

THE RISE OF THE PRISON CHAPLAINCY TO 1917:

AN EXHORTATION TO REFORM

THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

The prison chaplain was a central figure in the growth of American penitentiary punishment to 1917. Acceptance of what has been called the "orbital nature" of prison reform movements, or the similarity of current and previous problems such as the search for a method of reforming prisoners, allows insight to be derived from a brief consideration of the prison chaplain of today. The American Correctional Association, since the 1870's the principal organizational voice for penal improvement, included in its 1960 Declaration of Principles endorsement of the notion that:

Religion represents a rich resource in the moral and spiritual regeneration of mankind. Especially trained chaplains, religious instruction and counseling, together with adequate facilities for group worship of the inmate's own choice, are essential elements in the program of a correctional institution.¹

At present, many institutional and academic authorities view the chaplaincy as a positive aid to reformation, while others consider it of

¹Thomas O. Murton, The Dilemma of Prison Reform (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), p. vii. Murton contends that while some progress in penal reform has been made, it has come slowly. For example, when it was founded in 1870, the National Prison Association stated a number of objectives in its Declaration of Principles. This organization, as the American Correctional Association, updated these principles in 1930, 1960, and in 1970; yet only six of the goals are presently practiced. The quotation from the 1960 Declaration of Principles is found in Joseph W. Eaton, Stone Walls Not a Prison Make: The Anatomy of Planned Administrative Change (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1962), p. 205.

little value. In fact, the chaplain is one of the first correctional officers to contact a new prisoner and often shows a continued interest in the welfare of the prisoners, which sometimes results in rehabilitation accompanied by a renewal of religious faith. In this light, the Committee on Personnel Standards and Training of the American Correctional Association recently concluded that the importance of religion "cannot be overestimated." It reported that the modern chaplain stresses a counseling ministry and that training for the position is quite thorough.²

On the other side is Donald Clemmer, a prison administrator and a recognized scholar in the field of penology. The chaplain, he wrote, "could be dispensed with and there would be not the slightest chance of any calamity befalling a prison or to anyone of the hundreds of social lepers." Clemmer believes that the serious, or "ideal," chaplains are outnumbered by the "real" penitentiary clergy, who are too often "insincere and lackadaisical" in their "efforts to reclaim."³ Other critics point out the high degree of regimentation expected by the prison

²Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, Perspectives on Correctional Manpower and Training (Lebanon, Pa.: Sowers Printing Company, 1970), p. 36. See also Committee on Personnel Standards and Training, The American Correctional Association, Correction Officers Training Guide (Washington, D. C.: The American Correctional Association, 1955), pp. 121-22.

³Donald Clemmer, The Prison Community, rev. ed. (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1958), pp. 235-36. Students of penology consider this book (first published in 1940), a classic.

chaplain and suggest that the dehumanizing atmosphere of a prison adversely affects both minister and worshipers. Further, excessive religious emotionalism is regarded as dangerous in a tension-ridden jail or prison.⁴

In spite of criticism, it is strongly contended that the chaplaincy has made great strides in the area of rehabilitation. Specifically, there has been a change in emphasis, from "breaking the will" to vocational training, counseling, and religious instruction. The early chaplain had to "convince inmates of the justness of their sentence" but today can be considered "the first treatment men" who employ positive counseling techniques.⁵

The chaplain must work closely with other officers if the elusive goal of rehabilitation is to be achieved. Since the 1930's, the involvement and cooperation of the entire staff in inmate treatment have been stressed. When conflict occurs among staff members, as it often does,

⁴Norman Johnson, Leonard Savitz, and Martin E. Wolfgang, eds., The Sociology of Punishment and Correction (New York: John Wiley, and Sons, 1970), p. 390. To illustrate this regimentation, these editors used a segment from the Board of Control of State Institutions, Rule Book, Iowa State Penitentiary, August 1, 1961 (Fort Madison, 1961), pp. 1-11. Prisoners in chapel are not allowed to "gaze about" or leave the room without raising their hands to ask permission. Myrl E. Alexander, Jail Administration (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1957), p. 210, suggests problems which flow from emotionalism.

⁵Vernon Fox, Introduction to Corrections, 2d. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 219, 221. Fox cites information from the Final Report: Task Force on the Role of the Chaplain in New York City Correctional Institutions (New York: New York City Correction Board, 1972) to support his belief that the chaplain has contributed more to the welfare of prisoners than has any other prison official.

the chaplain is placed in a difficult position. James V. Bennett, past Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, has identified the dual nature of the chaplain's task: to relate to both officers and prisoners and to support both.⁶ In addition, the job includes a worldly-temporal tension, because the minister must also be an administrator.⁷

Relative to religion behind walls, Sanger Powers, President of the American Correctional Association in 1961, stated that "a large part of the far-sighted program" of the mid-nineteenth century has yet to be implemented and that "many of the evils" which earlier groups had attempted to eliminate are "still with us." In 1961, there were 188 chaplains in various state and federal prisons, and each served the needs of 1,079 prisoners.⁸ Their collective and individual influence now, as in the past, is a significant factor in the history of American penology.

⁶Fred E. Haynes, The American Prison System (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1939), p. 65. Collective treatment methods are fully discussed in this work. For a consideration of stress in the chaplaincy, see Jay Hall, Martha Williams, and Louis Tomaino, "The Challenge of Correctional Change: The Interface of Conformity and Commitment," in Prison Within Society: A Reader in Penology, ed. Lawrence Hazelrigg (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968), pp. 328-36. Bennett's remarks are found in Committee for Revision of 1959 Manual, Manual of Correctional Standards, 3d ed. (College Park, Md.: The American Correctional Association, 1971), pp. 481-82.

⁷Gordon C. Zahn, The Military Chaplaincy: A Study of Role Tension in the Royal Air Force (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 7, 59. Though this study is devoted to the military chaplain, it treats the universal problem of maintaining control and creating rapport. As early as the American Revolution, the military chaplain had to contend with the "higher Power" and "the indorsement of the civil power." See Joel Tyler Headley, The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864), p. 57.

⁸Powers is quoted in Karl Augustus Menninger, The Crime of Punishment (New York: Viking Press, 1968), p. 220. Statistics are found in Walter A. Lunden, The Prison Warden and the Custodial Staff (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1965), p. 80.

Although important in the rise of penitentiaries in the United States, the prison chaplaincy has received only slight scholarly attention. The same can be said of the broad subject of historical penology, a largely neglected field of study. With the exception of Blake McKelvey's American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions, only a small number of comprehensive monographs exist. Although he devotes little space to them, McKelvey believes that prison chaplains figured significantly in the reformation of criminals until the end of the nineteenth century, when their usefulness was seriously questioned. By that time, he argues, their continued religious orientation set them apart from the scientific- and management-oriented thrust of penal reform. Although many chaplains were conservative, a few became leaders in a new reformatory penology which was a part of the larger Social Gospel movement. Although many performed "their kindly functions in an unobstrusive fashion," a small handful attempted to improve their profession, assist prisoners in re-entering the outside world, and exhort society to effect a change in attitude.⁹

A few works on specific states have touched upon the chaplaincy. Robert Graham Caldwell, in The Penitentiary Movement in Delaware: 1776 to 1829, stresses the very important connection of Quaker agitation and penal reform. Negley K. Tetter and John D. Shearer, in The Prison at Philadelphia, Cherry Hill: The Separate System of Penal Discipline: 1829-1913, treat the chaplaincy as an integral part of the story of this

⁹Blake McKelvey, American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions (Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1977), pp. 145-46, revised from American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

unique institution. David W. Lewis, in From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848, traces the evolution of the office in some detail.¹⁰ On the whole, however, historians have all but ignored the prison chaplaincy.

Further study of the chaplaincy is needed if the development of American penitentiary punishment is to be better understood. Since prison clergy have always responded to changes beyond the walls, knowledge of their early work would benefit social historians. Finally, investigation of the American prison chaplaincy is important because of its creative character. Throughout, ministers have been instrumental in determining the kinds of punishment and the institutional environments that have been obtained. They were also a link between religion and efforts toward improvement during critical phases of reform activity in the nation's past. The penitentiary, and America in general, developed partially in response to religious factors.

The prison chaplaincy can be studied in three separate historical periods. From the Revolutionary Era to 1860, the establishment of progressive prisons took place in the northeastern states. In New York and Pennsylvania, chaplains were particularly important because of their involvement in the debate over the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems of discipline, the major penal controversy of the time. Prior to the Civil

¹⁰ See Robert Graham Caldwell, The Penitentiary Movement in Delaware: 1776 to 1829 (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1946); Negley K. Teeters and John D. Shearer, The Prison at Philadelphia, Cherry Hill: The Separate System of Penal Discipline: 1829-1913 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957); and David W. Lewis, From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).

War, resident chaplains were primarily found in this part of the country. Records of the Boston Prison Discipline Society provide insight into various states, since this organization was regional, as well as national, in focus.

From 1860 to 1884, the office spread to the South and West, although even at this late date it was still not firmly established in all state prisons. During this quarter century, the National Prison Association was founded (in 1870), and its members immediately, and actively, furthered the cause of reform penology. Since early leadership of the movement came from the northeastern states, information from proceedings of the Association's annual meetings deals largely with activity in this section until roughly 1900.

In 1884, the Chaplains' Association became a division of the National Prison Association. Until 1917, the individuals who dominated this body represented a forward-looking coterie of reformers, who, while not necessarily typical in their views, reflected a new direction in American penology. While some delegates to the yearly conventions did seem to express provincial views, the Chaplains' Association as a whole followed the lead of socially minded ministers who sought earthly solutions to the problem of crime rather than dependence on miraculous intervention. Until America's entry in to World War I, its penal standards developed along with, and somewhat in response to, religious motivations embodied in the office of the prison chaplain.

CHAPTER I

A PERSONAL EXHORTATION; TO 1860

The development of the prison chaplaincy paralleled the growth of American prisons to 1860. American penitentiaries were created as an effort to treat the criminal class in an institutional setting in which reformation was considered both an individual and religious question. The chaplaincy, therefore, evolved in order to deliver a personal exhortation for Christian salvation which might reclaim a "lost soul" and create a social "conformist." In this sense, the ministry behind walls responded to the compelling evangelical fervor of the Second Great Awakening, which greatly influenced reformers in general and many who advocated penal improvement. The implementation of their argument, that criminals seeking to re-enter society required a change that only God's "perfect forgiveness" could effect, became the principal mission of the prison chaplains, particularly the resident chaplains, who replaced volunteer clergy as the antebellum period ended. The establishment of a permanent chaplaincy represented a major step toward the redemption of criminal deviants and a new facet of penology.

Toward Permanence

Much of the drive for late eighteenth-and early nineteenth-century prison reform in both England and America emanated from religious

sources, and as in the anti-slavery movement, British influence in the United States was significant. The English prison chaplaincy grew from the response to the Milanese humanitarian, Cesare Beccaria, and his seminal work, On Crimes and Punishments. Writing in 1764, Beccaria theorized that harsh laws created criminals and reform was essential within European jails, which were proliferating due to the Enlightenment movement away from corporal punishment.¹ Parliament authorized an investigation of "gaols" throughout the British Isles and Europe, which John Howard, a former sheriff, conducted from 1774 to 1779. These visitations so stirred Howard's spirit of "piety and devotion" that he generated a prison reform movement in England.²

In his report of 1790, he requested that a stringent method of selection be used in choosing county jail chaplains. A chaplain, according to Howard, should "admonish the profligate; exhort the thoughtless; visit and comfort the sick; and make known to the condemned that mercy which is revealed in the Gospel." He observed that few jails provided both a chaplain and a regular hour for Sunday service.³

Howard's campaign for human incarceration inspired others.

¹See Cesare Beccaria, On Crimes and Punishments, trans. Henry Paolucci (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1963), especially pp. 10-13, 58-60. Beccaria's influence in America is established in Janet Funston and Richard Funston, "Cesare Beccaria and the American Founding Fathers," Italian Americana 3 (Autumn 1976):73-92.

²John Aiken, A View of the Character and Public Services of the Late John Howard, Esq. (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1972), pp. 206, 19. A standard biography is D. L. Howard, John Howard: Prison Reformer (London: Christopher Johnson, 1958).

³John Howard, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals, 2d reprinted ed. (Warrington: William Eyres, 1790), p. 34. Howard also noted that in Holland and Italy the chaplain acted as a teacher; that German and Italian resident chaplains were effective; and that Austria had developed the initial interview practice between prisoner and chaplain (pp. 53, 91, 79, 88, 127).

English Quakers became penal reformers, as did their American brethren later. The primary concern of Elizabeth Fry, a Quakeress leader, was to arouse churches to the religious needs of prisoners.⁴ This and other English notions were taken to heart in the United States prior to 1860. In both countries, institutional chaplains, as well as those from the outside, worked behind the walls and constituted a foremost reformist group.⁵

Religion and penal reform were closely allied in the early republic. Since public penance in Puritan churches of the colonial period had been an effective method of dealing with deviant social behavior, it was therefore not surprising that in 1798, religious services were performed in America's first modern prison, Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia, established in 1784. A Unitarian periodical, The Christian Examiner,

⁴See Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, With Extracts from Her Journals and Letters, 2nd ed., 2 vol. (London: John Harchard and Son, 1848), 2:73; and John Kent, Elizabeth Fry (New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1963), p. 13. Kent's assessment of Elizabeth Fry, which could be applied to other nineteenth-century prison reformers, was that she was moved by "religious compassion of a kind which had become almost psychologically impossible since the disappearance of any profound belief in the danger of eternal damnation." Kent also traced the interaction between Miss Fry and prison chaplains at local "gaols." He believed that the hostility of various chaplains to Miss Fry was caused by the reaction of a professional to a meddling amateur who utilized emotional tactics (p. 57). Miss Fry's differences with prison officials were apparently concerned with the role of the chaplain; her concept of the chaplaincy was broad and theirs, narrow. Though many jails did not have chaplains, she found conditions were usually better when one was present. She therefore supported the concept of the chaplaincy whenever possible. Joseph John Gurney, Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, In Company with Elizabeth Fry; With Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline, 2d ed. (London: n.p., 1819), p. 240.

⁵Gordon Rose, The Struggle for Penal Reform: The Howard League and its Predecessors (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961), p. 10. Rose points to the fact that America looked to England for inspiration prior to 1865, but after this date took the lead in several areas of penological advancement.

later reported that during that first sermon, the minister stood beside a man with a lighted match, ready to ignite the fuse on a loaded cannon if disorder erupted! Though this account may have been more humorous than accurate, the minister at Walnut Street performed the preaching and teaching functions under unusual circumstances.⁶ In 1817, a chapel was built at Walnut Street which became a model for a number of subsequent state prisons, including Newgate Prison, New York (1796), and those at Charlestown, Massachusetts (1804); Baltimore, Maryland (1804); and Windsor, Vermont (1809).⁷

In late eighteenth-century America, as the idea of a penitentiary as both a deterrent to crime and a source of moral regeneration took hold, Quakers mounted the first drive for improvement. In 1786, they were largely responsible for sweeping legislative reforms in Pennsylvania. From 1776 to 1829, the prison and jails of Delaware evolved, partially as a response to petitions containing a large percentage of Quaker names. Their zeal was evident in the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries

⁶See Alice Morse Earle, Curious Punishments of Bygone Days (Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co., 1896; reprint ed., New York: The Book League of America, 1929), p. 106, for the colonial background. In "Prison and Prison Discipline," The Christian Examiner and Theological Review 3 (January 1826):208, the first sermon account at Walnut Street is told, and the functions of the prison's early chaplains are treated in Albert Roberts, Sourcebook on Prison Education Past, Present and Future (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1971), pp. 3-4.

⁷Blake McKelvey, American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915, p. 5.

of Public Prisons, founded in 1787, which provided religious solace for inmates.⁸

But with the exception of the Quakers and a few religiously inspired organizations, the response of churches to penal conditions was weak.⁹ Although the clergy did not present a united effort in behalf of prison improvement, a few, such as the Unitarian preacher William Ellery Channing, did attempt to create a climate for reform. Channing believed that God would not punish "finite sin" with "infinite guilt" and that man should not presume to do so either.¹⁰

⁸See Caldwell, The Penitentiary Movement in Delaware: 1776 to 1829, p. 185, and Blake McKelvey, American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions, p. 7. Other institutions and groups interested in prison reform in Philadelphia included The Friends Asylum, founded in 1815; the Moral Reform Association, established by and for "coloured" prisoners; and the Magdalen Society, a refuge for "fallen" women begun in 1800. See "Institutions of Charity and Benevolence in Philadelphia," The Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy 1 (January 1845):88 (hereafter cited as JPDP).

⁹Discussing the evangelical attitudes toward general betterment from 1800 to 1830, Charles I. Foster, in An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 99, contends that broad social reform was not an aim; rather Christianity was a mere "social palliative." See also John R. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 255, and Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), p. 24, who agree that Jacksonian Democrats, in May's words, thought "evangelical organizations seemed by no means a manifestation of humane reform."

¹⁰William Ellery Channing, Unitarian Christianity and Other Essays, ed. Irving H. Bartlett (Baltimore: n.p., 1819; reprint ed. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957), pp. 28-35. Channing's nephew, William Henry Channing, was the Corresponding Secretary of the New York Prison Society in 1844 and was sympathetic to a number of reforms. See First Report of the Prison Association of New York, December, 1844 (New York: Jared W. Bell, Printer, 1844), p. 2 (hereafter cited as First Report, N. Y.).

Although in the 1830's The American National Preacher and other publications suggested that Protestant churches should become active in prison reform, the denominational role continued to be minor. The response came from individual evangelical types reminiscent of Elizabeth Fry in England, a condition that would persist throughout the century. The Reverend Louis Dwight was a case in point. As prime mover and record-keeper of the Boston Prison Discipline Society until his death in 1854, his activities, as well as the body of information he assembled, bore significantly upon the rise of the prison chaplaincy to 1860.¹¹

Soon after most early northeastern state prisons were built, organizations were formed to promote change for the better. The New York Prison Association, founded in 1844, grew from this desire. Although

¹¹ Reverend Beriot Green, "Claims of the Prison Discipline Society to the Support of Christians," The American National Preacher, or Sermons from Living Ministers 6 (May 1832):362-68. Green contended that church involvement was justified because God's reforming power could nurture the potential for betterment within each prisoner (p. 363). Since Dwight has no biographer, his life is best revealed in the early work by William Jenks, "Memoir of Rev. Louis Dwight," in Reports of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston: The Twenty-nine Annual Reports of the Board of Managers, with a Memoir of Louis Dwight, with an introduction by Albert G. Hess, 6 vols. (Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1972), 1:5-41. The Annual Reports were originally published from 1826 to 1854 and reprinted in 1855 (hereafter cited as BPDS, report number, year, and whole book pagination). While a student at Yale University, Louis Dwight inhaled noxious gases which caused his lungs to hemorrhage. Since he found that horseback riding eased his discomforts, he travelled in the South for the American Bible Society, often delivering Bibles to prisoners (p. xvi). He was religious but also "practical and utilitarian," according to Jenks (1:40). Dwight used forceful methods not befitting a clergyman to investigate prisons. In 1831, officials at Walnut Street Jail ordered him not to return for this reason (p. xviii). He was responsible for the publication of the annual reports of the Boston Prison Discipline Society until his death in 1854 and for the abridgment and publication of James Brown's Memoirs of Howard (1:36).

it lapsed into relative inactivity in 1845, it re-emerged and in the 1860's supported the efforts of pioneer "penologists."¹² Another group of concerned citizens was the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners, which was formed in 1846.

