government documents relevant to each state's prison for women was impossible. In most cases, limitations of time and accessibility also prevented the use of such sources as local newspapers and periodicals, archives, and autobiographical materials. These perhaps would have given us a view of the women's correctional system very different from the generally positive portrayal found in the official documents upon which we perforce mainly relied. Such materials, therefore, form a nearly-untapped resource for further research on the development of the women's prison system.

General state histories also proved helpful in some instances. In particular, institutional histories and histories of the states' boards of charities often provided useful information on the reasons for establishment of separate prisons for women. Harry Elmer Barnes' histories of public institutions in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, for example, are important sources of information on the founding of women's prisons in those states. Other key resources to which we frequently referred were Eugenia C. Lekkerkerker's Reformatories for Women in the United States (1931) and the Handbooks published by the National Society of Penal Information (later called the Osborne Association). Lekkerkerker's work gives an excellent, if one-sided, overview of women's reformatories established prior to 1929, and the Handbooks present surveys of all American penal institutions from 1925 to about 1940. During the 1930s, the federally-funded Prison Industries Reorganization Administration studied the prison systems of a number of states; its reports usually include a section of detailed information on prisons for women. Another good source of information, especially on the early development of the women's prison system, is Blake McKelvey's American Prisons (1936).

Materials on state prisons for women established within the past quarter century are generally scarce and spotty in their coverage. We were helped to overcome this difficulty by the reports issued in the past decade by some states to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; these describe conditions within each penal institution and are more likely than institutional reports to be critical. Also useful was the series of state correctional profiles recently published by Corrections Magazine.

Access to information on the origins and development of women's penal institutions was severely limited in some states by the fact that no official reports were ever issued, either by the women's prison itself or by its supervisory agency. In these cases, we attempted to gather information from state libraries, departments of corrections, and historical societies. These efforts usually proved successful, and at least a general picture of the early history of the institution could be drawn, but in some cases the history remained vague as a result of the lack of information. In only one state (Arkansas) did lack of cooperation with our research efforts by state officials block our access to annual reports which we knew to exist. In Maine, though we knew that the women's reformatory had issued reports, no one was able to locate these until a cooperative contact discovered them in an attic at the Girls' Training School. This contact made copies for us and planned to send the originals on to the state archives.

A final source of information for the national survey was interviews with women involved, currently or in the past, with the administration of women's prisons. Penny A. Bernhardt, Warden of the Tennessee Prison for Women; Janet York, former superintendent of Connecticut's women's prison at Niantic; and, especially, Miss Eleanor H. Little of Guilford, Connecticut, gave generously of their time. Miss Little was most important in this respect. At the turn

of the century, she worked at the Pennsylvania girls' training school at Sleighton Farms under Martha P. Falconer, a woman who, as the text indicates, was highly influential in the founding of a number of women's reformatories and in training their early superintendents and other staff. Moreover, Miss Little participated, with her lifelong friend May Caughey, in the founding of the New Jersey women's reformatory at Clinton Farms, and until recently she served on Niantic's parole board. Despite her advanced years, Miss Little has apparently total recall of the events and people she encountered in her work in female corrections, and she spent many hours sharing her memories, reading parts of this manuscript, and guiding my interpretations.

Hopefully, this study will stimulate other researchers to probe even more thoroughly for sources of information which will flesh out our picture of the development of the women's prison system in the United States. Fuller understanding of the origins, nature, and evolution of this system would not only help fill in the many remaining blank spots in the history of women's prisons; it would also give us a more accurate view of the origins and development of the prison system as a whole.

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

APPENDIX C

DEFINITION OF REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES
USED FOR THE NATIONAL SURVEY

For PART II, National Survey: Regional Patterns in the Development of the Women's Prison System, regions were defined as in the Uniform Crime Reports:

Northeast

Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New York
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Vermont

North Central

Illinois
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Michigan
Minnesota
Missouri
Nebraska
North Dakota
Ohio
South Dakota
Wisconsin

South

Alabama
Arkansas
Delaware
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maryland
Mississippi
North Carolina
Oklahoma
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia
West Virginia

West

Arizona
California
Colorado
Idaho
Montana
Nevada
New Mexico
Oregon
Utah
Washington
Wyoming

Alaska and Hawaii were not covered.

APPENDIX D

MATERIALS AND SAMPLING METHODS USED FOR IN-DEPTH STUDIES,
DATA COLLECTION ON PRISONERS

In connection with the in-depth studies, we collected data on offenses and other characteristics of female state prisoners from intake ledgers. The data collection procedures, including sampling methods, were influenced by the nature of the materials (for example, whether women prisoners were listed together in ledgers or were rather, as in the case of Tennessee, included in predominantly male listings, in which case we had to search for female names and other identifiers); the extent of the materials (the more female cases, the more likely we were to use skip-intervals); and limitations on the coders' time. In some cases, these constraints made it necessary to skip years as well as cases. We wanted to collect data on female prisoners incarcerated for the periods five years before and after the opening of new units or institutions for women, and we also wanted to cover roughly the same periods for all prisons--in both cases for comparative purposes; these considerations governed determination of the years skipped when it was impossible to collect data on the entire sequence of female cases. We decided to stop data collection with cases received about 1934 (a point about which several of the institutions closed). In the case of the Ohio Reformatory for Women, however, an enthusiastic coding assistant continued until 1943.

