PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

First Conference of Charities and Correction

HELD AT

NEW YORK, MAY 20 AND 22, 1874.

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CONFERENCE OF BOARDS OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

HELD AT NEW YORK, MAY 20 AND 22, 1874.

In accordance with an invitation extended to the Boards of Public Charities in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Kansas, a Conference of these Boards was held on May 20, at 10 A.M. At first, only delegates of these Boards and members of the Executive Committee of the Association were present; but, after the organization, on motion of Dr. Bishop, the reporters were admitted, and members of the Association or others having experience in the matters discussed were invited to take part in the Conference. Hon. J. V. L. Pruyn, President of the New York Board, was appointed Chairman, and F. B. Sanborn, delegate from the Massachusetts Board, was chosen Secretary. There were also present from the New York Board Dr. Nathan Bishop, of New York; William P. Letchworth, Esq., of Buffalo; Hon. Samuel F. Miller, of Delaware County; and Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, of Albany, the Secretary. The State Board of Wisconsin was represented by Hon. Henry H. Giles, the President, and Mrs. W. P. Lynde, a member of the Wisconsin Board of Charities; and Connecticut by Mrs. Mariette E. Pettee, Secretary of the State Board of Connecticut. A despatch was received from George L. Harrison, Esq., of Philadelphia, President of the Pennsylvania Board, announcing that a recent domestic affliction would prevent his attendance.

Letters were read from the Boards of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Kansas. The city Board of New York, which had been invited, was occupied with a public investigation during the sessions of the Conference, and was not represented therein; but gentlemen representing the State Charities Aid Association and the Bureau of Charities in New York City were present.

The first subject considered was "The Duty of the States toward their Insane Poor," upon which Dr. J. B. Chapin, of the Willard
Asylum for the Insane, at Willard, N.Y., made some brief remarks, as follows: —

THE DUTY OF THE STATES TOWARD THEIR INSANE POOR.

Underlying the initial legislation pertaining to the insane is the apprehension of danger to person and property which may arise from their irresponsible condition. If it is conceded that the safety of the community requires the personal liberty of the insane should be restrained, it follows that an obligation rests upon the State to direct, in its sovereign capacity, that the restraint should be properly and humanely exercised, and the custodial care combined with such remedial measures as will afford the greatest probability of recovery, which the individual in his condition cannot direct intelligently for his advantage. The state of helplessness and dependence which insanity at once produces excites commiseration and pity, and prompts to sympathetic impulses, which move a community to give them expression in legislative acts for the relief of persons thus unfortunately afflicted. It may be a question whether the exercise of legislative functions to accomplish humanitarian purposes comes strictly within the objects of a government, when these legislative acts require for their full execution the collection of taxes for objects which it is not alleged will add to the prosperity financially of the State, or enhance appreciably the value of the property of its citizens. Illustrating this view, it may be observed in this connection that taxes for purposes purely benevolent in their character are among the last to be levied and paid with reluctance, while those provided for internal improvements are more freely, and sometimes even liberally, voted.

Our whole duty to the insane, as well as to all the dependent classes, may not appear from the nature and objects of human governments; but it does appear when we consider and accept those higher principles which it was the province of the Divine Master and Teacher to inculcate, the practical application of which distinguishes Christian from pagan civilization.

If, then, the safety of society imposes a necessity of exercising a salutary control over the personal liberty of the insane, then those reciprocal obligations which exist and bind together the members of a community also require that the State should make special provision for the medical treatment and supervision of its insane poor, whose helplessness, dependent condition, and hope of recovery appeal to our sympathy and higher sense of duty, without which aid they must inevitably seek that last refuge,— the refuge which the jail and almshouse afford.

The existing institutions for the care of the insane, whether corporate or erected under State auspices, may be regarded as a recognition of these obligations. If we examine the history of the early efforts to establish each one of these institutions, we will find they had their origin in the hope of improving the condition of the insane
poor; that these efforts have been materially aided by "memorials," "petitions," and official reports, representing the neglected condition of the insane in jails and almshouses, and that the favorable action of legislatures has seemed to be the direct result of these representations. In view of the many official recognitions of the claims of the insane poor, what becomes the duty of the States to this class?

Recognizing the fact that the sentiment of a community conforms itself to its written statutes, it is of the first importance that the State, in its sovereign capacity, should clearly define the legal status of an insane dependent in accordance with the principles we have stated. It should not be discretionary with a public officer, before whom a case is presented for action, to send an insane person to an asylum or to an almshouse and jail. With such formalities as may be deemed requisite, there should be no discretion in the case; but the public officer should, in unmistakable language, be required by the statute to order the transfer of the insane dependent to a public asylum established and managed upon accepted and approved principles. The insane poor should be removed as far as possible while there, in all that pertains to their daily surroundings and maintenance, from the various baneful influences of political changes and the mercenary economy which sometimes afflicts localities. The State institutions should be held strictly to their originally designed purpose, so that the class for which they were and are intended should have the fullest benefit of the establishment, and not be excluded by any policy of internal administration.

In the earlier history of this subject, it was usual officially to designate institutions for the insane as asylums, which conveyed to the popular sense the idea of permanent residence during a state of disability. Latterly, it has been the practice of our legislatures to create establishments for the insane under the name and style of hospitals, which would seem to serve the purpose of a medical idea. No exception ought to be taken to a name, did it not come to subserve in practice the purpose of the idea that such institutions were places of temporary abode for patients who were ultimately to find an asylum or refuge elsewhere, when pronounced incurable. Having a firm conviction that this practice has depreciated the value and importance of asylums, we believe the State establishments should be called, and actually become to the insane, asylums or homes, and the practice of discharging and removing incurables to the almshouses be abandoned.

While great additions have been made to our knowledge of the nature of insanity, its proper medical and moral management, we must ask ourselves the question, whether the present state of medical science will warrant us in believing the percentage of recoveries will increase. We must regard actual results, and not take counsel of our medical enthusiasm and hopes, and confess that official reports do not justify the belief that this percentage is increasing. This statement should not be made without acknowledging the fidelity and earnestness with which so many members of the profession are labor-
ing in this department of medical research. Would that we could realize the results that have been hoped for! Much as we love our profession and its noble offices, it is of more importance that the people of the several States be impressed with the results which actual experience develops, and prepared to discharge their whole duty to the large class of incurable insane persons who will remain a life-long public charge, as well as to the recent and curable cases.

To recognize the fact, as we must, that a small portion of the insane poor are well cared for in the existing State asylums, while the mass are provided for in the almshouses, is a sad commentary upon the existing system. To propose that we must erect more hospitals, when we are yearly struggling for appropriations to complete those we have commenced, or to keep those we have erected in a proper state of repair, does not solve the problem, but postpones it. What our duty may be to the insane poor may be easy to determine for ourselves. If we would witness some results of a scheme of relief, it must be adapted to the appreciation of the popular mind, to the pecuniary ability of tax-payers, and have the merit of comprehensiveness.

In reference to the disposition of recent cases with whom the hope of restoration mainly lies, no question can occur. There should be ample asylum accommodation prepared for their prompt treatment. The only question that we think can possibly arise is the proper disposition of the chronic and incurable cases. As we have before stated, it is our opinion that the discharge of incurables from the asylums should cease. We believe it is entirely feasible to attach to all the asylums supplemental departments in which the tranquil and manageable cases can be made more comfortable than under an almshouse organization, and on plans acceptable to taxpayers.

We believe great concessions may be made in the plans, style of architecture, and cost of construction of asylums, so that additional structures will be entered upon with less reluctance. It is not necessary that these structures should be built to endure for ages. It is quite possible and probable that the changes of a single generation may cause a departure from present plans to be highly desirable.

A word is necessary on the subject of the maintenance of the insane; and here, again, we are confronted with the financial aspect of the question. In those States where the expense of maintenance of the insane poor is a direct charge upon the counties or towns, there is a manifest reluctance, except in extreme cases, to transfer them to the State asylums, where the views as to their requirements differ, and the expense is greater than in the county poorhouses. We do not believe the differences which prevail on this point can be reconciled except by positive legislation. In conclusion, we deem it of the highest importance that entire harmony should exist and be cultivated between the boards of public charities of the several States and the medical profession, as to the best policy to be pursued.
In these remarks, Dr. Chapin was understood to express the views, not only of himself, but of the trustees of his asylum, which is a large State establishment, with more than eight hundred patients, chiefly of the chronic insane. One of these trustees, Mr. Darius A. Ogden, of Penn Yan, N.Y., was present, and took part in the debate which followed the remarks of Dr. Chapin.

The Secretary, Mr. Sanborn, submitted a copy of an act lately passed in Pennsylvania, giving the Board of Charities in that State power to transfer the insane poor, who are found neglected or abused in almshouses and prisons, to the State hospitals and asylums, where they will be under medical supervision. This statute, and the others given on another page, grew out of the controversial discussion of the treatment of the insane poor in Pennsylvania, which was carried on last winter between the State Board of Charities and the superintendents of State establishments for the insane. Taken together, Mr. Sanborn said they give Mr. Harrison and his colleagues substantially the same powers and duties as were imposed on the Massachusetts Board by a law of 1864. In the discussion which followed, it was evident that the experience of other States in regard to the chronic insane poor has been, or is becoming, very similar to that of Massachusetts.

Mention was made in this connection of the Asylum for Chronic Insane attached to the great State Almshouse at Tewksbury, Mass., and of the excessive mortality among its inmates in the year 1873. The whole number under treatment being 435, during the year ended Oct. 1, 1873, not less than 60 had died, or nearly 14 per cent. of the whole number. Various causes had been assigned for this mortality, but it had been found that there was a lack of proper medical supervision and of sanitary provision for the patients; and, this evil having been exposed and in part remedied by the Board of Charities, the mortality had much declined during the past seven months. Mrs. Pettee spoke of the generally good condition of the Connecticut Hospital for the Insane Poor at Middletown, and Mrs. Lynde related some instances of neglect which had come under her notice in the county almshouses of Wisconsin. Dr. Bishop spoke in condemnation of the present costly architecture of establishments for the poor, both the sane and the insane; and, upon his motion, a committee of five was appointed to consider and report upon the subject of Buildings for the Indoor Poor. This committee consists of Dr. Nathan Bishop, New York, Chairman; Mrs. Lynde, of Wisconsin; Dr. Diller Luther, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Board of Charities; Rev. F. H. Wines,
Secretary of the Illinois Board, and Mr. D. A. Ogden, of the Willard Asylum, New York.

In opening the debate on the second topic considered by the Conference, "The Laws of Pauper Settlement, and the Best Mode of Administering Poor-law Relief," Mr. Sanborn, the Secretary, submitted two reports from Departments of the Association. The first, from the Department of Jurisprudence, related to the Settlement Laws of Massachusetts, and was as follows:

THE SETTLEMENT LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

A Report from the Department of Jurisprudence.

Drawn up by Edward W. Rice, Esq., of Boston. Read May 20, 1874.

Our settlement law, in its origin, seems not to have been so much indebted to the English law as is commonly supposed; for the settlement law, properly so called, did not come into existence in that country until 1662, when the statute of 14 Charles II., cap. 12, authorized the removal of a pauper to his own parish from a place where he had remained less than forty days. Previously, that power did not exist, although, in 1601, the celebrated statute of 43 Elizabeth, cap. 2, had made provision for the poor by establishing a system of compulsory relief. This statute is the foundation of the English Poor Law. Those previously in force were directed against "valiant beggars and sturdy vagabonds," and were designed mainly for the suppression of vagrancy.

Our earliest colonial statute covered both provision for support and removal of paupers. It was enacted in 1639, as follows: "It is ordered that the court, or any two magistrates out of court, shall have power to determine all differences about a lawful settling and providing for poor persons, and shall have power to dispose of all unsettled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance of such persons and their families and the most ease of the country." — Anc. Chart. 173.

This was followed in 1655 by a statute which, after reciting that there was great complaint by reason of strangers pressing into towns without the consent of the inhabitants, there being "no law to prevent the same," empowered towns to prevent the coming in of such persons without the "allowance of the prudential men," and to require security at their entrance from those that brought them in.— Rec. of Mass., iii. 376.

In 1659, "for the avoiding of all future inconveniences referring to the settling of poor persons," it was ordered "that when any person
with his family, or in case he hath no family, shall be resident in any
town or peculiar of this jurisdiction for more than three months
without notice given to such person or persons . . . that the town
is not willing that they should remain as an inhabitant amongst
them,” or, if they should remain after such notice, and there should
be no application by the selectmen to the next county court for
relief, then such persons were to be relieved, in case of necessity, by
the inhabitants of said place. The county courts had power to
determine complaints, and appeals to the court of assistants were
granted.

In 1675, this statute was modified respecting those persons who
had been driven from their homes through “the present calamity of
the war”; and their support, when relatives were unable to provide,
was thrown upon the “publick treasury.”—Anc. Chart. 174.

The statute called the 4th William and Mary, cap. 13, 1692 (Anc.
Chart. 251), provided that a resident of three months without warn­
ing should give a settlement, except to those who were committed
to prison in any town or lawfully restrained there, or who had come
for nursing or education, or to be healed by a physician or surgeon.
Persons warned to leave, and neglecting to do so for fourteen days,
might be sent by justice’s warrant, from constable to constable, to the
town where they belonged. This statute was in force until 1701,
and provided the only method, during this period, by which settle­
ments could be gained by persons competent to acquire them in
their own right.

During this period, derivative settlements might be acquired:

By marriage.—A woman, by a valid marriage, took the settle­
ment of her husband, if he had one: otherwise, she retained her
own.

By parentage.—Legitimate children took the settlement of their
father, if he had any: otherwise, the settlement of their mother, if
she had any.

By birth.—The birthplace of illegitimate children, and, it seems,
of legitimate children whose parents had no settlement, was their
place of settlement.

By slavery.—While slavery was tolerated, a slave took the settle­
ment of his master.

The statute of 13 William III., A.D. 1701 (Anc. Chart. 362),
changed the time of residence without warning from three to twelve
months, and provided that a settlement might be gained by obtaining
the approbation of the town, or its selectmen. An explanatory act
in 1739—13 George II.—declared that the approbation of the town must be obtained at a regular meeting, and that of the selectmen by a writing under their hands or the hands of the major part of them.

In 1767,—7 George III.,—it was enacted that after April 10 in that year no person should gain an inhabitancy in any town, by any length of time he might continue there without warning, unless such person should first have made known his desire to the selectmen thereof, and obtained the approbation of the town at a general meeting of the inhabitants. All persons not thus approved might be removed to the towns where they belonged, by warrant of a justice of the peace.

This statute was continued in force until 1789, and provided the only means of gaining a settlement in one's own right. Derivative settlements were acquired by (1) marriage, (2) parentage (an illegitimate child taking its settlement from its mother, instead of, as formerly, from its birthplace), and (3), until 1780, by slavery. Under the construction given to this statute, no settlement could be acquired by birth and such has ever since been the law.

The act of June 23, 1793, provided six methods by which a settlement might be acquired by a citizen of this Commonwealth:—

1. By being seized of an estate of freehold of the clear annual income of three pounds, and residing thereon or within the same town or district, occupying and improving the same in person for the space of two whole years.
2. By residence and payment of a town tax, after the age of twenty-one years, for the term of five years successively.
3. By residence of two successive years without warning.
   Methods 2 and 3, however, never went into operation, having been repealed by subsequent statutes.
4. By vote of the town, in case such citizen, after the passage of the vote, should reside in the town.
5. Marriage.
6. Parentage.—Children born in wedlock, at the time of their birth and afterwards, were to be deemed inhabitants of the same town or district with their parents; if otherwise born, to be deemed inhabitants with the mother until they obtained a legal settlement in some other town or district.

The provisions of this law did not enable persons imprisoned or lawfully detained, coming for nursing, education, or support, or to learn a trade, to acquire a settlement by residence. No person could have two settlements at once, but, on acquiring a new one, was deemed to have relinquished the old.
The statute of Feb. 11, 1794, repealed all existing settlement laws, but continued all settlements until they should be defeated by new ones acquired under its provisions.

It was enacted that legal settlements in any town or district in this Commonwealth shall be hereafter gained so as to subject and oblige such town or district to relieve and support the persons gaining the same, in case they become poor and stand in need of relief, by the ways and means following, and not otherwise, namely:

(1) A married woman shall always follow and have the settlement of her husband, if he have any within this Commonwealth; otherwise, her own at the time of marriage, if she then had any, shall not be lost or suspended by the marriage; and, in case the wife shall be removed to her settlement, and the husband shall want relief from the State, he shall receive it in the town where his wife shall have her settlement, at the expense of the Commonwealth.

(2) Legitimate children shall follow and have the settlement of their father, if he shall have any within this Commonwealth, until they gain a settlement of their own; but, if he shall have none, they shall, in like manner, follow and have the settlement of their mother, if she shall have any.

(3) Illegitimate children shall follow and have the settlement of their mother at the time of their birth, if she shall then have any within the Commonwealth; but neither legitimate nor illegitimate children shall gain a settlement by birth in the place where they may be born, if neither of their parents shall then have any settlement there.

(4) Any person of twenty-one years of age, being a citizen of this or any of the United States, having an estate of inheritance or freehold in the town or district where he dwells and has his home, of the clear yearly income of three pounds, and taking the rents and profits thereof three years successively, whether he lives thereupon or not, shall thereby gain a settlement therein.

(5) Any person of twenty-one years of age, being a citizen of this or any of the United States, having an estate the principal of which shall be set at sixty pounds, or the income at three pounds, twelve shillings, in the valuation of estates made by the assessors, and being assessed for the same to State, county, town, or district taxes, for the space of five years successively in the town or district where he dwells and has his home, shall thereby gain a settlement therein.

(6) Any person being chosen, and actually serving one whole year in the office of clerk, treasurer, selectman, overseer of the poor, assessor, constable, or collector of taxes in any town or district, shall thereby gain a settlement therein.

(7) All settled, ordained ministers of the gospel shall be deemed as legally settled in the towns or districts wherein they are or may be settled and ordained.

(8) Any person that shall be admitted an inhabitant by any town or district at any legal meeting, in the warrant for which an article
shall be inserted for that purpose, shall thereby gain a legal settlement therein.

(9) All persons, citizens as aforesaid, dwelling and having their homes in any unincorporated place at the time when the same shall be incorporated into a town or district, shall thereby gain a settlement therein.

(10) This section is concerning settlements upon division of towns or districts.

(11) Any minor who shall serve an apprenticeship to any lawful trade for the space of four years in any town or district, and actually set up the same therein within one year after the expiration of said term, being then twenty-one years old, and continue to carry on the same for the space of five years therein, shall thereby gain a settlement in such town or district; but such person, being hired as journeyman, shall not be considered as setting up a trade.

(12) Any person being a citizen, as aforesaid, and of the age of twenty-one years, who shall hereafter reside in any town or district within this Commonwealth for the space of ten years together, and pay all State, county, town, or district taxes, duly assessed on such person's poll or estate, for any five years within said time, shall thereby gain a settlement in such town or district. And every legal settlement when gained shall continue until lost or defeated by gaining a new one; and, upon gaining such new settlement, all former settlements shall be defeated.

The act of Feb. 21, 1822, repealed the fourth provision of the act of 1794, and enacted that any person of twenty-one years of age, being a citizen of this or any of the United States, having an estate of inheritance or freehold in any town, district, or city within this Commonwealth, and living on the same three years successively, shall thereby gain a settlement.

The act of 1794, as thus modified, is substantially embodied in chapter 69 of the General Statutes, and, with some further modifications to be noted, is in force to-day.

Two hundred dollars and twelve dollars were substituted in the General Statutes for the sixty pounds and three pounds twelve shillings of the act of 1794.

Chapter 328, statute 1868, removed the necessity of citizenship, and provided that persons otherwise qualified should be deemed to have acquired settlements, although not citizens of this or any other of the United States; and the words "whether such other qualifications shall have been acquired before or after the enactment hereof" were added by chapter 379, statute 1871.

The act of 1870, chapter 392, provided that any unmarried woman of the age of twenty-one years, who should thereafter reside in any
place within the State for ten years together, without receiving aid as a pauper, or being convicted of crime, should thereby gain a settlement in such place. By the same act, all settlements acquired by virtue of any provision of law in force prior to Feb. 11, 1794, except when the existence of such settlement prevented a subsequent acquisition, were defeated. When a settlement by marriage is defeated by this act, the former settlement of the wife is revived, unless defeated in the same way.

The statute relating to soldiers' settlements was passed in 1865 (c. 23) and amended in 1870 (c. 392), and stands as follows:—

Any person who shall have been duly enlisted and mustered into the military or naval service of the United States, as a part of the quota of any city or town in this Commonwealth, under any call of the President of the United States during the recent civil war, and who shall have continued in such service for a term not less than one year, or who shall have died or become disabled from wounds or disease, received or contracted while engaged in such service, or while a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, and the wife or widow and minor children of such person shall be deemed thereby to have acquired a settlement in such city or town.

The provisions of the preceding section shall not apply to any person who shall have enlisted and received a bounty for such enlistment in more than one town, unless the second enlistment was made after an honorable discharge from the first term of service, nor to any person who shall have been proved guilty of wilful desertion, or to have left the service otherwise than by reason of disability or an honorable discharge.

The law now in force may be summed up as follows, leaving out of view the special provisions in regard to soldiers' settlements, which have been given.

A settlement may be acquired by any adult person, irrespective of citizenship, in his or her own right, in any city or town:—

I. By ten years' continuous residence therein, accompanied by the payment of all taxes, duly assessed for any five years within said time, or, in the case of an unmarried woman, by such residence, without receiving relief as a pauper or being convicted of crime.

II. By a residence of three successive years on his or her estate of inheritance or freehold, situated therein.

III. By the possession of an estate the principal of which shall be set at $200, or the income at $12, in the valuation of estates, made by assessors, and being assessed thereon for all taxes for five years successively, if the person dwells or has his home in the place where such assessment is made.

IV. By being chosen and actually serving one whole year as clerk,
treasurer, selectman, overseer of the poor, assessor, constable, or collector of taxes therein. Said year is defined as the time between two successive town-meetings.

V. By being settled as an ordained minister therein.

VI. By being admitted as an inhabitant therein at a legal meeting held under a warrant containing an article for that purpose.

VII. By dwelling and having a home in an unincorporated place at the time of its incorporation into a town.

VIII. By setting up and carrying on a lawful trade for five years in any place, provided that the person while a minor has served a four years' apprenticeship in said trade and place, and has set up the trade within one year after the expiration of the term of apprenticeship.

A derivative settlement may be gained:

I. By a married woman, who "shall follow and have the settlement of her husband, if he has any within the State: otherwise, her own at the time of marriage, if she then had any is retained."

II. By legitimate children, who "shall follow and have the settlement of their father, if he has any within the State, until they gain a settlement of their own; but, if he has none, they shall, in like manner, follow and have the settlement of their mother, if she has any."

III. By illegitimate children, who "shall follow and have the settlement of their mother at the time of their birth, if she then has any, within the State; but neither legitimate nor illegitimate children shall gain a settlement by birth in the place where they may be born, if neither of their parents then has a settlement therein."

Every legal settlement shall continue until it is lost or defeated by acquiring a new one within the State; and, upon acquiring such new settlement, all former settlements shall be defeated and lost.

Under the operation of the law which continues the old settlement until a new one within the State be gained, a person transmits a settlement acquired therein to his posterity, although he himself should remove to a foreign country, and there rear his children. Its working is illustrated by a case in 10 Mass. Rep. 411, where the facts were that a pauper having a settlement derived from his father removed into New Hampshire, and there had a son born, who afterwards came into this State and had children. It was held that these children had a settlement here derived from their great-grandfather. See also 105 Mass. 292, for a case where the settlement was derived from one acquired in 1675. It has been stated that settlements acquired prior to 1794 are now, except in certain cases, defeated. Otherwise, the law governing those cases is still in force. The system under which settlements are inherited is objectionable from the time and expense involved in the laborious search into
ancient records and the tracing of long genealogies required. The proper purpose of a settlement law is not to ascertain the particular community from which a pauper can claim his own support and that of his family, as a matter of right, but simply to distribute fairly the burden of supporting those who must not be left uncared for, having at the same time due regard to principles of humanity and economy in fixing the place of such support.

A rule which shall effect this, and yet be easy of application, is the thing to be sought. That which fixes the settlement, until the acquisition of a new one, at the place of birth, has the merit of simplicity, and removes the necessity of tracing a pauper's lineage; but it seems necessary that such a law should be accompanied by provisions guarding against the separation of families and covering special cases, where otherwise settlements would be withheld: so that, with these necessary modifications, it would become, it is thought, more complex than a proposed amendment which is annexed.

This amendment is designed to remove the objectionable features of our present law of derivative settlement, and at the same time to provide, as far as possible, for all cases where settlements should be given.

Our law relative to the gaining of original settlements is more complex and stringent than those of most of the other States. It is substantially the law of 1794, which, in some of its provisions, as in those respecting the possession of property and the holding of public office, seems to have been modelled after English statutes then in force. These provisions were originally inserted in the English law in limitation of a power of summarily removing a person who should venture into a parish where he had no settlement, for not until 1795 was it a pre-requisite to such removal that the person become actually chargeable as a pauper.

Since populations nowadays are more fluctuating than was the case when our settlement law went into operation, and since, also, ideas respecting the powers of local governments have somewhat changed, it seems proper to inquire whether the requirements of our law ought not to be modified. The tendency of modern legislation is evidently in this direction. The only States besides our own which now make the possession of property a means of gaining settlements are Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware; and, of these, the four latter alone require a person to live upon the estate. Their provisions respecting the property qualifications may be found in the Eighth Report of the
Board of State Charities, pp. 14, 15. The other States merely prescribe a certain period of continuous residence, the same for men and unmarried women, without possession of property or the payment of taxes, as follows: Maine, 5 years; South Carolina, 3 years; New York, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and Oregon, 1 year; Illinois, Mississippi, and Kansas, 6 months; and Nebraska, 30 days. In Prussia, a single year's residence has recently been made the pre-requisite to a settlement.

While the character of the population and industries of our own State may justify a more stringent requirement respecting residence than is deemed necessary in many of the others, still it may be questioned whether the period as now fixed (10 years) is not too long. The recommendation made in the Report of the Board of State Charities that has been referred to, that both this requirement and those relative to property be repealed by a law making three or five years' continuous residence (irrespective of the payment of taxes, unless that be made conclusive evidence of residence) the condition of a settlement, seems worthy of consideration.

As towns no longer undertake to say who shall or who shall not live within their limits, the provision on our statute book relative to the admission of an inhabitant by vote seems to be out of keeping with the times, and unnecessary. Some of the other provisions, which need not be here specified, seem open to the same objection.

Edward W. Rice.

Boston, Jan. 15, 1874.

PROJECT OF A LAW.

1. Whoever has an original settlement in any place in this Commonwealth may transmit the same to a wife or minor child, according to the laws now, or at any time hereafter, in force. But no derivative settlement shall hereafter be transmitted.

2. Children, including minors born before the passage of this act, shall have a settlement in the place of their birth, if born within this State of parents neither of whom then has an original settlement therein, or, in case of illegitimacy, if born of a mother who then has no such settlement. But, if either parent, or, in case of illegitimacy, the mother, shall afterwards, during the minority of such child, gain an original settlement therein, the settlement of the child shall follow that of the parent.

3. This act shall not defeat any settlement already established by suit at law, or recognized by support furnished, nor any claim for support already made against any city or town, upon which the noti-
fication provided by General Statutes, c. 70, secs. 17, 18, has been given more than sixty days before the passage of this act; but no settlement shall hereafter be deemed to have been acquired by transmission from a derivative settlement, except as herein provided.

In order to complete this report up to the present date, Mr. Sanborn said it was necessary to add some very important recent changes made by an amendment of the Massachusetts Settlement Laws, passed within a few days by the legislature at Boston, upon the recommendation of the Board of Charities. The system is so complicated in that State that it has been found necessary to proceed with great caution in amending it; and the Legislative Committee reporting the proposed amendments, April 30, 1874, used this language:

Any radical change in the laws of settlement is beset with great difficulties, and is likely to be productive of more or less harm than good to those whom it is sought to benefit. We believe that it is safest to make haste slowly, and to test by experience the effect of moderate changes. If these prove successful, further legislation can readily be had in the direction they indicate. We therefore report a bill the main object of which is to make better provision for the unsettled poor. This bill does not change existing settlements. Every settled person is to remain where he now belongs, until that settlement is defeated and a new one gained in the ordinary course of law. It does not interrupt or defeat any settlement in process of acquisition. This is to be completed, as before, under existing laws. It does not change the principles underlying the present laws, but merely adapts them to the exigencies of the present day, by shortening the time and lessening the number of taxes required for settlement. It gives all settled persons a fair and equal start, by allowing them to commence now to gain a new settlement under its provisions. It provides liberally for the unsettled by giving all a settlement who can show a continuous residence of five years and the payment of three taxes within that time, whether the residence and taxation be wholly before or wholly after, or partly before and partly after, its enactment. It relieves the most pressing claim brought to the attention of the legislature, by giving women a settlement by five years' residence, providing within that time they have not been paupers. And, finally, it exempts from its benefits the present State pauper inmates of the public institutions, to the end that no injustice may be done to any city or town.

This bill became a law in May, and now stands on the Massachusetts Statute Book, entitled “An Act for the More Efficient Relief of the Poor.” Being brief, it may be cited here in full as an appendix to the Jurisprudence Report, and runs as follows:
SECTION I. Any person of the age of twenty-one years, who resides in any place within this State for five years together, and pays all State, county, city, or town taxes duly assessed on his poll or estate for any three years within that time, shall thereby gain a settlement in such place.

SEC 2. Any woman of the age of twenty-one years, who resides in any place within this State for five years together, without receiving relief as a pauper, shall thereby gain a settlement in such place. The first section of the 392d chapter of the acts of 1870 is hereby repealed.

SEC 3. No existing settlement shall be changed by any provision of this act, unless the entire residence and taxation herein required shall have accrued after its passage; but any unsettled person shall gain a settlement upon the completion of the residence and taxation herein required, though the whole or a part of the same may have accrued before the passage of this act.

SEC 4. The provisions of this act shall not apply to any person who at the date of its passage shall be an inmate of either of the State Lunatic Hospitals, the Asylum for Insane, and the State Almshouse at Tewksbury, the State Workhouse, or the State Primary School, until such person shall have been duly discharged from said institution.

The second report submitted was not read until the afternoon of Friday, May 22, when it was ably discussed in the General Meeting of the association. It was proposed by the Committee of the New Department of Social Economy, and was read by Dr. Robert T. Davis, of Fall River, Mass., a member of the Committee. As printed below, it is signed by all the members of the Committee; but it is proper to state that the original draft was prepared by CHARLES L. BRACE, Esq., of New York, and that the modifications made by the Committee affected chiefly the general statements of the report, and not those relating to last winter's experience in New York, in regard to which Mr. Brace is a very competent witness. Appended to this paper will be found an imperfect record of the debate concerning it, in the General Meeting.

PAUPERISM IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

A Report from the Department of Social Economy.

Read May 22, 1874, by Dr. R. T. Davis, of the Department Committee.

Pauperism is a matter which is daily becoming of more importance to our whole community. The effects of an irredeemable paper currency have been to stimulate speculation and to rob labor of its earnings. The laboring class, through the influence of this currency
and the business panics which it has occasioned, has been thrown more and more into difficulties. Large numbers of workingmen, with their families, have during the past year been thrown out of employment without a sufficient fund of savings to fall back upon.

Extravagant habits in the time of their prosperity have taken away their reserved means of support when times of depression came. On the other hand, the fortunate class of the United States is one of peculiar philanthropy and benevolence. Wherever they see misery, they are only too prompt to aid it. Their readiness to give to the needy, whether deserving or undeserving, was never exceeded in any civilized community. Their charity, too, has much impulse in it, and little reflection, so that often, through their very kindness of heart, they plant evils which they were trying to prevent. The natural consequence, accordingly, of a wealthy class desiring to help and of a needy class wanting assistance is that certain people are weakened in their habits of self-support, and are accustomed to depend on the bounty of others.

Formerly, when work was so well paid and labor was so independent, there was little danger of creating this class of dependents, or paupers; but the present confusion of our financial system, and the irredeemable currency, tend to make the poor poorer and the few richer, thus separating classes more than ever and degrading the laborer. The experience of all civilized countries is that in such a state of things pauperism will inevitably be created, and a pauper class formed or greatly increased. The process of the formation of such a class has been very distinctly shown in the experience of one of our large cities during the past winter.

_Indiscriminate Charity in New York._

New York, as is well known, is a large manufacturing centre, and employs great numbers of artisans and mechanics. It has also a vast number of ordinary day-laborers, as well as an unusual number of those who, in the best of times, just keep their heads above water. When the industrial and business panic came upon the city last autumn, it was seen at once by the benevolent and fortunate classes that wide-spread distress would ensue.

Though the business community was exceedingly impoverished and those with large capitals felt themselves in temporary embarrassment, preparations were at once made for the relief of those who were still more unfortunate. No words can ever praise too warmly
the generosity and unselfishness of motives of a large part of the New York community in their gifts of charity during the past winter. Still, it was too often a generosity without discretion. Some of the gifts were no doubt prompted by the selfish prudence of capital wishing to guard against the discontent of the poor: others were undoubtedly given merely for sensation or from fashion; but, still, with all that there remained liberal donations, which were the expression of pure benevolence and compassion.

Warnings were early put forth, by persons experienced among the poor, as to the danger of creating pauperism by indiscriminate charity, and especially by that form of it administered in soup-kitchens. The objections to these latter are that, being public in administering the relief, they tend to diminish that delicacy and self-respect among the poor which are their best safeguards against pauperism. Being also from necessity widely advertised, they call in the impostors and the vagrants from every direction to enjoy the public benefaction. By the public example of alms, they induce many to be paupers who were never so before; while they do not at all relieve the truly deserving, who hesitate to be exposed to such publicity. They are, in fact, an especial assistance to the idle and a reward to the improvident.

The experience of New York in 1857, and of Boston and other cities since that date, proves that the soup-kitchen charity only creates pauperism. Despite the warnings of the experienced, soup-kitchens and free lodgings were opened, by public and private means, with the utmost liberality, in various portions of New York last winter; and enormous sums were contributed by private citizens for these popular benefactions. Before the winter was over, however, most of those engaged in them regretted, without doubt, that they had ever taken part in these kindly but mistaken charities. The reports of competent observers show what were their effects. The announcement of the intended opening of these and kindred charities immediately called into the city the floating vagrants, beggars, and paupers, who wander from village to village throughout the State. The streets of New York became thronged with this ragged, needy crowd: they filled all the station-houses and lodging-places provided by private charity, and overflowed into the island almshouses. Street-begging, to the point of importunity, became a custom. Ladies were robbed, even on their own doorsteps, by these mendicants. Petty offences, such as thieving and drunkenness, increased. One of the free lodgings in the upper part of the city,
established by the Commissions of Charities, became a public nuisance from its rowdyism and criminality.

Nor would these paupers work. On one occasion, the almshouse authorities were discharging a band of able-bodied paupers; and, having need of some light, out-door labor on the island, they offered these men what is thought good country wages, that is, $15 per month and board. They unanimously refused, preferring the free lodgings and free lunches of the city.

But with these "tramps" came another and more respectable throng, hurrying toward this "feast of charity,"—honest and hard-working laboring men from every part of the neighboring country. Farms in the interior of New York were left stripped of laborers, though the farmers offered good wages. Working men came from as far away as Pittsburg and Boston, partly, no doubt, to see the sights of New York, but hoping also for aid from public and private charities.

In some cases, young men were arrested in criminal houses, who made their head-quarters in these soup-kitchens or relief-houses, and then sallied out to enjoy the criminal indulgences of the city.

The pauperizing influences, however, of this indiscriminate charity reached beyond these classes. Poor families abandoned steady industry, got their meals at soup-kitchens, and spent the day in going from one charitable organization to another. Those experienced with this class report that such people acquire a "Micawber" habit of depending on chances, and seldom return to constant work again. Instances were known of families taking their meals from the Relief Association, and spending the money set aside for this daily in liquor, so that in the poorest quarters the liquor trade was never so prosperous.

A singular effect also was produced on the class of homeless girls. Many avoided the houses where charity was connected with work, and obtained their meals at the free-lunch places, and then lodged in the low, cheap lodging-houses, where their habits were uncontrolled, and they could wander the streets at night. Many were thus enticed into ruin.

But another class now felt the pauperizing influence of this charity,—one which had never stooped to public alms before,—the mechanics and artisans. These were not driven by the severest poverty. They had been in receipt of wages from $3 to $5 per day. They had much money laid up in the saving banks. They contributed through the winter large sums to various strikes and labor unions.
The best proof that they were not pressed by poverty is that never once did they lower their demand for wages in any branch of industry. The most ignorant job-work—as, for instance, a man’s labor in moving—was fifty cents a hour. Few would even clean snow from a sidewalk, or cut or saw wood, or carry burdens, for less than at a rate of $2 or $2.50 per diem. Mechanics still demanded from $3 to $5 per diem. It was notorious that important trades, such as the building trade, were at a stand-still on account of high wages, and that the employing class could not afford to pay such high rates. Yet no wages came down. Labor was in struggle with capital against a lowering of prices. Charity assisted labor in the combat. The soup-kitchens and relief associations of various names became thronged with mechanics. Some of the best working men in the city ate and lodged at the public expense. Thousands of able-bodied artisans, young and skilful, were fed by alms. The idleness and the dependence injured many among them irretrievably. The whole settlement of the labor question was postponed by the over-generous charity of the city; and spring came upon the mechanical class without a revival of trade, which might have come if misguided kindness had not supported them in this struggle.

These benevolent institutions also interfered with many kinds of legitimate business. Thus, in one ward,—the Eleventh,—a number of small eating-house keepers, who had made an honest living by their occupation, were almost thrown into bankruptcy by the competition of certain soup-kitchens established by religious associations. A similar thing occurred in other wards. In one district, also, a keeper of a laundry, who had ten or twelve girls in his employment, at good wages, found himself stripped of his help in the midst of the winter, these women preferring to live for nothing in the free lodgings. He, accordingly, was compelled to advertise for help, and spent, as he related, $8 in the effort, but without success, and was ultimately obliged to close his laundry.

It had been expected that this industrial crisis would bring down the wages of female servants, since these had remained at a high rate, though all other prices had fallen. The Superintendent of the Free Labor Bureau, however, stated that during all this distress the poor girls who came to his office could not be induced to take situations for less than from $14 to $20 per month, and said that they preferred to live at the charitable institutions until they could get such wages as they chose. It is well known that the wages of female labor have been as high this winter as at any time since the war.
One of the free dormitories for women was, in fact, broken up by its coming to the knowledge of the directresses that a lady, on one occasion, offered each lodger a situation in a good family at $10 per month, and not one of these "victims of poverty" could be found who would accept the place on the terms.

We have dwelt in detail on this experience in New York, because it is exceedingly instructive with reference to all future effort in our cities for relieving poverty.

Prevention of Pauperism.

The first condition in preventing pauperism is that relief should, as much as possible, be connected with labor. Every almshouse ought to be a workhouse; and many of these institutions in the rural districts could probably pay their own expenses, if they were permitted to employ the able-bodied paupers in remunerative labor. An almshouse near New Haven supported itself for many years by the work of its inmates. If almshouses cannot suitably be turned into workhouses, each State should establish certain workhouses where able-bodied trampers could be compelled to remain long enough to pay for their support. An effort is being made in the State of New York to establish three or four such workhouses. All private charity should be connected as much as possible with work, and those associations should be encouraged which distribute their benefactions by means of work performed.

It is not enough considered by the community that a worse evil to the poor than poverty is the spirit of pauperism. This degrades all that is manly and self-respecting in a human being, and destroys all habit of industry and self-support. It undermines the moral forces, so that a community of paupers, transmitting pauperism to children of like character, would soon become one of the most degraded and miserable on the face of the earth. In fact, however, a pauper family seldom lasts beyond three or four generations, since physical and mental power become absolutely degenerated and finally extinct.

Great care also should be taken, in distributing benefactions, that they only be given after careful house visitation. To call the poor to a public office, to clothe, feed, and help them, is to offer a bounty to pauperism, and to encourage the very evils the benevolent are seeking to prevent. In case of any public and wide-spread distress, the proper course is for the fortunate classes to district the poor classes, and visit carefully from house to house, finding those who
are the truly deserving recipients for charity. In this way, assistance can be given much more exactly to those who are truly in need of it.

The great temptation at such periods of public distress is to multiply the machinery of charity. This tends at once to encourage imposture, for the new laborers in the field are probably less experienced and more anxious to increase the number of cases to relieve. The expenses, too, of agency are increased. The existing machinery of charity of a large city is nearly always sufficient for any great public distress, if it be judiciously enlarged.

Those agencies should be especially encouraged by the public, which employ house-to-house visitation, or which provide labor for the poor by transferring them to some place where work is in demand. This of all the remedies in the United States for poverty is the most natural and most permanent. The honest and industrious poor, transported from a large city to a Western State, where their labor is in demand, will seldom become paupers again; will immediately add to the wealth of the country, and will bring up children who will, in all likelihood, become producers. The expenses of this method of charity, though apparently consisting largely of expenses of distribution,—that is, of salaries of agents and railroad fares,—are in reality less than those of any other method, as the person relieved is entirely removed from the community which is in distress, and seldom becomes chargeable again upon it, while he immediately adds to the wealth of the country.

Among charities, those are not necessarily the most useful which supply most directly the bodily wants of the needy. The first duty of a community like the American is not to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but to prevent people from being hungry and naked. Educational and preventive charities are those which most truly and permanently benefit the country: the almsgiving charities should only be resorted to in dire necessity.

Out-door Relief.

The great question between out-door and in-door relief cannot be settled in a new community with the same precision that it could be in an old one. There seems to be little doubt that out-door relief, enforced by law, has been a great promoter of pauperism in England, and that the workhouse test applied to "the valiant beggars" of that overcrowded community has been, on the whole, more successful than the distribution of charities among outside families.
In Ireland, also, where out-door relief has been mainly given up, there has been a great decrease of pauperism. There can be no question that, if out-door assistance comes to be considered a right by the great body of poor, it will inevitably tend to encourage pauperism. The reforms introduced in England by the Poor Law of 1834 were in the direction of diminishing out-door relief, of employing the workhouse test, and of compelling paupers to be cared for in public institutions.

In both England and Ireland, where pauperism had become such a disease of the body politic, it was deemed indispensable to apply the severe workhouse remedy; but, in this country, out-door relief, as employed by the officials in small rural communities, has commonly been productive of good, and has not been widely abused. A little assistance from village authorities to a poor family, whose father has suddenly died, will frequently prevent the children from falling into permanent pauperism. It often happens, too, that the father or mother of a laboring family is suddenly disabled by sickness; and the whole family, if not temporarily aided, would be driven to the poorhouse, where they would certainly acquire the habits of paupers. A little temporary assistance to such a family preserves them to the community as industrious workers. There is a good reason for the aversion of our New England poor to the country poorhouse: it is a healthful feeling, and should be encouraged.

Out-door relief can, of course, be easily abused. In a large city, it is peculiarly liable to be perverted into a means of "bribery and corruption," or to scatter relief among the undeserving. If it becomes too strictly a matter of custom or of law, it tends to foster improvidence and dependence. It is a machinery which must be handled with great discretion and judgment, and some good observers have gone so far as to recommend that in all our large cities its use should be entirely abandoned by the public authorities. While we cannot concur in this, we are confident that in many, perhaps most of these cities, out-door relief has been greatly abused at various times; that it has encouraged pauperism, has assisted the undeserving, and has been often merely the distribution of a political fund.

In regard to this distinction in public almsgiving, which is spoken of in America by its English names of "in-door and out-door" relief, something is to be said by way of explanation and caution. It will not do to reason from English facts and English experience in this matter to the facts and the experience of American
communities, even in our great cities. The terms used on the two sides of the ocean have not the same signification, and this will be seen by a few figures. Mr. Vallance, a well-informed Englishman, who read before a social science meeting in London, four weeks ago, the last paper on out-door relief which has reached us from the mother country, states the whole expenditure for out-door relief in England, at present, as about £3,500,000, or more than $18,000,000 in a year; while the cost of in-door relief is but £1,500,000, or some $8,000,000 yearly. That is to say, less than a third part of the pauper expenditure of England is now for in-door relief, while more than two-thirds (to be exact, seven-tenths) of this cost is expended for out-door relief. Now, nothing of this sort is known in the United States. There is not a State nor a city wherein the cost of public out-door relief exceeds that of in-door relief; and, in most cases, it is less than a third part as great. In the city of Boston, the cost of out-door relief is less than two-fifths of the whole pauper expenditure; in the whole State of Massachusetts, it is between a fourth and a third of the whole; in the city of New York, according to official figures, it is but little more than a tenth part; in Philadelphia, it is not a fourth part. It is therefore plain, at a glance, that the abuses of public or legal out-door relief are much less flagrant in this country than in England.

These figures may be put in another form. On the 1st of July, 1873, the whole number of paupers reported in England and Wales, with a population of scarcely 22,000,000, was 822,523, of whom 650,000 were out-door, and only about 172,000 were in-door paupers. That is to say, in the season of the year when out-door relief is most amply provided by nature for the poor, and, consequently, when the Poor Law Guardians have the least occasion to furnish it, they do, in fact, maintain or aid nearly four times as many persons outside of the almshouses or workhouses as are supported inside. Now, in the State of New York, it is safe to say that on the 1st of July, 1873, there were more than twice as many persons inside the almshouses as were receiving relief outside; and, in Massachusetts, the proportion was fully as great: so that the relative abuse or necessity for out-door relief must have been six or seven times as great in England, last summer, as in New York or Massachusetts. And the same can be said of Pennsylvania, for which the statistics of pauper relief have been carefully collected by the State Board of Charities, as is the case in New York and Massachusetts.
Statistics of Pauperism.

It must also be said, in regard to the American recipients of outdoor relief, that it would be unfair to reckon them as permanent paupers. They are self-supporting the greater portion of the year, and are only dependent on the authorities for a very small portion of their subsistence. It is in estimating these persons as paupers, and in counting them two or three times over, that such fearful statistics of pauperism have been deduced from the records of American cities. Could the actual figures of the number and cost of relief administered by public authorities in these cities be correctly given, they would show the incorrectness of one high authority on this subject, Prof. Henry Fawcett, who, in his volume on pauperism, states the cases of out-door relief in Philadelphia (p. 56) of 110,000 in 1869, or about double the number (57,821) really relieved both in that city and the whole State of Pennsylvania, of whom probably less than 15,000 were receiving relief on any given day.

The statement of Prof. Fawcett includes many persons reckoned twice, thrice, or perhaps ten times during the year when the relief was furnished in Philadelphia, and, if correct, would show that nearly every sixth person in that city was a pauper in 1869. According to Prof. Fawcett, one person in twenty in England, one in twenty-three in Scotland, and only one in seventy-four in Ireland, is a pauper. Using the same basis of computation, we should perhaps find one person in one hundred was a pauper in New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, the three States in which pauperism in America is most common. A few years ago, the Pennsylvania authorities put a series of questions in regard to out-door relief to the officials in the different counties. The first is, "Does the giving of out-door relief prove to be permanent or only temporary?" The answers were thirteen for "temporary," nine for "permanent," and ten "permanent to a great extent." Another question: "Does it encourage pauperism by encouraging persons to apply for public aid who would supply themselves, if they were to receive support only in almshouses?" The answers were, twenty, "It tends to increase pauperism," and eight, "It does not." Similar questions in Massachusetts show a different ratio of answers.

American statistics of pauperism, though seldom perfectly trustworthy, show approximately a condition of things in this regard, in our most populous communities, less alarming than had been supposed. Compared with England, our pauper position is favorable;
yet it cannot be denied that pauperism advances in New York City, and probably elsewhere, with rapid pace.* In Massachusetts, as a whole, it is not advancing, but rather, in comparison with the increase in population, it is diminishing. In Pennsylvania, the statistics are as yet too recent to show whether it is advancing or diminishing; but, in all our large cities, the tendency is for pauperism to increase. Some of the encouragements to this evil we have stated in this report while speaking of the recent experience of New York City. The true and best preventions of pauperism are a thorough and discriminating supervision of all charities, public and private; the most careful attention to the education and employment of the poor and their children; the placing of pauper children in good families, at a distance, if possible, from degrading associations; a rigid and exact system of in-door relief, accompanied with labor; the reduction of out-door relief in cities; and the encouragement of emigration to rural districts from the crowded centres of poverty and crime, which most of our largest cities have become. The position of New York in this respect is exceptional, because it yearly receives a quarter of a million immigrants from foreign countries; and this exposes it to peculiar evils and dangers. While this should be borne in mind, it should not be made an apology for neglect nor an occasion for abuses, but should lead to increased vigilance and activity on the part of its magistrates and citizens.

(Signed) W. B. ROGERS, Chairman; Dr. S. G. HOWE, CHARLES L. BRACE, MRS. S. PARKMAN, MRS. HENRY WHITMAN, JOHN AYRES, LUCY ELLIS, GEORGE S. HALE, CHARLES F. COFFIN, ROBERT T. DAVIS, F. B. SANBORN, Secretary.

THE DISCUSSION.

Rev. Dr. John Hall, of New York, who had been invited to speak upon this subject, opened the debate as follows: —

I have listened to the paper with extreme satisfaction. I don't believe there is a single sentiment in it which I cannot heartily

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*The New York Times of May 23 said, in remarking on this report: "England and Wales have, in a population of 22,000,000, a permanent army of 1,000,000 persons more or less dependent on public charity; that is, one person in every twenty-two is, to some extent, tainted with pauperism. We have not come to that pass yet, but we are advancing very rapidly toward it. The Social Science Report puts down the average pauperism of this State at one per one hundred of the population. New York is, of course, greatly above this average; and, during last winter, the ratio of its pauperism to its population was exceptionally high. It is probably within the mark to assume that from January to April there was an average of one person in every fifty in receipt of charitable relief in this city. Let the times be good or bad, a repetition of such methods as were employed last winter may be depended on to produce similar results."
indorse. There could not well be a more just and accurate representation of the state of things in this city at the beginning of last winter, after the panic. There cannot be anywhere a more generous community than this city furnishes. When it was seen that the panic had insured wide-spread distress, there was an immediate rush to increase and enlarge the machinery of benevolence. Announcements were made ostentatiously by private citizens, by ward politicians, that the poor would be cared for at any cost; and the result was a rush from this and the adjoining States, making the condition of the city, during the winter, exceptional. I think there has always been a rush of field laborers to New York for the benefit of its institutions during the winter. This I am assured by people who live upon the high roads near the city, that they always recognize, at certain periods of the year, the "tramps" coming toward the city, and at the proper season returning. They could not be said to beg their way; but they presented themselves at farm-houses and demanded food, and it was given to them, because the farmers thought it the safest thing to do. This fact is indicative of the growth of a dangerous class,—a class alleging impossibility to procure employment and sustenance, and founding a sort of demand as a right of support. It seems to me that there is no sort of excuse in a country like this, with its immense natural resources, and its demand everywhere for labor, for the existence of such a class. In no department of human life is the statement more true than in the department of benevolence, that "the people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." They will not take the trouble to think: they give way to sudden impulse, and resent any interference. If the paper to which we have just listened had been read in December, in New York, it would have been met with a howl of indignation, and drowned by the voices of some of the best people in the city. Those principles were once stated to a large body of representative business men of this city, which, immediately after the statement, took action in direct contradiction of them. The principles that are stated in that paper were announced again and again in the beginning of the winter. I think the tendency all over the land is in the direction of weakening rather than strengthening the family ties. I think there is danger just now of making it too easy for unprincipled parents to relieve themselves of their children; too easy for careless people in the lower strata of society to shake themselves free of those to whom, by the arrangements of the Creator, they are invested with the name of parent. For instance, a wife dies; and the man tries to get rid of his children by abandonment, and vice versa. Economy was not thought of beforehand. A man who would annually think that he was likely to die at any time, and who would, for that reason, annually put something in the savings bank for his wife and children, would be the better for the thought. The ordinary and natural motive to thrift and economy and wise providence is gradually destroyed, and in the name of benevolence; and the man who should be saving; and a stronger and better man for his self-denial, has the motive taken away. As the ordinary charitable institutions are constituted, there is a little
competition for business, which works mischief. A secretary wants to have a large showing of results. I think, after a careful examination, that some sections of this city are being rapidly demoralized and degraded by competition among churches and societies; and, moreover, incredible as it may seem, this demoralization is done, not at the expense of private individuals, but at the expense of the public through funds regularly voted by legislative bodies. I know of no direction in which this association can better expend its strength than in trying to carry a little intelligence on this subject to those who vote away the public moneys, $5,000 at a time, under the predatory system, generally called politics, among us.

Mr. J. W. Skinner, of the Children's Aid Society, New York, next spoke, dwelling chiefly upon out-door relief. Pauperism was like an ulcer which gradually undermined the health of the body politic. Wherever out-door relief had been put in practice, pauperism, so far from being checked, had invariably continued to increase faster than before. The only systematic and well-working charity was that which was accompanied by work. But it was the prevention, not the cure, of the disease that was the primary consideration; and the speaker believed that the only possible way of checking pauperism was by educating the lower classes.

Dr. Nathan Bishop did not think compulsory education would be successful. He spoke of what he called the street schools,—academies where children learn to repeat a fearful catalogue of home suffering. There were thousands of children in this city who went from door to door repeating the sorrows of their home, the suffering, the poverty of their parents. They went to the kitchen doors, and the servants believed their stories. These children were taught daily lessons of this kind of story-telling by men and women who profited by their gains; and the result was that at least 6,000 children were every day going about in this way, becoming chronic liars, and getting schooled in crime and vice of all kinds. When they grew up, what were they going to do? They dropped into the worst forms of degradation. They made up the worst of our dangerous classes in the end. Then there were the children who beg in the street. He illustrated the evil of this street-begging by telling how, one winter's day, he had met two little girls, bare-legged and ragged, begging. He noticed several gentlemen give them money; and he asked them several questions, and finally told a policeman that he thought they were impostors, and that they had shoes and stockings hidden in the neighborhood. This, on investigation, was found to be true; and their shoes and stockings and shawls were
discovered under a near-by woodpile. This kind of deception, he said, was very prevalent in the city. It was a kind that did more than anything else to swell the current of vice and crime and pauperism in the city. His advice was not to give anything to the street beggars, or to those who called at the doors of dwellings. Let those in want go to the regular places of charity. Then, again, never listen to those who meet you in rags at night-time, or call at your doors, complaining and whimpering and asking for aid. In 999 cases out of 1,000, they were frauds, who followed this way to make a living, and who in the day-time went about well dressed.

Dr. Hall was asked to give the result of the attempt made last winter to establish in New York a bureau of charities, and did so briefly, saying that the principal obstacles to the success of the bureau were the unwillingness of one large society to assist it, owing to a misunderstanding of its objects and the opposition of a large religious denomination. It was to ferret out impostors and to make charity reach only those who were in real need that the Bureau of Charities was established,—a sort of clearing-house of charities. The great majority of the charitable institutions responded to the plans of the bureau, but there were a few which refused to cooperate. No one could have walked the streets during the past winter without being struck with what is very humiliating,—the observation that this city is rapidly travelling in the track of the worst capitals of Europe, in the direction of abundant street paupers. Many of them are of the fancy kind, made up for effect purely, spectacular, intended to operate upon the generous sympathies of the people at the moment. Others are quasi beggars,—among them the street musicians. When I think of the many poor boys and girls who are being trained in that way in this city, educated in the worst direction, I must anticipate a crop of the most adroit thieves and the most abandoned women within the next few years. I find that one society, admirable in its principles and organization, whose operations extend over the whole of the city, states in its printed report that there were 20,000 persons, impostors, in this city living by the misdirected charity of the city. We have the Commissioners of Charities and Correction to look after paupers and criminals,—a most unfortunate grouping,—who expend $1,250,000 per year. We have the Commissioners of Emigration to attend, with certain restrictions, to those who come to our shores, who expend over $600,000 per year. There is more than $1,750,000 per year. But take the 20,000 who are living by fraud and imposture. These
people live very comfortably. It is very low to put their living at a dollar per day. That makes over $7,000,000 a year going into the hands of the most degraded and corrupting class in the community. What is our reward? These clever, cunning, degraded people despise and laugh at us, and think that our very Christianity is something that only gets hold of people who are a little soft in the brain. Men have very much to unlearn, and then much to learn, before they will get courage to persevere; and then, though they may not accomplish all they desire, they bequeath a trust to their fellow-creatures for them to carry out.

Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, of Boston, moved that the paper be printed as a pamphlet in an edition so large and a form so cheap as to permit of its being widely circulated gratuitously. In speaking for Boston, she fully indorsed all that had been set forth as resulting from the ill-organized method of distributing alms, and cited instances as coming within her own experience immediately after the Boston fire, and during the late distress among the poor.

Dr. Davis said that, inasmuch as so much commendation was bestowed upon this paper, he felt it his duty to state that he had not prepared the paper himself, and that it had been simply revised by the committee of which he was a member.

Mr. Robert A. McCurdy spoke of the progress of pauperism in this city since he was a young man. In 1833, he lived on Fifth Avenue, near Tenth Street; and in the neighborhood was an immense number of shanties. Great poverty existed among the inmates; and it was traced to the same cause which is now really the cause of pauperism,—the rumshops. Everybody, in those days, drank freely; and, in all the social customs of the day, liquor was never wanting. Rum was really at the bottom of all our poverty; and, when we swept away the rumshops, we would have undermined the pauperism and made a clear and bright way for a better future for that class of people who are now suffering from want and misery.

Mr. James M. Barnard, of Boston, also spoke, relating some of his European observations on pauperism in Italy and Germany at different periods.
REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

During the first session of the Conference, a committee was appointed, consisting of F. B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, W. P. Letchworth, of New York, and Henry H. Giles, of Wisconsin, to report a plan for the Uniformity of Statistics, and a better co-operation among the Board of Charities throughout the United States. At the second session, on Friday, May 22, this committee made a preliminary report, to the effect that it was desirable to have the statistics of pauperism, crime, insanity, and the other topics discussed in the board's reports, made as completely as possible upon a uniform plan, and include a general statement of all the facts for the whole State in which the report is published, and asked further time to prepare a form for use by the different boards. It was also reported that a plan for better co-operation between boards could not be prepared without some correspondence with all the boards; and further time was asked for, which was granted. It was stated that a conference in the spring of 1875, at Buffalo or Detroit, had been proposed, and would probably be called. Dr. Bishop, for the Committee on Public Buildings for the Poor, the Insane, etc., made a preliminary report, setting forth the present evils of extravagant architecture, and asking time for the preparation of a more complete report, which was voted. It was also voted that the Chair appoint a committee of five to consider the condition of destitute and delinquent children, and the prevention of pauperism.

In the debate on Dr. Bishop's report, the latter spoke of the unsatisfactory condition and unsuitableness of the buildings now used for the detention and cure of insane persons, and of the amount of money expended on them.

Mr. Sanborn spoke of the plan in Massachusetts to build a new State prison at a cost of $2,000,000, when it was quite useless to expend so much money upon that object. Dr. Bishop spoke of the bad influence of giving the rascals and rogues who were preying upon society better accommodations than honest men. Dr. Stephen Smith said one essential point was that each building, hospital, prison, or reformatory, should be built with a regard to the peculiar wants of the class for which it was designed. Many of those in New York had failed, particularly the inebriate asylum, for the reason that they were too much like prisons. Mr. Letchworth, of Buffalo, defended the expenditure of the public money on public institutions.

On motion of Dr. Elisha Harris, it was voted that the Committee
on Public Buildings and Structures be empowered to add members thereto, and to fill vacancies.

The Conference then adjourned.

THE STATISTICS OF CRIME AND PAUPERISM.

The Committee appointed at the Conference of Boards of Charities to consider a plan for Uniformity of Statistical Reports have met since the Conference, and considered a form of questions and some suggestions relating thereto, prepared by Dr. Harris, of New York, and submitted to the Committee by Mr. Letchworth of the New York Board of Charities. Although it is doubtful how far these questions can be generally used in all the States, the Committee print them here, for the public information, along with the concise and clear summary of the subject by Dr. Harris.

THE PROPOSED FORM OF QUESTIONS.

Registered No. of the Individual.

1. Age and birthplace.
2. Existing cause of dependence (if a disease, give its name and how long existing).
3. Which of the five special senses is lost or badly impaired? (From what cause?)
4. What other natural faculty or bodily power is lost?
5. Capable or incapable of self-supporting labor?
6. What trade or kind of employment?
7. What kind of mental or moral perversion, or what morbid and debasing conditions of mind?
8. (To what causes are these mental and moral states attributed?)
9. Is there proof of insanity, inebriety, epilepsy, paralysis, special feebleness of mind and body, or any other entailment of bodily misfortune from parentage in this person's history? (Illegitimacy, syphilis, and crime should be noted, if in any way concerned as causes in this case.)

Special Causes.

10. Old age and destitution.
11. Permanent disabling disease. (Write the name of it.)
12. Temporary disabling disease or sickness.
13. A.* Homeless childhood. (Illegitimate or abandoned.)
B. Homeless childhood. (By death of mother.)
C. Homelessness, by abandonment of father or husband.

* Use these letters to indicate the misfortunes to which they respectively refer.
D. Ignorance of letters and common knowledge.
E. Had the mother similar misfortune?
F. Had the father similar misfortune?
G. Had the grandparents similar misfortune?

What other branches of the family are known to have had the like misfortune?

14. Is there a near consanguinity in the parents? (Write what kind.)
15. What trade, or kind of employment, did this person ever learn?
16. (Why was it abandoned?)
17. Had this person (or his or her parents) habits of idleness?
   Had they habits of thrift and saving; or not?
   Were they paupers?
   (Father, F.  Mother, M.  Grandfather, Gf.  Grandmother, Gm.  Brothers, B.  Sisters, S.  Uncles, U.  Aunts, A.)
18. At what points in the family history, or hereditary line of this case, did dependence upon public or private charity commence?
19. (What was the first mode of public dependence?)
20. At what point did neglect of social and moral duties commence?
21. What vocations have the unfortunate and dependent branches of this family pursued?
22. Could father (and mother) read and write?
23. Were they openly immoral, sensual, and debased?
24. Has this person (or his or her parents) lived in ignorance of the laws and obligations of society?
25. Has this person (or his or her parents) lived in ignorance of the laws and obligations of religion?
26. What number of persons in his or her mother's family are now known to be dependent on public charity?
27. What number in grandparents' family have suffered like misfortune?
28. Total number of such unfortunates in the three generations, living and dead?
   Total number in the same group of families, who are not suffering these misfortunes?
29. Total in do., insane (living and dead) of the three generations.
30. Total idiotic or weak-minded in three generations (living and dead).
31. Total inebriates in three generations (living and dead).
32. Total who have been in penitentiaries or State prisons in three generations (living and dead).
33. If a parent, how many children now living?
34. What is their condition,—are they in almshouse, asylums, hospitals, refuges, etc.? (Write the fact.)
35. Is this person capable of self-support without the direction and control of superior authority, or constant advice and supervision?
36. Does this person or his or her parents (guardian) express a willingness to submit to the needed direction and supervisory care?
37. What is the chief cause and evil, now within reach of remedies?
38. What appears to be the destiny of this person as a dependant, as respects recovery from the causes of dependency?
39. What relatives have ability and are liable for the support of this person?
40. Why not so supported?
41. In what other institutions was this person a dependant?
42. How many years (months) has this person been publicly dependent?

EXPLANATIONS OF THE QUESTIONS.

(Extracts from the Correspondence of Elisha Harris, M.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Prison Association, with the Board of Charities of the State of New York.)

NEW YORK, May 30, 1874.

"As the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, on Thursday evening last, approved and ordered the circular and a schedule of inquiries for use of all Prison Committees, I have so framed the whole as to make the points we seek in this field to correspond and to be pressed forward with inquiries to be made by the State Boards of Charities, as I hope their schedules of points will provide. It will be apparent, too, that no statistics which have been gathered in your reports of 1872 or 1873 will be of any use to guide the needed inquiry into causes and increase of pauperism, etc. The question is, What is the pathway by which each person arrived at the state of misfortune and dependence?

"As in our inquiries (for the Prison Association) into sources of crime, we must go back to the home and the two preceding generations of parentage, so, in the record of misfortune and dependence, the physical, mental, moral, and social defects are linked with nearly all personal histories found closing up the series of woes at the doors of the almshouse and the asylum. The educational and early disciplining and industrial record of every inmate whose history is accessible in the almshouses and the asylums and refuges will need to be obtained, and upon that basis of twenty thousand individual records, in sixty counties in which an expert physician or educator has given attention to every record, conclusions can be reached which will command the attention and study of the world. It will be too great a task for any one mind to frame and inspire those inquiries, but what is worth doing at all in this field is worth doing well."

June 5, 1874.

"It has given me some pleasure to arrange the outlines of a system for an inquiry into the causes that produce increase of pauperism, insanity, idiocy, and crime. The final draft of a method, and the requisite questions and forms, have been completed in a shape that would enable all thoughtful citizens to see that certain
investigations are practicable, though no State in America has ever attempted such inquiry in a thorough manner. Our new Schedule of Inquiry into Causes of Crime is in harmony with the outlines I have sketched for inquiry into the Causes of Dependence, for the consideration of your Board.”

I. Propositions for the Consideration of the Board of Charities and Others, who desire the Improvement of the Laws and Means for the Care of Dependents.

1st. To secure in each county a local and expert committee of three or four persons to serve gratuitously in aiding the State Board of Charities to obtain and perfect the first schedule of records which shall be gathered during the present year. The members of such committees to be persons already familiar with the history of social misfortune and want in their respective localities.

2d. That the supervision of the duty and methods of obtaining the first schedules of these records be assigned to the Secretary or a Select Committee of the Board of Charities, as that Board may provide.

Finally. That all such records shall be summarized during the month of December.

To aid in starting such inquiries, the following outline of suggestions and available methods of record for the first schedule to be filled out on or before Dec. 1, 1875:

Necessity for exact information as a basis for definite and suitable plans of improvement of the laws and methods to provide for the pauper and other dependent classes:

The necessity of acquiring such information, and bringing it under a practical kind of analysis, is such that the first summary of the records to be so studied will need to be prepared before the legislature proceeds to prepare amendments and new drafts of laws. Secondly, the first series of inquiries may be so framed as to serve as a basis for a permanent method and system of record of the dependants, of every class, as they are added to the public lists. Such information as this preliminary inquiry calls for would give wise direction to further efforts to prevent the causes of dependence.

II. Dependent Classes that receive Public Care and Support are rendered Dependent by:

Misfortune,

\[
\text{Physical, Mental, or Social;}
\]

or by

Vices and Errors or Wrongs,

\[
\text{in daily life and personal relations, or of habit, temperament, or of neglect of moral and social obligations.}
\]
The information which is required concerning these classes extends to present conditions, and the chief causes concerned in perpetuating the burden or duty of the care and support of these persons.

Every record should show kind and degree of Disability; the bodily and mental states connected therewith; the ability to be restored or elevated to a self-supporting condition; and a statement of the means required or remedy wanted. The personal and hereditary causes which admit of statement should be mentioned.

III. Misfortunes that induce Pauperism.

1. Injuries and diseases of the body, or the loss of any one of the special senses. Inherited or acquired feebleness of bodily or mental organization.

2. Mental or moral perversion, whether exhibited in voluntary pauperism, morbid or debased states of mind, or in actual insanity,—which is a disease,—or in the enfeeblement and perversion of mind which follows on epilepsy, paralysis, and other diseases.

3. Insanity, Dementia, and Idiocy being dependent essentially upon bodily causes, that tend to self-entailment, are great misfortunes; and, as they increase the like evils in successive generations, the perfect supervisory care of them is most necessary, and all that medical and moral means can do for their benefit should be done promptly, and at public cost when family wealth is not available.

4. The social misfortunes relate to whatever impairs or vitiates home-life and the family and domestic ties. The rupturing of families, the early orphanage of children, especially the loss of a mother’s care, immoral license of illicit relations, bastardy, and the social condition of illegitimacy, criminal dishonor or imprisonment of parents or of children and youth, truancy and vagrancy in childhood.

5. Neglect of education and any failure in mental development; failure to learn a useful occupation, and to acquire habits of industry and accountability,—are all linked with the other social, mental, and moral causes of pauperism and dependence.

6. Bad dwellings for the poor and ignorant classes, and the domestic and local causes and circumstances of unhealthful dwellings conduce to pauperism and the causes of public dependence. Hence, the neglect of the ignorant poor by the well-to-do classes, and the failure to improve their domestic and social state, conduce to pauperism.

7. Neglect to provide skilful and timely medical and sanitary care for the needy and ignorant is a prolific cause of conditions which induce pauperism and all kinds of dependence on public support.

8. The neglect of moral and religious instruction and training, the neglect to correct criminal offences and misdemeanors, and any
flagrant neglect in the proper enforcement of just laws enter into the social causes of increase and perpetuation of pauperism and other sources of burden by dependent classes.

IV. Vices and Wrongs which induce Pauperism and the Increase of the Public Burden caused by Dependent Classes.

(A.) Intemperance of the individual and of parentage in successive generations.
(B.) Idleness and the neglect of habits of saving and self-support.
(C.) Sensuality, debauchery, self-indulgence in any way, and a disregard of law and moral obligations.
(D.) The parental abandonment of children,—foundlingism,—the neglect to rescue and save young mothers of illegitimate offspring, and a like neglect or failure to save other youth who lapse from virtue, are a wrong that causes pauperism and crime.
(E.) Permitting the lines of hereditary pauperism, imbecility, insanity, crime, intemperance, and ignorance to continue in successive generations, without interrupting them by the proper and available remedies and preventive means,—these are wrongs as well as vices of society and individuals.
(F.) Want of timely advice and friendly direction, unsteadiness of plan and occupation in life, neglect to learn some useful trade or other employment, abandonment of home, vagrancy in any form, idleness and any needless dependence, revelry, sensual indulgence or licentiousness in any form and misdemeanors, disorderly conduct and crimes of any kind, strongly tend to produce destructive or disabling diseases of body and mind. These are active causes of decrepitude, social dishonor, insanity, idiocy, and pauperism, not only in the persons offending and in their families, but in successive generations. The preventive causes of pauperism cannot be adequately understood or repressed without applying remedies to these evils which are chief sources.