During its existence, from 1825 to 1854, Dwight's Boston Prison Discipline Society was undoubtedly the most influential of the public penal reform organizations. Its yearly meetings, which prison officials and administrators attended, yielded extensive reports on, and from, state institutions. Its charter members pledged that they would not rest until

Christianity had done what its authority requires it to do for prisoners; not to screen them from merited punishment; but to protect society from their depredations; to save them, if possible, from further contamination; and, more than this, to preach to them "Christ and him crucified [sic]."¹³

The Boston Society was formed partially in response to the major penological controversy of the pre-Civil War period: the Pennsylvania versus the Auburn system. Complete solitude, in which prisoners saw no one but certain prison officials, characterized the Pennsylvania approach. Under the Auburn regimen, inmates spent nights alone, but worked with others--in congregate fashion--in complete silence. In the Pennsylvania system, isolation supposedly kept prisoners away from "mutual corruption," while the congregate, silent association allowed for prison labor. The removal of potentially evil influences was part of both philosophies, but

¹²This association expressed the need for a resident chaplain, at least in all large prisons, and considered Christian instruction a primary means of effecting reformation. See Second Report of the Prison Association of New York: Including the Constitution and By-Laws and a List of Officers and Members (New York: Published by the Association, 1846), p. 106 (hereafter cited as Second Report, N. Y.).

¹³BPDS, 1st, 1826, p. 39.

the Pennsylvania advocates emphasized this goal as primary.¹⁴

Because Dwight was a major proponent of the Auburn approach, the Boston Society's reports were clearly biased in its favor. Richard Vaux, another stalwart of early reform and exponent of the rival "silent" system, criticized congregate treatment because he moralized, "the body was punished six days a week with labor" and "the mind and heart" were "punished for an hour each Sunday."¹⁵

As the debate went on between 1826 and 1860, the prison chaplaincy achieved permanence. By 1840, all ten of the state prisons in the Northeast had full-time resident chaplains.¹⁶ Their successes and failures, especially as they figured in the Auburn versus Pennsylvania debate, were of major concern to reform organizations, especially the Boston Prison Discipline Society.

The Society and kindred groups believed that religious instruction served several purposes. Though prison administrators considered aid to reformation to be most important, the godly minded viewed their mission among inmates in terms of its potential for salvation. As the prison

¹⁴McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 14-19. This and all subsequent citations to McKelvey's monograph will refer to the revised edition of 1977.

¹⁵Richard Vaux, The Convict: His Punishment, What It Should be and How Applied (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott's Printing House, 1884), p. 9. Vaux, a lawyer, public official, and penologist, became an inspector of Pennsylvania's Eastern Penitentiary in 1842 and was connected with the prison most of his life. In 1856, he was elected mayor of Philadelphia, a position that enabled him to express in public the "superiority" of the "silent" system of his home state. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., The Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1930), 19:238-39 (hereafter cited as DAB).

¹⁶BPDS compilation, see Appendix.

chaplaincy grew, it responded to both of these ideas, though the redemption of souls remained uppermost. Though he performed numerous other tasks, the minister behind walls was, above all else, a preacher.

Newgate Prison commanded the services of a poorly paid, part-time chaplain from 1807 until 1812, when the legislature voted a regular stipend for the elderly Reverend John Stanford. To fulfill his contract, Stanford was to preach, engage in "private exhortation," and visit the sick and dying. Though he attempted innovations, such as a library and singing classes, he met with limited success.¹⁷ Where state-employed chaplains were not provided, occasional visitors gave religious instruction, or in some cases volunteers held regular services. Some prisons allowed members of the clergy to work as permanent, unpaid volunteers.¹⁸ Others early made allowance for part-time chaplains, who apparently performed with varying degrees of faithfulness to duty. There was some recognition that a full-time chaplain yielded beneficial results. In 1844, for instance, the Governor of Maine remarked that state provision for a "moral instructor" had produced institutional improvement.¹⁹

In some states, legislative appropriations sustained moral instruction in general or chaplains in particular, and in others funds were

¹⁷Lewis, From Newgate to Dannemora, p. 39.

¹⁸BPDS, 1st, 1826, p. 32. In New Hampshire, as in other states, the warden served as chaplain in 1826. For many years at the Maryland State Prison in Baltimore, local Methodists conducted regular services, though elsewhere volunteer efforts were usually sporadic or short-lived. Lack of interest in prisoners' needs caused the chapels at the Vermont and Virginia prisons to be converted into a "weaver's shop" and solitary cells, respectively (pp. 33-34).

¹⁹BPDS, 1st, 1826, p. 33. In 1826 Massachusetts designated \$200.00 per year for a part-time chaplain, who conducted "one short service on the Sabbath." This was a comparatively good salary, since many full-time chaplains worked for this amount. The governor's address is discussed in Second Report, N. Y., p. 104.

withheld. In 1838, the inspectors of Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia successfully circumvented the legislature. They hired the Reverend Thomas Larcombe as chaplain at a yearly salary of \$800 from the prison's general fund and caused a public uproar over "proselytizing." Citizens felt prison funds should not be spent on a minister who could represent one denomination in his quest for converts.²⁰ Occasionally reform organizations contributed funds for salaries. The Reverend Jared Curtis came to his job at Auburn in 1825 under the auspices of the Massachusetts Prison Discipline Society. In 1830, a New Jersey legislative committee suggested that the Boston Society be refunded \$271 which it had earlier expended for religious instruction at the state prison.²¹

The Office Accepted

The employment of the Reverend Curtis--the first full-time resident chaplain in America--was a milestone, since many skeptical authorities believed that a permanent minister would upset prison discipline.²²

²⁰BPDS, 1st, 1826, p. 33, and 2nd, 1827, p. 102. For example, the New Hampshire legislature gave the state prison \$25 in 1826, but in 1827, it allowed the chaplain to contract his fee with the warden, which increased the figure to about \$85 per year. Also see Tetters and Shearer, Prison at Philadelphia, pp. 150-51 and Appendix. Larcombe remained the paid chaplain at Eastern Penitentiary until 1861.

²¹BPDS, 2nd, 1827, p. 92. Curtis remained the chaplain at Auburn until 1828. Warden Moses Pilsbury, who advocated a strong chaplaincy, then hired Curtis for the Massachusetts system. *Ibid.*, 3rd, 1828, p. 161. For the New Jersey experience see *ibid.*, 5th, 1830, p. 351.

²²*Ibid.*, 2nd, 1827, pp. 91-92. Gershom Powers, the administrative agent at Auburn, noted in 1827 that a resident chaplain would "more readily secure the respect and confidence of a majority of the convicts," whose relative seclusion from the world made them susceptible to "salutary impressions." He further stressed the need for the chaplain's compliance with all of the prison's rules and regulations.

Although the chaplaincy was publicly justified as a reform measure, doubt remained as to the chaplain's ability to effect a true change in the character of the prisoner. In 1831, Gustave de Beaumont and Alexis de Toqueville inspected American prisons in order to suggest penal reforms to the French government. They found the Pennsylvania system to be wholly based on "moral and religious instruction," and then described the preaching, voluntary Sunday Schools, prayer, and Bible reading which took place on an individual basis. They believed, however, that this salutary religious activity, carried out by a few dedicated volunteer chaplains, was not typical. "We should be much deceived," they observed, "were we to believe that uniformity exists on this point. . . ." ²³

Beaumont and Tocqueville found the atmosphere at Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary conducive to devotions. Since the silent regimen was based on meditation, conditions were "particularly accessible to religious sentiments." They interviewed a number of prisoners and found them eager to see the chaplain. Though most were overly emotional, Prisoner No. 00 proved exceptional in his refusal to "reproach myself" or "become what is called a good Christian." One volunteer clergyman, serving at Pittsburgh in Western State Penitentiary, concluded that the solitary system was "calculated to break down the stubborn spirit of culprits" and worked well on the prevailing one-to-one-basis. The Reverend Thomas Larcombe sensed a change for the better in the prisoners after he became

²³Gustave A. de Beaumont and Alexis de Toqueville, On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France: With an Appendix on Penal Colonies, and also Statistical Notes, trans. Francis Lieber (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1833), pp. 49-50. This volume is number 13964 in the Microbook Library of American Civilization (Chicago: Library Resources, Inc., 1971), an ultrafiche collection (hereafter cited with facts of publication as LAC and number).

chaplain in 1838. This "entire renovation of the heart and life" at Eastern was attributable, he believed, to his emphasis on individual exhortation.²⁴

The views of the two French observers ran counter to those of Louis Dwight. In assessing the Pennsylvania system in 1839, he pointed out that it had depended on haphazard volunteer chaplains until the hiring of Thomas Larcombe at Eastern Penitentiary during the previous year. Dwight, however, acknowledged: "Better late than never. It should have been done 10 years ago. This officer is as necessary as the physician or warden." In 1839, the Reverend Joseph Banks became the full-time chaplain at the other major "silent" institution, the Western Pennsylvania Penitentiary at Pittsburgh.²⁵

Dwight's anti-pennsylvania zeal was coupled with strong support for the chaplaincy. There was, he insisted,

. . . still another objection to the Philadelphia system: there is no chapel, sabbath school, or place of morning and evening prayers. These things are about half the whole in our view of a good system or prison discipline. As a poor substitute for a chapel, the preacher takes his station in the hall between the cells and preaches to about thirty convicts at once, through the feed-hole doors. He can neither see them, nor they him. The system would require about seven different services for 210 convicts, or fourteen services for 420. The consequence will be; either that a number of chaplains must be employed, or one chaplain must soon destroy himself by attempting to do the whole; or part of the convicts must be omitted in the service of the sabbath.²⁶

²⁴Ibid., pp. 50-51, 188-98. The volunteer chaplain's views are in BPDS, 14th, 1839, p. 54. Claude Welch, in Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1799-1870, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1:269, refers to this solitary approach as "meditating theology." Larcombe's remarks are in BPDS, 15th, 1840, p. 44.

²⁵BPDS, 14th, 1839, p. 351; 15th, 1840, p. 442.

²⁶Ibid., 10th, 1835, p. 885.

The "silent" system also commanded a strong defender. Dorothea Dix, who was concerned with all types of asylums, visited a number of prisons in 1844 and recorded her findings.²⁷ An advocate of the Pennsylvania system, she included a comment of a volunteer chaplain at Eastern Penitentiary in 1830. The Reverend Charles Demme said that the "voice of the unseen preacher produces the most striking and happy effect" on inmates. Miss Dix praised the Reverend Samuel W. Crawford, another volunteer, for his "sermons, exhortations, and religious conversations," and she underscored the importance of the visits of the Association of Women's Friends in raising part of the clamor that precipitated the hiring of Larcombe. On the whole, she approved of the religious aspect of the "silent" system, since it aided minds "infirm of purpose" and "incapable of reasoning," and judged religious instruction at Eastern Penitentiary, from 1829 to 1844, to be the best in the nation.²⁸

Clearly the argument over the silent and congregate systems was partly religious in nature. Where the Pennsylvania idea prevailed, one-to-one contact and personal exhortation were stressed; group preaching was an Auburn feature. The major difference, then, was in method. Both philosophies, however, held that the prisoner was to be approached as a sinner first, in need of God's salvation, and then as an individual

²⁷Dorothea Lynde Dix, Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States, with an Introduction by Leonard D. Savitz, 2d ed. (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1845; reprinted Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1967). During the 1840's, Dorothea Dix began a lifelong crusade to better American asylums of all types. Until her death in 1887, she was instrumental in raising public consciousness of various institutional abuses. Although prisons were not the main focus of her work, she did play an important role in penal reform. See Francis Tiffany, Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890) and Helen E. Marshall, Dorothea Dix; Forgotten Samaritan (New York: Russell & Russell, 1937).

²⁸Dix, Remarks, pp. 60-61, 64. Women were a strong force in prison reform at this early date, and many of them were religiously motivated.

ready for personal reform.

Crucial to the implementation of these notions was the chaplain, to whom fell many duties. The first permanent chaplain at Eastern Penitentiary was charged with conducting Sunday services, gathering a library, writing prisoner letters, and visiting cells. The Pennsylvania spirit of tolerance was apparent in the religious attitudes of the administration, when, in 1838, a priest and a rabbi were allowed to minister unto their prison faithful.²⁹

New York's experience provides a glimpse at the religious aspects of congregate confinement. Auburn Prison, built in 1817 to ease crowding at Newgate, the original state facility, was the first prison to maintain solitary cells at night and congregate, but silent, daytime labor. Sing Sing, completed in 1828, followed suit. By 1827, the Reverend Jared Curtis at Auburn had instituted the country's first prison Sunday School, which soon boasted a regular attendance of one hundred and the assistance of five or six teachers from a local theological seminary. In 1828 Curtis was replaced by the Reverend B. C. Smith, who reported in 1830 that along with regular services, evening devotions, and sabbath school, a sound relationship with prison officials existed.³⁰

²⁹Ibid., pp. 62-63. Although information is not always specific, it seems probable that chaplains in all of the state penitentiaries were Protestant. Although the administrators at Eastern Penitentiary allowed Catholic and Jewish services, there is some evidence of interdenominational strife. Tetters and Shearer, Prison at Philadelphia, p. 154, quote from the Thomas Lacombe Journals (1845-1850) to point out Larcombe's claim that prisoners were caught up in the "errors of popery" and its "superstition."

³⁰McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 11, 14-15. BPDS, 2nd, 1827, p. 119; 5th, 1830, pp. 349-50; 8th, 1833, p. 619; and 9th, 1834, pp. 807-809.

Beaumont and Tocqueville mentioned that Smith often exaggerated his results. When he suggested that 50 of the 650 inmates at Auburn were reformed, the French visitors were sure that "enlightened men" would recognize an overstatement. They also perceived that one-third of all pardons rested on the "presumption of reformation," leading the prisoners to resort to insincerity in impressing the chaplain. While they did not doubt Smith's zeal or the "nobleness" of his venture, they did believe that reform was possible without religion. In reality, they asserted, a prisoner under the influence of the chaplain might not be "more virtuous," but likely he had learned to "become at least more judicious."³¹

In addition to moral reform, basic education was left to the chaplain. In 1827, the Reverend Curtis at Auburn began a rudimentary school for instruction in writing and arithmetic. The first classes, because they were held on Sundays only so as to avoid interference with labor, were called "sabbath schools." The Auburn school was under the direction of Chaplain Smith, who reported in 1830 that 161 pupils were divided into 31 classes taught by theological students. Either education was craved or it meant a respite from drudgery, since prisoners greatly dreaded "exclusion from school" for bad conduct. Of the 300 pupils taught before 1830, 85 started with the alphabet, 100 with "easy reading lessons," and "a few [began] intelligibly in the Testament."³²

³¹ Beaumont and Toqueville, On the Penitentiary System, pp. 55, 57-59.

³² BPDS, 2nd, 1827, p. 120. Sunday Schools were intended to develop religious ideals and knowledge, while sabbath schools were educationally oriented. Most sabbath schools used the Bible as a principal text, however, so that the difference between the two types of Sabbath occupations was primarily one of stated goals. See the discussion of sabbath schools in *ibid.*, 4th, 1829, p. 302. The information on Auburn is in *ibid.*, 5th, 1830, pp. 349-50.

Education was also offered in the Pennsylvania system and elsewhere. Dorothea Dix reported in 1844 that in the Western Penitentiary, the chaplain had "daily access to the apartments of the prisoners," where he not only provided religious instruction, but devoted himself to "teaching the untaught in reading and writing." As late as 1852, learning was still viewed as a primary need in some states. The chaplain of the Maine State Prison at Thomaston feared that most prisoners were ignorant of all but the most basic elements of education. His concern was that not only were they ignorant of "moral law," but also of the "laws of their country." Ignorance of the law, he regretted, was not confined to immigrants, as commonly believed, but existed as well among "native born citizens."³³

Educational need did not always guarantee administrative acceptance, however. At Auburn, Warden Elam Lynds had opposed creation of the first chaplaincy; and at Sing Sing, also under his direction, he removed the chaplain, the Reverend Samuel Barrett, in 1830. He believed that hard labor was the only valid promoter of reform. "Nothing," he affirmed, was "rarer" than "a convict of mature age becoming a religious and virtuous man" through spiritual devotion.³⁴ Lynds applied his belief in 1839 when he closed Auburn's sabbath school, even though the Boston Prison Discipline Society had praised it. The warden justified his action on financial grounds, stating that fewer "keepers," or teachers, meant less money spent on salaries. Following his resignation in 1839, the

³³Dix, Remarks, p. 59. BPDS, 27th, 1852, p. 683.

³⁴Lewis, From Newgate to Dannemora, p. 101; BPDS, 5th, 1830, p. 341. Lynds' statement is found in Beaumont and Toqueville, On the Penitentiary System, p. 202.

sabbath school was resumed. When he returned to the dual wardenship in 1843, the Society predicted his success if he would "give a due prominence to moral means. . . ." ³⁵

While education was to be encouraged, it was to function as a means to another end: salvation. Formal learning was not to take precedence over exhortation. From Pennsylvania's Eastern Penitentiary, the Reverend Thomas Larcombe emphasized in 1854 that literary instruction was important, but not as a replacement "for that higher teaching which the Son of God ordained for the effectual recovery of men from vice and inequity." The scriptures, therefore, were considered primary to instruction, and early in the 1830's most of the northeastern state institutions reported Bibles in each cell, compliments of legislatures or religious groups, such as the Connecticut Bible Society and the American Bible Society. An individual donor would occasionally come forward, such as the inspector at Auburn who gave sixty large-print Bibles for the use of the infirm inmates and those in darker cells. ³⁶

But while Bibles were considered primary, some chaplains also attempted to increase the size and scope of prison libraries. The Reverend Thomas Townsend, chaplain at Auburn through most of the 1840's, built a rudimentary collection of volumes on various subjects. Townsend listed part of the holdings in 1844: worn-out Bibles, a few copies of the Book of Common Prayer, two dozen copies of Colburn's Mental Arithmetic, and various theological tracts. His suggestion for new books included Watt's, Blair's, or Clough's Sermons. This Auburn inventory was

³⁵ BPDS, 14th, p. 339; 18th, 1843, p. 260.