In what follows, we identify the data sources and sampling procedures used for collection of information on female prisoners for the five in-depth studies.

Tennessee

The primary source used for the study of female prisoners in Tennessee was the Tennessee State Archives' series of prisoner registries. These consist of volumes labeled K through T, plus several additional, subsidiary volumes. Volumes filled prior to volume K have been lost. Volumes U and following are held by the Department of Correction; we made use of volume U in addition to those in the archives.

The registries present a nearly unbroken series of consecutive admissions to the penitentiary, including both females and males. There is some overlap among the earlier volumes, and the advent of a new clerk was sometimes accompanied a new and idiosyncratic method of case enumeration. However, there was no change in basic format, volume U recording data on the same variables, and in the same order, as did volume K. Thus the records are uniform as well nearly complete.

We collected data on a total of 965 cases, using every case received during the following periods:

1831 through 1874
1879 through 1905
1912 through 1922
1929 through 1934.

That is, for Tennessee, we did not regularly skip cases, but we did skip years. It should be noted that the records were fragmentary for cases received 1865 through 1879.

The Tennessee State Archives holds a rich variety of other materials which supplement the prisoner registries. We made some reference to these but did not have time to use them systematically. Particularly tantalizing were the Supreme Court case records which enable the researcher to discover the particulars of offenses listed merely as "larceny," "murder," and so on in the registries.

New York--State Prison for Women at Auburn

The New York State Archives includes in its holdings five volumes relating to the State Prison for Women operated at Auburn between 1893 and 1933:

Volume 1: Register of Convicts Received between May 1893 and March 1918;

Volume 2: Register of Convicts Received between August 1928 and June 1933;

Volume 3: Register of Convicts Discharged between June 1893 and December 1919;

Volume 4: Bertillon Ledger on inmates admitted from July 1909 until the prison's closing;

Volume 5 Commutation Book covering October 1920 to April 1930.

We used these volumes to piece together records of prisoners included in our sample, in some cases using several volumes simultaneously to get all the necessary data on an individual prisoner.

We collected information on a total of 669 cases, using the first 120 commitments (those received May-December 1893) and thereafter sampling every other case (odd numbers), covering the following periods:

1893 through 1903
1912 through 1922
1926 through 1933.

As noted in more detail in Chapter 7, we also used a special sample of cases from Volume 4 for specific information on property offenders and homicide cases.

New York--Western House of Refuge at Albion

The New York State Archives holds seven volumes of prisoner registries pertaining to the Western House of Refuge, covering the period from January 1894 (when the first inmate was received) through June of 1931 (when the

institution ceased to function as a reformatory). These records are complete, highly detailed, and in excellent condition.

We collected data on a total of 1,583 cases, using every other case (odd numbers) received. Due to student assistance with coding, we were able, in the case of Albion, to cover every year.

In addition to the prisoner registries, the archives holds an evidently complete set of case files on Albion's inmates--167 cubic feet of them, each in a folder tied with a bright pink ribbon. These cases files, which include letters from and to inmates (the prison's administration exercised tight control over correspondence), photographs, test scores, and other unique documents, provide an extremely rich source of information on reformatory inmates and their reactions to institutional efforts to rehabilitate them. Although we were unable to use the case files systematically, we did refer to some of unusual interest when time allowed.

Ohio--Women Held at the Ohio Penitentiary

The Ohio State Archives holds an excellent series of registries on prisoners (male and female) admitted to the Ohio Penitentiary. There are twenty-one volumes in this series, covering admissions 1834 through March 1900. Each volume is indexed, but we found it easier to identify female cases by looking for the "W" with which they were tagged in the registries themselves. In addition to this series, the archives holds a volume, clearly a copy of an earlier and now-lost register, which records details on prisoners received 1815-1934. We referred to this volume in addition to the series of registries. Registries for cases received May 1900 and following (volumes 22 and onward) are held by the Ohio Penitentiary; we also used these records, picking up where the archives' series left off.

We collected information on a total of 609 cases, using every female case admitted from 1888 through 1917 (after which women were no longer received at the penitentiary unless slated for execution) except for cases admitted between May 1910 and 1912. We were forced to skip this interval due to lack of time.

Ohio--Reformatory for Women at Marysville

The Ohio State Archives also holds a two-volume set of registries for prisoners admitted to the reformatory at Marysville. The first prisoner committed directly to the reformatory was received on 1 September 1916. However, the reformatory also received, at first, transfers from the Ohio Penitentiary, women committed as early as 1913, and records of these women are recorded in the first volume of the Marysville registries. The first registry covers cases committed originally to the penitentiary or directly to the reformatory between May 1913 and December 1926; volume 2 picks up where volume 1 leaves off, covering cases committed between January 1927 and April 1943. These records, though useful, are not nearly so detailed and complete as those for New York's reformatory at Albion. Moreover, as noted in Chapter 10, they are confusing when it comes to sentence length and time-served.

We collected information on a total of 780 cases, using every fifth case committed (either originally to the penitentiary or directly to the reformatory) in the following years:

1913 through 1921
1926 through 1943 (March).

END