V. Points to be Noted.

The recorder will please to carefully take notice of the following points respecting the different classes of persons who are dependent:

The Pauper should have the question of actual misfortune and disability distinctly answered, respecting the positive causes of such disability; so of the questions concerning idleness, sensuality, vagrancy, or spiritless social and personal degradation.

The Abandoned or other Homeless Child should have the social and personal responsibility for such abandonment or homelessness stated with precise accuracy; also its age when abandoned, and when it became homeless.

The Inebriate should have his (or her) family and personal history carefully indicated in the record.
The Imbecile should have the questions of consanguinity of parents, of inebriety of either one, their pauperism and condition, and the degree of idiocy of the person or persons in question, stated. The Epileptic or the Paralytic need to have the kind and beginning of known causes of their misfortune stated. The Insane should have the immediately active and the remote and determining (physical or moral) causes and obviously connected circumstances carefully stated. The family or hereditary causes should be accurately given. The Offender and the Criminal may be examined in accordance with this schedule, or in accordance with that of the Prison Association, with the same results. At the conclusion of each personal record in this schedule, there should follow whatever remarks and further history the case may require, with reference to causes, relations, and remedies. The following list of circumstances comprises the most frequent events and variously combined causes that are concerned in producing the condition of Dependence upon Public Support:

**Bodily Disease or Injuries.**

1. Entailed by parents.
2. Acquired by intemperate and sensual habits.
3. Syphilis and impaired vitality.
4. By unhealthful dwelling places or by continued sickness.
5. Ignorance and neglect of health, and the want of skilled medical care.
6. Wounds and bodily injuries.
7. The decrepitude produced by honorable hardships of war, of seafaring, and by particular calamities, particularly the loss of a special sense or faculty.

8. Birth or youthful training in almshouse.
10. Debased course of life (mentioning what kind of debauchery).

**Wrongs.**

11. Illegitimate paternity.
12. Abuse or cruelty of parents or other persons.
13. Indolence.
14. Voluntary vagrancy or any crime.
The foregoing points indicate the kind of information required concerning all individuals of the dependent classes in almshouses, insane asylums, and all institutions for idiots, orphans, foundlings, and other homeless children, and in the hospitals and other charities supported by public taxation.

From this point, the schedule of questions may begin. Every dependant upon public support should (by name or number) be brought into this general record.

The separate classes of dependants may be reported upon in a special way, and upon comparable points, as suggested in the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th points. The points 1 to 8 are for suggestions to insure systematic and thorough work by persons who make the records.

In transmitting the above papers to the Secretary of this Association, Mr. Letchworth, of the New York Board of Charities, wrote as follows, on the 24th of June:—

Dr. Elisha Harris, Secretary of the Prison Association of New York, has been engaged in preparing a set of inquiries into the causes of crime. His questions have been approved, I believe, by the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, and will before long be issued to their committees. The State Board of Charities of New York have decided to make an examination into the causes of pauperism in this State, basing their work upon the fifteen thousand inmates in the various poorhouses and almshouses in the State. The inquiry will go back to parents and grandparents of each subject. This will be a laborious work, involving the directing of not less than six hundred thousand separate questions. The legislature have made an appropriation to aid in carrying this work out. As it was considered desirable that whatever tables should be made should be comparable with the work carried on by the Prison Association, Dr. Harris was asked to outline a plan for our work; and it is now being printed in such a form as to admit of revision and for the purpose of submitting it to others interested: a copy or copies of it
will be sent you in a few days. My object now is to call your attention to what I deem the great importance of your taking immediate action, as the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the various State Boards at the last convention of the American Social Science Association, to bring about harmony in the work of gathering statistics by the various State Boards. The work done in this State will probably not be gone over again for many years, and it seems to me of the greatest importance that it should be comparative with whatever may be done hereafter in other States; and while steps are being taken to harmonize action in the work upon pauperism and crime, with due energy, it seems to me all the work to be done this year might be harmonized and made comparative. It has seemed to me that the only way to bring this desirable result about would be for you to correspond with and call together the Secretaries of the various State Boards, and, after you had agreed upon a plan among yourselves, to submit it to the various Boards for approval, and have what is done this year done in a way it should be, instead of waiting for another year, when there will not be the incentive to unity that there now is, in view of the great work to be undertaken this year in the State of New York. Some of my colleagues incline to the opinion that uniformity of action can be brought about only with reference to the work relating to the causes of pauperism, insanity, and crime; but I am strongly of the belief that by prompt and decisive action all the work of the various Boards for this year may be brought into harmony. If it should be found that the plan for uniform action is not perfect, improve it next year. This will be better, I think, than to expect to make a perfect plan now. It is probable that after the Boards get working all together, modifications will need to be made in their plans every year. I sincerely hope you will deem this subject worthy of your earnest and prompt consideration.

In transmitting this letter to the Secretaries of the State Boards, the General Secretary wrote thus to each: —

I have copied this letter, in order that your Board may understand the general nature of the New York investigations, before the forms and questions themselves come to hand. Meantime, permit me to ask you a few questions: —

1. To what extent can the statistics of your State in regard to pauperism, insanity, and crime be made complete, so as to show what is the actual amount of those evils in your State?

2. To what extent can they be made uniform with those of Massachusetts, as given in the Reports of the Board of Charities in that State, or with a fuller and better method, if such is known to you?

3. To what extent can this be done in your next report?

The replies to this communication, and the general subject of Dr. Harris' forms, and the feasibility of adopting them, came before
a meeting of the Committee held at Buffalo on the 18th of July; and a report embodying the conclusions of the Committee will probably appear in the next number of the Journal, along with a preliminary report from the Committee of which Dr. Bishop is Chairman.

NEW STATUTES OF PENNSYLVANIA RELATING TO INSANITY.

(Referred to in the Conference of Boards of Public Charities, p. 63.)

These Pennsylvania statutes were passed during April and May, 1874, and are three in number: the first, giving the Pennsylvania Board of Public Charities power to appoint delegated visitors and make transfers of the lunatic poor to hospitals; the second, appointing a commission, composed of three members of that board and of three medical superintendents of the insane, to examine and report on the condition of the criminal insane; and the third, providing for the better care and treatment of the criminal insane. They are here printed for general information, and particularly for members of legislatures and Boards of Charities who may have such questions coming before them.

1. A Supplement to the Act to create a Board of Public Charities (approved the twenty-fourth day of April, A.D. 1869), authorising and empowering said Board to appoint Visitors, and to transfer certain Insane Persons from County Institutions to State Hospitals.

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., That the said board shall have power, by a resolution to be entered on its minutes, subject to such terms and regulations as it may prescribe, to designate three or more persons in any county to act without compensation as visitors, in said county, of the several poorhouses and other institutions therein, subject to the visitation of the board, in aid of and as representatives of such board; and all public officers and others in charge of such institutions shall admit to said institutions all such persons so designated, upon the production of a copy of such resolution, certified by the president or secretary of said board, to visit, examine, and inspect the grounds and buildings of every such institution, and every part thereof, and all its hospital and other arrangements, and to have free access to all its inmates. Any public officer, superintendent, or person in charge of any such institution, who shall refuse to admit any person so designated, or shall refuse to give said visitors all requisite facilities for the examination and inspection herein provided for, shall be subject to a penalty of two hundred and fifty dollars for each such refusal, which penalty may be sued and recovered in the name of the people of the State by the district attorney of the county in which such institution is situated; and the sum so recovered shall be paid into the treasury of the State.
SECTION 2. Whenever the Board of Public Charities shall be satisfied, or have good reason to believe, that any insane person in any county or district almshouse, or in the care of any person under the direction of the poor directors of any district, cannot there receive proper care and treatment, or is probably curable, said board or their representatives in the proper county shall make application to the president judge of the proper county, in term time or at chambers, setting forth that such insane person cannot receive proper care and treatment, or is probably curable; and said judge shall, if the statements alleged are sustained by affidavit of petitioners, or other evidence to the satisfaction of the court, make decree that the officers in charge of such persons transfer him or her to one of the hospitals for the insane receiving aid from the State, where such person shall be received and maintained in the manner provided by law, at the expense of the district from which such person is transferred. Such expenses to be recovered by such district from such persons as may be liable by existing laws for the support of such insane person.

2. Joint Resolution providing for a Commission to inquire into the Condition of the Criminal Insane of this Commonwealth and make Report to the Legislature.

Be it resolved, etc., That George L. Harrison, Thomas S. Kirkbride, Joseph A. Reed, John Curwen, G. Dawson Coleman, and Heister Clymer be, and the same are hereby, appointed a commission to inquire into the condition of the criminal insane of this Commonwealth, and to report to the next legislature what legislation is necessary to make proper provision for the insane; and, should said commission report in favor of a separate institution for the care of the criminal insane, it shall be their duty to report a proper location and the probable cost of such an institution. Said commissioners shall be paid their actual expenses while in the performance of the duties hereby imposed upon them, which shall be paid by the State Treasurer, on the certificate of the chairman of said commission, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

3. An Act to provide for the Custody of Insane Persons charged with or convicted of Crime.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted, etc., That whenever any person is imprisoned within the Commonwealth, charged with or convicted of any crime whatsoever, application in writing may be made by the warden, superintendent, physician, or any inspector of the penitentiary or prison in which such person is imprisoned, or by the general agent of the Board of Public Charities, to the court hereinafter named, or any law judge thereof: which application shall certify, under oath or affirmation, that such prisoner is believed to be insane, and shall request that such prisoner shall be removed to a hospital
for the insane. Whereupon, it shall be lawful for any judge, learned in the law, of any court within this Commonwealth, having immediate cognizance of the crime with which such prisoner is charged, or of the court by which such prisoner has been convicted, to appoint a commission of three citizens of this Commonwealth, of whom one shall be of the profession of medicine and one of the profession of law, whose duty it shall be to inquire into and report upon the mental condition of such prisoner; and if, in a report signed by a majority or of all the members of such commission, it shall appear that the prisoner inquired of is of unsound mind, and unfit for penal discipline, it shall be lawful for the judge issuing such commission, or for any other judge of the same court, learned in the law, to make an order under the seal of such court, directing the removal of such prisoner from the place of his or her imprisonment, and that he or she shall be received, maintained, and cared for by the hospital for the insane nearest to such place of imprisonment, and which shall or may receive aid or support from the treasury of the State; and that such patient shall be detained in such hospital until an order, as hereinafter provided, shall be granted by the said court, or any judge thereof, learned in the law, for the return of such prisoner to the penitentiary or prison from which he or she was removed, or for his or her discharge from such hospital.

SECTION 2. That in all cases where any person who may have committed any criminal act, and is dangerous to the community, shall be found to be insane in the manner provided by law, and in all cases mentioned in the sixty-sixth, sixty-seventh, and sixty-eighth sections of the act of thirty-first of March, 1860, relative to criminal procedure, it shall be lawful for any court having cognizance of the crime or offence with which such person is charged to commit to either of the hospitals for the insane mentioned in the preceding section of this act any such insane person, for so long time as such person shall continue to be of unsound mind.

SECTION 3. That whenever the superintendent, or other proper medical authority of any hospital for the insane, to which any patient shall have been sent under the provisions of this act, shall in writing certify to the judge or court, by whom the order for removal and detention has been made, that such patient has been so far restored to mental sanity as no longer to need the remedial or custodial care of such hospital, it shall be lawful for the said judge or court, if the term of imprisonment for which such prisoner was sentenced has not expired, to remand such prisoner to the place of imprisonment from which he or she was brought to such hospital, to serve out the unexpired term of sentence; or if such prisoner became unsound in mind after the alleged crime, and before conviction, to remand such prisoner for trial. But if the term for which such prisoner was sentenced shall have expired, or if the crime wherewith such prisoner is charged shall have been committed during his or her probable insanity, and in all cases provided for in the second section of this act, it shall be lawful for the said judge or court to order the discharge of such patient from the said hospital.
SECTION 4. That whenever the term of sentence of any prisoner, sent to a hospital for the insane under the provisions of this act, shall expire while such prisoner remains uncured and a patient of said hospital, it shall be lawful for the judge or court, by whom the order of removal and detention has been made, upon the due application of relatives or friends of such patient, and upon proper surety being given for the custody and care of such patient, to make an order for the discharge of such patient from the said hospital, and his or her delivery to the guardianship and control of the person or persons applying therefor; and no person committed to a hospital, under any of the provisions of this act, shall be discharged therefrom otherwise than in the manner hereinbefore provided.

SECTION 5. That the expenses incurred for the removal of any insane person from a place of imprisonment to any hospital, or for their removal from such hospital in pursuance of the provisions of this act, and of his or her detention, maintenance, and care in the said hospital, shall be chargeable to and paid by the commissioners of the county in which the alleged crime, with which he or she was charged, was committed; and the said commissioners shall have remedy over against the poor district liable under existing laws, or against the estate and effects of every such prisoner, for the reimbursement of such expenses to the said county.

SECTION 6. That all provisions of any act or acts of Assembly inconsistent with or supplied by the provisions of this act be, and the same are, hereby repealed.
AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
Office, 5 Pemberton Square (Room 21) Boston.

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

II. Its objects shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III. It shall be administered by a President, ten Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer and Secretary; an Executive Committee charged with general supervision; five Department Committees, established by the Executive Committee, charged with the supervision of their respective Departments, and such local Committees as may be established by the Executive Committee at different points to serve as Branch Associations. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Secretary; the Chairman and Secretary of each Department Committee; and twenty or more Directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own By-Laws. Secretaries and Directors, shall be chosen annually by the members of the Association on the second Wednesday of January, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The President, or in his absence a Vice-President, shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Chairmen of the Department and Local Committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective Committees. Whenever a Branch Association shall be organized and recognized as such by the Executive Committee, its President shall be ex officio one of the Directors of the American Association, and, together with the Secretary and Treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that Association. And whenever a Local Department shall be organized and recognized as such by the Executive Committee, its Chairman shall become ex officio a Director and member of the Parent Association.

IV. Any person may become a member by paying five dollars, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the annual meeting, not exceeding ten dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member, exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected and exempted from the payment of assessments.

V. The Executive Committee shall have sole power to call and conduct General Meetings, and to publish the Transactions and other documents of the Association. The Department Committees shall have power to call and conduct Department meetings.

VI. No amendment of this Constitution shall be made except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendments.

LIST OF OFFICERS, 1875.

President.  S. G. HOWE, Boston.
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NATHAN ALLEN, Lowell.
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DR. EDWARD WIGGLESWOETH, Boston.
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Z. E. BROCKWAY, Detroit, Mich.
MRS. W. P. LYNDE, Milwaukee.
THOMAS M. LOGAN, Sacramento, Cal.
D. W. WILDER, Topinka, Kan.

The Chairmen and Secretaries of the Five Departments are to be added to the above list, if not already included.

The monthly meetings of the above officers are held at the office of the Association, which is also the office of the Secretary and Treasurer. All members are entitled to receive the year's publications of the Association, the Journal of Social Science being the principal of these. Seven numbers of this Journal have been issued, and No. 8 may be expected in the Autumn of 1875. The price of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 is $1.50 each; of Nos. 6 and 7, $1.00 each. Special papers appearing in the Journal of Social Science may be ordered separately, when in print, at the rate of 10 cents for every 15 pages. All the publications of the Association, including Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7 of the Journal of Social Science may be ordered of the Secretary of the Association, 5 Pemberton Square, Boston; or of the Publishers. (Hurd & Houghton, New York: the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.) Nos. 1 and 4 of the Journal are out of print; the Secretary will give in exchange for any copies of them, their equivalent in the later numbers. The price of No. 8 will be either $1.00 or $1.50, according the number of pages.
In accordance with a custom of the Association, the names of its officers are printed, in the accompanying list, without their peculiar titles, or other indication of their special work and their position in the community. It is proper to add here, that of our vice-presidents, Dr. Eliot was formerly president of Trinity College, Hartford, Dr. Woolsey of Yale College, and Dr. Gilman of the University of California; while Dr. Anderson is now president of the University at Rochester, Dr. McCosh of the College of New Jersey at Princeton, and Dr. Gilman of the new Hopkins University in Baltimore. Dr. Hoyt is one of the Railroad Commissioners of Wisconsin, Profs. Walker and Hammond are lecturers on law at the Universities of Michigan and Iowa, and Prof. Harris is the Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, and Editor of the Journal of Speculative Philosophy. Among the Directors, Dr. Charles W. Eliot is president of Harvard University, and Messrs. Peirce and Washburn are Professors there; Dr. Howe is the veteran philanthropist, Dr. Wines the veteran prison-reformer, Mr. Eaton a reformer of the Civil Service, Dr. Allen the medical and statistical writer, Rev. Edward E. Hale an eminent minister and man of letters, Mr. Forbes a distinguished merchant, Mr. Amory a gentleman of long experience in public charities; Drs. Baker, Howard and Logan, are secretaries of important official boards in Michigan, Maryland and California; Prof. Rogers is the founder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Prof. Sumner a lecturer on political economy at Yale College—not to mention others equally well known by their public reputation.

Among our active members, not included in the list of officers, are Messrs. George W. Curtis, Charles L. Brace, Sheppard Homans and Dr. Elisha Harris of New York; Drs. E. M. Snow of Providence, John S. Butler of Hartford, and E. M. Gallaudet of Washington; Hon. John Eaton of Washington; Messrs. Josiah Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Edward Atkinson, William Endicott, R. B. Forbes, Joseph S. Ropes, C. F. Adams, Jr., and Drs. Edward Jarvis, Charles P. Putnam, Arthur H. Nichols, and Charles F. Folsom of Boston; Amasa Walker of North Brookfield, and George Walker of Springfield; Prof. F. A. Walker of New Haven, Profs. William Watson, William R. Ware and W. P. Atkinson of Boston; and many more whose names would be recognized as those of gentlemen and ladies eminent in the specialties to which they have devoted themselves. Representatives of all the learned professions, and of many departments of national and state administration are found among our members, the number of which now exceeds four hundred.

Of these members less than fifty are life members, and something less than three hundred are annual members. A little effort on the part of those who may receive this circular would increase our life members to a hundred, and our annual members to a thousand; and, were this done, the income of the association would be amply sufficient for all its work. Meantime, it is hoped that our members, both old and new, will exert themselves to obtain subscribers to the Journal of Social Science (the eighth number of which will soon be published), and donations to the publication fund, for which about $1,000 is now needed. All names of the subscribers to the Journal should be sent to the Secretary, and all remittances or pledges of money to the Treasurer, 5 Pemberton Square, Boston.
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES,

Held in connection with the

GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

American Social Science Association,

DETROIT, MAY, 1875.

PRINTED FOR THE CONFERENCE,
BY
TOLMAN & WHITE, BOSTON, MASS.
OCTOBER, 1875.
Publishing Committee.

CHARLES M. CROSWELL.
CHARLES S. HOYT, M. D.
F. B. SANBORN.
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PREFACE.

The Conference of Charities at Detroit grew out of a smaller and experimental Conference of a similar kind held at New York in May, 1874. It was found at that time, that the members of the various State Boards which deal with Public Charity in the United States were desirous of a better acquaintance with each other, and that they could not meet together and discuss the questions in which they had a common interest without mutual profit and encouragement. It also appeared that a considerable number of persons not officially connected with the public charities were desirous of attending such a meeting, and were both competent and willing to join in its debates or to contribute papers which should be the fruit of special research, or of long experience. Therefore the Standing Committee of the New York Conference of 1874 (Messrs. Sanborn, Giles and Letchworth) being authorized to do so, and having made the necessary arrangements, called the Conference of the present year in connection with the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association at Detroit, on the 12th and 13th of May last.

Much regret was felt at the failure of the Committee on Public Buildings for the Indoor Poor, and the Committee on Pauper Children and Young Delinquents (appointed at the Conference in New York) to present reports at Detroit. It being found difficult to obtain good working committees under the organization adopted in 1874, a new arrangement was made at Detroit, and a larger number of committees appointed, as may be seen by turning to page 15. Meantime in the absence of the expected reports, papers which had been invited by the Social Science Association on topics properly coming within the sphere of the Conference, were presented, read and debated. Thus the subjects of (1) "Insanity and Public Charity," (2) "Medical Charities," (3) "Reformatories and Young Delinquents," and (4) "Immigration," were ably treated (1) by Dr. Allen, lately Lunacy Commissioner of Massachusetts; (2) by George
S. Hale, Esq., of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and formerly an Overseer of the Poor in Boston; (3) by Miss Mary Carpenter, of England, a high authority on such questions; and (4) by Hamilton A. Hill, Esq., of Boston, whose recent residence in Europe had enabled him to study the subject of Immigration under peculiar advantages. It is believed that these papers as now printed in full, will add to the knowledge and aid the judgment of all who may read them. The ensuing debates are reported less fully than could be wished, but in some instances the speakers have been kind enough to write out an abstract of their remarks, and in all cases the editors have sought to give the substance of what was said. The same observation applies to the Reports from the State Boards.

M. Bonneville de Marsangy, a gentleman of high position among the jurists and magistrates of France, and a Corresponding Member of the American Social Science Association, had transmitted to its Secretary for presentation at the Detroit meeting an elaborate paper on the Repression of Crime. The writer, using his own vernacular language, described with much clearness and advocated with earnest argument a new method of dealing with misdemeanants and felons, which he is confident will work well in France, whenever it shall be adopted there. It did not appear to the Conference, however (before which an abstract of it was read in English) that M. Bonneville de Marsangy's method was feasible in America, and it has not been thought best to print in these pages a full translation of it. The Detroit Free Press, a journal of large circulation, published it in French at the time, and a brief abstract of it, in English, will be found in the appendix.

Since the adjournment of the Conference, a few changes have taken place in the membership of the Boards mentioned on page 14. Dr. S. G. Howe, the veteran philanthropist of Massachusetts, has resigned his place on the Massachusetts Board, where he had served for more than ten years, and has been succeeded by Charles F. Donnelly, Esq., of Boston. Mr. George L. Harrison, in May last, and for five years before, President of the Pennsylvania Board, has resigned that office, and been succeeded by G. Dawson Coleman, Esq., of Lebanon. If other changes have occurred, we are not informed of them.
Members of the standing committees named on page 15, will receive a copy of these Proceedings, and all such are requested to notify the Secretaries of the Conference whether they can attend to the duties assigned them. The papers referred to each committee will be found here printed.

Copies of these Proceedings, and of the pamphlet report of the New York Conference, may be ordered of any member of the Publication Committee, and particularly of F. B. Sanborn, at the office of the Social Science Association, 5 Pemberton Square, Boston. Reports issued by the several Boards, annually or biennially, may be obtained of the Secretary of these Boards, whose post-office addresses are given in the list on page 14. Various matters of interest concerning these Boards will be found in Journal of Social Science, Nos. I-VII, published by Hurd & Houghton, New York, and for sale at the office of the Association in Boston.
CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES

HELD AT DETROIT,

MAY 12TH AND 13TH, 1875.

By the courtesy of the City Council of Detroit, the Council Chamber in the City Hall, was placed at the disposal of the American Social Science Association, and all the sessions of the Conference, (four in number) were held there. The first session began at 10, A. M., on the 12th of May. The reports made and the subsequent proceedings will appear in the pages which follow.
The Conference was called to order by F. B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee of 1874, and upon motion Hon. John J. Bagley, Governor of Michigan, was called to the chair. Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, of New York, and Hon. Charles M. Croswell, of Michigan, were appointed Secretaries. Upon taking the chair Gov. Bagley spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF GOV. BAGLEY.

I need not tell you how it gratifies us here in Michigan, and especially in Detroit, her metropolis, to find gathered with us distinguished men from abroad, students of social science, men who by work and deed are laboring to make the world better, and to provide ways and means whereby its people may lead more useful and happier lives.

I was not aware, before coming to this meeting, that anything more was expected of me than to preside over your deliberations, but I find myself called on to deliver an address on "The Public Institutions and Recent Legislation in Michigan." If I had known of this arrangement previously, I should have endeavored to prepare, in a concise and logical shape, a history of our reformatory and charitable institutions, so as to give you, who are strangers to our institutions, an intelligent idea of the manner in which we, in this young State, are trying to ameliorate the condition of the poor unfortunates, whom we have always with us, the true method of dealing with whom is such an important problem in social economy. But under the circumstances, you must be content with an outline merely of what we are doing in this direction.

It is to be remembered, first, that in this, which is a centennial year for many of the Commonwealths of this country, Michigan is one of the youngest in the sisterhood of States. It is only forty years since she was born into the family of the Union, and she is only a babe in years compared with some. But in those brief years she has done many things, and it is our boast that we are among the first and foremost with our educational and charitable institutions, that we are abreast New England or the Empire State, and fully their equal.

At Kalamazoo we have what we call a model asylum for the insane, capable of accommodating 570 patients. At Pontiac we'
have another in process of construction, which will accommodate 450 more, and when this is finished we believe that every insane person, not a chronic lunatic, may become a ward of the State.

At Flint is our Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, where every child so afflicted may be maintained without expense to his family if it is so desired.

The institution which was the most recently established, and which is, to my mind, the most beneficent and the grandest work the State has ever done, is the State Public School at Coldwater. There we have at present 175 little children who have no home save that the State affords them, whose hearts are as pure, and whose minds are as capable as those whose lot is a far different one. These children we have surrounded with everything pertaining to a home, save parental love, and we are teaching them how to grow up to be true men and women, and good and profitable citizens. Some time ago some gentlemen made a tour of the county almshouses in this State, and they found there 650 little waifs growing up in total ignorance, only to become a burden and a source of great expense to the State. So it entered into the minds of the Legislature to make an effort to save some of these homeless creatures, to put some of these little children in homes and to become their guardians. The school was opened a year ago last month. We would be glad if the school were able to receive every one of these 650 boys and girls, but as it was an experiment, its facilities were limited, and but a fraction of all these can be received. The Superintendents of the Poor in the several counties are authorized to select from among the children in the county houses a stated number, and they are transferred to this home. We are satisfied with the experiment, and mean to make this institution a permanency. It is one to whose inmates the State may say: “This is your home; here you have somebody to care for you, to work for you, to clothe you, and to make you men and women.”

It is true with this institution as it is with all other State establishments—it has one side not pleasant to look upon. It is something to be lamented, that it is after all an “institution.” The State may do everything for these children in its power, still it is not home as we know home. The heart is wanting, and it cannot be supplied artificially. I regard it as one of the great things for social scientists to do to mitigate this misfortune. This “home,” as we call it, is after all, only a purgatory; a half-way house between hell or the county poor-house, and heaven or a
happy home. These children are absolutely worse than convicts' children. They are nobody's children. From this school seventy-five children have been adopted into the houses of good farmers, merchants, mechanics, lawyers, ministers of the country around. I do not mean apprenticed or bound out like workhouse children, but adopted into good homes with all their happy surroundings. What a noble work for a State to engage in, reaching out a hand not heavy and restraining, clothed in iron mail, but gentle, and with a tender clasp, folding in its arms these innocents, taking the place of their fathers and mothers, and holding them out to its citizens as their brothers and sisters.

May we not boast that we away out West have set such an example to the older States?

Of prisons, we have one at Jackson and another just commenced at Ionia. The latter we intend for an intermediate prison, where shall be sent convicts, not entirely beyond reclamation, whom, while we punish, we may hope also to reform. Then we have here in this city a House of Correction, supported by the city, but really a State institution, for more than one-half of its inmates are State convicts.

We have endeavored to bring up our people in the belief that the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the chronic paupers are the wards of the State, and we mean that they shall not be anywhere in the State but under its charge.

It seems to me, that those who compose this meeting, should not content themselves with simply getting together and theorizing on the subjects under their consideration. They should act—should go out among the people, and teach them, that, as citizens, their interests are not antagonistic, but that they are partners. It is simply a law of self-defence which should prompt us to take care, in the best possible manner, of our insane, and our convicts. "The poor ye have always with ye," and there always will be criminals. It is the duty of the State to care for them. We should have no convicted criminals in our county jails, and no insane persons or children in our county poor-houses, growing up day by day like animals. Our Legislature has decided that we shall build up our State institutions, and concentrate our charities until all are under the direct care of the State. That is what we mean to do in Michigan, and you, gentlemen, should do the same in your States. What on earth is there so demoralizing, so degrading, so low down as our county poor-houses? What feeds crime as does the county jail—feeds it, too, not with the spoon,
but from a bucket? What makes criminals like rearing children in the poor-houses? You, gentlemen, should make it your business to urge that the State should take these things under its own care, and even many of the private charities would thrive much better if they were under the State's supervision.

One great obstacle which Michigan, and probably every other State—for human nature is everywhere alike—has met, is the persistency with which men cling to petty power. Every man who has the least show of authority, is always loathe to relinquish it, and will always fight any reform which takes it from him. The poor-master is opposed to the Legislature taking away his power. He draws orders on the country stores; dispenses authority, and likes it. The fence-viewer was opposed to seeing his dignity taken from him. From such men as these there always comes opposition when a move is made to abolish our county poor-houses.

Our view is, that the county system should in time be abolished, and all the poor taken under the care of the State. We, in Michigan, have about seventy counties, most of which have a poor-house and farm, with a superintendent, whose family have to be boarded by the county. The aggregate expense of this item of board of superintendent's family would go a long way toward keeping our poor. There is absolutely nothing we do in Michigan so expensive, so extravagant, as our county system of caring for the poor. Six or eight counties might combine, and support one almshouse more economically, and with far more benefit to the poor, than can be done under our present system.

The time is surely coming when a reform will be made in the matter, and your papers and debates should be made to hasten the coming of that time. To accomplish anything effective, you must reach the people's pockets. If you can show them that every dollar the State expends in its reformatory and charitable institutions, saves them a dollar in county expenses, the bringing about of this result will be mere play. Show them that every dollar that they expend in making their insane asylums large enough to receive the insane in their poor-houses, will save them a dollar they would otherwise have to pay for county expenses, and the rest will be easy. By all means show them, that what you propose will save them dollars and cents. And you can do it, for it is a fact. Every dollar that has been expended on our Asylum at Kalamazoo has been returned, and with interest, to the State. It has been again repaid in the restoration of the insane to their families and homes. Of all those received at Kalamazoo, seventy
per cent. have been permanently cured; while of those in our poor-houses, less than twenty-five per cent. have been restored to society. So, forty-five per cent. of labor is saved by sending our insane to Kalamazoo, and money is made. If we can cure crime, we make money. If we can cure pauperism we make money. To do this we have got to convince the people, and we have got to reach them through their pockets.

This, it seems to me, is the legitimate field of social science, to prove, so that people may see, that what you claim to be the correct theory will save them money. Lay entirely aside all philanthropic considerations, don't appeal in the name of humanity or religion, but show the people that what you want is to save them money, and the problem is solved.

In Michigan we mean to keep at this. While Michigan is one of the youngest States, we mean that she shall rank first and foremost in the care of its wards. This we undertake, and the Legislature at its recent session has taken some steps in this direction. It has, for one thing, recodified its prison laws, increasing the good time given to convicts. This system, which has been in vogue for the past four years, has done more toward keeping the prisoners under subjection, and reforming them, than all the prison rules and regulations. Then, too, hereafter five per cent. of the convicts' earnings are to be given them to dispose of as they see fit. We feel that this is a great step toward prison reform. There may be other States where this is done, but if so, I am not aware of it.

I regret that I was announced to deliver to you an elaborate address, and had I known it, I should have tried to put my remarks in a better shape. I am deeply interested in the cause in which you are engaged, and I sincerely hope that your meeting may be productive of good results, and that your ideas may take a sound, business-like, practical turn. [Applause.]

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

At the conclusion of Gov. Bagley's address, he called Hon. C. I. Walker, of Michigan to the chair.

An invitation was extended to delegates from all kindred boards and associations which might be represented by delegates, to take part in the deliberations of the meeting.

Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, of New York, announced that Hon. John V. L. Pruyn, President of the Board of Charities of that State,
had requested him to express to the Conference his regrets at being unable to attend its meetings in Detroit, and a note thereof was ordered upon the minutes.

The Committee on Business reported as follows:

There are at present in the United States, eight State boards or commissions charged with the general oversight of charitable work in the States where they exist. These boards, named in the order of seniority, are:

1. The Massachusetts Board of State Charities, established in 1863.
2. The New York State Board of Charities, established in 1867.
3. The Rhode Island Board of State Charities and Corrections, established in 1869.
4. The Pennsylvania Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.
5. The Illinois Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.
6. The Wisconsin State Board of Charities and Reform, established in 1871.
7. The Michigan Board of State Commissioners for the supervision of the Penal, Pauper, and Reformatory Institutions, established in 1871.
8. The Connecticut State Board of Charities, established in 1873.

A special organization has existed as a State Board in New York since 1847—the Commissioners of Emigration.

The present officers and members of the State Boards are as follows:

**MASSACHUSETTS.** (Term of Office, Five Years.)

- F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Chairman; Samuel G. Howe, Boston; Edward Earle, Worcester; Nathan Allen, Lowell; Moses Kimball, Boston; S. C. Wrightington, Fall River, General Agent; Sidney Andrews, Boston, Secretary.

**NEW YORK.** (Term of Office, Eight Years.)

- John V. L. Pruyn, Albany, President; William P. Letchworth, Buffalo, Vice-President; A. A. Low, Brooklyn; Theo. Roosevelt, New York; Charles H. Marshall, New York; Henry L. Houghton, New York; Harvey G. Eastman, Poughkeepsie; Samuel F. Miller, Franklin, Delaware County; Edward W. Foster, Potsdam, St. Lawrence County; Martin B. Anderson, Rochester; John C. Devereux, Utica, Oneida County. Ex-officio members—The Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Comptroller and Attorney-General; Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Albany, Secretary; James O. Fanning, Assistant Secretary.

**RHODE ISLAND.** (Term of Office, Six Years.)

- George I. Chace, Providence, Chairman; William W. Chapin, Providence, Secretary; Horace Babcock, Westerly; Samuel W. Church, Bristol; Thomas Coggeshall, Newport; William Hopkins, Providence; John Kenyon, Providence.

**PENNSYLVANIA.** (Term of Office, Eight Years.)

- George L. Harrison, Philadelphia, Chairman; G. Dawson Coleman, Lebanon County; Hester Clymer, Berks County; William Bakewell, Pittsburgh; A. C. Noyes, Clinton County; George Bulloch, of Montgomery County; Francis Wells, Philadelphia; Diller Luther, M. D., Reading, Secretary.

**ILLINOIS.** (Term of Office, Five Years.)

- S. M. Church, Rockford, President; G. S. Robinson, Sycamore; J. C. Corbus, Mendota; Z. B. Lawson, Chesterfield; J. N. McCord, Vandalia; Rev. F. H. Wines, Springfield, Secretary.

**WISCONSIN.** (Term of Office, Five Years.)

- Hiram H. Giles, Madison, President; E. C. Chapin, Columbus, Vice-President; Andrew E. Elmore, Fort Howard; Mary E. Lynde, Milwaukee; William W. Reed, M. D., Jefferson; A. C. Parkinson, Madison, Secretary.
REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

MICHIGAN. (Term of Office, Six Years.)
Charles I. Walker, Detroit, Chairman; John J. Bagley, Z. R. Brockway, Detroit; Henry W. Lord, Pontiac; Uzziel Putnam, ——; Chas. M. Croswell, Adrian, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT. (Term of Office, Five Years.)
Benjamin Stark, New London, Chairman; Samuel F. Jones, Hartford; Dr. Levi Ives, New Haven; Mrs. Geo. A. Hoyt, Stamford.

Six of the eight States, and seven of the nine Boards named are represented in this Conference, as follows:
Massachusetts by F. B. Sanborn, Chairman of the State Board of Charities, and Dr. Nathan Allen.
New York by William P. Letchworth, Vice-President of the State Board, and Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Secretary; Dr. Edward C. Mann, delegate from the Commission of Emigration.
Wisconsin by H. H. Giles, President; A. C. Parkinson, Secretary; Dr. W. W. Reed, and Andrew E. Elmore.
Pennsylvania by Dr. Diller Luther, Secretary.
Michigan by C. I. Walker, President; Charles M. Croswell, Secretary; Henry W. Lord, Z. R. Brockway, and Uzziel Putnam.
Illinois by Rev. F. H. Wines, Secretary.
An important organization existing in New York, and perhaps other States, is the State Charities Aid Association represented at the Conference by Dorman B. Eaton, Esq., of New York, which has for its President in New York, Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler. We would recommend that representatives of this organization be given a place on committees of this Conference.

These committees should be:
1. A Committee on Insanity, for which we would recommend Dr. Nathan Allen, Massachusetts; Hon. Samuel F. Miller, New York; Dr. W. W. Reed, Wisconsin; Hon. C. I. Walker, Michigan; Dr. E. L. Howard, Maryland; Dr. T. M. Logan, California; Dr. Edward C. Mann, New York.
3. A Committee on Dependent and Delinquent Children, for which we recommend Hon. John J. Bagley, Michigan; William P. Letchworth, New York; George L. Harrison, Pennsylvania; Chas. L. Brace, State Charities Aid Association, New York.
4. A Committee on Penal and Prison Discipline, for which we recommend Z. R. Brockway, Michigan; Dr. Elisha Harris, New York; S. M. Church, Illinois; Dr. S. G. Howe, Massachusetts; Benjamin Stark, Connecticut; Wm. Bakewell, Pennsylvania; Andrew E. Elmore, Wisconsin.
5. A Committee on Statistics and Legislation, for which we recommend Dr. Diller Luther, Pennsylvania; Dr. C. S. Hoyt, New York; Henry W. Lord, Michigan; F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts; John C. Devereux, New York; Dr. E. M. Snow, Rhode Island; A. C. Parkinson, Wisconsin.
6. A Committee on Medical Charities and Outdoor Relief, for which we recommend John V. L. Pruyn, and Theodore Roosevelt, New York; Dr. A. J. Ourt, Pennsylvania; Geo. S. Hale, Massachusetts; Dr. Levi S. Ives, Connecticut; Howard Potter, State Charities Aid Association.

We would also recommend that the Chairman and Secretaries of this Conference, or any two of them, be a committee to call further conferences, either of the Board as a whole, or of their secretaries.

(Signed) F. B. SANBORN, H. H. GILES, WM. P. LETCHWORTH.

The report was adopted, and the committees named were appointed at the afternoon session.
As the different papers were read, they were referred, each to its appropriate committee; and it was understood that these committees should serve for a year, and at the next meeting of the Conference, should present reports on the subjects assigned to them.

REPORTS FROM THE STATES REPRESENTED.

During the morning session of May 12, and at intervals in the subsequent sessions, the Chairman of the Conference called upon delegates from each of the States represented, to report upon the charitable institutions, and the general condition, in respect to insanity, pauperism, etc., of their respective States. These reports were generally oral, and a brief abstract of them here follows without regard to the precise period during the Conference at which they were presented.

Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Secretary of the State Board of Charities of New York, reported for his Board. He said, the charities of that great State are so multifarious and varied in their objects and purposes, that it was almost impossible to summarize satisfactorily their condition in the brief time allowed. First, as to the Lunatic Asylums: In 1843 the State erected the first Lunatic Asylum at Utica. This institution has accommodations for six hundred (600) patients, and is devoted to the treatment and care of the acute insane. It ranks among the best of this class of institutions in the country.

The erection of the Willard Asylum, at Orid, was begun in 1867, and it was opened for patients in 1869. This institution receives the chronic insane from county poor-houses only. The main building furnishes room for five hundred (500) patients, and it has two groups of detached buildings, each accommodating two hundred (200) patients. Another group of buildings of the same size, is to be erected the present year, which will extend its entire accommodations to eleven hundred (1,100) patients. It is probable, though not certain, that further buildings of the same character may be hereafter added to the institution.

In addition to these asylums for the insane, the State is erecting three more institutions for this class; one at Poughkeepsie, one at Middletown, and one at Buffalo. The work upon the two first is so far advanced as to enable them to receive and provide for a limited number of patients, and it is probable that the latter will be soon opened.
The demands upon the State Asylum at Utica, for the acute insane, Dr. Hoyt stated, had been greatly in excess of its capacity for several years. Many of this class, therefore, had been thrown into county poor-houses, where they were generally without proper treatment and care, and not unfrequently subjected to great abuses and neglect. These abuses, he was gratified to state, did not exist at present to any great extent, the county poor-houses of New York being under much better management than in former years. Many of the counties had transferred all their insane to State custody, and none were now retained in the poor-houses except the chronic class. It was the settled policy of the State, he believed, to provide, ultimately, for all of its insane, both acute and chronic, under State management. The present asylums, when completed, will probably be fully adequate for the acute insane for several years, but further accommodations are immediately needed for the chronic insane, there being still over thirteen hundred (1,300) of this class in the county institutions. This did not include the counties of New York and Kings, both of which provide for their insane under special statutes. The former had over seventeen hundred (1,700), and the latter nearly eight hundred (800) insane. It should be added, that nearly five hundred (500) insane of New York are provided for in private asylums. These asylums are subject to the same supervision as the State institutions, and are generally under good management.

How to suitably provide for the large number of chronic insane now in the county poor-house, and at a cost that shall not be burdensome, Dr. Hoyt said was one of the most important questions to decide, in the administration of public charity in New York. Upon this question, he stated, there is unfortunately a division of opinion among those most familiar with the subject. It has been demonstrated that the counties cannot be depended upon to properly perform this work. The multiplication of State hospitals and the retention of the chronic insane with the acute class is recommended by some; others advocate the further extension of the Willard Asylum, or the erection of two or more similar institutions in different parts of the State; while others favor the engrafting of the principles of the Willard Asylum, both as to detached buildings and the charges for maintenance, upon all existing State hospitals devoted to the care of the acute insane only. In his opinion, the latter plan was much more economical for the State, and at the same time well designed to meet the wants of the chronic insane. The present hospitals have adequate
accommodations for the treatment of the acute insane, and it will require only a moderate outlay in the erection of detached buildings, after the plan of the Willard Asylum, to enable them to retain and care for the chronic class. These buildings have been erected at the Willard Asylum at a cost of about $500 for each inmate. They are built of brick, have been in use for several years, and are found to be wholly adequate and proper for their purposes. This plan would bring all the asylums of the State under a uniform system, obviate the trouble and expense of transfers from one institution to another, and secure to the chronic insane proper care at the lowest possible rate attainable.

Continuing the subject of the charities of New York, Dr. Hoyt said, the State has made ample provisions for its blind, deaf, and dumb, and for the education and training of teachable idiots. It has two large institutions for the blind, three for the deaf and dumb, (one of which is the largest in this country) and one for idiots. These institutions are maintained wholly by the State, and secure to each of these classes of unfortunates, fitted by age and otherwise for instruction, a proper education. The State also has two large reformatories for children, and there are several of the same class of institutions under the control and management of municipal and charitable organization.

A great number of the charitable institutions of New York are under the control of private corporations, and supported by the union of public and private benefactions. Dr. Hoyt believed that this feature of the charitable work of New York might well be emulated by other States. The expenditures of these institutions, he had found, were made generally more economically than in those institutions under the control of public officials. There are in the State about one hundred and thirty (130) orphan asylums, thirty-five (35) general hospitals, and forty (40) dispensaries, managed and controlled by private charitable organizations. Many of these institutions have, by bequests, legacies, etc., accumulated funds, the incomes from which are nearly sufficient to defray their current expenses. The permanent funds of this class of charities are largely increasing every year, and it is believed that, in the end, most of them will become entirely self-sustaining, thus greatly relieving the State in the support and care of the dependent classes. The value of the whole property in the State, used for charitable purposes, at present, amounts to about $35,000,000, and the annual expenditures, exclusive of disbursements for buildings and improvements, to nearly $9,000,000.
Dr. Hoyt next referred to the recent legislation of New York relative to this subject of pauperism. He explained at length the act of the present legislature, prohibiting the commitment of children to poor-houses, and said he believed that it would yield important and valuable results. He also alluded to the recent act providing for a more careful record of inmates of poor-houses and almshouses, and expressed the opinion that it could but prove highly beneficial. If we would reduce pauperism and lessen its social and financial evils, we must carefully study its causes, with a view to the application of proper remedies.

In conclusion, Dr. Hoyt referred to the appointment of visiting committees by the State Board of Charities of New York, and said they had rendered valuable services in their respective localities. He also referred to the work of the State Charities Aid Association of New York City, and stated that the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, a member of the Association, was present, and hoped that he would be called upon to address the Conference.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Dr. Diller Luther, Secretary of the Board of Charities of Pennsylvania, reported for that State. He said Pennsylvania had four State hospitals for the insane, with a capacity of 500 patients each, and a fifth hospital was in contemplation in Philadelphia. Even with these five all full there would still be about 1,100 insane in the county poor-houses, though it was the purpose of the State to provide in time for all its insane.

He referred to the extensive system of private charities established from an early period in Pennsylvania. General hospitals for the sick and disabled, supported by benevolent contributions, have been, and continue to be, extensively useful. Her institutions for the education and care of the blind and of deaf mutes, he dwelt upon as being entitled to special commendation for the success with which they have been conducted. Under the system of training pursued, the inmates are rendered capable of acquiring knowledge and become partially self-supporting.

The school for feeble-minded and idiotic children he thought an instance of the remarkable improvement which may be effected under a proper system of care and management of that defective class. Private asylums for the insane were established and managed with great success from an early period. But until Miss Dix called attention to the neglected condition of the numerous indigent insane
CONFERENCE OF BOARDS OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

in our county almshouses in 1845, the State had made no provision whatever for that unfortunate class. Immediately after the subject was presented to the Legislature an appropriation was made to erect a State hospital. This has been followed by two others and the passage of a bill to erect a fourth. Under the influence of the Board of Public Charities the public attention has been fully awakened to the subject, so that the State authorities are willing to provide to the most munificent extent for the cure and treatment of all the indigent insane in the State.

Penal and reformatory institutions were next referred to—the separate system pursued in the State Prisons, and also in some of the county prisons. Reformatory influences and measures existed to a greater or less extent in all of this class, and, where faithfully pursued, with decided success. In other jails, which were not adapted to this system, and used merely as temporary places of confinement, no discipline whatever was exercised.

He said there was a growing sentiment in favor of district jails or houses of correction. The abuses in the county jails are very great, persons being compelled to lie in prison for many months at a time simply because there is no one to see that they get a speedy trial. The State Board of Charities is trying to induce the State to establish industrial schools for destitute children; and that will probably be done.

He alluded to the noble provision for the care and education of soldiers' orphans. Last winter a law was framed for the education and care of destitute and friendless children, but in consequence of the want of time it failed to become a law. It is confidently expected that the measure will be made part of our great public school system at an early period. These children are largely cared for at present in private schools, supported by private contributions and aided by the State.

WISCONSIN.

H. H. Giles, chairman of the Wisconsin Board reported for that State. Wisconsin, he said, has two insane hospitals. The one at Madison contains about 350 patients. The Northern Hospital, at Oshkosh, contains 250 patients, and the enlargement to be completed this summer will afford accommodations for 250 more. There are in the jails and poor-houses of the State about 300 insane persons. Our Board has advised the removal of our State Prison from its present location at Waupun, and the use of the prison
buildings for an asylum for the incurable insane. Our State is making provision for its insane, as well as for all other dependent classes, as fast as practicable. Our institutions are "models" and possess all the improvements that the experience of other States, as well as our own, show to be profitable and advantageous. Our State Prison is now placed under a board of directors appointed by the Governor and Senate. Formerly it was managed solely by a commissioner elected by the people. It is an expensive institution to the State, and we have recommended its removal to some commercial centre where the labor of the convicts can be utilized in some profitable employment. The small number of convicts (240) speaks well, we think, for the people of our State and affords no argument in favor of hanging for murder.

Our institution for the blind, located at Janesville, was burned over a year ago and is now being rebuilt. The school contains sixty pupils, and all the blind children in the State, between the minimum and maximum ages, are being educated. We have an institution for the education of the deaf and dumb located at Delevan. It contains 140 pupils, who are educated in the branches usually taught in common schools as well as in some industrial occupation.

Our industrial school for boys, located at Waukesha, contains 320 boys, of ages between eight and sixteen years. This is one of the best institutions in Wisconsin, since to prevent crime is easier than to cure the criminal. The family plan has been adopted, each family being made up of about thirty boys. This school is now in its sixteenth year, and but one boy out of some 900 has been known to have committed crime that deserved imprisonment or punishment. A large number of those that have left the institution are out on ticket-of-leave. The managers find homes for the boys as fast as they earn a grade or standing that entitles them to leave the institution. About 1,200 boys have received or are now receiving the benefits of this school. In this connection I remark that our friends in the city of New York have contributed to the population of this school. New York city has sent to the West its street boys who have not proved little angels. I hear of one village where five of these boys were put out (as it was termed), and in two weeks they had all left and some of them brought up in our reform schools. While we cannot resist the bringing among us of these street waifs, we can and do most earnestly protest against it.

About thirty counties of Wisconsin have adopted what we term
the "county system" of supporting the poor. All the paupers (except some temporary cases of relief) are left at one place. In the rest of the State each town supports its own poor.

ILLINOIS.

Rev. F. H. Wines, Secretary of the Illinois board, explained the situation of affairs in that State. Everything there is done on the county system. There is only one class of paupers in the State. Whatever is done by the State is done to aid and supplement the county work. There are very few private charities in the State. Outside of Chicago there are only one or two private charities. The State undertakes to care for the deaf, dumb, blind and insane, the orphans of soldiers, and also maintains in Chicago an eye and ear infirmary. There are in the State about 3,000 insane, though not more than one-half that number is represented by the census returns. These returns are very deficient, and entirely unreliable, and, therefore, no argument of the increase of insanity can be drawn from them. The State has made provision for about 1,500 to 1,800 insane persons, including an asylum now nearly completed, and also including one or two private asylums. In Illinois there has been no attempt to separate the incurable from the curable. The hospitals are entirely free; there is no charge to any individual, on the ground that when a taxpayer pays his tax to maintain the institution he is entitled to the benefits of the institution if the occasion ever arises. This tax is in the nature of an insurance. A good deal of practical difficulty has been found in districting the State. There are three asylums, and to save expense three districts have been established. The State has maintained an idiot school for about ten years, and it has been greatly successful. A wonderful amount of good has been accomplished. The last Legislature made an appropriation of $200,000 to purchase lands, build an asylum, and put the institution upon a permanent basis. The public institutions of the State have been completely divorced from politics, and there has never been any trouble on that account. In Illinois we are working for the abolition of the jail system, believing it to be highly deleterious. The jails are schools of crime; in them every scheme and device of crime are planned. He believed the people of the State were abundantly satisfied with the economy and efficiency with which the institutions of the State are managed.
MASSACHUSETTS.

Dr. Allen, a member of the Massachusetts Board ever since its establishment, spoke briefly of the condition of the public charities of that State, and referred the Conference for further information to the Report of the Board for 1874, which was placed upon the table.

IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK.

Dr. Edward C. Mann, Medical Superintendent of the State Emigrant Insane Asylum, at Ward’s Island, New York City, who represented the State Commissioners of Emigration, in New York, said:

The provision which is made for the reception and care, and for the promotion of the interests of the immigrants from foreign countries, who arrive in the great commercial port of the United States, is a matter of deep interest, not alone to the people of New York city, but to all intelligent persons throughout the country, and especially in this interior portion, to which the largest and the best part of the immigrants come for residence. The constant and untiring efforts which have been made in behalf of immigrants from foreign countries, by the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, ever since their organization, on the eighth of May, 1847, at the Mayor’s office, in the city of New York, are too well known and appreciated to be commented upon by me; while the names of Thurlow Weed, Andrew Carrigan, Archbishop Hughes, Robert B. Minturn, Gulian C. Verplanck and William F. Havemeyer, will ever be held in grateful remembrance for their indefatigable and successful services in the cause of humanity, resulting in the redress of the flagrant abuses to which the emigrants had previously been subjected, and which at that time threatened to seriously retard emigration. A brief description of the reception and care of the emigrants upon their arrival in this country, will not, perhaps, be uninteresting.

When an emigrant steamer arrives at the Quarantine Station, six miles below the city of New York, a Boarding Officer stationed there, visits the vessel, examines into the sanitary condition of vessel and passengers, hears complaints, and ascertains if proper medical care has been taken of the passengers during the voyage. The Landing Agent gives checks for the emigrants’ baggage, which is taken to Castle Garden, and remains there until claimed by the owners, insured against damage or loss. The passengers of these vessels, in most instances, hold prepaid tickets to their various
points of destination in the West, or interior, and are not, as has been thought by many, influenced by the officers of the Commission to go and settle in particular localities or sections of the country; no attempt having ever been made to influence immigration in this manner. When the emigrants are landed at the Castle Garden Pier, they are examined by a medical officer, who sends the sick to the Temporary Hospital, at Castle Garden, or to Ward's Island; and also selects all subject to special bonds under the law, such as blind persons, cripples, lunatics, or any others who are likely to become a future charge. This examination ended, the emigrants are conducted to the rotunda, a large, roofed, circular space in the centre of the depot, with separate compartments for the different nationalities. Here, the names, nationality, former place of residence, and intended destination of the emigrants, with other particulars, are taken down. The interior of Castle Garden is well warmed, lighted and ventilated, and will accommodate about four thousand people. The emigrant finds facilities for supplying every immediate want without leaving the depot. A restaurant furnishes him with plain, well cooked food, at reasonable prices. Exchange brokers are at hand to exchange his gold and silver into United States currency. To guard against the possibility of extortion, the market rates and the daily fluctuations of foreign exchange are marked on boards conspicuously placed, and the broker is required, in every case, to give the emigrant a written memorandum, in his own language, of the transaction. There are also offices at which emigrants can procure tickets, at the established rate, to any part of the United States or Canada, with the privilege of selecting their own route, and without the risk of fraud and extortion, to which they are subjected outside the limits of the depot. In case they wish to depart immediately, their baggage is labelled and checked, and themselves conveyed, without extra charge, to the railroad or steamboat depot. Should they design remaining in the city or the vicinity, an expressman, admitted to the depot, delivers their baggage at any point in New York, Brooklyn or Jersey City, at a moderate rate of charge, approved by the Commissioners. All these departments are conducted by responsible persons, who, though not officers of the Commission, are subject to its control, and required to conform to its regulations. The expressman, for instance, is required to give bonds to insure against loss of baggage. Before the emigrants leave the rotunda, the names are called of those who have letters or friends awaiting them, and who at once receive the former, or
are delivered to the care of the latter. For those who wish to communicate immediately with friends at a distance, there is a telegraph office in the depot, and clerks understanding every continental language, are ready to conduct their correspondence. There is a labor exchange which is free of charge to emigrants and employers. For the former it procures employment in the city or at a distance, while for the latter it supplies all sorts of skilled mechanical and agricultural labor to any part of the United States. A temporary hospital, with a resident physician and nurses always in attendance, receive any one who may be ill on arrival, or suddenly attacked after entering the depot, or who may be brought to it sick from the city, until they can be sent to the establishment on Ward's Island. Every precaution is taken to ensure the comfort and safety of emigrants, so long as they are in charge of the Commissioners, and all officers of the Landing Depot, and all persons admitted to it in an official capacity, are required to treat emigrants with kindness and consideration.

The Commissioners of Emigration own one hundred and twenty acres on Ward's Island, costing $175,000, and have erected at a cost of more than a half a million of dollars, one of the most complete hospital and refuge establishments in the world. In the hospital the pavilion system has generally been followed. It is believed that in their internal arrangements, and in the results obtained, these hospitals will compare favorably with the best in this country or in Europe. The title to the property on Ward's Island is vested in the State, and it has never cost the people a dollar. The land and buildings have all been paid for out of the funds arising from the immigrants' commutation fee. The buildings on the island consist of the Verplanck Hospital, a large, high building, two stories in height, 450 x 130 feet, accommodating 350 patients, and reserved exclusively for non-contagious diseases, and surgical cases. The fever hospitals, near the water, and isolated from the other wards, a dispensary, refuge, barracks; nursery, surgical wards, residences for officers, stables, workshops, and a new and commodious insane asylum situated at the southern end of the island. The buildings and grounds have been long supplied with Croton water, brought by pipes under the water of the Harlem river, and carried up to a large embanked reservoir, which is kept filled. This, besides furnishing, without any labor of attendants or nurses, an ample and constant supply of the best water, affords cheap and abundant ice, equal to the most liberal use of the institutions. There is a good library and reading room,
for the emigrants upon the island, and also a school, which has for many years been established as a grammar school of the city of New York, and which all the children upon the island are required to attend daily. The spiritual welfare of the inmates is carefully provided for by two chaplains, resident on the island, who hold divine service regularly, and minister to the sick and dying.

On December 31st, 1872, there were in the hospitals 645 patients. During 1873 there were admitted 6,851. The total number treated during the year was, including children born alive, 7,852. Of these, 6,828 were discharged and 399 died, leaving on the 31st of December, 1873, 625. On the 31st of December, 1872, the whole number of emigrants on Ward's Island, was 2,134. During the year 1873 there were admitted 10,452, and the number remaining December 31, 1873, was 1,717. Of the entire number admitted during the year, 7,265 were adult males, 3,187 adult females, 1,505 were children between 1 and 12 years old, and 336 were infants.

On the 1st of January, 1874, there were in the hospitals and refuge department 1,717 inmates. There were 4,742 admitted during the year. Number of births, 286. Total number cared for and treated on Ward's Island during 1874, 6,745. Of the total number cared for, 4,645 were treated in the medical department, of whom 3,990 were discharged cured, and 187 died. There were sheltered in the refuge, 1,778 inmates, and there were 322 insane patients cared for in the asylum, of whom there were discharged, recovered and improved, 109. Of the entire number admitted to the institution during the year, 4,055 were adults, 509 were children between 1 and 12 years, and 178 were infants. The total number of alien emigrants who landed at Castle Garden during 1874, was 140,041, which was less than in any preceding year since 1862, and 126,777 less than during the year 1873. The total number of alien emigrants who were relieved and assisted, and provided with employment during the year 1874, was 66,485.

As the subject of insanity, and especially the questions relating to the better provision of the insane poor, are attracting great attention at the present day, a short account of the provision for the care of the insane emigrants, will not perhaps be out of place. The present State Emigrant Lunatic Asylum of New York is one of the most convenient and well situated buildings for the accommodation of the insane that can be found in the State. The location is very pleasant and healthful, and the large and beautiful
yards which were erected during the summer of 1874 by the commissioners, are not to be surpassed. The improved state of health and comfort of the patients incident upon their exposure to the sunlight, and pure air, and the advantages which have been gained by the airing of wards while the patients were enjoying themselves outside, have amply repaid for the expenditure in the erection of the fences, etc., and planting the shade trees. Many of our patients have been employed during the past year in out-door work, grading, etc. This sort of employment which brings patients out into the pure fresh air, should be insisted upon whenever it is practicable, as it is of great value to patients, by promoting assimilation and digestion, and strengthening the muscular system. Light work gives the patient something to think about, and occupies his mind in a healthful manner, while being shut up constantly in-doors, tends to enfeeble the body, the mind also being occupied too often in revolving the delusions which it should be the aim of the physician to banish as far as possible. As it is impossible for all patients to be employed in this manner, it is desirable to find some light employment in-doors. While it is comparatively easy to furnish employment for the women, such as sewing, knitting, making dresses, and washing and ironing, the men are not so favorably situated, since the expense of fitting up workshops and engaging the necessary extra attendants for them is so great, that in most instances it is not considered sufficiently valuable to justify the necessary outlay, and a false economy results in the idleness which is too often fatal to recovery. They may be taught, however, to do light work, such as cane-seating chairs, etc., and in such ways occupy their minds, and afford them some muscular exercise, however slight. The foreign asylums have very wisely systematized manual labor to a much greater extent than is done in this country, and it is to be hoped that we shall, after a while, follow their example. We need better ventilation, more rooms and more sunlight in most of our asylums for the insane poor, and the medical superintendent should in all cases have the entire control, and should then be held strictly responsible for the proper care and administration of his asylum, and for the good moral character of his attendants, both male and female. This is a matter, at the present day, too often beyond the immediate control of the resident physician. Insanity, if promptly cared for and treated, is one of the most curable of serious diseases, but the delay so often made in sending the insane to asylums is often fatal to the prospects of recovery of the unfor-
tunate patient, who is only sent when the disease has become deeply seated, and perhaps has induced organic changes in the brain, rendering the patient a life-long burden to the commonwealth.

It has been estimated that every patient who becomes insane at twenty years of age, if not restored to health, has an average life of 21.31 years, and the loss to the State, incurred by his support, and the loss of his earnings for 39.48 years, which would be his average life if restored to health, amounts to $4,786.37, while if cured in the average time of twenty-six weeks, at a cost of $184, there will be a gain to the family or the State, of $4,652. The foregoing calculation of Dr. Jarvis is an admirable argument for sending insane patients to be treated in the early and curable stage of the disease, and, if acted upon, would reduce by a large percentage the incurable cases now found in such great numbers, and which are such an extensive burden on the community.

In conclusion, I would remark upon the close connection which seemingly exists between Insanity and Consumption. In a number of post-mortem examinations that I have made upon the bodies of patients who have died insane, I have never, in a single instance, met with healthy lung-tissue. The development of tubercles seems, in some instances, to be contemporaneous with the attack of insanity, while in other cases it would seem to be the result of the confinement of the patient in poorly ventilated asylums, and the want of the muscular exercise, fresh air and sunlight which our insane poor are accustomed to when employed in their customary business of life. We should accordingly endeavor to meet these sanitary indications in our asylums, so far as practicable, and in this way we may hope to do much towards the restoration and preservation of physical health, and consequently towards the recovery of our insane poor.

WORK FOR THE INSANE IN VARIOUS STATES.

Henry W. Lord, of the State Board of Michigan, said that the policy of his State had been to reject industrial pursuits from the Insane Asylum at Kalamazoo. Although he regarded this asylum as a model institution, he still believed that industrial pursuits might be made an effective remedy in the restoration of the insane, and the Board has urged that in the new asylum for the insane at Pontiac, provisions be made for industrial pursuits.

Dr. Hoyt, of New York, said that it was certainly desirable to furnish light employment and amusements for the insane, but that
it was impossible to employ them on work requiring close application. He believed that agricultural pursuits were the best for the insane, and he urged the importance of the location of all lunatic asylums on large farms. It had been found in New York that it is highly salutary for the chronic insane to have them employed on the asylum farm. Some patients who have been supposed to be absolutely incurable and intractable have become docile and easily managed by releasing them from their chains, straight-jackets and cells, and taking them into the open air.

Mr. Lord said that out-door work and exercise are most proper during the summer months, but in the winter such employment is impossible, and he believed that light shop work of different kinds might profitably be substituted.

Dr. Luther, of Pennsylvania, described the arrangement of the insane asylums in that State. In some the patients are kept at some light employment with profit. He advocated separate asylums for the insane of each sex, which, among other advantages, reduces personal restraint to a minimum. The barbarous system of mechanical restraints is already abandoned in all the best asylums, but there still remains the restraint upon personal liberty.

Dr. Eddy, of Detroit, spoke of his connection formerly with the asylum at Northampton, Mass. He said Dr. Earle, a man eminent for his successful treatment of the insane, attached great importance to the religious exercises in the asylum on Sundays. They were regarded as a valuable remedial agent.

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**AFTERNOON SESSION.**

**MAY 12, 1875.**

The first important matter in the afternoon session, after disposing of the report of the Committee on Business was the following paper, read by Dr. Nathan Allen, of Lowell, Mass.:

**STATE MEDICINE AND ITS RELATIONS TO INSANITY AND PUBLIC CHARITY.**

Before entering upon the discussion of any question, it is always proper to define the terms used, and state as far as possible, the objects in view. The phrase "State medicine" implies legislation, or provision of some kind made by the State for the prevention of disease, and the cure of the sick. Insanity is the
most serious and complicated of all diseases, and, of sick persons, the insane, above all others, need treatment and cure. By "public charity" is meant help to the poor and needy from some public source; or, in other words, the act of relieving the wants and sufferings of those who cannot help themselves by some public or associated action.

The relations of State medicine, then, to insanity and public charity may be considered from two points of view: First, what has the State done for the insane as a body, without distinction of class or condition; and, Secondly, what provision has the State made particularly for that portion of the insane who have no means of their own, nor friends who can support them?

In pursuing this subject we shall examine into the particular acts of legislation in its applications to both these two classes.

We propose to notice briefly what legislation has taken place on this subject, and what is the present state of the insane in the six

NEW ENGLAND STATES.

There are certain general points of resemblance or correspondence in these respects, in each of the States, and by analyzing and comparing the facts when brought together, it will enable us to see better what are the defects or excellencies in each State. It is by such means and comparisons that the evils or defects in legislation may be better understood, and the inquiry raised, what improvements can be made, and what are the duties of legislative bodies to the public? No surer test of the moral state and progress of a people can be made, than that of investigating what provisions it has made to relieve the wants and sufferings of its needy and defective classes. The instances where individuals give liberally of their substance for this purpose, either by direct contributions or by legacies, afford noble examples of benevolence and philanthropy; but when, by wise and humane legislation, great numbers are relieved in the best possible manner, too, it shows, in the aggregate, a higher state of humanity and morality. The advanced steps, which legislation here and there are taking in hygienic and sanitary measures to promote the health and welfare of people, may be reckoned among the most promising omens of the times.

We propose in this paper, first, to notice the most important points in legislation in its relations to the insane in each of the
States separately, and then follow it by some comparisons and comments. We commence with

MAINE.

The United States census of 1860 made the number of insane persons in Maine 794, and the census of 1870, 792; that is, with a decrease of two persons in these ten years, which must be a mistake. The best judges in the State estimate the whole number to be about 1,200—it may be a little more or a little less. The Insane Hospital at Augusta had in 1874, 406 patients; the remaining insane are found either in the city and town almshouses throughout the State, or in private families. As no reports have been made of their number, condition or character, no definite information can be given. What proportion of these are paupers, or how many of them are supported in private families, we have no means of knowing. The Overseers of the Poor in this State make no returns as they do in some other States.

The hospital at Augusta, built in 1840, is the only asylum in the State, and accommodates about one-third of the insane in the State. But steps have been taken by the Legislature to build another; it is in the hands of a commission to select a location. The average number in the present hospital for several years has been about 400. It is strictly a State institution—built by the State—its trustees appointed by the Governor and Council, and also a Board of Visitors, consisting of three persons, whose duty it is to visit the hospital every week, and report upon the same. The State expends about $35,000 annually for the support of patients in this hospital, as follows: The general price of board is fixed at $4 per week, though more than that is paid in some particular cases. The State supports wholly about fifty patients, and then pays $1.50 per week for 290 more, having a settlement in some city or town which pays the balance. About sixty patients are supported from private resources. The hospital has been very much crowded for years, so much so that the Legislature two years ago ordered some forty or fifty of the lowest class to be discharged, but it was hard to get rid of them, having no suitable place to which they could be removed. The superintendent estimates that nine-tenths of the patients belong to the incurable class. The manner of committing persons to the hospital is as follows: Complaint must be made first to municipal officers of cities or towns, who constitute a board of examiners, calling before them such testimony, from friends and acquaintances, as to satisfy them.
that the person is insane. In addition, they must obtain the certificate of two respectable physicians, certifying the same. Cases connected with crime are committed by the Courts.

INSANE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The United States census of 1860, returned the number of insane at 503, and the census of 1870 at 548, making an increase in these ten years of forty-five. There never has been any exact enumeration of the insane in this State. The superintendent of the hospital at Concord estimates the number at 700, while others would make it considerably larger. About 370 of these are in the asylum at Concord; 150 are in the county almshouses; nearly 100 are in the town almshouses, and the balance, whatever it may be, are supported in private families. In 1872 a commission was appointed by the Legislature "to inquire into the condition of insane paupers throughout the State;" but so small was the appropriation made for the purpose that only about one-half the State was canvassed. No returns are made by the Overseers of the Poor, and nothing is known of the number or condition of the insane supported in private families.

The asylum at Concord is the only institution in the State intended for the insane. There are ten county almshouses, several of them large, in which are gathered quite a number of insane persons, in two or three, from thirty to forty each, and connected with some of these almshouses is a separate building expressly for the insane. The asylum at Concord, established in 1842, was built by the State, its trustees appointed by the Governor and Council, consisting of twelve persons, and then a Board of Visitors of eight, with the Governor at the head, making in all twenty. It is made the duty of one or more, from these Boards to visit the asylum twice a month. The State appropriates annually $6,000 for the support of patients in this hospital. While it is strictly a State institution, it is managed very much as a private one, as though there were no paupers confined or supported in it. Most fortunately it has received large legacies—amounting in all to $250,000, the income of which goes toward supporting the insane poor. The price of board is fixed at $5 per week. About fifty patients are supported by the State alone; nearly 200 by the State and towns in common, and 130 by friends, or from their own means. The income from private funds is applied from year to year to helping just such indigent patients as the superintendent
and trustees think need it most. In this way many indigent insane are kept there as private patients, that could not be, were it not for this fund. No distinction in price or classification on the ground of support is made, and the term "pauper" is comparatively unknown in the institution. This feature in the management of the New Hampshire Asylum is worthy of high commendation.

The county almshouses are placed under the care of County Commissioners, where about 140 insane persons are supported by counties and towns at a moderate expense. In some of these almshouses it is represented that the insane are not properly cared for—have no hospital treatment when they might be cured by being sent to the asylum. As to the actual condition of the insane in town almshouses, or in private families, nothing definite is known.

The law, in the committal of persons to the asylum, provides that it may be done by the judge of any Court, by Overseers of the Poor, by County Commissioners, by legal guardian and friends. But no person can be committed without a personal examination by two reputable physicians, whose character and genuineness of the certificate must be certified to by the Mayor of the city or Chairman of the Board of Selectmen where the person resides. An important law passed the Legislature in 1874, requiring visitation of some one or more of the trustees at the hospital every other week, to hear complaints and report them to the whole Board in case of any difficulty. Stationery is often furnished to inmates, who can send letters to any member of this Board, and such letters to friends are transmitted at once under seal. In case of deaths out of the ordinary course, a coroner's jury is called, the same as outside of the institution. The legislation of New Hampshire in behalf of the insane, has been conducted with the greatest economy.

INSANE IN VERMONT.

The census of 1860 returns the number 693, that of 1870 as 721, making an increase in ten years of 28. No attempts have ever been made to ascertain the exact number of the insane in Vermont. In the census of 1870, it is thought the whole number of the inmates of the asylum at Brattleboro' were counted, which should not have been, as about 200 of these at that time belonged to other States. No returns of the Overseers of the Poor are made, so that the number of the insane in almshouses cannot be ascertained, neither can we learn anything as to the number or condition
of the private insane in the State. There must be a large number of this class scattered throughout the State, in all probability a larger number than what the census gives, judging by its returns in other States. Then, if the census of 1870 included all the inmates of the asylum at Brattleboro' belonging to Vermont, we could not estimate the whole number in the State much above 721; perhaps, if we should estimate it at 800, it would not be out of the way.