³⁶ Larcombe's quote from Teeters and Shearer, Prison at Philadelphia, p. 153. BPDS, 4th, 1829, p. 301; 24th, 1849, p. 363.

not atypical, since chaplains tended to build education around a religious core. The Reverend Rufus S. Harvey reported in 1839 that pupils at the Vermont State Prison had "principally committed to memory" the "Gospels of Matthew, John and the Acts of the Apostles." Many of the earliest sabbath schools were based solely on Bible study, and the Boston Prison Discipline Society reported in 1829 that the Bible was "the only book, or nearly the only book," used in some instances.³⁷

A report entitled "Libraries, Intellectual Improvement, and Common Education in Penitentiaries," presented to the Boston Society in 1844, addressed conditions in eleven states. Eight strongly urged improvement of libraries as an aid to reformation. Only Vermont presented the negative appraisal that prisoners were unresponsive and had "not even availed themselves of such advantages as our schools have afforded." At the Female Prison at Sing Sing, a time-consuming system of labor prevented "the setting apart of any period of the day for reading or instruction." Authorities at the Male Prison stressed the theme of ignorance as a cause of crime and the need for better education on the outside. Even at this work-centered prison, a library was considered of some advantage, and a teacher "with a supply of instruction books" was "a great desideratum." In most libraries, as the Reverend Townsend of Auburn lamented, the books were "fast going to pieces, and the decrease is greater than the increase." In 1852, the dilemma of prison libraries was broadcast in The Prisoner's Friend, published in Boston from 1845 to 1861 by the Prisoner's Friend Association. In an effort to improve conditions, this

³⁷BPDS, 19th, 1844, p. 340; 14th, 1839, pp. 388, 302.

organization offered to serve as a clearinghouse for public book donations.³⁸

Chaplains also found themselves the regulators of inmate contact with the outside. They often wrote letters for illiterate prisoners or in instances where prison rules prohibited direct inmate correspondence. A New Jersey clergyman reported that most of the letters he wrote for inmates received sympathetic answers. He thought it most "unchristian" and "heartless" when they did not receive replies. Such comments indicate that the chaplain was a censor who scrutinized incoming mail. In the 1840's and 1850's, Sing Sing allowed the sending of one letter per month, which the chaplain wrote and the warden approved.³⁹

Individual chaplains were record-keepers until this burgeoning management chore required the services of permanent prison clerks. In this capacity clergymen often served to keep outsiders abreast of the world behind walls. A foremost prison reform journal noted in 1847 that many legislatures, impressed by the bureaucratic justification of report-writing, were willing to hire chaplains after reading "voluminous"

³⁸Ibid., 22nd, 1847, pp. 62-65; 27th, 1852, p. 704. See also John Luckey, Life in Sing Sing State Prison, As Seen in a Twelve Year Chaplaincy (New York: N. Tibbatts, 1866), pp. 364-67. Luckey included his "Chaplain's Report" for 1856 in which he estimated one-fourth of his time was spend on library chores. "Libraries for Prisons," The Prisoner's Friend: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Criminal Reform, Philosophy, Science, Literature, and Art 4 (September 1852):44. This publication succeeded The Hangman (1801-45).

³⁹BPDS, 27th, 1852, p. 727; David J. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 339. Luckey, Life in Sing Sing, pp. 364-67, described the letter-writing procedure in his "Chaplain's Report" for 1856. The prisoner wrote his correspondence on a slate and brought it to Luckey, who erased anything found to be inappropriate before he copied and mailed the letter.

reports by moral instructors in other states. In 1837, the Reverend B. C. Smith prepared for the legislature a twenty-year history of Auburn, in which he presented a yearly statistical breakdown of convictions, crimes of committal, discharges, reconvictions, deaths, pardons, and other data relative to the 975 convicts he examined for the period.⁴⁰ Other chaplains submitted findings to such periodicals as the Philadelphia-based Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy. In the number for October 1845, the Reverend Thomas Larcombe presented a numerical analysis of the cause of crime among 962 inmates at Eastern Penitentiary.⁴¹

Administrative duties led chaplains into other areas of institutional operation. Often they interviewed the newly arrived inmates, or occasionally they indicated concern over prisoner health, though in most instances they did not interfere in the physicians' affairs. Their breadth of interest was most easily and inoffensively expressed in unannotated tables and graphs appended to reports. The plight of the discharged prisoner also evoked sympathy. Although the Reverend A. W. Black of the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania provided one individual a

⁴⁰"The Office of Prison Chaplain or Moral Instructor," JPDP 3 (April 1847):9-20. BPDS, 12th, 1837, pp. 133, 182-83. Smith was concerned with early religious habits and the use of alcohol among prisoners. He found 362 to be greatly intemperate and 374 moderately intemperate, or, as Smith then recorded, 736 intemperate. The belief that any usage of alcohol equated with alcoholism was prevalent among chaplains of this period, and liquor was considered a primary cause of crime.

⁴¹"The Sixteenth Annual Report of the Inspectors of the Eastern State Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, March, 1845," JPDP 1 (October 1845): 382-83.

home for five months after leaving prison, this example had few recorded parallels.⁴² Chaplains, who sometimes bemoaned the fact that former inmates did not stay in contact, received little help from the outside, as post-release relief organizations lay in the future.

Visitation was central to the chaplain's existence. Its primary aim, to supplement the gospel through private exhortation, especially where the Pennsylvania system prevailed, was not substantially altered until after 1870. This one-to-one contact, in fact, justified the later claim of James V. Bennet, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, that the chaplain was the first "to introduce social work techniques in prison and the first to recognize the reformatory value of individual treatment to the offender."⁴³

Since the chaplain in the Pennsylvania system went from cell to cell, visitation and preaching were synonymous. The chaplain could not, however, maintain an effective religious program if its sole basis was one-to-one contact. In the 1840's, when the board of inspectors of

⁴²BPDS, 9th, 1834, p. 800. A report from Vermont is typical of this practice, in ibid., 27th, 1852, p. 703, the notation was made in a report on the new chapel, that Auburn needed a better ventilation system. Religious periodicals also addressed the health issue. "The Penitentiary System of the United States," The Christian Examiner and General Review 20 (July 1836), pp. 382, 384. The perception was that the "most important defect in the scheme of constant confinement was the impossibility of giving adequate religious instruction"; but the problem of maintaining the health of the prisoners ranked second. "Report of the Board of Inspectors of the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania for the Year 1845," JDPD 2 (April 1846):176-80.

⁴³Bennett's address, "The Role of the Prison Chaplain," delivered to the American Correctional Association in 1937, as quoted in Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology: The American Crime Problem, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), p. 493.

Pennsylvania's Eastern Penitentiary found visitations of the Ladies Prison Society especially helpful, outsiders of "pious purpose" were allowed admission so as to aid the overworked clergyman. He required "all the help he can get from others," declared the Boston Prison Discipline Society, since it took "more than a fortnight to give all the convicts one discourse."⁴⁴

"Frequent conversations" at the cell door and "hospital visits" brought religious changes in some congregate institutions as well. The Reverend Thomas Townsend at Auburn related in 1849 that he saw, on a daily basis, each of the small number of prisoners in the hospital and that he also visited from one to three hours in individual cells. If additional time was needed, prisoners were called to the chaplain's office for further consultation.⁴⁵ Acceptance of individual visitation apparent in the Pennsylvania system and at Auburn, however, was not universal. The absence of concern in New York City caused the Secretary of the Boston Prison Discipline Society to ask: "Where are the philanthropists of the city? . . . where [are] the Christian ministers?"⁴⁶

This and other fervent pleas were voiced in context of the general religiously motivated reform movement, which linked salvation with societal perfectionism. In 1827, the Boston Prison Discipline Society

⁴⁴BPDS, 18th, p. 263. See also "Changes in the Pennsylvania System," JPDP 2 (January 1846):46.

⁴⁵BPDS, 13th, 1838, p. 228; and 24th, 1849, p. 361. The Vermont Prison allowed individual visitation, which was apparently important in the earliest period at Auburn, where the Reverend Jared Curtis engaged in "faithful admonition from cell to cell" as early as 1828. *Ibid.*, 3rd, 1828, p. 161.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 16th, 1841, p. 84.

evidenced a millennial belief in the "dawning" of a "better day" free of crime. In subsequent years, its statements on reform coincided with the prevailing emphasis on salvation. The exhortation for Christian commitment was often made through emotional displays, in part because of the revivalistic spirit of the chaplains. The Reverend Larcombe spoke of "flowing tears" and "heaving breast" when he communicated with Auburn inmates.⁴⁷

The Boston Society mirrored the times. As a movement rooted in the American Bible Society, its avowed twofold aim in supporting the congregate system was to prevent the spread of sin and provide prisoners with "the Bible, . . . preached Gospel, and means of grace. . . ." In the mid-1840's, the New York Prison Association announced its intention to overcome "evil with good" and to aid those who carried "the mark of Cain."⁴⁸

As the antebellum period ended, the chaplain's role--to exhort and, secondarily, to reform--had been determined. The creation of the resident chaplaincy, beginning at Auburn in 1825, was the major accomplishment of the era and foreshadowed future progress. In 1833, the scriptural reference employed by the Boston Society--"It pleases God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe"--underscored the prevalent view that Christian instruction was a primary means to effect reformation. Resident chaplains were necessary for that purpose.⁴⁹ And the chaplaincy that had been firmly established in the northeastern state

⁴⁷Ibid., 2nd, 1827, p. 97; and 17th, 1852, p. 150.

⁴⁸Ibid., 29th, 1854, p. 833. First Report, N. Y., pp. 17, 31.

⁴⁹BPDS, 11th, 1833, p. 617; and 11th, 1836, p. 45.

penitentiaries would continue to be a focal point in the development of American penitentiaries in the eventful quarter century following 1860.

CHAPTER II

THE CLERGYMAN AND THE SUPERINTENDENT:

INSTRUMENTS OF CHANGE

Prior to 1860, the American prison clergy delivered an exhortation to individual prisoners in the hope of winning souls and, secondarily, aiding reformation. While this dual purpose remained intact for some time to come, the chaplaincy also moved in other directions during the two decades following the Civil War. Individual chaplains across America issued an exhortation to prison ministers in an effort to provide a professional chaplaincy, which was central to the dialogue between the Reverend Enoch Wines and Superintendent Zebulon Brockway. This move culminated in 1884 with the creation of the American Chaplains' Association within the National Prison Association. By that time, individual ministers were acquiring a new awareness of their role in prison reform. They were also experiencing twofold pressure: to maintain the spiritual fervor of the preacher and to assume the more impersonal stance of the prison official. Throughout this era of transition, a growing emphasis on the development of professionalism in the field of penology coexisted with the lingering religious essence of penal reform, sustained by the ministry behind walls with support from zealous laymen on the outside.

After the expiration of the Boston Prison Discipline Society in

1854, a few years elapsed before another organization would emerge to provide a forum for the country's prison reformers. Founded in 1865, the American Social Science Association, composed of academics and field workers in several disciplines, directed attention to the prison question during the late 1860's and 1870's. Periodic progress reports and general information were contained in the Association's Journal of Social Science (1869-1909), while the Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy continued not only to broadcast the pro-Pennsylvania line of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, but also to carry the annual reports of other systems.¹ The New York Prison Association was still functioning, but unlike the Boston Society, it had never become a nationally oriented body.

A member of both the New York and the American Social Science Associations, the Reverend Enoch Cobb Wines came to dominate and direct the course of the nation's prison movement until his death in 1879, when his son Frederick inherited a portion of his father's prominence. An early "puritan" upbringing led to Wines' preparation for the ministry after a brief attempt at schoolteaching. He became a Congregational

¹The importance of the American Social Science Association in focusing attention on American prisons in their international context is noted in "The Present State of the Prison Discipline Question," The North American Review 102 (January 1866):210-35. See also Thomas L. Haskell, The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), pp. 112, 218-20. The Journal of Social Science often contained the proceedings of the American Social Science Association and other relevant topics, such as legal reform, public charities, philanthropy in general, and prison conditions in the various states. This periodical, published until 1909, maintained its interest in prisons and, in 1896, was praised by leading prison reformers for its beneficial effects. The Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy published annual reports of various prisons in their periodical, because this information, the membership felt, was not available to the public elsewhere. See "State Penitentiaries," JPDP 16 (April 1861):113.

minister around 1850, possibly to satisfy his "passion for saving men," a motive likely responsible for his involvement in the abolitionist cause. Later, while a professor at Washington College in Pennsylvania, he was asked to fill the presidency of a new university that was to open in St. Louis. The Civil War closed Wines' career as an academic administrator, but opened a career in penology that was to have far-reaching results.²

In 1862, Wines became Secretary of the faltering New York Prison Association and soon engineered its revitalization. From this vantage point, he surveyed the national and international possibilities for penal improvement, and what he saw spurred him to act. In 1865, along with Theodore W. Dwight, grandson of Timothy Dwight and later Dean of Columbia Law School, he undertook a monumental investigation of prisons in eighteen states in order to ascertain conditions and possibilities for reform. Their findings were presented to the New York legislature and then published in 1867.³ Wines identified and publicized the need for "a medium of intercommunication" between institutions, so that prison administration might be improved and "a scientific prison system"

²F. B. Sanborn, "E. C. Wines and Prison Reform: A Memoir by F. B. Sanborn," in Correction and Prevention: Four Volumes Prepared for the Eighth International Prison Congress, ed. Charles Richmond Henderson (New York: Charities Publications Committee [Russell Sage Foundation], 1910), 1:64-86 (hereafter cited as Henderson, Correction). See also DAB, 20:385-86. There is no book-length biography of Enoch Wines.

³Henderson, Correction, 1:75, and McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 55, 56. The report is published as E. C. Wines and Theodore Dwight, Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canada Made to the Legislature of New York, January, 1867 (Albany: Van Benthuysen and Sons Steam Printing House, 1867; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1973) (hereafter cited as Wines and Dwight, Report). See Henderson, Correction, 1:150-51, for a biographical sketch of Theodore Dwight, and DAB, 5:571-73.

might be adopted in America.⁴ Prior to Wines' study, knowledge and techniques were not widely disseminated.

As investigator and reporter, Wines indicated his interest in promoting general prison reform. Subsequently, as an official of the New York Association, he agitated for a national body, although his ultimate goal was international co-operation. At an executive committee meeting, on November 22, 1869, Wines presented a plan for the New York group's sponsorship of a nationwide organization, which was rejected. The American Social Science Association, however, met the challenge with enthusiasm and later judged itself to be instrumental in aiding Wines' efforts. With this encouragement, less than one hundred individuals issued a call for the organizational meeting of the National Prison Congress.⁵ Thus the National Prison Association was formed. The Journal of Social Science continued to expound its reformatory objectives, applauded the National Association's use of moral force toward their accomplishment, and in 1873, in an effort to raise funds, solicited membership fees of \$10.⁶

⁴Eugene Smith, Introduction to Index to the Reports of the National Prison Association, 1870, 1873, 1874, 1883-1904, comp. Mary V. Titus (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906; published as Senate Document No. 210, 59th Cong., 1st Sess.), p. 5.

⁵"General Intelligence," Journal of Social Science 2 (1870):227-29 (hereafter cited as JSS, which was published annually until 1874, after which volume numbers, month, year, and page numbers are given). For the American Social Science Association's claim that it gave rise to the National Prison Association, see F. B. Sanborn, "The Work of Social Science in the United States," *ibid.* 6 (1874):36-45. The National Prison Association charter was signed by twenty-four members of the American Social Science Association, and twelve of these signers held ministerial degrees. *Ibid.* 5 (1873):158-59.

⁶"National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline," *ibid.* 3 (1871):220-23. See *ibid.* 5 (1873):157 for positive statements on the organization and "General Intelligence" in this issue, which contains the request for a membership fee.

Enoch Wines was instrumental in founding the National Prison Congress, or Association, at Cincinnati, on October 12, 1870. Representatives from twenty-four states and several foreign nations elected Ohio's governor, Rutherford B. Hayes, as their president and Wines as secretary, a position he held until 1876. President Ulysses S. Grant then appointed Wines as a special United States commissioner to the International Penitentiary Congress in London in 1872. Elected President of this organization, he served until 1878, when the next congress met in Stockholm. A contemporary estimated that, including his eight trips to Europe, Wines traveled 60,000 miles and wrote 15,000 letters to further the cause of world penal reform. He died in 1879, shortly after completing the final draft of his last work, The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World.⁷

An old-style minister in transition, Wines exhibited the unshakable Christian zeal of a bygone day. His son Frederick recounted hearing his father say, "I have been greatly blessed; I have never had a religious doubt. . . ." Strong religious conviction colored all of his life's activities; therefore, his views toward penology, and criminal justice in general, were based on applied Christianity.⁸ His influence

⁷Henderson, Correction, 1:78, 83; and McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 89, 113, 389. Wines last work was published in 1880.

⁸Henderson, Correction, p. 65. McKelvey, American Prisons, p. 93, points out the "pious flavor" of Wines' reports and the strong support he gave the chaplaincy. As Secretary of the National Prison Association, he carefully recorded associational meetings, but like Louis Dwight, his counterpart in the earlier Boston Association, Wines nearly always had the last word. American Prison Association, Transactions of the Third National Prison Reform Congress held at Saint Louis, Missouri, May 13-16, 1874 (New York: Office of the Association, 1874) and Transactions for the year 1876 are reprinted in LAC series 23516-23527 and will be cited as Transactions, year, page number. Citations for the period 1883-1886 refer to the Proceedings of the National Prison Congress;

is clear in Article IX of the Association's Declaration of Principles (1870), which read: "Of all reformatory agencies, religion is first in importance, because most potent in its action upon the human heart and life."⁹ In a tone reminiscent of an earlier evangelical time, he left little room for doubt: "If the design be to reform and restore them [prisoners] to virtue, religion is needed above everything--religion, -- as in the life of the family; religion, in its unbroken integrity; and in all its living and saving energy." Wines' prison tour of 1865 reinforced this belief, for with a resident chaplain present, he found general prison conditions were "favorable" or "highly favorable." Not surprisingly, the Report revealed a "general concurrence among prison chaplains that more religious emphasis was needed within the prison."¹⁰

Wines' thought was indicative of a new direction in American theology. The period from 1860 to 1900 saw a great growth in the response of the church to social problems. In the late fifties, Horace Bushnell had

for 1887-1907, the Proceedings of the National Prison Association; and for 1908-1946, the Proceedings of the American Prison Association. The LAC series runs to 1907; later reports appear in bound volumes, and all will be cited as Proceedings, year, page number. Bound volumes were published in New York by the American Correctional Association. When information comes from a specific article, author and title will be given, otherwise general discussions will not be identified. The National Prison Association also held meetings in 1870 and 1873, but these records are not published with the rest of the proceedings.

⁹The quote from the Declaration, presented in full, is in Corine Bacon, comp., Prison Reform (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1917; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1974), p. 36.

¹⁰Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 184, 209. Most chaplains interviewed recognized that conversion stories should be treated with "cautious reserve," indicating an admission of the possibility of the failure of evangelism. Until his death, however, Wines continued to consider religion a primary method of reform. For statement of his later opinion see The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Son, 1880; LAC 12248), p. 101.

found the possibility for reform within Puritan covenant theology, and the Reverend Phillips Brooks, John Bascom, and others were just coming to terms with an applied religion that was to inspire the Social Gospel movement.¹¹ Wines, unlike many nineteenth-century ministers who preached the status quo, was an early Social Gospeller who felt religion should take a broader role. Applied Christianity was suited to the prison reform movement, and Enoch Wines bridged the gap between the laissez-faire attitude of the institutional church toward prisons and its post-Civil War concern with souls and problems behind walls.¹²

While Enoch Wines was creating a forum for prison reformers, another individual, Superintendent Zebulon Reed Brockway, emerged as the central administrative figure in corrections during the last half of the nineteenth century. Wines first met Brockway, the superintendent of the

¹¹William A. Clebsh, From Sacred to Profane America: The Role of Religion in American History (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 167, treats Bushnell. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, ed., Theology in America: The Major Protestant Voices from Puritanism to Neo-Orthodoxy (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), pp. 62, 66, also credits Bushnell with setting the tone for a new optimistic theology by his repudiation of "original sin." See Phillips Brooks, The Influence of Jesus (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1879; LAC 10945) reprinted from a sermon of February, 1879; and John Bascom, Ethics or Science of Duty (New York: B. P. Putnam's Sons, 1879; LAC 16773).

¹²Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), pp. 83, 91, 122, has placed the dividing line in attitudes at 1876. He theorizes that labor agitation turned the conventional clerical view, that accepted "the structure of the universe" with its sin and poverty, to a new sense of the possibilities of reform. James Leiby, A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p. 102, found that after 1870 prisons moved from their "punitive and deterrent" orientation to a new system of emphasizing good behavior by rewards which eventually led to inmate self-government. Though the Social Gospel movement had important antecedents prior to these years in the sphere of penal reform, the early 1870's can be viewed as a clear beginning for a full-blown gospel of reform in the 1880's and 1890's.

Detroit House of Correction, around 1865.¹³ Brockway's career was on the rise, and he slowly formulated a system of reform which he is noted for practicing at Elmira Reformatory in New York, where he served from 1876 to 1900. His "Elmira plan" became popular among penal progressives, and his clear, concise writings constitute a balanced approach to the question of religious reformation of prisoners. In an 1874 article, Brockway treated the broad theme of punishment and the concrete application of Christianity. There was, he observed, a popular belief that crime was the result of sin, or a "supernatural spirit of evil," which, since each criminal was aware of his sin, produced a theory of "retributive justice." Progress demanded recognition that a "wrong is irrational," or aberrant; thus "self-control" was central to reformation. Brockway thought that the current emphasis was on the "preaching and persuasion of a chaplain, the expected effect of which is that prisoners shall forsake sin and live thereafter devoted religious lives."¹⁴

Though Brockway was not against religion in prisons, he did believe that its influence should be limited. American penitentiary personnel had to decide between "punishment and religious persuasion," or "the principle of cultivation, which includes religion." Simply put, religion could aid reformation by furthering the "principle of hope," but it should not be considered a primary means. If administered in excessive amounts, it could be damaging for a captive audience, since prisoners did not know how to cope with either the emotionalism

¹³Henderson, Correction, 1:76-77. It is probable that the two met at the founding meeting of the American Social Science Association in 1865.

¹⁴Z. R. Brockway, "Reformation of Prisoners," JSS 6 (July 1874): 145-47. See DAB 3:60-61.

of religious sentiment or its "desultory" approach. Brockway thought religion should adhere to institutional priorities and should meet the individual prisoner's needs.¹⁵

Brockway had definite views on the chaplain's role, as well. The pastor was not to be the only "intermediary agent of spirituality" within the prison, since the warden and his staff shared this responsibility. As early as the 1850's Brockway developed a sabbath school program for Rochester Penitentiary, and in 1865, at the Detroit House of Correction, he created a successful system of labor as part of the process of moral uplifting.¹⁶ Throughout his forty-three years as a prison head, Brockway used a variety of religious instruction instead of a resident chaplain.¹⁷ Late in his career, his feelings toward the prison chaplaincy came out in a heated debate with Warden Gardiner Tufts, of Charlestown Prison in Massachusetts. Brockway had found that ministers did not wear well inside the walls. They preached to audiences that were easily bored, especially with a chaplain who got "through with his barrel of sermons" and turned "it over after awhile." Elmira, he

¹⁵Brockway, "Reformation of Prisoners," JSS 6 (July 1874):148-49, 153, and Brockway, "Needed Reforms in Prison Management," The North American Review 137 (July 1883):48. The question of the chaplain's place on the prison staff, and especially his subordination to the warden, became a charged topic of debate at prison meetings after 1884.

¹⁶See Zebulon Reed Brockway, Fifty Years of Prison Service: An Autobiography (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1912), p. 30; Transactions, 1874, p. 215; and McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 52, 69-70.

¹⁷Henderson, Correction, 1:88-106, contains Brockway's article, "The American Reformatory System." See Brockway, Fifty Years, p. 276, for an example of a slate of lecturers for Sunday services at Elmira Reformatory. They included a Bishop from Africa, the president of Union University, journalist Charles Dudley Warner, reformer F. H. Wines, and Lyman Abbot of the Christian Union. While Brockway did provide a great deal of diversity for his Sunday programs, he disallowed religious revivalism (Henderson, Correction, 1:98).

continued, did not need "the ordinary six hundred dollar chaplain," who was "as likely to be injurious as beneficial." He repeatedly offered to hire the "ideal" chaplain, although such an individual who had the training and endurance to manage a prison position, would likely be too ambitious to stay.¹⁸

Brockway never ceased to doubt the practicality of the chaplaincy. Since criminal conduct was irrational and did not reveal a true motive, morality could not be determined. Therefore, "the state shall not judge the heart's intentions, and shall not designedly trespass upon the mystical field of the soul's moral relations. . . ." ¹⁹ Therefore, chaplains who judged crime immoral but rational due to man's depraved nature, stressed a set of forms, or "works," in the expectation of accomplishing reformation. They were destined to disappointment, since stock Christian moralizing could not meet the varied needs of former criminals in need of reform. Brockway viewed reformation as a gradual, educative process of many components. It involved newspaper and library privileges, schooling, entertainment, and a modicum of unemotional religious suasion. The prison minister was a "professional" officer, whose first concern was overall reformation, not zealous soul-winning.²⁰

¹⁸Proceedings, 1890, pp. 154-55, 157. The warden, according to Brockway, should take the lead in all prison activities, including those of a spiritual nature. Tufts believed that the chaplain should be a "better man" than the warden. This debate was ongoing. For instance, see *ibid.*, 1891, p. 214, 218.

¹⁹Henderson, Correction, 1:89; and Proceedings, 1891, p. 218.

²⁰Henderson, Correction, pp. 101, 106. See also Transactions, 1876, p. 201, for Brockway's suggestion of an upper and lower division within the prison school and his tracing, at Elmira, of the progress of the "Super's" class of special students under his supervision. Brockway's reforms seemed always to be objective and well-supported.

Thus Brockway, a developer and practitioner of advanced reformatory techniques, and Wines, an old-style evangelist expounding the rising Social Gospel, both contributed to a new definition of the prison chaplain's role. Brockway saw the position, at best, as a reformatory aid or, at worst, as non-essential. Wines appreciated the minister's potential for reform as an adjunct to the primary task, salvation of inmate souls. These differing views were voiced at a time when the chaplaincy was developing in response to penal conditions in the various sections of a rapidly growing nation.

CHAPTER III

A PROFESSIONAL EXHORTATION: TO 1884

The list of reformatory methods used in 1865 included "pastoral labor," religious services, libraries, occasional secular instruction, labor, and kind treatment. The staff commonly included a warden, deputy warden, clerk, chaplain, physician, overseers, guards, and, sometimes, teachers. Enoch Wines believed that all of these individuals should be "impressed with religious principles; men who fear God, and are in the habit, as the expression of reverence, of attending the services of some religious body." Wines and Dwight further found "perfect unanimity" as to the best method of reform, which was a "moral cure." These strong advocates for an enlarged chaplaincy "willingly and gladly" testified that "as a class, the chaplains of our American prisons are earnest, godly, devoted, and faithful men."¹ In the 1870's and 1880's, the chaplaincy was extended to new institutions, and where it had previously existed, it underwent change. The office was expanded, duties increased, and a more practical or professional attitude took hold. By 1884, a transformation was obvious.

¹Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 118, 122, 282, 61, 206. The two investigators also recorded the dim assessment of one unidentified pastor: ". . . I do not think one minister in five, no not in twenty, is fit to go inside a prison. One half of them will allow their sympathies to prevent their judgement, and almost the whole of the other half would be rendered as skeptical by the continual deceit of the convicts as to be willing to do justice to the sincere" (p. 211).

Toward a National Chaplaincy

The Civil War generally disrupted American prisons. During the conflict, male inmate numbers in some state prisons were estimated to have dropped from ten to fifty percent. "The penalty of crime now-a-days," one sheriff supposedly remarked, was "to enlist in the army, and get a large bounty." With the return of peace, progress in penal institutions of the Northeast, where the chaplaincy was well-grounded by 1865, was not matched in the South, the Upper Mississippi Valley, and the Trans-Mississippi West.² Wines reported that clergy served most of the eighteen prisons he visited in the East, while Illinois, Northern Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Maine, Missouri, Rhode Island, and Vermont were without chaplains; and it is probable that the war prevented their entry into a number of institutions.

Of the forty-four state institutions who responded to the National Prison Association's request for information in 1874, thirty-one had state-supported chaplains and six did not, though three of these prisons were served by regular volunteers; three had no chaplains at all; three gave no response; and one utilized a volunteer to replace a chaplain who had died in office. Wines reported in 1879 that all the old non-slave states employed resident chaplains, as did some of the former Confederate states. He found religious and educational methods to be the primary agents of effective reform.³

²Ibid., p. 312. For the condition of northeastern prisons, see McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 150-51, 159, 169.

³"Tabular View of State Prison Statistics for 1873," Transactions, 1874, pp. 375-76. Wines, State of Prisons, p. 100.

While American prisons as a whole withstood the jolt of war, those in the South were set back, and subsequent years brought further problems. The convict lease system set Reconstruction-era southern prisons apart from all others. Retrenchment-minded state legislatures, seeking to minimize penal expenditures, leased prisoners for specified terms to road contractors, plantation owners, or coal mine operators, who were responsible for their care and discipline. In most states, religious training was not stipulated in lease agreements; or, if allowed, the difficulties inherent in visiting widely scattered camps often precluded an active, vigorous chaplaincy.⁴ By 1873, legislatures in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, and Tennessee had provided regular non-resident chaplains, and resident chaplains were at work in Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, and Virginia. An "occasional preacher" served Georgia prisoners, but in Arkansas and Louisiana, religious instruction had yet to be sanctioned. Throughout the region, prison schools were nonexistent or irregular, and in states where libraries existed, they were primarily composed of religious literature.⁵

⁴McKelvey, American Prisons, p. 208. A classic contemporary account of southern conditions is J. D. Powell, The American Siberia (Chicago: H. E. Smith & Co., 1891; reprint ed., Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1970). See Report of the Conditions of the Texas State Penitentiary for the Years 1874-5-6 (Houston: A. C. Gray, State Printers, 1876), pp. 10-11, for the severe difficulties that confronted a chaplain in the employ of a lessee.

⁵Hilda Jane Zimmerman, "Penal Systems and Penal Reforms in the South Since the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1947), p. 110.

Religiously motivated southern reformers were not entirely lacking, however. For instance, the Reverend Benjamin A. Rogers was instrumental in raising concern over prison conditions in Texas during the 1870's. Miss Julia Tutwiler effected significant change in Alabama in the 1880's. Her challenge was considerable, as indicated by the assessment of the chaplain in 1882: "Under the present modus operandi, the Alabama penitentiary, as a reformatory institution, is one of the grandest farces, and one of the most sublime humbugs that human intelligence could possibly imagine." Miss Tutwiler then set about improving the penitentiary, where she bettered sabbath services, prayed with the sick, and worked for a better library.⁶

Elsewhere, in the Upper Mississippi Valley, penology in Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois moved into close alignment with the Northeast. Throughout the late nineteenth century, the reform impulse was especially strong in Wisconsin. Beginning in 1873, the state prison at Waupun, under Warden Henry Cordier, experienced ongoing progress, including a marked increase in religious instruction.⁷ By the 1890's, many institutions in this region compared favorably with those in the Northeast in promoting improvement, though in both sections overcrowding and other major difficulties continued to plague penal authorities.

⁶Ibid., pp. 102, 206. Zimmerman is quoting from the Alabama Penitentiary Inspector's Report (1880-82), pp. 27-28.

⁷See Miriam Z. Langsam, "The Nineteenth-Century Wisconsin Criminal: Ideologies and Institutions" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1967), pp. 131, 152-53. Wines and Dwight, Report, p. 209, noted Cordier's interest in religious reformation as early as 1865.

After the Civil War, the emerging Trans-Mississippi West was engaged in establishing prisons. Although in most western institutions the chaplaincy did not appear until the twentieth century drew near, a few states acted earlier. Nevada was able to support a library and a chaplain in 1883 through money from a visitor's fee. Funds were more than sufficient due to the popularity of the prison's major attraction, a set of prehistoric tracks found in its quarry.⁸

In Colorado, the Board of Managers, as early as 1877, charged a visitor's fee to pay for books and church services. Although the Denver Tribune called for a chaplain in 1878, the position was not created until 1884. The Reverend E. C. Brooks, of the Colorado State Prison at Canon City, was not unlike chaplains who were winning acceptance in western prison in the mid-1880's. Brooks fought illiteracy and appealed for Bibles to the American Bible Society, as had his predecessors in the East. Brooks also formed a Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, and he opened the prison to Roman Catholic clergy. He apparently stressed reformation without overemphasizing emotionalism. So in this respect, he was much like the new "professional chaplains."⁹ Although

⁸McKelvey, "Penology in the Great West to 1900," in American Prisons, pp. 217-33, which is slightly revised from the author's significant, but little-noticed, article, "Penology in the Westward Movement," Pacific Historical Review 2 (December 1933):418-38. This article contains information on Nevada (p. 422) and other western states.

⁹George Thompson, "The History of Penal Institutions in the Rocky Mountain West, 1846-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1965), pp. 218-19. The legislature granted \$500 per year in 1885, and Chaplain E. C. Brooks, "The Prison Chaplain," Colorado Magazine 41 (Summer 1964):256-58. A biographical sketch of Brooks is contained in Isaac Haight Beardsley, Echoes From Peak and Plain (Cincinnati: Curtis and Jennings, 1898), p. 330.

Brooks and his western counterparts came to their offices relatively late, they confronted problems found earlier east of the Mississippi. But because they were not charged with the evangelical fervor still evident in the East, they were freed for broad-based reformatory efforts.

As the chaplaincy took hold in other sections, it continued to evolve in the Northeast as part of the larger penological setting. Within this region, the waning "separate," or "solitary," persuasion had developed an office unlike that of the dominant "congregate" system. Because the Pennsylvania legislature sought change that would ease overcrowding and promote productive prison labor, the solitary regimen was abandoned in 1860, except at Eastern Penitentiary, where it remained in effect for more than two decades. Enoch Wines rejoiced at the change, since he had believed all along that "moral improvement" had been "out of the question" under the solitary plan.¹⁰ The Eastern approach to religion, dominated until 1900 by the venerable Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (1787), was atypical. Here "a regular moral teacher" fulfilled greater responsibilities than the usual chaplains and devoted a great deal of time to personal visitation, or "communication with individuals." Because prisoners listened to sermons in their cells and were unable to see the preacher, they often used the occasion for "sleep or conversation."¹¹

¹⁰"State Penitentiaries," JPDP 16 (April 1861):50; and Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 50, 53.

¹¹For the atmosphere at Eastern, see "Moral Instruction," JPDP 3 (January 1864):44-57, and Proceedings, 1905, p. 119. Occasionally, a chapel with separate stalls was used. In such instances, prisoners were masked as they went to and from service. In "State Penitentiaries," JPDP 15 (January 1860):56, the chaplain at Sing Sing was quoted as saying that seclusion was the best method of dealing with "powder magazine men." The journal offered this example as further evidence in support of the solitary system.

By the early 1860's, the chaplain at Eastern was forced to face requirements of a "professional chaplaincy." This meant less preaching and exhortation, which had proven unsuccessful, and more individual counseling. The shift in emphasis produced positive results. In 1874, the unbiased Journal of Social Science compared the Philadelphia institution with the congregate Charlestown State Prison in Massachusetts and found it superior in all areas, including religious instruction. Simply, religion at the lone silent penitentiary aided reformation; at Charlestown it did not.¹²

The historically more expensive Pennsylvania plan and its separate, nonsectarian religious instruction were successfully maintained into the 1880's. Advocates stood firmly, but hopelessly, in the face of rising prison costs, continual overcrowding, and new trends in penology.¹³ This milieu of change included the founding of the National

¹²"Department of Social Economy," JSS 7 (September 1874):357-70. For a detailed account of the chaplaincy at Eastern Penitentiary in 1873, see Transactions, 1874, p. 358.