The asylum at Brattleboro', established in 1836, is the only institution for the insane in the State. This was started by a legacy of $10,000, to which the State added appropriations from time to time. It was formerly supposed to be strictly a State institution, but on a careful examination, a few years since, it was found to be incorporated as a private concern; that it was placed entirely in the hands of a trustee board, self-perpetuating. Its charter provided for a board of visitors in the judges of the Court of Chancery, but it seems practically to have been a superfluous office. The Legislature in 1845 provided for a Commissioner of Lunacy, with certain powers of visitation and report, with very small compensation for services. As the appointment was only for two years at a time, and chosen by the Legislature, it has often been changed, so that little of value or importance could be accomplished by the office. The number in this asylum for years, has averaged about 475, one-half of which are private patients; one-third are town, and one-sixth are State. The price of board for private patients varies, but for State it is fixed at $3 per week, which is considerably below the cost. The State for several years has appropriated $5,000 for this purpose. It is understood that towns pay about the same as the State.

A bill has been before the Legislature for years, for the erection of a State Lunatic Hospital, and for making other changes in the laws relating to the insane. As the State has no asylum or hospital of its own, to accommodate the insane, it is presumed the matter will be pushed until it has one. The asylum at Brattleboro', starting as a family, in which the influences and relations of home-life have always been systematically cultivated,—situated in a rural district, with ample grounds for exercise and cultivation—has had a prosperous career. Though it has been sustained in a great measure by private resources, it has apparently answered the wants of the State. The manner of committing insane persons to a hospital in Vermont, is peculiar. As this asylum is located in the County of Windsor, the law provides that the Court of
Chancery appoint a medical examiner in this county, before whom all persons supposed to be insane are brought and examined, and whose certificate alone entitles to admission into this asylum. We cannot find that there is any different law of committal applicable to other parts of the State. At the last session of the Legislature there were six or seven acts proposed and discussed, intended for the relief of the insane, but they were all voted down except one, providing for discharges of patients of doubtful cases, referring them to the family physician and the Commissioner of Lunacy. In one respect Vermont differs from other New England States—it has much less of a foreign element in its population, only a small representation of Canadian French.

INSANE IN CONNECTICUT.

The United States census of 1860 reported the number of the insane in Connecticut 281, and the census of 1870, 772. The population had increased a little over 75,000 within this period, adding one-sixth to its numbers, but the census of the insane is reported almost three times larger for 1870 than for 1860. This was evidently a great mistake. Even the census of 1870 makes it altogether too small. In 1868 a committee was appointed by the Legislature to canvass the State carefully, as to the number of the insane, with reference to building a State hospital, and the actual number found by them was 1,066, while the census two years afterwards returns the number 294 less. With an increase of population from 1868 to 1875, of over 50,000, undoubtedly the number of the insane must have increased from 1,066 in 1868, to the present time to over 1,200, certainly, and probably to over 1,300 in 1875. The State Hospital at Middletown has some 400 patients, and the Retreat at Hartford has about 150, making only 550 under treatment in hospitals. These two institutions constitute the only establishments in the State for the insane. If we allow 100 more for the changes in these hospitals, it will then leave one-half of the insane in the State to be cared for outside. These must be in almshouses or provided for in private families, and no report can be given of them. The Retreat for the Insane at Hartford was started in 1824, and is strictly a private institution, though answering, in some respects, the wants of the State till some eight years since. Its last report bears the imprint of its fiftieth annual report, and, though it retains now only some 150 patients, it had almost double that number for some years before the general State Hospital was built at Middletown. The Retreat has been con-
considered one of the best managed institutions of the kind in the country. The State has never had directly any control over the institution, though for many years it sent and supported patients in it. The price of board, or expenses in the Retreat, depend on the accommodations and character of the patient.

In 1866 and 1867, the State built a large hospital at Middleton, for the insane, and it is managed strictly as a State institution. It has some 400 patients, a large number of whom are supported at public expense. The price of board is fixed at $5 per week. The State bears the entire expense of a small number, and pays one-half the expense of over one hundred, the other half being paid by towns; and then the State pays half the expense of over one hundred more, who are considered private patients, and the other half is paid by friends. The number supported entirely by their own resources, or by that of their friends, is not very large. In the last report of this hospital, the manner of support is thus given: Forty-one patients pay their own expenses; seven were supported by the State; one hundred and two, equally between the State and friends; and one hundred and three, equally between the State and towns. This speaks well for the liberality of the State in encouraging towns and the friends of the insane to send all such cases at once to the hospital. Committals are made by friends, by judges of the Courts, and the order of the Governor. But in all cases the Court appoints some "regular and respectable physician" in the place or region where the insane person resides, who shall fully investigate the facts of the case, and render a report to the judge of the Court.

In the last report of the State Hospital, the Superintendent says: that of the 395 patients remaining, only thirty-five could properly be considered curable. This statement presents rather a discouraging view of the character of the patients here. An interesting experiment of the cottage system is being tried, connected with this hospital. Two small cottages are occupied by some thirty chronic insane, making up two families, and, in a great measure, taking care of themselves. The superintendent remarks, that the "very success with our imperfect two little cottages, makes us long for the day when we may have more such structures adapted to the wants of such patients."

**RHODE ISLAND.**

The census of 1860 returned 288 insane, and the census of 1870, 312—an increase of only 24 persons, with an increase of almost
45,000 inhabitants in those ten years. If we should add to the number of insane returned by the census, in the same proportion as in other States, it would make the whole number in the State nearly 500 persons. The Butler Hospital has at the present time about 130 inmates, and the Asylum for the Chronic Insane has 160, making 290 persons. There must be in the Providence, and town almshouses about 100 insane, and probably as many more in the State are supported in private families.

The Butler Hospital, started in 1849, is strictly a private institution, and has received large donations from individuals. It has permanent funds amounting to one hundred thousand dollars. The lowest price of board is fixed at $7 per week, but most of the patients pay a larger sum. It has always been considered one of the best managed lunatic hospitals in the United States, and for more than twenty years was superintended by Dr. Isaac Ray, celebrated for his writings on insanity, both at home and abroad. This hospital, up to 1870, was the only institution in the State provided for the insane. In 1868-9, it became very crowded, and for many years complaints had been made respecting the treatment of the insane in the town almshouses in the State.

A movement was made to enlarge the accommodations for this class, and it was decided to establish an asylum for the chronic insane—that it should be located in a rural district, with a large portion of land attached. Some four hundred acres of good land were purchased in Cranston, upon which also it was decided to locate several other State institutions. But this asylum for the insane is entirely distinct by itself, and has been in successful operation now five years. It has 160 inmates, pronounced, when coming there, incurable, though quite a number have entirely recovered. Without going into details, we think we may safely say it provides the best arrangement for the chronic insane in the country. Sixty of the patients are wholly supported by the State, some more than that number by the towns, and the rest privately. About three-fourths pay two dollars per week, some twenty pay three dollars, and a few pay four dollars. The buildings are one story, light, roomy, and airy, with plenty of land for cultivation. In the opinion of the best judges, the inmates here are most comfortably provided for—much more so than they were before coming to this asylum. It accommodates not only the State, but towns and individuals, making annually a saving to the State alone of over $12,000.

The law for committing persons as insane to the hospital, is
very similar in Rhode Island to that in other States. As there has been only one institution, and the State itself is quite small, persons moving in such a matter become more easily known to the public, so that there is much less danger of abuse.

INSANE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The census of 1860 returned the number of the insane, 2,246, and that of 1870, 2,662. But the census report comes very far short of the real number. The only thorough canvass ever made in this State, was in 1854, by a commission, which found 2,632; that was 952 more than the census of 1850. It will be seen by this, that the actual number found in 1854, was only thirty less than the census return of 1870, notwithstanding the population had increased almost half a million.

In 1874, the Board of State Charities, from a careful examination of the whole number of insane in all the institutions and almshouses in the State, made the total 3,624. If to this is added the number supported in private families, the whole number of the insane in the State cannot vary much from 4,000. In October, 1874, they were distributed as follows: In the four State institutions, Worcester Hospital, 485; Taunton, 508; Northampton, 475; Tewksbury Asylum, 319; at South Boston, 206; Ipswich, 61; Somerville, 150; and some fifty in smaller institutions. The Overseers of the Poor return about 500 in the city and town almshouses scattered through the State, and nearly 150 more partially supported outside. This makes only about 3,000 in the institutions and almshouses. The State supports some 500 in the hospitals at an expense of $3.50 per week, and over 300 at the asylum in Tewksbury for the chronic insane, at $2 per week, making the State expenditure for the year $125,000. The cities and towns support, at the same rate, in these hospitals, some 650, paying annually about $125,000. Then these municipalities support some 500 in almshouses, at a rate, from $2 to $3 per week, amounting to about $50,000 annually. Then there are two county hospitals, one in Suffolk County, at South Boston, (206), and one in Essex County, at Ipswich, (60), making an annual expense of $70,000. We have then 2,000 insane persons supported by the State, counties, cities, and towns, at an annual expense of nearly $400,000.

The remaining insane are scattered in hospitals and families. In the three State Hospitals there are over three hundred patients supported by private means, at an expense of from $5 per week
upward. The McLean Asylum, at Somerville, near Boston, established in 1817, strictly a private institution, has on an average, about 150 patients, supported at an expense of $15 per week and upward. There are four other small private asylums or family institutions for nervous diseases and the chronic insane, where the expense varies from $10 per week upward. There are a large number of insane persons supported by private means, in families throughout the State, but as to their exact number, or real condition, we have no means of knowing. The only thorough enumeration of the insane ever made in the State was in 1854, by a commission, of which Dr. Edward Jarvis was at the head. In this return were found 716 insane persons at their homes, cared for by their friends; and this enumeration took place more than twenty years ago, since which the population has increased near half a million. From careful inquiries made respecting the insanity of each person, it was reported at the time that just about one-half this number were fit subjects, and should have been in hospitals. But of 320 towns in the Commonwealth, insane persons were found in all but nineteen, which were small, and situated mostly in the outskirts of the State. This enumeration of the insane in Massachusetts, in 1854, is deserving of special notice, as it is the only instance in the United States, we believe, where a complete and thorough canvass has ever been made as to the exact number of the insane. It has been found that the census in this respect is not at all reliable—that if other statistics are returned correct, those of the insane are not, and other means must be resorted to for this knowledge. One of the most important steps taken in legislation in this State, is the provision made for the support of the chronic insane by themselves. This experiment commenced in 1866, by erecting a large building connected with the State Almshouse at Tewksbury, in which three hundred chronic insane—all paupers—have been supported at an expense of about $2 per week, saving thereby over $25,000 annually to the State. The object of establishing this asylum was to relieve the hospitals of their crowded state, but they are still very crowded. The State is building at present another large lunatic hospital at Danvers, at an expense of over a million of dollars. In 1874 the Legislature provided for the appointment of Commissioners of Lunacy, whose services were to terminate after making a report, which was done in January, 1875. In the matter of committing persons in Massachusetts to hospitals the law provides that it can be done by friends, by officers of cities and towns, and by the judges of
Courts. But in all cases a certificate, certifying to the insanity of the person must first be obtained, signed by two physicians, one of whom should be the family physician. Complaints have been made for years that it was altogether too easy to commit and confine persons for insanity, and that greater checks and safeguards should be provided.

Having now presented an outline of the provisions made by legislation for the insane in the New England States, we have an opportunity for making comparisons and comments, for in this way instructive lessons may be learned. As these States are among the oldest in the Union, and have generally taken the lead in providing for the dependent and destitute classes, it is presumed we can find some advantages to recommend, and perhaps some evils to expose and condemn.

The first inquiry will be in reference to the

INCREASE OF INSANITY.

Is insanity increasing faster than population? On this question there have been differences of opinion among what would be considered good judges. During the past year I had a careful investigation made of the increase of population and of insanity by the census reports, and found that from 1850 to 1870, there had been a decided increase of insanity in Massachusetts, over that of population, amounting to 12 per cent. in these twenty years. By the same investigations, it appeared that there had been also an increase of the insane disproportionate to that of population in the other New England States. Various other means were resorted to, but all confirmed the results obtained by the census. What may be the real cause of this increase, and from what classes in the community it comes, are questions we cannot easily determine. In Massachusetts there is some evidence to show that this increased insanity comes mostly from the foreign element, but it is not so in some of the other States. One thing is evident, that lunatic hospitals do not prevent the increase of insanity—that is, so far as we can judge. It was thought in Great Britain, when hospitals for the insane were first established, they would put some check upon the increase of insanity; but, after thirty or forty years' experience, that expectation has not been realized. A similar result has been reached in this country.

It is generally conceded, that the higher or more advanced civilization becomes, the greater is the amount of insanity. Now,
this cannot be the fruit or result of true civilization, but comes from something wrong—some artificial habits, some unnatural, unwholesome way of living, some false and corrupt state of things in society. This undue increase of insanity may arise, in part, from too great pressure upon the brain, and strain on the nervous system, by education, by excitement, by strife and competition in business, etc., and with some, by what may very properly be styled "too fast living." When it is borne in mind that these and other evils are not unfrequently propagated by the laws of inheritance, in an aggravated and intensified form, we see readily how, as people grow older, from one generation to another, there follows increased insanity. It would be an interesting experiment to make, if we could get the statistics for a series of years, on population and insanity, in several of the old and the new States, and see how they would compare. Connected with this increase of insanity, may there not be a new feature or change in the

TYPE OF THE DISEASE

taking place, which calls for particular notice. The trustees of the Butler Hospital, not medical men, but discriminating business men, some of whom have long been connected with the institution, make, in their report for last year, this striking remark. In noticing a decline in the proportion of recovered patients, they say: "It would seem as if the larger appliances and more diversified ministries which have been from year to year brought into requisition, have not kept pace with the growing difficulties of treatment, as if the malady was finding a deeper seat—arising apparently in a large proportion of cases from original defect of organization, and less frequently from mere accidental causes. If this be so—if the statistics presented by the records of the institution be sufficiently extended to afford a reliable indication—the patriot, as well as the philanthropist, is interested in ascertaining to what causes, at work in our community, the deterioration of brain is attributable."

There is much truth, we have no doubt, in the statement here made by these trustees. Such is the type of our present civilization, that, while it is attended with great advantages, it begets many evils. Some of these evils grow out of an undue development of the brain, and a morbid state of the nervous system. It surely becomes the patriot and the philanthropist to inquire if some of these evils cannot be avoided, or at least abridged.
One of the most interesting and important features in State medicine, is its

CHARITABLE WORK.

In providing for the insane, the State, as a general thing, builds the hospital. Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, have each one hospital for this purpose, and Massachusetts has four. In Rhode Island the Butler Hospital and in Vermont the Brattleboro’ Asylum, both private institutions, answer very much the purpose of State hospitals.

In each of the New England States there are indigent insane, having no means, nor friends to support them, and no claim on any city or town by the laws of settlement. These are adopted and supported by the State, generally in some lunatic hospital. But the charity of the State does not stop here always. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island pay from one-third to one-half the expense of that class of the insane, belonging to cities and towns, provided they are sent to a hospital for treatment. Nothing is paid by the State for those in local almshouses, and the object of paying part of the expense of city or town paupers is to induce their authorities to avail themselves of all possible means for the cure and improvement of this class.

The State of Connecticut, finding some years since a large number of insane persons, with small or limited means, and friends unable to support them, who on this account could not get the proper benefit of the hospital, and would not become paupers, offered to pay one-half the expenses of such persons provided they were sent to the hospital. Accordingly, for several years, more than one hundred private patients of this class have been found in the State hospital at Middletown. This is, we believe, the only instance where a State has proffered such aid, and it sets a noble example. In the asylum at Concord, New Hampshire, may be found a grand example of private beneficence. This asylum has most fortunately some $250,000 in funds, received by legacy and donation. A large proportion of the income goes to support, in the institution, indigent persons who may also be assisted by friends. Over one hundred private patients are thus yearly aided by this charity. Insane persons are kept here by this means, who would not be otherwise. It relieves the State and encourages private benevolence. The friends will continue to do for them and take far more interest, so long as they are not paupers. So quietly
is this private charity distributed, that it is hardly known who are
its recipients.

In Massachusetts, the lines of support are very closely drawn;
the State supports its own; so do cities and towns their own;
and those who are private must receive private support, whether
in a State hospital or private asylum. The State appropriates
money liberally for the insane, but does only what it is obliged
to do. It supports in the lunatic hospitals about 500, and 300 in
the asylum for the chronic insane, the whole at an annual expense
of some $125,000. Cities and towns support in the hospitals
about 600, and there are some 300 private patients in these institu­
tions. Now, it has been an obvious fact, that the proportion of
pauper insane has been relatively increasing for many years in
Massachusetts; that many, starting as private cases, soon become
paupers, and, of course, must be supported at public expense.
There can be no question but that the longer an insane person can
be kept as a private patient, the longer friends will look after and
do for such a person, the better spirits and more hope the insane
themselves will have of recovery. Then, if we extend help properly
to the indigent private insane who need and are outside of a hospital,
it might induce such to seek the benefits of the hospital, and
prevent large numbers from becoming paupers. In this way a
great amount of good might be accomplished.

CHRONIC INSANE.

The question is now asked in all the older States, what are we to
do with the chronic insane, and how are they to be supported?
Unless there are some means besides death, of eliminating and
removing the incurable and the harmless insane from our lunatic
hospitals, these institutions become filled up with a class of patients,
very few of whom can ever be benefited by curative treatment.
This is becoming already a serious evil in several of our older and
larger institutions. These hospitals, in their construction and
management, were intended expressly for the cure and treatment
of the insane, and, accordingly, have been provided with the best
possible means—medical, physical and moral. Such means and
appliances require a large outlay in their start, and then, in keeping
them up, become very expensive. After the insane have passed
through the curative stages of treatment, without relief, and settled
down into an incurable, harmless state, what is to become of them?
In their case, the same medical skill, the large number of attend­
ants and costly accommodations are no longer needed. It is
not a hospital but a home they want, suitable exercise, plenty of sunlight, pure air and water, proper nourishment, pleasant surroundings, etc. These can be furnished at much less expense than by large, costly hospitals, with expensive medical supervision and other attendance, under circumstances, too, where the advantages of hygiene and sanitary laws may be employed more successfully. Aside from comfortable house accommodation, all that can be done for this class is to supply properly their physical wants, and surround them with wholesome influences. As far as the men are concerned, farm work is the best possible exercise for them, as well as plain, country style of living the best regimen. In former years the almshouse has been the principal receptacle of the chronic insane discharged from the hospital. But Massachusetts and Rhode Island have now permanent asylums for the chronic insane, which, in some respects, are the only institutions of the kind in the country. We should except the Willard Asylum, New York. The Asylum in Massachusetts was established near eight years ago, by reason of the crowded state of the hospitals, and partly from the fact that the State almshouses at the time contained large numbers of this class, mixed up promiscuously with other paupers. This asylum is located at Tewksbury, on a large farm owned by the State, consisting of a brick building 250 feet long, forty-five wide and four stories high, accommodating 300 insane persons. Though located near the almshouse, the asylum, with its inmates and yards, are entirely distinct. Within the eight years of its history, more than a thousand chronic insane have been admitted into this asylum, mostly coming from the State hospitals. Nearly one hundred of these have recovered or improved, not from medication, but from work on the farm. In the opinion of good judges, the condition of the inmates here has been made as comfortable as it was before their admission, and the experiment, as a whole, has been regarded as a decided success. The expense has averaged for each inmate a little over one hundred dollars a year, and the whole saving to the State amounts to $25,000 each year, making over $200,000 since the asylum was first established.

The asylum for the chronic insane in Rhode Island, being only about one-half as large, saves the State annually more than $12,000. This is located upon the State farm at Cranston, near the State almshouse and workhouse, but is entirely separate in all its arrangements. The buildings are only one story, well lighted and well ventilated, with large yards and plenty of ground for cultivation. While a few of the inmates come from the Butler
Hospital, a large proportion come from the various almshouses in the State, the expense being borne in common between the towns and the State.

The history of this asylum for the chronic insane in Rhode Island, deserves special notice. It has always been admitted, that the Butler Hospital is one of the best managed institutions in the country, with very few changes in its superintendency or Board of Trustees. Dr. Isaac Ray, the most distinguished writer on insanity in the United States, presided over this hospital about twenty years, and in his annual report for 1866, presented the most elaborate argument that can be found against the separation of the acute and chronic insane, maintaining, that for the interests of each, they should always be kept in the same institution. Within one year from that date, the friends of the insane were conferring together in Rhode Island with reference to establishing an asylum for the harmless and incurable of this class; and in 1869 such an institution was established, with one hundred patients. Its sixth report is just published, showing 170 patients, a larger number than is now found in the Butler Hospital itself. Dr. Sawyer, the successor of Dr. Ray, acknowledges that this asylum is an excellent institution, and is a decided relief to the hospital. The Trustees declare, that, by the removal of chronic cases, "its result is to enlarge the capacity of the hospital for the treatment of recent cases of insanity, and thereby to increase its beneficial agency as a curative institution." There is only one opinion among the friends of the insane in the State who have looked at the subject, that it presents a great improvement over the old order of things; and from a careful personal inspection, I can say, that it is, of the kind, a model institution, and worthy of imitation in every other State.

COMMITTAL OF THE INSANE.

The manner or provisions of committing persons to a lunatic hospital, are very important, as far as the law is concerned. In the several New England States there are some general resemblances, but in no two States is the process exactly alike. In the State of Maine, city and town officers take the lead in obtaining evidence, and the certificate of insanity must be signed by "two reputable physicians." In New Hampshire the judges of Courts, Overseers of the Poor, County Commissioners, guardians, etc., lead; the certificate must be signed by two reputable physicians, whose character and genuineness of certificate must be sworn to, before
municipal or town officers. In Vermont the judge of one of the Courts appoints a physician in Windsor county, who shall be the examiner of all cases committed to the Brattleboro’ Asylum. In Connecticut the Court appoints a reputable physician in the place or region where the supposed insane person resides, who shall make inquiries and personal examination as to his insanity, and make his report to the Court. In Massachusetts the certificate must be signed by two physicians, after personal examination, and one of whom should be the family physician of the insane, whereas, in many, if not a majority of cases, the individual has no family physician. As the medical evidence is the more important, this should be most carefully guarded. While in a majority of cases, the provisions in any one of these States may be sufficient, still there may be danger at times that now and then one might be unjustly and wrongfully committed as an insane person. It may be said, if there should be a mistake made, it would be soon detected in the hospital, and the supposed insane person would be forthwith discharged, but this is not so; it is not always an easy thing to correct such mistakes. Besides, immense injury may be done before the evil is corrected. Inasmuch as great responsibility must rest upon the medical testimony, special pains should be taken to secure the best and most reliable men. If men were appointed for this purpose, and are known to be responsible to the public for the results of their examinations, they will naturally feel this responsibility, and be more careful than if the parties are picked up here and there. It is not mere skill or experience in mental diseases that is wanted, but integrity and honesty of character that has been tried and is unquestioned. There is a chance, we think, for improved legislation in each of these States, which would throw greater safeguards around the committal of all persons who are charged with insanity.

COMMISSION OF LUNACY.

While legislation has labored, in a variety of ways, to promote the interests of the insane, there is one feature which has been greatly neglected. We refer to a more careful supervision of institutions, to a more special study into the causes of insanity, with reference to securing not only the best mode of treatment, but to see if some means cannot be employed for checking or preventing the disease. This can be accomplished only by legislation, in establishing a commission or appointing one or more persons adapted to the work, and who shall make a business of it
for a series of years. This work cannot well be carried on in small States, or at least cannot be so systematically and thoroughly prosecuted as in large States where the material is sufficient to occupy all the time of a commission. Still, in Vermont a good work has been accomplished. In 1845, just thirty years ago, the Legislature established a permanent commission of insanity, "whose duty it was to visit the asylum monthly or oftener, with the trustees or alone, to examine into the condition of the institution, the management of the patients, and the general welfare of the asylum, and to make a report thereon annually to the Legislature. This officer is chosen once in two years by the Legislature, and receives small compensation.

Says Dr. Draper, the present Superintendent of the Brattleboro’ asylum: “The Commissioner thus occupies the position of guardian to insane wards of the State, and visiting agent of the public. I think the office has been useful, and is eminently a proper one. If, in addition to the duties required, in relation to the insane in this institution, it was also made obligatory upon him to visit all the insane in the State, in the town almshouses, and report upon their condition, the public interests would be still better served.” But as this officer was often changed, and was paid only $300 a year, not much certainly could be accomplished. Several of the other New England States have at various times appointed a Commission on Lunacy, but only temporarily, for specific purposes, with no power but advisory, and to make a report, which terminated its agency. What is wanted is a permanent living commission like the English or Scotch, with all necessary powers, and the assurance of continuance. Nobody can realize the value and importance of the labors of such a commission, but one who has witnessed its beneficial effects in Great Britain, and from personal knowledge of our own institutions, can see what advantages might be obtained here by means of a similar agency.

Dr. Merrick Bemus, who was superintendent for fifteen years of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, and who has visited similar institutions in Scotland and England, made last year the following statement in reply to the inquiry: “What improvements have been made in the lunatic asylums in Great Britain, and what relation does the Lunacy Commission hold to these institutions?” Says Dr. Bemus:

“The improvements are many. They have supplemented and modified their system to such an extent, that, while it bears some resemblance to the past, the present is studded all over with new features. The improve-
ments for ventilation, cleanliness, classification, for freedom, both outside and inside, are most noteworthy. Their advances, in the direction of labor among the patients, in the immunity from physical restraint and seclusion, in the granting of innocent indulgence to trustworthy patients, are far beyond what is now practiced in any American hospital.

"The Lunacy Commission has done much, and its continued operation is of incalculable benefit, not only to the insane, but also to the officers of the institutions. They have improved the condition of the insane in many ways, and have rendered a residence in a lunatic asylum less irksome and hopeless to those who are obliged to submit to the restraint and treatment in a public institution. They have removed the hard and forbidding, cruel fixtures for restraint and seclusion. They have well nigh emancipated the insane from the use of mechanical restraint; have quite abolished every kind of punishment and task; have raised and improved the quality of food and clothing. They have opened the apartments of the furious and filthy to the sun and air, and opened the doors, that all may enjoy, in some degree, the freedom of the several establishments. More than this, they constantly act as guardians for the insane, and they strongly support and strengthen those who conduct faithfully the affairs of the asylums. They have a systematic correspondence with every institution, and by reports of officers of each, they know, not so much the economies of each, but what is better, they have an understanding of the commitments to such an extent that they can easily tell the justice and propriety of any questionable case. They are made to know of all cases of restraint and seclusion, and they interest themselves in every case of hardship, and thus lighten the burdens of the insane, without in any way increasing the cares of the officers.

"From their frequent inspection of the several institutions, and from the mass of facts gathered by their correspondence, they publish every year a valuable report of their labors, with plans, suggestions and histories of cases of hardship, abuse and suffering."

When the great advantages as here described arising from Lunacy Commissioners are considered it would not seem possible that the superintendent of any hospital would oppose the appointment of such a commission. The insane would not be the only parties benefited, but the hands of the trustees and superintendents would be held up; much of the prejudice existing against such institutions and their managers would thus be done away; less complaints would be heard from the insane and their friends, and more confidence would be placed in those institutions, so that acute cases of insanity would be more promptly placed there for treatment. The great numbers now scattered in almshouses and private families would be looked up and better cared for, and the institutions themselves would be more sure to reap the benefits of all improvements made at home or abroad for the care and treatment of the insane.
PREVENTION OF INSANITY.

There is one other advantage, or advanced step forward, to secure which something certainly should be done. We refer to some systematic measures for the prevention of the disease. In all the vast outlay and immense amount of labor expended in behalf of the insane, scarce any efforts have ever directly been put forth for the prevention of the malady. In the practice of medicine, the question is now constantly raised, how to prevent as well as cure disease; and in consequence of the great improvement in society in respect to a knowledge of hygiene and sanitary laws, many diseases are prevented—in fact, it is admitted that full one-third of all the diseases and premature deaths can thus be prevented. But the community must be made better acquainted with the causes of insanity, and that these causes are subject in a great measure to the control of human agency. Some years since, the superintendent of one of the large State hospitals in Massachusetts said, in closing a paragraph in his report, that "The more we see of mental disease, in its various forms, the more we are convinced that the study of its prevention is infinitely more important than even the study of its cure, and that the dissemination of more correct views of the true way of living, and a more rigid observance of the laws of health and nature would greatly diminish its frequency." Since that remark was made in a public report, more than a million of dollars has been expended in the cure and treatment of the disease by the same hospital, but not one dollar directly for the dissemination of knowledge for its prevention. How long will our legislatures, or the managers of our institutions, pursue such a course? Will not the public some time learn the truth of the proverb, that "an ounce of prevention is here worth a pound of cure."

No where in the whole domain of legislation do we want greater intelligence and liberality, or sounder wisdom and a higher tone of morality than in making the best possible provisions for the insane. There should be combined with such legislation a thorough knowledge of sanitary and hygienic agencies in their application not only to public institutions, but to the community at large, so that the means of prevention as well as cure may be wisely employed. And until such legislation takes place, no legislators can be said to have discharged their whole duty to their constituents or to the public.
DISCUSSION OF DR. ALLEN'S PAPER.

The debate on Dr. Allen's paper was opened by Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, of New York, who said the number of insane in New York State is about 7,000, out of a population of 4,500,000. He corrected the statement that there had been but one inquiry in this country as to the number of insane in families. There was a very thorough one made by the New York State Board of Charities in 1871, and it showed about 800 more insane than the United States census of 1870. Circulars were distributed to physicians in all parts of the State in 1871, and the statistics are very full and complete. The speaker thought that the amount of insanity was not increasing, but rather that the increased accommodations had made public many cases not known before.

Mr. Giles, of Wisconsin, said that insanity was on the increase in that State, and spoke at considerable length in support of his views.

Dr. Luther, of Pennsylvania, said: No subject of enquiry is more important than the one now under consideration. The difficulty of arriving at satisfactory conclusions concerning it has arisen mainly from the failure to obtain correct reports. The statistical records of pauperism and crime, under a system pursued for some time past, are more reliable; the causes of their increase, may be easily traced, and the appropriate remedy, without difficulty, be applied.

For reasons which are obvious, insanity does probably occur to a larger extent in this country than in the old settlements of Europe. Whether it is on the increase in this country is by no means so certain,—recent investigations tending to show that no such increase occurs, at least in the State of Pennsylvania. It is gratifying to know, that under the improved modes of treatment there, a larger proportion of recent cases, especially those from moral causes, are cured than formerly. The rate of the annual increase, however, is not shown by the accumulation of cases in public and private hospitals. This merely exhibits the extent to which this unfortunate class, from the want of adequate hospital accommodations, have heretofore been neglected. And there can be no doubt, that the failure to resort to timely means of cure must result in crowding the hospitals to a still larger degree.

Fuller investigation also shows the generally accepted estimate of the probable percentage of new cases is incorrect. Instead of one in 1,690 of the population becoming insane, annually, a more accurate enumeration in Pennsylvania gives about one in 3,986. (See Mr. Harrison's Report for 1874, page 52.) The hope is entertained, that this class may be cured and improved in a still higher ratio. Much as has been done; more, it is confidently believed may be added for their benefit.

Properly arranged buildings are essential. Without a thorough classification, it is in vain to look for improvement. Thorough separation of the sexes, even to the extent of separate buildings and grounds, so as to admit of the highest maximum of personal liberty, is largely beneficial. The bodily comfort and health must be carefully guarded. The best of ordinary and medical care must be constantly exercised. The "mind diseased" must be ministered to, and the nicest attention and skill be exer-
DISCUSSION ON DR. ALLEN'S REPORT.

Cised to soothe, to quiet the excited and disordered intellect, and to restore it to its natural relations. With this kind of care and treatment, in all the institutions, from the highest to the lowest, may we not expect a diminution of the number of incurable cases with which our asylums are now so crowded?

The transfer of all cases of insanity, both recent and chronic, into hospitals under State care, is under consideration in Pennsylvania. The attention of the public is awakened upon the subject; there is reason to believe that the plan of additions to existing hospitals, with suitable accommodations, will finally be adopted.

Mr. A. E. Elmore, of Wisconsin, said the laws of that State required the officers to send insane criminals to the State hospitals, which are, in consequence, crowded, and greatly hindered in their proper work of treating other patients. He inquired how other States managed that matter.

Mr. C. M. Croswell, of Michigan, said there was a building in connection with the Michigan State Prison, in which insane convicts are confined, but it simply amounts to separation, and not to a proper medical treatment for insanity.

Mr. Sanborn said, that in Massachusetts, insane convicts are sent to the State hospitals, but that an effort is being made to have an asylum properly conducted, connected with the State Prison.

Dr. Hoyt said, that in New York a State asylum is connected with the Auburn Prison, thoroughly equipped and superintended by a competent medical man.

Mr. H. W. Lord, said that, as the case now stands in Michigan, any person who is acquitted on trial on ground of insanity, really goes to the State Prison in aggravation of punishment. There is, however, great objection to sending insane criminals to the State Insane Asylum. It would mix up respectable people with criminals, and would make restrictions necessary, which would be harmful. It is to be hoped, that at the new Intermediate Prison at Ionia, arrangements will be made for the reception and treatment of the criminal insane.

Mr. Sanborn said that this was one of the most difficult questions concerning the insane in Massachusetts. Any of the seven insane asylums of the State—with one exception—may be compelled to receive the criminal insane. A respectable wife, mother or daughter, inmate of an insane asylum, may be brought into contact with an insane woman who has led the most infamous and criminal life, and who is insane, perhaps, simply as a result of such infamous life. This has occurred, and illustrates the insuperable objection in the public mind to sending the criminal insane to the same asylums. There is provision for building a convict asylum in connection with a new State Prison. If that prison is not built, a small criminal insane asylum probably will be. Mr. Sanborn suggested that a resolution on the subject be adopted.

Dr. Mann, of New York, urged the importance of separating the chronic and recent insane, and the appointment of a pathologist in each asylum.
Other discussion followed, in course of which mention was made of the asylums for the chronic insane at Ovid, N. Y., and at Tewksbury, Mass. In regard to the latter, Mr. Sanborn stated that its defects resulted from the want of suitable medical and sanitary skill in the treatment of the inmates, and that there was no doubt in the minds of the Massachusetts Board of Charities that the separation of recent and chronic patients proposed by Dr. Allen, and by Dr. Mann, ought to take place. The principle was sound, and should not be discredited because of imperfect administration. More than three-fourths of the insane in the hospitals and asylums of Massachusetts are paupers, and quite as large a proportion are practically incurable. For such the cost and apparatus of a great hospital are not needed.

At this point in the debate, the Conference adjourned for the day.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

May 13, 1875.

The Conference was resumed this morning at 9 A.M., H. H. Giles, of Wisconsin, in the chair. Before the reading of the paper on Medical Charities, the debate on insanity was continued. Mr. W. P. Letchworth, of New York, raised a question of the increase of insanity, which was implied in the paper of Dr. Allen. Mr. Elmore of Wisconsin, supported the statement of Mr. Giles on Wednesday, that insanity is greatly on the increase in that State.

At 9.15, the debate was closed, and the following paper, prepared by George S. Hale, Esq., of Boston, was read by Mr. Sanborn:

MEDICAL CHARITIES.

The extent and abuses of medical charities have attracted attention in England, and an attempt has been made to investigate the subject in this country. It has not been easy, however, to obtain and present the statistics sought, in such a form as to show the state of things here, and it is now proposed only to offer some suggestions, with the hope that the way may be prepared for more satisfactory information, and such information obtained from those whose attention may be attracted.

It has grown to be an axiom of this branch of social science,
that no system of charitable relief should be encouraged which weakens the spirit of independence, or tempts the recipient to rely upon others. In this respect the influence of the prevailing system of medical relief is more dangerous and insidious than any other. Men who would not beg—who might not accept alms—may be led to accept this form of relief, and thus gradually be prepared for a condition from which at first they would have shrunk. The care and relief of the sick do not seem to require the same caution as the administration of other forms of charity; we give more readily; we investigate less carefully. The hospital is founded and its means are supplied with the feeling that no liberality can be excessive towards the suffering. The applicant is received with the feeling that real illness excuses investigation. The physician or surgeon, eager to gather experience, is not so eager to assume the disagreeable duty of close inquiry into the means of a patient. Gradually a portion of the community tend more or less consciously to the feeling that they are entitled to expect such relief from it, and come to feel that it may be demanded as a right, rather than solicited as a boon. Habits of thrift and caution, even that care which keeps away disease and its expenses, are discouraged. The evil has not yet become serious here, but it is well to inquire how far it exists or threatens to increase. It is obvious that there must be a limit to this form of charity; that a certain proportion only of the community ought, even in sickness, to be supported by the bounty of others, and the greatest care should be taken to guide this bounty to the most deserving, and to see that those who are able to provide for themselves should make way for those who really are not.

The first step then, is to get information.

How large a proportion of the population receive gratuitous medical relief? Of that proportion how many are able to a greater or less extent to make some compensation? How does it compare with the number receiving assistance in other ways? What is the effect of its administration upon the recipients or the community? Is there any hazard of injury or abuse in other modes? Is there any danger that the charity itself may be abused or unwisely used?

These are some of the inquiries which present themselves? The reader is referred to the articles on medical charity, its abuses, etc.,

*One correspondent says "the city physicians, receiving a salary of $600 a year, calculate that they receive $4 a visit for this pauper work, owing to the circumlocution of certificates, etc., while the general charge for a physician's visit is but $2."
by John Chapman, M. D., reprinted from the Westminster Review, N. S., Nos. 89 and 90, for interesting information in regard to the condition of things in England.

Some facts have been gathered from different sources in this country which it is proposed to give, with extracts from letters relating to the subject from gentlemen whose experience and position give weight and value to their opinions.

And for the purpose of promoting these inquiries hereafter a series of questions, in a tabular form is appended, to which answers are solicited from those who may take an interest in the subject. If these elicit any sufficient response, an attempt may be made to arrange and present their results.

The annexed tables show approximately the number of persons receiving gratuitous,* medical relief in Boston for a series of years from the three institutions which reach the greatest number of persons. It will be at once perceived from this, that the number assisted increases in a much greater ratio than the population, and that out-patients increase more than in-patients. It may be, it is true, that increased opportunities and better understanding of their necessities call out the suffering rather than attract the undeserving. General observation, however, leads to the conclusion that persons are assisted who ought to pay and are able to do so, while opinions vary as to the existence and extent of any serious abuse in this mode.

*It should be added that some of the out-patients of the Massachusetts General Hospital do pay more or less compensation for the services rendered them, but the proportion is small.
# STATISTICS OF MEDICAL RELIEF

In the... of...:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Institution,</th>
<th>1871.</th>
<th>1872.</th>
<th>1873.</th>
<th>1874.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. of In-Patients</td>
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<td>Paying</td>
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<td>Residents</td>
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<td>No. of Out-Patients</td>
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No. Physicians or Surgeons for Out-Patients

Average No. Out-Patients for each Physician or Surgeon per week

Average time to each Out-Patient per day, (distinguishing old and new cases, if possible)

Average cost of each In-Patient per week, " " " Out-Patient " "

No. free prescriptions given to Out-Patients.

Estimated No. of free Out-Patients who would pay a moderate fee

Estimated No. of free In-Patients who would pay a moderate fee

Total No. of persons receiving relief as paupers in the city

Total population of the city or town
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<tr>
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<td>1281</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>4,433</td>
<td>5,430</td>
<td>15,813</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37,343</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37,243</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>4,076</td>
<td>5,076</td>
<td>16,834</td>
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<td>184</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35,310</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1632</td>
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<td>422</td>
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<td>5,979</td>
<td>20,870</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41,000</td>
<td>177,902</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>177,702</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>177,852</td>
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* Besides 4 pupils. † Besides 6 pupils.

*Some of these patients pay, but not enough of them is supposed to vary the conclusions to be drawn. A Dispensary for out patients was established in 1866, but for the last five years very little medicine has been given out. Patients requiring it are referred to the Boston Dispensary.

† Jan. 1, 1869 to April 30, 1870, and afterwards to April 30 of each year.

§ Including 47,894 in the new wards. Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16 lately annexed. Wards 13, 14 and 15 (Roxbury) were annexed in January, 1868, with a population of 29,426 (by census of 1865). Ward 16 (Dorchester) was annexed in 1870 with a population of 12,261. Charlestown, W. Roxbury and Brighton were annexed in 1870 with a population of 41,907 (by census of 1870).
We quote the following extracts from the letters of a number of gentlemen in charge of the out-patient department of one institution in Boston:

(1.) "In the female medical out-patient department a very large proportion of the patients, according to their own statements, are unable to pay. Of those that express their ability to pay (and they constitute a very small number), some are in evidently well-to-do circumstances; others, however, I do not believe are any better able to pay than many who claim gratuitous treatment, but do so from being more conscientious, or from having different ideas of what is their duty in the matter. * * * I have no doubt that many people claim gratuitous treatment who in good right should pay something."

(2.) "By far the larger part of the female medical patients * * * are unable to pay any reasonable compensation. * * * * * Without doubt a few could pay, and a still smaller number ought not to receive advice gratis."

(3.) "It is very evident that some—and exceedingly difficult to determine what—portion of the out-patients are able to pay reasonable compensation. * * * * * If it were possible to ascertain who were and who were not able to pay, I am certain that the enforcement of the rule requiring such payment would work salutary results, in giving the physician longer time for the cases among the deserving poor, (since my experience has brought me to the conclusion, that the majority of those persons able to pay, if made aware that they would be obliged to, would elect to pay their fees outside the hospital), and, in inaugurating a movement, in a much needed direction, of checking the expenditure of time and force for the sake of charity, when there is no case for the exhibition of such charity."

(4.) "I am decidedly of the opinion, that, of the patients I see, men and children, a considerable number, perhaps one-quarter, could pay some fee, though for the most part a small one. Of the women * * * only a very small proportion could pay any fee, for they mostly belong to the working class, having small wages, which are barely sufficient to support them decently. With men and children it is different. Men have better wages, and children are brought by their parents, who, if able, ought to pay some fee.

"Many of the patients have already been under private medical treatment, and came to the hospital, hoping to obtain, perhaps, better advice. Many of the cases, again, are obstinate or obscure, and are sent or brought by their own physician, to obtain a gratuitous consultation. This physician is paid for his own services, and the patient only comes once to the hospital, but continues under the treatment of his own physician, approved or modified, as the case may be, by the hospital physician. These patients take a great deal of time and attention, and more than any other class should be made to pay. The position of physician to outpatients is very desirable, from the opportunity it gives of seeing so much practice, and thereby getting experience, and acquiring skill and judgment in the treatment of disease; but, as there is no money remuneration to the position, which is usually held by younger men, they, if they have
their own living to earn, can only devote to the work a limited time, say from one to two hours daily. In one hour only a certain number of patients, probably not more than ten on the average, can be seen, and their cases at all thoroughly investigated, so that if the number greatly exceeds this, the cases are only hurriedly seen, and do not at all have justice done them. This also injures the physician, by getting him into the habit of slurring over cases, doing both the patient and himself injustice, and perhaps positive injury to the former.

"It again injures the reputation of the hospital for accurate diagnosis and skilful treatment, as patients are very, quick to find out that their cases are hurried through with, and not unfrequently, after advising a poor person to go to a hospital, (not necessarily ours alone), they will reply, that they do not want to, as the doctors are always in such a hurry, that they do not half hear their story, or else turn them over to a student. * * * * * In what way to remedy the abuse of a medical charity, it is very hard to say, and even in the profession itself the greatest diversity of opinion exists. One plan which seems to me worthy of trial—to see if it is possible to separate those who can pay from those who cannot, and to fix fairly the scale of fees which should be paid,—would be to have a superintendent of out-patients, who should be on duty daily, during the hours in which patients are received, and see each patient as he comes, assign him to the proper physician, and decide whether he should be a free or pay patient. His decision should be open to revision by the physician who treated the case, but the preliminary inspection of cases by a superintendent, who, to be able to judge properly, should be a medical man, would be a great help.

"Many of the patients are entirely unable to buy their medicine, and, if living in the city, belong properly to one of the dispensaries, to which they should be referred. This class of patients would be picked out and sent off by the superintendent, and thus a good deal of time saved to the physicians.

"In London, where the abuse of medical charity is far worse than here, much attention has been given to trying to find out some practicable way of reform. Various plans have been tried, but as yet none have proved satisfactory. I do not think the one I propose has been tried or suggested. Perhaps it would do no good, but it seems to me practicable and worthy of trial. The chief objection to it might be the expense, as the superintendent, of course, should be paid a salary, but I think the fees derived from the patients would pay that and also any medicines which might be given in exceptionally deserving cases."

(5.) "As regards the eye department, a small proportion of the patients are probably able to pay a reasonable compensation, but the effect of attempting to require payment, further than is already provided for, * * * * * would, in my opinion, have no beneficial effect. If payment were more rigidly required, not only would the number of those able to pay be diminished, but some, also, of the more deserving, poorer patients, would be deterred from attending, on account of the inquiries made into their circumstances."

(6.) "I am of the opinion that very few (patients in the dental department) would be able to pay outside for as good services as are rendered
them at the hospital. ** * * * If they were required to pay fees, such as would be required from them in respectable up-town offices, they would probably allow their teeth to go to destruction, or what would be worse, to some of the dental quacks.”

(7.) “In my opinion a certain portion are abundantly able to do so (pay for advice). A few can, and expect to pay the full fee; others would be willing to pay something, the majority nothing. ** * * * A charge adapted as nearly as possible to the means of those able to pay something would keep away a few only.”

(8.) “Something can undoubtedly be realized from them, by requiring pay for treatment. ** * * * But it may be a question, whether the comparatively small amount to be realized by the custom of urging many patients to contribute money, would compensate its disadvantages. These disadvantages are: first, the time diverted from medical treatment in ascertaining the pecuniary ability of each patient, and, secondly, the diminished number of applicants for relief. Such a practice would bear more uncomfortably upon timid and honest patients who are really poor, than upon patients better able to pay, and at the same time more penurious, and having more assurance.”

(9.) “It is my opinion that there is doubtless a small proportion of the patients who seek advice in the skin department who might well pay for the same, and should consult a physician elsewhere. It would not be easy, however, for the physician in charge to decide in individual cases as to the circumstances of the patient, for those who are well dressed and apparently able, may be in need of free advice. Should every patient be asked as to his ability to pay, it seems plain that deception would be practiced by those who least deserved the charity of the hospital, and that many very worthy people might be driven away. In the special departments it is apparent that the chief injustice in a too liberal advice, is towards the physicians who are in charge of them, and not to the profession in general, or to the funds of the hospital.

“It seems to me that a box, placed in a conspicuous position in the entry for the reception of money, to which the attention of apparently able patients could be called, would be the best way of seeking payment.”

(10.) “Of those coming under my care, a small portion could certainly pay something for advice, and often propose to do so. It is my intention to ask the question in doubtful cases, unless they are such as can profitably be used for the instruction of the medical students before whom I hold lectures, in which cases, as it seems to me, no further pay could fairly be expected of them.”

The three following letters are from gentlemen holding leading positions in institutions in Boston:

“It seems to me that the diversity of the views of the gentlemen who have spoken, tends to show that there is no ready way of ascertaining either the amount of abuse prevailing or the remedy for it. I confess that I am rather incredulous of there being a great deal of abuse. If people feel less reluctance to accepting medical aid than they would alms of material character, I think they are not far wrong in it. At any rate, they are not exhausting a limited supply. My mind would require pretty
direct proof, that indiscriminate free medical treatment leads to pauperism; and of course I cannot deny it. But it is certain that skilful treatment, freely and properly applied, is a great preventive of pauperism, and I should be inclined to risk the uncertainty for fear of interfering with the certainty.

One peculiarity of medical relief is, that it cannot be accumulated and converted into means of indulgence by the unworthy recipient as alms would be.

My experience at the hospital leads me to believe that a very large proportion of those whose appearance would suggest easy circumstances have already spent their savings, and often have run in debt, in trying to get cured, before coming to us, and they don't come till they have to. In a country where the average mechanic considers himself as good as anybody else, and lives as comfortably as here, I believe his regard for his dignity and desire for attention will make him take pride in having 'his own doctor.' And he is more likely to defraud by running in debt to his doctor than by assuming false colors at a hospital. But, after all, if there is fraud we cannot get at it, for we must finally rely on the statements of the applicants. To ask them much about it, either will use up time better employed in prescribing, or, if the 'superintendent' plan is followed, the expense even in our exceptionally prosperous clientele would more than swallow up the receipts. I think it is our duty to let applicants know, by printed notices, or otherwise, that we expect them to pay if they can, but I don't see how we can do much more if we stop short of an expensive detective system. We might require a certificate of impecuniosity, but what an amount of labor this implies, and what surer way of taking the bloom off the tender charities in which we take particular pride could be conceived? The widow and the fatherless—already unwilling to trespass—are to have their misfortunes flouted before the world, and the degree of their deserving measured by some philanthropist's pocket-rule.

At any rate, while nearly every day the integrity of limbs—or of lives less often—is secured by the freedom of access to our out-patient department, and while it would not be safe for these patients to run their chance elsewhere, I am opposed to any decided action that would be liable to drive the more scrupulous away."

"In reply to your inquiries as to my views concerning 'Medical Charities,' I have written out very hastily some of my thoughts on the subject. I beg you will make all due allowance.

In order to accomplish the greatest amount of good that can be legitimately done by such an institution as this, and to furnish to the proper objects all the aid and comfort that the cause of humanity demands of it, its benefits should be freely and kindly bestowed upon all the deserving and suffering poor who seek them. Undoubtedly, some do come here for gratuitous medical aid, who are undeserving, and should pay for it; but the danger is, that in applying any efficient check to prevent such imposition, the first to be kept away will be those who are the most conscien-
tions, and who most reluctantly yield their pride and self-respect to their urgent needs.

Of the in-patients in this hospital I have reason to believe that there is a small proportion only who are not proper subjects of medical charity. It is true that their own statements have to be largely depended upon to decide upon their ability to provide for themselves. The limited capacity of the hospital has for some time compelled careful questioning of all applicants for admission, and though it requires time and patience, a pretty satisfactory conclusion can ordinarily be arrived at in this regard.

It requires care and consideration in many cases to get at the facts of the case without giving offence. The patients who could not pay something for their case, are mostly among the cases of accidental injuries. These patients must be received unquestioned at all times, and can subsequently decline to pay on the ground that they made no agreement to do so on admission.

Of the out-patients I cannot speak as positively. The numbers are large and it would be quite impossible for the physicians to give sufficient time—to be of any avail—to inquiry concerning the circumstances of the patient. In fact, with many to examine and prescribe for, this becomes the main consideration, and to do more, would seem to be waste of time, when the result would be, at the most, the elimination of a comparatively small number of patients to be turned away or made to pay. In all almsgiving, and in the administration of all charities, it is inevitable that there will be a certain per centage of imposition. I believe that, while we exercise due care to prevent it, we must always entertain some imposters in our hospitals and dispensaries. I have no doubt that not a few persons in them, first and last, get for nothing that for which they are well able to render an equivalent. I believe, from my observations here, that the evil is growing, and may become a great one. If pains are not taken to restrain it. How this is to be done is of course the great problem. The first indication is to make a careful investigation of the facts; from them something must be learned as to the remedy to be applied. In considering this matter I have regarded the evils of the present system of administering medical charities as of two kinds, namely:

1. Those which result from the indiscriminate bestowal of such charities—undeserving persons receiving aid.
2. Those prejudicial to the interests of the medical profession in general.

The people who seek and are not entitled to the benefits of our medical charities may also be classified as follows:

1. Those who have ample means, and desire to employ their own physicians, but who, attracted by the reputation of the hospital, or of individual members of the staff, are ignorant of the impropriety of asking advice for themselves where charity is dispensed. Some of these, even, have an idea that, as the city pays for the support of the hospital, all its citizens have a right to get gratuitous advice from its officers. It seems to me that the only practicable method of keeping away such persons, is to conspicuously place notices about the rooms of the out-patients' department, offices, etc., and the halls, to the effect that
only those in need of free advice and treatment are expected to come there. Those that come will go away and tell others, and the better public will soon become informed on the subject.

(2.) Those who have already been under the care of physicians, and while still able to pay, are also attracted to the hospital to get other medical opinions, either from a desire to change or to avoid further expense. A natural question in the examination of such case would be: 'By what physician have you been treated?' and I have thought the best and most proper way to deal with such persons might be to decline to prescribe for them, and advise them to return to their own physician, who in most instances would do as well for them as any one. The hospital physician should not refer them to his own office under such circumstances, but should act in accordance with general professional rules in such cases. These persons might be influenced by the notices before mentioned, specifying the objects of the institution.

(3.) This class may include those who put on their old clothes and deliberately make themselves up for the part they play. They meanly assume the guise of poverty to avoid payment of their doctors' bills.

(4.) Those who could pay small fees, but who are led by the ease of obtaining it, to ask for free medical advice. With this class is the greatest danger of encouraging pauperism, etc. I am at a loss to suggest any remedy that will reach the last two classes. Any system for the detection of these persons that presents itself, like the 'superintendent plan' would cost more than it would come to, or affect deserving persons unfavorably.

(5.) This last class may include all who are proper objects of medical charity, and who should all be made to feel that what they receive is given liberally and kindly.

It is in the interest of medical charities, that the first four classes of persons mentioned above should be debarred from such institutions, as it is also in the interest of the profession at large, that they should pay for what they get. I very much doubt, however, if it would work well to require such payment at dispensaries or in out-patients' departments of hospitals. There might be no question as to whom such fees should belong, whether to the physician or the institution. But whether the charges be small or the regular fee table be adopted, as much harm would be done by the first plan as by the latter. I believe that the receiving of fees at all would tend to invite and encourage many well-to-do people to come to the hospital, who are now kept away by the knowledge that it is not the place for them, but for the poor and needy. Again, patients who are allowed to pay fees and are thus encouraged to come, would feel entitled to so much time that it would be practically impossible to carry out such a plan and do justice to other patients.

The subject presents so many difficulties that it seems to me possible to arrive at any definite conclusion only by experiments. Perhaps some place may be devised by which the display in the out-patients' rooms of printed notices, and briefly stated rules for the guidance of the physicians and information of patients, may be combined with the taking of fees in certain cases.

That careful attention should be given to the whole matter, is to
my mind beyond question. Much must depend upon the discretion of the prescribing physician, and anything that will promote a better understanding of the subject, and bring about an investigation and full discussion of it, should be cordially encouraged."

"The abuses to which such a charity is subjected, are, that some who are able to pay for advice and medicines, obtain them gratuitously, and thus not only receive that for which they should pay, but take from the medical profession the emoluments that belong to it. I do not think the dispensary is greatly abused in this way. Not many cases have come to our knowledge, where the institution has been imposed upon. The patients belong to the poorer classes. The greater share of them are foreign born or of foreign extraction. No particular means are employed to ascertain if patients are able to pay. In case the physician learns that a patient is not necessitous, advice is refused. Some of our beneficiaries might perhaps pay a small fee. It would be very difficult to investigate properly all the cases that apply to the dispensary for treatment, and before the investigation was concluded the patient might have passed beyond medical relief or have recovered. I think a certain amount of inquiry might be well in cases in which there seemed to be a doubt. I have many doubts of the propriety of personal questioning, except in suspicious cases. Deserving patients seem to be very sensitive when questioned about their ability to pay. They are often very much hurt. Were not our dispensaries, out-patients' departments of hospitals, etc., so much crowded, I presume more care would be given in some cases, but on the whole, I think the patients receive quite as proper attention and as careful investigation as in private practice. Oftentimes they are even better cared for, as they have the benefit of numerous consultants who are called in to see them. The dispensary is sometimes abused. What deserving charity does not sometimes meet with abuse? Unless provision were made for those poor people some other way, the greater share of them would be obliged to do without medical treatment. Many people cannot or do not wish to enter the hospital. For such cases the dispensary provides, and thereby prevents the breaking up of many a home, and affords many a poor mother the comfort of watching and nursing her sick husband or child. It is, besides, more economical to the community to visit patients at their homes, than to sustain large hospitals. I think sometimes, that we have too many charities. We need more system and centralization in their management. I think that no one should be received into our hospitals free, who is able to pay; and that the only out-patient departments connected therewith, should be carefully guarded or given up altogether. Many of the abuses of our charities, it seems to me, must be corrected, not by applying the axe to them, but by delving deeper in the social system than we have yet reached. When we insist upon better dwellings for the poor, when we give them clean streets and alleys; when we remove from them the brothels and hells of immorality and iniquity that surround and taint them; when we insist upon every young man and woman learning to do something well, and employment is given, then we shall not hear so much of the abuse of these charities."
The following is from a gentleman of large experience in New York:

"Your communication of the 25th ult., I duly received, in which you inquire 'Whether the medical charities are abused, for the care of persons having no proper claim for them, and whether they are excessively increasing?'

My connection formerly for ten years with the * * * * * * dispensary, and subsequently with two of our largest hospitals, has led me to the following views concerning the subject of your inquiry:

The dispensaries of our city are of inestimable importance to the deserving poor, and afford to the younger medical men an invaluable amount of experience in various ways, which I need not here enumerate, and their operations are so philanthropic, and so conducive to the public health, that they deserve the warm sympathy and support of the city, State, and community.

A very large proportion, however, of those applying for relief at dispensaries are improper persons to do so, for two reasons.

In the first place, if they have permanent employment they should be in a condition ordinarily to have their own physician and by applying at dispensaries they do not contribute to the support of the junior members of the medical profession, who, for several years after graduation, must chiefly look for patients among the poorer classes, and at a slight remuneration.

In the second place, many of these patients, for a season at least, feel themselves above seeking gratuities, except for medical services. Accustomed, however, to receive these, the gradation to seeking other forms of benefaction becomes easy, and pauperism is thereby nourished.

Thriftlessness is engendered in very many, for the reason that it is felt that, if improvident during a period of occupation, either public or private charity will afford support during adversity.

This is a melancholy state of affairs, to become rooted in our American soil, but it is becoming deeply embedded there.

Can this condition be eradicated? The following occurs to me as one method of doing so—the dispensaries of a great city like New York may be made powerful agents in improving the condition of the poor. Suppose for a moment, that the resident physician, who has chiefly the supervision and assorting of patients to their respective departments, should inquire while thus engaged, and in a private manner, in regard to the circumstances of the patients, and inform them that relief in a dispensary is intended for those persons only who are really destitute. Many, from a sense of pride, would voluntarily withdraw. Or, again, if they pass into the prescribing room, the physician there has an opportunity of dropping a few words to his patients which may turn the current of many a life.

That such a method is feasible there is no doubt, and I think I am sufficiently cognizant of facts to show the force and value of such procedure.

The physicians should, of course, not direct such patients to apply for advice at their own offices.

In order to accomplish such a work, however, the directors of
dispensaries should inquire into the characters of the physicians they appoint, and also increase the number of physicians, for there is often such a crowd of patients, that imperative duties preclude any apparently unnecessary investigation and advice. There are always a number of suitable young medical men seeking such positions.

In relation to whether or not medical charities are necessarily increasing, I would remark that there is a tendency to multiply institutions for the treatment of special disorders.

The regularly chartered and established dispensaries and hospitals of the city, make provision in their various departments for the treatment of all kinds of disorders.

Institutions of a more private nature are apt to degenerate into advertising media for the physicians or surgeons connected with them. If established at all they should not be nourished from the public coffer; support should be derived from those who gain notoriety from connection with them or from their personal friends.

Some of our older institutions of a private nature, established before the city and State had made suitable provision for the sick poor, have done a noble work and should be continued, as they have an honorable prestige.

As a rule it is better that recognized public dispensaries and hospitals should have the charge of and be responsible for the patients suffering from all classes of disorders, and that experts be appointed to have charge of their several departments. There can then be uniformity in the character of their work and in their published reports and systematic supervision of them can be maintained.

I cordially approve of the various hospitals erected by several religious denominations for the care of their sick, and also of other general hospitals in which patients for a moderate sum can procure the comforts which they only can procure in such truly eleemosynary institutions—my remarks relate to establishments of a different character.

I wish success to every enterprise which promotes benevolence, but true benevolence does not foster pauperism. Mendicancy will increase and curse our land as it has some parts of Europe, if immediate measures are not taken to eradicate it.

Our age has done splendid service for the future glory of the Republic; these duties are pressing. We must take heed lest future generations record of us that while we were valiant in arms we were sadly impolitic in the distribution of alms.

An eminent physician in Philadelphia writes:

"For each thousand of the working and mechanic class, fewer need hospital or dispensary help with us than elsewhere. At present our hospitals are never crowded, and are, I believe, in excess of our wants. The proportion of foreigners who apply is large. I think a good many persons seek unpaid medical help who could pay, but they usually apply at the clinic * * * * * nor is it always because they wish to save, but because these services are often managed by physicians whose opinions are valued * * * *. Most of the patients in the house pay something; and, were we ever so rich, I would still like to continue this.
No one among the patients knows who pays and who does not, but nearly all pay from one dollar a week to ten.

When they clearly know that this goes to the hospital and not the doctor, they are usually more than satisfied. In a word, our hospital services here do not encourage pauperism and dependence. Not many apply of the mechanic class—these are probably independent—but the class which preys upon us is rather one above want, but not above mean ways of saving."

It will be obvious from the examination of these communications and tables, that the subject demands attention and a cautious comparison of conflicting considerations. That attention and consideration cannot be too speedily or closely given, and we shall be wise to take warning by the experience of similar institutions in England. A judicious determination of the questions involved, is of the highest importance, and any one who will aid in that determination will deserve well of the community.

BOSTON, MAY 3, 1875.

G. S. H.

Mr. William P. Letchworth, of New York, then read a paper prepared for this meeting by Miss Mary Carpenter, of Bristol, England, on

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR THE NEGLECTED AND CRIMINAL CHILDREN OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Mr. Letchworth prefaced his reading of Miss Carpenter's paper by saying:

In view of the important subject upon which this paper treats, and the distinguished source from which it emanates, I undertake its perusal with some diffidence. Miss Mary Carpenter has conferred on society such great and lasting benefits by her labors in behalf of her own sex that her name has become a household word throughout Christendom. So many years of an active life have been devoted to this work, and so much benevolence and prudence has she displayed in its prosecution that whatever comes from her lips on this subject may be regarded as almost oracular. I would that her thoughts upon this occasion had found a more eloquent exponent.]

The question to which it is proposed in this paper to offer an answer is one of the most important which can concern a State.

We have lately heard of a woman named "Margaret," who
landed on these shores from the Old World, and who became the progenitor of a whole tribe of thieves and paupers in the new colony, thereby being the cause of an inconceivable amount of expense, inconvenience, trouble, disgrace and crime. Had "Margaret" been reformed when a child and not allowed to go into society until able and willing to gain an honest livelihood, what would have been saved to the country? Would not any amount of cost or trouble have been well bestowed in the proper training of this woman?

It is no longer a question, either in the Old World or in the New, as it was some quarter of a century ago, whether the children ought to be saved. That has happily been long decided in the affirmative. The Prison Congress, which assembled in London in 1872, showed no difference of opinion in the principles to be adopted in the treatment of the children. But principles cannot be developed unless the conditions to which they are to be applied are well understood, and unless experience has enabled us to feel sure of the results of the agencies to be employed. My own experience in this work having now extended over a period of more than a quarter of a century, I venture to offer to this Congress some remarks founded upon it, and bearing on the condition and treatment of the criminal and neglected children in the United States.

During the visit which I made to this country in the summer of 1873, my time and attention were especially devoted to the study of the prisons and reformatory institutions of those cities through which I passed. My object was to study the principles on which these were established and the results of the working of those principles. I availed myself, on all occasions, of the opinions and experience of persons who had studied the subject, and had acquired practical experience of the working of different systems.

Some of the results of my observations I laid before the Prison Congress at St. Louis, which assembled during 1874, in a paper entitled "Suggestions on Reformatory Schools and Prison Discipline, founded on observations made during a visit to the United States." Though the principles of prison discipline will doubtless be the subject of special consideration in a section of the approaching congress of this Social Science Association, yet I should prefer to confine myself to a more extended consideration of the treatment of neglected and criminal children as one which involves the welfare of those who are to people your States in the coming generation.
It is unnecessary for me here to bring before you arguments to prove that it is the duty and interest of every State to see that its children are so situated as to enable them to become self-supporting and respectable citizens. This is, of course, primarily the duty and responsibility of parents, but if these are unable or unwilling to discharge this duty, and it is constantly neglected, society will suffer, and that very seriously, if the State does not stand in loco parentis and do its duty both to the child and to society, by seeing that he is properly brought up. The founders of your State recognized this duty, and New England still reaps the benefit of the sound principles established by the Pilgrim Fathers. The duty of educating young delinquents, not punishing them, was recognized in Philadelphia, New York and other places, and carried into practical effect long before the principle was accepted in the mother country. But, the circumstances of the country considered, better principles than those which were at first adopted in these early reformatories have now been introduced into Europe, and are generally adopted in the Old World.

In all cases, it appears to me, and this is the view now generally adopted in Great Britain, that up to the age of fourteen the child who has not such a home as will prepare him to take his proper place in society, and is deprived, whether by the course of nature or by human laws, of parental control, should be placed by the State, representing society, in a condition as nearly as possible representing a good home. Hence, in all cases, I object to large institutions for children, where individuality is destroyed, and where there cannot be any home influence. The family system should be represented as completely as circumstances will permit, the parental control and authority being delegated by the State to the managers of the institution, and the loving spirit of a family being infused by the resident officials and by voluntary benevolent effort. The surroundings of the young persons thus brought into an artificial atmosphere should correspond with their natural mode of life, as far as is compatible with sanitary conditions, order and propriety; while the educational and industrial learning should be such as to prepare them to discharge well the duties of the condition of life which they may be expected to fill.

Such will be generally found to be the accepted ideas in the development of English protestant reformatories and industrial schools. The older reformatory schools in New York and Philadelphia were established on the congregate system. That at Westboro', in Massachusetts, was established later, but the family
system was never fully adopted in it, and the various serious
catastrophes which have befallen it indicate an entire want of the
family spirit. From all I heard it was rather a juvenile gaol.
Shortly before my arrival about eighty boys had absconded. I
was not invited to visit the place, and did not believe that I
should gain much by going there. I carefully visited the New
York Reform School, on Randall's Island, and the pauper schools
on the same island. The former is a splendid institution, and
managed with great care and effort; but it is carried on, it appears
to me, on a false principle. There is no natural life or freedom;
young men of an age to have very large experience of vice, are
associated with young boys; all arrangements are artificial; instead
of the cultivation of the land, which would prepare the youth to
seek a sphere far from the danger of large cities, the boys and
young men were being taught trades, which would confine them to
the great centres of an overcrowded population. The girls were
being carefully taught, and even too much attention was paid to
their personal comfort; but they were prisoners; they were not
being prepared for a home life, which is the best life of the woman,
and could not be so under existing circumstances, which were
perfectly artificial, and, as it appeared to me, calculated to
engender vanity and self-consideration. The same tendencies were
more strikingly developed at the Lancaster Girls' Reformatory.

In Philadelphia the same remarks must be applied to the large,
prison-like buildings both for boys and for girls. Hundreds of
youths were there congregated under lock and key, and, however
good were the arrangements, they entirely failed to convince me
that the principle was good on which the institutions were founded.

The State Reform School of Connecticut, at West Meriden,
formed an admirable exception, and was worthy of all praise.
It was a farm school and succeeded admirably. Unhappily, Dr.
Hatch, its excellent superintendent, whose spirit called it into
existence, is now no more! It will now be seen whether the size
of the institution will prevent the possibility of the maintenance
of the institution in its present admirable state, under a superin­
tendent less highly gifted and experienced than Dr. Hatch. His
equal it would be difficult to find.

I am well aware that in many other States there are admirable
institutions for the neglected and destitute, as well as criminal
juveniles, conducted on principles similar to those which are
accepted in Europe — true homes and farm schools. The reports
of many of them I possess. I much regretted that my time and
strength did not permit me to visit them. It is to be hoped that many excellent ones exist, which may serve as models for imitation in localities where no institutions of the kind are at present found. Without, however, referring to these, I beg to offer to this Congress the statements of some of the principles which the experience of twenty years of reformatory work in our country has proved to be sound, and adapt them to what I conceive to be the requirements and different conditions of your great nation. Looking at the diversity which exists in your several States, and their independence of each other, I shall confine myself to a very general statement, which appears to me to be the basis of the treatment for all children who are without proper parental control, and of whom the State must therefore assume the guardianship.

1. The State should assume the control of all young persons under the age of fourteen, who are without proper guardianship.

All may be classed together under this age, for there is no distinction between pauper, vagrant and criminal children, which would require a different system of treatment. Individual cases may, of course, arise, which must be dealt with specially.

2. The State may delegate the guardianship of all such children either to individuals who undertake to adopt them into a family, or to corporate bodies selected by the citizens, who undertake the charge of these young persons in home institutions, to be termed State industrial schools. The State, while delegating parental authority to such persons or corporate bodies, will lay down the conditions which are to be fulfilled by them, and will exercise regular inspections, to ascertain that the conditions are complied with, and make such allowance for each child as is agreed upon as necessary.

3. All State industrial schools must develop, as far as possible, the conditions of a home. They must be in the country, and must be entirely unconnected with the institutions for the relief of pauperism and vice, adult reformatory prisons. They should be adapted to prepare the inmates to be respectable, self-supporting citizens; different departments being arranged for infants, boys and girls. It will always be better to have a number of small institutions, for about fifty inmates each, in different localities, each county supporting one, whether of boys or girls, or of infants; more voluntary effort and individual interest will thus be called forth. In that case, one industrial school board, chosen by the people, would have the general direction, while each school would have its own managing committee. The infant schools should be
entirely under female officials, and in all boys' industrial schools there should be a matron.