¹³"Labors of the Moral Instructor," as quoted from the "95th Report of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons," JPDP 21 (January 1882):12-13. Pennsylvania retained its earlier non-sectarian approach even though the Catholic-Protestant tension in prison was increasing nationwide. Overall, most, if not all, chaplains at state penitentiaries from 1860 to 1884 were Protestant. A forceful protest of this condition was lodged by F. A. Raborg, "Religion in Prisons," The Catholic World: A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science 10 (October 1869 to March 1870):118. In 1874, fifty percent of the prison population was estimated to be of foreign birth, and as Raborg had earlier indicated, most of these inmates were probably Catholic (Transactions, 1874, p. 396). In spite of the large Catholic population in Massachusetts, it was reported that a chaplain there had resigned in 1878 because he was "offended that Catholics should be taught." See "Items," JPDP 17 (January 1878):85.

Prison Association in 1870, which drew praise from supporters of the Pennsylvania plan, although at early meetings they, themselves, expressed little desire to innovate. One of them, Richard Vaux, went so far as to complain that the 1874 St. Louis convention accomplished nothing, save the exchange of "the most crude, often irrational, too frequently emotional and humanitarian, notions. . . ." ¹⁴ Although somewhat severe, this assessment was a partially accurate description of the rising group of reformers who would dominate the new, onrushing phase of penal development.

To Exhort and More

Not only did the chaplaincy spread and win greater acceptance, it also felt the effects of the tendency toward centralized control of public institutions. Most state prisons, along with asylums for the poor and insane, had been under the direction of separate boards or commissions which reported to the governor or legislator. For reasons of economy and efficiency, consolidation of these several bodies into one "Board of Charities" or "Board of Charities and Corrections" became common. Justification for including prisons among charitable institutions was the dependent nature of the inmates, as well as the conception of the penitentiary as a "moral hospital." Massachusetts gained a Board of State Charities in 1863 and New York in 1867. While these agencies

¹⁴For Vaux' sentiments, see JPDP 14 (January 1875):59.

were responsible for prisons and reformatories, they soon became overburdened with an array of other administrative demands which sometimes diluted their concern for penal affairs.¹⁵

Religiously oriented representatives were asked to serve on these bodies, which in some instances generated lasting reforms. When Ohio's State Board of Control was created in 1867, the Reverend Albert G. Byers, of the penitentiary at Columbus, became its secretary. The same position in Illinois fell to the Reverend Frederick H. Wines, reform-minded son of Enoch Wines. In the late 1860's, G. S. Griffith, of Baltimore, was instrumental in effecting improvement as a member of the Maryland Board of Control. The Board failed, however, to gain the appointment of a chaplain for the penitentiary, which had to rely upon the General Agent of the Maryland Prisoners' Aid Society, who served in an "acting" capacity in 1869.¹⁶ Progress in expanding the role of religion behind walls did originate with public agencies such as Boards of Control, or with private agencies such as prisoners' aid societies. By

¹⁵F[ranklin] B. Sanborn, "The Supervision of Public Charities," JSS 1 (June 1869):75. Sanborn noted that although boards of control offered the "advantages of counsel and influence," a single head of the state prison unit was a better solution to the problem of administration. For the statistics on New York, see Theodore W. Dwight, "The Public Charities of the State of New York," *ibid.* 2 (1870):70. McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 71-74, considers boards of control.

¹⁶G. S. Griffith, "Prison System of Maryland," in International Penal and Prison Commission, Prison Systems of the United States. Reports Prepared for the International Prison Commission: S. J. Barrows, Commissioner for the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900; published as U. S., 56th Congress, 1st Sess., House Doc. 566), p. 57. Griffith notes the continued dependence on volunteer ministers and laymen in Maryland.

1865, there were indications that the Protestant prison reform impulse had moved from soul-salvation to new methods of "benevolence" through group activities.

By the 1860's, devout women were contributing to the administration of prisons. Denied opportunities to apply their abilities and zeal in official positions in the first half of the century, they found new outlets for their talents in missionary work--and in penal reform, a field which had traditionally appealed to the pious, the female influence was unmistakable by 1870. The Massachusetts Board of Prison Commissioners used women as volunteer inspectors, and they comprised the entire Board of Prison Inspectors in Rhode Island. The Kansas State Penitentiary at Lansing employed a woman, Mrs. Lydia Sexton, as principal chaplain. This example was unusual, however, since women in the chaplaincy were usually restricted to the female wards maintained in predominately male institutions. In 1876, Enoch Wines, writing to his son Frederick, explained his desire to include women on the Board of Directors of the National Prison Association. They were, he observed, "more sympathetic" and had "more leisure" to pursue the cause of penal reform. Acquiring the full participation of "good, earnest, working women" was something that "must be done."¹⁷

¹⁷For information concerning women in missionary efforts in general during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Augustus Field Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association (New York: 1909; reprint ed., New York: The Pilgrim Press of Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), p. 237, and Aaron Ignatius Abel, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), pp. 12, 15, 121, 127. Mention of women and various state boards is in "General Intelligence," JSS 3 (1871):222-23. For Wines' letter, as quoted by Franklin B. Sanborn, see Henderson, Correction, 1:85.

During the Reconstruction era, many women supplemented the chaplains' regular efforts through volunteer prison visitations. They also served as inspectors or chaplains in the few female institutions. Early conferences of the National Prison Association attracted increased numbers of women, and by 1900 they were frequently debating prominent issues. The changing role of women was part of the transition in penology which occurred during the period from 1860 to 1884. Although they had been enlisted for their religious drive, women became integrated by century's end into the new professionalism of the prison movement.¹⁸

Toward a New Status

The greater presence of women coincided with a general expansion of the chaplain's role. Before the Civil War, prisons with chaplains had characteristically provided regular Sunday services. From 1860 to 1884, however, prayer meetings were added, and in some prisons they were employed as a means of maintaining calm and order. The Reverend John Luckey conducted them at Sing Sing as early as 1862. After the Reverend G. J. Carleton, chaplain at Massachusetts state prison at Charlestown, instituted them in 1867, visitors were surprised at the zeal with which prisoners "would pray, exhort and sing." Carleton's request to expand this service was refused because, as he complained,

¹⁸Wines and Dwight found that some prisons would not allow volunteer visitation. Others only admitted those volunteers judged "discreet," or like Connecticut, permitted public, but not private, intercourse (Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 207-208). As late as 1879, Wines, long an advocate of unrestricted Christian visitation, pleaded for more religious activity in local lock-ups. Wines, The State of Prisons, p. 118.

those who contracted with the state for inmate labor considered that "the time of the men through the week is theirs, and whatever time is taken for prayer meeting is so much time taken from them, and might be considered lost."¹⁹ By 1874, at least thirteen state prisons were conducting weekly prayer meetings; only in Connecticut were they held daily.²⁰

Chaplains continued to emphasize prisoner visitation. In New Hampshire each cell visit lasted approximately three hours, and at Auburn as many as fifteen hours were devoted to prisoner visitation on the sabbath. Warden Henry Cordier, of Wisconsin, reported that his minister made daily rounds and that his visits were always "eagerly looked for." Despite many examples of effectiveness, Enoch Wines, who considered the practice better organized in Canadian prisons, believed visitation should be increased in America, a sentiment which indicated his efforts in behalf of a broader effort at moral suasion.²¹

¹⁹Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 199, 201. "The Reformation of Prison Discipline," North American Review 105 (October 1867):571. The Reverend B. J. Ives, of Auburn, reported that the contract system as a whole, which allowed contractors who reimbursed the state to use prisoners for specified labor, was generally injurious and interfered with religious reformation.

²⁰Transactions, 1874, p. 396. A few comments made at the National Prison Association meeting in 1874 indicated that some officers did not trust religious motivation as a reform measure. Warden Arthur P. Rockwood, of Utah, warned against those who used the "garb of religion for sinister ends," and Warden Henry Cordier, of Pennsylvania, "believed in praying and keeping the powder dry" (ibid., p. 85).

²¹Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 205-206.

Education beyond the long-established sabbath school was an area of vigorous activity. Although Kentucky had provided a non-clerical teacher for sabbath instruction in 1829, New York, in 1847, was the first state to authorize a "distinct class of officers" to direct inmate students on weekdays. While other states did employ teachers by 1865, the chaplain, as in the past, generally supervised the operation of the school and frequently taught. Individuals among them felt strongly about the need for prison schools. The Reverend Albert G. Byers, formerly in service at the Ohio State Penitentiary, judged that if forced to choose between the school and the chapel, he would keep the school. To the sympathetic membership of the American Social Science Association, prison schools "had long ceased to be experiments in regions where the nature of prison discipline is best understood."²²

In 1864, only two states, Indiana and Ohio, grouped inmates in classes, and in both instances chaplains served as schoolmasters. The three state prisons of New York and the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania employed separate teachers, whose efforts were supplemented with the chaplains' cell-door instruction, the technique still common to most prisons of the 1870's.²³ Because more and more administrators gradually recognized that ministers did not have sufficient time for supervising educational activities, especially cell-door tutelage, agitation for the

²²Ibid., pp. 227-28. Byers' views are found in Transactions, 1874, p. 82. See also, "The Social Science Record," JSS 7 (1874):368.

²³Wines and Dwight, Report, p. 237. See also Transactions, 1874, p. 360.

hiring of teachers met with success beginning in the mid-1880's.²⁴ Instruction, though still religiously weighted, began to lose some of its "sabbath school" flavor as the nineteenth century ended.

Crucial to education was another aspect of the chaplaincy--the accumulation and distribution of reading matter. The early prison library was sometimes as "inaccessible as an arsenal" and contained, under the chaplain's supervision, little more than copies of pamphlets. But the 1870's witnessed a move toward libraries with greater selection and more accessibility, to which organizations beyond the walls lent support. In 1871, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, of New York City, donated 300 volumes to Sing Sing, and the American Tract Society increased its annual donation to 600. All of the prisons Wines and Dwight visited had libraries. For the most part, chaplains had the duty of selecting and caring for books, though sometimes they shared this responsibility with the warden. The chaplain at Auburn, which boasted a collection of 2,500 volumes in 1870, maintained a system of placing books with keepers who checked them out.²⁵

Chaplains, as a whole, considered the library an aid to reformation, even though it might contain such entertaining reading as Robinson Crusoe or literary periodicals in the vein of Harper's Weekly. Although

²⁴Transactions, 1874, p. 68. In Massachusetts, it was estimated that if the chaplain used the cell-door technique, each prisoner would receive one-half day per year of the chaplain's time.

²⁵See Rudolph Englebarts, Book in Stir: A Bibliographic Essay About Prison Libraries and About Books Written by Prisoners and Prison Employees (Meterchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1972), p. 33. See also "New York State Report," JPDP 10 (January 1871):61, 63; and Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 232-37.

religious titles dominated most prison collections, "standard novels," "works on science," and general "literature" were also included. The expansion of libraries, still under the chaplain's purview, indicated that educational methods of reforms were beginning to replace the dominant spiritual orientation of the antebellum period.²⁶

The gathering and organizing of official, institutional information also demanded the chaplain's time. In 1861, a Pennsylvania law required that records be kept on all prisoners, but throughout the nation in the early 1860's, record-keeping was commonly neglected. The data that did exist often represented the work of the chaplain, who also detailed general activities so as to round out the warden's periodic reports. Although a national prison bureau was proposed in 1865, the notion languished until 1884, when the United States Attorney General requested a statistical agency for penitentiaries as a separate governmental body. But again, no action was taken.²⁷

The accumulation of information on inmates, upon which authorities and reformers were placing increased emphasis, added to the role of the chaplain as clerk. By 1865, Massachusetts and New Hampshire had

²⁶The recognition of the library as an instrument of reform was evident in the expenditures of various institutions. F. B. Raborg, "Religion in Prisons," The Catholic World 10 (October 1869 to March 1870):116, noted that in 1869, New York spent approximately \$950 per year on its three prison libraries and Pennsylvania, \$450 for two. In addition, outlays in Michigan totalled \$300 and in Massachusetts and Connecticut, \$200 each.

²⁷"State Penitentiaries," JPDP 16 (April 1861):121. The Attorney General's request was reintroduced every year from 1886 to 1896. Robert W. McClaghry, "Report of the Standing Committee," Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections at the Thirtieth Annual Session Held in the City of Atlanta, May 6-12, 1903 10 (June 1903): 66-67.

implemented the "initial interview" of newly arrived inmates. This practice soon won wide acceptance in penological circles and reflected the growing importance of statistical methods in many of the emerging fields and disciplines in the social sciences.²⁸ In Ohio the dismissal interview with the chaplain was added to the initial interview for three reasons: to judge the effect of imprisonment upon an individual, to ascertain motivational changes, and "to counsel and encourage toward a better life." One member of the Connecticut Prisoner's Association revealed at the 1876 National Prison Association meeting that at his state's penitentiary, the warden, deputy warden, chaplain, and interested volunteers talked at length with each prisoner about to be discharged. If in need of additional help, the person was referred to the secretary of a nearby Young Men's Christian Association.²⁹

At the end of the Civil War, almost no effort was expended in behalf of newly released prisoners. Their subsequent activities were seldom noted, though some private groups, such as the Philadelphia Prison Society and the New York Prison Association, aided some ex-prisoners.

²⁸Wines and Dwight, Report, p. 141. Nathan I. Huggins, Protestants Against Poverty: Boston Charities, 1870-1900 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corp., 1970), p. 8, stresses the importance of statistics to the reformers of this period. One contemporary writer, J. H. W. Stuckenberg, in The Age, and the Adaption of the Church to its Needs (Hartford, Conn.: The Student Publishing Co., 1893; LAC 11116), p. 90, employed the term "statistical Christianity." Also in this vein, see Frederick Wines, Report on the Defective, Dependent and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the United States as Returned at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880) (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), and his later Report on Crime, Pauperism and Benevolence in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895). Students of criminal statistics continue to regard these works as essential.

²⁹Wines and Dwight, Report, p. 207; Transactions, 1873, p. 215.

The New York organization estimated in the mid-1860's that during its twenty-two year existence it had assisted 3,677 individuals in finding jobs. In 1866, the Reverend James Woodworth established the California Prison Commission on the New York model. As early as 1864, Massachusetts created a state-supported agency to help discharged prisoners, but while this pioneer experiment was applauded, the idea of government involvement in this area did not spread.³⁰

In the absence of state assistance, additional organizations for the discharged were founded. They, like their predecessors, contained dedicated ministers. The Maryland Prisoner's Aid Society was started in 1869, and similar groups came into being in Kentucky and Illinois within the next five years--partially because prison chaplains had voiced the need for them. Such a plea was included in the New York State Report for 1871, and in 1874, at the National Prison Association convention, the chaplain of the Illinois State Penitentiary succinctly stated the matter: "One thing is certain--society must take back the released prisoner, or the penitentiary must."³¹

The prison clergy were also mail censors. Enoch Wines believed this task was essential, since he estimated that from one-half to two-thirds of the correspondence examined in 1865 dealt with what he called the "no hope" letter. Requests for pardon required the chaplain's attention because they provided him with an opportunity to reinforce his

³⁰Wines and Dwight, Report, p. 286-87. Information concerning Massachusetts found in "Correspondence," JPDP 3 (January 1864):112.

³¹Transactions, 1874, pp. 78, 298. See also "The New York State Report," JPDP 10 (January 1871):59-66, p. 62. A discussion on discharged prisoners is found in Transactions, 1876, pp. 579-82.

message. For this reason alone, Wines believed that the chaplain should maintain the mails, though he also judged that the chaplain had the "most leisure" for this duty. In spite of these views, Massachusetts and Wisconsin by 1865 had hired mail clerks, and their number increased throughout the nation in the 1880's and 1890's as more and more chaplains, faced with mounting responsibilities, protested this time-consuming chore.³²

The sick and deceased were also under the chaplain's care. In 1865, in addition to regular services, the minister at Sing Sing preached in both the male and female hospitals on Sundays. Hospital visitation remained part of "pastoral care" duties during this period. If an inmate died in the 1860's, chances were excellent that a formal funeral would not be conducted. By 1874, burial services followed about one out of four prison deaths at a time when the National Prison Association considered the performance of these rites as propitious for religious exhortation.³³

Through the performance of their many tasks, chaplains of the 1870's and 1880's became what Blake McKelvey called the "pioneer representatives of the correctional staff that would later appear in many prisons." Chaplains had won acceptance in American prisons by the mid-1880's. Although not everywhere accorded the administrative stature assigned to them in the Northeast, they did, in general, move beyond the

³²Wines and Dwight, Report, pp. 212-16.

³³Ibid., p. 202; Transactions, 1874, p. 396.

antebellum evangelical approach of Enoch Wines. They came to accept the realization that their message should include appreciation for the practicality embodied in the concepts of Zebulon Brockway, which gradually made headway in the emerging National Prison Association.³⁴

The fourth annual meeting of 1876 was the last of the gatherings which were extremely religious in tone. One delegate, a minister from Ohio, spoke for many others when he characterized the chaplain's work as being "all for the glory and the good of men." When the prison congress resumed in 1883, the transition had been made to a new emphasis on society and its role. A chaplain at this meeting recounted a story of an individual convict who promised reform only to fail outside the prison. This minister felt it was paramount that the "conditions of society outside the prison" be changed.³⁵ The formation of the American Chaplains' Association as part of the parent National Prison Association marked the beginning of a new "professionalism" in the prison ministry.

³⁴ McKelvey, American Prisons, p. 108.

³⁵ Brockway recalled the 1870 congress as an almost religious experience. See Proceedings, 1887, pp. 311-12. The Ohio minister's quote is in Transactions, 1876, p. 22; and the delegate in 1883 is quoted in Proceedings, 1883, pp. 116-17.