4. Ladies as well as gentlemen should always be on the board, as well as on the managing committees.

Young persons above the age of fourteen are generally found in England, (and this will probably be still more the case in the United States,) to have passed the age of childhood; and the association of these with the inmates of industrial schools is productive of the greatest evil. This has been found to be the case in the reform schools, of which I have spoken. From a want of proper prison accommodation numbers of young men already advanced in crime have been sent here to avoid exposing them to certain ruin by association in prison with hardened criminals. For these, special juvenile prisons or reformatory gaols should be established, and reformatory treatment should be developed, based on the principles of the Crofton system. Separate institutions may be established for young persons between fourteen and sixteen, similar to the industrial schools, when a sufficient number of such are found. These juvenile reformatory prisons should in all cases be provided with separate sleeping cells, and have a preparatory stage of not less than a month in solitude. The associated stage may be proceeded through more rapidly than in ordinary prisons, and farm land should always be attached to the institutions for an extended intermediate stage, as in the Crofton system.

These reformatory juvenile prisons should also be under the management of a board chosen by the citizens, under the direction of the State.

I cannot too strongly urge upon this Congress the great importance of separating young men and women of fifteen years of age and upward, from those who may be regarded as children. At present, owing to the demoralized condition of prisons, numbers of these are, in the United States, introduced into what were intended to be reformatories for children, thus entirely destroying the benefits of these institutions. I trust that public attention will be directed to this subject.

We now return to the children. Though, as we have already said, the State may lawfully assume the guardianship of all children who are without proper care, though the so-called criminal children are often no more badly disposed than the vagrants, or even than the simple paupers, and, indeed, will often be found to be less contaminated by their past lives, yet in England, and probably in the United States also, a strong line of demarcation exists
in the public mind between those who are under legal sentence of
detention and those who are compelled by circumstances only to
seek public assistance. For these last the poor law was provided
in our country, and the whole subject of the treatment of these
children involves many considerations on which I shall not now
enter. But in the United States there is no such provision, nor
does it appear necessary, since the resources of the country and
the demand for labor would render it generally easy for able-bodied
persons to make sufficient provision for themselves and their fam-
ilies. In Boston, Massachusetts, it appeared that voluntary be-
nevolence willingly took upon itself the burden of the poor ne-
eglected children, and saved them the stigma of pauperism. If they
are placed in an institution, they are cared for as in a home, and
surrounded by those kindly influences which do not abandon them
when they go out into the world. The children are, in my opin-
ion, much better brought up in a home institution like one which
I visited, and which is watched over by benevolent ladies, than if
placed out in families of the working class, which may desire to
benefit by their services, but which can seldom be relied on to give
them a good education.

But in the large cities of the United States it is quite impossi-
ble that these agencies can reach the thousands of children who
claim relief. What is called in England the boarding-out system,
placing children in families instead of workhouses, and keeping
them under the surveillance of visiting ladies, is doubtless very
valuable where the conditions needed for success are complied
with, but it is quite impossible that this can be done universally.
My experience of twenty years in visiting the families of working
people in a large city, and the reports we are continually hearing
of the neglect or even starvation of helpless children boarded out
with women, fully satisfy me that a well managed institution is
far better, to prepare these children to go out into families as
young servants, when sufficiently trained. The inquiries which I
made when in Canada made me very doubtful of the benefit of
taking children over to Canada to place in families, even though
every possible precaution is taken by the ladies who conduct the
movement; the report of the agent sent over to investigate the
actual condition of such children confirms these doubts. A real
home cannot be artificially created, and rarely can supply the
 cravings of the child's heart. We must, however, do the best we
can to protect it from evil influences, and to supply to it all that
training and wise education which will prepare it to take its right
place in the world. This I did not see even attempted in New York city for the thousands of orphans and neglected children to be found in its streets. In the recent annual report of the Charities' Aid Association (vide New York Times, March 3, 1875,) it is stated respecting the pauper children of New York: "The number of children remaining in county poor-houses in 1874 was 625," (a very small number, indicating that in country districts most had been absorbed into families) "in city almshouses, and principally in those of New York City and Brooklyn, 1735." But the greater number of these unfortunate children were placed where the seeds of vice must almost certainly be implanted in their young minds. The report continues: "About 1,300 children on Randall's Island are now brought in daily contact with convict women, sentenced to short terms of imprisonment for intoxication, debauchery and other offences." I visited the pauper establishment on Randall's Island. The site afforded every facility for developing an admirable institution where agricultural labor and the salutary influences of nature might have been given to the inmates. But nothing of the kind was done, and seldom have I witnessed a more soul-sickening spectacle than degraded women and incapable men having the charge of these children. The mere sight of them must have had a demoralizing effect on the children, and though the intellectual instruction was fair, yet there was a painfully depressed and spiritless look among them. The system of employing the lowest women in the care of the young is most injurious, and if done from motives of false economy, cannot be too greatly reproved. It is to be hoped that the persevering and enlightened efforts of this Association will introduce a new system, and place the care of the children under those who are able and willing to carry it on well. The Juvenile Asylum, a few miles from New York, presented a very different aspect. Neglected and destitute children here find a true home, and are watched over by voluntary benevolent care. The children found by the police are first conducted, by the desire of the magistrates, to a house in the city where their position is ascertained, and they are prepared to go with greater advantage to the country home, whence once a fortnight a detachment is sent, under escort of an official, into homes in the West, where they are visited from time to time. The time of residence in the Juvenile Asylum varies from one month to five years, according to the condition of the child. The system appears most successful and admirably conducted.

Even a worse fate than that of the children on Randall's Island
attends the destitute and homeless children of Philadelphia. In that city is a gigantic poor-house, covering a large extent of ground, and with several groups of buildings. The superintendence appeared good and humane, and gentlemen of position and humanity directed the management, which appeared to be as good as under existing circumstances it could be. But within these walls were congregated vast numbers, not only of old and infirm persons of both sexes, who, in their separate wards were well cared for, but numbers of able-bodied criminals, as well as multitudes of lunatics; the former sent here to be maintained at the public expense in daring idleness, because the city prison was already too densely crowded. A most frightful account of the condition of the wards for the insane had been given to me previous to my visit. The truth of this I had not an opportunity of verifying, as I saw only some newly constructed ones which were admirable in their arrangements, and in the care of the inmates. In a department of this institution, in an atmosphere so tainted morally and physically, were the pauper children—those who should have been surrounded with every wholesome influence, in a healthy country atmosphere, to enable them to grow up to vigorous manhood after a childhood of suffering and starvation. The smallness of the number surprised me; but I learned that those I saw were only a weak and sickly residue after all the healthy ones had been adopted to be made useful in families. These poor children should have been in a country sanitarium, rather than in a city poor-house.

In one other place did I see young boys with the deepest sorrow—in a place called the "Tombs" of New York. This is a combined prison and police station on a gigantic scale. There are wards and large rooms filled with women who were a disgrace to their sex; wards for untried prisoners, still innocent in the eye of the law; a "murderers' ward," where were a number of wretched persons awaiting the sentence of the law, and wards for boys! A number were here congregated together, of different ages and conditions; some low, daring youths, old in crime; some quiet boys of gentle blood whom strange mischance had brought into those dreadful precincts. One night here was enough to contaminate the best. It was probable that some might be rescued the next day, after having undergone this certain contamination; others might stay longer. Why does the celebrated city of New York allow such a place to remain in her midst? Why is she deaf to the expostulations of enlightened philanthropists? Why does she
allow a single child to enter here? My visit to the “Tombs” remains but too vividly and painfully impressed on my mind. Would that it could be effaced by the knowledge that it was levelled with the ground.

In mentioning what I saw in these two great cities I must not be supposed to hold them up especially to odium. Similar evils may exist elsewhere, but I had not an opportunity of visiting other cities where such places are to be found. The simple fact that institutions so fatal to the moral health of the inmates, and consequently so injurious to the State, exist in cities of such enormous wealth, and whose numerous institutions indicate such unbounded benevolence, proves that the present state of things is not known, or if known, the evil is not fully understood. I trust that what I have here said may rouse some to take the matter vigorously in hand, and to inaugurate a sound system for the pauper children which may be worthy of imitation in other States.

It is generally supposed in England that a good education is imparted to every child in the United States. We know that this is not the case in our own country, and we are sometimes inclined to envy the German and Swiss towns, where no untaught children are to be seen in the streets. I had long been aware of the fallacy of such an idea, from statistics which had reached me many years ago from Boston, Massachusetts, and from the reports of that truly admirable institution, the “Children’s Aid Society,” of New York. I was not, however, prepared to learn that in Philadelphia, at the time of my visit, at least 25,000 were known not to be in any regular course of instruction, and to observe in recent statistical returns that there were more than 60,000 children not attending school in New York. Such figures speak volumes. No State agency as yet exists to grapple with this gigantic evil; and the voluntary effort which is doing its utmost to cope with it, is not utilized by the State as it should be, and is allowed to languish for want of means. If such a state of things is allowed to continue, no improvement in the population generally can be expected, and the gaols and reformatories will continue to be overcrowded. There will be a constantly increasing supply of subjects for the industrial schools and the juvenile reformatory prisons, to be maintained at great expense to the State, as long as tens of thousands of children are constantly swarming in the streets, uneducated and uncared for. A hospital, however good, cannot cleanse a poison-infected district, nor diminish the constant supply of patients from an undrained and malarious locality.
There must be a certain amount of compulsion exercised over all those children who do not attend school voluntarily; and if they are in so neglected a condition that they are unable to attend the common schools, then they should be placed in "day industrial schools," where they might still remain under parental care, but where they would be detained the whole day, being taught some industrial work, and receiving such amount of plain food as might be found needful. But in such cases, and in all where it can be shown that there is culpable negligence in the parent, a power must exist in the state to lay the cost of maintenance on the parent, from his earnings. Such a provision is in England found indispensable, to prevent a serious abuse of these schools, and to check parental neglect. The necessity for such day industrial schools will probably not exist in newly-settled districts and in small towns. Wherever it does exist, they ought to be established. The condition of these tens of thousands of children calls for very special consideration. They are too wild and neglected in physical condition to attend the common schools. It would be most injurious to separate them all from their parents; the line of demarcation between the "children of the State" and those under parental guardianship ought never lightly to be removed. Let them be placed, without the hand of a policeman, but by a school-board order, in a "day industrial school," where, during the day, they will be under careful guardianship and prepared for their future life work. They will thus, after a comparatively short training, be able to contribute to their own maintenance and soon be earning their living. The value of such schools was proved, thirty years ago, by Sheriff Watson at Aberdeen, in Scotland. It is being successfully tried in England, and is under the consideration of the Legislature.

I trust that the attention of the Social Science Association will be perseveringly directed to this important subject, and that it will not rest until proper education and training are brought to bear on every child in the United States.

Red Lodge House, Bristol, April 14, 1875.

[The following project of a law accompanied Miss Carpenter's paper:]

Proposal for a Bill to provide for the proper Education by School Boards of Neglected Children.

Whereas, It has been found that in various districts of large cities there are many children who, by reason of their neglected condition, are inad-
PAPER BY MISS MARY CARPENTER.

Missible to the ordinary Elementary Schools provided for by the School Board Act, and regulated by the Educational Department of the Privy Council, thus growing up to be an expense to the State as paupers or criminals. And

Whereas, Even if such children were admissible to these schools, the hours of attendance and instruction given would not be sufficient to raise them from their present uncivilized state. And

Whereas, It has been proved by past experience that in schools where such children are kept during the whole day, are taught industrial work as well as school learning, and have moral and civilizing influences, receiving in the school necessary food, they are enabled to become self-supporting members of society. And

Whereas, School Boards have not now by law any power to deal with such children, except by sending them to Certified Industrial Schools. And

Whereas, Children cannot be sent to these schools, except under Magisterial sentence for some breach of the law, or from their being proved to be without proper guardianship;—and since by such sentence all parental authority is absolutely removed, and the child is educated in a boarding school, under the Secretary of State, at a great expense, both to the nation and to the locality;—so, be it enacted:

1st—That School Boards be empowered, with the consent of the Educational Department, to establish and maintain (wherever needed) schools, called "Day Industrial Schools," in which children may be detained not less than ten hours daily, receiving not only school learning but industrial training, moral teaching, and necessary food.

2dly—That School Boards be empowered to certify such schools, if established by voluntary agency, and to contribute towards their support and maintenance, provided that the food payment shall not exceed 2s. weekly.

3dly—To empower any person, whether School Board Agent or otherwise, to bring any child found neglected before the School Board, for the purpose of his being sent to such school.

4thly—To empower School Boards to order the attendance of the child at such school, and to require the parent to send him, after due remonstrance with him has proved unavailing.

5thly—To empower the School Boards to remit the order of attendance, on sufficient guarantee being given of the child being sent to an Elementary School.

6thly—To empower School Boards to recover expenses of food, &c., from parents, and, in case of children where parents are in receipt of out-door relief, from Guardians of the Poor.

7thly—To empower School Boards to inspect, and make or approve, necessary regulations for such schools, under sanction of the Education Department.
DISCUSSION OF MISS CARPENTER'S PAPER.

After the reading of this interesting paper, Mr. Letchworth gave an outline of what had been done in the State of New York, in furtherance of the principles here advocated by Miss Carpenter, i.e., the removal of children from the vicious associations of the county poor-house. The number of children in poor-houses (not including city almshouses), as stated in the Second Annual Report of the State Board of Charities, of New York, was found to be 1,222. During a lapse of six years it was reduced to 615, and the last Legislature had passed a law (almost unanimously), making it obligatory that all then remaining in poor-houses, who were fit subjects for family care, should be removed and placed in families or asylums. It was pleasant to hear among the voices in this land which advocate this and similar measures, one speaking in almost prophetic tones from the other side of the Atlantic, on the wrongs of children. He thought that the public mind had been greatly enlightened upon this subject through the researches made during the past year by Dr. Elisha Harris, Secretary of the New York Prison Association, of which an illustration was found in his story of "Margaret, the Mother of Criminals." The public mind had also been deeply interested in the investigation conducted by the New York State Board (under the efficient direction of Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, its Secretary), into the causes of pauperism.

The Rev. J. W. Brown, of Detroit, read a letter from Dr. Elisha Harris, of New York, relative to this notorious "Margaret, the Mother of Criminals," of Westchester County, New York. The total number of family generations, beginning with the vagrant girls, of whom Margaret was one, is six. The total number of persons in the line of the six generations is 709, of whom 540 were descended as full blood or direct inheritors. Of these, 140 depended on "out-door" relief, at town expense, and they have a public record of 734 years' relief counted by names. Sixty-four persons of the stock are registered in county almshouses as inmates, since 1826, and their individual residence therein amounts to ninety-six years. Seventy-six persons of the stock have a public record of 115 indictable crimes (felonies), for which they have suffered 116 years of imprisonment under sentence. Pauperism has prevailed in the debased stock of 709 persons in a ratio to the average rate of pauperism in the State of New York, as respects women, of 7.6 to 1; as respects men, of 9.3 to 1; and as respects the whole 709 persons, full blood and intermarried, of 6.7
Dr. Harris says: "You will recall the fact that it was the five offenders of all ages and with four family names in the jail, and six criminal children in our House of Refuge, that served to indicate the lines of entailments, and the debased environments of family life to be traced back." The parentage of the vagrant girls is hidden in the low vagabondage of an inebriate. The younger of the group of girls became the most conspicuous mother, — "Margaret, the Mother of Criminals." Dr. Harris says: "Debased as the stock became in the successive generations, I have reason to believe, that, in any of the generations, most of the individual members in it could have been rescued and saved from vice and offences by a prompt and reasonable care and training of the children, and a righteous administration of common justice in the treatment of all dependents."

Mr. Brown supplemented the letter with some similar statistics of vagabondage in Detroit, which he has not yet in suitable shape for publication, but which he expects to make public at some future day. He related an instance of one mother who boldly maintained that her children were her own to rear as she chose, even if it were for lives of infamy and prostitution, and the officers of the law seemed powerless to interfere. Mr. Brown said it was a serious question what legislation is necessary to rescue such children. The arm of the law cannot be extended into a family to take a child away from its parents, who are its natural protectors, and yet the interests of society require that children be removed from influences which are clearly and surely converting them into outlaws.

Mr. Letchworth, of New York, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this conference recommend that the various State Boards of Charities use their influence to bring about such legislation in their respective States, as shall cause dependent children to be removed from county poor-houses, city almshouses and common jails, and from all association with adult paupers and criminals, and placed in families, asylums, reformatories, or other appropriate institutions.

Resolved, That this conference also recommend that a systematic plan of visitation of dependent children, that have been placed in families, be adopted under legal sanction; and that officials having supervision over such children cause periodical reports to be made to them, by guardians, of their physical condition, moral training, educational advantages, and general well-being, and by thus manifesting a sympathy in their welfare, strengthen self-respect, and awaken a stronger pride of character in this unfortunate class.

The resolutions being open for discussion, Dr. Allen, of Massa-
chusetts, described the means which had been resorted to in that State to get the children out of the poor-houses and into schools or indentured in families. It was found necessary to establish a visiting agency to look after children before and after they were indentured. This agency has been in operation, in one form or another, for nearly nine years. Great good had been effected by rescuing boys who had been charged with petty offences from undergoing punishment in common jails, and giving them a chance to retrieve their character in a school or other institution which could afford the necessary restraint without entailing disgrace. The efforts of the agency were successful and encouraging.

Prof. Ford, of Niles, asked what effect the compulsory school law in New York would have on the vagrant children of New York. Other debate followed, and the resolutions of Mr. Letchworth were then laid upon the table for further consideration.

On motion of Mr. Sanborn, the following vote was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Conference of Boards of Public Charities, in the United States, be given to Miss Mary Carpenter, of Bristol, England, for her valuable paper, read at the Conference of Charities, in Detroit, May 13, 1875; and that the Secretaries of the Conference be instructed to transmit this vote to Miss Carpenter.

A portion of the morning session was next occupied with the reading, by Mr. Sanborn, of an abstract of a paper, submitted in French, by M. Bonneville de Marsangy, a venerable judge of France, under the Empire. This abstract is given elsewhere. Neither this paper nor that on Medical Charities was debated, but they were referred at once to the appropriate Committees of the Conference.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Letchworth, were then taken from the table and the consideration thereof renewed.

Dr. Hoyt said the story of Margaret, as related by Dr. Harris, was in no sense a fiction, but rested on well-authenticated facts, and is typical of other families all over the country. Every township, nearly, has its Margaret, or Mother of Criminals. The only difference is, that very few of such families reach the sixth generation, as hers had done. The degenerate stock generally dies out with the second or third. He related one instance of a pauper family in New York, the history of which was a matter of record. Many years ago, a widow with two promising children was admitted to a poor-house, and in six months became reconciled to pauper life. Had the children at that time been placed in a respectable family, they
would, no doubt, have grown up useful citizens, but they were allowed to grow up as paupers. As a consequence, this family is now represented by four generations of paupers, who have entailed great social evils and expense upon the country. The speaker deprecated the policy of making poor-houses comfortable retreats for children, as its natural effect is to increase pauperism.

Hon. C. I. Walker, of Detroit, followed with a few remarks on the difficulties with which the question is beset legally. The exact relation of the State to its minor wards, the children of its paupers and criminals, has yet to be defined. Its duty to indigent orphans and abandoned children is not questioned, but it is a grave question how far it is warranted in interfering with families to rescue children from crime and pauperism, who are still in the keeping of parents.

Rev. Mr. Brown, of Detroit, thought that the State had a clear right to interfere where the avowed purpose of the parent is to train up the child to crime, as in the case he had previously referred to, where the mother claimed the right to train her daughter for prostitution, if she chose. Interference is, in such cases, a duty the State owes both to itself and to the child.

Rev. Dr. Aikman, of Detroit, insisted upon home influence as opposed to the influence of asylums and reformatories in the education of neglected children, and argued that many of the evils might be remedied by legislation addressed, not directly to the children, but to their parents and guardians.

Prof. H. A. Ford, of Niles, Mich., raised the question how far school education could be depended upon to reduce crime by reforming criminals. It is asserted, on what appears to be good authority, that the portion of illiterates among criminals is not greater than among other classes, and that to a certain extent education only stimulates evil propensities which might otherwise have lain dormant. Dr. Draper, of New York, has collected startling statistics on that point, and the speaker thought little progress could be made in the treatment of juvenile offenders until that question is settled.

Mr. Henry W. Lord, of Pontiac, said he believed the theory of government with which the Marseilles Hymn sets out is the correct one, namely, that both children and adults are children of the State, and he, therefore, maintained that the State has a duty to perform in protecting its wards from each other, or its children from their debased and criminal parents. As to the relation of illiteracy to crime, the speaker said the most respectable convicts
are, as a general thing, the murderers. Many of them are men of character and education, who took life in a moment of anger, and are in prison expiating their crimes along with pauper and illiterate criminals, who are in every way their inferiors.

Mr. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, said it was very evident that the legislation of the country had drifted away from what it was two hundred years ago. In those times there was no uncertainty felt as to what the State had a right to do to protect itself from criminals. The authorities did not hesitate to step into the family and instruct the parent that he must see that his child shall be taught to read the Bible and obey the laws. We should get back to first principles. Dr. Eddy, of Detroit, said ministers are doing much for vagrant children, but their efforts should be supplemented by the aid of scientists, lawyers and others. He did not believe anything would be gained by going back to the legislation of two hundred years ago. As an old New Englander, he believed there was more drunkenness and licentiousness before the American Revolution than for the past twenty-five years. There is no way to get rid of the evils of heredity in children, until we have got rid of all improper marriages among adults. This may be brought about by individual effort sometime between now and the millennium, but not by legislation. The speaker expressed his conviction that unwarranted interference in the family, by legislation, would be far more demoralizing to society than would the neglect of children, the evil which it was sought to remedy. The conference then adjourned till afternoon.

Mr. George L. Harrison, of Philadelphia, President of the Pennsylvania Board of Public Charities for several years past, until his recent resignation, not being able to attend the conference at Detroit, sent to the Secretary the following paper on the subject discussed by Miss Carpenter, which is here printed as a valuable contribution to the discussion. Mr. Harrison writes:

**NEGLIGENCE, DESTITUTE AND FRIENDLESS CHILDREN.**

The subject of the training and education of the destitute, neglected and vicious children of the State, has engaged the attention of the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania, for several years, and has been discussed in its several Reports to the Legislature. The class referred to exists in large numbers in every Commonwealth of the Union, but, of course, mainly in the cities and thickly settled communities, and its pernicious influence disturbs, sooner or later, the peace and good order and respectable character of the whole State.

This large army of neglected children growing up in idleness, ignorance, vice and crime, who are not only destined to increase our taxes, to
endanger our property, and disturb our peace, to infest our highways and streets with mendicancy, pillage and violence, to crowd the docks of our court rooms, and fill our almshouses and our prisons; but who are soon to exercise with us, and over us, the sovereignty of the elective franchise, marching up to the polls with added thousands of new recruits every year, these are the cancerous source of what is probably the greatest peril to which the State and its free institutions are exposed. This evil, the common school system, as at present organized, can never reach and remedy. These "neglected children," with whom we have to deal, are not mainly those who lose the benefit of the public schools from the carelessness or wilfulness of parents, but those, chiefly, who are deprived of those benefits in consequence of their destitution of any parental guardianship; their vagabond lives, their want of the very means of subsistence, if they should go to school, their ragged and filthy condition, or their depraved and vicious habits and intractable characters, rendering it unfit for them to be received at school with the other children, or making it improper or impossible for them to be retained there. The reclaiming and education of these children could not be secured by any law of compulsory attendance at school merely, but means must also be provided to supply them with food and clothing and proper domestic guardianship while they are receiving their education at school. If compulsion is needed elsewhere, charity, also, is needed here. Our schools may be ever so free and open, and sufficient for all, but these children will still remain outside. This is the lesson not only of our own past experience, but wherever the system of free schools has been tried, whether in Europe or America, in New England or Old England, in New York or in any other of our sister States.

There is absolutely no adequate provision made for the "education" of this class, by any legislature or municipality in the country. Like the blind and the deaf-mute, they remain "outside" because of some deficiency, which is as despotic and restraining as the want of speech or sight is to the former. It is the deficiency of home care and guardianship, and for this they are no more responsible than are the blind, and the mute, and the feeble minded. Must they starve or go naked in order that they may avail of the educational provisions of the State? They are of the "unfortunates" of the State, wherever the State exists, and they must have some kind of substitution for the lost parent, or the degraded parent, or the parent who abandons them in their helplessness, just as the blind must have the "raised letter," and the deaf-mute the manual alphabet or "sign language," to make it possible for them to receive the benefit of "education." This destitution which they suffer, and which debars them from entrance into the "common" schools, may be cared for and relieved by private benevolence, while the State provides the "educational" service, by contributing a proper and given sum in behalf of each inmate of schools established by private effort, for the industrial training and the education of this class. The State, of course, exercising the right of inspection, in order to see that the money it grants is not squandered or misapplied, and reserving the power of revoking its sanction and withholding its aid, whenever it judges that there is occasion for such a course.
It seems unaccountable, that, with us, where the only surety for our institutions is the virtue and intelligence of our people, it should not be thought worth while to reclaim that wild, vagrant and abject class of youth, who live, of necessity, in the atmosphere of ignorance and debasement, and who not only furnish the material for our prisons and almshouses, but largely aid in making the laws under which we live.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

May 13, 1875.

The Conference reassembled at 3 o'clock, P. M., Hon. C. I. Walker, in the chair, and the resolutions offered in the forenoon by Mr. Letchworth, were first taken up.

Mr. Sanborn said:

The experience of Massachusetts has taught that it is not always best to put the children taken from almshouses and homes entirely into the hands of paid State officials. Gov. Bagley, in his opening address, yesterday morning, spoke with enthusiasm of that new Michigan charity, the State Public School at Coldwater, and we in Massachusetts would say "amen" to all that he uttered on that subject. He did not dwell on the "Visiting Agency" law of Michigan, as he might have done, for it contains the germ of a noble work, that should go hand in hand with the work done at the new State school. I have been examining that law, and I am inclined to think it in some respects an improvement upon the Visiting Agency law of Massachusetts, to which Dr. Allen this morning made allusion. Our law looks towards centralization, and puts the work of placing children in families, and of visiting them while there, in the hands of a few salaried officials, who traverse the State, but have their head-quarters at Boston, the capital. The Michigan law, on the contrary, provides for local visitors who are to look after the children brought before the courts or placed out in families, in each county. Each method has its advantages, and there are objections to each, but, on the whole, the Michigan plan strikes me as better, and we are now trying in Massachusetts to localize our work of this sort, in place of centralizing it too strictly. The children would probably be visited oftener, their real condition become better known, and the interests of all parties better promoted by local or resident visitors, than by regular agents making a business of what must be, in part, a work of charity. There is need of a central bureau, but there is equal need of all the local knowledge and philanthropic interest that can be enlisted in the supervision of these "children of the State."

The resolutions of Mr. Letchworth were then unanimously adopted, and the Conference proceeded to the remaining business of the afternoon session.
The only paper read at the afternoon session was that on "Immigration," prepared by Hamilton A. Hill, Esq., of Boston, Massachusetts, and read by Dr. Luther, of Pennsylvania, as follows:

IMMIGRATION.

BY HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL, OF BOSTON.

This subject has already been treated before this Association in a paper, by Mr. Friedrich Kapp, of much breadth and ability, read at the meeting held in New York in October, 1869. The questions, why do people emigrate, who are those who emigrate, and why is the United States the favorite land of the emigrant, were then so well and so fully answered that nothing more need be attempted under these heads. The further questions discussed by Mr. Kapp, as to the capital value of immigration to this country, the relation of immigration to the population and wealth of this country, and the respective duties of the general government, and of the several States, to the immigrant, will be referred to more or less directly, in presenting such considerations as may now be suggested, and may perhaps receive some fresh elucidation from what has been taking place during the last five or six years.

1. Our attention will naturally be first directed to the present falling off in immigration to the United States.

The tide from Europe reached its maximum height in 1854, when the arrivals were 427,833. Only once since, we believe, have they exceeded 400,000 in any one calendar year; this was in 1873, when they were 422,545. In 1874 they declined to 260,814. This was less considerably than the immigration of any previous year since 1864, and less, by nearly forty per cent. than that of 1873.*

The reason of this decline it will not be difficult to find. Mr. Kapp has tersely stated the rule which governs the movement of emigration to the United States: "Bad times in Europe regularly increase and bad times in America invariably diminish immigration." In the present instance, certainly, there can be no doubt that "bad times in America" have led to the diminished numbers. However serious the great failures of the autumn of 1873, and the general depression of trade throughout the country subsequently, have been felt to be by those at home, they have seemed much

*The immigration to the United States during the first six months of the current year, 1875, was 106,825. The immigration during the fiscal year, ended June 30, 1875, was 227,498, which was less by 85,841, than that of the previous fiscal year. For these figures we are indebted to Dr. Young, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Washington.
more serious when regarded from abroad, and especially by for­
gniers who know comparatively little of the resources and under­
stand still less the recuperative powers of this young and vigorous
country. Nor does the press of Europe at such times err on the
side of underestimating financial and industrial difficulties in the
United States. On the continent the ruling influence is directly
opposed to emigration to any and all countries, and in Great Brit­
ain, it not unnaturally prefers and favors the British colonies. It
can readily be understood, therefore, why many who may have
been proposing, a year and a half ago, to cross the seas and settle
among us, should have been induced, by what they have heard and
read, either to postpone their emigration or to change their desti­
nation; and why many more, who, during the same period, may
have been brought to consider emigration as a question personal
to themselves and their families, should have left the United States
out of the account. Perhaps, under all the circumstances, the
wonder is that at such an unpropitious time, more than a quarter
of a million of the people of Europe had the discernment and the
courage to come hither in 1874 and cast in their lot with us.

There has not only been a check in the flow of the stream in this
direction, but there has been a strong current setting from the
United States towards the shores of Europe. The general dulness
of trade in America, in connection with unprecedentedly low rates
of railway and steamship fares, afforded an opportunity to our
foreign born citizens, particularly to those engaged in mechanical
and manufacturing industries, to return to their old homes for the
purpose of visiting their friends, or of obtaining temporary em­
ployment, or for the two purposes combined. At one time last
summer, owing to the severe competition among both the railway
and the steamship companies, passengers were conveyed on
through tickets from Chicago to Queenstown or Liverpool for sev­
teene dollars each, currency; and it is easy to see how strong
the inducement to take a trip across the Atlantic must have been
to those who, at the time, were out of employ, or could not obtain
such wages as they desired. Instances there undoubtedly were of
personal disappointment and loss among those who filled the
steamship steerages between America and Europe last year; but
we believe them to have been altogether exceptional, and that the
large majority will return to us at no distant day. The number of
those who landed from homeward bound steamers at Queenstown and
Liverpool in 1874 is reported as 77,146 against about 38,000 in
1873. We have not been able to ascertain the number of passen­
gers who landed at German ports, but we are informed that about 4,000 persons returned to Sweden during the year. It is probable not only that most of these people will return to the United States, but that they will bring with them, or influence the coming of, many others. It will appear, in due time, that they have been serving as most efficient promoters of emigration, in the countries to which they have gone, and the information they will impart in their personal contact with friends and acquaintances, and the encouragement which their appearance and experience will afford, will, no doubt, help to swell the numbers of immigrants to the United States for years to come.

2. This brings us to our second point, the probabilities with regard to the extent of immigration to this country in the future.

While we may confidently expect that circumstances on this side of the Atlantic, which have caused the present falling off in the arrivals on our shores, are temporary only and will cease to be operative before long, we may be sure, also, that the reasons which lead multitudes in Europe to decide upon changing their residence and allegiance, are, to say the least, becoming no less potential from year to year. Excepting in Ireland, emigration has caused no perceptible diminution in the population which crowds the countries of the old world; while many things conspire to render emigration desirable, if not indispensable, to an increasing number both of individuals and families.

Ireland has been our chief source of supply in the past, and during the last forty years has contributed to our population nearly three millions of her people. During the years 1847 to 1854 inclusive, the arrivals from Ireland averaged one hundred and fifty thousand per annum. In only one year since 1854 have they reached one hundred thousand; this was in 1867, when they were 108,857. Ireland still stands second in the tables, after Germany, which, since 1865, has been first. The exceptional circumstances and conditions which in past years increased Irish emigration to such large proportions do not now exist, and in the future it will be governed mainly by the same considerations which affect emigration in England and in Scotland.

Since 1869 the emigration of English to all parts of the world has been larger than that of Irish, and while the latter has hardly held its own from year to year, the former has been steadily increasing. In 1873 the English emigration outnumbered the Irish in the proportion of three to two, although, of course, it was far below the Irish when the respective populations are taken into
account. In 1872, upwards of eighty thousand English arrived in the United States, and as soon as times improve with us we may expect a repetition of these numbers, and probably an advance upon them. Not only in the classes represented by Ginx's Baby and Little Hodge, but in all others the size of English families is such, as a rule, that except among the very rich adequate provision cannot be made for the younger children at home, and the increase in the cost of living seriously aggravates the difficulty.*

Land is steadily increasing in value, and so much more capital is required now than formerly for its cultivation that, as the Daily Telegraph said, not long ago, it will soon have to be cultivated with a "silver plow." The position of the English farmer is a very trying one, between the landlord on the one hand, and the agricultural laborer on the other. In his relations with the former he has to deal with many perplexing questions connected with the granting and renewal of leases, and the value of exhausted and unexhausted improvements, which, fortunately, we know nothing about in the United States; and he finds himself still more embarrassed by the demands of the laborer for more wages, backed as these are by union organizations. There can be little doubt that when the farmers of England, and especially the younger men among them and their sons, shall come to understand, as some of them are beginning to do, the advantages offered them by a settlement in this country, where there is plenty of land and free scope, where they can at once become their own landlords, and where they can buy a farm for what the rental for one year would be in England, or less, there will be such a movement hither from among this class as will take most of us by surprise, and from other classes also, for most Englishmen are fond of the land and take kindly to agricultural pursuits.

The settlers in the British colonies are English in about the proportion of two to three, but three-fourths of the total emigration from the United Kingdom is to the United States. Until 1873 the proportion of English going to the colonies as compared with other destinations had not varied much for several years; but during 1873 and 1874, by means of "assisted passages," "free

*There is hardly a family in England which has not one or more of its members in America, in Australia or in India, many of them having gone abroad when quite young. Dickens wrote, rather sadly, of his son Walter, the fourth of nine children, on his departure for India, where he died, that he was going before he well knew he was alive, or what life was, which, indeed, he added, seems to be rather an advanced state of knowledge.
grants,” and other inducements offered in the interest of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, there has been a large increase in the number of emigrants to these countries especially to that last named. The emigration to New Zealand alone, for 1874, is reported at about forty-two thousand, which is nearly three times as many as the departures for Australia and New Zealand combined in 1872. A large number of these people were agricultural laborers and their families. The preponderance of even English emigration, however, will continue to be in favor of the United States, not to name other reasons, because of the shortness of the voyage hither, as compared with Australia and New Zealand, and the superiority of the climate and the land, as compared with most of Canada.

Scotch emigration has taken a new start since 1868, and is now about twenty thousand a year. Of this number the United States receives rather more than one-half. Canada has succeeded in attracting a large share of these settlers, who, as agriculturists and horticulturists especially, are a most valuable acquisition to any country. It has been said of Scotchmen that “they are never so much at home as when they are abroad,” and certainly there are no better emigrants than they, and none who more readily adapt themselves to new conditions and to a new country. In Scotland, also, as in England, the large capital now required for cultivating the soil, presses the alternative of emigration upon the attention of farmers and their sons. Professor Caird says that on a farm in the Lothians, rented at £1,000, while £25 was the outlay on foreign manures forty years ago, at the present day twice the rent would not be thought an extravagant expenditure on fertilizers and cattle food.*

The emigration from Sweden and Norway has become important since 1866. Nearly the whole of it is attracted to this country, and as much pains have been taken of late to spread information about the United States in the North of Europe, and as the facilities for transportation hither are improving year by year, a large gain may be looked for from this source. Nothing could help this more than the return of the four thousand persons last year to whom reference has been made.

From Russia some important communities, Mennonites and others, have begun to transfer their homes to the United States. The arrivals in 1873 and 1874 (together about 11,000) were more

* See the Times, January 11, 1875.
Germany has already sent us more than two and a half millions of people, and will, no doubt, continue to be our largest source of supply. The arrivals in 1873 were 133,141; in 1874, 56,927. The laws of the empire relating to military service and conscription, together with the prevailing fear of further continental wars, stimulate emigration from Germany more than all other considerations combined. The recent enactment of the Imperial Parliament which in the event of war, will render every able-bodied man in the empire, between the ages of eighteen and sixty, liable to do military duty, and which makes more stringent even than heretofore, all the regulations relating to military service, will influence thousands upon thousands to come to the United States, who, but for these laws and for the misgiving that occasion may come for, their enforcement, would greatly prefer to remain in their native land. The German Government, which during the last few years, has bitterly opposed the emigration of its subjects, will, no doubt, seek to render it still more difficult for them to get away, but the effect of this opposition will probably be to make them only the more anxious and the more determined to leave.

3. Something may be inferred as to the character and value of the immigration now reaching us and likely to come hither in the future, from what has already been said; but more may be added on this point.

Abject poverty, which, at one time was the rule, is now the exception among those who arrive in the United States as immigrants. In 1851 the Marquis of Lansdowne gave free emigration to America to "every man, woman and child in the poor-house, or receiving relief, and chargeable to his estate" in Ireland, and during that year 3,500 paupers were sent over from the Union of Kenmare alone.* Within the limits of that Union, 5,000 had died.

*Mr. W. Steuart Trench, author of "Realities of Irish Life," testified before the select committee of the House of Lords on the Irish Tenure of Land bill, that in the years immediately succeeding the famine, the Marquis of Bath expended £7,988 in assisting 2,459 persons to emigrate, and the Marquis of Lansdowne £17,059 for 4,616 persons. Mr. Trench was agent in Ireland for both these noblemen; and in his interesting book above named, a remarkable contrast is drawn between what these people were when they left their native land, and what they had become a few years later. He says: "It must be admitted that the paupers despatched to America on such a sudden pressure as this were of a very motley type, and a strange figure, these wild batches of two hundred each, most of them speaking only the Irish language, made in the streets of Cork." * * * * I am happy to say that the most favorable accounts have been received, and are to this day coming back from every quarter to which the emigrants were despatched. Money in large quantities has been sent home by them to their friends."
of starvation during the famine, and the more intelligent and enterprising among the landed proprietors in Ireland and their agents, saw no other course before them but (to use the words of one of them) "to free the estates from the mass of pauperism which had been allowed to accumulate upon them, and to put the people in a far better way of earning their bread than they had ever known before." There was less excuse for the deportation to America, at the expense of the landlords or of the government, of Ribbonmen and other dangerous characters. But those sad times have passed away, let us hope never to return. It is said that Mr. Gladstone's Irish land law increased the selling value of Irish property from twelve to twenty per cent. This has made it practicable for the landlords to deal more liberally with their tenants in terminating their leases and in compensating them for improvements, so that those of them who emigrate are able to provide themselves with good outfits, and they all start with more or less money in their pockets. The English, Scotch and Germans who come to us are almost all fairly supplied with capital in clothing, tools and money, and many of them bring large sums with them. The Topeka Commonwealth, in referring last autumn to the arrival in Kansas of a Mennonite colony consisting of two thousand persons, said that the capital they brought with them amounted to a million and a half of dollars.

From the nature of the case it is impossible to arrive at any precise estimate of the amount of money annually brought into the country by immigrants. An attempt was made a few years ago at Castle Garden to obtain information on this point from the passengers themselves, and, as the result of the inquiry, the Immigration Commissioners fixed upon $68 as the estimated average amount for each passenger. There is no doubt, however, that many of these people failed to make correct returns, naturally hesitating to talk about their private affairs, or to display their means, to strangers. Mr. Kapp, who found evidence of this in the course of his own observation, fixed the average amount at $150. This was several years ago, and it is our belief that since then the amount of capital in money or effects brought by immigrants has greatly increased, and that the estimate of $150 would now be much within the truth. At this moderate estimate, however, and with the reduced immigration of 260,000, our country is gaining from this source of wealth at the rate of nearly $40,000,000 per annum.

What is the economic value of each immigrant to the land of
his adoption? Mr. Kapp, from carefully considered data, places it at $1,125. Dr. Edward Young, of Washington, thinks this too high, and has fixed it at $800. Other statisticians would perhaps reach still different results. But whatever process we may adopt in making our calculations, it is evident that the annual increase to the capitalized wealth of the country, by this influx from beyond the sea, must be reckoned by more than tens of millions.

Here is still another view of the subject. Dr. Young says: "It is impossible to make an intelligent estimate of the value to the country of those foreign born citizens who have brought their educated minds, their cultivated tastes, their skill in the arts, and their inventive genius. In almost every walk of life their influence has been felt. Alike in the fearful ordeal of war and in the pursuits of peace, in our legislative halls and in the various learned professions, the adopted sons of America have attained eminence."

4. It remains for us to speak of our duties to immigration and to the immigrant.

It need hardly be said that the general government should encourage such immigration as has been referred to, in every practicable way. Not that it is called upon to send its agents to the Old World to make the people there dissatisfied with the institutions and conditions under which they have been born and trained, and to urge their coming across the sea to us. These people are finding out for themselves, in a natural and spontaneous way, the advantages to be gained by emigration, and they receive all the special information they desire from our consuls, from the representatives of the great railroad companies which have lands to sell, and from the steamship companies which are competing among themselves for their conveyance to the New World. Nor need we offer assisted passages or any pecuniary inducement to those who, without them, cannot emigrate at all. We will extend every opportunity, on their arrival, to those who may land upon our shores absolutely poor, and will point them to the encouraging example of hundreds of thousands of the same condition who have preceded them, and who, by industry and Providence, have marvellously changed their circumstances for the better; but we can afford to let the majority of this class go to the colonies, where they are needed more than by us, leaving those to come here who bring something with them with which to make their own start in life.

The duty of the general government in this matter, as we
conceive, is to protect the immigrant, by suitable enactments, in his passage across the sea; to welcome him on his arrival, with the promise, after the lapse of a proper interval, of full and equal citizenship; and to secure him in the enjoyment of all his newly acquired rights, by treaty with the power from whose sovereignty and protection he has separated himself; and this threefold duty the government has already sought in good faith to perform.

Both the United States and Great Britain have endeavored by stringent legislation to regulate the steerage passenger traffic on the Atlantic, and with a good degree of success. Of all classes of travellers, none, probably, are protected in their lives and persons by such thorough precautions, as emigrants. The English Emigration Commissioners, in a recent report to the Colonial Office, stated that during a period of twenty years, the percentage of loss of life on board emigrant ships was only seventeen in every ten thousand, or less than two in every thousand emigrants. Something more than mere safety also has been aimed at. Macaulay speaks of "that sensitive and restless compassion which pries into the stores and water casks of every emigrant ship," and the result of this enterprising philanthropy is, that in the vessels of the great steamship lines which navigate the Atlantic, the wants of the steerage passengers are, upon the whole, well cared for, and there seems to be an honest desire on the part of the companies to do all that, under the circumstances, can be done for their comfort. Still, for every reason, this traffic should be closely watched, and it is most desirable that the laws which regulate it should be uniform on both sides of the Atlantic. There should also be treaties among the several powers interested, so that the jurisdiction of each and all over the officers and crews of vessels employed in the conveyance of emigrant passengers, and over their acts upon the high seas, may be fully secured and clearly defined.

When the passenger has been landed and has passed through the custom house with his effects, the direct responsibility of the general government with regard to his movements, terminates and ceases; and it would be most undesirable, as, indeed, it would be found most impracticable, to seek to extend it further. The several States and the several municipalities under whose jurisdiction immigrants come, after the custom house officer has done with them, are abundantly able to protect them; and they may safely be trusted to frame such local legislation in the interest of this traffic, as will attract to each, and enable each to hold its proper
share of it. All things considered, Castle Garden is open to but little criticism, while the arrangements at Boston and Baltimore are unexceptionable. We would take occasion, however, to protest against the imposition of the head money or capitation tax at the port of New York. Massachusetts, in the interest of her commerce, and as a matter of principle, has abolished this tax. She does not wish to support any of her hospitals, asylums, or other charities, at the expense of the immigrant, or to levy upon him, in any form, a toll for the privilege of crossing her domain on his way to the West. It is said, to be sure, that the steamship company, and not the immigrant, pays this tax; but there can be no question that every outlay incurred by a steamship company in bringing immigrants to this country and in landing them here, is and must be taken into the account beforehand in determining the rate of passage; and as competition increases and the margin of profit is continually diminishing; every particular expenditure, large or small, must be carefully scrutinized and allowed for. It is by no means clear that the capitation tax is a constitutional one; its collection, certainly, is unworthy of any of the great commonwealths on the seaboard; and it is opposed to the interests of the country at large.*

Nothing more liberal can be asked for than our naturalization laws as they now stand. The treaties also, into which our government has entered with various European powers, by which the absolute American citizenship of those who transfer their allegiance to the United States is recognized and confirmed, are satisfactory. We hope, however, that the government will hesitate before giving its consent to the limitation of these treaties in any of their existing provisions. It is said, for example, that German parents, anxious to save their sons from involuntary military service, send them to America, where they remain long enough to become American citizens, and are then recalled to Germany to take up their permanent abode there. There are such instances, undoubtedly, but they are exceptional, and no law or treaty can be found to meet every exceptional case that may arise under it. It is the duty and privilege of the United States to throw wide open the portals of its citizenship, and to welcome all who come hither, without seeking to inquire into the particular motives of self-interest which prompt each instance of immigration. Neither can our government undertake to deal with the considerations which lead naturalized citizens to return, for a longer or shorter

* On this point the writer is compelled to differ from Mr. Kapp.
period, to their native country. It is not its fault if these motives, in the one case or the other, are thought to conflict with the supposed necessities of nations, which, for their own purposes, maintain immense military organizations, and which enact stringent military laws under which their people grow restive. It must protect everywhere those who have sworn allegiance to it, leaving them free to go and come at their pleasure. No citizens of the United States, native or naturalized, are more warmly attached to their country than those of German birth; still, various circumstances may and do require many of them to return to and for a time to remain in fatherland, and there should be no difficulty, whether of treaty stipulation or of any other nature, in the way of their doing so.

The unwillingness of the countries from which we are drawing population to part with that which in such volume flows towards us, may fairly be taken as measuring for us the importance of this immigration to the national prosperity. Sir Walter Scott makes one of his characters, in "Peveril of the Peak," say: "The land has shaken from her lap, as a drunkard flings from him his treasures, so much that is precious in the eyes of God and His children." This is not the estimate now put by the nations of Europe, on either individual emigrants or emigrating classes. Even Great Britain, overcrowded as she is,* looks wistfully after the tens of thousands of her vigorous and enterprising children who, year by year are leaving their island home, and, at the least, she would retain their services and their fealty under her flag in the various colonies, the younger sisters of the United States, which still cling to their old mother. We have seen what the feeling of Germany is. The Swiss government regards with as little favor as any of its neighbors, the disposition of its people to become citizens of the Great Republic. Russia, for special reasons, is just now permitting the emigration of certain communities outside the Greek Communion, but we believe a limit has been fixed to the time during which this movement will be permitted.

It is more than probable that, for all these nations, there are compensations that more than make up to them for what they are losing numerically by emigration; but however this may be, it becomes us to be no less closely observant than they of the

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*Mr. Trench and others, who in the midst of the horrors of the Irish famine promoted the emigration of naked and starving paupers, were bitterly denounced, then and long afterwards, as enemies of their country.
perpetual tendency of population to migrate from the Old World to the New; and we ought to make it manifest to the immigrant on his arrival among us, that his coming here is as much an occasion of gratification to us as his departure from his native land is a cause of dissatisfaction to those he is leaving behind him.

**DISCUSSION OF MR. HILL'S PAPER.**

At the conclusion of Mr. Hill's valuable paper, to which the members of the Conference listened with attention and satisfaction, there was a general expression of their satisfaction, except in regard to a single point,—the collection of a capitation tax or "head money" from immigrants for the relief of immigrant paupers.

After some remarks by Mr. Sanborn, Mr. Letchworth, of New York, said:—Without attempting to enter into any discussion upon the able paper which has just been presented, I desire to express a single thought in reference to it. Embodied in the views elaborated by Mr. Hill there is a broad philanthropic sentiment so acceptable to our American ideas, that without care, we might, perhaps, under our Immigration system, be led to overlook the necessity of enforcing certain necessary measures of State policy, and in consequence not only retard the prosperity of that class of emigrants who come to our shores impelled by motives of industry and hopes of respectable citizenship; but, at the same time, plant among us seeds of social corruption which must with the lapse of time bear most baneful fruit. My personal observation in various poor-houses in the State of New York, leads me to believe, that the number of unnaturalized foreign paupers is greater than is generally supposed, and I am convinced that at the present time an organized system exists in other countries for shipping hopelessly dependent persons to this country. The very latest case that came under my notice was that of a sickly lad in a county poor-house, who had been about forty days in this country, and who had been shipped without any home destination. He had been sent away from his native province after becoming blind in consequence of an injury, and immediately after it had become evident that he must be a public charge for life. The exportation of dependents and criminals to this country is a grievous evil, and should not be lost sight of. If the "head money" tax, as it is called, has a tendency to diminish it, then it should rather be increased and made more generally applicable than set aside altogether. If, upon principles of universal philanthropy we should receive with open arms all that come to us, should we not at least exact some slight tribute from the emigrant class as a whole, to bear a proportion of the burden of the infirmities they bring with them? I myself am of the opinion that instead of relaxation more stringent protective laws are demanded.

Mr. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, said, that while he agreed with Mr. Hill in most things, he could not go with him in recommending the abolition of the so-called capitation tax, or head-money, where it is now levied. He had opposed abolishing it in Massachusetts, because it was at once the most equitable and the most beneficent of all the taxes levied
DISCUSSION OF MR. HILL'S PAPER.

there. In legal strictness it could not be called a tax, nor was it so, in
fact, being rather an insurance assessment or premium, in virtue of
which the immigrants became entitled to public support by the State, should
they fall into distress within five years from the time of their landing in
Massachusetts. As a matter of fact, this insurance fund did not reimburse
the State of Massachusetts for the direct outlay made necessary by the
landing of so many persons there, who, within five years, became paupers;
but it relieved the public treasury from perhaps half of the burden thus
thrown upon it. As for the justice of assessing the whole body of the
immigrants in order to pay the pauper expenses directly consequent upon
immigration, a single illustration would suffice to show that no poor-rate
is more just than this. Here is the State of Rhode Island, lying half
way between New York and Boston, with a population of perhaps 250,000,
which is about the average number of immigrants landed at the two
ports of New York and Boston during the past ten years, while for the
past thirty years the number landed at these two ports has been above
the average population of Rhode Island.* Now, if it would have been
just and right for the State of Rhode Island to throw upon its two sister
States, New York and Massachusetts, the whole burden of its pauperism,
for these thirty years, then it would have been exactly as just for these
two States to support the burden of pauperism brought upon them by
the yearly arrival of a population as large as that of Rhode Island, and
quite as productive of paupers.

No, gentlemen, justice demands that each community should, so far as
possible, provide for its own poor, and if we have the population of a
great city yearly landed upon our shores, some means must be devised
to make that immigrant community furnish a fund for relieving its poor,
nursing its sick, and caring for its insane, blind, and otherwise incapable
members. The collection of "head-money" at the port where these
immigrants land, is the simplest and most effective device for this purpose;
it has worked well heretofore, and with some modifications, suggested by
experience, it will work well hereafter. The steamship companies, very
naturally, desire to avoid the payment of it, since by that evasion they
would add hundreds of thousands of dollars to their yearly income; and
it was by the efforts of these companies, and of their friends in Boston,
that the law authorizing the collection of "head-money" in Massachusetts,
was repealed. Attempts have been made, and large sums of money have
been paid by the steamship companies, to abolish or reduce the "head-
money" collection in New York. Thus far, wherever it has been
abolished or reduced, the immigrant has not shared in the reduction by
having his passage money diminished, while he has lost that certainty of
effectual and immediate relief which the insurance fund thus amassed
would give him. I believe, said Mr. Sanborn, and certainly I hope, that
the law providing for the collection of "head-money" will be re-enacted
for Massachusetts, either by the national legislature or by her own, and
that similar provision will be made for immigrant paupers, landed at

*From 1845 to 1889, a period of twenty-four years, the whole number of immigrants
landed at New York alone, exceeded 4,200,000, while about 350,000 landed in Boston,
giving an average at both ports of about 190,000 per year, while the average population
of Rhode Island was then less than 160,000.
Dr. Stone, of Kalamazoo, Mich., said that the capitation tax was a subject of interest in Michigan, for it might be that the levying of the tax in Boston and New York was the reason that so many immigrants were reaching this country through Michigan. More immigrants come into the United States through Port Huron, than through any other city except New York. He thought it fair that the West should protect itself as the East had done.

Dr. Hoyt, of New York, referred to the position taken by his Board in its last report on this question, and said that the constitutionality of levying "head-money," which Mr. Hill seemed to doubt, had been treated by an eminent lawyer, Mr. Pomeroy, of Rochester, in an elaborate legal opinion, printed in the report of the New York Board, for 1874.* Dr. Hoyt said that his State had made a great mistake in not providing some means of sending the sick emigrants to the West with their families. As it now is, those who are sick when landing at New York, remain there until recovery. Many of these consequently become permanent inmates of the almshouses in that State.

**FINAL PROCEEDINGS.**

The subject was discussed further, and was then referred, along with Mr. Hill's paper, to the Committee on Statistics and Legislation. To the same committee were referred the form of questions adopted and recommended by the Conference of Secretaries of the Boards, held in New York City, September 9, 1874, and the answers thus far given in the various States to these questions; with a view to investigation, revision, and further report. This form of questions, with the explanation accompanying, was printed in an Appendix to the Report of the Conference of Charities, at New York, in May, 1874, and is here reprinted for convenient reference.

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*Mr. Pomeroy uses the following language: "Now, the Legislature of New York has, from an early day down to the present time, passed Statutes whose only design was to prevent the importation of foreign criminals, paupers, lunatics, and other disabled persons, by throwing difficulties in the way of such traffic. These Statutes are acted upon daily, and have been for the past twenty-five years, and no one has ever suggested that they are invalid.** * * There can be no doubt that the United States has full power to legislate in the matter so as to protect itself against the evils of a criminal or pauper immigration. My attention has been called to a pamphlet published a few years ago by Mr. Frederick Kapp, in which he raises a question as to the power of Congress, and suggests the necessity of a constitutional amendment. The argument in his essay is at best extremely fine spun. It is based upon expressions used by individual judges in their opinions, and utterly neglects to notice what the court decided in the cases referred to. Among other points, he doubts whether Congress may legislate concerning persons, because of some observations made by certain judges. Whereas, the Supreme Court has expressly decided as the very ratio decidenait of a most important case, that rules in reference to the importation of persons are regulations of commerce. It is enough to say, however, that since Mr. Kapp's pamphlet was published, the United States Supreme Court has pronounced a series of decisions as to the regulation of commerce, which leave no possible room for doubt or question."
THE FORM FOR STATISTICAL INQUIRY.

It is proposed that all the Boards shall unite in answering the following questions in their next published reports.

Inquiries to be answered in the Annual Reports of the Boards of Public Charities.

I.—THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE BOARDS THEMSELVES.

1. When was your board established by law, of how many members does it consist, and what are its general powers and duties?
2. What special powers have since been conferred upon it, and which of its powers has it actually exercised?
3. What duties does it now perform, and in what precise method?
   A. Of Supervision. (Name all the establishments which it oversees, and state what powers it has towards these establishments.)
   B. Of Administration. (State whether it can transfer or discharge inmates, appoint or remove officers, control purchases, appropriations, or any of the details of the management of a public establishment; also, state whether your board has any control or regulation of immigration into the State, or of the removal of paupers or other dependents out of the State, or from one locality to another within the State; whether it has any judicial powers, or any control over the architecture of new public buildings.)
   C. Of Recommendation. (State whether your Board possesses and exercises the power of recommending changes in the laws or regulations affecting the public dependents; and what means it has for carrying those recommendations into effect.)
   D. Of Statistical Inquiry and Report. (State what these powers are, and how they have actually been exercised, if at all.)
4. What concurrent, conflicting or controlling boards or authorities exist in your State, which can and do further, impede or set aside the work of your board?

II.—THE NUMBER OF PUBLIC DEPENDENTS.

1. What was the aggregate and what the average number of public dependents in your State (whether under the oversight of your board or otherwise), for the year ending September 30 (or December 31), 1875?
   (a.) The aggregate number.
   (b.) The average number.
2. State the number in each class composing this aggregate number; namely,
   A. Paupers Fully Supported,
      In almshouses,
      In lunatic hospitals or asylums,
      In private families or otherwise.
B. Persons Aided or Partially Supported.
   In their own families,
   In hospitals, infirmaries and dispensaries,
   In asylums, schools, reformatories, prisons or elsewhere.
C. Paupers Removed or Transported,
   (This may include the care of vagrants, the burial of the
dead (not otherwise chargeable), the return of immi-
gants or interlopers to their own proper place, etc.)
D. Grand Aggregate of Paupers,
   Average of paupers. Number at the beginning and end of
   the year.
E. Insane Persons; viz.:
   Whole number in the State at a given date,
   Whole number in hospitals and asylums. (State the number
   of these supported at public expense, either by the
   State, the counties, or the cities and towns.)
   Whole number in almshouses and prisons,
   Whole number in private families. (State whether supported
   at public or private cost.)
   The average number in the above situations.
F. Aggregate of the insane,
   Average of the insane,
G. Aggregate of pupils in public reformatories,
   Average of pupils in public reformatories.
   (State how many of these are also included among paupers
   above-mentioned.)
H. Prisoners; viz.:
   Convicts in the State Prisons. (Whole number and average.)
   Convicts in houses of correction, district prisons and work-
houses. (Whole number. Average.)
   Convicts in jails and county prisons. (Whole number.
   Average.)
   Persons waiting trial or sentence, or the execution of sen-
tence. (Whole number. Average.)
   (State how many of each of these classes are males, how
   many females; also, how many are likewise included
   in any of the previously-named classes.)
N. B.—This is preliminary and essential to giving —
3. The grand total of all the public dependents for the year (duplicates
   excluded), and the average number; also the number at two given
dates, which should be the same in all the reports,—say the first
of January and the first of July, in each year.

III.—THE COST OF PUBLIC CHARITY AND CORRECTION.
1. The whole net cost of full support for paupers,
   A. In almshouses, etc. (as above).
2. The whole cost of aid and partial support,
   B. In their own families. (This is "out-door relief" strictly
   speaking.) In hospitals and dispensaries. In asylums,
schools, etc. (as above).
3. The whole cost of vagrants, burials, transportation, etc. (as above).
4. *Grand total of pauper cost.*
5. Cost of the insane. (Specify how much of this is included in the pauper cost, and give the items by classes, as above, under E.)
6. Cost of pupils in reformatories, etc. [Specify as in case of the insane.]
7. Cost of prisoners, their support and all expenses, deducting their cash earnings. (Specify how much of this is included above.)
8. The grand total of all the expenditure for public dependents, *excluding all duplications of cost,* and giving in the same connection the average number supported in each class, and the average net cost per week for each person.

IV. — THE PUBLIC PROVISION FOR BLIND, DEAF MUTE AND IDIOTIC PERSONS.
1. What is the whole number of blind persons in your State? Of deaf mutes? Of idiots?
2. How many of each class are at school, or in asylums where they are taught something, and how many of such establishments in your State?
3. What methods of instruction are employed? How many persons are subjected to each method, and at what cost annually? (State by whom this cost is paid; how much by the State, how much by the counties and cities, etc., how much by individuals.)

V. — HOSPITAL PROVISION FOR THE SICK.
1. How many hospitals for the sick, special and general, in your State? How many patients can they receive at once; and how many did they receive in the year 1875?
2. How many of these were pauper hospitals, and have their cost included in the pauper expenditure?
3. How many are supported or aided by appropriation of public money, made by (a) the State, (b) the counties, (c) the cities or towns? What is the whole cost to the tax-payers?
4. What was the annual cost in the income of invested funds and endowments? What in receipts from the patients and their families?
5. The whole cost of hospitals and dispensaries. (Specify how much of this is also included in the pauper and prison expenditure.)

VI.—PRIVATE CHARITIES.
1. Estimate the sums expended in private charity in your State by organized societies, and the annual number of their beneficiaries, classifying the same as clearly as possible, and excluding educational charities, except for the benefit of the classes named above.

Remark on the Questions. It will be noticed that the above questions apply to each State in which a Board of Charities exists, and are intended to elicit such statements in the next Reports of these Boards as will present all the material facts of a general
nature in regard to Pauperism, Insanity and Crime, and their cost
to the State for which the Report is made. It is not expected that
all the questions can be exactly answered, but it is hoped that
where definite statistics cannot be given for the whole State, a care­
ful estimate will be made, under each head, and, if possible, in
reply to each question. Even in cases where, as in the State of
New York, the Board of Charities divides with the Commissioners
of Emigration, the Lunacy Commissioner, and the Prison Associa­
tion, the supervision of charitable and penal establishments it is
hoped that the statistics of Pauperism, Insanity, and Crime for
the whole State may be brought together in the Report of the
Board of Charities, after obtaining the needful information from
the other State authorities. In Pennsylvania and Massachusetts,
and perhaps in other States, the attempt is now made, in the An­
nual Reports, to bring all these statistics together, so as to pre­
sent an aggregate by means of which the condition of one State
can be closely compared with that of another.]

On motion of Mr. Sanborn, the topic, "Public Buildings," was
referred to the standing committee on that subject, for considera­
dation during the year. It was also voted, that each of the standing
committees have authority to fill vacancies and to appoint additional
members.

On motion of Mr. Letchworth, it was ordered that the proceed­
ings of this Conference be printed entire in pamphlet form, and
that 1,000 copies be published for circulation by the State Boards.
The Secretaries of the Conference and the Secretary of the
Association were appointed a Committee on Publication. It was
agreed that the cost of publication, not exceeding $300, should
be borne by the different Boards represented in the Conference,
each Board subscribing for as many copies as it might need, and
paying for them at such a rate as would defray the cost of
publishing.

It was voted that the Chairman and Secretaries of this Confer­
ce have authority to call future Conferences, either of the
Boards as a whole, or of their Secretaries. No further business
appearing, the Conference adjourned, at 5 p. m., on Thursday,
May 13, 1875.
THE STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

In response to a suggestion made by Dr. Hoyt in his report on the public charities of New York, Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, of New York City, a delegate to the Conference from the State Charities Aid Association, gave some account of the formation of that body in the State of New York, under the direction of Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler and others. Soon after the establishment of the State Board in 1867 there was aroused in New York an interest in its charitable institutions never known before; societies began to be formed and the public institutions were visited. It was soon found that the politicians had got hold of the charities, and, no matter how small was the amount doled out to the poor and needy, every charitable institution was run by political parties and in their interests. It then became a struggle between the State Board of Charities and the political coteries in every town, village and city in the State. The issue was somewhat in doubt, and it became necessary to reinforce the Board with the assistance of volunteer committees, by which the exact condition of the county poor-houses and other public establishments should be made known. The first step taken was in New York City, where Miss Schuyler lives. She there organized a committee of ladies and they first visited the Westchester County poor-house. Here they found old and young, both sexes and all nationalities, crippled, poor and insane, all mingled together, and sometimes three generations all bred within the walls. The condition of things was scandalous, and the publication of the facts was humiliating, but by the exposure some small politicians were disgraced and the State Board placed on a sound footing. The Board now has a branch organization in thirty or forty counties which reports to Dr. Hoyt, and which visits the local institutions much more frequently than the State Board itself can do. By this same Association, working in the city of New York, a valuable training-school for nurses has been opened now for about two years in Bellevue Hospital, under the direction of a trained English nurse. Other important reforms have been begun, and the organization is strengthening itself in many parts of the State.
I venture to submit to the consideration of the Conference, a new system of repressing crime, which, in my opinion, would powerfully aid in the security of public order.

What is it that is complained of, at this moment, in all countries? The continual increase of crimes and misdemeanors, proceeding either from a flagrant social degeneracy or from the ineffectual penal laws. The system which I propose will result in diminishing the number of crimes, in reducing the enormous cost of criminal justice, and in purifying universal suffrage, now the basis of political institutions in countries that are free.

In a free country society ought not to deprive a delinquent of his liberty by imprisonment, except in cases of absolute necessity, where no other efficacious punishment can be used. But there are in all civilized countries, a considerable number of persons (about 50,000 a year in France), who, for slight offences, are condemned to imprisonment varying from a day to a month; that is to say, to a penalty which degrades the offender, without being able to check or reform him,—being too short for either. Far from diminishing crime, this course increases it, as proved by our statistics. Good sense would indicate, that, for all slight offences, the pecuniary penalty of a fine should take the place of this insignificant imprisonment; provided the offender is a first comer. This fine should always be double the loss caused by the offence. This would especially diminish crimes of cupidity, now so increasingly common. As for second and third comers, their fine should always be three or four fold the loss occasioned by the offence. For more serious offences imprisonment may be added to the fine, and the costs of imprisonment should be charged to the convict, until he has paid them by working them out, or in some other way. If he cannot pay them, let him be regarded as an insolvent debtor, and deprived of his political rights. In this way the cost of repressing crime will be, in part, repaid by the criminal, while the voting lists will be cleared of the names of many malefactors who now degrade the suffrage.
APPENDIX.

We are able to present, in addition to the brief abstract on page 103, the following fuller sketch, (received too late for insertion in its proper place,) of the remarks of Mr. D. B. Eaton, from his own notes and recollections:

STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION.

As has often been the fact in regard to other social and political reforms, Massachusetts took the lead in placing her institutions of charity and benevolence, generally, under the supervision of officers appointed by the State. The utility of that supervision was soon demonstrated; and the State of New York very soon followed her example. In 1867, a law of New York provided for the creation of State Commissioners of Charity, with limited powers, which have since been greatly enlarged. There is now in New York a State Board of Charities. The utility of such concentration of authority and general supervision has not been less in New York than in Massachusetts. The investigations and reports of these Commissions have been salutary in many ways. By pointing out defective and expensive methods of administration, they have caused those more efficient and economical to be substituted. By means of exposing abuses and rebuking their authors, they have promoted great reforms. Among those abuses were allowing old and young, males and females, the sane and the insane, the unfortunate and the degraded, to be brought into demoralizing association. But perhaps the greatest good of all, which has been accomplished mainly through the publication of the annual reports, has been the arousing of the intelligent and public spirited classes to a better appreciation of the essential evils flowing from the demoralized poor, and of the solemn duty and need of individual effort for the removal of these evils.

It soon, also, became apparent that there were both abuses and sufferings, for the relief or removal of which, no mere official action was adequate. Beside, there was danger that official action might more and more tend to become timid and perfunctory. The jealous and passive resistance of organized institution of charity, as well as the great power of partisan combinations, with which the action of the Board might interfere, threatened to be serious obstacles to a complete reform.

An appreciation of these needs and perils led to the formation of "The State Charities Aid Association," in May, 1872. It has had, from the beginning, among its leaders and workers, some of the most gifted, patriotic and benevolent men and women in the State. Chief among these women—and, from the first, the Association has been substantially managed and its manifold work of beneficence has been mostly done by women—is Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler. She had had ample experience, in similar labors for the public good, in the sanitary commission, during our late war, and she has, as a leader and President of the Association, had the advantage of the advice and sympathy of Florence Nightingale.

I can refer, only in the most general manner, to the abounding and beneficent labors and influences of this unique Association.

In the first year of its work it fearlessly exposed and censured the
chronic and shameful abuses of the poor-law administration of the county of Westchester—one of the leading counties of the State, in which Miss Schuyler and some of her leading associates resided. How the young and the old, the sane and insane, the unfortunate and the degraded, the drunkards and the temperate—were herded together—were demoralized and neglected—were poorly supported at a needless expense and were tending to develop a hereditary-pauper-class—was set forth in able reports which created a sensation throughout the State. These ladies, accustomed to cleanliness and elegance at home, visited the roughest inmates and the most neglected quarters of the poor-houses and institutions of charity.

As might have been expected, the officers, the physicians, the matrons, the nurses, the keepers, the cooks, the chambermaids, such as they were,—and a partisan, ignorant, shabby set in the main they were—of the county, were indignant, if not furious. The doors were soon closed against the ladies, and all members of the Association. But the press opened fire—the higher sentiment of the county and the State was aroused. They were more than a match for the corrupt partisan officers. It was not long before the bad officers were dropped and better officers and employees were elected or appointed; the doors were again opened to the Association, and those who had been rudely repulsed were welcomed to the poor-houses and charity institutions of Westchester county, and their advice was accepted. The poor-law administration of the county was made more worthy of a civilized and Christian people.

The Association then directed its attention to the city of New York, where there was not less need of its influence. Some of the best men and women of the city joined those who had gained the victory in Westchester county. But in New York, as in that county, the personal visitations of poor-houses, asylums and hospitals were mostly made by the women. The labor, sacrifices and devotion of some of them were very great, and marked improvements in the administration quickly followed. Officers who had gained their places by the victory of a great party recognized a new and higher influence, which they dared not disregard, even if they wished to do so. It was a striking illustration of the moral power of a few refined women, guided by a noble spirit. The exertions of the Association were soon extended to the city of Brooklyn, and throughout the county of Kings, with very salutary results. Nor did they stop there; for they have been extended throughout the more populous portions of the State. There are now local organizations, in large measure under the management of women, having the same aims as the parent organization, in, I think, about half the counties of the State. Some of them act independently; but at least sixteen of them are in some measure under the advice of the parent association. They are all, in a certain way, subordinate to the State Board of Charities; and yet, in a way, they are also independent and aggressive. They everywhere develop and lead on that intelligent and patriotic spirit which demands energy and courage in public affairs, and honesty and economy in the administration. No one can study the history of these associations without being impressed with these two facts: first, that there is a great need of bringing private advice, consolation and co-operation to bear upon the poor-law administration; sec-
oudly, that there is in the community, and especially among the women, a vast amount of unutilized capacity and readiness for labor and sacrifice in this field of usefulness. If such organizations could be formed and maintained, in courage and vigor, in every city, village and town in the country where there are paupers, there is every reason to believe that some of the most ominous features of the question of the poor-law administration and the pauper class would speedily disappear. Nor would this be the only gain; for those who stood for honesty, economy, general intelligence and good morals, would be greatly cheered by more decisive evidences of their numbers, their power, and their patriotic courage and ability to do good.