CHAPTER IV

A PRAGMATIC CHAPLAINCY: 1884-1917

When the national association for prison chaplains was formed, it included interested administrative personnel and visitors. The first small, "committee-like meeting" in 1884 led to a formal organization with a place on the yearly agenda of the National Prison Association. The Reverend George Hickox of Michigan State Prison, as president of the new group until his death in 1897, provided strong religious leadership for the cause of penal reform. His successor was the Reverend William J. Batt, of the State Reformatory in Concord Junction, Massachusetts. The formation of this body was significant in the emergence of a new professional chaplaincy which embraced a non-sectarian approach, occupational training, social interaction with prisoners, revised reformatory techniques, and a new definition of duties relative to the prison and society. From 1884 to 1917, the chaplaincy was a fixed position in a majority of the nation's state prisons. The claim of Rutherford B. Hayes, the National Prison Association's founding president, remained valid: Prisoners could be "more effectively reached by the appeals of religion than in any other way."¹

¹Proceedings, 1895, p. 117. While no records were kept for the 1884 and 1885 chaplains' meetings, those for all the others, excepting 1888 and 1895, were published with the Proceedings of the National Prison Association. George Hickox was the chaplain at the Jackson, Michigan,

New Directions, New Tensions

Yet creeds were changing. The 1890's witnessed a spiritual shift--from a strong emphasis on dogma to an acceptance of universal religious truths--which encouraged within prisons a greater spirit of toleration of Catholic and Jewish influences. This process was gradual and began with the hiring of rabbis and priests as assistant chaplains. Where reformers agreed in 1874 that acceptance of Catholic influence was lacking in prisons, the feeling in 1893 was that the need for "honest Christian tolerance" was being met with greater success.²

This liberalized condition was part of the general struggle outside the walls. New York Roman Catholics, in the early 1890's, fought successfully for a "Freedom of Worship Bill." They insisted that when state-supported institutions provided worship services, Catholic ritual and clergy must be included. This act portended two decades of change, during which an increasing number of penal institutions allowed Catholic services.³ Chaplains' Association president William J. Batt sympathized

facility for twenty-four years. In spite of strong orthodox beliefs and an authoritarian nature, Hickox was said to recognize in each individual "that power that Christ had" (ibid., 1897, pp. 72-86). The Reverend William J. Batt became the Chaplains' Association president in 1897, served for the next ten years, and, in 1906, was named honorary president (ibid., 1906, p. 147). Batt contributed greatly to the definition of the responsibilities and societal role of the prison chaplain. For Hayes' remarks, see ibid., 1891, p. 217.

²For the opinion in 1874, see ibid., 1874, p. 179; for 1893, J. H. W. Stuckenberg, The Age and the Church: Being a Study of the Age, and the Adaption of the Church to its Needs (Hartford, Conn.: The Student Publishing Co., 1893; LAC 11116), p. 150. One of the earliest steps toward ecumenicalism was recognition of the value of the Catholic confessional (Proceedings, 1887, p. 86).

³For a discussion of the Freedom of Worship Bill, see Henry M. Boies, Prisoners and Paupers: A Study of the Abnormal Increase of Criminals and the Public Burden of Pauperism in the United States; the Causes and Remedies (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893; LAC 11176), p. 57.

with Catholic efforts and explained that since Protestant clergy in prisons received state monies, the only fair solution was to eliminate their legislative funding. If such action were taken, he believed, Protestant influence would probably wane, while the Catholic volunteer prison ministry would continue as it had for some years. Batt's views were popular with those who thought it time for all Christians to close ranks in the cause of reform.⁴ Despite this sentiment, the slowness in hiring priests as full-time chaplains indicated a lingering bias.

In the 1892 meeting of the National Prison Association, Warden James Massie of the Toronto Provincial Prison related Canada's solution to this problem. The government provided the Prisoners' Aid Association with money to obtain penitentiary chaplains, of whom one-third were to be Catholic and two-thirds Protestant. In 1895, the dual ministry that operated in Minnesota indicated a new direction. The Board of Managers hired a Catholic priest and Protestant minister to preach on alternate Sundays. They then employed a resident "teacher" to act as a non-preaching chaplain, whose educational emphasis, according to the Managers, was to be "moral." Although this separate resident office had been eliminated by 1910, the dual chaplaincy remained.⁵

⁴Proceedings, 1891, pp. 199-217, contain Batt's address, "The Chaplain--What is a Chaplain?" The first Catholic president of the Chaplains' Association was Father Aloys M. Fish of Trenton, New Jersey, who was elected in 1908 (*ibid.*, 1908, p. 308).

⁵*Ibid.*, 1892, p. 51, 1895, p. 52; "A Visit to the Minnesota State Prison," *JDPD* 49 (January 1910):19-23; and "Duties of the Chaplain," Nineteenth Biennial Report, 1915-1916: Minnesota State Prison (Stillwater, Minn.: The Mirror, 1916), p. 87.

The prison population in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, like the general population, contained substantial numbers of Roman Catholics. At the Tennessee State Prison in 1894, 33 inmates were Catholic, 18 Baptist, 11 Methodist, 11 Presbyterian, 5 Episcopal, 4 Lutheran, and 1 Swedenborgist. In 1904, the Arkansas penitentiary contained 604 Protestant, 284 Catholic, and 19 Jewish prisoners.⁶ By 1906, those in Rhode Island, Montana, Massachusetts, and New York contained Roman Catholic majorities. These growing numbers, coupled with the spread of ecumenicalism, caused many prisons to allow Catholic ministrations by 1900; by 1915, some states had hired Catholic and Jewish clergy at least as part-time or assistant chaplains.⁷

The issue of Catholic involvement in penology precipitated a doctrinal question. Was the high percentage of Catholic prisoners a result of church reaction to the problem of crime? The Reverend Charles Henderson, a "progressive penologist" and an early-day professional

⁶See "Report of the Condition of the Tennessee Penitentiary," Superintendent's Biennial Report of the State Prison and Its Various Branches, From Dec. 1, 1894 to Dec. 1, 1896 (Chattanooga, Tenn.: Times Printing Co., 1897), pp. 51-53; "Report of the Chaplain," Arkansas Biennial Report of the State Penitentiary, 1903-1904 (Little Rock: Arkansas Democrat Co., 1904), and Henderson, Correction, 3:387-89.

⁷See Prison Systems of the United States, Reports Prepared for the International Prison Commission: S. J. Barrows, Commissioner for the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900; LAC 11171), pp. 131-33. Mrs. May Preston Slosson, the Protestant chaplain in Wyoming, worked with a Catholic priest who visited regularly. Connecticut employed a regular Protestant clergyman, but a priest was allowed to hold services concurrently with the Protestant services. (Ibid., p. 43.) In 1900, San Quentin alternated between a priest and a Protestant clergyman for volunteer ministrations on Sundays. (Ibid., p. 20.) New Jersey had Catholic and Jewish chaplains by 1915. Report of the New Jersey State Prison Embracing the Reports of the Inspectors, Fiscal Agent, Keeper, Parole Agent, Physicians, Moral Instructors and School Board, for the Year 1915 (Trenton, N. J.: n.p., 1915), pp. 44-48.

sociologist, thought that when criminality was answered with ostracism by church members, significantly fewer unlawful acts were committed. Conversely, when, in place of this deterrent, the church "must cherish even her bad children . . . and carry the burden of their disgrace," more crime would result.⁸ Yet in 1909, Chaplains' Association president Father Aloys M. Fish suggested a Catholic response which was closer to the Protestant stand. He decried both the tendency toward "denial of free will," which negated "responsibility in the criminal," and the imposition of environmentalism over "original sin."⁹

Though not as vocal as Catholics, Jews also dissented from the status quo. In 1906, a New York rabbi suggested that a "cold shoulder" from the majority explained the Jewish aversion to the National Prison Association meetings. If they were made to feel that "Christian" was not

⁸Charles Richmond Henderson, Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes and of their Social Treatment, 2nd ed., enl. and rewritten (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1906; LAC 11196), p. 243. Henderson, in Correction, 3:409, held that Roman Catholic efforts were directed more toward effects than the causes of crime. Charles Richmond Henderson (1848-1915), a Baptist minister and professor of sociology and chaplain at the University of Chicago from 1892 until his death, was president of the National Prison Association in 1901 and 1902. The religious mission within prisons thus passed from Louis Dwight to Enoch Wines to Henderson. Henderson, like Wines and Dwight, was a blend of piety and practicality. For example, Henderson formulated a quantitative application of theology in Catechism for Social Observation: An Analysis of Social Phenomena (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1894), in which he stated: "For the common man . . . the ideal is just plain Religion" (p. 57).

⁹Aloys M. Fish, "Older Tenets and Newer Theories," Proceedings, 1909, pp. 153-59. A more plausible explanation for the increasing number of Catholic inmates was that of Andover Theological Seminary's Samuel Lane Loomis: The Catholic church appealed to the poor of the cities, where the crime rate was highest. See Loomis, "The Urban Problem of American Society, 1870-1890," in The Transformation of American Society, 1870-1890, ed. John Garraty (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 162-63.

meant to be disparaging, however, Jews would participate more. Yet in a convention address three years after this appeal for tolerance, Rabbi Samuel Koch, of Seattle, sounded somewhat defensive regarding the Jewish population of American prisons when he proved statistically that "no race has a corner on crime."¹⁰ Inter-cultural differences, part of turn-of-the-century American life, were muted, but nevertheless apparent, in the prison ministry.

Tension also flowed from concern over changes in status and role. Because "hypocritical conversion" was judged a major problem during the late nineteenth-century, ministers, once hired as evangelists, became more secular-minded in order to preserve their places in prison administration. The President of Iowa College, George A. Gates, expounded on this theme in 1898 in an address entitled "The Prisoner at School." The "genuine criminal" professed false acceptance of the "cant" of religion, he observed, especially when the chaplain might exercise influence over the parole process. Thus the cell-block clergy should not be party to "superficial piety of emotion in which the criminal character is endowed with expertness" or "maudlin repentance," which was too often "rich in effusive rhetoric and copious in tears" but devoid of sincerity. The chaplain was to recognize the non-existence of "magical forgiveness" and

¹⁰Proceedings, 1906, p. 142; Rabbi Samuel Koch, "The Immigrant and Crime with Special Reference to the Jew," *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 167-74.

to sensibly apply faith in the effort to help those capable of regeneration.¹¹ A first step toward such a realistic reformatory attitude was to secure better-trained personnel.

This pragmatic approach spawned a new "professionalism." Chaplains were usually gubernatorial political appointees, and even with the advent of boards of control, their positions remained within the spoils system. Since many of those who received statehouse largesse were relatively ineffectual, the Chaplains' Association attacked this method of selection with increasing force throughout the last years of the nineteenth century. This practice, the feeling ran, produced an inferior administrative staff, general institutional disruption, and job insecurity which discouraged capable individuals from entering the chaplaincy. In an 1892 resolution, the membership suggested that the offer of a chaplaincy be refused if the prior appointee had been removed for purely political reasons.¹²

¹¹Gates' remarks are found in *ibid.*, 1898, pp. 145-53. John Lewis Gillin, Criminology and Penology (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 503, mentioned this change in function. Throughout the 1890's, the National Prison Association reinforced the idea that the chaplain should have nothing to do with parole, lest he risk association with superficial reform. For an example of this argument, see Proceedings, 1895, p. 147.

¹²Sanford Moon Green, Crime: Its Nature, Causes, Treatment, and Prevention (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Co., 1899; LAC 11194), p. 180, treats the prison problems related to frequent administrative turnover. Proceedings, 1892, p. 57, contains the resolution and further discussion in the anti-spoils system vein. See also W. J. Batt, "Can the Grade of Our Chaplains Service be Raised?" *ibid.*, 1896, pp. 140-47, and 1900, p. 211, which contains a discussion of the disadvantages of partisan appointments.

"Occupational training" was also advocated as a means of enhancing stature. At the National Prison Association meeting in 1894, William Hill, Superintendent of the Allegheny County Workhouse in Pennsylvania, pointed out that chaplains were often aged ministers, appointed out of a "false sense of charity and a mistaken pity." Hill then recounted the success he experienced when he hired, from a nearby seminary, an enthusiastic young minister whose performance was pleasing. The new breed of chaplain, he continued, stressed moral instruction "from the practical, personal, and absolute point of view," rather than reliance upon religious sentimentality.¹³

By the 1880's, the preparation of clergy for the chaplaincy began to emphasize universal "religious truths," knowledge of social problems, ethics, and psychology. At the 1891 meeting of the Chaplains' Association, William J. Batt broached the question of professional training in his address entitled "The Chaplain--What is a Chaplain?" He proposed a training course which prescribed that prospective Protestant chaplains should spend one term in a Catholic seminary and that, if Catholic, the student should be exposed to Protestant education for the same length of time. One term should be devoted to missionary service in a city slum so that the challenges of communicating "in rough surroundings and without the aid of pulpit or gown" could be appreciated. Additionally, students should enroll in courses on human nature and how

¹³Proceedings, 1894, pp. 114-15, contains Hill's account. See also Henry J. W. Dam, "Practical Penology," North American Review 144 (April 1887):514-23.

to deal with it, and they should fulfill an internship as a prison chaplain's assistant so as to gain practical knowledge. While Batt's curriculum did not win immediate approval, progressive chaplains embraced the view that true correction occurred only when the "light of religious truths" penetrated the prisoners' intellect.¹⁴

The emerging group of professionally oriented chaplains, like the clergy as a whole, feared a decline in status, which they sought to combat through more rigid and practical training. Often politically manipulated, they spoke out on the national level against the spoils system as an obstacle to sound penal administration. Liberal prison chaplains were reformers bent on survival, and as such they were progressive-era clergy attempting to justify their existence, along with other examples of Richard Hofstadter's alienated professionals. In this case, greater participation as socially aware administrators provided their justification.¹⁵

"All the work one man can do"

Establishing the chaplain's place in prison administration generated some stress, particularly when it conflicted with the warden's

¹⁴For Batt's discourse, see Proceedings, 1891, pp. 199-217. For the view of the progressive chaplain see "Chaplain's Report," Third Biennial Report of the Inspectors of Convicts: To the Governor, From Oct. 1, 1888 to Sept. 30, 1890 (Montgomery, Ala.: Brown Printing Co., 1890), p. 65.

¹⁵James T. Young, "The Basis of Present Reform Movements," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 21 (January - June 1903):238-51, p. 240. Richard Hofstadter, in The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), believed that clergymen "were probably the most conspicuous losers from the status revolution" (pp. 149-50).

self-image. The many wardens who were paternalistic and perceived the chaplain as a threat to their dominance found support in the National Prison Association's constant emphasis on the subordination of the chaplain to the warden's rule. One argument held that the chaplain, always deferential in temporal matters, was not to presume administrative standing, remaining "a model of manly loyalty to the warden." In Old Testament tones, William J. Batt cast the warden as "Moses" and the chaplain as his "Aaron." Warden Gardiner Tufts, of Massachusetts, a strong advocate of the ministry, answered that the chaplain should be a "better man" than the warden, responsible only to the "heavenly vision."¹⁶

A discussion in 1895 produced the consensus that the warden must reign supreme in all spheres, but only if the individual were rich in "spiritual power." If not, the chaplain was entitled to "independent jurisdiction." Those recognized as progressive prison clergy at the national meetings advocated an authoritarian regime which included a working relationship, cemented with faith, between the chaplain and warden to ensure mutual effectiveness.¹⁷

Discipline was indisputably the warden's domain. The prison minister was not to interfere in its imposition and was to be of assistance as "a medium between rules and regulations. . . ." At the 1895

¹⁶Proceedings, 1895, pp. 150-51; William J. Batt, "The Chaplain--What is a Chaplain?" *ibid.*, 1891, pp. 199-217, p. 205. Tuft's comment appears in *ibid.*, p. 214.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 1895, p. 144. See also Major Robert W. McClaughry, "The Chaplain from the Warden's Viewpoint," *ibid.*, 1908, pp. 165-66; and William J. Batt, "Can the Grade of Our Chaplains Service be Raised?" *ibid.*, 1896, p. 145. Batt went so far as to suggest that a chaplain could make a good warden if he were promoted to that position.

National Prison Association meeting, the Reverend D. H. Tribou related that the early chaplain had faced limited opportunities for service. At present, however, "progressive wardens" were offering the chaplain the new role, that of "moral lubricant" or silent intercessor between the chief administrator and prisoners.¹⁸

Aside from the warden's demands, the chaplain's routine was fatiguing. Duties were so numerous that if conscientiously carried out, they would occupy several persons. In 1889, the Reverend C. F. Williams, fifteen years a prison chaplain, told the National Prison Association that wall-bound clergy often worked seven days, and six or seven nights, per week. Chaplains' Association president George Hickox believed that services and visitation alone demanded "all the work one man can do--if he does it well." If, in addition, the minister was expected to be "postmaster, newspaper inspector, librarian, schoolmaster, and general executor and administrator . . . of estates of sick and deceased prisoners," the mission behind walls could be burdensome.¹⁹

From 1884 to 1917, the Chaplains' Association heard numerous calls for consolidation and reduction of duties. In 1887, Robert W. McClaughry, Warden at Joliet, admitted that in the past the chaplain's importance had been devalued, but that the new tendency was toward a more realistic work load that would no longer "make him the mail-boy and messenger of the prison." In the 1890's, mail duties came to be

¹⁸William Hill, "Report of the Standing Committee on Prison Discipline," *ibid.*, 1898, pp. 272-73. Hill considered the chaplain, since he did not punish but "promote[d] morality," the "keystone of the arch" of prison management. Tribou's remarks are in *ibid.*, 1905, p. 251.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 1889, p. 158; George Hickox, "The Prison Chaplain," *ibid.*, 1895, p. 119. A list of duties appears in *ibid.*, 1908, pp. 165-66.

considered a "misplaced" function. From the Colorado State Penitentiary, Chaplain Liville J. Hall reported that he had spent as many as five hours a day inspecting mail. Some relief was forthcoming, since in 1908 several prisons employed a Postmaster or assigned the task to a deputy warden. By 1911 the comment was made that though chaplains had been censors when letters were brief and few, they were no longer forced to perform -- this tedious and time-consuming chore.²⁰

During the 1890's, chaplains were noticeably successful in shedding their responsibilities as educators. Prison schooling, in keeping with the views gaining popularity in many Christian denominations, moved from an emotional emphasis on perpetual "adolescence" to a new "objective realism" which utilized a secular base. In spite of this separation, education was still a handmaiden of religion; and the chaplain was often placed in charge of teachers within the prison.²¹ Although learning

²⁰McClaughery's comments are in *ibid.*, 1887, p. 76. See also George Hickox, "The Prison Chaplain," *ibid.*, 1895, p. 119. L. J. Hall, "Chaplain's Report," Biennial Report of the Commissioners, Warden, Chaplain and Physician of the State Penitentiary of Colorado for the Two Years Ending November 30, 1890 (Denver: Collier & Cleaveland Lit. Co., 1890), p. 32.

²¹Herbert Wallace Schneider, Religion in Twentieth Century America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 60. The new spirit of "objective realism" is discussed in J. H. W. Struckenberg, The Age and the Church, pp. 33-52, 83. The transition from chaplain to separate teacher is referred to in Reverend Earl R. North, "Department of Moral and Religious Instruction," Annual Report of the Indiana State Prison for the Year Ending September 30, 1916 (Michigan City, Ind.: Evening Dispatch Print, 1917), p. 39. North also requested more funds for library expansion. Other reports on school operations by the chaplain indicate his continued dominance. See Parker C. Manzer, "Chaplain's Report," Biennial Report of the Officers of the Vermont State Prison, Winsor, for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1916 (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Co., 1916), unpagged, and "Chaplain's Report," Report of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary at Chester for the Two Years Ending September 30, 1916 (Springfield, Ill.: Schnepf & Barnes, 1917), pp. 58-59. This school operated six months in the winter, and the report included a \$1,000 request for library materials.

became more secular and, increasingly, trained teachers conducted classes, the power of influence still rested with the chaplain; the result was a lingering "moral" overtone.

Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the National Prison Association for several years, was a strong advocate of education for prisoners. In 1889, he defined his educational goals in the larger sense of "moral" or "religious" aims. At the 1913 meeting, A. C. Hill, of the New York State Department of Education, related that the four vital prison officials were the warden, chaplain, librarian, and teacher, because they represented "authority, religion, information, and instruction." The librarian and teacher were merely more indirect means to the end which the chaplain sought.²²

Increasingly, routine library chores were assigned to others, although administrative authority often remained with the chaplain. Intensive Bible study shared the curriculum with more varied forms of reading, as the tendency "to put the Bible aside for awhile" spread over the country. As magazines became increasingly popular in New Jersey and elsewhere, chaplains generally seemed to look upon light fiction with a more approving eye. But longstanding predilections in literature persisted, and chaplains continued to favor religious works. Many of the newer breed, however, recommended current writings, such as those of

²²Proceedings, 1889, p. 14, and A. C. Hill, "The Prison School," *ibid.*, 1913, pp. 156-59.

Dwight Moody, instead of the dry treatises and proselytizing pamphlets of their predecessors.²³

After 1908, the chaplains' segment of National Prison Association meetings was more concerned with bettering educational and library facilities. The continued use of chaplains as library administrators was considered legitimate if they had a genuine interest in that aspect of learning; if not, that responsibility was to be delegated. When this idea was presented at the 1912 convention, the American Library Association was sufficiently interested to send a representative, State Librarian Permarchus C. Brown of Indiana. He suggested that a separate librarian could be a boon to prisons generally.²⁴

Record-keeping, long an adjunct to the chaplaincy, was not as easily disposed of as were educational duties. In addition to their

²³Mary A. Ward, "New Forms of Christian Education," The New World: A Quarterly Review of Religion, Ethics, and Theology 1 (March 1892):340. Statements in support of light reading are contained in Report of the New Jersey State Prison Embracing the Reports of the Inspectors, Fiscal Agent, Keeper, Parole Agent, Physicians, Moral Instructors and School Board, for the Year 1915 (Trenton, N. J.: n.p., 1915), p. 44; and Proceedings, 1897, p. 106.

²⁴See Orlando F. Lewis, "The Prison Library," Proceedings, 1912, pp. 85-86. Brown's remarks are *ibid.*, p. 87. Thomas Mott Osborne, during a voluntary one-week stay at Auburn in 1913 as an agent of the Prison Reform Commission, recalled that in the course of his initial interview with the chaplain, he was given a Bible and a list of books from which to choose his reading matter. Thomas Mott Osborne, Within Prison Walls: Being a Narrative of Personal Experience During a Week of Voluntary Confinement in the State Prison at Auburn, New York, Thomas Brown, Auburn No. 33333X (New York: D. Appleton-Century & Co., 1914; reprint ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century & Co., 1940; LAC 16842), pp. 31-32, 42. Osborne would later win fame as an innovative warden at Sing Sing and as a penological writer.

annual or biennial reports included with the wardens' reports to their supervising commissions, many chaplains continued to gather and organize personal information on prisoners, such as place of birth, nativity of parents, literacy level, use of alcohol, health, and employment prior to conviction. This data was useful to the new "professional" chaplain who worked with prisoners on an individual basis, an approach employed in an increasing number of penitentiaries in the early twentieth century. Although some chaplains attempted to justify their positions on the basis of their clerical abilities, they were not always hospitable to suggestions that this function be expanded. When it was suggested in 1899 that prison officials keep more detailed records, the Reverend William J. Batt, of the Concord Massachusetts Reformatory, demurred on grounds that chaplains had no time for additional duties of this kind.²⁵

In another area, that of post-release assistance, chaplains expressed only slight interest. Institutional work left them little or no time for ex-inmates. Furthermore, private charitable organizations, such as the Central Howard Association of Chicago and the several state Societies for the Friendless, were actively looking to the needs of the newly discharged, and in some instances they engaged in cell-block evangelism. Although they were not prison chaplains in the strict sense, the

²⁵See Proceedings, 1889, p. 344. The "case study and record" method is discussed in O. L. Kiplinger, "The Chaplain's Work and What it has Taught Me," *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 207-13. For Reeve's paper see *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 104-105.

leaders of the burgeoning prisoner aid groups were members of the clergy who concerned themselves with the welfare of the criminally deviant.²⁶

Visitation was responsible for the greatest increase in duties. Although it had always been important, visitation experienced an upsurge coincidental with the turn-of-the-century emphasis on individual counseling. "Personal intercourse" superseded preaching as the most important ministerial task within the prison. "The work of the chaplain," contended Warden Robert W. McClaughry of Joliet, was most productive when, "personal influence and effort, more than . . . pulpit administration," were exercised. At Joliet, Protestant and Catholic clergy maintained a rigorous visitation schedule, and later, as head of the federal penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, McClaughry continued to stress the superiority of counseling. The "silent" system of the Eastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania had always been based on personal contact between chaplain and inmate, and by the 1880's it appeared to have been vindicated. In 1887, when overcrowding forced a dilution of this method, Michael J. Cassidy remarked with regret that: "More can be done, in the way of religious teaching, by sitting down quietly with a prisoner, than by preaching at him in the usual way."²⁷

²⁶George Hickox, "The Prison and Its Work," *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 81-91, deals with the newly released, as does Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, "The Obligation of Society to the Discharged Prisoner," *ibid.*, 1898, pp. 155-58. Also informative are the reports of the Standing Committee on Discharged Prisoners for various years. In this vein, see *ibid.*, 1903, pp. 100-106, 314-18, and also 1904, pp. 182-207. A general piece, "The Work of American Prison Societies," *JDPD* 42 (January 1903):63-72, provides additional insights.

²⁷See *Proceedings*, 1901, p. 98, for a contemporary discussion of visitation. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 76, contains McClaughry's views from Joliet; and Major Robert W. McClaughry, "The Chaplain From the Warden's Viewpoint," *ibid.*, 1908, p. 165, contains those from Fort Leavenworth. Cassidy's comments are in *ibid.*, 1887, p. 82.

The "intimate and personal relation to the prisoners," as well as records of personal interviews, was important in assessing the needs and reform potential of each prisoner. After gaining the inmate's confidence, the chaplain was to become a primary "counselor," whose aim was to see the prisoner as an "individual" and not "in mass." Toward this end, chaplains jettisoned "detail work," such as letter writing, in favor of the "social system of dealing with prisoners." Each prisoner was to be treated with "cheerfulness," "patience," "firmness," and "charity."²⁸ Recognition that institutional treatment should be directed at people, not groups, was widespread. Prisoners, observed a Michigan chaplain, could not "be stretched, mechanically, on the same form, and so be corrected."²⁹

For fulfilling their numerous tasks, many chaplains considered themselves underpaid. Commenting on salaries in 1889, Chaplain D. P. Breed of Indiana complained that an annual sum below \$1,000 forced some prison ministers to seek an outside pastorate to make ends meet. Meager

²⁸Personal contact is stressed in O. L. Kiplinger, "The Chaplain's Work and What It Has Taught Me," *ibid.*, 1914, p. 210; and C. E. Benson, "The Prison Chaplain," *ibid.*, 1916, p. 266. The need to distinguish individuals from the mass is clear in M. J. Murphy, "The Chaplain's Contact With the Individual Prisoner: How, When and Where Does He Get It?" *ibid.*, p. 1917, p. 249. New counselling techniques are given in *ibid.*, 1891, p. 223. Characteristics of a good chaplain are identified in "Of Inspectors, Wardens, Overseers, and Those in Charge of Prisoners," *JPDP* 27 (January 1888):11-12.

²⁹George H. Hickox, "The Prison and Its Work," *Proceedings*, 1894, p. 85.

salaries attracted inferior officers, and the new generation of professionally oriented chaplains requested compensation commensurate with their dedication and responsibilities.³⁰

The overworked chaplains of the period from 1884 to 1917 reacted to increasing secularism by developing a professional office on prison staffs. They utilized emerging disciplines such as psychology to augment their effectiveness in working for the reformation of men. In fact, some prison chaplains anticipated later progressive developments as they began an active campaign for social betterment both inside and outside the walls.

³⁰Ibid., 1889, p. 160; Hickox, "The Prison and Its Work," *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 90-91.

CHAPTER V

A SOCIETAL EXHORTATION: 1884 to 1917

At the same time prison chaplains sought acknowledgement of their many-sided role, some among them joined with a few religiously motivated penologists to form a spearhead of Social Gospelism on either side of the walls. This group delivered a societal exhortation--a call for institutional change based on contemporary, pragmatic theories of reform. Individuals of this persuasion dominated the Chaplains' Association of the National Prison Association and used this arena as a catalyst for reform.¹

Causes and Deterrents

Foremost among the new sociological concepts were those which attempted to explain the causes of crime. Early prison officials had considered criminal nature to be innate, a belief that was seriously challenged during the period from 1860 to 1884. In spite of the rising popularity of laissez faire Social Darwinism, an appreciation of the

¹Clifton E. Olmstead, in Religion in America: Past and Present (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 129, found the intellectual center of the Social Gospel movement at the University of Chicago. He noted Charles R. Henderson, the penal reformer, as a "celebrated representative" of this group. For Henderson's views of the necessity of associative action, see his article, "The Place and Functions of Voluntary Associations," The American Journal of Sociology 1 (1895-1896):327-84.

influence of the environment, or social conditions, was necessary in determining sources of criminality.² By the 1890's, Charles R. Henderson, Samuel J. Barrows, and other progressive penologists had refuted the genetic, or hereditary, percepts of the Italian anthropologist and physician Cesare Lombroso and set about studying the societal well-springs of crime. In 1895, the Reverend J. H. Albert, state prison chaplain of Minnesota, delivered a paper at the National Prison Association entitled "Barriers Against Crime," in which he suggested that "fatalistic" doctrines of heredity were merely "scientific fads." After citing studies which had shown that slum children could become honest, law-abiding citizens, he contended that most criminals were "made--not born." The "congenital criminal" concept, previously put forward to explain recidivism, was retreating in the face of an onmarching union of "science and religion," intent upon revealing the "divine spark"--the potential for improvement--present in all prisoners.³

²One popular work which explored environmentalism as a cause of crime was Robert L. Dugdale's The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity, 4th ed. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910; originally published in 1877).

³The Lombrosian impact is discussed in McKelvey, American Prisons, pp. 268-69. August Drähms, in The Criminal: His Personnel and Environment: A Scientific Study, with an introduction by Cesare Lombroso (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900; reprint ed. Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1971), was a Lombrosian. Drähms, prison chaplain at San Quentin from 1891 to 1909, has been re-evaluated by Stanley Grupp, who lauds the merit of "his attention to social and psychological perspectives" in seeking to construct a cogent "biological frame of reference" (p. xvii). See also, Proceedings, 1895, pp. 126-33; 1898, pp. 140-44; and "Address by Charles Dudley Warner, Hartford, Connecticut," *ibid.*, pp. 256-65, in which Warner stressed the need to make a prisoner "educate himself." The older views were not without advocates. Reverend C. L. Winget of Ohio State Prison maintained that sin was a thing of "volition," the pulpit was the "educator of will," and all the talk questioning the causes of crime was "beating the air" (*ibid.*, 1899, p. 126).

Those chaplains attuned to environmental determinism identified several causes of crime in society. Primary among them were family instability, alcohol, poverty, and lack of religious training. The criminal might be considered "an energy misdirected; and because misdirected not only a wasted energy, but one fraught with danger." The chaplains delivered a societal exhortation within their national organization in the hope of reaching the general public. For instance, they asserted that drunkenness, once thought to be "the declared incarnation of all perversity," was considered symptomatic of "a pathological condition of the brain and the nerve centers." Those affected were physically, rather than morally, ill. And because the afflicted constituted as much as 90 percent of the inmate population, prison reformers railed against the liquor interests and their accomplice, the government.⁴ Yet reformers also realized that statistics on the influence of alcohol on crime were often inaccurate. One chaplain explained that if a representative of the Women's Christian Temperance Union asked for a count of alcoholics,

⁴Recognition of environmental influences was apparent at the 1873 National Prison Association meeting, where "the criminal class" was said to be "an abnormal social growth." See "Report of the Standing Committee on Prison Discipline," Transactions, 1873, pp. 331-36; J. H. Albert, "Barrier Against Crime," Proceedings, 1895, pp. 126-33; and William H. Locke, "The Criminal from the Chaplain's Point of View," ibid., 1898, pp. 140-44. For discussion of the number of prisoners jailed because of alcohol, see ibid., 1894, pp. 81-91, 1900, pp. 169-78, 1896, pp. 137; and Eugene N. Foss, "The Ideal Prison," JDPD 53 (March 1914):31-34. This new theory concerning alcohol reached the Rockies, as evidenced by W. S. Rudolph, "Chaplain's Report," Biennial Report of the Commissioners of the Colorado State Penitentiary (Denver: The Smith Brothers Printing Co., 1901), pp. 157-61. James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), considers the general setting for anti-liquor activities.

nine-tenths of the prisoners present would raise their hands in order to give her "what she wants."⁵

Dissenting somewhat, Chaplain J. H. Albert of Minnesota expressed the belief in 1895 that strong drink was responsible for the conviction of only 20 to 25 percent of the total prison population. Blighted urban conditions, he believed, were the major cause of the rising crime rate. Because the setting was so unattractive, a life of vice became appealing. Albert offered the possibility of using school buildings to provide space for "counter attractions." In the least, church and state should unite to give the urban poor something more than a too aristocratic Christian "reading room." He and other prison reformers could present as evidence criminal statistics for New York City, where from 1886 to 1896 the overall population grew by 33.3 percent and crime increased by 50 percent. Grant Eugene Stevens provided further support in 1906 when he wrote of the connection between labor unrest and crime in his novel, Wicked City. Thus, in 1903, the National Prison Association lent enthusiastic applause to the "social settlement" movement, which furthered the fight against urban poverty.⁶

Lack of family solidarity was another contributor to criminality. The strong family unit could act as a bulwark against temptation, especially through regular observance of the sabbath. The 1904 National

⁵Proceedings, 1895, p. 149.

⁶Ibid., 1895, pp. 126-33. Statistics of New York are in Prison Reform League, Crime and Criminals (Los Angeles: Prison Reform League Publishing Co., 1910; LAC 11230), p. 10. Grant Eugene Stevens, Wicked City (Chicago: n.p., 1906; LAC 15769). Proceedings, 1903, pp. 93, 102, 104.

Prison Association meeting became the "Sunday Rest Congress," highlighted by the keynote address of the Reverend David Judson Starr, Secretary of the Chaplains' Association, on "The Relation of Sabbath Observance, and the Improvement of Sunday Rest, to Prison Reform." The Sunday Rest movement was a nationwide attempt to increase church attendance and family commitment to religion. Thereafter, Dr. Starr and other convention delegates proceeded to discuss home training as a deterrent to criminality. To underscore the religion-in-the-family theme, the Reverend Alexander Jackson, Corresponding Secretary of the International Federation of Sunday Rest Association of America, participated in the convention.⁷

Society, said concerned chaplains, had a duty "to prevent crime by altering institutions." Each person, regardless of financial status, had to be given a chance, and every case should be tried on its unique circumstances. In 1914, Governor Eugene N. Foss of Massachusetts minced no words in asserting that three-fourths of those behind bars were there because of bad luck. They were poor, desperate, and unable to avoid incarceration, as the more affluent could, and he charged society with the responsibility of seeing to the needs of the families of these unfortunates. Prison clergy went further in declaring that "cleanliness, sanitation, workshops, schools, [and] literature" were fundamental to "applied Christianity." "Sociology is its John the Baptist, Evolution is its handmaiden." As the Social Gospel message of Christian responsibility pervaded the prison ministry, the entire country was affected. Even

⁷Proceedings, 1904, pp. 85-86, 104, 111.

the South, which trailed the rest of the nation in penal advances, accommodated active reform efforts. From 1912 to 1919, the Southern Sociological Congress cooperated with the Prison Reform Association and other progressives to end the convict lease system.⁸

New insights into the nature and causes of criminality were related to theological developments. In the American Protestant ministry, emphasis on "original sin," or individual responsibility for actions, gave way to an articulation of the environmental sources of sin.⁹ In keeping with this general trend, prison chaplains left personal exhortation through preaching and embraced current reformatory measures, such as self-help programs which recognized individual worth. Each citizen was urged to view himself as a "potential criminal" and to see the criminal as "a potential self." The gospel was "the same for men in prison

⁸ See Baylos Cade, "The Reform of Criminals," *ibid.*, 1896, pp. 134-35; and Eugene N. Foss, "The Ideal Prison," *JPDP* 53 (March 1914):31-34. Also revealing are Henry Hopkins, "What May the Prison Expect of the Church and What May the Church Expect of the Prison?" *Proceedings*, 1901, pp. 121-27, and H. Cresson McHenry, "The Place of Religion in the Science of Penology," *ibid.*, 1912, pp. 60-67. For southern conditions see Ronald C. White, Jr. and C. Howard Hopkins, *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), pp. 82, 92-93; and Zimmerman, "Penal Systems and Penal Reforms in the South Since the Civil War," pp. 109-16.

⁹ See E. A. Ross, *Sin and Society: An Analysis of Latter Day Iniquity* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907), for a contemporary treatment of the topic of the changing nature of sin. John Rogers Commons, *Social Reform and the Church*, with an introduction by Richard T. Ely (New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1894; LAC 10731), p. 17, made the case for society's duty to the poor, to criminals, and to others who were out of the church. In the same context, the Reverend Washington Gladden, in *Ruling Ideas of the Present Age* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1895; LAC 11013), p. 45, saw the need to determine causes, not effects, of social problems.

as out." The development of "enlightened self-interest" was the projected result of indeterminate sentencing, industrial training, marking systems, and other penological advances. As early as 1882, the Reverend Henry Codman Potter, in an address to Richmond, Virginia, forcefully outlined the Christian duty to bring about such goals.¹⁰

The new emphasis spread, and as it did, it gave rise to the "Golden Rule" prison plan, first set forth in 1892 and subscribed to for years to come. Essentially, each prisoner was to be treated by all officers as one's son would be, were he in prison. Well-maintained, hygienic surroundings, firm discipline, and "unremitting industry" were to produce "moral and spiritual education," the thrust of this approach. Preaching alone was insufficient, since it was only one of several forces designed to place an inmate's destiny "in his own hands." The indeterminate sentence, which allowed prisoners to be released when penal officials judged them worthy, was the capstone of this new reformatory effort, but America's hesitancy in adopting this concept limited the overall effectiveness of the "Golden Rule Prison."¹¹

¹⁰Proceedings, 1899, p. 136, 139-40; 1892, p. 45. Henry Codman Potter, "Christianity and the Criminal," in The Scholar and the State and Other Orations and Addresses (New York: The Century Co., 1898), pp. 165-79.