So strong for good had these associations already become, that, in 1873, they procured the passage of a law which largely increased the authority and duty of the State Board of Charities itself. Among the provisions of this law was one authorizing the Board to appoint agents throughout the State, with authority to visit, inspect and report upon the condition and management of poor-houses, asylums, hospitals, &c., &c. The representatives of the associations have been appointed to the most responsible duties as such agents. It was the Association in New York which founded in that city the first school in this country for training and educating nurses. It has been fairly endowed by private subscription, and is now aided by public authority. Some of its graduates are now rendering invaluable services in the hospitals; and schools for educating nurses, formed upon the same model, have been already founded in Boston and Philadelphia. Perhaps enlightened philanthropy has never, in our country, taken a form which affords a higher guaranty of incalculable good, than as illustrated in these schools for educating nurses, who shall be competent for every duty of their responsible calling.

In the hospitals for the sick and in the asylums for the insane—or more especially in the jails and poor-houses where the insane have been so disgracefully allowed to remain—the power and beneficent influence of these associations have been felt. But it is only in the reports of the Association itself, which can be had at its office, (52 East 20th Street, New York City,) that any adequate idea of their usefulness and of the grave abuses they have confronted and in part removed, can be obtained. To these reports I invite the attention of the benevolent and the patriotic throughout the country. The expense, the numbers, the insolence and the perils of our dependent classes are on the increase; and they are tending to become hereditary. The fact that most of our paupers are of foreign birth, in view of such facts, is but poor consolation, and is no excuse for that neglect of them which threatens a prolific home production and a fearful increase of the evils of partisan politics, excessive taxation and political immorality.
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES,

HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE

GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

American Social Science Association,

AT

SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER, 1876.

PRINTED FOR THE CONFERENCE,

BY

JOEL MUNSELL, ALBANY, N. Y.

DECEMBER, 1876.
Publishing Committee.

Charles S. Hoyt, M. D., Albany, N. Y.
T. W. Haight, Madison, Wis.
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PREFACE.

The Conference of Charities at Saratoga was the third that has been held since May, 1874. It was found that the members of the various State Boards which deal with Public Charity in the United States were desirous of a better acquaintance with each other, and that they could not meet together and discuss the questions in which they had a common interest without mutual profit and encouragement. It also appeared that a considerable number of persons, some officially connected with public or private charities, and others not, were desirous of attending such a meeting, and were both competent and willing to join in its debates or to contribute papers which should be the fruit of special research, or of long experience. Therefore the Standing Committee of the Detroit Conference of 1875 (Messrs. Hoyt, Bagley and Croswell,) being authorized to do so, and having made the necessary arrangements, called the Conference of the present year in connection with the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, on the 5th, 6th and 7th of September, 1876.

The sessions of the Conference were held in the Town Hall, and were opened by an address from Governor Tilden of New York, at which the president and many of the members of the Social Science Association were present. All such members were allowed to take part in the Conference, as well as those persons officially delegated or specially invited. In printing the debates, it has not been thought necessary to report remarks made by persons not belonging to one of those classes.

The papers and reports prepared by request of the Committee of Arrangements, or, of the Chairman of Standing Committees, are here printed in full, but of the discussions, in many cases only abstracts could be given. In some instances the speakers have been kind enough to write out an abstract of their remarks, and in all cases the editors have sought to give the substance of what was said. The same observation applies to the Reports from the State Boards.
Members of the standing committee named on page 16, will receive a copy of these Proceedings, and all such are requested to notify the secretaries of the Conference whether they can attend to the duties assigned them. The papers referred to each committee will be found here printed.

Copies of these Proceedings, and of the pamphlet report of the previous Conferences, may be ordered of any member of the Publication Committee, or of F. B. Sanborn, at the office of the Social Science Association, 5 Pemberton Square, Boston. Reports issued by the several Boards, annually or biennially, may be obtained of the secretaries of these Boards, whose post-office addresses are given in the list on pages 14–15. Various matters of interest concerning these Boards will be found in the Journal of Social Science, Nos. I–VII, published and for sale at the office of the Association in Boston.
CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES

HELD AT SARATOGA,

SEPTEMBER 5TH - 7TH, 1876.

By the courtesy of the Town Authorities of Saratoga Springs, the Town Hall was placed at the disposal of the American Social Science Association, and all the sessions of the Conference (five in number), were held there. The first session began at 3 p.m., on the 5th of September. The reports made and the subsequent proceedings will appear in the pages which follow.
The Conference was called to order by Dr. Charles S. Hoyt of New York, Chairman of the Committee of 1875, and upon motion Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York, was called to the chair. Dr. Charles S. Hoyt of New York, Dr. A. J. Ourt, of Pennsylvania, and T. W. Haight, of Wisconsin, were appointed Secretaries. Upon taking the chair, Gov. Tilden spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF GOV. TILDEN.

As Chief Magistrate of the state of New York it is my pleasing office to welcome you to this charming and fashionable resort, which is fast becoming the shrine of political, social and scientific pilgrimages. Two great conventions, forming an essential share of the voluntary machinery by which competitions of parties are carried and elective government over a continent is made possible, have recently held their sessions in this place, and to-day your conference, connected with the Association for the Advancement of Social Science, brings to the same charming retreat a class of men with very different objects, not less important, more comprehensive in their scope and more permanent in their consequences. It brings here gentlemen distinguished for their learning, for their accomplishments and for their benevolence.

A conference of charities! What a noble rivalry is implied in these words. You are here not to further your own interests, not even to promote the material well being of those communities which you represent, but to consider what can best be done to cure the wounds and maladies of society.

What has thus far been accomplished toward removing the evils of pauperism, crime and insanity, will be disclosed to you when the regular reports of the committees charged with these
CONFERENCE OF BOARDS OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

subjects shall come before you. I will not anticipate them nor trench upon their domain. My office is simply to express to you the earnest sympathy, the strong approval, and the spirit of cooperation, of this great commonwealth, which I represent to-day.

THE MARCH OF SCIENCE.

In the past three centuries the progress of science has been something marvelous. In astronomy, geology, physics and chemistry and in all of those departments of science which in modern phrase are comprehended under the name of biology, the achievements have been so vast that the earlier discoveries in science would have to go through a fresh novitiate to understand what are now ascertained facts. Kepler and Newton would scarcely comprehend the revelations of the modern instruments that have been employed to discover the interior constitution of heavenly bodies, while they could merely watch and define the general movements of these bodies and ascertain their surface. It is given to us to discern the secret internal constitution of those bodies. Priestley, Lavoisier, and even Davy would have to go through new training to entitle them to be called chemists. In all the departments of science these achievements have been thus great. By what means, by what methods have these great results been accomplished? By patient study. By diligent experiments. By researches persistently carried into the secret working places of nature. You will answer, it was not by these means alone. It was in a large degree by the application of

SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS

and scientific methods to these inquiries. Now you propose, gentlemen, to extend the applications of this method still further—to apply the same implements and modes of inquisition to the problems of human society. I congratulate you that in doing it you do it under the auspices of the Society for the promotion of Social Science. I feel quite sure that you must derive instruction and aid—at least that you will absorb much that is interesting and that is valuable from association with
the intelligent, cultivated gentlemen who belong to that association. You assume that the complex phenomena of society — its grand tides of movement, its successions of changes, growth and decay of populations, mortality, pauperism, crime — are capable of being reduced to formula, being analyzed, studied and stated in the results of your discoveries. Now, gentlemen, it seems to me that no more interesting, no more important object of investigation could be presented to the human mind. I am quite sure that the application of the same philosophy which has achieved such grand results elsewhere will astonish you; will astonish everyone by the results which it will attain in this new department to which it will be applied. Even those most uncertain things that depend on the human will are capable of being studied, of being analyzed, of being classified and their results stated. Human life has been held forth in the sacred writings and in all ages as the most uncertain thing possible, and yet if you will take a large number of individual lives and group them you can compute within a fraction their average duration.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY.

In the great metropolis in which my home is, and its immediate suburbs, there are something like 500,000 families. It would be scarcely probable that any one of those families should know what food they will have upon their table to-morrow, and yet every one goes to market without concern, without plan, even without purpose. They find everything they desire to supply their wants or gratify their tastes, and nothing of any importance is left at the end of the day. All over this continent, in every part of it, myriads of busy hands are preparing supplies for this great mart of traffic and centre of population. In the immediate vicinity the articles of heavy transport and small value are produced; far off, in the blue grass region of Kentucky and Tennessee, and on the broad savannas of Texas, is being prepared the beef which feeds this immense population, and in all of these tens of thousands of producers there is no concert, no plan. No man knows what his neighbor is to produce. No man knows who will buy the products of his own
industry, and yet all the results of their production are sent forward to the market. All are in demand and all find every day adequate sale. Take even a broader field. Each one of our 45,000,000 of people is choosing what he desires so possess, to consume, to enjoy, of the products of foreign climes. Each one is proposing what he shall take from his own labor to pay for what he purchases from abroad. There have been those who have kept awake nights for fear that we should buy everything from abroad and sell nothing, and, therefore, rapidly become bankrupt.

Addressing Hon. D. A. Wells, president of the Social Science Association, he said: — I believe you have been able to save yourself and rescue many others from that apprehension. You have seen that it is not necessary for two or three hundred wise men in the city of Washington to decide and specify what we shall sell, and what we shall buy, in order to save us from the calamity which would otherwise fall upon us. Gentlemen, how is it that this great multitude of individual wills and individual tastes, acting separately and independently, find themselves averaged and compensated until everything tends to and everything results in the equilibrium of forces. It is that the Divine Being has impressed upon everything order, method and law. Even the most divergent, even the most uncertain, even those things in the individual taste which we cannot foresee or calculate upon at all, when we group them in large masses, reduce themselves to intelligible forms. Now, I understand that what you propose to do is to apply this same method of investigation to pauperism, to crime, to insanity and all those cases where governmental interference or governmental intelligence is deemed to be necessary. I do not doubt, if you will study these subjects with attention, diligence, and patience, that you will confer great benefactions upon this community, and upon the whole country. I cannot conclude, however, without

ONE WORD OF WARNING,

and that is this: — The emotional and sympathetic mind seeking out relief for evil distinctly seen and strongly felt, looking, perhaps, upon a specific evil, with a view somewhat out of pro-
portion to its relation to all the interests of society, and going
to the public treasury for a fund from which to gratify its
humane and charitable instincts, and not restrained by any con-
sideration limiting its disposition or its power, no doubt leads
sometimes to extravagance in the public charities. I had occa-
sion last year and the year before to object to the magnificence
of the public buildings being erected in this state for these
purposes, and the caution I wish to suggest to you to-day is this,
that, while all the heaven-born, God-given sentiments of hu-
manity may fairly have their scope in operating upon your
minds and your hearts to impel you to relieve the evils of this
character which exist among us, you want, if possible, to unite
in your action, prudence, caution, frugality and economy of the
thorough man of business. You want, for the sake of the ob-
jects of your charity, that it shall be as efficient as possible,
and that the funds for these benefactions shall not be exhausted
or consumed without the greatest possible result being derived
therefrom; and you want, for the rest of the community, that
the burdens for these objects shall not become intolerable.
While we exercise every sentiment of humanity, while we do
all in our power to relieve misfortune and to overcome evils,
and apply discipline and enforce reformation, at the same time
we must bear in mind that the industrious millions who keep
out of the poorhouses and penitentiaries are also entitled to the
consideration and the care of the government. We must see to
it that we do not foster, as in the hotbed, the evils which we
seek to remove. We must see to it that our methods are well
devised, are prudent and are effective, and if, as has been some-
times said, in applying the method belonging to the study of
the physical sciences to social problems, if, as has been said,
that method in its application to the physical sciences has
tended to nurture too much reliance on human intellect and to
draw us away from a natural dependence on what is higher and
better when you come to apply these methods to social life,
when you come to contemplate minutely as with a microscope
the wrongs, the frailties and weaknesses of humanity, we would
rectify that tendency and our minds would be led, through
these laws, up to the great source from which all laws are de-
rived. Gentlemen of the Conference, for the people of the state of New York, in your grand and noble and benevolent work, I bid you God speed.

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

At the conclusion of Gov. Tilden's address, an invitation was extended to delegates from all kindred boards and associations which might be represented by delegates, to take part in the deliberations of the Conference.

Dr. Chas. S. Hoyt of New York, announced that Hon. William P. Letchworth, Vice President of the Board of Charities of that state, was unavoidably detained from the meeting, and had requested him to express his regrets to the Conference, and it was ordered that a note thereof be entered upon the minutes.

The Committee on Business reported as follows:

There are at present in the United States, eight state boards or commissions charged with the general oversight of charitable work in the states where they exist. These boards, named in the order of seniority, are:

1. The Massachusetts Board of State Charities, established in 1863.
2. The New York State Board of Charities, established in 1867.
3. The Rhode Island Board of State Charities and Corrections, established in 1869.
4. The Pennsylvania Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.
5. The Illinois Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.
6. The Wisconsin State Board of Charities and Reform, established in 1871.
7. The Michigan Board of State Commissioners for the supervision of the Penal, Pauper, and Reformatory Institutions, established in 1871.
8. The Connecticut State Board of Charities, established in 1873.

A special organization has existed as a State Board in New York since 1847 — the Commissioners of Emigration.

The present officers and members of the State Boards are as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS. (Term of Office, Five Years.)
F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Chairman; Charles F. Donnelly, Boston; Edward Earle, Worcester; Nathan Allen, Lowell; Moses Kimball, Boston; S. C. Wrightington, Fall River, General Agent; Sidney Andrews, Boston, Secretary.

NEW YORK. (Term of Office, Eight Years.)
John V. L. Pruyn, Albany, President; William P. Letchworth, Buffalo, Vice-President; A. A. Low, Brooklyn; Theo. Roosevelt, New York; Mrs.

1 The resignation of Mr. Sanborn as Chairman was accepted by the Board, Sept. 15, 1876, and Edward Earle was chosen to succeed him.
REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

C. R. Lowell, New York; Henry L. Hoguet, New York; Harvey G. Eastman, Poughkeepsie; Samuel F. Miller, Franklin, Delaware County; Edward W. Foster, Potsdam, St. Lawrence County; Martin B. Anderson, Rochester; John C. Devereux, Utica, Oneida County. Ex-officio members—The Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State; Comptroller and Attorney-General; Dr. Chas. S. Hoyt, Albany, Secretary; James O. Fanning, Albany, Assistant Secretary.

RHODE ISLAND. (Term of Office, Six Years.)
George I. Chace, Providence, Chairman; William W. Chapin, Providence, Secretary; James M. Pendleton, Westerly; Samuel W. Church, Bristol; Thomas Coggshall, Newport; William H. Hopkins, Providence; Job Kenyon, Providence.

PENNSYLVANIA. (Term of Office, Five Years.)
G. Dawson Coleman, Lebanon County, President; Hiester Clymer, Berks County; William Bakewell, Pittsburg; A. C. Noyes, Clinton County; George Bullock, of Montgomery County; Francis Wells, Philadelphia; Mahlon H. Dickinson, Philadelphia; Diller Luther, M.D., Reading, Secretary; Andrew J. Ourt, M.D., Philadelphia, Statistician.

ILLINOIS. (Term of Office, Five Years.)
S. M. Church, Rockford, President; G. S. Robinson, Sycamore; J. C. Corbus, Mendota; Z. B. Lawson, Chesterfield; J. N. McCord, Vandalia; Rev. F. H. Wines, Springfield, Secretary.

WISCONSIN. (Term of Office, Five Years.)
Hiram H. Giles, Madison, President; Andrew E. Elmore, Fort Howard, Vice President; Charles H. Haskins, Milwaukee; William W. Reed, M.D., Jefferson; Rev. H. C. Tilton, Whitewater; T. W. Haight, Madison, Secretary.

MICHIGAN. (Term of Office, Six Years.)
Charles I. Walker, Detroit, Chairman; John J. Bagley, Governor, Ex-officio member, Detroit; M. S. Crosby, Grand Rapids; Uzziel Putnam, Pokajon; Henry W. Lord, Pontiac, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT. (Term of Office, Five Years.)
Benjamin Stark, New London, Chairman; Samuel F. Jones, Hartford; Dr. H. W. Bull, New Haven; Mrs. Geo. A. Hoyt, Stamford.
Six of these State Boards of Charities are represented in the Conference, as follows:
Massachusetts, by F. B. Sanborn, Chairman, and Dr. Nathan Allen.
New York by John Bigelow, Secretary of State, and Charles S. Fairchild, Attorney General, Ex-officio members; John V. L. Pruyrn, President; Martin B. Anderson, Theodore Roosevelt, John C. Devereux and Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Secretary.
Rhode Island by George I. Chace, Chairman, and William H. Hopkins.
Pennsylvania by Dr. Diller Luther, Secretary, and Dr. Andrew J. Ourt, Statistician.
Illinois by Dr. J. C. Corbus.
Wisconsin by T. W. Haight, Secretary.
Other delegates representing kindred boards, associations and institutions are also present, as follows:
Dr. John B. Chapin, Superintendent of the Willard Asylum for the Insane, at Willard, Seneca Co., N. Y.
Dr. H. B. Wilbur, Superintendent of the New York Asylum for Idiots, at Syracuse, N. Y.
Dr. Joseph L. Bodine, Visiting Physician St. Francis Hospital, Trenton, N. J.
Dr. L. A. Tourtellott, Visiting Physician House of the Good Shepherd, Utica, N. Y.
Dr. Thomas P. Norris, President of the Com'ts of Charities, Kings Co., N. Y.
Henry E. Pellow, President United Board of Charities, New York City.
James M. Ray, of the Indiana Reformatory for Women and Girls, Indianapolis.
Chas. H. Case, Director Washington Home, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Charles H. Case, Manager Home for the Friendless, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Ward of the Soldier's Orphan Home, Ohio.

An important organization existing in New York, is the State Charities Aid Association which has for its President, Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler. We would recommend that members of this organization be given a place on the committees of this Conference.

These committees should be:

1. A Committee on Insanity, for which we would recommend Dr. John B. Chapin, New York; Dr. R. J. Patterson, Illinois; Dr. J. A. Reed, Pennsylvania; Dr. W. W. Reed, Wisconsin; C. I. Walker, Michigan; Dr. J. S. Conrad, Maryland; George L. Harrison, Pennsylvania.

2. A Committee on Public Buildings for the Dependent Classes, and their supervision, for which we recommend M. B. Anderson, New York; Francis Wells, Pennsylvania; H. H. Giles, Wisconsin; George I. Chase, Rhode Island; Dr. J. C. Corbus, Illinois.


4. A Committee on Penal and Prison Discipline for which we recommend Thomas H. Nevin, Pennsylvania; Z. R. Brockway, New York; Dr. Elisha Harris, New York; George S. Robinson, Illinois; Dr. Joseph Burnett, Massachusetts; Benjamin Stark, Connecticut; Andrew E. Elmore, Wisconsin.

5. A Committee on Statistics and Legislation, for which we recommend Dr. Diller Luther, Pennsylvania; Dr. C. S. Hoyt, New York; Henry W. Lord, Michigan; F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts; John C. Devereux, New York; Dr. E. M. Snow, Rhode Island; T. W. Haight, Wisconsin.

6. A Committee on Medical Charities and Outdoor Relief, for which we recommend Theodore Roosevelt, New York; Mrs. C. R. Lowell, New York; Dr. A. J. Ourt, Pennsylvania; F. W. Lincoln, Massachusetts; Francis Weyland, Connecticut; Howard Potter, State Charities Aid Association.

We would also recommend that the Secretaries of this Conference, or any
two of them, be a committee to call further conferences, either of the Board as a whole, or of their secretaries.

(Signed) George I. Chace, H. B. Wilbur, F. B. Sanborn, Diller Luther, J. C. Corbus.

The report was adopted, and the several committees named were appointed.

As the different papers were read, they were referred, each to its appropriate committee; and it was understood that these committees should serve for a year, and at the next meeting of the Conference should present reports on the subjects assigned to them.

REPORTS FROM THE STATES REPRESENTED.

The chairmen of the State Boards were called on to make report concerning the public charities of their respective states. Massachusetts, as having established the first Board of Charities, was first requested to report. The chairman of the Massachusetts Board, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, complied with this request as follows:

REPORT FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Conference.

The state which I represent has a system of public charities more ancient and more complicated, as you know, than that which many of the states have had occasion to adopt. So long ago as 1675, the colonies of Massachusetts and of Plymouth, not yet united in one province, provided by law for a class of public poor, who were to be relieved not by the town where they lived, but from the common colonial treasury. This distinction between the "settled" and the "non-settled" poor has continued till this day, and under it all the public charities of the commonwealth of Massachusetts have gradually grown up. I will not dwell farther upon the peculiarity, but will to-morrow submit to the Conference a printed report, recently made by the Massachusetts Board to the Centennial Commission in which the history of our state charities is traced from 1675.
to the present year. This report shows, and in brief I will state, that the people of Massachusetts, now numbering 1,652,000, are annually expending in public charity, about $1,650,000, or one dollar for each inhabitant. Of this large sum the 340 cities and towns expend about $1,300,000, and the state about $350,000, including in the latter sum the net cost of the work done by the Board of State Charities and its four departments, which in 1875 was about $39,000 and will this year be somewhat less. Of this large sum ($1,650,000), about $1,050,000 was paid for the full support or in-door relief of less than 12,000 persons during some part of the year, the average number being not far from 6,800, and about $600,000 for the partial support (out-door relief) of an estimated number during the whole year, of about 50,000 persons. At a given date, however (March 1, 1876), the number of different persons receiving out-door relief did not much exceed 25,000, and those receiving in-door relief numbered about 7,600. At the same date about 1,100 vagrants or tramps were lodged for the night, making a total of paupers at the close of last winter, of about 33,000 then receiving relief. This included, however, at least 2,400 insane paupers, of whom 1,900 were in lunatic hospitals and asylums.

Estimating pauperism in Massachusetts, then, upon the basis of calculation long adopted in England, we had, on the first of March last, about one pauper for every fifty of our population. This is a much larger proportion than we had before the panic of 1873, for I suppose that the number of paupers on the first of March, 1873, did not exceed 22,000, in a population of nearly 1,600,000, or one in 73. The increase of pauperism since has been due to the "hard times," and from December, 1873, to March, 1875, this increase was very rapid. We believe, however, that it is now checked—that we have seen the hardest winter for the poor, and that the approaching winter will not throw upon the public so many paupers, with the exception of one special class, to be named presently, as were relieved in Massachusetts last winter.

Mr. David A. Wells, President of the American Social Science Association, here inquired upon what facts Mr. Sanborn based his conclusion that the increase of pauperism had been checked in Massachusetts.
Mr. Sanborn. Upon the following: we find that the class from which our paupers come has been considerably diminished by emigration from the state, or by dispersion among their kindred and friends in other parts of the state or of the United States. For example, in Fall River, which has had a large number of persons receiving out-door relief, the population has diminished by two or three thousand within a year past, and many of those who have gone away were the poorest class. In other cities and large towns the same thing has been noticed, to a less extent. Again, although the times are still hard and there are a great many persons unemployed, we find a general impression, that trade is improving, and that the next winter will be easier than the last two have been. Many cotton mills are manufacturing more now than six months ago and at a larger profit. We scarcely venture to say that the worst is over, but we think so, and that pauperism is ebbing again, after its late increase.

There is one class of the poor, however, which constantly increases in numbers and in cost, whether the times are good or bad — the chronic insane. We have a great number of this class in Massachusetts and it is steadily growing larger. We do not find that recent insanity is any more common than formerly, it may be so, but there is no conclusive evidence. But that the chronic insane are more numerous is self evident, and the proper place and means of providing for them are continually under discussion in our State Board of Charities, as they are in the New York Board, the Pennsylvania Board, and elsewhere. This is the most pressing subject that we have to consider in our state, and to meet the demand for more hospital room, Massachusetts is now building two great lunatic asylums or hospitals at Worcester and at Danvers, for a total cost of between $3,000,000 and $3,500,000, yet capable of comfortably receiving no more than 1,000 patients. We have, in fact, the same tendency towards extravagance in hospital building, to which you, Mr. Chairman, have alluded as existing in New York. The Massachusetts Board of Charities has always resisted this tendency, and has long advocated, what New York has tried, and Pennsylvania is going to try, and what all the states will finally come to, in my opinion, the separation, to a great degree, of the
chronic and practically incurable insane from the recent and curable cases. When our two new hospitals are completed this separation can be better effected in Massachusetts, and our board has already agreed upon a plan for this, and for the better classification and treatment of the curable insane, a plan which will be submitted to the legislature next winter.

In respect to our public establishments in Massachusetts, hospitals, almshouses, schools for poor children, etc., I may say that they are in better condition, upon the whole, than they were a year ago. This is particularly true of our largest almshouse, at Tewksbury, where the medical management has been made recently more efficient and responsible than formerly. The number and character of these establishments will appear from the printed report, already mentioned, which I shall have the honor to submit to the Conference to-morrow.

This is all, Mr. Chairman, which I have to say by way of report this afternoon.

NEW YORK.

In the absence of the president of the State Board of Charities of New York, at the opening of the session, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, commissioner of the first judicial district, reported for that board. Mr. Roosevelt referred to the various classes of charities of New York, and briefly as to the work of the board from its organization. He spoke at considerable length as to the operation of the law separating the dependent children from the association of adult paupers, and referred to the various methods adopted in the state for the care of such children, otherwise than in the county poor houses. In conclusion, he gave some very interesting facts regarding the number of dependent children in the state, and the expenditure for their maintenance and care, and urged the importance of providing for them, as early as possible, in family homes.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Dr. Diller Luther responded briefly on the condition of the various institutions in Pennsylvania:

A higher standard of efficiency was now aimed at, and in most instances with very gratifying success. New buildings have
been erected, old ones have been rearranged so as to adapt them to the peculiar conditions of the various classes of inmates; by which such separation and classification is rendered practicable as is fit and proper. The importance of moderate employment, as a matter of economy and as a curative agency for the feeble minded and chronic insane is also generally recognized and acted on. Greater attention is also given to the training and education of the children who find their way into the county almshouses. Paid teachers are employed to some extent; where public schools are sufficiently near they are sent into them. More attention is given to the selection of parties when bound out, and more careful supervision is exercised over them in these new homes when thus disposed of.

In the management of the insane, the open door system is now generally practiced. Bars and chains are now rarely seen. The benefits of a large personal liberty both in the asylum and upon the grounds having been fairly tested, are generally enjoyed.

Present limits will not admit of further details, and I therefore defer other facts and observations which I desire to present, to a more favorable opportunity during the session of the Conference.

The Conference at 5 o'clock p.m., then adjourned until 9 o'clock, a.m., to-morrow.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1876.

The session opened at 9 o'clock, a.m., Theodore Roosevelt of New York, in the chair. The reports from State Boards of Charities were then resumed.

WISCONSIN.

T. W. Haight, secretary of the Wisconsin Board of Charities and Reform, said that there had been no changes in the status of the correctional, charitable or penal institutions of his state during the past year, of sufficient importance to warrant the
occupation of more than a very short time by him in making a report concerning Wisconsin to the Conference. There, as in New York, the county poor houses had been cleared of all children over five years of age, and a law forbidding the rearing of children in such places had been passed at the late session of the state legislature. Measures had already been taken for the establishment of an asylum for the chronic insane of the state, a commission with tolerably full power having been appointed by the legislature to take the initiatory steps in the matter. When the chronic insane shall be thus provided for, there will remain in the county poor houses, as a general rule, only such indigent people as are physically incapacitated from earning their own living. In Wisconsin such a phenomenon as an able-bodied and healthy-minded pauper is almost if not quite unknown.

He thought that the state would assume the entire care of all the insane among its citizens because public care seemed to be better suited to the needs of this unfortunate class than any system of private treatment was likely to be, and as all citizens paid, according to their means, to provide proper treatment for the insane, so all were equally entitled to its benefits, whenever they might need them. There were no private hospitals for the insane in the state.

Some trouble and annoyance had been experienced during the past year or two from the depredations of tramps, and the State Board of Charities and Reform were now engaged in trying to discover the best and most practicable remedy for the nuisance. Communications had been addressed to gentlemen of experience throughout Wisconsin, and a general comparison of their views upon the subject, it was hoped, might be found of use. In the speaker's own opinion much of the difficulty in the matter lay in the insufficient constabulary throughout the rural districts, especially, of the whole country.

In answer to a question he said that no statistics of the nativity of tramps had been gathered, but of those that had come under his observation almost all were evidently of foreign birth. For a general statement of the charitable and penal institutions of his state he would refer to the proceedings of this Conference for 1875.
George I. Chace, chairman of the Board of State Charities and Corrections of Rhode Island, said:

The state from which I come, is so restricted in territory, that the statistics of pauperism and crime gathered from it, can be of little value in establishing any general propositions. So far as they go, however, they lend support to the conclusions reached by the gentleman from Massachusetts. In Rhode Island, as in that state, the criminal and dependent classes are increasing in a greater ratio than the population; and unless more stringent and effectual measures be taken to check the increase, the evil threatens to become a very serious one.

The limited dimensions of our state afford peculiar facilities for concentrating our correctional and charitable institutions, and securing for them a direct, uniform and efficient management. Three of these institutions, a house of correction, an almshouse and an asylum for the insane, are already located on what is known as the "State Farm" situated a few miles from Providence, and consisting of between four and five hundred acres; with lands lying around available for the extension of its area when such enlargement shall be deemed desirable. These institutions are under the immediate direction and control of the State Board of Charities and Corrections. They appoint a secretary who is ex officio a member of the Board and who, in addition to his clerical duties, is charged with making all purchases, either by order of the Board or upon requisition of the superintendent. The Board also appoint a superintendent who has immediate and sole charge of the Farm and of all the institutions on it, and who alone is directly responsible to the Board. He nominates his deputies, and appoints all the officers under them. It is intended that the government of these institutions should have the unity and efficiency of as perfect an autonomy as may be compatible with the welfare and safety of the inmates.

Besides the institutions already in operation, a state prison with graded cells and ample provisions for light and air, and embracing every modern improvement in structure, is in pro-
cess of erection. In continuance of the policy already inaugurated, it is probable that other institutions, as the demand for them shall arise, will be added to the group already at the Farm. Its juvenile delinquents, the state at present sends to the Providence Reform School, under city government, where the boys, for whom it is chiefly intended, receive an admirable training. The children of the almshouse, whom it is important to remove as early as possible from its injurious associations, have hitherto been sent to institutions for a similar class in the city, maintained by private charities. As their number increases, provision will probably be made for them, in a separate building on the State Farm; and if our Legislatures would check the rapid growth of the dependent and delinquent classes, schools must be established for the children in our streets neglected by their parents, or instructed only in vice and crime, where, as wards of the state, they may be educated and trained to industrial pursuits, and thus be transformed from mere pests of the community into useful and respectable citizens. In passing laws for securing an end of such vital importance, it is not necessary that a very tender regard be had to rights of parents which, founded in no duties performed or services rendered, are exercised only in ruining their children and laying a burden and curse upon society. It is probable that schools of this description will at no distant day be established within the limits, extended, if necessary, of the State Farm.

ILLINOIS.

Dr. J. C. Corbus, of the State Board of Illinois, spoke as follows regarding the institutions of that state:

There are thirteen public institutions in the state of Illinois consisting of penitentiary and reform school and eight strictly charitable institutions consisting of institutions for deaf and dumb, three hospitals for the insane, institution for the blind, soldiers orphans’ home, school for feeble minded children, and eye and ear infirmary, with three educational institutions, two normal universities, and an industrial university. The Board of Charities have direct supervision over the state charitable institutions and all county institutions. There has not been
REPORTS FROM DELEGATES.

the attention given to county institutions during the past year that should have been, owing to an inadequate appropriation to pay the expenses necessarily incurred in making the visits, but enough has been accomplished to warrant us in the conviction that great improvement has been made in the management of county institutions and in the character of buildings erected in the past few years. Our insane hospitals have been erected at great expense to the state and were deemed sufficiently large to meet the requirements of the state for many years yet to come, but the facts are that at present the demand made upon them for the reception of patients is to the full extent of the accommodations provided. Insanity is evidently upon the increase and it is a serious question whether we, as a new state in patternning after the eastern states in the style of architecture of insane hospitals, have not seriously erred. As an individual member of the Board I am satisfied that some other plan, less expensive and more efficient, must be adopted for this class of unfortunates in our state. The general management of our institutions will compare favorably, we think, with other states, our superintendents being men of ability and culture and the result of their work satisfactory.

REPORTS FROM DELEGATES.

The several State Boards of Charities represented in the Conference having thus reported, opportunity was given the delegates from other Boards, Institutions, and Associations, to address the Conference relative to their work, Martin B. Anderson of New York in the chair. Rev. J. B. Morse of the Howard Mission and Home for Little Wanderers of New York, then addressed the Conference as to the objects and purposes of that Institution, and presented a large amount of statistical information regarding mission work, generally, in that city.

James M. Ray of Indianapolis, Indiana, late president of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for women and girls submitted the following paper in relation to the establishment and workings of that Institution.
Reflecting persons will readily admit that prisons for women should be entirely separate from those for men, and that they should be wholly in charge of female officers, yet nowhere else in the United States is this the case. The beneficial effects of such an arrangement, however, are abundantly proved after its four years of most satisfactory administration in the state of Indiana.

Under an earnest appeal by message of his Excellency Governor Conard Baker, the General Assembly of that State, provided by law on May 13th, 1869, for the establishment of such an institution, for the state, for the imprisonment of all females in the state convicted for criminal offenses, as well as a distinct and separate department for the restraint and needful discipline for the reformation of juvenile females needing corrective care, all under the sole control and charge of female officers.

A board of three managers was organized by executive appointment for such institutions on July 23d, 1869. Its location was established on extensive grounds owned by the state, east of and in the vicinity of the city of Indianapolis, on which a suitable public building has been erected, consisting of the separate departments contemplated in the law and a superintendent's residence in the centre between them, in one group, and so connected with corridors and covered passages as to afford ample means of communication and direct surveillance under one continuous roof.

The whole of the land in which the building is erected is enclosed, with elevated fencing.

Each department is separated from the other by means of sliding doors placed in the central corridors, just east of the central hall on the penal side. North-east of these doors are located independent stairs to the penal department. The ground floor of this department contains ten cells, each of which is eight feet by eleven feet six inches. They are all provided with hot air and ventilating flues and have double doors, iron and wood, the iron being grated, also window gratings and iron lined floors. Also two work rooms, each forty-nine feet by nineteen feet in the traverse wings. Also guard room, eight
feet by sixteen feet, opposite the office, which is located in the center near the entrance doors.

The reformatory department on this floor contains two dormitories, 44 feet by 16 feet each, also two work rooms each 49 feet by 19 feet in the traverse wings. The second story, being a counterpart of the first, the number of cells, dormitories and other rooms, and their dimensions are the same. The mansard of the reformatory department contains a chapel 45 feet by 38 feet, which is used in common for all. Each department has a separate kitchen, mess room, pantry, store room, laundry, drying room, and vegetable cellar all of which are located in the basement.

The building consists of a central edifice fronting south 46 feet by 46 feet and two wings, one to the right, 42 feet 9 inches by 36 feet, and one to the left, 42 feet 9 inches by 44 feet 2 inches, terminating against traverse wings of 21' feet 6 inches, by 110 feet. Directly in front of the central building, and 13 feet from it, is located the superintendent's residence which is 43 feet 10 inches by 43 feet between extremes.

To effect the objects of the Institution, it is manifestly vital that the inmates, who shall come under the control and care of the same, shall be substantially educated, as well as trained to usefulness and suitable habits and forms of female industry, that they may be rescued from the ignorance and indolence, which so much conduce to their degradation, and that the restraint and correction, which the laws of the state justly inflict upon those who are guilty of their transgression, may, under strict but kind discipline, be salutary and reformatory in reclaiming them from evil paths and sin, so that they may become virtuous and useful members of society.

Amongst the provisions for the oversight of the Institution was the executive appointment of a board of visitors thereof, a gentleman and two ladies, for regular inspection of its management and report, which by the faithful service of its members has been of great value.

On the 12th day of June, 1873, the Board of Managers appointed Mrs. Sarah J. Smith of Indianapolis to be superintendent of the Institution, which was approved by his Excellency.
Governor Hendricks, and soon after subordinate officers were appointed, of whom Mr. James Smith, the husband of Mrs. Sarah J. Smith, was made steward, at a salary of $400 with his residence in the institution, the salary of the superintendent being $800. The other officers were a matron at $500, a teacher at $400, an engineer at $720, an assistant engineer at $55 per month, a watchman at $600, an assistant teacher at $15 per month, a domestic servant at $12 per month, and a physician at $400 per annum.

On the sixth day of September, 1873, under a notice from the board, the governor issued a proclamation that the Institution was opened from the 9th of that month for the reception of inmates, and afterwards on October 4, 1873, the warden of the state prison south was instructed to transfer all the female convicts in his custody and deliver them to the superintendent of the Reformatory Institution. This was accomplished on the 8th of that month by the reception of seventeen prisoners from the Jeffersonville Penitentiary, brought by its warden, chaplain and matron all of whom gave warning, that trouble would arise as the character of some of the prisoners was below hope, and that two were dangerous. The first apprehension of the managers as to what might be needed for the safe keeping of the inmates, as well from their bad character as the liability of dangerous efforts of outside friends of the prisoners, to rescue by violence some of the prisoners; and therefore it was contemplated to provide for subterranean telegraphic communication with the United States arsenal, near the Reformatory, by a signal bell attached, by which notice could be promptly given to the sentries, constantly on duty at the guard house there, if any assistance was needed for the safety of the Institution. The request for such service, on call, was kindly acceded to by the commanding officer at the arsenal, but it is a pleasure to state that all such apprehension has proved to be so unfounded, that the telegraphic wires have never been laid down.

The first great trial in controlling the inmates arose from the suppression of tobacco. When told they could not use it in any form, gloom and sadness settled like a pall upon them, which
tried all the ingenuity and grace of the superintendent to dispel. The comforts of the Reformatory Prison, so superior to the cells of the old prison, sunk into contempt and insignificance, if deprived of tobacco, and they mostly wished to return to the old prison.

They were soon engaged in work in washing, sewing, and house cleaning, and under the privileges of interspersing education with systematic and kind discipline, obedience to the rules, which at first were regarded severe and rigid, have been in a great measure observed lately by the original convicts, and by those who have since been added.

In providing for the reformatory department the laws of the state were so modified as to provide for females under fifteen years of age in any of the counties of the state who should become incorrigible and beyond the control of parents or friends, or are left to neglect of control, or who are guilty and convicted of petty offenses, can be committed by the courts to confinement in the reformatory department for restraint, education and training in useful female employments.

Such has been the success of this department, that the board of visitors have expressed the conviction that at least four-fifths of the inmates, being from ten to fifteen years of age can, under the discipline, but kind management and sympathy of the Reformatory, be completely reformed and become valuable members of society.

All the girls attend school half the day the other devoted to household duties in rotation with knitting, sewing, washing, ironing, and other duties pertaining to housekeeping. As idleness is the greatest barrier to successful reform, glove making and other branches of industry are eagerly sought for to keep them employed. The actual expense per annum of clothing and subsisting an infant committed to the Reformatory has been fixed by experience at one hundred and eighty-two dollars.

One-half the cost of such keeping is required to be paid by the county from which the infant may be committed. All commitments to the reformatory department are until they each attain the age of eighteen years, unless sooner discharged by authority of the Board of Managers.

The board has adopted the ticket of leave system in the re-
formatory department, so when, in the opinion of the superintendent, it becomes proper for a girl to be allowed an opportunity to again make her way in the world, the Board grants to her a discharge conditional upon her good behavior.

She thus remains a ward of the institution without expense to it, and may be returned to it any time, upon her giving evidence of a want of reformation or a lapse from good behavior without a new commitment.

In the fourth annual report for the year ending December 31st, 1875, 108 girls had found a home in this department. So great has been the success of the officers in establishing a healthy influence and moral tone that they soon, in a great measure, yield to the requisitions which are made.

Great care is taken to impart religious instruction in both departments, believing that permanent reformation must be based on the true foundation Jesus Christ, whom to know is life eternal.

By such last report, the terms of sentence of the inmates in the penal department were, six for life, one for fourteen years, one for six, four for three, seventeen for two, two for one and one-half, and one for one year, in all thirty-two.

The monthly amount of current expenses for the month of Dec. 1875 was $1,008.33. The total expense of both departments for the same month of such year 1875, was $2,143.96.

Whilst all the prisoners alike are placed under the same general rules great care is taken to study the peculiar disposition of each, and adapt the remedy to the disease, seeking as far as possible the restoration of self respect as the first permanent step to improvement. Therefore an extensive and well selected library is of vital importance to meet the wants of each department. The prisoners are taught two evenings in the week in the elementary branches of our English education.

The earnings of the convicts for washing done in the year 1875 amounted to $766.21.

By firmness and kindness the superintendent and her matron win the respect and love of the prisoners so that the most abandoned, accustomed to filthy language and loathsome habits, soon appreciate the clean garment and pleasant surroundings
and learn not only willing and cheerful obedience, but feel that work is a privilege and not a punishment.

It is found that the system for shortening time for good conduct has a good effect upon them, which clearly proves that liberty and social life, is the great boon for which they strive.

When asked what has been the result of all this improvement in prison life the answer of the Indiana Reformatory Prison is: In most cases, restored womanhood to enter again in life able to care for themselves, and not a terror or an expense to society.

The Sabbaths are looked forward to with peculiar pleasure as well as the Sabbath schools by all the inmates of the Reformatory, to whom the faithful teaching that Jesus is the friend of the fallen and outcast has realized the promised blessing, so that the excellent superintendent, Sarah J. Smith, feels justified to authorize the statement that the whole reformatory enterprise is a complete success of which the state of Indiana may justly feel proud.

Mr. Moore Dupuy of the Childrens’ Aid Society of New York, addressed the Conference regarding the objects and purposes of that society, and presented much interesting and valuable information respecting its work, especially in placing children in family homes, through its various agencies, in the west.

Mr. Chas. H. Case, director of the Washington Home, at Chicago, Ill., briefly stated the objects of that institution, and referred at considerable length to the nature and extent of the charitable work carried on in that city.

Dr. Thomas P. Norris, president of the Board of Commissioners of Charities of Kings county, spoke of the public accommodations of that county, for its poor and insane, describing its buildings, the method of administering out-door relief and furnished information as to the annual expenditures by the county for charitable purposes.

Mr. John T. Dexter (of London) said that in England the entire system of poor and medical relief was changing, and in some respects for the better. Society was there as elsewhere weighed with a huge burden of useless and improvident people, who cared little how recklessly they lived so long as poor rates furnished a perpetual endowment. Formerly, the policy
pursued by the local authorities was to subsidize insufficient incomes outside the workhouses; but in this way a large class grew up whose every member looked for aid, and pauperism spread like a pestilence. Now, the endeavor was made to distinguish genuine from pseudo want by means of the workhouse test, admission and maintenance (with all the inevitable limitations of free action) being offered all who were persistent. Under the old laws and orders, this course would have led to the very mischief intended to be prevented, since a workman with the full vigor of independent manhood would not have been exceptionally assisted on emergency until, by the disposal of every scrap of furniture and all his tools, his home was hopelessly broken up and means of livelihood dispersed. Three or four years since, this aspect of the poor-law system was fully canvassed by the charity organization society, to whose counsels was due such a change that, now the workhouse authorities may take charge of the poor's necessary furniture and tools until he shall be able again to provide for his family proper shelter. To the action of the same society much more was due than this change in the principles underlying poor relief. It supplemented the poor-laws by a net-work of organized committees with salaried officers sustained by subscriptions, as a voluntary agency; but, in every district any resident would be supplied with tickets to give to persons begging or in need of help. Thus one could say, on being spoken to on the street: "Go to the address named on this ticket. State your case, conceal nothing. There it will be seen you do not starve, and that you receive shelter for the night. Inquiry will be made into your circumstances. If it be found that you are preying upon society, you will be prosecuted; if you are sick or enfeebled, you will be sent on to some benevolent institution; if you have friends able to tide over your difficulties, they will be found; if you want employment that you cannot find, and your character is fairly clean, you will probably be assisted by an advance of money to go with your family direct to the place where your work, being needed, will be paid for at once. "Every common-sense person would see at a glance that the ordeal to be gone through was such as, being strictly confidential where the ap-
applicant was honest, need never be feared; so, the system commended itself; the tramps and vagabonds were forced out of the ranks of recipients of charity; and in conjunction with police and poor-laws, the voluntary agency of our association did what it was impossible for legal agencies so well to effect. Of course, detective activity was resorted to. Without it, the system must often fail. There was a semi-military organization of charity, which separated it from the work of the churches; but indiscriminate charity had become so great an evil that it must be got rid of, without injustice to the needy, and this was the way in which it was done; while, by occasional prosecutions of shams, attention was drawn to the particular charities that were unworthy or worthy of support, and so administration of aid was personified. When it was considered that the poor rates of London amounted to $10,000,000 a year, and other charities in all to twice that amount, the necessity of such action as that described was apparent. The modus operandi of relief was this. A person would apply to the relieving officer for the ward, parish or district. The officer would investigate; if the need were urgent, might deal with it; otherwise, would report to a committee of the unpaid, elective guardians, who, cross-examining the applicant, would determine what to do. Relief given was for limited terms, according to the particular circumstances, so as to bring the case up time and again for reexamination; thus, by sifting, the chronic pauperism was ascertained, and then the workhouse test could be applied. To induce a proper observance of principles, the local government board had been empowered by statute so to manipulate the finances of rich and poor parishes, that the root of in-maintenance was in part, while that of out-relief was not at all, charged upon a common fund raised pro rata among the parishes according to the scale of the gross assessment of property. Thus, a wealthy parish would, so to speak, pay through the nose for its outdoor poor, while a poor parish would be left to seethe in its misery, unless most earnest efforts were made to lessen pauperism by diminishing the prospect of subsidies. In another direction the operation of the poor laws was not so commendable. On a family going into the poorhouse, father and mother
were separated, rightly enough, and young children were drafted off to the poor-law-schools on the outskirts of London. There they came into contact with the offscourings of the street, the depraved and debased gutter children, and were permanently robbed of every chance of contributing to society's well-being. Skin diseases, ring worm, ophthalmia were peculiar in their origin to the herding of masses predisposed by privation to the influence of contagion. The more such diseases spread, the more did the government, whose permanent official staff had a direct interest in extending their order by providing new workseek to compel the erection of fresh buildings, as if the objects were to fasten upon society a horde of diseased organizations instead of curing disease. At the North Burley District school assembly, not long since, 396 out of 820 children were at one time under treatment, and other schools had been swept as by the breath of pestilence. Yet a humane scheme for boarding-out under the watchful oversight of committees of active ladies and benevolent men was shorn of its proper effect in rearing the orphaned children of the poor to vigorous manhood and womanhood, because they must be placed at a distance from the parishes, though, in explicit violation of law, the guardians of some parishes apprenticed pauper boys at equal distances to the brutal slavery of fishing smack service, and the government through its permanent officials actually connived at the illegality, whose results ever and anon shocked all England. Besides these forms of relief there were other channels through which charity found vent. Every specific charity, in America had its more than counterpart in England, and when hospitals, asylums, special schools, etc., as well as personal charities were all estimated, the amount disbursed could be little if anything less than $30,000,000 per annum in the English metropolis alone. The great endowed charities and the guilds of London, whose resources were fearfully misapplied, held property of $20,000,000 per annum clear value, upon the lowest rough calculation. Some of these, controlled or inspected by the secular vestries, which, in London, are the counterparts of American city councils, were being investigated and taken charge of, sometimes by a straining of legal authority, and
administered by the representatives of the people. Thus it had been in Camberwell, where a committee sat to protect the interest of the parish in the government of Dulwich college, the wealth whereof was world-renowned; and where eleemosynary charities established by endowment were distributed by deputies from each ward of the parish to persons in exceptional distress who never had received help from the rates. There were innumerable minor charities under parochial control in this or similar ways; and the danger had been less of too little than too much charity, which would defeat its primary ends unless it were so organized as to limit its action to genuine needs. But organization was one of the lessons London had been learning to apply, and so striking were its beneficial influences as to induce provincial communities to follow in the same path. Still the English system was not perfect, by any means. The very care that was shown to guard against death or sickness from want, a care so extreme that every case that happened in seeming contravention came to be heard of throughout English speaking nations, placed society at the beck and call of every lewd person saddling the proofs of her shamelessness upon the rates; it was through them she preyed; and legislation was needed to take them from her grasp, so that they might be reared as decent citizens of a community to whose care they were intermittently abandoned.

The Conference at 1 o'clock took a recess until 3 o'clock P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

September 6, 1876.

At the opening of the afternoon session, Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, in the chair, the following paper was read by Dr. Nathan Allen, of Lowell, Mass.

THE TREATMENT OF THE INSANE.

Among the numerous subjects that demand the attention of Boards of State Charities, no one is more important in its varied interest, or attended with greater difficulties, than that of insanity.
The question of expense, alone, is one of no small magnitude, since insanity involves far the largest expenditure that is made by the different states upon any one of the dependent classes. There is a wide range between extreme parsimony on the one hand, and on the other, needless extravagance.

But besides the matter of expense, there are many other questions that require the most careful consideration of all individuals or boards which have, in any way, the care and oversight of public institutions, more especially of those provided for the insane. The question whether the insane shall be supported in town or city almshouses, in large or small hospitals; whether the harmless, chronic insane shall be separated from the acute cases; to what extent physical restraint is necessary, or how far personal freedom may be safely allowed; these, and other questions, constantly beset us. As the whole subject of providing for and treating the insane, has been, in a measure, experimental, open to change and improvement, new questions are continually springing up, the solution of which, in some cases, is easily determined by experience, while that of others requires the most careful consideration, and all the knowledge and wisdom that can be obtained. One object of these conferences of the State Boards of Charity is to bring together the results of experience and observation, and to see by comparison and discussion, what new light, what fresh information, we may obtain that will aid us in making improvements in the great work of administering public charity.

It is my purpose, in this paper, to bring before you a few of the more practical and important topics, in respect to the management and treatment of the insane, not so much to communicate information, as to suggest themes for inquiry and discussion.

The first question that everywhere meets us is,

THE INCREASE OF INSANITY.

In every state we find the lunatic hospitals not only full, but most of them crowded, notwithstanding new ones are constantly being built. Is this increase of insanity apparent or real? Is it made up of the residuum of those not cured, of that constantly accumulating class called the chronic insane? or is recent insanity increasing relatively faster than population? It is
difficult to settle this question by exact figures for the census returns are very imperfect, and no other statistical researches have been made, that are sufficiently thorough or extensive. But it is, we believe, generally conceded now, by those most competent to judge, that there is an increase of insanity in a ratio greater than that of population, though this increase may vary in different localities, and at different periods.

The question naturally arises, what are the causes of this increase of insanity, and can nothing be done to check or prevent it? One thing is certain, the erection of lunatic hospitals, however numerous or well managed, will not prevent lunacy, though the greater the per centage of cures effected by means of these institutions, the more will they serve to diminish the number of the insane. To prevent insanity or its increase, its causes must be far better understood by the public generally than they now are. And no higher wisdom or more useful economy can the state or any official board exercise than in applying means and energies in this direction, aiming at "prevention rather than cure."

Among the difficult questions relating to the insane that come before boards of charities, is that of

THE PLACE AND MANNER OF SUPPORT.

We find the insane very much scattered — some in private families, some in almshouses and others in hospitals — some faring well, and others suffering badly in body, and worse in mind. Passing by all cases in private families and private institutions, the almshouse and hospital constitute almost the only receptacles for this class. These almshouses may be located in city, county or town, may be large or small, but such are the condition, management, surroundings, and character of the inmates of many of them that these establishments are generally unfit places for the insane. It is true there is a portion of the harmless and chronic insane who may be very comfortably provided for here, in some places, and there are almshouses so located, and constructed and managed, as to afford all the accommodations for this class that could be desired. In certain localities, there has been of late great improvement in almshouses, especially in the internal arrangement for the care, comfort, and
health of inmates, and occasionally in special provisions for insane paupers; but there is in the almshouses throughout the country, more or less ground of complaint for the gross neglect and bad treatment of this doubly helpless and dependent class.

The hospital makes different, and far better provision for the insane, than the almshouse. The primary object of the hospital is curative treatment, and, the secondary, to furnish a safe receptacle where the insane cannot injure themselves or others. But, for various reasons, we think the matter of cure does not receive the attention that it ought. It is unnecessary here to adduce arguments, either on the score of humanity or economy, to prove that the cure of the insane — treatment for this express purpose — should always be the first and paramount consideration. Friends of the insane should not, by dallying or because of prejudice, delay sending at once every acute case of insanity to the hospital, where all the experience, skill and appliances possible should be brought into requisition for the speedy cure of the patient. The first few weeks or months in the institution may decide the case for life.

But, on account of the great aggregation of numbers in lunatic hospitals, and the multiplied duties and responsibilities of the superintendents, would not the individual treatment of a case be well-nigh impossible? Would not more cures be effected, and greater success follow treatment if the best medical skill and attendance could be brought to bear more directly and personally upon every patient? It is not easy to divide such labors or delegate to others such experience and skill. The truth of this position is manifest if we apply it to the treatment of other diseases, or to medical practice generally, or to the various departments of business, whose special knowledge and personal attention are found requisite for successful results. Besides, is it not a fact that the smaller hospitals have generally reported a larger per cent of cures? Also the report of the larger institutions do not show so great a per cent of recoveries as they did twenty or thirty years ago, even of patients admitted from year to year, and under treatment. In explanation it is said the cases now sent to hospitals are of longer standing, have become chronic, and afford less chance for cure. It is
said too, by some, that insanity as a disease has changed its type—has become more thoroughly fastened upon the brain, and, complicated with other nervous diseases, inasmuch as there has been decidedly a general increase of the nervous temperament. With changes of the body, and in the causes of insanity, we should naturally expect, as in other diseases, some changes in the type or features of insanity which might become more difficult and obstinate in treatment, and, perhaps, less hopeful, in recovery. If this be the case, it affords an argument in favor of the earliest, and most efficient means possible to cure the disease in its incipient stages. Since the hospital is generally regarded as the only proper place to cure insane patients, it should be so managed as to do this very work in the best possible manner.

In the private practice of medicine there are limits or bounds beyond which a physician cannot go, and, at the same time, do justice to all his patients. The same fact must, to some extent, hold good in hospital practice, though assistants may here more readily come to the relief of the principal. But the objection to a large number of patients does not apply wholly to the duties of the superintending physician, but, it has another side, in its effect upon the sick insane, causing an impression, if not frequently a conviction, in their minds, that but little (comparatively) is done for them, and that their individual case is of small or no consequence. We have heard this complaint repeatedly made not only by the insane, but by those who have recovered. Now with such a class of patients, that treatment which inspires the most personal interest, confidence and hope, is of all others, the most successful, and should be employed to the greatest extent. On this account, small hospitals have altogether the advantage. In fact, if these institutions are to be regarded as hospitals expressly for the cure and treatment of the insane, they should be small. This was once the prevailing sentiment, and is still the opinion of some of the best judges, but, for various reasons, the general custom of late years has been to build large hospitals and, frequently, to make the small ones still larger. Among several topics involved in the question of small or large institutions, one of the most important is that of
CLASSIFICATION.

This subject, if the lines are to be closely drawn, is attended with much difficulty. It involves the construction of the building, its internal arrangement, and whole management. For illustration: The criminal insane should be confined by themselves in safe quarters, constructed expressly for them, in an establishment by itself, or an appendage to a prison or some other hospital. There is only one opinion on this point, but in respect to those made insane by intoxication, opinions may differ.

If the derangement or insanity is temporary, as it frequently is in the first attacks, and then repeated as often as the temptation is offered, there should be an asylum or hospital, expressly for this class of persons. As it now is, our lunatic hospitals are very much disturbed by the admission of large numbers, mentally deranged, sometimes dangerous and boisterous, from intoxicating liquors. As long as intemperance prevails to the extent that it now does, there should be asylums or places of confinement for inebriates, for temporary treatment, but, when such persons become more permanently deranged, and their insanity fixed, then the lunatic hospital is the best place for them.

There is another constantly increasing class that require special accommodations, viz: the epileptic insane. It might not be advisable to bring all these into a separate establishment, but there should be in every lunatic hospital, halls, rooms, etc., with furniture adapted to this particular class of persons. This should be done not merely for their comfort and safety, but for the benefit of other inmates.

Then there are the dangerous and suicidal insane. It has been found absolutely necessary to make special provision for this class, to some extent, in the construction and arrangement of rooms. Too much care and forethought cannot be exercised in making such provision, and this should be followed most rigidly (if not in lines of separation), with unceasing vigilance and watchfulness.

There are two other classes who should be cared for more
exclusively by themselves, viz: 1st. Those that are noisy, and, are disposed, either by some exciting cause, or by involuntary out-breaks of insanity, to disturb the quiet rest of others both by day and by night. The second class include those, who by reason of their habits or insanity, are uncleanly and filthy in their persons, or vulgar and obscene in their language. This latter fault is perhaps more common than the former, though not so easily detected; but more pains, we believe, should be taken to make special provision for both these classes.

One of the strongest arguments adduced in favor of large establishments is, that a more complete classification of the insane can be made by having a greater number of wings, halls and various other accommodations. While there may be much truth in this argument, still there are serious objections to the aggregation of great numbers of such people, who, must come in contact more or less, and exert, in a variety of ways, a powerful influence upon each other. In providing for so large numbers it is impossible to secure in a comfortable and wholesome manner, that amount of air, light, exercise, employment, recreation, freedom, and social intercourse with one another and with sane people, which are indispensable to promote their highest physical and mental welfare. If large numbers must be congregated together, there should be an abundance of land, and a portion of the buildings constructed in the pavilion style, or in small cottages where, to some extent, the family method of living can be adopted. There can be no question, but that the situation and prospects of many in these large hospitals might be greatly improved by transferring them to different quarters. This brings up a question which has been agitated for years, but, of late, has excited much interest, and is destined to create still more interest and discussion. We refer to the question of separate support and treatment of the class denominated CHRONIC OR HARMLESS INSANE.

As this subject opens a large field for discussion, and many arguments may be advanced upon both sides, I shall confine my remarks to a few points. The fact is now well established by recent investigations, that a much larger proportion of the in-
sane belong to this class than was formerly supposed. If we include the insane wherever found, it is safe to state that considerably more than one-half belong to it, and, if the test is applied to hospitals, we shall find in many cases, the proportion will amount to three-fourths or four-fifths, and, in some cases, nine-tenths. It is surprising, too, how rapidly this class increase in all lunatic hospitals, and notwithstanding a diminution of numbers by death, unless some positive means are provided for removing such patients, these institutions would in a short time become almost wholly filled with the chronic insane.

If a separation or division of this class is to be made, it becomes an important question upon what principle it shall take place, whether it shall include the most quiet and harmless, or the most demented and hopeless, or the healthiest and most serviceable. This must depend upon the particular objects had in view, as well as upon the character of the provision which has been made for them. In making a division of the chronic insane for support, there must be some distinction or classification. If the law of pauper settlement, or the claim of private support, should come into the account, these might determine each case, or direct where it must go, whether to an almshouse or to some private quarter. In the present state of the question it would be difficult to lay down any exact course or fixed principles upon which such separation should take place.

As the great majority of this class do not need hospital treatment, or its usual appliances and attendants, different accommodations should be provided in respect to land, buildings, and general management. A large amount of land, well adapted for cultivation, favorably located for health, easy of access, and with pleasant surroundings, should be the first object. The buildings in construction and all their parts, should be adapted to this class of persons, built in the pavilion style, not more than two stories high, with halls and rooms, well lighted and ventilated. The whole construction expense for each inmate should not exceed one thousand dollars, and, perhaps, might be provided for at considerably less than that sum. In this respect, it would differ radically from the present style of building lunatic hospitals where the out-lay or construction account averages from two to three thousand dollars for each patient.
As yet there has been no complete and fair experiment in our country of supporting the chronic insane by themselves. It may be said, that three trials of it are being made at the present time, but, have not been carried on long enough or under such favorable circumstances, as to ensure the success which is desirable,—certainly these would not claim to be considered as model institutions. It is only a few years since any movement of this kind commenced, and all the three experiments have been conducted under somewhat disadvantageous circumstances.

The oldest of these is in Massachusetts, called the Tewksbury Asylum for the chronic insane, started in 1866. It is connected with the state almshouse as a department, though in a separate building, but is a part of the same institution, under the same management and officers. It provides for about three hundred insane persons, all paupers.

The second experiment is in Rhode Island, called the "State Asylum for the incurable insane," located a few miles from Providence on a large farm, near other state institutions, though this is entirely separate, containing some one hundred and fifty inmates. It is wholly under the management of the board of state charities.

The third institution of this kind is the "Willard Asylum for the insane," located at Ovid, New York, and established in 1868. This asylum has about one thousand inmates, and is managed by a board of trustees, and a medical staff appointed expressly for the purpose. It is understood generally, we believe, that this institution during its eight years of operation, has met with much success, and, one of its greatest advantages is, the large amount of excellent land it possesses for cultivation. This introduces a subject of vast importance to this particular class of persons and demands careful consideration. We refer to

EMPLOYMENT FOR THE INSANE.

As the laws of physiology have become, of late years, better understood, together with the causes of disease, physical exercise has assumed, as a remedial agency, more and more importance. Especially is this the case in all kinds of chronic disease. Insanity is a disease of the brain and the nervous system, and
in its acute stages, requires, like other diseases, medication, and the appliances of a hospital, but, when it has passed into a chronic state, there should be added to or combined with this treatment, a strict observance of the principles of hygiene and sanitary laws. The symptoms of insanity in its acute stage, are generally distinctly marked so that medical treatment can be brought to bear directly upon it, but, when it has settled into a chronic state, the indications of disease become more obscure and complicated, so that the exact pathological condition of the system cannot be so easily understood. Here comes in the law of exercise. Amusements and recreations, of various kinds, are provided for diverting the mind. These are good in their place; we would have more of them rather than less. Airing courts are good in their way, so are the exercises of walking and riding, all these have a most beneficial influence upon both body and the mind. But work — active employment of some kind, is more important than all other treatment to the chronic insane. It develops muscle and gives strength; improves the appetite and digestion; increases all the vital forces of the system; occupies and diverts the mind; has a strong tendency to give self-control and bring into exercise all the mental faculties in harmony with the laws of the body. It has a decided tendency to prevent not only slight attacks of mental derangement, but also momentary out-breaks of insanity. It would often obviate the necessity of physical restraint and seclusion.

This employment should be suited to the need, and taste of the insane. Farm-work and gardening afford the greatest variety and most wholesome kinds of occupation. They call into exercise all parts of the body, surround one with pure air and plenty of sunlight, and at the same time, occupy pleasantly the higher and better faculties of the mind. Among a large body of men, many may prefer trades, or some kind of mechanical business — perhaps have had experience in these, or can learn some one of them. While a plenty of good land, connected with a large institution, may furnish a great variety of work, other kinds of occupation and business can easily be introduced, if desired.
In the treatment of the insane formerly very little account was made of work or exercise, and even at the present day, it is considered by many persons of small consequence. Once it was thought that diseases could be cured by medicine alone, but, the better we understand the laws of the human system and the causes of disease, the less dependence we find upon medicine, but the greater upon the necessity of a strict observance of the laws of nature. Most emphatically is this true, in diseases of long standing, involving the nervous system and mental soundness. Accordingly we find in all asylums for the insane, that where wholesome exercise of body and mind has been most systematically and extensively introduced in these institutions, there has been found the most successful treatment of the insane, the best health, the least mortality, and the most recoveries. Of course, the measure of success varies, and is exhibited in different ways.

There are several institutions in Scotland and England where employment has been made particularly within a few years, a primary object, and this has been followed with the most beneficial results. It is believed, we have some such institutions in this country, among the foremost of which, may be mentioned the Northampton Lunatic Hospital in Mass., and the Willard asylum in New York. If wholesome exercise of body and mind as a law of nature, as a remedial agency, is an indispensable condition, upon which depend general health and soundness of mind, it should certainly be resorted to, under the most favorable circumstances, and to the greatest extent. By the use of such means, success and not failure, must inevitably follow. Not only experience and observation confirm this position, but such a course of treatment harmonizes with the established laws of physiology, both in a normal and morbid condition. Many illustrations could be given where health of body and sanity of mind have thus been restored, after much medication and long hospital treatment. Most intimately connected with this subject of employment is another that vitally affects the interests of the insane, that of
Ever since Dr. Conolly broke open the prison doors, and knocked off the chains from the bodies of the insane, the question of freedom, restraint, seclusion, etc., has been the occasion of controversy. Since that period the whole history of the treatment of the insane shows that there has been a steady improvement, more liberty and freedom, less confinement and restraint. All must admit that cases of insanity occasionally occur of such violence and danger to human life, that restraints of some kind are indispensable. There can be but one opinion, that occasionally there may be an insane person so violent and dangerous as to render the use of force absolutely necessary for safety, and even a resort to bolts and bars, but how far, or to what extent, this shall be carried, there is difference of opinion. But because force or seclusion may occasionally be necessary, it does not follow that all insane persons must be confined by locks, bolts and bars, great improvement has recently been made in this respect in several asylums in Scotland and England. The buildings have been changed or constructed with particular reference to making these experiments. The leading features of this reform are thus characterized: first, unlocked doors; second, great amount of general freedom; third, the large numbers on parole; and fourth, the special attention given to the occupation of patients. No locks or keys are used except to small wards or parts of the hospital where but few patients are confined. The insane are so taught, trained and treated that they are not disposed to make trouble or escape. Their apartments are constructed and arranged as though designed for individual boarders or private families.

The asylum or hospital is regarded by the insane as a home not a prison or penitentiary. Acting on the motto, "the more you trust, the more you may," appeals to the self-respect and the self-government even of the insane which is found to exert a wonderful influence upon them. Under such treatment, it is surprising how rapidly they improve and how few attempt or want to leave the institution. The effects of such management are found to be first greater contentment and general happiness;
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second, better conduct in everyone, less excitement; third, the preservation of the individuality of each patient; fourth, less degradation; and fifth, greater vigilance and care on the part of the attendants. Special pains are taken that every insane person shall have some work—something to do, to occupy his time and attention. Under such treatment, it is seldom found necessary to resort to restraint or seclusion of any kind, though increased care, watchfulness, and fidelity, may become requisite.

The description here given is no fancy sketch, but a simple statement of facts—the results of experiments, commenced, carried on and approved by the highest medical authorities in such matters. And why should not such treatment of the insane be successful, and be approved? Does it not harmonize with those laws which govern both the body and the mind?

On no one point are we so sensitive as on that of personal liberty. The idea of having our liberty—our freedom forcibly taken away—of being confined by bolts and bars, shocks our sensibilities. This is perfectly natural; it accords with our best instincts of self-respect and self-government. In case of the insane surrendering up their personal rights—their liberties—may not the change in many instances aggravate or increase their derangement, and, serve as a powerful hindrance to the restoration of health and sanity? If certain muscles, limbs, or organs of the body have become weak and reduced in vitality, it is exercise free and voluntary—continued and persevered in for a long time—that gives strength and health. The individual must do this for himself, and, if need be, encouraged and urged to do it. Those means and appliances must be used to give strength and cure disease which nature or the laws of pathology have adapted to the purpose.

So of the laws of mind. The love of liberty, of freedom, of voluntary exercise is here the first law. Our best instincts the governing faculties of the mind—self-will, self-respect, self-government—all tend in this direction, and should be encouraged. All moral, civil and social provisions and agencies must have a powerful influence to improve both physically and mentally the chronic insane. And just as long as they are treated as criminals, as prisoners, as dangerous persons who
must be confined, placed under guardianship and constantly watched, just so long will their physical energies suffer and be cramped, and their spirits languish and be depressed.

There are, of course, many individuals among the insane who have become so demented, so lost to all self-respect, and sense of their rights, as to be incapable of appreciating such treatment or being influenced by it. At the same time, there are large numbers among the chronic insane, if they could have the same kind treatment, and useful employment, the same confidence and freedom as are accorded to sane people, what a surprising change it would soon make in their conduct and character. It would not only improve their health and spirits, making them more contented and happy, but would doubtless restore some of them to sanity, usefulness and self-support. Such a boon we believe, will yet come to many of the chronic insane. The discoveries and applications of modern science everywhere favor health and human improvement, and the best instincts of humanity, guided by the higher mental faculties, are pretty sure to move in an onward and upward direction. Wherever the rights and liberties, and the interests of any class of persons are invaded or are suffering, whether inside or outside of an institution, such a state of things cannot always continue. Reform sometime must and will come. Another point, involving the rights and personal freedom of the insane (if not sometimes of the sane), should receive far greater attention than it has received, we refer to the

COMMITTAL OF THE INSANE.

The laws in the various states differ materially as to the process of committing an insane person to a lunatic hospital. As the medical testimony affords the principal evidence, it is highly important that this should be correct and properly presented. Sometimes the courts take an active and leading part, but more generally their course is formal and approbative, and not unfrequently judges decide without seeing the person or knowing anything of the merits of the case, except from the medical testimony and representations of interested parties. In some states the certificate of one physician only is necessary, but
more generally the law requires the sworn testimony of two "respectable physicians." Neither the courts nor the laws make much discrimination in the qualifications, or the character of the physicians, further than that they shall be "reputable" or of "respectable standing in the community." It is an easy thing of course to find such physicians everywhere. Trouble comes, not so much from bribery or any self-interest, as from the fact that these certificates are too hastily signed, and a mere formal opinion sworn to, without such careful examination, and such reasons given, as the merits of the case demand. No judge decides so important a case, or pronounces a sentence on an individual without giving his reasons. For a physician to declare publicly that a person is insane, and to make oath to a document which consigns the individual to a lunatic hospital, is to assume a vast responsibility. It deprives the person at once of his rights and privileges; it cuts him off from all business relations, and from the legal disposition of his property; it discharges him virtually from the duties he owes to society and to his family; it renders him no longer responsible for his acts, and subjects his person to the control of others. But this is not all; there is the moral effect — the stigma — the sense of degradation and humiliation of being forcibly removed from a position of freedom and independence, to one of confinement, and unpleasant associations; this sudden change has not unfrequently a crushing effect, from which the individual never fully recovers.