¹¹See "The Golden Rule Prison," Proceedings, 1892, pp. 60-66, and 1899, p. 109. One of the strongest advocates of the indeterminate sentence was Charles Dudley Warner, journalist, essayist, and social critic, whose pen also supported the efforts of Zebulon Brockway. See Charles D. Warner, "The Indeterminate Sentence" (1899) in Fashions in Literature, and Other Literary and Social Essays and Addresses, ed. Charles D. Warner (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1881), pp. 225-52. A convenient discussion of the indeterminate sentence is found in Harry Elmer Barnes, The Story of Punishment, 2d ed., rev. (Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1972), pp. 210-13.

So that their exhortation might extend beyond the walls, chaplains suggested a nationwide Prison Sunday as early as 1884. For the next decade and a half the idea was discussed at the annual meetings of the National Prison Association. In 1899, the Chaplains' Association resolved to observe Prison Sunday each year on the third (and subsequently the fourth) Sunday in October. The first national Prison Sunday, in 1900, found ministers throughout America informing congregations of their duty in alleviating the problems of crime, aiding discharged prisoners, and generally supporting Christian reformatory efforts. In 1900, sociologist-clergyman Charles R. Henderson charged the church with awakening to its neglected responsibilities in promoting sound penology. Henderson's remarks may have stimulated additional effort, since in 1901 an optimistic report on church response was submitted to the Chaplains' Association.¹²

Enthusiasm for religiously inspired reform blossomed in the 1890's and reached full flower by 1901. In that year, Samuel June Barrows read his paper, "Jesus as a Penologist," in which he reinforced New Testament reformation, as opposed to Mosaic vengeance, as well as Christ's

¹²Prison Sunday was observed on a nationwide level in varying degrees from 1899 well into the twentieth century. Frederick Howard Wines, "The Restoration of the Criminal: A Sermon . . . Prison Sunday, October 21, 1888 at Springfield, Illinois" (Springfield, Ill.: H. W. Rokker, 1888; LAC 40083), p. 3; Proceedings, 1889, pp. 261, 301; 1899, p. 147; 1900, p. 201; 1901, p. 97; "Prison Sunday," JPDP 28 (January 1889):51. For Henderson, "reform of individual and community by education" was the best method of dealing with the prison question, as indicated in JPDP 35/36 (January 1896-January 1897):76. Church involvement is called for in "Religious Influences," *ibid.*, 33/34 (January 1894-January 1895):79.

attempts to deal with the offender rather than the offense. The instruments of Jesus the "probation officer" were "love," "moral surgery," and the "divinity of labor." Barrows pronounced that He was no advocate of "salvation by legislation." This address was but one illustration that the ethical basis of Christianity provided a rationale for early twentieth-century ministers as penologists.¹³ As the need to treat criminality through reformatory Christianity gained acceptance, prison chaplains became a strong link in the nationwide chain of gospel reform. For good reason they quoted Sir Thomas More at the 1900 National Prison Association meeting: "The end of punishment is nothing else than the destruction of vices and the saving of men."¹⁴

¹³Samuel June Barrows, "Jesus as a Penologist," Proceedings, 1901, pp. 109-120. See also *ibid.*, 1902, pp. 94-95, and 1906, pp. 137-40. Lyman Abbott, in Christianity and Social Problems (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1896; LAC 10916), p. 318, asked: "Would not Jesus Christ have made a superb prison warden?"

¹⁴F. A. Gould, "The Chaplain's Work from the Pastor's Point of View," Proceedings, 1900, pp. 178-81.

IN CONCLUSION

Turn-of-the-century developments bore out a historical truth: From the birth of the nation to World War I, American society has responded to both secular and religious impulses, which have often been intertwined. For this reason, the study of prison chaplains serves to illustrate the importance of religion and religious motivation. The prison chaplain, a religious figure in a secular setting, reacted to the times, and in so doing was part of the religious current in American social history.

Prior to 1860, the chaplain was, above all else, a preacher whose primary concern was the saving of souls through revivalistic and emotional appeal. Respect and influence were commensurate with the marked importance of religion in society prior to the Civil War. After the sectional struggle, the chaplaincy was diminished in stature. As beliefs were questioned, religion experienced the encroachment of secular influence in all areas. Ministers clung to the status quo in an effort to preserve their earlier status, but this attempt resulted in a gospel that was more form than substance. Thus while the prison chaplain remained an accepted penitentiary officer in much of the country, the public demand was for the clergy to serve politely as traditional religious representatives rather than as religious activists in the cause of improvement.

Although secularism and conservative religion remained dominant after 1884, a countermovement of Social Gospellers began to advocate a pragmatic, contemporary religion. Chaplains of this period were often bureaucratic figures who justified their existence with record keeping and an array of mundane duties. Yet a handful sought to move society to effective penal reform. Although these movers and shakers accomplished some far-reaching penal goals, such as virtual abandonment of deterministic theories of heredity, secular values were supreme as the twentieth century began. Prison reformers of the Progressive Era were of a different type, and active chaplains used new social work techniques to replace old style evangelism. Religious dogma lessened as the cell-block clergy dealt with offenders out of a sense of social concern rather than gospel fervor.

The work of the few, but forceful, members of the Chaplains' Association was clearly a continuation of the historical influence of religious beliefs on theories of punishment. Louis Dwight, Enoch Wines, Frederick Wines, and Charles Henderson, all ministers, were in the front rank of the forces which created the National Prison Association, the forerunner of today's American Correctional Association. Their contributions, although accorded little scholarly attention, loom large in the record of American social and penal change.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A COMPILATION OF FACTS CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRISON CHAPLAINCY OF 11 MAJOR STATE PENITENTIARIES UNTIL 1860

Sources: Gustave A. de Beaumont and Alexis de Toqueville, On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France: With an Appendix on Penal Colonies, and also Statistical Notes, trans. Francis Lieber (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1833).

Dorothea Lynde Dix, Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline In the United States, with an Introduction by Leonard D. Savitz (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1967; reprinted from the 2d ed., 1845).

Reports of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston: The Twenty-nine Annual Reports of the Board of Managers, with a Memoir of Louis Dwight, with an Introduction by Albert G. Hess, Patterson Smith Reprint Series in Criminology, Law Enforcement, and Social Problems, No. 155, 6 vols. (Annual Reports were originally published 1826-1854 and republished in 1855 by the society; reprint ed., Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith Publishing Corporation, 1972).

Negley K. Teeters, and John D. Shearer, The Prison at Philadelphia, Cherry Hill: The Separate System of Penal Discipline: 1829-1913 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).

Note: Undated reports could concern the previous year, or could have been submitted in the year in which they appear. Notations then are for the year they are entered, or the previous year.

CONNECTICUT

- 1826 A liberal provision was made for religious work, but the non-resident chaplain paid little attention to his duties.
- 1829 Bibles were supplied to the cells, and a sabbath school was started.
- 1830 The Wethersford Prison saw many advances during this year.
- 1831 A chaplain was secured at a salary of \$200 per year (with a possible supplement from the Boston Prison Discipline Society). Reverend Gerrish Barrett conducted morning and evening prayer services, Sunday worship, and stress was placed on the educational method from a cell-to-cell perspective.
- 1832 A Bible class for women was started.
- 1833 A resident chaplain was paid \$400 per year. He devoted two to three hours daily and on Sunday spent the balance of the day after worship in visitation.
- 1834 The chaplain was concerned with record keeping. Bibles were found in each cell.
- 1835 Reverend Barrett showed great attention to record keeping.
- 1838 Reverend Barrett's cell door visitation was especially profitable.
- 1839 Reverend Josiah Brewer replaced Barrett.
- 1841 Reverend Josiah Brewer made large temperance gains.
- 1842 There was no sabbath school, but cell door visits provided some instruction.
- 1843 A sabbath school was started.
- 1844 Thirty-six students learned to read in the three sabbath school classes.
- 1845 Warden Pillsbury was removed. Due to his strong support of moral instruction and his good example, Pillsbury's removal was considered a great loss by many.

MAINE

- 1828 A chapel was constructed, and although there was no chaplain in attendance, short Sunday services were held.
- 1830 A sabbath school was started. The legislature provided \$75 per year to obtain books from the library and \$50 per year to obtain the services of an instructor of moral values.
- 1831 Bibles were placed in prison cells.
- 1833 Two non-resident chaplains were hired. They alternated, giving one and one-half hours per week for a Sunday service. Sabbath school teachers were volunteers.
- 1835 The sabbath school made gains.
- 1836 Reverend Joe Washburn, a Baptist volunteer, preached a revival. He was also instrumental in seeing that Bibles were placed in the cells and that the library was improved.
- 1838 The sabbath school became a day school.
- 1842 With assistance from the clerk, Washburn worked on the library.
- 1844 The request was made that the legislature provide Bibles with larger type.
- 1847 About one-half of the prison population attended the sabbath school.
- 1852 The chaplain, Mr. Freeman, stressed the educational basics and patriotism as a theme.

MARYLAND

- 1826 Local Methodist congregations sponsored services. The chapel was converted to solitary cells, making these services difficult to arrange.
- 1835 The chapel condition improved.
- 1838 The Methodist and the Episcopal churches of the area worked within the prison.
- 1841 Reverend Wyatt was a faithful volunteer for a number of years.
- 1846 The Methodist church was still the primary moral agent for reform.
- 1851 No sabbath school was maintained. Quaker ladies came to instruct female prisoners. Dr. William E. Wyatt, of the Protestant Episcopal church, remained attentive.

MASSACHUSETTS

- 1826 Visitors and a part-time chaplain provided religious instruction.
- 1827 Two chaplains performed Sunday services and hospital visitation for \$250 each.
- 1828 Moses Pilsbury saw to the hiring of Reverend Jared Curtis, an experienced veteran from service at Auburn, as a full-time chaplain at \$500 per year.
- 1829 A sabbath school was started.
- 1830 Charlestown Prison had a chaplain, a sabbath school, and chapel facilities.
- 1831 Sabbath school and worship utilized the aid of volunteers of all denominations.
- 1832 Curtis reported great gains made through religious methods.
- 1833 Curtis used volunteers from Harvard Divinity School to organize a Sunday School.
- 1835 The Massachusetts legislature repaid the Boston Prison Discipline Society \$1,000 in repayment of their contribution to the salary of the chaplain in previous years.
- 1841 Curtis reported some progress.
- 1842 Curtis reported that the volunteer teachers in the Sunday School were a great aid.
- 1845 Curtis gained \$100 from the legislature to improve the library.
- 1852 Curtis resigned, and in his final report he mentioned the various duties he had performed. His attention to discharged convicts, choir development, and temperance reform was especially keen.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

- 1826 Moral instruction was provided by visitors or the warden. The legislature provided \$25 per year for this purpose.
- 1827 The legislature provided for an arrangement between the warden and a prospective chaplain. The services of a chaplain were secured for about \$85 per year.
- 1829 A sabbath school was established.
- 1833 No Sunday School was evident at this time.
- 1836 Reverend M. G. Thomas became the acting chaplain at a salary of \$100 per year. Sunday service was the only reported activity.
- 1838 Bibles were placed in the cells.
- 1842 Reverend Edmund Worth took over as chaplain.
- 1844 Reverend Atwood became the new chaplain, and the salary was raised from \$50 per year to \$300 per year. Atwood began work on the sabbath school and library.

NEW JERSEY

- 1826 No provision was made for religious instruction, and few services were held.
- 1828 The state provided a room for the Auxiliary Prison Discipline Society at Princeton Theological Seminary to provide Sunday services.
- 1830 The state repaid the Boston Prison Discipline Society \$271 they had advanced for religious services.
- 1839 The keeper at New Jersey Penitentiary asked for the services of a chaplain. A volunteer had been performing these duties.
- 1841 Conditions were quite bad from a moral instructor's standpoint, with no resident chaplain yet provided.
- 1842 A legislative request was granted, and \$100 was secured for the library.
- 1844 The clergy of Trenton visited the prison.
- 1846 Local women visited the prison regularly.
- 1849 Reverend P. Starr was hired as the moral instructor. He instituted Sunday services and a school.
- 1852 The moral instructor was responsible for letter writing and mail censoring.

NEW YORK - AUBURN

- 1825 Reverend Jared Curtis was sent to Auburn by the Massachusetts Prison Discipline Society as the first resident chaplain.
- 1827 Reverend Curtis filled the duties as resident chaplain.
- 1829 Bibles were present in the cells.
- 1830 The resident chaplain for the past two years had been Reverend B. C. Smith. His salary was \$250 per year.
- 1832 A Sunday School was started at Auburn.
- 1833 Reverend Smith reported evening prayer services and increases in the Sunday School.
- 1834 De Tocqueville noted that religion at Auburn seemed a surface affair. Only a few prisoners had access to the sabbath school.
- 1835 The chaplain was given a larger salary. The American Bible Society and the American Tract Society provided literature.
- 1837 Reverend Smith increased his attention to record keeping.
- 1838 Auburn received a number of visitors during the year.
- 1839 Warden Elam Lynds halted the sabbath school. Lynds later resigned, but still later was reinstated.
- 1840 The sabbath school began again.
- 1841 Reverend Thomas R. Townsend became the chaplain.
- 1842 Partially due to the volunteer work of students from Auburn Theological Seminary, 300 students progressed in knowledge in the sabbath school.
- 1844 Townsend reported that 100 prisoners had learned to read. He reported the need for more books for the school.
- 1847 The sabbath school boasted 150 students and forty teachers.
- 1849 Townsend held daily prayer services, directed the sabbath school, held Sunday services, visited the sick, and at night visited inmates in their cells.
- 1852 The chaplain was instrumental in increasing the size of the library from 200 to 700 volumes. He pointed out the need for air vents in the cells.

NEW YORK - SING SING

- 1827 Mr. Gerrish Barrett held services in the hall on a daily basis and on Sunday.
- 1828 Reverend Samuel Barrett conducted weekly services for a salary of \$300 per year. No Sunday School was held.
- 1829 Bibles were found in each cell.
- 1830 Warden Elam Lynds discharged Barrett.
- 1831 Jonathan Dickerson became the resident chaplain. He stressed educational gains to make Bible reading feasible. He also engaged in temperance reform.
- 1834 A Sunday School was in operation. Dickerson's report was primarily about individual prisoners.
- 1835 Dickerson reported 800 in attendance at chapel services, and 100 in sabbath school.
- 1836 The chaplain requested a teacher to take over educational chores.
- 1838 The sabbath school was discontinued.
- 1840 Reverend John Luckey became the chaplain.
- 1841 Luckey reported twenty-five of seventy-two female inmates as converted. This chaplain further reported 150 of the male inmates as converted.
- 1842 Luckey was interested in the library and increased its size from 114 to 337 volumes.
- 1843 Captain Lynds and Mrs. Beard were back as controlling agents at Sing Sing and Auburn. Luckey remained at his post. He made gains in the field of temperance and in visitation. He also noted that he kept extensive records in a series of notebooks.
- 1845 Luckey's wife aided him in his work.
- 1846 The size of the library was increased, and Luckey's emphasis on record keeping was evident in reports for this year.
- 1848 The sabbath school had 250 males and thirty-three females in attendance.

PENNSYLVANIA - EASTERN

- 1829 The legislature provided for an unsalaried chaplain, but none served.
- 1830 Reverend Samuel W. Crawford (Reformed Presbyterian) and Reverend James Wilson (Associated Reformed Churches) served as chaplains without pay. The Philadelphia Bible Society provided Bibles.
- 1832 No chaplain was in service.
- 1834 Tocqueville noted that the Pennsylvania prisons stressed "mediation."
- 1835 There was no chapel, sabbath school, or place for prayer. The minister had to preach to thirty at once, "through the feed hole door."
- 1838 Rabbi Michelbach and Reverend Rafferty preached to Jewish and Catholic inmates until 1845.
- 1839 Reverend Thomas Larcombe was hired as the chaplain. Though the legislature granted no money for his salary, he was paid \$800 from the general fund. Larcombe was a former teacher, but he did not start a school at this time.
- 1841 Larcombe noted no unusual progress in a religious sense, but the overall conduct of the prisoners was reported to be good.
- 1842 A school saw a limited amount of progress, especially with volunteer aid.
- 1844 The prison was the subject of attention of three groups: the Philadelphia Prison Discipline Society, the Bible Society of Philadelphia, and the American Sunday School Union.
- 1846 Larcombe added French and German books to the library for inmates who read only those languages.
- 1850 Reverend George Neff and later Abram Boyer of the Prison Discipline Society helped discharged prisoners.
- 1852 The prison gained a "common school teacher" and progress was made in educational areas. Larcombe suggested that of the 1,800 to 1,900 prisoners he had seen leave Sing Sing, 150 gave proof of reform.
- 1861 Larcombe remained as the chaplain until this year.

PENNSYLVANIA - WESTERN

- 1830 The prison opened and was operated much as the Eastern Penitentiary.
- 1839 Reverend E. Macurdy served as an unpaid chaplain.
- 1840 Reverend Joseph Banks became a full time chaplain.
- 1845 Reverend A. W. Black served as chaplain.

VERMONT

- 1826 Moral instruction was provided occasionally by visitors. Although \$100 per year had been designated for the purpose of religious improvement, so little was done that the chapel was converted to a weaver's shop.
- 1827 A chaplain was hired at \$104 per year.
- 1828 The chaplain received an additional \$100 per year.
- 1829 A sabbath school was reported.
- 1832 A new chaplain took over at a salary of \$300 per year.
- 1833 The newly appointed chaplain was resident, but provided only Sunday services.
- 1835 A sabbath school with fifty-five students began.
- 1837 Reverend R. L. Harvey reported thirty to forty students in his sabbath school.
- 1838 Harvey began evening prayers and made religious books available.
- 1840 Harvey reported only four or five of a prison population numbering eighty-one that refused to talk about religion.
- 1847 The sabbath school met with a limited amount of progress.

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