In the preparation and completion of a document that makes such changes in the rights, situation and prospects of an individual, the greatest pains possible should be taken, and no examination can be too careful, or thorough, lest some wrong or injury be done. The law stipulates that the vagrant and the criminal cannot be punished without a trial by a judge or jury; he is commonly provided with counsel; the evidence and the facts must be clearly set forth, and spread out before the public. Should the law provide greater safeguards and stronger defenses for the vicious and the criminal than for the innocent and unprotected insane? It is true, in most of the states, that the laws do provide for trial and appeal to the courts in behalf of the insane, but how seldom is this protection resorted to? In
most cases, this part of the law is a mere form, in fact, a dead letter to the insane. In the medical certificate declaring a person insane, the law should require that the reasons be stated. In some states, the statutes direct the wording of certificates thus, that the person is “dangerous to the community,” or is “furiously mad;” but in many of the states, it allows the certificate to say that the person is a “fit subject” for a lunatic hospital, and this opinion must be based upon “personal examination and inquiry.” It will be seen at once how easy it is to sign such a certificate upon very slight examination.

Suppose now the law required that the reasons, the facts, the evidence should be stated in the certificate clearly and distinctly, upon which this opinion is based, and it were understood that the document was to be subjected to rigid criticism, and if found incorrect or imperfect, to be returned for revision, would not such a procedure compel a more thorough examination, and a better knowledge of the symptoms of insanity, as well as a higher appreciation of the nature and results of this legal process? Once in the practice of medicine, mere opinions, without explanations or reasons, might have answered, but at the present day, where the rights, the interests, and character of a patient are involved, something more than a medical opinion should be demanded; the grounds or reasons for this opinion should also be stated, not only for the information and protection of the patient, but for the satisfaction of his friends and the public. Besides, such a statement may be turned to most valuable account by the physician who is afterwards to treat this same patient. Two other important advantages would be secured by such a course. Some persons now consigned to a lunatic hospital would never be sent there. It would lead to a better understanding of the symptoms and causes of insanity, on the part of all physicians making such examinations.

In Great Britain where far more attention has been given to the treatment of the insane than in our country—especially in all legal proceedings—the medical certificates of committal require that the reasons be definitely stated, not what he, the witness, thinks, or believes, or hears, but the specific facts which he himself as a medical man has observed before or at the time of signing. The law goes further; it has a second provision.
The physician must state what facts or evidence indicating insanity in the patient, he has derived from others, giving names and describing definitely the nature and character of these facts. Every blank certificate has a wide, open space for each of these heads or provisions to be filled out. If by design or negligence these facts are not properly stated, the physician is made liable by law for damages to the insane person thus committed. After long experience and much legislation in Great Britain, these careful and wise provisions in the medical certificate for the committal of the insane have been found not only expedient but to work well for all parties concerned. Now why should not a similar course be pursued in our country? New York is the only state where any such legislation has taken place. Here the law requires in the certificate, not merely an opinion, but that the reasons — the grounds upon which an opinion is based, should be clearly and definitely stated. This law has been in operation only about two years, encountering at first some opposition but the longer it is tried and the better it is understood, the more favorably is it received by all parties. The state is indebted for this law, to a “commission of lunacy,” which leads us, in concluding this paper, to offer a few remarks on that subject under the head of

MANAGEMENT OF LUNATIC HOSPITALS.

Most of the asylums and hospitals for the insane are managed by a superintendent and board of trustees, who have the sole charge. In some states, there may be a committee or board of charities, whose duty is, chiefly, if not wholly, that of visitation and counsel. While the executive in each state or some private corporation, has the appointment of these trustees, and the legislature the enactment of laws for their government, seldom if ever does either the executive or the legislature interfere directly with the management of these institutions. Thus the whole responsibility and power of government is placed in the hands of the superintendent and trustees who are virtually one body. No thoughtful person can often visit these hospitals and make much observation, without seeing the importance of having more careful and discriminating supervision over them,
and a more thorough investigation into the whole subject of insanity than exists at present. There are three great interests or parties that require such a supervision.

First: The institutions themselves. Evils and abuses will spring up in these establishments; and, the most effectual way to correct or prevent them, is by suitable authorities outside, charged in part, with such duties. Correction or reform will seldom come from local officers. Besides, until some such provision is made, prejudice and distrust will exist, more or less, in reference to those institutions, causing injury not only to the officers and their management, but, indirectly, far greater injury to the public.

Again: There is always room for some improvement in every such institution; and, this is far less likely to come from persons constantly occupying the same point of view, and following day after day the same routine of duties, than from those looking from different and distant points of view, who can compare one institution with another, and make careful observations over a large field. Hence the necessity in such management of more diversified experience, more general knowledge and larger observation than local officers, usually have, whose labors and interest, are almost wholly identified with one establishment.

The second party interested is the insane, their friends and the public at large. These justly demand that they should, in some way, be represented in such inspection and management. The law takes away the right of the insane in respect to their liberty and property; it unsettles them in all business relations, and in the duties they owe to their families; it cuts them off, in a great measure, from communication with their friends, and exposes them to personal abuse from attendants, etc. Where such personal and fundamental rights are either taken away or abridged, should not legislation make some better provision, for protection, defense and appeal, than now exists? Not only the insane and their friends are concerned in this question, but every member of society, every man and woman, should feel an interest in it. For who is not liable to be insane, or have a friend thus affected. No intelligent or thoughtful community
will always rest easy with such a state of things, or be satisfied with present legislation on this subject. Reform is only the work of time.

The third party interested, is Humanity itself aspiring to a higher civilization. Every generation owes something to its successor. We have here a great evil, insanity, constantly increasing, occasioning immense expense and an untold amount of suffering. This evil is the result of violated law, physical and mental; it is abnormal, no part of a true healthy civilization. To check the evil, its causes must be better understood, the public must be instructed and enlightened on the subject. It is the duty of every state to do something in this direction. It is not wise to build great institutions and make large appropriations for carrying them on, without doing something to remove the causes which necessitate such measures. There should be in every state, a permanent commission, consisting of one or more persons, whose duty it should be, to investigate this whole subject of insanity, in all its bearings, relations and causes, and make, from time to time, reports to the public. But no such investigations and reports will ever be made without some express legislation in relation to it. If a hundredth or a thousandth part of the means now expended upon this unfortunate class, should be expended for the objects here set forth, it would be difficult to estimate, either upon the score of humanity or on that of economy, the amount of good that would in time be thus accomplished.

The chairman, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, had not observed any special mention with regard to the occupations given to the insane. He called attention to the fact because in the city insane asylums of New York they have no occupation of any kind whatever. They wander about the galleries, and in some cases in a ward containing fifty but one nurse will be detailed as a guardian. Consequently they are not able to have the ordinary physical exercise which they require.

Dr. Allen thought that if the general principle of giving occupation to the insane were adopted, there would be no trouble in applying it. He had mentioned farm work as specially wholesome and favorable, but many trades and indoor occupations might also be adopted.
Mr. Dexter of England said that the employment system in England is not as good as it used to be. The county justices unfortunately rule the finances and manage to so thoroughly economize in the conduct of asylums that they cut down allowances to a few paltry hundred dollars. So employment is not so general as it used to be.

Mr. Sanborn presented the following paper by Dr. Edward C. Mann, Medical Superintendent, State Emigrant Insane Asylum, Ward's Island, New York, which was ordered published in the proceedings:

**INSANITY IN THE MIDDLE STATES.**

Insanity is, in the middle states, as in the other states, increasing disproportionately to the increase of population; and it also seems to be appearing at an earlier age than formerly, which latter fact is probably due to hereditary influences, which have gradually become intensified by violation of physical laws in early life, want of proper training, or too high pressure in education. Next to hereditary predisposition, which is the first and great predisposing cause of insanity in the middle states, as elsewhere, comes the great mental activity and strain upon the nervous system that appertains to the present age and state of civilization. This feverish haste and unrest which characterize us as a people, the undue predominance of the nervous temperament and the want of proper recreation and sleep tend to a rapid decay of the nervous system and to insanity, as a necessary sequence. It is much to be deplored that intemperance is operating more and more, each succeeding year, as a formidable cause in the production of insanity. It is not too much to say that twenty-five per cent of all cases of insanity admitted into the asylums of our middle states is due either proximately or remotely to intemperance which has produced a permanently diseased state of the brain, due to the interference in the nutrition, growth and renovation of the brain tissue. The evil does not stop here; for the offspring of intemperate parents are growing up in our midst with weakened, if not actually diseased, nervous systems and will inevitably, in time,
become insane, diseased or idiots. The relative increase in the proportion of the insane to the sane population is more favorable in the middle states than in some others. The census returns for 1870 of the United States show an increase of insanity of fifty-five per cent while the increase of the general population has been only twenty-two per cent. The proportion of insane to sane population has increased from 1860, when it was shown that the entire population of the United States was 31,443,321, with an insane population of 23,999, or one insane person in every 1,310 of the whole population; up to 1875, inclusive, when, by bringing up the calculation at the same rate of increase for both sane and insane population as obtained between 1860 and 1870, we find the former to be 42,115,896, and the latter or insane population 44,148, or one insane person in every 953 of the whole population of the United States. It may not be uninteresting to glance for a moment at the proportion of insane to sane population in other countries as compared with our own. In England there is one insane person to every 403 of the whole population, or more than double the proportionate number of the United States. In France there is an average of about one insane person to every six hundred of the whole population. In Scotland there is one insane person to every 336 of the sane population, while in Ireland there is one insane person in every 302 of the population. In the United States, California exhibits the greatest proportion of insane to sane population, there being one in every 484. This is due to local causes. Massachusetts shows the next greatest proportionate number of insane, while the New England states, as a whole, have a greater relative increase in the proportion of the insane to the sane population than is observable in either the middle, southern or western states. In the care, the treatment, in finely appointed institutions, and in scientific investigations into the causes of insanity, the middle states hold a place of which they may be very justly proud.

NEW YORK.

In the year 1844, the state of New York erected the first Insane Asylum at Utica, which has accommodations for 600 patients. In 1867 the Willard Asylum for the chronic insane
was erected at Ovid and provides accommodations for 1100 patients. The state has three more institutions for the care and treatment of the insane. One at Poughkeepsie, one at Middle-town and one at Buffalo. These asylums will furnish for the next few years ample and adequate provisions for the acute insane, while for the 1,500 or 1,500 of the chronic insane, now in county institutions, are needed asylums similar to the one in successful operation at Ovid. Kings county and New York county provide for their insane under special statutes. The former county provides for 800 or 1000 insane and the latter for over 1,700. On Ward's island is situated the State Emigrant Insane Asylum which provides for the insane emigrants for the term of five years from the time of their landing in this country. This asylum furnishes accommodations for about 200 patients. The annual expense per patient in this institution is $150. The per capita cost of building $1,138 and the total annual cost, $22,500. There are upward of 500 patients in private asylums so that the insane population of New York state is probably not far from 7,000 or 8,000 at the present time. The census of June 30th, 1870, enumerated 6,353 insane. The annual expense per patient at the State Asylum at Utica is $271. The per capita cost of building is estimated at $1,061 while the total annual cost of the asylum is $157,939. The state appropriates annually $15,000, and each county pays $5.42 per week for its own paupers. The annual expense per patient in the Willard Asylum is $174. The per capita cost of building $942, while the total annual cost of the asylum is $181,542. Each county pays for its own paupers.

The annual expense per patient in the two New York county institutions is in the New York City Asylum for the insane $92.89, and for the New York Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's island $73.84. The annual expense per patient in the Kings County Lunatic Asylum, situated at Flatbush, L. I., is $120. The total annual cost for these three county institutions for the insane is as follows: New York City Asylum for the insane, Ward's island, $53,504; New York Lunatic Asylum, Blackwell's island, $89,420; Kings County Lunatic Asylum, Flatbush, $92,400. The annual expense for the Hudson River State
Hospital for the insane at Poughkeepsie is $50,000 (appropriated by the state) and has a capacity of 600 patients. It is built of brick and has attached to it 333 acres of land. There are at present 207 patients occupying it. The Buffalo State Asylum for the insane is not yet completed. It is built of red sandstone and brick and has attached to it 200 acres of land. The State Asylum for insane criminals at Auburn, N. Y., was erected in 1859 at a cost of $125,000, and has 842 acres of land attached to it. The cost of subsequent additions has been $52,000, making the total cost of the present building $177,000. The per capita cost of building is $1,222. The number of patients is 118, and the annual expense per patient is $208. The state appropriates annually $16,000, for this institution. The total annual cost of the institution is $24,544. The laws of New York, relating to the commitment of the insane, provide that no person shall be committed to, or confined as a patient in any asylum, public or private, except upon the certificate of two reputable physicians, under oath, after a personal examination of the party alleged to be insane, setting forth the insanity of such person, said certificate to be approved by a judge or justice of a court of record of the county or district in which the alleged lunatic resides. It would seem very desirable that an addition to the laws of New York, and also to the laws relating to insanity in the other middle states, should be made so as to guard, as far as possible, against the unfortunate results which are liable at any time to occur in the trials of the insane for homicide. It would seem very desirable, in order to secure society, to protect the legally and morally innocent, and to ensure the punishment of the legally and morally guilty, to have some improvement on the method now in use in criminal trials of the insane. There should be in each state a board of commissioners of lunacy, specially selected to investigate and testify in regard to these cases. Such a commission, appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate and consisting of able and experienced alienists, could hardly fail to be of great benefit. They should visit the prisoner before his trial, or still better, the prisoner's counsel, if intending to advance the plea of insanity, should be required to announce that fact to the district attorney and the
prisoner should then be committed to the state asylum for the investigation of his case. Being thus placed under the observation of such a board of experts, they would be afforded a better opportunity for forming a correct judgment. They could then, if such was the case, announce that the prisoner was insane and unfit for trial, or in the event of a trial they could be called into court and give their evidence and professional opinion without being obliged to testify for either the prisoner or the district attorney. In this way perfect impartiality and fairness could be secured and the jury would naturally attach great weight to such testimony and would be led to an unprejudiced and thoughtful view of the prisoner's condition, which is of paramount importance in these cases. The jury would then, with the aid of the commission of experts, decide, whether the act in question was the offspring or product of mental disease, whether he has sufficient mental power to control the sudden impulses of his disordered mind; whether or no there exists an inability to control mental action; whether the moral sense may not have been overborne by the superior force derived from disease and other similar questions, the proper answers to which would do much to make the results of these trials more certain and satisfactory both to the legal and medical professions and to the general public.

NEW JERSEY.

The New Jersey State Lunatic Asylum at Trenton, N. J., was erected in 1848, and has attached to it 170 acres of land. It has a capacity of 500 patients. The original cost of the building was $100,000 and the cost of subsequent additions has been $178,000 making a total cost of $278,000. The per capita cost of building is estimated to be $556. There are 710 patients with an annual expense per patient of $258, and a total annual cost of $183,180. The state of New Jersey appropriates annually $8,000, for the asylum. Five-sixths of the patients are paupers at $4.50 per week, paid by counties while one-sixth are pay patients at $6 per week. Among the patients in this asylum are included the convict insane, numbering twenty-five who have been transferred to the institution from the state.
prison, by virtue of the twelfth section of the act of the government and regulation of the state prison, approved March 26th, 1869. For this class separate provision is urgently needed, so that they can be separated from the other insane of the state; of the 4,806 cases treated since the opening of the institution in 1848, 3,075 have been discharged improved or recovered, a state of affairs very creditable to the administration of the institution.

The new state asylum is situated at Morristown, N. J., and has been erected at a projected cost of $2,250,000 and is one of the finest institutions in this country, if not in the world. The site is admirably selected and covers about 400 acres of land which cost $80,000. The asylum has a capacity of 800 patients. The per capita cost of building is estimated at $2,802. The waterworks cost $20,000 and the water supply is said to be four times enough to meet the ordinary wants of the institution. It is expected that the reception of patients will be accomplished very soon. The building has a frontage of 1,250 feet and it is a mile and a quarter around it, outside of the foundation line. It is a four story, semi-gothic structure built of Syenitic granite, quarried on the grounds. All the main materials for the building were also obtained on the ground—the stone, the clay for bricks etc. Brick has been made at the rate of 80,000 per day, about 15,000,000 having been used in the construction. The law relating to the committal of the insane in New Jersey requires the certificate of one physician, under oath, setting forth the insanity of the patients, said certificate to be sworn to before, and approved by, a judge of the state and county where the person resides.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Pennsylvania has four state hospitals for the insane, each of which provides accommodations for 500 patients, and it is expected that another will be erected in Philadelphia. There is also a Friend's Hospital at Frankford, Pa. Previous to 1845, there was no provision for the pauper insane who were confined in county almshouses. Public sentiment has appreciated the necessity and the wisdom of providing for the pauper insane the best treatment possible. If I am not mistaken, the city of
Philadelphia is entitled to the credit for making the first regular provision for the insane, ever made in America. In the year 1751, the Pennsylvania hospital at Philadelphia, was incorporated by the provincial assembly, for the purpose of providing for the indigent sick and for the care and cure of the insane. The first patient ever placed for treatment for insanity in an American institution was admitted to that hospital on the 11th of February, 1752. The second institution for the care of the insane established in the United States was the asylum at Williamsburg, Virginia, which was opened for the reception of patients in 1773. At the present day we have in operation, or nearly ready for occupancy in the United States, seventy-six hospitals for the insane, which will accommodate 29,000 patients. Since the establishment in 1751, of the Pennsylvania hospital, with its sound declaration of principles, which even at that time recognized insanity as a physical disease capable of cure — in 1805, when Dr. Benjamin Rush delivered lectures on insanity with clinical instruction in his wards — and down to the present year, the one hundred and twenty-sixth since the hospital was founded, and which is at present presided over by one of the ablest and most distinguished of specialists in this department of medicine, Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride, Pennsylvania has maintained a position in the application of state medicine to the treatment of insanity of which she may be justly proud.

The law relating to the committal of the insane in Pennsylvania, requires the certificate of the patient's insanity from two physicians of acknowledged respectability who shall have examined the patient within six days of its date, and this certificate must be sworn to before some magistrate, or judicial officer, in conformance with the law approved April 20th, 1869. The annual expense of maintaining of patients in the three asylums at Harrisburg, Dixmont and Danville is respectively $250, $251, and $234. The per capita cost of building was, for the asylum at Harrisburg, $750, and at Dixmont, $1,375. The total annual cost of the Harrisburg asylum is estimated at $104,000; of the Dixmont asylum $129,000, and of the Danville asylum $57,000. There is a strong necessity for further accommodations for the insane of Penn-
sylvania and it is to be hoped that another year will see that the bills which were reported for the appropriation of funds for the completion of the extension of the hospital at Danville, and for the new insane hospital at Warren, will become laws, thus providing for the insane now in almshouses, jails, or in their own homes, with their restoration to health indefinitely postponed for lack of proper treatment. It has been very wisely determined, by the commission appointed by the legislature to inquire into the condition of the criminal insane, that a separate institution is needed for this class and they have recommended that such an institution be erected in a central and easily accessible portion of Pennsylvania. It is estimated that this will cost $150,000, and that it will accommodate 100 patients. It is estimated that about one person in 3,986 of the population of Pennsylvania annually become insane. The increase of the insane population of 1873 over that of 1864 was 36.04 per cent, while the increase of the sane population for the same period was only 18.88 per cent. The census of the insane in Pennsylvania on June 30th, 1870, was 3,895. It is estimated by the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania that on June 30th, 1873, there were 4,318 making an increase of 423. It is also estimated that at the present rate of increase of insanity in Pennsylvania there will be developed in ten years from 1873, 10,419 cases of insanity, which, added to the number remaining insane in 1873, will make an aggregate of 14,737. Of this number it is estimated that 5,064 will be cured and 3,583 will die, leaving in June, 1883, 6,093 insane persons living under the present system of treatment. On the other hand, if, as will be shown in a subsequent part of this paper, the chronic insane were to be placed in asylums adapted to their needs, it would leave the hospitals free for the necessary care and treatment of recent and curable cases who are now deprived of the early treatment so essential to recovery.

DELAWARE.

The insane in Delaware are scattered all over the state in almshouses, jails, etc., and many of them are provided for in the Pennsylvania hospital. Accurate statistics could not be obtained respecting the number in the state.
PROVISION FOR THE CHRONIC INSANE.

From a thorough and extended examination of the reports of our insane asylums — and these remarks cover not only the middle states but apply equally as well to all of the states — it seems to be very evident that we are building large, expensive institutions, fitted up with all the appurtenances demanded by modern science for the treatment and cure of insanity, and that as soon as such institutions are opened for the reception of patients they become filled up with a class of cases, three-fourths of whom are chronic and hopelessly insane patients. It is no less evident that if proper provision is not made for this class of the insane, each state must build, every few years, a very expensive institution for which every city and town must be heavily taxed. What are we going to do to relieve this rapidly increasing difficulty? If this class of the chronic insane are well taken care of, they are going to live in this hopelessly insane state — from which at the utmost not more than 10 per cent will ever recover — for years, costing for their maintenance not less than $3.50 per week. It is a fact that every medical superintendent of an institution for the insane must have noticed that the presence of this incurable class of patients exercises a very depressing and unfavorable effect upon the minds of the recent and acute cases. If a patient perceives, upon admission, that the population is made up principally of patients who have been inmates for years and for whom no hope of cure is entertained by the medical officers, and that few patients go out restored to health, the moral effect must necessarily be depressing and disastrous upon the mind of such a patient, and tend to retard his own recovery. At present, many large, fine institutions, instead of being — as they were originally intended to be — hospitals for the treatment and cure of the insane, are merely asylums and receptacles for the retention of patients at an enormous expenditure of money for architectural display. The overcrowding of such institutions by the retention of the chronic insane precludes the possibility of proper classification or proper ventilation. By transferring this class of the chronic insane and leaving the class of recent and curable
insane, we derive many advantages. First and foremost, the patients understand that they are in a hospital, that they come to be cured of a physical disease and that by submitting to the treatment and discipline of the institution they will be cured. Secondly, we have at our disposal ample room for proper classification, good ventilation, amusements, and recreation. The present system of asylum management is defective and expensive beyond the ability of the state to meet the demand and tends directly to increase the number of the chronic insane, as ninety per cent of the capacity of all of our state institutions is occupied by the chronic insane to the exclusion of recent and curable cases. This class of cases often become chronic and incurable cases before they can obtain the proper curative hospital treatment, which, if applied in time, would have resulted in a speedy cure and restoration to their families and a saving of their productive power to the commonwealth. From an examination of the statistics of the state insane asylums in the United States in 1875, it is seen that the total cost of 55 of these institutions is not far from $29,879,258. This makes an average cost for each of these institutions of $543,259 and an average per capita cost of $1,074 for each of the asylums in our country. Now, I maintain that no state can afford to provide for the chronic insane at such a per capita cost of hospital construction, when they can be provided for at a per capita cost of construction of $300, by providing for them plain, substantial buildings. It would be very easy and practicable to erect such buildings accommodating 50 patients each for $15,000 each, while no hospital accommodating the number that four such colleges or buildings would provide for, could be built for less than $200,000.

For the chronic and harmless insane we do not need so many attendants or such costly accommodations, as for acute and recent cases. For the chronic insane we need plain but substantial buildings, which should, I think, be located on a large farm, so that the patients could all be employed out-of-doors. In this way these patients could be made producers and could be supported at comparatively little expense to the state and at the same time they would have the benefit accruing from a good,
plain, country style of living, with an abundance of fresh air, sunlight, and regular and systematic occupation. By such a course of treatment many would improve in general health and some would probably recover, who never would have been benefited if they had been confined in an asylum. Of the thousand patients admitted to the asylum for the chronic insane at Tewksbury, Mass., during the eight years of its existence, about one hundred have recovered or improved from out-door work and the experiment is regarded as a decided success. The expense has averaged, I believe, not far from $100 a year for each inmate and it is stated by competent authority that the patients are as well cared for as they were previous to their admission. The establishment, in 1869, of the Butler Asylum for the chronic insane in Rhode Island, was found to be a very successful experiment. It is a well managed institution and the trustees say regarding it, that "its result is to enlarge the capacity of the hospital for the treatment of recent cases of insanity, and thereby to increase its beneficial agency as a curative institution." Quite a number of patients have recovered through the agency of the out-door work and it is stated that the patients are better cared for than before coming to this institution. The annual saving to the state of Rhode Island is stated to be over $12,000 while the amount saved annually to the state of Massachusetts, by the establishment of the Tewksbury Asylum, is stated to be $25,000 or over $200,000 since its establishment. The Willard Asylum for the chronic insane at Ovid, in New York, regarded by many as an experiment of doubtful expediency, to say the least, has proved under the skilful management of its able medical superintendent, Dr. John B. Chapin, to be a highly successful measure. The trustees say in their last report, "The idea heretofore promulgated that the chronic insane could not be so well cared for in a separate asylum and that it was better to retain them in a hospital with recent and acute cases, has proved on trial here to be a fallacy." That other institutions are beginning to appreciate the difficulties arising from treating the recent and chronic insane in the same institution will be seen from the following: In the last annual report, of the medical superintendent of the lunatic asylum at Charlotte-
town, Prince Edward island, I find these remarks: "Of the sixty-four patients who remain in the asylum at present nine-tenths are cases of chronic mania, from twenty-five years standing down and of whose recovery, or even material improvement, no hope can be entertained." No remedy, however, is suggested in this report for this state of affairs. I believe all will agree with me in thinking that the remaining one-tenth of the inmates, supposing them to be recent and curable cases, are to be sincerely pitied for their depressing surroundings. In the last annual report of the medical superintendent of the asylum at Prestwich in England, I find the following remarks: "from the returns of the clerks to the board of guardians, it would appear that up to the end of last year there were six thousand pauper lunatics in this country, while the increase for the past three years has been at the rate of nearly two hundred per annum. To deal with this steadily increasing mass of lunacy is a problem, which, as time goes on, becomes by its magnitude more and more difficult of solution. There can be no doubt that the only way of checking the growth of lunacy is by treating, in properly organized hospitals, the recent cases as they occur, and that cannot be effectively done until our present asylums are eased of some of the dead weight of chronic insanity which fills their wards and hampers their curative powers."

The great objection which has been urged by those opposed to the separation of the recent and chronic insane has been, that the latter, in institutions designed for them alone, would be neglected and abused and that they would not receive proper medical attention and care. The results thus far obtained have not confirmed these fears. I hold that under all circumstances such an institution should be presided over by a medical superintendent of equal ability and capacity to those at the head of hospitals for the recent insane and that no attempt should be made to put such patients on a poor, meagre or insufficient diet, and that they should never be neglected or abused. By having these asylums located on large farms we secure to the patients, as I have previously remarked, occupation, fresh air and sunlight and a good, nourishing, country style of living and if there are any possibilities for recovery in any of the patients, such a plan of treatment will develop them.
MEDICAL AND LEGAL INSANITY.

Until nearly a century ago, those questions of the care of the insane and the limit of criminal responsibility, which are to us so difficult, were decided without hesitation in the light of a single, comprehensive theory. It was the common belief that lunatics were possessed by evil spirits, or at least that they were the subjects of a spiritual disorder. Thus their care had become a function of the church, and fasting, scourging and other forms of penance were the approved means of treatment. Such as remained incurable were classed with criminals and outcasts.

But with the great reaction against ecclesiastical and metaphysical doctrines, marked by the French Revolution, came a change in the theory of mental disorders. They were no longer viewed as the effects of sin and diabolical possession, but as the product of natural causes. The insane were made special objects of the care of the state, and a reform in their treatment was begun.

The duties of society towards the insane are yet, however, far from being settled. The church takes little interest in a question which is no longer submitted to its authority, and law and medicine are sharply divided upon the fundamental principles which should govern in deciding it. Indeed, the clashing views of the two secular professions have been most discreditable to themselves, and a source of danger to the public. Where shall we look for the sound theory and the practical wisdom which will guide us to right conclusions on this vexed subject? The argument is too far-reaching for the brief time allotted to this paper, and I can do little more than touch it at a few points of immediate and practical interest.

The legal principles which govern in the care of the insane have been much less discussed than those which refer to their responsibility and capacity. To the law, the insane are simply a class of individuals dangerous to themselves and their property or to the persons and property of others, or a special class of
those dependent upon the public for their support. That they are thus dangerous and dependent from causes wholly natural and beyond their control, was a conclusion reached by the common sense of society as soon as it had thrown off the shackles of a priestly superstition. This it was which led to a separate and better provision for the insane in asylums, and to the enactment of special laws guarding against their neglect and abuse.

Medical doctrines on this subject are much more radical in their philosophy, and have led to extreme practical conclusions. They declare that insanity is a bodily disease, and that lunatics are simply sick persons demanding medical treatment. That the view of insanity as bodily disease is a legitimate medical hypothesis, will not probably be denied. Certain analogies between morbid bodily and mental symptoms suggest a common origin in physical conditions, and to assume such an origin for purposes of study is no doubt admissible. We may venture to do this even when disorder appears in the moral division of the mental phenomena only, and the hypothesis that crime is disease has been made use of to explain certain facts in the history of criminals. No authority, it need hardly be said, has claimed for this the force of scientific doctrine, requiring that our prisons should be turned into hospitals for the cure of crime. It is true that a certain partial disorder of the moral faculties has been claimed as a bodily disease, under the name of inebriety; and this not merely as an hypothesis, but as a fact of medical and social science. But a single glance at the array of false facts which are brought to the support of this doctrine, is enough to condemn it. I think you will agree with me that ninety-nine out of every hundred inebriates are cases of vicious indulgence, having no origin in bodily disease, and in no respect subjects of medical treatment. That insanity is bodily disease is certainly a much more important hypothesis to medicine than those which assume the same point of view for crime and inebriety, but as a positive doctrine of medical and social science, I believe it to be equally false and misleading.

Let us look at the proposition a little more closely. It declares that insanity is the product of diseased brain, and there-
fore that mental disorder is bodily disorder. But have we any warrant for this doctrine? If so, then it has also been proved that a sound mind is the product of healthy brain. This is what the phrenologists ask us to believe, but their doctrines have no place in science. And as it has been decided by innumerable observations that the size, shape and texture of the brain afford no measure of the sound mind, so it has been proved that between morbid changes of the brain and the unsound mind there is no definite relation. Every kind and degree of these changes is found without insanity, and insanity appears in numerous cases in which the brain presents a perfectly healthy structure. Nor are we permitted a reasonable hope that the view of insanity as bodily disease will ever be advanced beyond the stage of hypothesis. Science and philosophy agree in declaring the connection between mind and brain, in disease as well as in health, not only as yet inexplicable, but to be unthinkable. Is it less than absurd to suppose that we can possibly establish as fact that which is impossible in thought?

But there are those who admit that insanity can not be connected with bodily disease through pathology, yet ask whether this can not be done by the way of therapeutics. Is not insanity, in its early stages at least, curable by medicines, and does not this prove it to be bodily disease? I answer, there is nothing in the pathology of the brain upon which to base a theory of the curative action of remedies, and no such theory exists. It is equally true that no drug or combination of drugs with which to "minister to a mind diseased," has been empirically discovered. Moreover, there is nothing in the records of cases to show a larger number of recoveries under medical treatment than without it. All the statistics that have been brought forward to prove this point, are either false in themselves or have been made to bear a false meaning. We are forced to confess, then, that the doctrine of insanity as bodily disease has no scientific or practical validity, and must be regarded as an unverifiable hypothesis. While we may believe that every sane mental act has its corresponding healthy change in the brain-cells, it adds nothing to our knowledge to say that therefore sanity is bodily health, nor does it give us a right to claim
mental training as purely a matter of bodily hygiene. So, also, we need not doubt that every insane mental act has its corresponding morbid change in the brain-cells; but it adds nothing to declare that insanity is therefore bodily disease, and gives us no claim whatever to hold that it is exclusively an affair of medical treatment. I need not ask if such an assumption is a safe basis for the policy of a state in providing for its insane. Yet in New York and other states it has been made an excuse for condemning every other means of provision for this class except that of hospitals, built and organized in a certain way. Can we doubt that these hospitals, upon which so many millions have been lavished in the hope of stamping out insanity, are a vain and foolish extravagance? Nine-tenths of their inmates, if we may judge by the experience of other countries, will be of the chronic class, for whom the simplest farm-asylums are in every respect better than palatial hospitals, like those of Buffalo and Poughkeepsie. These when fully completed can accommodate but a small proportion of the insane to be provided for, while their large current expenditures, if properly applied, would be sufficient for the proper maintenance of the whole.

Finally, upon this topic, let me not be misunderstood. It is true that the insane require constant medical supervision and care, and that for the treatment of disease as modified by mental disorder a special skill and experience are necessary. I wish to say only that the treatment of insanity as a bodily disease is not known to science, and that the broad question of lunacy provision should not be rested upon a basis of facts and theories which are fit only for medical advertisements. This question has been left too much to specialists and politicians, who have made their own interests, and not those of the insane or the public, a chief consideration. May we not look, in the future, to our state boards of charities for a wise and disinterested policy in regard to it?

While medical doctrines, so called, have been permitted to guide public policy in the care of the insane, their application as a test of criminal responsibility in cases where insanity is a defense before the courts, has been firmly opposed. Is responsibility in such cases a matter of medical diagnosis, or is it one
of legal principles and definitions? Or may it be that neither
the physical science of the one nor the mental science of the
other can furnish the desired criterion?

The ground upon which the medical witness generally as­
sumes for his opinion, in a case of doubtful responsibility, the
certainty of a scientific fact, is the doctrine that insanity is
bodily disease. Now, it is clear that if we could connect men­
tal disorder with any morbid change, in function or structure,
the loss of free-will might be inferred. But this, as we have
seen, is exactly what is, and must always be, impossible. If it
were possible, it would be equally so to connect healthy thought
with physiological changes in the brain, and the loss of free­
will would follow no less certainly than before. In this reductio
ad absurdum we have another proof that insanity is not "a
scientific problem, founded upon scientific facts," as a no less
respectable authority than the commissioner of lunacy of this
state has declared it to be.

On the other hand, it is a standard doctrine of the law that
legal rules and definitions are the proper test of criminal respon­
sibility. But are the facts and theories of mental science
sufficiently certain and definite for this purpose? The test now
generally agreed upon by jurists is the knowledge of the moral
quality of the inculpated act. Is not the connection between
the free-will and the intellect as far from being known as that
between the latter and the brain? Can we prove that the
knowledge of the nature of an act, as right or wrong, is uniformly
accompanied with the power to refrain from doing it? It is
clearly impossible, and those who are best acquainted with
mental disorder agree in denying the validity of this test.

We are obliged to conclude that neither certain states of
mind, as described by lawyers, nor certain morbid conditions
of the body, as claimed by physicians, are proofs of irresponsi­
bility. How, then, is this fact to be determined? Upon the
principle, I believe, of certain recent decisions in American
courts, which declare the question of insanity to be, not one of
science or of law, but of common sense and judgment. Ac­
cording to these decisions, the jury must be untrammelled by
legal rules or medical hypotheses in passing upon the fact of in­
sanity. They may be aided in their judgment by the opinions of experts, but these opinions will be considered valuable only when they are based upon facts alone. The judgment of the expert, as well as that of the common observer, must proceed directly, and as if instinctively, from the facts, and in no degree from physical or metaphysical theories. The mature views of perhaps the very highest medical authority on the subject, may be referred to in support of this doctrine. Some twenty years ago Dr. Bucknill, in a well known essay on "Criminal Lunacy," laid down the doctrine that disease is the test of responsibility. But in his remarks before the association of superintendents of American insane asylums, in May of this year, he declares the question of responsibility to be one of punishability or non-punishability, and that "its answer depends mainly upon the balance of good or evil which would result from such punishment." Nothing could be more opposed than this to the view already quoted, that "insanity is a scientific problem founded upon physical facts, and is never a common fact to be interpreted in a common way." Dr. Ordronax's view has lately been embodied in a law of this state, which directs the trial of the defense of insanity by experts, and forbids its submission to a common jury. The law does not provide for a selection of experts who are unbiased by medical hypotheses, and its effect has been to make the abuse of the plea of insanity more easy, instead of correcting it, as was intended. But legal science, although unable to embrace in a logical definition what is in truth an intuitive judgment, to which logical forms do not apply, is quite competent to guard itself against such crude experiments in legislation. It has already been pointed out that the new statute is contrary to a fundamental principle of our system of jurisprudence. Insanity, as a legal defense to a charge of crime, is a fact which it is the sole province of a jury to find upon the evidence; and the right to submit this evidence and have it considered can no more be taken away than the right of trial by jury itself. This argument, however, is one which I can only touch upon. The doctrine that insanity is a fact of physical science, to be found by the rules of medical diagnosis, is what I have chiefly desired to refute. An attempt to do this
has seemed to me due to the fair fame of rational and scientific medicine; and perhaps nothing more need be said to prove that what is false to science is false in reason and in law. If those who hear me shall also be convinced that the doctrine has no validity as a guiding principle in questions of public charity and economy, my purpose will have been fully accomplished.

The following paper was then read by H. B. Wilbur, M.D., of Syracuse, N. Y.:

GOVERNMENTAL SUPERVISION OF THE INSANE.

It is safe to estimate the number of insane in the United States, at the present time, as at least 45,000.

These are distributed as follows:

- In government hospital at Washington, 731
- In State hospitals or asylums, 22,179
- In incorporated and private asylums, principally admitting pay-cases, 1,869
- In city and county insane asylums, 5,510
- In county poor-houses and in the custody of friends, 14,711

They are the subjects of a disease that, whether regarded as exclusively physical or mental, or of a two-fold nature, may be the result of the patient's own course of life and for which he is consciously or unconsciously at fault, or it may have been so far hereditary as to relieve him from all responsibility for its occurrence.

It may have come on insidiously without any appreciable warning, or with a sudden outburst.

From the first access of the disease, incurability may be predicated of more than half the number. Of the whole number in any community hardly more than one-sixth can be regarded as curable. It differs from other diseases in the fact, that to gain this moderate chance of cure, there is a supposed necessity that the patient shall be separated from his home and friends and without the means of communicating with them, except through a medical man who may be comparatively ignorant of all his past relations and associations, all his tastes and habits. He is placed under the charge of a physician and
attendants, not of his own selection, and who are perhaps utter strangers to him.

Many of them, for the protection of society, real or supposed, are kept in as positive confinement as if they were criminals. Restless or with an unnatural nervous or muscular energy, the outgrowth of their malady, they are possibly kept under lock and key or with some form of restraining apparatus that is a perpetual reminder of the surveillance and control to which they are subjected, and a constant incentive to resist its application.

They are deprived of all control of person or property.

Their standing, even, in courts of justice and before the law, is an imperfect one, because their testimony, if admitted at all, is received with distrust or incredulity. The prevailing maxim in regard to them seems to be, unsound on one point, unsound on all. They are, even in many instances, supposed to be wanting in ordinary human sensibilities.

Again, wherever situated, they are no longer producers but are a public or private burden to be cared for and supported.

In view of these general statements, which are but summaries of classes of facts, more or less appreciated by the intelligent portion of every community, it must be admitted that the proper management of the insane is preeminently a question that concerns society; most fittingly a topic for discussion at a meeting of an association for the advancement of social science. It cannot be handed over for settlement in all its bearings to any body of specialists, whether of the legal or medical profession, to those directly interested in public or private institutions or to the county superintendents of the poor. These may, by their discussions, furnish light upon subordinate points, and there is room for a good deal of profitable discussion upon such topics. For there will arise a variety of important though subordinate questions, involving both principles and methods, relating to the community and to the individual; the legal relations of the insane, the public duty and individual rights; matters of prevention, treatment and recovery; the proper disposition of the incurable to secure their welfare and comfort in the highest degree consistent with public security.
and family interests, and finally, questions relating to cost of
management, wherever the burden falls. But after all, the
main question concerns society generally and is to be properly
decided only upon the recognized or ultimate principles of social
science.

One fact, however, is paramount, above all others. From the
nature of their malady, the insane are the wards of the state,
and this guardianship carries with it certain obligations.

First, to secure their prompt and judicious treatment at the
hands of competent and skillful physicians, under circumstances
and surroundings best fitted to that end: gratuitously in the
case of the indigent, and to others at a cost that shall not
deter or delay admission, or be a serious burden to the friends
of those admitted.

Furthermore, it is the duty of the state to protect itself, as
towards the insane, in two particulars. First as to security, or
the precautions to be taken against any dangerous propensities
they may manifest; and secondly, by reducing to a minimum
the dependence and non-production, associated with the dis­
ease generally, or at all events associated with the present
method of management of the insane. It should be the aim
of social science to bring these desiderata into converging
lines. In other words to bring into the greatest possible har­
mony the humanitarian, protective and economical aspects of
the management of the insane.

Some thirty years ago, Lord Ashley brought into the British
Parliament an elaborate lunacy act, revising and amending all
prior lunacy laws and securing the appointment of an efficient
lunacy board to give force to its various enactments. This,
with slight modifications, is the act now in force.

In closing the speech, that was followed by the passage of
this bill, Lord Ashley used the following language: "I trust,
therefore, that I shall stand excused, though I have consumed
so much of your valuable time, when you call to mind that the
motion is made in behalf of the most helpless, if not the most
afflicted portion of the human race."

From the day of this philanthropic utterance till now the
method of management and treatment of the insane in Great
Britain has been one of constant improvement. The law was complete and admirable in its manifold clauses, but the real source of its regenerative power lay in the provision made for an intelligent and pains-taking governmental supervision over all the insane, wherever situated, or of whatever social condition. And from that time to this, the state has been fortunate in the men who have exercised the duties of such supervision. For it is one of those offices, that in any enlightened community will seek its appropriate men rather than be sought by men; involving as it does a good deal of labor, no small amount of responsibility, and the highest benevolence.

Boards of lunacy exist in England, in Scotland and in Ireland. Each publish annually a voluminous report giving not only the general conclusions of their year's observation and their year's work, but full details of their periodical visitations to the various institutions, and elaborate tables furnishing information, individual and comparative, upon every point in reference to the insane in which the profession and society are interested.

In brief, this much has been accomplished. Admirable private asylums, or "licensed houses," have sprung up in all parts of the British empire, where under the charge of, accomplished medical specialists, the insane members of noble and wealthy families may receive treatment and care, circumstances and surroundings, as nearly approaching those of the home-circles from which they came as the peculiarities of their malady will permit.

In fact the supply of this class of institutions has met the demand, because the matter has been left to the operation of natural laws. Besides these there exist a greater or less number of institutions like St. Luke and Bethlehem hospitals, largely endowed by the benevolence of by-gone times, that open their doors for the cure and care of certain of the indigent classes or reduced gentlemen and women.

The number of public institutions, under the management of competent medical officers, has been multiplied till few recent cases fail to receive appropriate treatment. And finally, the interests of the less than 24 per cent of harmless lunatics, still remaining in the lunatic wards of the work-houses, are guarded by an official vigilance that never slumbers.
Under the benign and efficient administration of these boards of lunacy, that, which eighty years ago was a kind of prophetic instinct in a French physician, Pinel, has become the ruling and guiding principle in the management of the insane in Great Britain. All forms of mechanical restraint and seclusion have been almost banished from the wards of British asylums. And another idea, that seems also to have had its origin in French sagacity, namely, that the insane are not destitute of the normal need and craving for bodily and mental occupation, has had a practical application in the general employment of patients in British asylums, to a degree unknown in kindred institutions here. On the one hand, their intense energy requires it as a safety-valve. On the other, it opens the only pathway out of an unnatural passivity, and mental indifference.

Another result of their labors, of great value in various ways, is this. Public jealousy and suspicion, thirty years ago well-founded in the failure of then-existing legislation to meet the needs of the insane, has gradually abated till even the public press finds little to complain of in the management now prevailing.

About a year since, a leading London medical journal, the *Lancet*, appointed a commission of its own to investigate the subject of the management of British asylums. After a thorough scrutiny and inspection of their condition it finds but little to condemn and volunteers this tribute to the value and efficiency of the Lunacy Board of England:

"Nothing has impressed us more forcibly during the present inquiry, so far as it has yet been carried, than the permanent and increasing value of the service rendered to the cause of humanity, and indirectly to the interests of medical science, by the commissioners in lunacy. We do not recognize the wisdom of all their recommendations. There are matters of high moment to which we think they attach too little importance, and points whereon they lay considerable stress that appear to us utterly insignificant. But in the main, and touching the greatest and gravest interests in lunacy, whether regarded from the philanthropic or professional standpoint, it is impossible not to feel that in the conception and working out of a
scheme by which a most pitiable and helpless class of sufferers
has been rescued from a condition little better than slavery,
and cruelty worse than neglect, and placed under the protection
of a body of public inspectors, Lord Shaftesbury has established
a claim upon general gratitude, and done more than sufficient
to render a life of service, otherwise so remarkable, illustrious
in the annals of social reform, and in a special sense entitled to
the respect of enlightened medical men. It is not alone that
crying abuses have been remedied, the baneful prejudices which,
until comparatively recent times, brooded over the whole sub­
ject of mental disease and its victims have been uprooted, and
the entire system of socio-medical treatment reformed. The
faults and failures of to-day are due in part to errors of judg­
ment, to some extent they may be the fruit of bad seed sown
in bad times and not easily eradicated but scarcely in any ap­
preciable degree can they be attributed to present neglect, or
even lack of earnestness in pushing forward useful reforms and
applying a remedy to known evils. Here and there a self-
sufficient committee, or an inert superintendent who has not
moved on with the age, may cast obstacles in the way of im­
provement: but, speaking generally, enlightened emulation
has taken the place of ignorance and indifference, a real desire
to relieve suffering, advance the triumph of science over disease,
and wipe out the reproach of want of sympathy, is apparent,
and a resolute determination to grapple with the most formida­
able of difficulties is found where a while ago the single govern­
ing idea—in so far as there can be said to have been an idea
beyond routine discipline—seemed to be one of selfish ease and
social parsimony. The improvement is chiefly evident in the
character of the provisions made for the insane in asylums, and
the domestic conditions and surroundings of their daily life.
It is in these departments almost exclusively that the influence
of the commissioners in lunacy makes itself felt, and it is only
just to acknowledge that most of the good that has been
effected is traceable either directly or collaterally to their in­
terference. We do not mean to assert that all, or even the
majority, of the beneficial changes which have been made were
commenced or carried out at their specific suggestion, but the
fact of commissioners visiting asylums at unexpected and tolerably frequent periods, and publishing their reports, has applied the kind of stimulus needed to arouse committees and incite superintendents to healthy action, while public opinion has been informed and enlightened so as to clear the way of many economic obstacles to progress. Lethargy has been exposed and zeal supported. The aid rendered has been slow and sure in its effects. What has been accomplished is only a tithe of that which remains to be done, but the vis inertia of ignorance has been overcome, and the energy by which this has been effected is happily inexhaustible. While the commission continues its useful labors the improvement will be constant. Each year's progress increases the momentum, and every step in advance, lessens the difficulty."

I have quoted thus at length from the report of the Commissioners selected by the proprietors of the London Lancet for professional testimony of the highest character, entirely unbiased, and it covers the whole ground. That this warm commendation is not undeserved might be inferred from the functions of the Lunacy Commissioners and the men who have successively exercised them.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE ENGLISH BOARD OF LUNACY.

I avail myself of a summary of the duties, &c., of the English Board of Lunacy, as given in a Lunacy Chart, published by Dr. Winslow; adding, only, that the Scotch and Irish boards are of the same character.

"Duties — To grant licenses, visit and regulate asylums, report to the lord chancellor as to the condition of the same, and conduct and manage everything connected with certified lunatics in England and Wales."

"Licensed Houses — Every person receiving more than one patient into his house for profit, must obtain a license."

"The lord chancellor is empowered, at the request of the Commissioners of Lunacy, to recall or refuse to renew any license."

"The medical superintendent must be approved of by the Commissioners of Lunacy."
Stringent rules are laid down in the English law as to the admission of patients into institutions or licensed houses.

A statement of the mental and bodily condition of patients admitted must be sent to the commissioners within a week of such admission. So, too, notice of discharge of patients must be sent to the same board.

Notice of death of a patient must be sent to the commissioners, to a coroner of district, to the registrar of deaths, and to the person who signed the order for admission of patient.

The commissioner must be notified of the escape or re-capture of a patient, with the attendant circumstances.

All licensed houses in the immediate neighborhood of London are visited by the Commissioners six times a year. Four of these visits are made conjointly by a medical and a legal commissioner, and two single visits are made by a legal commissioner.

A very complete set of books are required to be kept at each institution, embodying all facts relating to the admission of patients, their physical and mental condition, their employment and their discharge; also, the record of every occasion for seclusion or the use of restraining apparatus, and all casualties. These registers and journals are thoroughly inspected by the commissioners at each visit.

On such occasions of visitation every patient who so desires, has an opportunity of a private interview with the commissioners, to make complaints of neglect or ill treatment.

Correspondence of patients—All letters addressed to the Commissioners of Lunacy are forwarded by the medical superintendent unopened. Letters written by the patients to their friends are forwarded, unless the medical superintendent disapproves. All letters not sent must be indorsed thus—"Not to be sent," and initialed by the medical superintendent and placed before the Commissioners in Lunacy at the time of their next visit.

The Commissioners of Lunacy, with all the knowledge acquired by their thorough system of visitation and the completeness of the records submitted to their inspection; with the advantage of comparing the peculiar methods of each in-
stitution with those of others, are by these very means trained and qualified for the duties they are required to perform. They become discriminating in their opinions, wise in counsel, and discreet in action. As their annual reports will witness, they are out-spoken, when rebuke is needed, in the matter of official negligence or incapacity, and they prosecute with promptness and certainty every known case of abuse or neglect on the part of employés.

The names of the men who have successively filled the office of Commissioners of Lunacy, in the three kingdoms, is a guaranty of the wisdom, discretion and fidelity, with which its duties have been performed.

It is hardly necessary to say that no such governmental supervision exists in the United States, with an exception or two that may be noted. It has, from time to time, been advocated in several of the states, by distinguished civilians and philanthropists, who have observed its working abroad, and who have been alive to some of the evils it is designed to remedy. Boards of State Charities have been established in a few states which include the oversight of the insane among the other dependent classes. Of these it can only now be said, that, as a rule, they are working with somewhat faltering steps towards a proper appreciation of the protection, both the insane and society need at their hands. With faltering steps, be it said, in part, because of the obstruction thrown in their path by those directly interested in the care of the insane.

In one or two instances, a commissioner of lunacy has been appointed, with moderate legal powers; standing alone and so without the aid of that momentum that results from combined wisdom and associated action, and hedged in by social, professional or political influences, insurmountable to any but one of deep convictions and strong moral courage.

It has been mentioned that, from time to time, efforts have been made in quite a number of the states to the end of securing a proper governmental supervision in the care of the insane. Years ago a report was made in Massachusetts by two of her most eminent citizens, who had been appointed a commission to investigate the subject; and so elsewhere. Even the present
year, the State Medical Society of Indiana passed resolutions in favor of such supervision, and appointed a committee to memorialize the legislature on the subject.

The only opposition, that has been made to the project, has come from parties directly connected with the management of insane asylums. For years they have placed themselves in opposition to a public need and a public want. Banded in an association, known as the American Association of superintendents of Insane Asylums; a close corporation, that excludes from fellowship any assistant medical officer of however large experience or faithful service, it not only assumes to dictate to legislative bodies, what laws are necessary in the case of the insane, but claims, for a small class of medical specialists, the sole privilege of the interpretation and application of those laws. In fact, it rules the judges out of the court, except to give authority and judicial voice to the opinions of the medical expert. It assumes the prerogative of framing "a code of principles of management to secure the individual good of the insane and the highest public interest." It claims authority in all questions "relating to proper location, water supply, general character of hospital; number to be treated, material for construction, arrangement of building for classification, dormitories, service-rooms, lighting, drainage, heating and ventilation, and all other details necessary in such institutions" also "all questions relating to organization and government in all their details." They have brought the whole influence of this association to bear upon the legislatures of the different states to prevent any legislative action that should in any wise interfere with their exclusively individual control of the several asylums with which they are connected, or be at variance with what, in their estimation, is the proper mode of management for the insane.

They have fortunately on several occasions placed on record their opposition to governmental supervision, and the grounds of their opposition, so its friends may understand the nature and force of the stumbling blocks thrown in their way.

The spirit and temper and for that matter the logic of this body of interested specialists may be seen in the following extract from a letter by one of the oldest and most eminent
members of the association to a professional brother on the other side of the Atlantic:

"I observe that the idea is sometimes expressed among you that we stand in need of a board of lunacy, something like yours, I suppose, and the idea is occasionally started here, but not by hospital men. The promoters of the notion here are generally, so far as I have observed, those who would rejoice to serve their country in this capacity, provided a good salary were attached to it. The general government could not create such a board as yours, and no state has thought it warranted by the few establishments within its territory. In a few states, at the instance of some silly women and sillier men, who imagine that half the inmates of our hospitals are not and never were crazy, a board has been appointed, with functions having reference chiefly to this supposed fact. They have done so many foolish things already that other states will not be likely to adopt the institution. I regard it as one of the felicities of our situation that we are exempt from lunacy commissioners and that thereby our hospital men are left free to work out the problem of restraint, as well as all others connected with hospital management, without asking permission of outside authorities; and it will be long before they arrive at the conclusion that a body of men taken from the ordinary walks of life, lawyers, merchants, county squires, never, very likely, having seen an insane man in their whole lives, are preeminently capable of teaching them their duty."

The letter, in which the above language occurs, was sent with the design that it should be published in England, to show the brethren there, the vantage ground of American superintendents of insane asylums. The gist of the whole of it, it will be perceived, lies in the felicity of being exempt from lunacy commissioners; in other words, a thorough governmental oversight; that thereby, our hospital men can manage their several institutions in entire independence of all outside authorities. Notice the form of statement. It is the absence of lunacy boards that gives this freedom.

But is this what society needs or wants? And do the insane men and women now in the custody and charge of Ameri-
can superintendents, regard it as one of the felicities of their situation, this supreme control and somewhat arrogant guardianship?

The fact is, of this American method of organization and management, thus commended as felicitous, it may be said that it invites abuses, of every form, and in every stage.

A law is passed for the establishment of a new insane hospital. A local board of trustees is appointed; or at all events, a board of trustees, of which a local interest soon acquires a paramount control, and to these is entrusted the expenditure of the public money, in the purchase of land and the erection of buildings. And this very fact of local selection makes men appointed to represent the state and its interests lose sight of the object of their appointment. From their proximity of the institution, they become, de facto, identified with its interests and the champions of its policy and its existing administration; as of a party distinct from the state. The funds are easily obtained and the constituency is a remote one. There is, perhaps, a consulting medical officer with opinions upon all points of hospital construction; an architect with ambition and trustees with a pride of locality; and the result is, that most of the recently erected insane asylums in this country show an extravagance of outlay and an unfitness of structure that cannot be paralleled elsewhere. If any one doubts this statement, I refer them to the history of three New York hospitals, now in process of construction, as given in the last annual message of Gov. Tilden.

The next step is to appoint a superintendent or chief medical officer. This done, the entire control is vested in him. As Dr. Ray truly remarks in the letter quoted: he proceeds to “work out all problems connected with hospital management without asking permission of outside authorities.”

With what results, the customs that prevail in our insane asylums will show. At certain periods the trustees, or a small portion of them, make their visits; usually once in three months. In company with the medical officer, they stroll through the wards or a part of the wards. Their coming is known; the wards are scrubbed; the ventilating fans are set in
motion, on these occasions, at least; the patients are in order and the attendants all on duty. It is a dress parade, in which the trustees are the inspecting officers.

The superintendent, a man selected, often through social or political considerations or some species of favoritism, and not by any form of competitive examination, as is the case abroad, is loaded down with an accumulation of duties and responsibilities, beyond the capacity of one man in a thousand.

Besides these home duties, he is, unfortunately, a frequent witness in the courts, and often has a large and lucrative consultation practice, through a wide territory; both of which matters divert his time and his thoughts from the special work, where he is needed and for which he was chosen.

It will not be surprising, then, that under such circumstances, in many public institutions, the superintendent visits the wards only once a week. The patients are left almost solely to the care of the assistant medical officers, sometimes persons of very little experience, selected for their posts, on the same considerations, as their chief. These, in turn, content themselves with a single daily visit through their respective wards. As a natural consequence, there is little individual treatment, but a routine administration of a few favorite remedies, to a whole class of patients. The prime or principal seat of the disease is learned, for the first time, when revealed by the knife on the dissecting table, and when of little service to the individual operated on.

The result of this load of cares and duties and the pressure of responsibilities connected with superintendence is to make the incumbent of such an office content with a low measure of achievement. He ceases to aim at an ideal standard and settles down in the conviction that only a certain degree of success is practicable. That a certain amount of neglect and abuses, on the part of subordinates, is inevitable. That there will be a given percentage of attendants to be dismissed for unkind treatment or neglect of patients, and that when these cases occur, the less said about them the better. It would only excite public distrust of all asylums or prejudice the particular establishment in popular estimation. And so no inves-
tigation follows; no prosecution of the guilty ones is attempted, if under the imperfection of our present laws on the subject, any prosecution would avail anything.

Again, this breadth of superintendence engenders more or less of carelessness in the use of money for current expenses, for large financial ability and medical skill combined, cannot always be predicated of any individual. This extravagance involves another evil of no small moment to the individual, the family and to society.

In the eastern and older states, all pauper and indigent cases are assumed to be supported in the asylums, by the state or the cities and counties from which they come, while the friends are left to meet the expense of cases, occurring in families that can afford to pay. When this is fairly done, with a liberal interpretation of all the circumstances that may constitute indigence, and the institutions are managed with due economy, no one can complain. But when it happens, as it sometimes does, that the average actual weekly cost of treat, ment and maintenance of patients is more than the authorities who provide for the expenses of the pauper and indigent cases, are willing to pay, and the deficiency is made up by excessive charges upon the paying patients, it is "making lunatics the object of financial speculation." It is an obvious injustice to the families who are the victims of this forced taxation; and in the case of many families of moderate means, it is a sure road to family indigence. In this, society has an obvious and vital interest.

Again, this excessive weight of individual responsibility has a tendency to make our medical superintendents timid and over cautious. They are afraid to run any risks, even small ones, and when the welfare and comfort of their patients might possibly be much promoted thereby. Thus, they feel safer when the patients are, most of the time, under lock and key, in the wards or airing-courts. And so the patients are not allowed that degree of freedom that is found practicable in other lands. They are not trusted to labor in various occupations, which is the great feature and art of management of the insane in European countries. There are patients, physically strong
and well, in our asylums who are scarcely trusted out of doors from one year’s end to another; and, prevailingly, the patients of American asylums are very little in the open air. Dr. Bucknill, the English Commissioner of Lunacy, who visited this country, a year ago, noticed this fact and comments upon it in an account of his visit to American asylums.¹

From this same cautiousness, and from the want of a careful study and appreciation of individual cases, the patients are often retained longer than is necessary for their welfare or comfort; while in European asylums, patients are sent out on furloughs, trial periods, even before the recovery is complete, and to their evident improvement.

An investigation lately held by a committee of Congress, in regard to the management of the National Hospital for the insane at Washington, shows that the weak points in the American method or policy have not been over-stated.

For a long time, the public press had affirmed that abuses existed in this institution, but the managers paid no heed to the clamor. Definite charges were finally made against the officers, among other points, “of neglect, mismanagement and abuse of the inmates of said asylum.” The investigation continued for three months, during which period, the committee held some forty sessions. Its record covers more than five hundred closely printed pages.

On the one hand, is the positive and corroborated testimony of many witnesses, to the fact of numerous instances of neglect and abuses, at the hands of attendants, and this for years.

¹ Dr. Gray, the superintendent of the asylum at Utica, and also editor of the Journal of Insanity, has a note upon this criticism of Dr. Bucknill, which reads thus: “Dr. Bucknill visited Utica on the 33d, 33d and 34th of May. On Saturday, the 33d, the records of the asylum show that out of a population of 387 men patients, 233 were out of doors, and on Monday the 34th, 232.” This is hardly an ingenuous statement. The days referred to were exceptionally fine ones. They were in a sense parade days, for on the 22d the Association of Superintendents of Insane Asylums were making a visit to the Utica institution, and some of them, with Dr. Bucknill, remained over the 24th. Out of deference to the visitors, perhaps, an unusual effort was made to get the patients out. Nevertheless, in spite of this note, the fact is patent to all who have had the opportunity of comparing the customs of American with British institutions, that the former are much less in the open air than the latter. In Great Britain they not only get the patients out of doors, but keep them out.
On the other hand, were numerous witnesses, among them some of the managers, to testify that the superintendent was a man of ability and good intentions, and that nothing of the kind alleged had been witnessed by them, at the times of their official or casual visits. Worn out with the length of the investigation, and apparently overpowered by the weight of the social and professional influence brought to bear in favor of the superintendent and the management of the institution, it is not surprising that the conclusions of the committee were somewhat contradictory and have not been accepted, universally, as a complete verdict.

Thus, the committee say: “Throughout the whole case there is a corroboration of testimony going to show that attendants were often harsh and sometimes cruel in the government of patients; that they were negligent in allowing patients to become infested with vermin, and that tainted and unwholesome food was at times served.” ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ Again it is said—“That Dr. Nichols is competent to discharge the duties of his office there can be no doubt in the mind of any intelligent person who will read the evidence, and although he may seem to have been negligent or indifferent in the discharge of those duties, in view of the fact that abuses have existed in the care of patients by their attendants, yet the committee think he ought not to be held responsible for these abuses. The great amount of labor he is required to perform in superintending not only the medical and sanitary departments of the institution, but in the purchasing of the necessary supplies and the overseeing of the cultivation of the large body of land connected with the hospital, renders it impossible for him to give that strict and constant attention to the government of the patients and their attendants that he could give if he were relieved from all other duties.”

The two horns of the dilemma—after admitting the existence of abuses—that faced the committee, were something like the following. If the superintendent were fully “competent to discharge the duties of his office,” it is not strange that to the public he still “may seem to have been negligent or indifferent
in the discharge of those duties." On the other hand if the wide range of duties specified "renders it impossible for him to give that strict and constant attention to the government of the patients and their attendants;" the main and real business of his office, why then he was not "competent to discharge the duties of his office."

And any candid man, who will wade through the whole testimony, will see that this was just the fact. And it is one common to the organization of all American institutions, the result of leaving to the superintendents sole and supreme control of everything related to their establishments.

Here was a humane, intelligent and skillful medical man charged with the control and management of a double-headed and unwieldy establishment — a hospital for the cure of the recent insane, and an asylum for the chronic insane — quite distinct in purpose, in methods, in accommodations, in attendance and appliances. Besides, there was the assumed duty of managing a large estate, personally superintending the purchase of supplies, the improvement of stock, the setting out of trees, building sea-walls, and a general warfare with all the insects inimical to vegetation. Burdened with the detail of all these irrelevant matters, he was forced to leave the proper duties of his office to his subordinates, and naturally accepted as inevitable a state of things at which his humanity would otherwise revolt.

If now, this institution had been subject to a proper and efficient governmental supervision, the superintendent would have kept to his own sphere of duty, namely: the constant medical care and oversight of all his patients, and the careful selection and watchfulness over his attendants, and we should have had no such palpable evidences of long-continued abuses as this testimony clearly establishes.

And it may be mentioned, that the existing form of organization of American asylums grew up on the basis of a resolution, passed unanimously by the American Association of Superintendents of Insane Asylums, to this effect: That the number of patients in any insane hospital should not exceed 250; and that 200 was the better number. That for this
number there should be a superintendent and two assistant medical officers.¹

In the main hall of the asylum at Washington stands an electric clock, which Dr. Nichols is fond of showing to visitors. By ingenious devices of mechanism, it registers on a sheet of paper, for the information of the officers, the precise movements of the night watchman as he makes his periodical rounds through the wards, thus securing his fidelity.

On its face Dr. N. has placed the old Latin motto, "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" who shall keep the very keepers? Would it not be well to emblazon this same motto on the door-posts of this and all other American asylums? Is it not wise for the state governments to act upon the principle thus quaintly stated, and establish a proper supervision of the very caretakers of all confined in such institutions?

I have spent so much time in discussing the need of state supervision of the insane in the case of state asylums, that I can only glance at a few other points where its influence would be favorably felt.

Our laws relating to the insane are defective. They furnish

¹ Since the above was written, Dr. Nichols read a paper before the section of Mental Diseases of the International Medical Congress, at Philadelphia, in which he advocated, substantially, the American method of management of the insane, and also declared in favor of large asylums.

In the discussion that followed, Dr. Kirkbride of Philadelphia, one of the oldest and most experienced of American superintendents, objected to this approval of large institutions, insisting that 250 patients was the best number for any institution for the insane.

In support of his view, he stated, with great force and pertinency, that patients were sent to an asylum with reference to the known experience and competency of the medical superintendent; that the friends expected the benefit of his professional skill in the thorough investigation as well as the treatment of the case. That the patients also were only satisfied by occasionally having the opportunity of talking with the superintendent about their symptoms and their feelings. And that it was an obvious injustice to leave them, as was the necessity in these mammoth institutions, to the ministrations of medical young men, often just out of a medical school and with no prior experience in mental disease. Certainly a most sensible view of the case.

Another veteran in the profession added, that the only excuse, in America, for large establishments was a supposed diminished cost of management. But he questioned the fact of such diminished cost and then proceeded to show the fallacy of the assumption.
but little protection to the patient except upon the single point of admission.

As has been said on another occasion, the law-making power manifests a proper jealousy of individual rights, till the doors of an asylum are once entered and then and there it stops. From thenceforward, the patient’s fate is dependent upon the will of a superintendent or the “grace of God.”

In view of the published statements relating to the condition of the insane in the city and county asylums of Philadelphia, of Brooklyn and Chicago, it will be generally conceded that a state oversight of such institutions and of the lunatic wards of some county poor-houses is imperatively needed. Nor should the condition of the insane, in the custody of relatives and friends, fail to receive the attention of the protecting eye of government.

The form which any general state supervision of the insane should take, would depend upon the circumstances of the individual states that proposed to adopt it. In the smaller states the Boards of State Charities might be vested with the necessary powers and perform the necessary functions. Even in the larger states, two commissioners of lunacy added to each board and backed by their influence, would probably answer. What is needed is efficiency, influence, courage and impersonality. The form or the name is of little consequence, if there is thorough supervision and an annual publication of the results. Then should we have the insane properly and kindly treated, everywhere, a healthy public sentiment, a restored public confidence and considerate legislation, all based upon an intelligent appreciation of the whole problem of the public care and management of the insane.

Dr. Joseph L. Bodine of Trenton, N. J., then read the following paper:

**THE MANAGEMENT OF THE INSANE WITHOUT MECHANICAL RESTRAINTS.**

Improvements in the social condition of the insane have been the outgrowth of that spirit of philanthropy which has charac-
terized the civilization of the last hundred years. The practical Christianity which, recognizing the universal brotherhood of man and avowing that love for God involves love of the brotherhood, led Howard and his successors in their agitation for prison reform, constrained Clarkson and Wilberforce in their efforts for the slave, urged Robert Owen in his sacrifices for the elevation of the working man, and has been the moving spirit in the development of popular education and organized modern charities, the same spirit of unselfish love has led to the substitution of sympathy for severity, trust for deceit, and kindness for mechanical restraints in the management of the insane.

The condition of the insane before the advent of the spirit of modern philanthropy was for the most part deplorable, although at all times and in all countries, under exceptional circumstances, the insane have been treated with kindness, wisdom and skill. The Jews were taught by the law of Moses that insanity was a punishment for sin. In the book of Deuteronomy, among the curses pronounced for disobedience, it is declared: "The Lord shall smite thee with madness" — and yet, when the evil spirit from the Lord took possession of Saul, his servants advised the restoring influence of sweet sounds to drive away his melancholy. The mental malady of Saul progressed notwithstanding the wise use of remedial emotional influences. Delusions of suspicion, jealousy and fear came upon him and he had hallucinations of sight and hearing, for he saw the dead Samuel alive and talked with him. He afterwards had homicidal impulses and sought death by suicide. The Greeks appear to have had very accurate notions in regard to the causation and rational treatment of insanity. The dependence of mental disorder upon conditions of bodily ill health and the effect of emotional influences both in causing and curing mental malady was recognized by them. The reciprocal influence of body and mind upon each other was the basis of their treatment for the disease. During the dark ages the insane were not better cared for than other classes of weak and afflicted human beings and after the dawning of modern civilization the Judaic spirit of the Christian world was so influential, that insanity was looked upon as diabolic possession and the demon
was to be exorcised or subdued by stripes and punishment, cruelty and deceit. The people, who put witches to death and became persecutors for righteousness' sake, would be very likely to regard insanity as a result of sin and to meet its manifestations with cruelty and chains, the dungeon and the lash.

In the year 1792 Pinel entered upon his duties as physician to the Bicêtre in Paris and there inaugurated the modern treatment of insanity, a work which has made his name immortal. It struck the chains from the lunatic, treated him with kindness, and exercised a wise confidence towards him. It made use of the principle of mental diversion to relieve maniacal excitement and melancholia, and secured the confidence and affection of his patients by his infinite patience and courageous kindness. The condition of the insane before the time of Pinel is only paralleled by the atrocities of the inquisition or the horrors of the middle passage. Chains, stripes, dungeons, dirt, filth and dampness, furious mania, violence begetting violence and murder, cruelty by keepers of madmen, leading to cruel revenge by the maniac, bodily tortures superadded to the mental agonies of the lunatic, scenes of turmoil and excitement, which have disappeared with the barbaric cruelty which gave rise to them, such were the sights which characterized the receptacles for the detention of the insane before Pinel's introduction of the peace policy in its relation to the madman.

The principles of this great social reform did not at once receive full and complete acceptance. On the contrary they met with the most bitter opposition, reproach and misrepresentation and all the power of ignorant prejudice and selfish interest was invoked for the continuance of the old system. Pinel's successor, Esquirol, did very much in France to continue and to further the work which Pinel had begun, and their influence in other countries has led to very great improvement in the social condition of the insane.

In the year 1796, the Retreat at York, England, was founded by the Society of Friends, William Tuke being especially prominent in the organization of the institution, and his grandson, Samuel Tuke, in perpetuating it in the spirit of its founders, the spirit of love, gentleness and kindness to the patients, so
that it might indeed be "a quiet haven, in which the shattered bark might find the means of reparation or of safety." The Retreat was organized because of the dissatisfaction of the Quakers with the management of the York lunatic asylum and the success of the Retreat drew public attention to the mismanagement of that institution. The York lunatic asylum, adopting the policy of exclusion of visitors from its halls, had become preëminent for every wrong and iniquity of management and an attempt made in 1788 to reform the abuses of that institution was signally defeated; but the establishment of the Retreat and the publication in 1813 of a history of its origin, progress and modes of treatment, by Samuel Tuke, excited such universal public interest that an exposure of the abuses of the York lunatic asylum and their removal resulted. This result was reached in opposition to the governors of the asylum, who adopted a policy of concealment and attempted to prevent and to stifle investigation. They declared that the insane were treated "with all possible care, attention and humanity" and adopted a resolution of censure upon those who presumed to criticise the management of an institution, with which gentlemen of their high character were connected. The investigation still went on. Falsification and fraud appeared at every step. "A patient disappears and is never heard of, he is said to 'be removed;' a patient is killed, the body is hurried away to prevent an inquest." The steward's books are given to the flames and a partially successful attempt is made to fire the institution itself.

In 1815 a committee of the House of Commons of England published the result of an investigation into the state of Bethlem and other hospitals. The evidence taken by the committee furnishes a sad chapter in the history of civilized society. It is by no means a pleasant thing to recur to these records of the past, but "they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come." Unregenerate human nature is the same now, that it ever was, and the forces of civilized life too often place nothing more than a thin veneering over the savagery of man's nature. The contemplation of and participation in acts of cruelty hardens man's heart and brutalizes his
character and the temptation to oppression of the weak and defenceless by the strong and powerful is an ever present one to the human mind. The use of power, the love of power, and the abuse of power, lie very near each other. Habitual publicity and efficient supervision are ever necessary to prevent abuses and personal wrongs in asylums for the insane. By the evidence of the parliamentary committee it appeared that in Bethlem numbers of female patients were chained in rows to a wall, with only one garment to cover them, and that the patients were shamefully neglected and unclean. In one of the cells was found the historic William Norris, who had been closely encased for twelve years in rings and bands of iron and firmly secured by chains to an iron bar, which was fastened into the wall of his cell. The assigned reason for this caging in iron was an act of violence, committed upon a drunken keeper, who had provoked Norris to retaliation by wanton and brutal cruelty. The governors of Bethlem declared there was no foundation for the charge of cruelty and bad management of the institution and that the patients had every indulgence, which their security and the safety of the officers and attendants would permit. In regard to Norris they asserted that his confinement was " upon the whole rather a merciful and humane than a rigorous and severe imposition." The whole system of management in many of the asylums in England, as disclosed by the evidence of the parliamentary committee, was a system of neglect, cruelty and terrorism with the result that madmen and their keepers alike were by it transformed into brutes. Fear and cruel punishment were the means used to subdue and to control the insane long after Pinel and Tuke had demonstrated the greater efficacy of the law of kindness and had shown that in its operation the law of kindness is "twice blessed."

Medical teaching tended to uphold the terrifying system. Dr. Cullen, whose writings greatly influenced the English speaking medical world of his own and the succeeding generation, wrote less than a hundred years ago: "Fear being a passion, which diminishes excitement, may therefore be opposed to an excess of it; and particularly to the angry and irascible excitement of maniacs. These being more susceptible of fear
than might be expected, it appears to have been commonly useful. In most cases, it has appeared to be necessary to employ a very constant impression of fear; and therefore to inspire them with the awe and dread of some particular persons, especially of those who are to be constantly near them. This awe and dread is therefore, by one means or other, to be acquired; in the first place by their being the authors of all the restraints that may be occasionally proper; but sometimes it may be necessary to acquire it even by stripes and blows."

Dr. Benjamin Rush, the pupil of Dr. Cullen, the advocate in this country of Cullen's theories, and himself the most illustrious of American physicians, in his work on the diseases of the mind, published in 1812, after expressing most enlightened views of the necessity for and the means of establishing mental and moral influence and control over the insane patient, really gives his influence for the perpetuation of the system of restraint by physical and mechanical forces. He insists that insane patients should be treated with justice, kindness and a strict regard for the truth, and he observes that mad people "seldom forget three things after their recovery, viz: acts of cruelty, acts of indignity and acts of kindness." After recognizing in the fullest manner the power of the law of kindness in dealing with the insane, Dr. Rush recommends the use of coercion to prevent destruction of furniture and clothing, and to punish the patients for outrages upon their keepers and each other. As instruments of coercion, punishment and subjugation, he made use of the strait waistcoat, the restraint chair, which he called a "tranquillizer," the shower bath continued for fifteen or twenty minutes, the fear of death, and under certain circumstances chains and the whip. Dr. Rush remarks upon the advantages of solitude and darkness for the madmen. He says darkness invites silence and promotes fear, and that he has seen the happiest effects from confining noisy patients in the dark cells of the Pennsylvania hospital. He thought the same means might be used for subduing madmen that had been found effectual for taming refractory horses. The horse is impounded and then kept from lying down or sleeping for two or three days and nights by thrusting sharp pointed nails in his
body. The madman was to be kept awake and standing by less severe means for twenty-four hours. Dr. Rush recommends his "gyrater;" made in imitation of the circulating swing of Dr. Cox as a curative and punative agent. It gave the patient a rotatory motion at a more or less rapid rate and produced "vertigo, nausea and a general perspiration." Dr. Cox naively remarks that he has seen a patient, "who required the combined strength and address of several experienced attendants to place him in the swing," so tranquilized by its protracted action that he has been easily carried from it by a single person, and that the recollection of the swing produces such an impression on the mind of the patient that "the physician will only have to threaten its employment to secure compliance with his wishes." Dr. Cox thought the swing "would afford relief in some very hopeless cases, if employed in the dark, where from unusual noises, smells, or other powerful agents, acting forcibly on the senses, its efficacy might be amazingly increased." It would seem that association with the insane often produces manifest, deterioration in the mental and moral characteristics of even the most enlightened, benevolent and conscientious medical men.

The year 1829 marks another point in the history of asylum reform. In that year a patient in the asylum at Lincoln, England, had died in the night from being strapped in bed with a strait-jacket on, and this event led to the adoption of a rule in that asylum that when restraints were used at night, an attendant should remain with the patient. It was found that restraints at night became less frequently necessary under this rule. It was soon found that restraints could be dispensed with by day as well as by night, and for long periods it was not found necessary to make use of them. At last in 1837, under the direction of Dr. Charlesworth and Mr. Gardiner Hill, the use of mechanical restraints were altogether abolished from the Lincoln asylum. In 1839, Dr. Conolly was appointed resident physician and superintendent of the Middlesex County Asylum at Hanwell, England, and by his successful introduction and gradual extension of the asylum at Hanwell, the name of Conolly has become associated with the non-restraint system of management of the insane; the great
principle of which, as Conolly expresses it, is "to exclude all hurtful excitement from a brain already predisposed to excitement."

An insane man is out of his proper relation to the world about him on account of disease, functional or organic, in the brain, the organ of the mind. Mental manifestations are dependent upon and only recognized through material organization. The causes of mental disease are the causes of other forms of nervous disease. The heredity of neurotic diseases and the interchangeability or transformation in their transmission of these diseases are recognized facts. Changes in the nutrition of the brain either from disease in the blood itself, or in the vessels which supply blood to the brain, or from disease in some distant part of the body, inducing irritation of the central nervous system, may produce epilepsy, chorea, paralysis, neuralgia, or other forms of nervous disorder; and just as well those forms of mental disorder, which become manifest in the depression of melancholia and the excitement of mania may be produced by the same pathological conditions. Again, intellectual and emotional strain, physical excesses and sudden and violent shock, acting upon an exhausted or an unstable nervous system will produce states of mental as well as forms of nervous disorder. The habitual surrender of one's self to any one pursuit or passion, until the one pursuit or passion dominates the whole man, is a cause of physical as well as of mental degeneration and the natural culmination of such domination is the dethronement of reason. Insanity is a disease, physical in its causation and mental in its manifestation, and the demands of treatment are the same as for other forms of disease of the nervous system, viz.: healthy blood for healthy nutrition and physiological rest for the exhausted, depressed or irritated nervous system to allow time to work the restorative changes, which may result in health. We do not ignore mental and emotional influences in treating physical disease and we ought not to neglect physical states in the treatment of mental malady. Insanity is just about as curable as other serious diseases of the nervous system and its curable stages are its early stages, when organic cerebral changes have not taken place. Of five persons attacked with
the disease it appears from the carefully prepared statistics of Dr. Thurnam that not more than one of them is likely to be permanently restored to health and reason, so that insanity is one of the most incurable of curable diseases.

Viewing insanity as a physical disease and an asylum as a place for the treatment of mental malady, Dr. Conolly entered upon his duties at Hanwell, and not only abolished all forms of mechanical restraint from the discipline of the asylum, but he strove to eliminate all disturbing influences from the social life of the insane, so that the curable might be restored to health, happiness and reason and that the incurable insane, no longer suffering more from their treatment than from their malady, might enjoy as great a degree of comfort and happiness as their afflicted condition would permit. When a patient came to Hanwell under the reign of peace and kindness, which Conolly introduced there, he was at once released from his bonds. His own safety, and that of those about him, was looked after, but he was not needlessly interfered with and his desire for muscular activity was not unnecessarily obstructed. Excited action often relieves excited feelings and it was found that morbid excitement would often be discharged with safety, if the patient was allowed unobstructed freedom of movement. The madman, like the angry man, is made more violent by opposition or needless interference. If the patient was uncontrollably violent, he was temporarily secluded from the sights and sounds, which were sources of irritation to him. This seclusion was, if possible, effected by persuasion and without resort to force, for force begets resistance and an increase of excitement. If force was necessary, four or five attendants removed the patient quietly and without a contest to a place where he was protected against injury to himself or others. In the interval succeeding the paroxysm of excitement, the peculiarities of the individual patient, the mode of onset of his disease, and his condition of bodily health, were inquired into and the foundations of mental and moral influence over the patient were, if possible, established. The patient was made to feel that he was in the care and guardianship of friends, who would protect him and treat him with kindness. All his surroundings were quiet,
orderly and tranquilizing. His clothing and bedding were clean; his food was good and carefully served and all the arrangements of the institution were made and administered to promote the well being of the patients. Provision was made for their occupation, employment, amusement and instruction. Everything, which thoughtful care, benevolent kindness and intelligent skill on the part of the superintendent could supply, was furnished to the patients at Hanwell. Peace, quiet, order, content and hope, sprang up in breasts, where before wrath, turbulence, disorder and hopeless discontent had reigned. The object of treatment was to develop what there was of mental soundness in the patient and by the expulsive power of a new interest to divert the maniacal from the sources of his excitement and the melancholic from his subjective grief. Habits of self restraint and of self help were encouraged in the patient. Physical force compulsion was ignored and reliance was had upon moral forces alone. The patients were treated with kindness, forbearance, watchfulness and truthfulness. By this treatment confidence, content, trust, affection and hope were developed in their mental experience and mental health was restored to many, who, under the old system of neglect and mechanical coercion, would have become incurable and hopeless lunatics. The insane man was to be cured if possible; but at any rate he was entitled by reason of his affliction, which takes away the joy and crown of his life, to a double share of that never failing charity, “which suffereth long and is kind, is not easily provoked, beareth all things, endureth all things.”

The attendant is the weak point in the non restraint system. The natural impulse of the average attendant is to treat the patients, entrusted to his care, “like dumb, driven cattle,” but well chosen attendants, being treated by their superior officers with kindness, consideration and humanity, will thus be prepared to extend the same law of humane kindness to their afflicted and often perverse charges. The superintendent always gives tone to his whole institution and the insane unconsciously assimilate the character of their surroundings and associations very much as children do. The attendant never will be more careful and considerate of the interests and welfare of the patients than his
superior officers are. A selfish and neglectful superintendent, one who is engrossed with other cares than the restoration of health and the humane treatment of the patients, entrusted to his care, will have in his institution attendants no less selfish and neglectful than himself. With such a superintendent attendants are unreliable and mechanical restraints become a necessity. Habitual severity or systematic neglect in the management of an institution will lead surely to manifestations of excitement, turbulence, disorder, resentment and revenge on the part of the suffering patients. Deceit, treachery, hate and scenes of violence are the necessary accompaniments of such management.

In his last annual report at Hanwell, Dr. Conolly says: "I will only further simply state that now for ten entire years, no hand or foot has been fastened in this large asylum by day or by night, for the control of the violent or the despairing; that no instrument of mechanical restraint has been employed or even admitted into the wards for any reason whatever; that no patient has been placed in a coercion chair by day, or fastened to a bedstead at night; and that every patient, however excited or apparently unmanageable, arriving at the asylum in restraints has been immediately set free and remained so from that time. I wish to over-state nothing; but I am justified in adding that the results, more and more seen in every successive year, have been increased tranquillity, diminished danger, and so salutary an influence over the recent and newly admitted, and most violent cases, as to make the spectacle of the more terrible forms of mania and melancholia a rare exception to the general order and cheerfulness of the establishment." Dr. Conolly, by his successful and courageous experiment of non restraint, contributed very much to ameliorate the condition of the insane in the asylums of Great Britain. The reform has not met with universal adoption there, but even in those institutions, which have rejected it, restraints have been very much lessened in their frequency and rigor. In the administration of some of the English asylums seclusion, as well as restraint, is excluded. Dr. Batty Tuke has further extended the non restraint principle within a few years and has introduced into the
Fife and Kinross asylum the policy of unlocked doors. He finds that more trust and reliance upon the *sense of honor* of the insane is followed by improved conduct and that when bars and bolts are removed, the desire to escape often disappears.

The question of employment for the insane is closely connected with the non use of mechanical restraints in their management. Dr. Wilbur, in his report to the State Board of Charities of New York, has done a public service by calling attention to the extent to which employment is used in the asylums of Great Britain. In people, who are sane, idleness is a source of disease and of much bad conduct, and mental derangement is often intensified and bad conduct in the insane invited by the listlessness and hopeless apathy of the halls of our overgrown asylums. The disordered mind, having no interests outside of itself, turns inward and an intense self consciousness is developed, which results in excitement and disorderly conduct. Samuel Tuke says: "that to Sir Wm. Ellis we are indebted for the first extensive and successful experiment to introduce labor systematically into public asylums." "He first proved that there was less danger of injury from putting the spade and the hoe into the hands of a large proportion of insane persons, than from shutting them up together in idleness, though under the guards of straps, strait-waistcoats or chains." Dr. Andrew Combe, in his work on mental derangement, quotes from the Tenth Report of the Directors of the Dundee asylum, June, 1830, the statement that the superintendent of their asylum, in visiting a number of institutions for the insane, "found employment more or less resorted to as one of the most powerful efficacious towards cure; but in one establishment, in particular, the beneficial effects arising from it have been such as to render restraint and confinement seldom if ever necessary, and the patients enjoy a freedom scarcely inferior to that which a person enjoys, who is under no control."

Under the system of restraint, as I have seen it, in one of the best of our American asylums, a maniacal patient is placed under some form of restraint. If he resists and is violent, restraints are made more effective. He is probably tied down in his bed and left locked in his room for hours unattended. Of course he
becomes "wet and dirty" and even if he is restrained only with the strait-waistcoat, the muff or the belt and wristlet, uncleanly habits are thereby encouraged. Under any form or mode of restraint the regular and sufficient supply of food to the patient is neglected and his physical condition is thereby deteriorated. The cerebral excitement not being lessened, but rather aggravated by his treatment, he shouts and howls through restless days and wakeful nights until cerebral irritation produces change of cerebral structure and he becomes a dement, subjugated by the restraint system, but his intellect destroyed. If he gets well, and he sometimes will, he has a lasting resentment against those who have subjected him to such indignities. I have seen an epileptic patient, tied down to his bed and left to have his convulsions in the solitude and loneliness of his own room, until death came to release him from the suffering and sorrow, for which his brother man appeared to have no pity. I have seen an attendant, unrebuked, threaten a complaining patient in the presence of a medical officer and I have known asylum managers and others in authority to listen to the narration of such, by no means exceptional scenes in asylum life, with incredulous pity or helpless indifference. I have seen restraints used to prevent suicide and the destruction of clothing; but the use of restraints in these cases is a weak surrender to the disorderly impulses of the lunatic. Mechanical ingenuity can devise clothing, which can not be torn or taken off and watchful care will prevent suicide. The use of mechanical restraints does not surely tend to make life more attractive to the victim of suicidal melancholy, for he is likely to mingle the realities of his treatment with the delusions of his disease. Restraint by the camisole, the muff, the belt and wristlet can not and does not prevent sudden and even fatal assaults or the injuries and casualties of an asylum hall. To be effectual against such contingencies the restraints must be the chain and the dungeon of the olden days. Dr. Griesinger says that in an English institution, managed on the non restraint system, containing about a thousand patients, he once saw a bloody nose and heard the crash of broken glass, but that he had noticed the same things in asylums where the restraint chair and the strait-jacket were in
constant use and that he had seen with happy astonishment, in an English asylum, patients on the point of an outbreak, speedily rendered calm by psychical diversion and skillful management, who in most of the continental asylums would have had restraint applied.

From what I saw of asylum life, now nearly ten years ago, and from much thought and painstaking inquiry on the subject, since that time, I am persuaded that Dr. Conolly’s observation that he had “never known all the patients properly attended to so long as even a few of them were habitually subjected to mechanical coercion” is strictly in accordance with the facts of asylum administration; and just as true is it now, as when Dr. Conolly wrote, that “restraints and neglect may be considered as synonymous; for restraints are merely a general substitute for the thousand attentions required by troublesome patients.” Restraints are used to save trouble or to punish and terrify refractory lunatics and statements by asylum officials that they are used from motives of humanity and from a regard for the best interests of the patients are as little to be believed as the pretenses of the respectable pedagogue, who whips his boys, because he loves them so much. Reliance upon mechanical restraints lowers the whole character of an institution. The attendant will not treat with respectful consideration the patient, whom he has seen or helped to place under restraint, and the patient will surely have a sense of resentment against those, who have directed or imposed such restraint. All the control of the patient, which might come from appeals to his better nature, is lost by appeals to physical force. Even the most disorderly and troublesome patients will become humanized under the rule of sympathetic kindness and inexhaustible patience. It is said that mechanical restraints act without passion, but they act at the same time without mercy and without pity, and usually they cannot be applied without a contest which invokes passion and violence. The question is not, as it is sometimes stated, between mechanical restraint and personal restraint at the hands of attendants, but between the comparative efficacy of mechanical and moral forces in dealing with the insane. Exceptional cases require exceptional management. The higher law of self-preservation
and of the protection of life may demand the use of physical coercion, but experience has shown that by watchfulness, forbearance and a kind and constant supervision, the morbid activity of insane patients can usually best be restrained without bonds. The consignment of an individual to a lunatic asylum, by virtue of a readily procured physician's certificate of insanity, ought not to deprive him of all his personal rights and of the protection, which the laws offers to every citizen outside asylums; and ought not to subject him to a reign of terror and tyranny at the hands of irresponsible and unreliable attendants, who, by neglect, threats and cruelty, invite the bad conduct, for which they administer punishment.

In this country mechanical restraints are used to a greater or less extent in all our asylums. As a result secrecy, concealment, and a jealous exclusion of the public, characterize their management. The asylum specialty has become a close, narrow and purely artificial one and those medical men, who are grafted into it, with some notable exceptions, become alienated from all interest in the progress of practical medicine and lapse into mere administrators of receptacles for the secure detention of madmen. Some of our asylums, leaving out the question of restraint, are managed as well as human institutions can be expected to be. In some of them the patients receive all the care which humanity, unenlightened by medical skill, can supply. In others the patients appear to exist for the glorification of the management of the institution and their welfare is regarded only so far as it may promote the exaltation of the institution. The medical officers of one of our asylums, by thorough work in the investigation of the morbid anatomy of insanity, and by careful and extensive observation of the therapeutic action of various drugs in the disease, have done a great deal to lift the American asylum specialty above the dead level of professional mediocrity, which characterizes it. Some of our state asylums are built chiefly to satisfy the demands of local pride and of a benevolence, which cost nothing to those, who most largely indulge in it. Log-rolling combinations, contracts to furnish necessary votes with the needed supplies and all the appliances of the lobby are made the means of securing needlessly extrava-
gant appropriations from our State Legislatures for the con-
struction of these institutions. The management of most of our
asylums is routine in its character and the individual patient is
made to keep step with the routine of the establishment or he
is hurt by its inexorable and pitiless movement. Dr. B. L.
Ray, of Philadelphia, a gentleman who has a long and intimate
acquaintance with American asylums, and who is always a de-
fender and an advocate of our asylum system, in a review in the
American Journal of the Medical Sciences for April, 1872, of
the first report of the Board of State Charities of Illinois, thus
puts it: "Where one man must look after from four hundred
to seven hundred patients, he can hardly give to individuals the
personal attention their cases may require. The management
of so large a household necessitates the enforcing of a sort of
rigid, cast-iron, routine discipline, which cannot yield to the
needs of exceptional cases. The particular wants of the one
curable patient are apt to be lost sight of in attending to the
general comfort of his twenty incurable comrades."
The abolition of mechanical restraints is closely connected
with all other reforms in asylums. With the disappearance of
these physical means of coercion and protection, the management
of our asylums will be open, the access, under proper restrictions,
of the friends of patients and of persons of intelligence and
humanity to their halls, will be encouraged and the policy of
silence, secrecy and concealment will be eliminated from their
administration. The government will acknowledge its duty to
its wards by providing efficient supervision of the institutions,
in which they are placed and "official accountability" will ac-
company the "administrative reform." Asylums will become
hospitals for clinical instruction in mental malady or centres of
knowledge and information, for the districts in which they are
located, in regard to all questions of insanity. Insanity no
longer regarded as a mysterious visitation and a social disgrace,
but as a form of physical disease, will become a subject for phy-
siological and pathological investigation and for the operation
of the laws of preventive medicine. As it is now, the begin-
nings of insanity, not being recognized by the general practi-
tioner, who has been taught nothing of mental malady, the
disease is not arrested. When excitement and symptoms of violent mental disorder set in, the patient is sent to an asylum, where, subjected to a "rigid, cast-iron, routine discipline," his malady is aggravated and he becomes a hopeless lunatic. If asylums are to be hospitals for the cure and rational treatment of mental disease, they must be small enough to secure individualized treatment for the patients, and the medical superintendent must be chosen for his medical skill and knowledge and not because he is a successful and adroit manager and manipulator of men and measures, and skilled in all the arts of the modern "statesman."

There are two ways of securing asylum reform. One is by the gradual pressure of an educated and awakened public opinion, acting on these institutions from the outside. Reform from within has not been the usual order of history in asylums for the insane. The other mode of promoting reform in asylums for the insane, is by putting new men in charge of them; men, who have not acquired the *vicious experience*, which is gained by habits of obedience to the routine of these establishments; men of courage, truthfulness, skill and kindness; men, who are real through and through, and who, therefore, can not follow a policy of silence and concealment. Pinel, with a mind thoroughly furnished for all good works, introduced the rule of "pity, goodness and justice" into the Bicêtre, and Conolly was one of the best known and most accomplished of English physicians, when he entered upon his duties at Hanwell.

For myself I believe that the abolition of mechanical restraints is a necessary step to all lasting reforms in our asylums, and I believe that the work, begun by Pinel and Tuke, and advanced by Conolly, is destined to still further development in this land of freedom and progress.

Mr. John V. L. Pruyn, of New York, said, Dr. Wilbur is evidently of the opinion that the governing officer, or what may be called the inspecting force of insane asylums, should be strengthened, and that the members of the force should be members of a larger governing board. On the organization of that department in this state Dr. John Ordronaux was appointed commissioner in lunacy. He was *ex officio* a member of the State Board
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of Charities, and that Board had to a certain extent, the right to control his operations. That arrangement, after existing for one year, was repealed by the Legislature. That officer has now no supervising power exercised over him.

Mr. Pruyn said that he fully concurred in the view put forward that the whole time of one man or two could probably be well spent in this state in looking thoroughly from day to day, and from week to week, into the details of the management of our great state asylums as well as the county and city asylums. He really hoped that at the next session of the Legislature some efficient action would be had in regard to the matter.

Mr. Dexter, of England, spoke of the supervision exercised over the insane in England; that it was very superficial. The commissioners of lunacy spend five hours a day for nine days in examining an asylum in which there are 3,900 patients, forty-five hours in all. One hour in each day would be further taken out of the five hours necessary to the mechanical details of the various wards and seeing that bath rooms and lavatories are all in order. Then comes the calling of each patient by name and the identification of the person with the name entered upon the ward register and the asylum register. If you can find time during forty-five hours to do more than identify the persons on the register, you must be able to rattle through them at steam engine speed. He thought that the examination by commissioners there was a simple farce. The reason why it works so well is that there is nothing behind the scenes. The certainty of things coming out sooner or later if they are not reported, ensures that the officers themselves, or medical attendants, invariably report any case of wrong done by any officer of the asylum. There is another system of inspection. Every Board placing a patient in a lunatic asylum in England is bound to visit that patient and examine him at least once in six months. This examination he thought was useful and efficient.

We find also in England that while our law requires us to have one attendant for every twelve patients the commissioners wink at one in fifteen. It is true that our system of non-restraint renders it comparatively easy to manage fifteen patients with one attendant. Experience in England inclines us to hold that there should never be fewer attendants than one to ten.
Dr. Wilbur differed from Mr. Dexter, and said that the reports of the English, Irish, and Scotch asylums all gave the number of assistants, and some of them gave the names of the attendants.

Mr. Dexter said that was true, but there was the broad fact that all of the wards in the public asylums are built for thirty persons, and nowhere can any single asylum be named which has more than two attendants for a ward.

Dr. Luther, of Pennsylvania, wished to refer to the question which had been touched upon in the paper of Dr. Allen; namely the extent to which the chronic and incurable class should be transferred to state institutions. In Pennsylvania they have a large portion of their chronic and incurable class in the county institutions. In these county institutions we do have a large extent of real estate connected with them, from 160 to 600 acres. A large part of the labor is performed by the chronic insane. They are better laborers than the paupers, who are generally infirm and able to perform very little service. The physical organization of the insane is good. Dr. Reed of the Western Pennsylvania hospital says: "All my inside and outdoor labor is performed by the chronic class." In the county in which I reside the institution has 600 acres of land. There are four hired men, and all the rest of the labor is performed by the inmates, who number 500. You might transfer these into such an institution as the Willard asylum, but as an economic measure it would not be wise in our state to do so, because it would impose on the local authorities an additional expense. They would have to pay hired laborers to keep the real estate in good order. A large portion of chronic patients require no medical care whatever. They only need shelter, good food, clothing, &c. They can, from well trained attendants, receive all the care that is requisite for them.

Dr. John B. Chapin, superintendent of the Willard Asylum, referred to the changes that had taken place in the management of poor-houses since the opening of that institution. Prior to that time the care of the insane in the poor-houses was considered a crying abuse, and that led to the establishment of the asylum at Ovid. Dr. Chapin detailed the history of that movement. The asylum was located on a farm of 475 acres.
From time to time patients have been admitted, until the present population of the house is over 1,170. Buildings are now in course of construction, which will accommodate from two hundred to two hundred and fifty more. The cost of the care of these persons, or the cost of preparation for them, is, as has well been remarked, an element in this case. The patients transferred to the Willard Asylum are generally noisy patients. The labor patients are not transferred and they will not be. The county authorities prefer to keep them. He asked if insane patients were in such a condition that they could build gas works and carry them on, and enjoy the freedom that the gentleman had said they do in England, why they should be put into an asylum at all? When the time comes that the managers of asylums can cut down their doors and burn them, take down the bars from the windows and turn the patients out, the people of this state will never submit to having them shut up. Dr. Chapin said that no persons are more sensitive to the administration of asylums than the persons in them. It is not true, as has been stated, that there are curtains behind which things go on that the public do not know of. He felt a little indignant in repelling such insinuations. In the first place the public visit the institution. They have 2,000 visitors a month sometimes. Then they have the members of the press, occasionally the visitation of the Board of State Charities, and occasionally the commissioners of lunacy. The friends of patients visit them also, and go around into the wards. I do not think it possible, under such circumstances, for any system to be devised by which abuses could be kept from the public. That assistants do abuse patients I know. Three or four are annually discharged from the Willard Asylum for so doing, less this year, however, than before, because the institution has employed an inspector to visit all parts of the house. In any system which you can devise, you will never enter a ward and see a patient struck. The attendants are sharp enough to practice their abuse secretly.

They receive no private patients at the Willard Asylum. If they were to do so, even to the number of one-third of the whole number, they would have to devise a system of care which the pauper inmates do not require. They would have to furnish a
better table, and bring the whole cost of living up beyond what it is. It would be very difficult to abolish restraint. It is now very small indeed, and amounts to about two per cent in twenty-four hours. The restraints used are very mild. If they had twenty padded rooms they could get along without a great deal of the restraint which is now used. They have had one single patient who destroyed, during fifteen weeks, fifty blankets. This is charged to the county.

Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, of New York, said: A system of county care of the chronic insane, especially in the large and populous counties, might probably be beneficial, provided a comprehensive and steady policy could be adopted; but, as Dr. Chapin has remarked, the extent of the accommodations, and the supervision and care, under the present plan, depends wholly upon the Boards of Supervisors of the various counties, the members of which are elected annually, and who are not supposed to be well informed, generally, as to the requirements of the insane. We have at present in the state, about fourteen hundred chronic insane under county care, exclusive of those in the counties of New York and Kings. In eight or ten of the counties, the authorities have provided very comfortable buildings for this class, and a fair standard of supervision and care is maintained in these counties. He believed, however, that state provision for the chronic insane, upon the whole, is greatly to be preferred, and hoped that in due time, it would be generally adopted.

Dr. Allen said that in his state there are no county institutions. The trouble there has been that the chronic insane accumulate in the state hospitals. There are 700 at Taunton and about 500 at Northampton. They do a great amount of work. There is a great difference in the two institutions. The city and towns are taking them out of the hospitals and putting them into the almshouses because they can be useful. His own city took ten from Worcester who wanted to go to work. They are improving under the arrangement. Our trouble in this country is to know how to provide for those who can work. Our state has gone forward and built a large hospital at Danvers at an expense of a million and a half dollars, without any provision of that kind. Our Board of State Charities has protested
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against it. It is employment we feel the need of more than anything else.

Dr. Wilbur said the object of his paper was not to enforce his individual opinion upon the superintendents of insane asylums in this country. His desire was to have governmental supervision, and as a result of it we should have in this country what has occurred in England, namely, the adoption of this labor system and the freedom that is allowed there. He proposed nothing, either in this or previous papers, but that has been found practicable in Great Britain. Furthermore his English and Scotch brethren would say to Dr. Chapin that if the woman who tore her fifty blankets had been put to work she probably would not have torn any of them. As to the abuses which he had mentioned; there evidently have been abuses at Washington. No man could read the testimony taken in that case without being satisfied of it. Dr. Chapin says very properly that he does not see them, when he goes the rounds. Superintendents do not see them as a matter of course; and they do not listen to the testimony of the patients. At Washington it was laid down as a principle by experts that when a patient complained of abuse at the hands of attendants, he was not to be believed because it was evidence that he was still insane. Then the superintendents of our American institutions generally only make a weekly visit and the assistant superintendent only a daily visit.

His impression was that in the new part of the Erie county insane asylum, where about half of their male patients are accommodated and where they have practically this freedom, that the patients are more contented and more happy than in any of the state asylums. Dr. Chapin spoke as if he were running great risk in taking the bars off his windows and doors but he must remember that such asylums are in operation in Scotland for all kinds of patients.

Dr. Allen offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the members of the several Boards of State Charities present that there should be one or more persons connected with such boards whose time and attention shall be wholly devoted to the interests of the insane in each state, whether confined to institutions or not.
The chairman, Mr. Roosevelt, asked Dr. Chapin as to how many patients an asylum should be limited.

Dr. Chapin replied that it depended very much upon the class of patients to be received in a hospital. The number at the Willard Asylum, is, however, not too large for proper administration. He wished also to say that the daily census of that institution shows that from two to four hundred patients go out daily to work upon the farm. The products of the farm actually consumed last year amounted to between seventeen and eighteen hundred dollars. He did not desire to be considered as an advocate of restraint. He thought, however, that if they had their windows, such as Dr. Wilbur speaks of — the unbarred windows — they would soon be relieved of a great many disagreeable patients. He thought the actual number of attendants they have in proportion to patients is one to ten or twelve.

Dr. Luther, of Pennsylvania, said that in the State Hospitals in Pennsylvania it does not average more than one in eighteen or twenty. That would be independent of the number of attendants to keep them at work. In Pennsylvania they have encouraged the surrender of all incurable cases to the state hospitals. At least, that is the practice of the state except in eight or ten counties where they have established hospitals properly constructed and arranged with a special superintendent and attendants, and the services of a physician. There they retain all their cases, recent and chronic. There is one class that wanders off from the exercise grounds. The remedy for that formerly was the ball and chain. It has resulted in having outside enclosures, and the very important matter of the separation of the sexes inside and outside of the building.

In reply to the question of Dr. Corbus of Illinois; Dr. Chapin said that at the Willard Asylum they get all the facts possible in regard to the applicant at the time of admission. Such persons are usually brought by non-professional men, however, and if they accepted all the causes which the superintendents of the poor give to them, they would be ashamed to publish them. Insanity has increased in this state. The pauper insane have doubled within the last twenty years. The insane of the inde-
pendent class have not materially increased. He did not know how to account for this increase. But it is going on, and if it has not reached Illinois yet, it will in a very few years.

Dr. Corbus, of Illinois. It has reached Illinois.

Mr. T. W. Haight, of Wisconsin, said this matter of restraint had specially attracted his attention. The methods of restraint used in Wisconsin are namely, the muff, belt and wristlets. The superintendent at Oshkosh had told him that the patients were inconvenienced very little by the restraints, and that, at times when they felt the fit coming on, they would ask for this form of restraint — the belt and wristlets — to be applied. In other respects, Wisconsin seems to have reached, so far as the treatment of the insane is concerned, many of those excellencies which have been suggested in the papers read. They have a strict system of visitation over the insane hospitals. The hospitals are also at all times free to visits from citizens and from friends or relatives of patients. Those visits may be made without notification. So, far as bringing the manner of working of the hospital before the public, he did not think that it could be done much better than it is under the present system. They have no local boards in Wisconsin, who are residents of the vicinity of the hospitals. They have only two hospitals in Wisconsin. The board of trustees over each of these hospitals is taken from the whole area from which patients are derived.

Dr. L. A. Tourtellot, of New York, agreed with Mr. Haight that patients will often come and inquire for restraint. He could not believe, from his experience, in the entire abolition of restraint in the care of the insane.

The chairman, Mr. Roosevelt, asked if where restraints were administered it was better to have them put on and worn in the presence of other patients, or to have it done privately.

Dr. Tourtellot thought it was desirable to have everything open and above-board; that nothing should be concealed.

Dr. Bodine said that in his paper, he undertook to present one side of the question. He was aware there were two sides. In a report published some time ago in regard to the Surrey Asylum, the statement was that where a person was in a state of excitement, four or five persons were detailed to look after
him. He was taken to a room and protected until his paroxysm was over. The whole discipline of the asylum was so administered as to avoid seclusion and the use of padded rooms.

The following paper, by Francis Wells of Pennsylvania, was presented by Mr. Sanborn, and ordered to be published in the proceedings:

HOSPITAL BUILDING.

From a general condition of neglect, for which ignorance is perhaps more to be blamed than inhumanity, the insane poor of this and other countries are rapidly being raised to one which is bringing them under all the best influences of modern science and enlightened humanity. The purpose of this paper forbids any pause over the past condition of the insane poor, except as such a pause may serve to remind us that the work of provision for this class, the most sadly afflicted of all God's creatures, is as yet so imperfectly accomplished as to make the consideration of the state's further dealing with it one of very high practical importance. What has been done in the erection of public hospitals for the insane poor cannot now be undone. Very much of it needs no undoing, because it has been done so wisely and so well. But there is yet very much to be done, and in many of the states more hospitals for the insane poor are now either in contemplation or in preparation for and progress of erection. Throughout the country, even where the state has recognized its duty to this class of its dependent people, and where organized Boards of Public Charities are educating popular thought and sentiment in those duties which society owes to all its defective members, there are still very many institutions, chiefly of a local and limited character, in which the treatment of the insane poor differs in no respect from that which formerly disgraced humanity at large with its cruel and culpable ignorance.

In view of the large class of insane poor yet to be provided for at the public expense, the question of economy in the building and the administration of hospitals necessarily engages the minds of those to whom the state has entrusted it, and of those
legislators who interest themselves in the great concern of public charity. And the more carefully the question is considered the stronger becomes the conviction that a radical change is needed in the generally prevailing practice in the building of hospitals for the insane poor, especially, and of kindred buildings for the other classes of the defective poor for whom the state is bound to provide.

During the last few years the establishment of Boards of Public Charities in the various states has brought a new class of mind and study to bear upon the subject of hospitals for the insane poor, heretofore left almost exclusively to those whose views and policy, while undoubtedly guided by scientific theory and sincere conviction, were not so directly affected by considerations of economy in expenditure as those who are especially charged by the state with a duty to it, in its financial interests, as well as to its afflicted wards, in the matter of their welfare.

In considering the subject of hospital building, this paper will confine itself to a few general propositions referring especially to public hospitals for the insane poor. In Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and, as yet, less conspicuously in Pennsylvania, the large cost of the state hospitals has attracted such attention, among legislators and other governmental officers as, in some cases, to cause an absolute arrest of construction already begun, and in others to suggest modifications of original plans with a view of reducing the enormous expenditure. The subject was so ably presented in the last annual report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities that it is not necessary to present here any array of statistics to establish the broad assertion that most of the large hospitals erected or begun in the states above named during the last few years, have imposed a most extravagant and unnecessary cost upon the tax-payers, without adding anything to the real comfort, security or prospect of improvement of the inmates. When the state, misled by erroneous estimates of cost, and what we believe to be erroneous views of the real requirements of such institutions, reaches a point in hospital building where each insane pauper represents an outlay of $2,500 to $4,000 it is time to cry, Halt! It is time to remind ourselves of the claims of justice to the people at large,
forgotten in the presence of that generosity which it is so easy to indulge at the public expense.

What the state owes to the insane poor should be paid to the uttermost farthing; but the state does not owe to them the costly and extravagant palaces which have come to express the modern idea of her duty to this unfortunate class. An elaborate architecture, costly material, splendidly proportioned and furnished "centres," an excessive massiveness of construction throughout a building, a small fraction of which only will ever be occupied by violent and destructive patients, an indulgence in expensive machinery and mechanical appliances beyond the necessary requirements of the institution—these are some of chief elements in that undue costliness that has gradually crept into our American hospital building.

To every suggestion of a better economy in this direction there is usually opposed the argument that a liberal first outlay is the truest economy, and, either in ignorance of the views of those who demand less expenditure, or in perversion of them, it is not infrequently charged that the demand implies a willingness to be satisfied with cheap and perishable provisions for the insane poor, involving larger ultimate outlay as the necessary result. But this is not a correct statement of the proposed alternative. Simplicity in architectural design and adornment, a plain, substantial material, of brick or stone according to the particular advantages of the locality, an essential modification, if not a total abandonment, of the massive traditional "centre" which always represents a proportion of total cost far beyond the value of the facilities which it affords, an adaptation of the various wards, in their construction, to the various characters of the classes of inmates, a limiting of the offices of the hospital in number, scale and appointment to its actual wants, and a recognition of the vital principle that the curative influences of hospital treatment of the insane are not increased by the multiplication of costly and extensive labor-saving machinery—all this tends to a great economy in hospital building, and yet is not at all incompatible with durability, safety and the general welfare of the inmates.

Upon the point last made, an illustration may not be out of
place. The hospital now in course of erection at Warren, Pennsylvania, will have a proper capacity for 700 inmates, and will cost about one million dollars. The site is admirably chosen, although the locality is unfortunately remote from any centre of population, and the building is being erected in a most substantial manner. But for this large hospital there are only about one hundred public patients now in the Dixmont Hospital, and transferable to the Warren district. The laundry of this new hospital will cost, when complete, $60,000. Now it is not only that this is an enormous outlay for the washing of the clothing and bedding of one hundred insane paupers, or even of seven hundred, should the population of that section ever provide so large a number, but it is a serious consideration whether such a laundry, with its complete equipment of labor-saving machinery, is not a positive disadvantage in an institution where the judicious employment of the inmates is a most important agent for their improvement and recovery. The writer remembers, with great pleasure, the impression made by a visit to the simple laundry of the insane hospital at Northampton, Mass., where fifteen or twenty patients were quietly and happily employed, to their own great benefit and to the constant saving of the institution.

The state of New York, while affording, on the one hand, more than one striking illustration of enormous costliness in hospital building, also affords, in the case of the Willard Asylum, on Seneca lake, an admirable specimen of what can be accomplished for the state as well as for the insane poor. By adding to the original hospital groups of cottage buildings, each group with a capacity of 250 patients at a cost of $100,000, the whole cost per capita is reduced to about $500, while all who have intelligently inspected that institution must admit that no benefit to the patient or inmate has been sacrificed or impaired. For patients whose mental condition requires it, there are wards provided with every appliance for safety to themselves and others, while for the quiet and harmless insane, there are bright and pleasant associated dormitories, day and dining rooms.

The Boards of Public Charities in the several states have done much to educate both the legislative and the popular mind in
the direction of this desirable reform, in the matter of hospital building, and in a bill drafted by the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania and passed by the last legislature, the cost of a hospital to be erected chiefly for the insane poor of Philadelphia, with a capacity for eight hundred patients, is specifically limited to a cost *per capita* of $750, and there is a good reason to believe that this limit will be closely adhered to. What plans will be adopted cannot yet be indicated, but this practical demonstration of the views of those who are now endeavoring to protect the state and the tax-payer from the extravagances of modern hospital building, and who are, at the same time, peculiarly alive to the necessities of the insane poor, will be as valuable as it will be interesting.

The prevailing practice of erecting massive structures for hospitals, especially for the insane poor who are awaiting their completion, often in county poor-houses destitute of every proper appliance and form of treatment, has led to an indirect costliness to the state, more serious, even, than the direct expenditure involved in their erection. For while the slow process of such building is going on, the accretions to the lists of the insane are increasing. The acute cases, manageable and curable under right hospital treatment are passing, by neglect and delay, into the chronic and incurable classes, so that a hospital projected to meet the wants of a given number of patients will, if the original estimates of its proper capacity were correctly made, find itself overcrowded at its outset, and insanity is thus being increased instead of diminished by a system which detains the curable cases at home or in unsuitable public institutions until the chances of recovery are lost. How enormously the burdens of the state are increased by the delay in providing proper hospital treatment for the insane poor, a delay which is largely chargeable to the undue costliness of hospital buildings, was most lucidly and ably shown in a discussion of this topic, by the late president of the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania, in a paper on "Provision for the Insane Poor," incorporated in the Fifth Annual Report of that body.

One other general suggestion in connection with the question of hospital economy will close this paper. Almost every intelli-
gent expert in the treatment of insanity has come to recognize
the great value of well-directed labor as a curative influence.
The history of all hospitals where such labor has been organized
fully confirms the sound theory, and the use of the labor of the
prospective inmates of an insane hospital, especially of those
classes of whom this paper has particularly considered, compris­
ing many able-bodied men accustomed to manual labor, would
not only largely reduce the cost of the hospital, but would be
doing the hospital's legitimate work in promoting the cure of
its patients. The development of a land-slide on the grounds
of the Dixmont Hospital in Pennsylvania involved the state in
heavy and repeated expenditures and even threatened the safety
of the hospital itself. But in estimating the cost of that acci­
dent, there is a large deduction to be made for the benefit
derived from the healthful employment of large gangs of the
patients whose labor has averted the impending calamity, has
saved the state large sums which would have been consumed in
paid labor, and has conferred incalculable benefit upon them­selves. Many thousands of dollars may thus be saved by the
application of the labor of insane patients upon the ground and
buildings of the hospitals erected for their use.

This paper has attempted no scientific, technical discussion of
the subject of hospital building. It has not been its purpose to
settle any of the vexed questions that have sprung up in the last
few years concerning hospital architecture, ventilation, dimen­sions and kindred topics. It has only aimed, in a very simple
and general way, to throw out a few thoughts and suggestions
which are believed to be of much practical importance, and which
may serve as the ground-work of more elaborate and thorough
demonstrations of the true principles of hospital building in the
future. The views expressed are the results of close personal
contact with the question of hospitals for the insane and others,
during a considerable number of years, and of a constantly
deepening conviction that we are as yet only on the threshold
of a new departure in the whole matter of the state's dealings
with her defective classes, in which it will be found that in wise
liberality of expenditure without extravagance, and in a higher
public philanthropy without morbid sentimentality, the state's
best economy, both financial and social, chiefly consist.
Mr. Sanborn presented the following communication from Fred. H. Wines, secretary of the Board of Public Charities of Illinois, which was directed to be entered in the proceedings, and published:

**Springfield, Sept. 1, 1876.**

**Mr. F. B. Sanborn,** Saratoga, N. Y.

My dear sir: I have hoped, until the last moment, to be able either to write out an elaborate paper for the Conference, or to attend in person and make an extended address, upon the subject assigned me, viz: *The Construction of Public Buildings designed for the use of the Dependent Classes.* It has been impossible, however, to find leisure for the discharge of this duty, and I must content myself with a brief letter, which will perhaps serve to open the discussion. All that I could do, in any event, would be to give the results of our experience in Illinois during the past eight years.

These eight years, as you know, have been marked by the expenditure of large sums for buildings. Without including the appropriations for the new state house, amounting to $3,500,000, the state has appropriated, since the year 1869, the date of the creation of the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, the sum of $2,750,000 for the erection, repair, alteration and improvement of buildings for the public institutions of the state. During that period, the state has built two new insane hospitals, a second normal university, an industrial university, an eye and ear infirmary, an institution for the blind, and an asylum for feeble-minded children, besides making extensive additions to other existing institutions. The commissioners of public charities have had an indirect oversight of this entire expenditure of public moneys, and have necessarily gained some valuable experience, the principal points of which may be stated in outline, in a few words.

The first step in the establishment of a new institution, or the enlargement or alteration of one already in existence, consists in the securing of the necessary appropriations by the state legislature. A legislature is slow to take this step, for various reasons, and the project often requires to be urged upon one
general assembly after another, with great courage and per­
tinacity, before success crowns the effort. The principal ob­
tacles to be overcome are the ignorance of legislators as to the
object of the new institution and its necessity, their indifference
to the suffering which it is designed to relieve, the opposition
of their constituents to any increase of the burden of taxation,
and the rivalry which often exists between different measures,
each of which claims paramount and prior consideration.

The ignorance and indifference of a legislative body can only
be overcome by patient individual instruction of the members
and the enlistment of their personal sympathies in the enter­
prise. If a real demand exists for an institution, this is not a
very difficult work to do, because the demand will make itself
felt, in various ways, and the record of institutions which have
led the way will confirm the representations made as to the
possibility of meeting that demand, at least to a certain extent.
The proposition to diminish or alleviate the misery of mankind,
commends itself to the popular heart and conscience. The
feelings even of politicians are readily touched by a simple,
truthful statement of the nature and extent of any actual evil
which afflicts the community at large or any considerable portion
of it.

The real difficulty in the way of securing an appropriation is
the uncertainty as to honest, economical and judicious expendi­
ture. The history of public charity, in this country, furnishes
so many examples of corruption or extravagance, or at least of
the want of wisdom and common sense, in the construction of
public buildings, that a prejudice unquestionably exists in many
minds against any appropriation for such a purpose. How often
have legislatures been deceived by statements made at the outset,
respecting the cost of a building, and cajoled into making an
initial appropriation, when the event has shown that the original
estimates were wholly untrustworthy, and the original appro­
priation committed the state to an expenditure of money un­
foreseen at the time and not justified afterward by the approval
of the people. The first estimate is often a guess, made by some
interested person, without any calculation or information con­
cerning its truth, without touching pencil to paper, in the direc-
tions of a plan, and the amount of the estimate is gauged simply by the probable temper of the general assembly. As much is asked as it is thought will be voted, and if the amount voted proves insufficient, the originators of the movement will ask for more. The legislature has no guaranty and no assurance that the appropriation made will be sufficient; it does not even know how many times it will again be called upon, before the work is completed; it does not know to what extent the building commissioners, a semi-irresponsible body, will abuse their almost unlimited power to pander to local pride in the erection of a palace, better fitted for a royal residence than to be the abode of the victims of misfortune, dependent upon the public treasury for their support; and the consciousness that they are acting in the dark paralyzes their philanthropy, decides the doubt which exists in their mind, and moves them to vote "No," rather than "Aye," upon the passage of the pending bill. Who can say that they do wrong?

In every movement for the erection of a public building, a right start is most important, and will make every succeeding step more easy. The first thing to be done, is the preparation of a plan, by a competent architect, with full details of construction, and an honest estimate of the entire cost. Approach the legislature, through its committees, with this plan in hand; exhibit it freely; have it photographed, if necessary, upon a reduced scale, and distribute the photographs to the members. You can then say to them, Gentlemen, you see what we propose. The total cost will be so much. If you cannot vote the entire amount at the present session, give us enough to make a beginning. Nothing begets confidence like perfect frankness and fair dealing. Your wants will be much more readily supplied, if you yourself know what they are, and can state them with precision. I have never been a member of any state legislature; but if I were, I doubt whether I would vote for any building appropriation whatever, without the plans and estimates of the proposed building before me. Where such plans and estimates are submitted, together with the application for an appropriation, our experience teaches us that the business in hand is greatly facilitated, and a sure basis is laid for future applica-
tions from time to time to complete the building. A building commission, where this precaution is taken, knows precisely what is expected of it, and how far it is authorized to go. The very occasion of mistrust or fault-finding is removed.

The second point to which I would call the attention of the Conference is the adoption of a plan, whether before or after the appropriation is made. A perfect plan, is of course unattainable by any means in our power. In building, as in other matters, the best thing possible is a compromise, in which certain defects are borne with equanimity, for the sake of some counterbalancing advantage. The art of planning consists in securing the indispensable, at all hazards, and as much more as may be possible, but in wisely selecting from the many advantages within reach, those which will most surely and effectually promote the ultimate end in view. The fundamental difficulty in obtaining a good plan is that neither the architect nor his employers know, in many cases, precisely the end sought, nor the means by which alone it can be attained. An architect may know all about brick, stone, wood and iron, and the construction of a house from these materials, of any dimensions or form which may be desired, and yet he may know nothing of insanity or the habits or treatment of insane men and women. On the other hand, the superintendent of an institution may know perfectly well the general character of the appliances necessary for the proper handling of his charge, and yet know nothing or next to nothing about building. The first point to be gained is an understanding between the two—the communication from one to the other of the information possessed by each. An architect who should be also an expert in the treatment of insanity, or a medical superintendent who should be also a practical builder and mechanic, might give such instructions to the workmen as would secure the erection of an edifice adapted to its function. Since there are few such superintendents or architects, we must do the next best thing, namely, bring the two together in free, confidential intercourse and interchange of ideas.

We often see a different course pursued. A commission is appointed to build a hospital or a prison. Not a man upon the
list knows anything about architecture or about public institutions. They meet, elect a president and secretary, and decide to go roaming over the country, to see if they can find out what they are expected to do. They travel from state to state, walk over this building and that, jot down a few memoranda here and there, return home with a vague impression of what they have seen, a sense of their own incompetency begins to dawn upon them, and in desperation, they either take an existing building for a pattern and say to the architect, "There! copy that!" or they employ an architect and let him plan for them; or they advertise for plans, and at the appointed time select the one which makes the prettiest picture or costs the least money. Whether the building will be a success or not, when completed, they do not know. They can only hope it may. The probabilities are that it will require extensive alterations before it can be occupied, and that in the course of years, it will be pulled down, not at once, but by piecemeal, and rebuilt by sections.

How would it answer for the governor to appoint a commission of experts, to erect the building? a commission composed of specialists—either in the art of building or of the care and training of the class for whom the building is designed, or both. How would it do for this commission to select the superintendent of the institution, before adopting a plan, and to consult him as to the character and details of the building at every step of its development? How would it answer for them to employ an architect of known ability, and to set him at work, conjointly with the superintendent elect, to evolve a plan from their joint consciousness, with the example and experience of similar institutions before them, to preserve them from blundering? Would it not be well to call in the critical aid of other experts to pass judgment upon the plans prepared, before their final adoption? In a word, would it not save time and money and needless exasperation of feeling, if, instead of leaving the final outcome to chance or fate, we should make use of brains, of good quality and in a sufficient quantity, from the very starting point of our enterprise?

We have tried both plans, in Illinois, and we find that the one last indicated gives much the more satisfactory result.
Without undertaking to write a treatise on architecture, for which I have but slight qualifications, I may indicate the leading characteristics of a good building. The foundation must be solid enough to bear the weight which it has to carry, without sinking; the walls must be thoroughly cemented, perpendicular, and neither bulge nor crack; the roof ought to shed water freely and not to leak. In the arrangement of the interior, regard must be paid to economy of space, and to convenience. By convenience, I mean adaptation to the work to be done, with economy of time and labor, on the part of the officers, inmates and employes. The finish should be thorough and the very best of its kind—no unseasoned lumber, no inferior lime, sand or hair, no cheap paint and varnish, no second or third rate hardware, should be put into any public building, through false economy.

The exterior design should be simple, not ornate, but in good taste, with unity of effect and variety in detail, well proportioned, broken into sections, with plenty of projections and recesses, planned to cast shadows at all hours between sunrise and sunset, giving the building an altered aspect at every hour, and making it always satisfy the eye of the observer who looks upon every building as a picture.

In order to secure a thoroughly good plan, it is necessary to regard a house as an organism, divided into parts or organs, in accordance with its final purpose, each part or organ having a special function to fulfil, and all the parts so adjusted to each other, that there is neither strain nor conflict anywhere. The first question to be asked, is, for how many inmates is this building designed? the second, what is to be done with them, within the walls? and every part should be planned with the answer to these two inquiries distinctly in mind. The inmates must eat: in order that they may eat, they must be furnished with food; this food will come into the building uncooked; it must be cooked; it must be placed on the table; the fragments must be removed; the table furniture must be washed and stored away until it is wanted again. All that pertains to this function constitutes a department, one department, every part of which is related to every other part, and the whole needs to be intelli-
gently connected and bound together, in as small a compass as may be, with room enough for the free discharge of the function. How many are to eat? So many bodies will occupy so much space; they will require so many lineal feet of table, so many square feet will be occupied by tables and chairs, so much space must be left for the movements of those who dine and those who wait upon them; the dinning-room or rooms ought to be of such a size. In the same way, a calculation may be made of the necessary size of the kitchen, the sculleries and store-rooms, and these ought to be so placed as to be most convenient of access from each other, most distinctly separated from the other departments of the internal life of the institution.

Again, the inmates must sleep. How many inmates? how many in one apartment? in single beds, or double? under the eye of an attendant, or alone? is the attendant to occupy the same room, or a room adjoining? how many cubic feet of air ought to be allowed each sleeper? how many dormitories will this require? and of what size? and what distribution should be made of them, to secure the proper classification? The answers given to these inquiries will determine in part the plan and construction of the whole. And what about bath-rooms, water-closets, linen-closets, etc.? How much provision in these respects is necessary for the particular class of inmates to occupy this building? and where should they be placed? and why? should they adjoin the dormitories, or be separated from them? and why?

Further to illustrate this point, when the inmates are not in bed or at the table, what is it expected that they will do? Study? Then provide for that. Labor? then for that. Play? then for that. Receive medical care and treatment? Be held in custody, as prisoners? Provide just such and so many appliances as are necessary for the fulfilment of each separate function. And organize your building. The more organic it is, the better. Discriminate the departments. Place those departments nearest to each other, whose functions are most closely related. Separate the departments which are not related, as widely as is consistent with a wise economy, not only of money, but of labor and of time. Let each department form a whole.
Divide, as you will, by stories, or by wards, or by wings, or by detached buildings, but let the division of the outer shell correspond to the division of functions. Do not compel the internal organization of the inmates and of their daily life to conform to the mechanical ideas of the architect and builder; but compel the architect to shape and divide his entire structure, so as most perfectly to correspond to the internal organization. The body is not first and the soul afterward. Rather let the soul give shape to the body. Do not cramp, confine and torture it by imprisonment in a misshapen tenement.

The remarks just made apply to the department of oversight and control, the department of domestic labor, the department of heating and ventilation—in a word, to every department. Make the building fit, as a glove fits the hand. Rightly to accomplish this task implies experience, thought, capacity. How often are buildings erected for the use of public institutions, which are too large in one part, too small in another; one department large enough for five hundred inmates, and another not more than large enough for three hundred. So long as only three hundred are admitted, the only inconvenience is the sense of waste space and the expense of heating and repairs. By and by, when four or five hundred force their way in, then follows great discomfort, and an application to the legislature for money with which to make attentions. Once begin altering, and no man living can tell where it will stop. One change suggests another, compels another, and as much money is spent in improvements as would have put up a new building from the foundation. The argument that an addition to an existing building will prove the cheapest mode of caring for an additional number of unfortunates is very common, but it is as specious as it is plausible, because the appropriation first asked is like the letting out of water; it inaugurates an era of reconstruction, which, to be symmetrical, must be carried to the bitter end. Add a wing here and one there; then your centre and rear buildings are too small: they must be torn down and built up again; and this is only the beginning of troubles.

I have not spoken of the primary importance of light and air, which are essential to health as well as comfort. An irregular
contour favors both. The pavilion plan of construction has great merits, in this respect.

Neither have I entered into the question of detached buildings for special purposes, because this would involve the discussion of the merits of the family and congregate plans of organization. So far as detached buildings have been tried in Illinois, they are regarded as an improvement. Separate cottages for groups of inmates have not been tried. But I am satisfied, from personal inspection, that the buildings for the Michigan Public School, at Coldwater, have cost less, on the cottage plan, than the same accommodations would have cost under a single roof; and the organization and discipline are certainly very much better.

In the employment of an architect, it must be remembered that he probably has a very superficial notion of the internal life of the institution, for which he is asked to plan a domicile. He must be told; and if no one can tell him, he is powerless to plan, he can only steal or borrow the plan of some one else, which may not at all suit the altered circumstances and requirements of the case. It must be remembered also that since he is paid by a percentage on the total cost, it is his pecuniary interest to make that cost as great as possible. The extra cost will probably be thrown into some portion of the building out of sight, as into the foundation, or into those portions most exposed to view, and which afford the greatest opportunity for ornamental display. He is further tempted to unnecessary ornamentation by the sentiment of pride, the desire to exhibit and leave behind him a testimonial of his taste and skill, at the expense of his employer. In buildings designed for the use of the government, and symbolic of its majesty, this is commendable. But buildings for charitable uses should be as severely plain as is consistent with good taste. Extravagance in their construction gives the spectator a painful sense of incongruity. It is the diversion of a charitable fund from a holy to an unholy use, and prejudices the cause of charity everywhere, as far as its influence extends.

The competency of an architect, therefore, is not his only essential qualification. We must also have an eye to his honesty.
of intention and his sense of propriety. After employing the best architect within reach (and the best is always the cheapest), it is well to have his plans carefully criticised by disinterested, competent judges. A jury of practical builders is good; so is a jury of experts in the specialty for which the plans have been made. In no case should a plan be finally accepted, which has not been thoroughly wrought out in detail, and the details shown. The expense may lie in the details, which are concealed, until the moment comes for springing them. Or the details may be more open to criticism, than the general design. It is certain that a builder cannot make an intelligent bid for the work, without them.

Thus we are led to the third point, viz: the execution of the plan, after its adoption. For its execution, two parties besides the architect are necessary—the superintendent of construction and the contractor. Let us speak first of the contractor.

The plan having been agreed upon, we advertise for proposals. Before advertising, the architect should be required to furnish the building commissioners with the "quantities," and with his own estimate of cost, based upon them, which should be in minute detail. The possession of these data will enable them to judge much more intelligently of the accuracy and sincerity of the estimates and proposals made by the bidders for the job. All bids should be required to show the estimated cost of the materials to be furnished, and of the work to be done, of each description, in detail, as in the specifications. Two purposes will be served by this requirement. The detailed estimates of the bidders can be compared with the estimates made by the architect; and they will afterwards serve as a partial guide in the matter of monthly payments, as the work proceeds toward completion. The bids should be sealed, and should be opened, at a given hour on a given day, in the presence of the bidders, or of so many of them as may be present, and every bidder should hear all the bids read. Whether it is best to reserve the right to accept bids for certain portions of the work, depends upon circumstances. Such reservation may increase the cost of the entire job, because bidders will fear to bid low on any particular portion, through fear of being compelled to enter
into contract for the portion alone. On the other hand, insistence upon this right might work great injustice to bidders. Experience shows that many of the best contractors will not make proposals for anything less than the whole contract. There is ordinarily no fear that proposals sufficiently low will not be offered. The greatest danger is that of straw-bids, as they are called, to prevent which it is necessary to require a good and sufficient bond, with sureties of known ability and integrity, as a guaranty for the ability and good faith of the bidder.

When the bids are opened, it is often a very difficult question to decide who is "the lowest and best" bidder. The lowest bidder is perhaps never the best. He is ordinarily a poor mechanic, a man without reputation, credit or means, financially embarrassed, and generally incompetent, who hopes by obtaining the contract to get employment, make a living, pay off some of his old debts out of the payments made him for his work, and swindle his employees and sub-contractors out of their money. He is a man very greatly to be feared. Great corporations, such as railroad companies, generally have a civil engineer upon their official staff, and when bids for a particular work are received, such as building a bridge or a tunnel, they select not the lowest bidder, but the one whose bid most nearly corresponds with the estimate made by their own engineer. It is much to be regretted that in work done for the state, it seems impossible to follow the same rule. But if a board of commissioners select any bid but the lowest, such is the depraved state of public sentiment, that they immediately expose themselves to the charge of political favoritism or pecuniary corruption. They are driven, in many cases, by the fear of unjust criticism, to enter into contract with a bidder of whose capacity or integrity they have the gravest doubt. The best bidder is a man of established character, whose services are in constant demand, who will not work except with a prospect of a reasonable profit, and who cannot compete with the bummers who underbid him, simply because they have nothing to lose in any event. It is not good public policy for the work to be done at a loss to the contractor, or for a price which necessitates loss, unless the work is slighted.
One of the evil results of such a policy, not to speak of others, is the temptation which it holds out to corrupt agreements between architects and bidders, by which an understanding is arrived at that the architect, who is commonly the superintendent of construction also, will either accept inferior work, or will recommend a great number of changes in the plan, for which he will allow "extras," the compensation for such changes to be excessive, and the profits thus arising to be divided between the architect and the contractor.

In case a low bid is accepted, the bidder is not entitled to any remarkable consideration or favor, on account of the lowness of his bid. The exhibition of extraordinary favor to him for this reason encourages the growth of an evil which it is more desirable to nip in the bud; and such favor is injustice to honest bidders, who are equally entitled to protection.

With respect to the contracts to be made with the successful bidder, I cannot do better than to quote the language of the Illinois law (Session Laws, 1875, pp. 12, 16), which is as follows. This is the form finally agreed upon, as the result of various painful experiences, and while it fully protects the state, it works no injury nor inconvenience to a competent and honest contractor.

"The contract to be made with the successful bidder shall be accompanied by a good and sufficient bond, to be approved by the governor before accepted; and the said contract shall provide for the appointment of a superintendent of construction, who shall carefully and accurately measure the work done and the materials upon the ground, at least once in every month, and for the payment of the contractor upon the aforesaid measurement, and for the withholding of ten per cent. of the value of the work done and materials on hand until the completion of the building, as a guaranty for its completion; and for a forfeiture of a stipulated sum per diem for every day that the completion of the work shall be delayed after the time specified for its completion in the contract; and for the full protection of sub-contractors, by withholding payment from the contractor, and by paying the sub-contractors directly for all work done by them, in case of failure or refusal on the part of the contractor..."
to fulfill his engagements with them; and for the settlement of all disputed questions as to the value of alterations and extras, by arbitration, as follows: one arbitrator to be chosen by the trustees, one by the contractor, and one by the governor of the state—all three of the said arbitrators to be practical mechanics and builders; and for the power and privilege of the trustees, under the contract, to order changes in the plans, at their discretion, and to refuse to accept any work which may be done and not be fully in accordance with the letter and spirit of the plans and specifications, and all work not accepted shall be replaced at the expense of the contractor; and for a deduction from the contract price of all alterations ordered by the trustees which may and do diminish the cost of the building.

"The said contract shall be signed by the president of the Board of Trustees, on behalf of the board, after a vote authorizing him so to sign shall have been entered upon the minutes of the board, and it shall be attested by the counter signature of the secretary of the board, and by the seal of the institution. It shall be drawn in triplicate, and one copy of the same shall be delivered to the contractor, one copy retained by the trustees, and one copy deposited in the office of the Commissioners of Public Charities."

These provisions are clear and explicit. With respect to the percentage to be retained, it may be observed that the withholding any amount greater than necessary, as a guaranty, increases the cost of building, because it involves a charge for interest on the amount so retained, the retention being equivalent to an advance on the part of the contractor. The forfeiture for delay in the completion is very important. The more rapidly the work is pushed, consistently with its being well done, the better not only for the state but for the contractor, because he turns his money over faster, makes a greater profit and secures an earlier final settlement. As to the arbitration provided for in the statute, the understanding is that the decision of the superintendent of construction shall stand until the final settlement, and all disputed questions are settled by a single arbitration. The provision respecting the payment of sub-contractors we have found to be of great value, as it is an effectual bar to
the diversion of the moneys paid to the contractor, and prevents the introduction into the legislature, after the work is completed, of unsettled claims of sub-contractors for work done upon the building. Our practice with reference to the bond required of the contractor is to have the bondsmen sign both the bond and the contract, so that the state has a double hold upon them. The measurements by the superintendent, each month, should be fair, but not excessive. The contractor ought not to receive, on account of his contract, any more than enough to enable him to carry it forward, until the final settlement, and all that he does receive ought to be applied upon the building itself, not in the payment of old debts, nor in speculative experiments, such as brick-making, opening quarries, etc., alleged to be in the interest of the party with whom the contract is made, i. e., the state.

The great leak in the construction of a public building is the "extras" or changes ordered by the architect or by the commissioners. With us, the power to order changes is confined to the commissioners, so that the architect cannot, if he would, add to the cost of building, by this mode, without the commissioner's consent. This leak can be effectually stopped only by the full completion of the plan in its most minute details, before making any contract, and by subsequently adhering with the utmost pertinacity to the execution of the plan as originally drawn. Any change which is not unavoidable opens a wide door for disputes, if not for the perpetration of fraud.

As I have said, the architect is also commonly superintendent of construction. It is ordinarily best that he should be, but in some cases, which it is not necessary to specify, the appointment of a different person as superintendent, breaks up combinations which are known or suspected to exist, and thus promotes the public interest. Architects are human, their pay and perquisites are not so large as to make them an object of envy, and instances have occurred where they have "bled" contractors unmercifully. Inasmuch as they have power to pass upon both the quality and the quantity of the contractor's work, they can easily distress him by a purely technical interpretation of the specifications, or by withholding the moneys justly due
him, through scant measurements. If they have not the principle of personal integrity to restrain their actions, it is equally easy for them to manage matters so as to receive pay from both sides, from one party for seeing that the work is properly done, and from the other for not seeing the same thing. In all cases where such corrupt understandings exist, there is reason to believe that the architect, rather than the contractor, receives the lion’s share of the profits. But with proper care in the selection of an architect, such relations will not exist and need not be looked for.

I have written a much longer letter than I intended. I have written rapidly, and have not even taken time to read it over before sending it, which must be my apology for any omissions, repetitions or ambiguity, which you may observe. I hope that it will serve its purpose, after a fashion. I think of but one point more, which I wish to make, before closing, namely, that it does not seem possible to escape the necessity for the erection of public buildings by contract, instead of by ‘days’ work. Work by the day would probably, in most instances, at least, secure a better job, but it would undoubtedly be more expensive. For whatever may be said about the employment of a foreman and his ability to get work out of his hands, it will forever remain true that men will not work as faithfully for a commission as for an individual, nor for the state as for private persons. The responsibility is less direct, and the injury resulting from unfaithfulness is so divided among a multitude as to excite no perceptible reaction in the mind of the workmen.

I think that the members of the Conference will find it well to examine carefully the whole of the Illinois law, quoted above. It has worked admirably, in all cases where it has been applied.

I am

Most truly and heartily yours,

Fred. H. Wines,
Secretary, etc.

At 7 o’clock p. m., the Conference adjourned until 10 o’clock a. m., to-morrow.
THIRD DAY’S SESSION.

September 7th, 1876.

The Conference was resumed to-day at 10 o’clock A. M., Theodore Roosevelt of New York in the chair. The following paper was read by Mr. Moore Dupuy of New York:

THE "PLACING OUT" PLAN FOR HOMELESS AND VAGRANT CHILDREN.

By Charles L. Brace, Secretary of New York Children’s Aid Society.

The condition of vagrant and destitute children in a large city is somewhat peculiar. The majority are not the children of criminals, but of honest people made suddenly unfortunate. The chances of fortune in a populous town are various. Parents die suddenly and leave their offspring adrift on the streets; persons in good circumstances are brought to poverty and their families fall into vagrancy; husbands separate from wives, and the boys go forth to cut their own way; step-mothers or step-fathers neglect the children of the former marriage and these soon join the class of the street wanderers; the honest poor can not earn bread for their little ones, so that these are compelled to wander through the public ways, and beg or work for their living. It often happens too that a widow is left with sons who are not vicious, but with strong, pleasure-loving temperaments, whom she cannot control. These soon fall into vagrant or wild habits. Or differences occur between father and mother on religious subjects, and the daughters rush forth to find a more peaceful home elsewhere. Intoxicating liquor breaks up innumerable homes, and makes sweet and virtuous children, vagabonds. The number of orphans at one time, in a city like New York, is something extraordinary.

Thus, in 1875, in six lodging houses of the Children’s Aid Society, there were 8,645 orphans, besides those in the Orphan Asylums.

This great class of street children then, it will be seen, are not at all a hopeless class. They are often of very good stock;
coming of honest European peasantry who, in a foreign land, have become unfortunate. They are not links in a chain of criminal inheritance. A criminal family in a large city, much sooner than in the rural districts, breaks up rapidly. Vice exhausts itself in less than the “third generation” spoken of in the scriptures. These children have in their frames, the “cells” or centres of vigor and force which have come down from generations of honest and sober men, and virtuous hard working women. They are not so bad either as they seem. They have been early thrown out to cut their own way. They have been nursed by care and want and poverty. They are self-helping, independent, and have picked up the external bad habits of the street. Their manners are rougher than their hearts. They are wonderfully kind and self-sacrificing to one another, though sometimes foulmouthed to strangers. They have experienced little kindness in the world, and so are very sensitive to any good and generous treatment. Among the girls, it is truly remarkable how pure and unsullied often the flower of virtue keeps itself, though growing thus from the gutter.

This class is the very one to form criminals, though not yet criminal in habit. If taken in time, they are fitted to be peculiarly useful in our American life. The girls are quick, intelligent, ready to learn, and very ready to respond to the voice of sympathy and kindness. Under a patient and orderly mistress, they make the best kind of family help, growing up as members of the family, grateful, affectionate, loving and beloved. Their natures are open to religion, and under a pious lady of the house, they soon feel the inspiration and hope of Christian piety.

But they require peculiar treatment. If put in the kitchens of our large “eastern” homes, associating mainly with servants, far from the eye and teaching of the mistress, they come to little good; neither making good servants, nor rising much in their moral condition. What they need are small, careful, intelligent homes, where the mistress does much of her own work and looks closely to each member of the household, and where the social tone reaching them is of the parlor rather than of the kitchen, of an intelligent American class, rather than of an ignorant foreign class.
In such homes, the wild and untrained little child of poverty is soon absorbed in the society about her, and becomes undistinguishable from it. She forms the kind of help which many of our families most need; one permanent, grateful and in sympathy with all in the home.

The boys are almost equally useful on the farm, in the garden and the stable. Under a new atmosphere of kindness, sympathy, comfort and self respect, many of their vices drop from them like the old and verminous clothing they left behind.

They have many faults, it is true, but they learn rapidly their new duties, and soon become of value to their employers.

The social self-respect among those they associate with, raises them. The entire change of circumstances seems to cleanse them from many bad habits. They change rapidly and wonderfully. The new relations of kindness and sympathy with human beings, have a marvelous effect on their characters. Some of their great temptations are taken away, such as those to stealing and those arising from hunger and want. Religion comes in to elevate and purify; and in the winter, the influence of regular schooling and reading.

In remote farm houses, they are not so liable to fall in with bad company, and idleness does not leave them to its dangers.

Such lads are not suited to the neighborhood of large cities, or to a state of society where master and boy are much separated; or where great strictness of discipline is necessary, or to economical circumstances where food is scarce. But, given remote and lonely farms, where there is freedom of moving and for field-sports, where employer and lad are constantly together, and each additional mouth at the table is of little account, and where boundless hope and possibility of advancement are before every poor boy and man; then you have the garden and culture in which these wild human varieties take on the best hues and forms of civilization — where the poor little barbarian of the city streets becomes the honest and Christian farmer of the west, or even the teacher and preacher of the best truths to others.

Fortunately or providentially, there are in this country, large districts needing the labor of children, not objecting to this
kind of youth, where society, so far as relates to its influence on the laboring class, is in a kind of ideal condition. It is a mistake to suppose that laborers are necessarily best off where education is highest or civilization most refined. The working-class receive the most elevating influences where no distinct line separates them from any other class, yet where education of a common kind is universal and the tone of self-respect in the community is very high.

If servants are much separated from mistresses, if laborers are apart from employers, the effect is that the working-people soon become a distinct community in tastes, habits and education from the employing class.

The immense advantage of the West, for the laboring-class, is that all influences are constantly raising up the working people to a level with all others. Whether this is an equal benefit to the educated and fortunate part of society, is another question.

Taking the West as it has been, it was on the other hand a great convenience to the mistresses to train up their own domestics; a low peasant girl, or an ordinary servant does not suit a family where the mistress and she must work together; the lady prefers to educate her own girl from a child.

Then, we are convinced (though some of our western brethren consider this a somewhat "sentimental" view) that in a new community there is always more humanity towards children, and towards the unfortunate than in an old. The experience of twenty-five years has given us too many proofs of this, for us to doubt it. So, taking advantage of the unlimited demand for children's labor in this country, and the peculiar spirit of humanity among our frontier farmers, we began nearly twenty-five years ago the plan of "placing out," in rural families (first especially in the central west) the homeless orphans and unfortunate, destitute children of our great metropolis.

If asked, why we did not place these little ones in the eastern states? we reply: there is much less demand here for children's labor; each place at the table of life is more than filled; the class of mistresses is more separated from that of servants or laborers; the chances for the child are much poorer, and last of all, we found a great demand for these children in western
families. In fact, the call for little girls in western households is far beyond the capacity of any of our cities to supply. We send at present nearly 4,000 boys and girls each year to rural homes, east and west; we could certainly send a thousand more of little girls, if they were willing or needed to go.

These children, it should be remembered, are not criminals, or the subjects of penal legislation. They are simply unfortunate and often the descendants of those who have seen better days. They are not paupers, as we assume the responsibility of their support within a reasonable time after their "placing out," and do not permit them to become chargeable on western communities. We only take out those who are of sound mind and body, and return any who prove decidedly deficient in either respect.

Our plan of selecting homes has proved generally successful. The resident western agent, whose head quarters are at Chicago, discovers a farming locality where the assistance of children is needed. He procures the names of a few prominent citizens who will aid in the matter. Public notice is given, some weeks beforehand, that a company of orphans and homeless children from New York will come there on a given day. The farmers gather from the country for miles around. The little company of unfortunates, under charge of an experienced agent, are billeted around among the families of the village, fed and washed, and then appear in the town hall or whatever place has been selected for the meeting. Here the agent, advised by some of the citizens, forms a committee of some of the leading men present. This committee decide upon the applications, on consultation of the agent. After a few hours' labor, each child is placed in a home, and it usually happens, that these homes are the best in the country 'round. The employers agree to send the children to school in the winter, and of course to treat them kindly. Beyond that, there is no agreement and no indentures are made out. The relation is left much to the good feeling of both parties.

After the children are placed, the local committee keep up a certain correspondence with the office in regard to them, but our especial information is derived from the visits of the resi-
dent agent, who makes a regular inspection of the places and children, from those of the western agents, and from the continual correspondence carried on by the clerks with both the children and employers.

The experiment during these twenty-three years has turned out a marked success. The boys, during the civil war, volunteered in great numbers and served their country manfully. Very many have been adopted by their employers and inherited property, others have earned farms of their own; some have become professional men and a considerable number have worked their way through colleges and become ministers or missionaries.

The girls have grown up and married farmers, and are not now distinguishable from other respectable and industrious mothers of households in the West.

A few drift back to New York; many change places often (as do all our domestics) and pass out of sight, some being ashamed of their humble origin; but very few indeed fall into the hands of the law, or become chargeable on the public authorities of the West. They turn out much better than do the children of the ordinary foreign emigrants, and, it has often been remarked in the West itself, quite as well as the average of children in western villages.

The vast change for them from penury and homelessness, to a kind, sympathizing home, and the elevating effects of western social life, with the constant influences of religion, and the boundless hope in a new community, will account for this happy result.

During these twenty-three years we have sent to rural homes some 35,000 boys and girls, the very large proportion of whom have turned out well.

During the recent Prison Congress in New York, some very respectable delegates from the central west, felt called upon to charge this society with having crowded Western prisons, penitentiaries and reformatories with their children, and complained that New York got rid of its human refuse to discharge it over the West.

These accusations, which were very injurious to our charity,
were almost utterly groundless; and arose probably from two errors; one, a common logical mistake with persons of more feeling than reason, of reasoning from "particulars" to "universals;" that is, a good woman seeing one child from the Children's Aid Society in a western house of refuge, infers that there must be hundreds more in other reformatories. The other was probably the fact, that many emigrants and roving persons, prostitutes, vagrants, thieves and the like, put down their home as "New York," and are entered in the books of western prisons as "New Yorkers," though they may never have lived here, and certainly never had anything to do with this, or any other benevolent society.

Immediately after the session of the Prison Congress we despatched our Resident Agent, Mr. C. R. Fry, to make a thorough inspection of the prisons, houses of refuge, reform schools and the like in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, from which states the charges especially came and where we have placed some 15,000 children.

The results are as follows: and may be relied upon as being accurate and as thorough as they could be under the circumstances.

ILLINOIS PRISONS.

Mr. Fry visited first the state prison of Illinois, at Joliet, where were some 1,600 prisoners. Here he found not one from the Children's Aid Society. The warden, Mr. R. H. McClaughry, said that none of our children had ever come under his notice. Mr. Fry went through the entire prison and his investigation was as thorough as it is possible to make where the rules forbid conversation with the prisoners. He next visited the State Reform School at Pontiac. As this institution is designed especially for criminals under twenty-one years, sentenced for vagrancy, theft, and such petty offences, it might naturally be expected that out of the thousands we have sent to Illinois, some few would be found in this reformatory. The superintendent, Dr. Schouller, was absent, but his assistant, who was wonderfully familiar with the history of all the boys, gave his valuable help in examining the books. A very thorough examination was made, and many boys conversed with, but nothing
was brought to light to show that there was now or ever had been in the institution a boy sent west by the Children's Aid Society.

The Chicago House of Correction was next investigated: Mr. Fry conversed with numbers of the inmates, and examined the books with the same result, not one was from this society. He also called upon Mr. R. Turner, late superintendent of the Chicago House of Refuge, which has been replaced by that of Pontiac. Mr. Turner corroborated these results, and stated that he had never known of one of our children in that institution. This completed the examination of Illinois, where we have placed some 5,000 children.

**INDIANA PRISONS.**

In Indiana, the State Penitentiary at Michigan city, with 550 prisoners, was visited: No one from this society was found there. Mr. Main, the warden, stated that he had never known of any prisoners from it. The same results were obtained at the South Indiana State Prison at Jeffersonville. The warden was absent, but his deputy stated, that if any had been there, sent out from New York by this society, the fact would have come out. He never knew of a single case. Mr. Fry examined the different wards, and could discover none.

Next followed the Home of the Friendless, and Woman's Prison at Richmond. There were in it at that time, only two prisoners and a dozen inmates; none from New York.

Mrs. Davis, the president, had known personally every inmate for eight years, and stated that she did not believe one had come from this society. The orphan asylum in the same town was next examined. The matron, Miss Smith, had never, during seven years, known of our children there, and but one New York child. Next followed the Home for Friendless Women and Children at Indianapolis. The superintendent, Miss Brower, had never known of one inmate from this society. One child, ten years before, had entered who said she had been sent by "some New York institution," but what one she did not know.

In the Girls Reformatory and Women's State Prison, near Indianapolis, a very large institution, or rather two institutions
in one, the matron, Mrs. Smith, knew of one girl who had been sent west by the Children’s Aid Society. She had been placed in many homes, but invariably drifted back to the reformatory. The case of this girl, was no doubt, the source of many of the charges against the “placing out system.” A very careful examination was then made of the Indiana State Reform School at Plainfield. We have sent some 6,000 children to Indiana, and here, if anywhere, the “failures” were to be found. Mr. Fry with the assistance of Mr. O’Brien, the superintendent and the book-keeper, examined carefully the records of 818 boys who have passed through the institution. Only ten were given as from New York. By carefully comparing this list with our own records in the office, four were found to be from our society. These were reported by the superintendent as “good boys” and had been committed only for “homelessness,” and will no doubt, all turn out well. Yet these four, with the girl before mentioned, out of 6,000 have been the foundation of these charges.

MICHIGAN PRISONS.

Now came Michigan. The Public School for Dependent Children at Coldwater, presented 150 children. The records were not examined, as Mr. Adden, the superintendent, was confident that there “never had been a child there from New York.” The State Reform School at Lansing, with 236 boys, was then visited. Mr. Howe, superintendent, stated that there was not one there from New York, and he had never known one from this city. The report for 1875 shows ten whose nativity is New York. Mr. Howe stated in explanation that he was personally acquainted with these boys, and knew that they had removed west with their parents, and were not sent by any benevolent institution.

The State Prison at Jackson, Mr. Humphreys, warden, showed the same result as those of the other states: not one of our boys imprisoned there. The last institution visited was the House of Correction at Detroit. Here a considerable number of names was found as from New York. Many of these were compared with those on our books, but nothing is shown as to the boys having come from this society, or from any other bene-
volent institution. They may have emigrated with their families, or they may have given a false address, at all events they are not chargeable on this society. The superintendent was absent, but his assistant, Mr. O. Webster, informed our agent that he had never known one of our children in that institution; yet in Michigan we have placed at least 4,000 children.

These investigations, carefully and honestly made, show that the charges made in the Prison Congress were almost baseless; that the children sent West by the Children's Aid Society, turn out better than the children of ordinary emigrants and quite as well as the ordinary run of children in the villages whether in the East or West.

PAYING FOR BOARD OF PAUPER CHILDREN.

One question comes up in this relation, "should in our older states the board of the pauper children placed out by the public authorities be paid?"

We have grave doubts of the advisability of this. There is, throughout our country, a deep and fervent spirit of humanity towards these unfortunate children implanted by Christianity. We fear that to offer payment for the care of these orphans, would change this feeling, and turn an act, which is at once one of humanity and prudence into one purely of business.

Then, such an expenditure is unnecessary. Our experience of a quarter of a century convinces us that in every community, whether East or West, there are always kind homes open for the orphan, if skilful means be taken to find them. Merely writing to a village or enquiring in it would not bring such homes to light. But if the same means were taken, as by the agents of our western parties of children, we are confident the same opportunities would present themselves. It is true, however, that the demand for children's labor is much less in the East than in the West.

CONCLUSION.

We thus present this somewhat peculiar and original movement for the benefit of unfortunate children, to the careful consideration of this assembly. It was originated in thoroughly considered economical principles; it has been carried out with
common sense and in the spirit of the purest humanity; it has withstood bitter prejudice and now its fruits justify it.

Dr. Norris, president of the Board of Charities of Kings county, asked what was the modus operandi and what authority was necessary for the transfer of these children from one state to another.

Mr. Dupuy said that the lodging houses bring them to the Children’s Aid Society and make an application through the superintendent. Their names are taken and they are sent with their names to the agent who is making up a company at the central office in 4th street. He will not take any boys or girls who do not come prepared to state whether they have parents or guardians. They must bring to the office a written statement from their father or mother or legal guardian, stating that they may go west.

Dr. Norris said that in some cases children temporarily committed to institutions for children had been sent west without the consent of their parents and that much public indignation had been created thereby.

Dr. Charles S. Hoyt said that the difficulties complained of by Dr. Norris were the result of errors of administration, and not from any fault in the law. The statute places dependent children under the control of the officers responsible for their care, in the several localities of the state. These officers may protect the county and the children by continuing their guardianship over them when they are in institutions.

Dr. Norris said the officers of Kings county were not opposed to the children getting homes; but they wished it done so that the feelings of the mother shall not be violated. It is against the law to send dependent children to the almshouses. They are obliged to send them to these private institutions, which are not bound by law to take them and will take them only on their own conditions.

Mr. Dupuy said there was a clear error in saying the Children’s Aid Society could not follow the children it sent west. It requires a statement of the history of the child from every institution committing children to their care; when they were sent west, the state, county, name of the parties to whom they were assigned, and every item necessary is entered upon their books.
146 CONFERENCE OF BOARDS OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

The Children's Aid Society was for many years the channel which was sought by the commissioners of charity in New York for the transmission of children to the west. Many thousands were sent from Randall's Island through them. The records are clear, full and complete. There is no trouble in relation to the information that may be desired or asked for.

Dr. Norris exonerated the Children's Aid Society and said the fault must have been with the institution which transferred them to its care.

Prof. Chace, of Rhode Island, enquired if the children that had been sent west and have turned out so well were really above the average of neglected children in the state of New York? Is there any means of sifting, by which the better class are sent away?

Mr. Dupuy said that they were not all pauper children, but were children of unfortunate people. They are about the average of what we generally find in the streets of New York, belonging to the poorer classes of people.

Prof. Chace, asked if the Society would reject a boy on account of his parentage, knowing he was descended from a bad stock.

Mr. Dupuy replied in the negative. If he were a healthy boy and they had sufficient guaranty of the propriety of his going west.

Mr. Dexter said they had several ways of getting rid of children in England. One system takes boys from the workhouse in London and sends them down to Grimsby as nominal apprentices on board the small ships along the Yorkshire coast. They are put under a brutal form of slavery there. Many of them commit suicide in order to get rid of their desperate situation. They have had as many as eight suicides in a year. A large number go on board the schools in the Thames and at Southampton, where they are well taken care of and where the law is complied with. A boy cannot be sent on board a ship like that unless first in open police court, not only the answer of the boy in particular that he wishes to go, but the positive consent of the parents, is received by the magistrate.

Dr. Norris revived again the subject of the illegal transfer of
children to the west and wished some expression of sentiment by
the conference.

Dr. Hoyt asked if in placing these children in asylums, Dr.
Norris had stipulated that they should not be sent out of the
state unless notice of the intention so to do, was first given to
him.

Dr. Norris. No sir, we thought it was impossible that such
a thing should be done without our consent.

Dr. J. C. Corbus, of Illinois, had watched the operations of the
Children's Aid Society for twenty years. He believed in sending
children West. Social distinctions were broken down there.
When one of the boys is put in the care of a family of respecta-
bility, he becomes not only a matter of interest to that farmer
but to the neighborhood. And at the social gatherings he will
be received on an equality with the others. They have good
schools in the West and the boys have the opportunity of attend-
ing them. If they are desirous of receiving a higher education,
they can get it. They can work themselves through college.
He thought the child going West was placed certainly in a much
better condition morally than if he were left in the streets of
New York.

Professor Chace of Rhode Island said he did not believe in
the right of parents over their children when they acknowledge
no obligations to the child. He did not believe mere paternity
confers this right. He believed that where a parent is bringing
up a child to steal and drink, the rights of the parent are for-
feited. They are annihilated before the rights of the state. He
wished that the legislature would step in and protect the
child, because nothing but its intervention in a multitude of
cases can protect it.

A resolution offered by Dr. Norris expressing the sense of the
Conference that children placed in private institutions by
charity officials in the various counties, should not be taken out
of the state without the consent of their natural or legal guar-
dians was lost, Dr. Norris only voting in the affirmative.

Mr. F. B. Sanborn said that the Public Board of State Charities
in Massachusetts has not been willing to send children West.
The practice has never been to allow these children to leave
New England. Most of them do not leave Massachusetts. They do not go out in parties. It is not found necessary. The reason why is that in the state of Massachusetts, densely populated as it is, there is a constant demand in the country towns for children of this kind, and the children are just as likely to grow up and be self-supporting and on an equality with those about them as in the West. Massachusetts does not think it her business to depopulate the commonwealth to increase the population of Illinois or Wisconsin. She does not feel that she has any right to extradite her own children. He thought Mr. Brace had not given this point sufficient attention. The policy favored in Massachusetts is the boarding out of children in families by the state. If by boarding out a hundred children and paying a small sum for them — no more than it would cost to put them in the poor houses — she can make them good citizens, Massachusetts has done that which she is bound to do. The township organization exists in Massachusetts in a very active condition. There are 340 cities and towns in that state; about 200 of them are what would be called rural towns, with a population of less than 2,000 persons. Every one of these little municipalities has its overseers, selectmen, town clerk, etc. These are in direct and constant communication with the state authorities. They often find or certify places in the towns or give information as to families desiring children. If it is properly managed this is a very perfect system.

Ten years ago it was found desirable to increase the number of good places, and the state established the visiting agency by which the officers of the state are sent into these towns to make examinations wherever children are placed. It is very desirable in many places that there should be a committee of ladies who will give more attention than is given by the local officers.

Mr. Pellew, of New York, thought that the situation was different in New York state, and that the method of Massachusetts would not work so well there. There were a great many more dependent children to be taken care of in New York than in Boston, for instance. It seemed to him that the plan of Mr. Brace was very simple and effective.

Mr. Haight, of Illinois, had no settled opinion as to the propriety of sending these children out West. He knew that
among officers of charitable societies in the West there was considerable feeling against it. Mr. Brace's investigations in the West as to the children he had placed there had received no confidence for this reason: that the records of prisons and reformatories do not state where children were born, and where they came from originally, but only where their residence was when arrested.

Rev. Mr. Morse of New York, of the Howard Mission, spoke highly of the work of the Children's Aid Society. It was now the great forwarding institution. Whenever the Howard mission has a boy that seems better adapted for the West and who wants to go there, they place him in charge of this Society. Formerly the Howard mission had sent all its poor children to the West. Now a different plan was adopted. One of the most melancholy objects in the world is a homeless child.

Another object almost equally melancholy is a childless home; and the great thing to be done is to find out the homeless children while they are young, and then to find out the childless home and to take these two separate sorrows and unite them in one central joy. This principle of the transfer of children is the great central principle of all charities. He agreed with Professor Chace that vicious parents forfeited the claim to their children, and that the child should be protected against abduction by such parents.

Dr. Hoyt believed with Mr. Morse that there is a childless home for every homeless child in our state, and it only required proper and persistent effort to bring them together. He had had an experience of over eight years in association with the superintendents of the poor of New York, and had found them generally active in their efforts in behalf of dependent children, and opposed to their detention in poor houses. He was gratified to say that so far as the country districts were concerned, the law of 1875 had been a success.

Mr. Ward of Ohio, said that he had been president until within a few months of the Soldier's Orphan Home in Ohio, where they have from five to seven hundred children of both sexes and from three years of age upwards. We have made a great number of efforts to get proper homes for these children,
and have not succeeded. We keep them there till they are sixteen years of age and then turn them out. One reason we cannot find homes for them is that whatever the fact may be in the East, the number of childless homes is not so great in the West. Without going into a discussion of the physical cause, the truth is apparent. It is rare to find a country home without children. It is rare, too, that the wealthier class will desire to adopt a child entirely unconnected with them by ties of relationship. Finding it extremely difficult to get homes for them, he had adopted the system of teaching industrial pursuits both for boys and girls. They keep them constantly occupied.

Mr. Dupuy said that the first years of the history of the Children's Aid Society, a great many were sent to Ohio and were placed in good Christian families, and as Ohio became more thickly populated, they were sent further West. In Michigan he could speak from his own personal experience. Children taken West were placed in some of the finest homes in the state. He had discovered them enthroned in residences so far beyond anything they had known that they seemed to be palatial. They had never found any difficulty then in getting homes for them in the West. On the contrary there had often been a contest for children among those whom the resident committee had designated as the best citizens of the neighborhood.

The chairman, Mr. Roosevelt, called attention to the important fact that Mr. Brace had offered to transfer every one of the boys in the New York institution on Randall's Island to western homes, and that the city was now paying thousands of dollars in preference to accepting this offer.

The Conference at 1 o'clock, P.M., then took a recess until 3 o'clock, P.M.
The afternoon session opened at 3 o'clock, when the following paper was read by Dr. Diller Luther of Pennsylvania:

STATISTICS AS CONNECTED WITH INSANITY, MEDICAL CHARITIES AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF.

For the general reader, statistical information possesses little or no interest. The labor of investigation which is required is shunned; the effect of which is that the conclusions of other minds are accepted as being correct. Often this may be entirely safe, at other times it leads to the adoption of dangerous error. Fortunately this kind of credulous faith is not exercised by every inquirer into truth. There are those who will not be willing to receive what are given as facts unless they are shown to be such; reported observations by different persons must be classified in strict accordance with well settled rules, and the deductions made must be correctly and logically drawn. The relation of things with each other must be clearly ascertained, and the successive steps by which results are attained, will be carefully scrutinized before assent will be given.

Without the observance of such care statistical reports will not be likely to command much respect; for without it, the results of various experiences of modes or systems, could not be accurately ascertained. Whether ignorance or intelligence, vice or virtue, crime or justice, honesty or dishonesty, are on the increase or decrease, would continue to be involved to a large degree in the mazes of conjecture.

To the philanthropist, the legislator and the jurist, the light afforded by carefully constructed tabulated statements, with the accompanying analyses and deductions, is of the utmost importance. Without such knowledge intelligent action in any given case must frequently, and to a large extent, be a matter of chance. The attempt to navigate unknown seas without chart or compass, could not be more unwise and irrational.

A reference to what is constantly occurring in the various en-
enterprises which occupy public and private attention in the special
field, which is now under consideration, abundantly attests this
truth. Not only are theories and systems of management, but
the whole aim and purpose of private and public beneficence, in
the various charitable, educational, and reformatory institutions
frequently misdirected, but the means provided for their
support is rendered comparatively useless and often absolutely
wasted.

With some intimacy with what obtains in my own state, I
beg your indulgence whilst I advert briefly to some facts, con­
firmatory of the views here given.

Under the assumption that one person in every 1,690 annually
becomes insane, the aggregate number in the state in the decade
ending 1873, would be 23,342 inclusive of the number remain­
ing from the previous decade. If from this number we deduct
the number restored and died, there would remain 15,996. Upon
careful investigation it has been found that this generally
accepted estimate is at variance with well ascertained facts, and
that the actual increase (approximately at least) is one in every
3,986 of population. Under this computation the number re­
main­ing would be 4,318, instead of 15,996. We are satisfied
from our investigations and the returns made to the State Board
of Public Charities, that the number living at that period did
not exceed 4,392, showing the correctness substantially of the
above last named estimate. The result of investigations in the
state of New York, leads to similar conclusions. And with the
exception of the small extent to which it may be influenced by
density of population and other local causes, the present insane
population in other states cannot be reconciled with any other
basis of computation. This position has not and as we believe
cannot be successfully controverted.

After the attention of the legislature of Pennsylvania had be­
come awakened to the necessity of providing for the care of the
indigent insane, the scale upon which accommodations were
projected were upon the first estimate of increase referred to.
A hospital was established at Harrisburg in 1851, with a
capacity for 400 patients; another at Dixmont near Pittsburg
in 1859, with a capacity of 500 patients; one at Danville in 1873
when fully completed for 700 patients, and another for the north-western section of the state at Warren, now in course of erection, also with a capacity of 700. The four institutions when fully prepared for occupation will have a capacity of 2,300. The Harrisburg and Dixmont hospitals are always fully occupied. Danville, with a present capacity of 500, has 303 occupants, five large wards being entirely vacant, and when the female wing is made ready, will have an additional capacity of 250.

The entire insane population of the Warren district, consisting of 124 persons including the indigent and paying classes, are accommodated at the present time in the Dixmont Hospital. The hospital for the districts now being built as already stated, with a capacity of 700 which is far beyond its wants upon any estimate of increase, for a long time to come.

The present number of inmates in the four institutions (the Warren having no inmates as yet), is 1,187. Twelve hundred insane continue to be maintained in the fifty-eight poor-houses of the state, nearly all of whom are of the chronic and incurable class, quiet and harmless in character, requiring only ordinary care, and capable to some extent of self care and of rendering considerable assistance in house and out-door work. These, to a very large extent, will be retained in the local establishments, the effect of which will be, that a large part of the hospital accommodations, when all shall be fully prepared, must be unoccupied for a long period. The cost of the four institutions named will be fully four millions of dollars. These estimates do not include the inmates of the insane department of the Philadelphia alms house, consisting of upwards of 1000 persons, and for whose accommodation an additional hospital is to be built.

Enough has been presented to show in Pennsylvania, at least, the tendency to be to excess both in number and kind of accommodations required for this class, and that a large amount of expenditure might have been postponed to a future day. To a large extent the error which has been committed in this respect, is to be attributed to the computation in the rate of increase and the erroneous estimates founded thereon.

It is true that other considerations have exercised some in-
fluence. Local interests and the demand for recognition from geographical sections in the appropriations of state aid have not been without effect. The question of the actual wants, which alone is entitled to respect and favor, to a large extent is kept out of view, and a fourth hospital goes up long before it is wanted for no better reason apparently than if three corners of a square of ground are embellished by edifices, the erection of a fourth will make it still more symmetrical and beautiful.

An effective remedy against unsystematic beneficence of this kind, is the demonstration afforded by carefully recorded statistics, separate and combined, for figures if properly placed cannot lie. But I go one step further and insist that with the light of knowledge now easily attainable, mistakes of this character may readily be avoided. Whilst ample accommodations for the dependent classes should be provided, it is at the same time important that undue expenditure should be avoided. An all sufficient guide giving the admissions and discharges not of one, but of all the institutions of this class, properly arranged and tabulated, showing the annual increase to be provided for, cannot fail to conduct to correct conclusions.

Similar errors occur in other classes of institutions. Public and private charity flows largely into other modes of relief. The stream of benefactions often runs wildly, directed apparently by no fixed laws of supply and demand; nor regulated by any nice estimate of actual wants. Incentives not immediately connected with the proposed enterprise very frequently give rise to the whole undertaking. Institutional and denominational pride and interests, personal vanity, and prevailing custom or fashion, are influential in drawing from individuals and from state and city authorities, large contributions for the erection of stately edifices, by which the avenues of our cities are adorned, but which very frequently accomplish little good in the practical work for which they are specially designed. A closer view into the subject of medical charities reveals some interesting facts. If one medical college has its hospital on a large scale and of approved plan, its rival will not wait long to have one to compare favorably with it. If the Protestant Episcopal church erects an infirmary, the Presbyterian church
will soon have one also. And under similar views and influences other denominations will imitate the example until these charities become multiplied to a surprising extent.

To within a recent period the indigent sick, and injured of the city of Philadelphia, were provided for almost exclusively in the Pennsylvania Hospital and the hospital department of the Philadelphia Alms House. We now have in addition, the University Hospital, the Jefferson Medical College Hospital, the Homeopathic Hospital, Howard Hospital for Incurables, the Women’s Hospital, the Orthopedic Hospital, the Children’s Hospital, Well’s Ophthalmic Hospital, the Protestant Episcopal Hospital, the Presbyterian Hospital, the Jewish Hospital, the Catholic Hospitals of St. Joseph’s, St. Mary’s, and St. Francis, the German Hospital, and others of kindred character which we omit mentioning, to say nothing of others in different sections of the state. Leaving out of the estimate the hospital department of the Philadelphia Alms House, which alone has a capacity of 1,000, the number of beds for strictly infirmary purposes in the other institutions named is about 1,200, whilst the occupants seldom exceed 700, showing that in this class of charities, the accommodations provided are also in excess of actual wants. Whilst a few are unduly crowded others are comparatively vacant. In some instances the extent of the service rendered demands liberal contributions, whilst in others little or no benefit is derived from them, so that it is rendered quite clear that much pecuniary aid has been contributed by the benevolent, in enterprises of this class prematurely. That this statement is correct may be ascertained by reference to the Annual Reports of these institutions themselves. By consulting closely the gathered results of the tabulated statements of the actual work performed, not in one but in all the infirmaries in the state wherever located, there need be no difficulty in ascertaining where money can be usefully applied; where also it would be in a great measure wasted, as well as to what other forms of charity the excess thus misapplied might be usefully appropriated.

Another department of charitable work must be briefly considered, that of out-door relief; the subject is by no means free
from difficulty. It is not always easy to make the proper discriminations. Aid is often withheld when it ought to be granted, is frequently given, when it ought to be refused. No one system adapted to general use has yet been devised. The aid rendered is of various kinds and is administered by different agencies. Medical aid is largely imparted by dispensaries separately organized for the purpose, and by others connected with hospitals. In many instances it constitutes the largest part of the service in the latter institutions.

Appeals for aid made by these institutions are generously responded to by the benevolent and human. The receipts in 1874 by them aggregated $454,699, of which sum $147,727 was from donations, $146,719.87 from invested funds, $52,240 from public authorities, $46,721.14 from patients, and $61,290.81 from other sources.

The only effectual check for the just and economical expenditures of these funds, is to be found, as we believe, in a well devised system of comparative returns, made at regular intervals, from which it might be seen “where cost is highest and efficiency least.”

So far it has been found impracticable to obtain from these institutions the information sought for, in circulars prepared for the purpose.

A reference to the reports of a few will give a general idea of the extent of this service.

Department of out patients of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1875: No. of medical cases, 619; No. of visits, 1,204; No. of surgical cases, 1854; No. of visits 9,750. Wells Ophthalmic Hospital: the surgeons’ report for 1874 shows that 5,470 out patients were treated in their clinics, whilst 335 in-door patients were treated in the building itself. The Philadelphia Dispensary: average number of patients relieved annually 15,350. Numerous other similar institutions afford relief and also to a very large extent. But I refrain from further details on this subject. Suffice it to say that the amount of service rendered by them is almost beyond estimate, and that the benefit of the highest medical knowledge and skill is enjoyed in almost every case without expense of any kind. A large amount of aid is also
distributed by alms houses and in districts that are without alms houses by township overseers who are elected for the purpose. The necessary relief is afforded in food, fuel and clothing and to a small extent in money, rent, medical attendance and funeral expenses. Under the township system single persons are placed in the homes of farmers at from $1 to $2, $2.50 and $3 per week, depending upon what assistance can be rendered in house and farm work, and the degree of attention required if sick or disabled.

The amount contributed annually under these systems is very large. Excluding medical hospitals and dispensaries, the total expenditure in Pennsylvania in 1874, reached $1,432,947.94. This includes the Philadelphia Alms House which alone amounted to $368,385.57. Included in the first named sum is $428,182.96 for out door-relief.

Various plans are in use to prevent fraud and duplications. Personal examinations by a visit to the homes of the applicants is one of the best. Where this cannot be carried out, the sworn statement of the applicant, certified to by two respectable neighbors has been found to afford considerable protection. In large centres of population efficient organizations, involving the principle of careful personal examination into the merits of each case, have been adopted and found to be a good safeguard.

The value of statistical records in other branches of charitable and reformatory work must not be overlooked. The increase of pauperism, crime and of the defective classes; the nature and causes of these evils, their relations with reference to age, nativity, habits, civil and industrial conditions, must first be ascertained, before the proper measures for their amelioration can be successfully employed. Whether the management of the agencies providentially arranged for the purpose, is effective or otherwise is influenced largely by statements showing comparative results in different institutions. The supervision of State Boards is rendered more and more effective by the knowledge thus supplied and private and public benevolence having become largely developed finds in it the best protection against attempts at misrepresentation and deception.

General ideas about these important matters will no longer
be deemed sufficient. Whatever changes may occur from time to time in the number and condition of the various classes referred to, random statements about the causes which have produced them can be of little value. The laws which govern the increase or decrease must be distinctly traced, in order to avoid the danger of erroneous conclusions.

It is gratifying to know how much good has already been accomplished by this mode of condensing knowledge. What valuable improvements in systems of care and management are to be ascribed to the light derived from it, and how beneficial has been its influence in stimulating a commendable emulation in aims at higher standards of efficiency, can only be properly known to those whose duty it is to exercise a supervision over the various institutions which have been established for the different dependent classes.

The subject at which I have so imperfectly glanced, opens a wide field for inquiry and research, I have not entered beyond the threshold. The harvest of valuable knowledge which is yet to be gathered in the wide expanse beyond, is well worthy the attention of the patient investigator. Sufficient, I trust, has been presented to give a faint idea of the value of statistical records, and that without them as a foundation stone, no intelligent system of care and treatment of pauperism, crime and the defective classes, can be founded.

Dr. Bodine said that for six months of his life he had had charge of a dispensary which was very largely attended. The cases were very imperfectly attended to. There were about 100 applicants each day. The medical attendance was imperfect. In a general way the medical prescriptions were not creditable to the medical men who made them and the influence of the dispensary was to a certain extent, pauperizing to those who came to it. So impressed was he with the faults of the dispensary system that when he commenced practice in Trenton, a city of 30,000 with a large industrial class, although several attempts had been made to organize dispensaries he had always done what he could to discourage them, preferring to give charitable service to those who needed it in their homes in an individual way.
Dr. Lincoln asked if they had any such dispensaries here as exist in England, by which, on the payment of a penny or two-pence a week, in sickness and in health, the poor are allowed to have the advantages of the institution.

Mr. Roosevelt said that there was one institution in New York which had adopted that method. They charge ten cents a month, but only during the time of sickness. That pays practically for all the expense incurred by the patient. There is an effort being made to introduce it into other institutions also, and to introduce the system of enquiry in homes of the patients to see if they are worthy of relief.

Mr. F. B. Sanborn presented the following communication from the Commission of Charities and Correction of New York, which was ordered published in the proceedings:

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES AND CORRECTION,
COMMISSIONERS' OFFICE, 66 THIRD AVENUE,
NEW YORK, Sept. 5, 1876.

F. B. SANBORN, Esq.,
Chairman Board of State Charities of Massachusetts,

Sir: The Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction, respectfully acknowledge the receipt of programme for the general meeting of the American Social Science Association, the Conference of Charities 1876, at Saratoga, Sept. 5–8, and also your favor dated August 21, for a written statement, in regard particularly to the partial support, or "Out Door Relief," given to the poor, for the last few years—and in compliance therewith enclose statements showing the amount distributed in money and coal during the years 1866, 7, 8, 9, 1870, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and also the number of families receiving aid in money and coal, and the amount disbursed to the same during the years 1871, 2, 3, 4, 5, by which it will be seen, that the expense during 1875 was in excess of previous years to the extent of

$ 478.04 over 1871
16,757.11 " 1872
12,165.94 " 1873
10,301.80 " 1874
while the number of families (17,174) relieved during 1875 was largely in excess of former years the average amount expended for each family, presenting a very considerable decrease, viz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Average Expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>9,390</td>
<td>$7.94 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>9,974</td>
<td>5.84 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>9,813</td>
<td>6.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>11,273</td>
<td>5.65 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>17,174</td>
<td>4.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all cities like New York with a population composed largely of immigrants from all parts of the world, pauperism necessarily exists, and its increase and cause is largely to be attributed to the depressed condition of the times, and inability to obtain employment. Nearly all who have been relieved by this department during 1875, were widows with families dependent on them for support, and they are, in numerous cases, only able by incessant toil to earn a pittance far short of what is required for the commonest necessities of life. Very few males are furnished out-door relief, and only in extreme cases, and the relief afforded, partly supplies the applicants with shelter during the inclement season, which if withheld, would in many cases compel them to seek refuge in alms houses, and become permanent paupers. It is in this view that relief is afforded, it serves as a point of economy, and relieves distress which cannot otherwise be avoided. It is an evil that cannot be suppressed without causing them to become inmates of alms houses, by which they and their children acquire habits of dependence, which grows with their growth, and is a greater injury to them, than the temporary receiving of alms.

Very respectfully

Joshua Phillips,

Secretary.
OUT DOOR POOR.

The following table shows the amount distributed by the Bureau of Out Door Poor of New York in **Money and Coal**, from January 1, 1866, to Dec. 31, 1875:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MONEY</th>
<th>COAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>$25,999.55</td>
<td>$30,455.81</td>
<td>$56,455.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>25,716.75</td>
<td>13,530.10</td>
<td>39,246.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>41,277.93</td>
<td>37,474.62</td>
<td>78,752.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>48,566.00</td>
<td>43,854.86</td>
<td>92,420.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>53,787.50</td>
<td>23,299.17</td>
<td>77,086.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>42,706.50</td>
<td>31,783.40</td>
<td>74,489.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>34,703.50</td>
<td>23,597.33</td>
<td>58,290.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>42,810.25</td>
<td>20,081.75</td>
<td>62,892.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>40,119.00</td>
<td>24,637.14</td>
<td>64,756.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>48,231.00</td>
<td>26,826.94</td>
<td>75,057.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following communication was also presented by Mr. Sanborn, and directed to be entered upon the minutes.

**Office of Bay View Asylum, Baltimore, August 31st, 1876.**

To F. B. Sanborn, Esq.,

Chairman of Board of State Charities,

**Boston, Mass.**

Dear Sir: Your circular, inviting us to the Conference of Charities in Saratoga is hereby acknowledged; we express our sincere regret at our inability to be personally represented at the Conference about to assemble, in so important an event as that indicated in your communication, but entertain the hope that much good may result from an interchange of opinion, in a conference held for such a laudable purpose. In regard to “outdoor relief,” given to the poor, we desire to say, that, anterior to the year 1868, such relief was given by the Trustees of the Poor for Baltimore city, but under that system of relief, much abuse was practiced, a large amount of money had been absorbed by those who were neither entitled to nor deserving such charity, whilst others who were really objects of such munificence, but who, through modesty, diffidence, or false pride, failed to make their wants known, received no aid or succor from that source.
Under such a state of facts, the Board of Trustees in 1868 abolished the system of "Out-Door Pensioners," which has not been since reinstated. There is, however, a company incorporated by the state for the improvement and relief of the poor in Baltimore, who annually make large collections from private contributions, and who have their regularly established agencies in different localities in the city, to whom the needy make application for assistance, and where they receive such aid, in clothing, fuel and groceries, as their necessities may from time to time require. This corporation has been in existence for many years and works admirably.

Very respectfully yours, etc.

Henry Snyder,
President of Board of Trustees,
for Bay View Asylum.

Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, then read the following report:

NATIONAL LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF IMMIGRANTS AND THE PREVENTION OF PAUPERISM.

A Special Report from the Committee on Statistics and Legislation. By F. B. Sanborn, Chairman of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Conference:

The standing committees appointed by the Detroit Conference of May, 1875, were necessarily entrusted with a wide range of subjects for consideration, under the general title and authority given to each committee. That for which I now present this special report — the committee on Statistics and Legislation, may seem to have an odd name, which I fancy was given it because, in matters of public charity, no legislation can safely be attempted which does not rest upon the basis furnished by statistics carefully collected. Statistics also are no less useful in guiding the course of charitable administration, where no change of laws is required. It is in regard to both these practical applications that the statistics presented and considered by the chairman of our
committee (Dr. Luther of Pennsylvania), have an important bearing. Several of my colleagues and myself, however, leaving those matters to the competent research of Dr. Luther, have devoted ourselves to a subject in which legislation, rather than statistics, appears to be the thing now needful. I refer to the subject of immigration, a great and urgent question, in all its aspects, and one that has more to do with public charity in the United States than any other. And the particular phase of this subject to which we would call your attention is, the necessity, at the present moment, of National Legislation for the Protection of Immigrants and the Prevention of Pauperism.

I hold in my hand a bill introduced into Congress at its last session, and favorably considered by the committee on commerce which committee, I understand, will report it for passage early in next winter's session. This bill seeks to extend to all immigrants arriving in any port of the United States, the same protection, in substance, that has been given for nearly thirty years by the state of New York, to those immigrants who have landed since 1847, at the great commercial center of this country. Out of something more than 8,000,000 immigrants reported as arriving in the United States since May 5th, 1847, nearly 6,000,000, or about two-thirds of the whole number, have landed at the city of New York, where, under a well-devised but imperfectly administered system of care and protection, they have been forwarded to their places of destination in near or remote parts of the country, have been aided in distress, relieved in sickness, supported in poverty, and sometimes sent back to the land from which they came. The number of poor immigrants thus assisted has been very large, something more than 1,500,000 I believe, though of course the greater part of these received very slight pecuniary aid from the state of New York through the Commissioners of Emigration, a board which, since 1847, has had the oversight of all the immigrants arriving at the port of New York. The expenses necessary for the care and relief of all these poor persons have been paid out of a common fund created by requiring every immigrant to pay a small sum varying from $1.50 to $2.50 per capita, upon landing in New York. This "head money," or capitation tax, has been paid for
the immigrants by the owners of the vessels and steamship lines on which they have found passage to America, and has constituted a sort of insurance fund, out of which were to be paid the cost of aiding any individual among the millions thus assessed, who might need relief. No simpler and more practicable mode having been found, of assessing upon all the countries sending immigrants the cost of supporting and relieving such paupers as they send us, the same impost or tax has been levied in the bill before congress, and will become a part of the new national policy in regard to immigrants, in case the bill passes.

We call this a new policy, only because it has never been adopted by the national government. In fact, it is an old policy in the seaboard states, having been commenced in Massachusetts as early as 1701, in New York and Pennsylvania before the revolution, and adopted almost in its present form in Massachusetts and New York before the great wave of European emigration had brought to their shores the millions that Ireland, Germany, England, Scandinavia and France have sent us since the Irish famine of 1846, and the years of revolution that succeeded it on the continent of Europe. It was soon found that these two states, New York and Massachusetts, were receiving every year in their chief ports (New York and Boston), more than the average population of one of the ten smaller states at that time. Thus, before 1850, the immigration at these ports had exceeded 300,000, yet by the census of 1850 there were ten states, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont and Wisconsin, whose average population was less than 250,000. In 1870 there were still ten states, whose average population was below the yearly immigration of 1869–70 at the two ports of New York and Boston. Now it would have been just as equitable to expect that the two states of New York and Massachusetts should pay all the expenses of police and poor relief in one of these states, say New Hampshire, as that they should bear all the cost imposed by an immigration of 300,000, without taxing the immigrants themselves. Accordingly the immigrants were taxed, and, so far as they were concerned, the tax was cheerfully paid. But the ship owners and steamship corporations, through whose hands the
immigrant's capitation money passed on its way to the public treasury, sought to divert it to their own profit, and at last refused to pay it over, alleging that the state laws exacting it were unconstitutional. This question which had been several times before the United States Supreme Court, in one form or another, during the past fifty years, finally came up for decision last year, and the opinion of the court rendered last March by Justice Miller was to the effect that the state laws being regulations of commerce, were unconstitutional, and ought to be superseded by enactments of the national government. "We are of opinion," said the court, "that this whole subject has been confided to congress by the constitution; that congress can more appropriately and with more acceptance exercise it than any other body known to our law, state or national; that by providing a system of laws in these matters, applicable to all ports and to all vessels, a serious question, which has long been matter of contest and complaint, may be effectually and satisfactorily settled."

Acting upon the suggestion contained in this decision of the highest court in the land, the official boards in the seaboard states which have had, under state laws, the supervision of immigration, and of the support of the foreign-born poor, at once took council with each other in regard to framing a system of laws such as had become necessary. After much consultation and correspondence, in which the Boards of Charities of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, have taken part, and in which the New York State Commission of Emigration has had an important share, the bill which we now lay before you was agreed upon as satisfactory in substance, though open to modification in some of its details. It provides for a capitation tax of two dollars on each immigrant, to be collected by United States authority, and to form in the aggregate a fund which, like the funds formerly accruing from the same source in New York and other states, is to be applied for the protection of the immigrants in general at the ports where they land, and for the care of the sick, the relief of the poor, and the support of the insane and infirm among the recent immigrants, in whatever
part of the country they may be. In short (as before said) it is an extension to the whole nation and under the authority of national law, of the old state system of dealing with immigration.

This system has been found by long experience to check and prevent pauperism among the newly arrived immigrants, not absolutely, of course, but in a considerable degree, when well administered, and to some extent even when its administration is faulty. It checks pauperism in two ways, directly and indirectly. It does so directly by furnishing to the industrious immigrant that temporary aid in sickness or pecuniary distress, without which he might become a permanent pauper; by bringing together the members of separated families, by placing the immigrant who needs the help of friends among his friends, and by maintaining in many other ways, an effective supervision of those who become permanent residents of the United States. It checks pauperism indirectly, by maintaining such a supervision also that those paupers who are sent over here by persons in their own country in order to escape the burden of supporting them, are in many instances discovered and sent back; while others, who could only be paupers if they remained here, but who could be provided for in their native land, are also returned to the places they came from. This policy of detaining and returning paupers (and criminals also, if they can be discovered), when persevered in for a period of years, has the effect to raise very much the standard of immigration, by making it more and more difficult for the unworthy and undesirable elements of the European populations to flow this way and mingle in the ocean-stream of our own industrious, self-reliant people. Time is required for this effect to be produced, and there will be many instances where the supervision is quite ineffectual to prevent the influx of foreign pauperism, and still more, of foreign criminality. But the experience of nearly thirty years in New York and of twenty-five years in Massachusetts proves that much good can thus be done. It is a fact that since this strict examination and watchful protection of immigrants began, the quality of immigration has much improved, and its quantity has increased. For this there are other causes, but one useful auxiliary has been this very supervision of which we have spoken.
We have not proposed to enter here upon the important but difficult question of how to exclude from our immigration that considerable infusion of criminals and convicts which has long been noticed by those who have observed the growth of a criminal class in America. A distinguished member of the New York State Board of Charities (Dr. Anderson) who has given much attention to this topic, will, as we hope, address the Conference in regard to it; and there are others present, whose views concerning it we are sure you will hear with pleasure.

Our own subject deals only with immigration and pauperism, but since many of these imported criminals are at intervals in their career, paupers also, the two topics are intimately connected. And this may be said—that one of the best means of detecting and turning back the flow of criminals towards this country from older lands, is to keep up such an organization for the prevention of pauperism as has just been described.

It used to be objected to such legislation as this now proposed in congress, that it was unconstitutional, because enacted by the State governments. This objection, of course, falls to the ground the moment congress takes the matter up, now that the Supreme Court has decided in favor of the constitutional power of Congress to pass such laws as may be deemed wisest to regulate immigration. Let us then consider some other objections that have been raised from time to time, against the policy of regulating immigration, the right to do so being fully conceded to the general government, and certain incidental rights and powers remaining undisputed in the state governments. In this policy, several things are to be considered, the good of the immigrant being one of these, the security and prosperity of the community to which he comes being another, and his relations to the community from which he comes being a third, and by no means unimportant consideration.

It has been said by some persons that a tax levied on each immigrant, to be expended for the common good of all, is an oppressive exaction, having a tendency to check immigration and to impoverish the immigrant. But when we consider that he generally comes from a country where he has been more heavily taxed, that this “head money” (amounting, let us suppose, to
two dollars), is the only direct tax that he is called upon to pay for some years, and that is no greater than the common poll-tax of New England, which each resident voter must pay, there seems to be nothing oppressive in the capitation tax at the port of landing. If now we compare the small sum paid with the great benefit that may be and often is derived from it to the immigrant himself, it will appear to be anything but oppressive. It is in fact a sort of insurance premium which he pays to secure himself the right to relief and support should he need it within five years after landing. If he is prosperous and does not need aid, so much the better can he afford to pay it; if he falls into distress, then it is much more than repaid to him in the care which he receives and has a right to claim from the authorities to whom his capitation tax was paid. Thousands of instances might be cited to show how this beneficent system works, but I will only give one. There landed in Boston some eight years ago, a simple and honest young Irish woman, who, under a contract of marriage, had followed her lover to Massachusetts. By some mistake she had lost his address, and he had not been informed when she would arrive. Consequently, upon landing, she found herself alone amid strangers, with little money and in no condition to earn any. She had paid her “head money” and therefore became a charge to the State of Massachusetts, which received her into one of its charitable establishments, maintained her there for six months or more, found out the residence of her lover, brought them together and saw them happily married and established in life. For all this it is probable that Massachusetts expended $100, in return for the two dollars which poor Bessie Dempsey had paid as head-money. We maintain, therefore, that the good of the immigrant is not only promoted by this system of taxation and protection, but actually demands such a system.

The good of the country which receives the immigrant is quite as much to be considered as the good of the individual alien who, for one reason or another, comes to our shores. Immigration is by no means an unmixed blessing, and even in cases where it appears so in the end, it is often a blessing in disguise, to the country receiving an indiscriminate and unregulated im-
migration. It introduces youth, vigor, poverty and industry, but it also introduces disease, ignorance, crime, pauperism and idleness. There was a time when convicts and the sweepings of London streets were shipped over to the American Colonies, just as they were afterward sent to Botany Bay. That was long ago, but even now we receive a great many persons of the same class,—

"True patriots they, for be it understood
They left their country for their country's good."

We will not enlarge upon this disagreeable phase of immigration, leaving Dr. Anderson to point out to you what some of its features and by no means the worst, have been. But when we come to consider this branch of the subject we are led inevitably to the third main topic proposed for discussion, the relations of the emigrant with the country he is leaving.

Here we come upon that fertile theme for international controversy, Extradition and the renunciation of allegiance, which has for years been the subject of diplomatic correspondence between the United States and the nations of Europe. Without taking sides in any of these controversies, we may be permitted to say that the relations of pauperism on the one hand, and of self-dependence, on the other, may in some of their aspects, be as well included in the treaties between nations, as are the criminal and commercial responsibilities of the emigrating citizen, with which the courts of law now deal under treaties of extradition. There should be, for example, some modification of our treaty with China, if that be necessary to prevent the importations of prostitutes into the Pacific states; and there might also be some provision inserted in treaties with European nations, by which the deportation of paupers and criminals not under indictment, from those nations to the United States, should be prohibited, and the whole subject of immigration regulated. The bill here-with submitted is but a partial attempt to provide by law for this regulation; but, so far as it goes, we commend it to the Conference and to the State Boards of Charities.
The following paper was then read by Martin B. Anderson of New York:

**LEGISLATION TO PREVENT THE UNITED STATES FROM BEING MADE A RECEPTACLE FOR FOREIGN PAUPERS.**

There is an element of the "pauper question" in our country which requires the attention of every citizen. The unprecedented emigration to the United States within the past few years, although attended with much good, is also fraught with great dangers and evils. Of the persons who emigrate a large proportion are men of broken fortunes who from some cause or other have been unsuccessful in their own country. A still larger number of them are persons who expend their entire property in paying the cost of emigration to their new home. Among these a large number, from the difficulty of getting employment and the discouragements natural to being separated from the friends of their early life, or illness induced by the voyage and change of climate, are thrown upon the public for support. But this is an evil incidental to emigration, and should be accepted as a matter of course. There is evidence, however, to show that a large number of persons actually paupers or discharged criminals, have been sent over into our country either by governmental aid, or by the assistance of relatives who wish to avoid the disgrace and trouble attendant upon the association. Hence the class of emigrants, while containing a large number of most excellent and healthy additions to our population, has an undue proportion of the dependent and criminal classes.

Of the population of the state of New York about one-third are of foreign birth, and from that one-third about two-thirds of the paupers supported at the expense of the state are derived. This fact alone will show the evil to which we have alluded to be a serious one. It repeats itself in various degrees of intensity in our maritime states, and, to a certain extent, in all the states of our union. While we gladly throw open our territory, and extend the protection of our institutions to emigrants from
foreign countries that are able and willing to earn their own support, we cannot and ought not to relieve the old countries of Europe from the care of their dependent population.

Certain propositions regarding the duty of the nations to their dependent population seem to be clear:

First. A nation is a moral organism which owes certain duties to its members, and to which its members owe certain duties in return. The bond between government and subject is a reciprocal one. Therefore, every citizen or subject is bound to maintain by his property, and defend by his life, the government, which extends to him its protection; and, on the other hand, by the common practice of civilized peoples, the government assumes the care of its subjects when they are unable to care for themselves.

Second. This obligation of a nation towards its dependent classes cannot be transferred to another without that other's consent. Commercial nations recognize this principle in their provisions through the consular system for the care of shipwrecked, discharged, or disabled seamen. The foreign consuls of civilized nations provide for their maintenance, and return to their homes.

Third. It is clearly an offense against the comity of nations for any government, national or municipal, to throw the burden of caring for its dependent population upon any foreign country. But it has been proved beyond all question, that both foreign municipalities and foreign nations have provided at the public expense for the transportation of considerable numbers of their pauper class to the United States. It is beyond all question that paupers and criminals in considerable numbers have been sent to the United States by their relatives.

Fourth. A nation becomes bound to support a foreign born pauper only through his naturalization. Naturalization involves a reciprocal contract. The naturalized party repudiates his allegiance to the country in which he was born, and takes upon himself all the obligations of a citizen. He becomes bound to pay taxes according to his ability, and if necessary to serve in the army or navy against domestic or foreign enemies: but an alien is free from a large measure of these obligations, and the
state, on its part, comes under no obligation to maintain him, if he becomes dependent. The American sailor or resident living in England, who becomes a pauper, appeals naturally and rightfully to his own consul for protection and aid. There is no reason in the nature of the case, why we should maintain paupers who are subjects of Great Britain or Germany, who are landed upon our shores in a dependent condition or in such a state of mental or bodily health that they must necessarily become dependent. We are no more bound, apart from the general law of humanity, to maintain such persons, than we are to pay the interest on the English national debt, or furnish conscripts for the German army.

The question arises how shall this transference of the pauper population of the old countries of Europe to our shores be stopped. This is, confessedly, a difficult problem. The emigrant commission system which has so long existed in some of our maritime states, has undoubtedly prevented the introduction of many paupers and criminals, but it has on the whole proved in this respect a failure; and constitutional difficulties have now been interposed to set it aside entirely for the future. So far as the question of international law is concerned, we have an undoubted right to send back such dependent persons to the countries to which they belong. If they have become naturalized, we, of course, are bound to take care of them ourselves. It may be questioned whether the establishment of national bureaus will protect us against this influx of paupers and criminals. A system which has failed to so great a degree in the states, under the influence of local supervision and where local interests were at stake, would be still more likely to fail to meet the evil through a bureau established by the general government. Besides there are several classes of persons whose interests will all the while lead them to evade the law. First, there is the shipping interest, which, of course, desires to promote the emigration of all persons whose passage money is paid. Second, there is the land interest which seeks to sell to the emigrant vast tracts of unoccupied land held on speculation. Next, there is the railroad interest, whose profits are largely increased by the transportation of emigrants to distant portions
of our country. There are also political interests which may be indirectly promoted by the increase of emigration. All these considerations render it extremely difficult to meet the evil through a bureau of emigration alone. Of those who enter our country from the dominion of Canada along its immense border very few could be reached by any emigrant commission, however efficient and active. All along the northern border of New York, and indeed in all northern states, the poor houses and orphan asylums contain a very large percentage of dependent persons of both European and Canadian birth who have sought a refuge within our limits. The recent special statistical examination of poor house inmates, conducted by the New York Board of Charities, has shown that of the large number of alien paupers found in our northern counties few if any had landed in New York or Boston or could have been reached by any emigration bureau for the purpose of examination or the exaction of head money. Whatever may be done by a bureau with officers in our large seaports for meeting this danger, it seems to me that such efforts ought to be supplemented by other modes of action. I beg leave to suggest two. By requiring of the United States consuls, at all the large ports from which emigrants are shipped, to take care that no dependent or criminal goes on board an emigrant ship without sending evidence of the fact to the authorities of the port to which the ship is bound, we may prevent much of the evil under which we suffer. This course would exclude a large proportion of the class of paupers and criminals who, heretofore, have been surreptitiously landed in our country. I purposely avoided going into the details of the process. It might be provided for by act of Congress and the duty imposed upon the consuls to examine emigrants and obtain authentic evidence regarding the residence, history, and character, of all persons reasonably suspected of being paupers or criminals. When paupers or criminals were found among passengers the shippers would not care to take them for fear of subjecting themselves to the penalties of our law. Concert of action among our consuls would enable them to secure evidence which could not be obtained after the pauper or criminal were once across the Atlantic. When a pauper is once here he is
likely to be thrown on our care for life. If he should be supported out of the head money for five years, after that time he is sure to be a burden on the taxpayer. The cost of maintaining such persons in a poor house or prison is a trifling evil compared with the moral contamination which they bring and the character of the progeny which in some cases they leave behind them. The hereditary character of pauperism and crime is the most fearful element with which society has to contend. The expenses of this preventive process would be light and the labor distributed among a large number of consuls could not be onerous. We thus might establish a kind of moral quarantine and those whom the consul permitted to embark without protest would have, by presumption, a clean bill of health.

Second, provision might be made by law, either by congress or the several states as the principles of constitutional law might require, giving authority to the Boards of Charities in the several states to send back to the countries to which they belong every alien pauper, who has become such within a certain specified time after landing upon shores. The expenses of retransportation might be borne by the general or state governments. The expense, however, in either case would be a trifle compared with that of maintaining a pauper during the average term of such paupers' lives. It is by no means clear that the principles of international law would not justify us in insisting that the expense of such retransportation of paupers should be borne by the countries from which they come; it being a fair presumption that the countries themselves had either actively transported among the emigrants such paupers or winked at the process when originated by individuals or municipalities. This, however, would be a matter for negotiation. It is clear that the extradition of such paupers or criminals would be an immense saving to all our states. The average term of life of all paupers cannot be less than from ten to fifteen years. The maintenance of such paupers cannot be less in the aggregate than fifteen hundred dollars apiece. The cost of sending them across the Atlantic (estimating transportation at the usual rates both by land and water) could not be more than fifty dollars per capita on the average. The moral and economic advantages in other respects
which such an expurgation of our population would confer, can hardly be estimated. If we take this course with regard to foreign nations, they will be open to take the same course regarding our own citizens. The obligation and the duty would be reciprocal. We may ask of other nations what they may ask of us. We are ready to discharge the same duty that we require of them to discharge towards us. Such a demand would be equitable and just. The principle that each nation should care for its own pauper, insane and dangerous classes is beyond all possible question, and the plan which we propose is a simple application of it to the existing state of things.

The law of settlement in its bearing on municipalities has been enforced with much rigidity both in Great Britain and in our own country, and we are familiar with its bearing on the pauper question. No town will support a pauper who has a settlement in another town, and almost all the states have passed laws providing for the transportation out of the state of paupers that have no legal settlement within its borders, to the states where such paupers belong.

This law has been applied for a considerable time and with uniformly good results. The same principle which the states of the union have acted upon, relatively to each other, regarding the support of paupers, may be applied to foreign nations. A non-naturalized pauper, having a legal settlement in Canada, would in that case be transported to Canada. Another, having a settlement in Ireland or Scotland or Germany, would be transported there. The plan which we propose is the same as that which we have in operation among ourselves. Many of the maritime states have taken action in sending alien paupers to their homes in foreign countries already, but this has not been recognized as a fixed and uniform policy. If the states or the general government, as case may be, should make regular appropriations for the purpose of sending back, under the limitations naturally suggested by humanity and good sense, all alien paupers which have been smuggled into our states, foreign governments and "national" philanthropists would soon cease to regard our country as a "Botany Bay" to which they can with impunity send their paupers to be supported and their criminals to plun-
der. That they have done so in the past is an offense which ought, ere this, to have been a subject for negotiation and remonstrance by the department of state.

The course which we have suggested may not improbably be made applicable in the correction or removal of some of the problems of the Chinese question, which are presented for solution to our Pacific states.

It might be feared that measures of the character recommended would be distasteful to our foreign born fellow citizens. In reply we would say that no class of persons are more decided in their opinions regarding the injustice of the transportation of paupers and criminals to our own country. The foreign born citizens immigrate often for the purpose of escaping the burden of taxation and military conscription. When they come to the United States, and are naturalized, and have assumed their proper share of our responsibilities, they are by no means anxious to take on in addition a part of the public burdens of the countries which they have voluntarily left. It will be found, as soon as any active measures are taken to remedy the evils we have alluded to, that our foreign born citizens will give them their hearty support.

I now beg leave to call attention to some facts tending to show that the class of persons referred to have been systematically sent to our shores by nations and municipalities acting under regularly enacted laws. I will remark in passing that the English people years ago suffered a modified form of the evil we have been discussing, and that out of it grew the present Irish Poor Law.

Before the establishment of the Irish Poor Law, great numbers of the Irish poor emigrated to England. The burden to England became so great that the strongest representations were made to induce Parliament to remedy the evil. In a letter to the agriculturists of England, published in 1830, and quoted in the Quarterly Review of that year, it was represented that the poor of Ireland were compelled, through want, to migrate to England "in hordes," and "that owing to the absence of a poor-law in Ireland, English property was virtually rated to maintain a great part of the Irish pauper population." England
and Ireland brought their products to a common market. It was said that the English agriculturist paid a heavy tax out of the produce of his land toward the support of the Irish poor, while the Irish agriculturist, receiving the same price for goods, paid no poor rate at all. This influx of Irish pauperism into England for support was one of the strongest motives which led to the enactment of the Irish Poor Law. The injustice to the English rate-payer was so evident, that Parliament supplied the remedy at an early day. What was an intolerable grievance to England, with Ireland a part of the British empire, would have been still more so had she been a foreign nation.

The *Edinburgh Review*, for March, 1831, speaking of the increase of paupers, says: “They can be disposed of only in one of two ways, that is, either by placing them on unoccupied and uncultivated lands at home, or moving them to the colonies.” After showing that the first of these methods was impracticable, it took up the advocacy of the second, and gave its approval to a bill, then before Parliament, for aiding paupers to remove to the colonies. Canada was the colony most prominent in the writer’s mind. He goes on to say, in advocacy of the bill, “nothing, therefore, can be a greater mistake, than to suppose that those who consent to make an advance for the removal of paupers are making a sacrifice to get rid of an accidental and transitory evil. The fact is, they are making a comparatively small sacrifice to rid themselves of an evil which is deeply seated, which is rapidly spreading, and which, if it be not effectually counteracted, will, at no distant period, sink all classes below the level of that which is now lowest.” It is known to all persons of experience, that a very large percentage of persons belonging to the hereditary pauper class, sent at first to Canada, migrate as soon as possible to the United States. The measure thus advocated in 1831, and which shortly after became a law, was virtually a law to facilitate the transportation of English paupers to the United States. “Emigration,” says *Knight’s Cyclopædia*, under the article “Emigration,” “is one of the ‘modes of relief’ contemplated by the Poor-Law Amendment acts (4 and 5 Will. IV, c. 76; 11 and 12 Vic., c. 110; 12 and 13 Vic., c. 103, and 13 and 14 Vic., c. 101). In some
years a large number have emigrated with the assistance of funds obtained under the Act (4 and 5 Will. IV). By section 62 of that act, owners and rate payers are empowered to raise money on security of the rates, for the purposes of emigration, under the authority of the Poor-Law Commissioners.”

* * * “By the 12 and 13 Vic., ch. 103, the guardians of any parish or union are empowered to expend money, to the amount of £10, upon the emigration of any poor person belonging to the parish, or to any parish in the union, without the necessity of a parochial meeting to give their consent.” * * * *

“The 13 and 14 Vic., c. 101, enables boards or guardians, under similar restrictions, to expend money in and about the emigration of orphan children under sixteen having no settlement, or whose settlement is unknown.” * * * “Under the Irish Poor-Law Act, money may be raised for enabling poor persons to emigrate to British colonies, but the money so raised must not exceed one shilling in the pound on the net annual value of ratable property.” It will be noted here, that Parliament thought it necessary to limit the amount which the authorities might expend in getting rid of their pauper population, rightly judging that their avarice, or their desire to relieve themselves of the burden of the poor, might lead them to too rapid action. The cheapest mode of getting rid of paupers by this emigration process was evidently to send them to Canada, or to some one of the British North American colonies. While these laws, on their face, seemed designed to transport paupers from one part of the British empire to another, they have operated, in point of fact, to bring large numbers of them to the United States, and especially to the state of New York. That the policy of shipping paupers to America is well recognized and understood in England, appears not only from the statute books, but from allusions made to the topic in treatises on pauperism. Fawcett, in his Lectures on Pauperism, page 55, says: “The most popular remedy to get rid of our own paupers is to ship them off to America. Now, the advocates of such a policy overlook the fact that the United States are beginning to be burdened with their own pauperism, and, therefore, would very properly object to being made a receptacle of the pauper-
ism of the old world." We think that every New York taxpayer will coincide with the opinion so naively expressed by Professor Fawcett. Scrope, in his Political Economy, second edition, 1873, says: "I will not here reproduce the arguments employed in an early edition of this work, to show how grievously the British rate-payer and the British laborer suffer from the emigration of crowds of Irish poor, driven by impending starvation from their own country, to seek work at any wages, or relief of any kind, in the wealthier and more liberal island; by which our own laborers were forced out of work and upon the rates; nor those I urged in the interest of the Irish poor themselves, and the peace, order and security of property in Ireland." He goes on to say "that a commission to inquire into the condition of the Irish poor, among other means of affording relief, reported in favor of the establishment of depots in which they could be fed, and employed on public works until permanently provided for by emigration and location in a colony." After speaking of the terrible consequences of the Irish famine, he says: "Thousands upon thousands fled from a country so afflicted by Providence, and neglected by its own rulers, and the depletion occasioned by the famine itself, and the constant outflow of the peasantry to seek a living in the United States of America, which set in then and has continued ever since, have, together, solved the problem of the redundancy of population in Ireland." * * * "It [emigration] offers the true solution of the problem, how to deal with able-bodied pauperism wherever it exists." It will be remarked that these English writers unwittingly used, in their discussion, the term British colony and the United States as somehow convertible terms. It would not be courteous to put a law on the statute book, or to organize an association, or to provide money for the transportation of paupers to the United States; but when they come to speak of the actual facts in the case, they recognize the United States as the country which the paupers, emigrating from England, ultimately and actually reach. The people of the United States are always ready to receive an industrious and able-bodied emigrant, however poor he may be; but they are not willing to support that class of indolent and hereditary
paupers which have been smuggled into our country by the connivance or direct agency of foreign nations.

Frequent complaints have been made of the number of paupers and dependent persons, who have been introduced into our country from various parts of Germany and Switzerland. It is quite difficult to reach direct proof of such transportation of paupers to our shores, but that considerable numbers have been sent here is almost universally believed: and the positive evidence upon which this general conviction rests, might be reached by a certain amount of time and labor. That convicts have been pardoned on condition that they should emigrate to the United States, is unfortunately only too evident. In a debate on this subject in the United States Senate, March 19, 1866, Mr. Sumner referred to an "official correspondence, showing that the authorities in Basleland, in Switzerland, had recently undertaken to pardon a person found guilty of murder, on the condition that he would emigrate to America—meaning thereby the United States." Also, that it has been "the habit in the island of Newfoundland to pardon persons convicted of infamous offenses, on condition that they would come to the United States; and there are several very recent instances of pardons in the kingdom of Hanover, in Germany, on similar conditions. For instance, I have here," he says, "a copy of two scraps from a German newspaper. One is from the Luneburg Advertiser, of September 10, 1865," to-wit, "Within the last few months, our chief justice has pardoned three of the greatest criminals in the kingdom, on condition they emigrate to the United States. Henry Gieske for theft, J. Sander for arson, and John Winter for robbery. The two former are already on their way to New York from Hamburg." Then there is another scrap from the same newspaper of the date November 12, 1865. "The culprit Camman, who was condemned to death for highway robbery and murder, has had his punishment commuted to emigration to America." * * * "I have seen a gentleman who narrated to me an incident that occurred to him in one of the prisons of Baden-Baden, during the last year. Visiting that prison he heard himself the jailer or an officer of the prison make a proposition to a criminal to the effect that
he should be pardoned on the condition that he would emigrate to the United States." In the same debate, Mr. Grimes, of Iowa, said: "I am as conscious as I can be of a fact that is not within my own personal knowledge, that the exportation of criminals from Germany to this country has been going on for years. Last year I saw a gentleman, a citizen of my own town, who visited his fatherland, and when he came back told me that he came in company with a detective, who brought several criminals to New York, and turned them loose there. The government of one of the little German principalities paid all the expenses of the transportation of those criminals, and of the detective who brought them over in charge, and when they landed he gave them a certain sum of money with which to start, and probably within a short time they were in Sing Sing." * * A joint resolution was then passed protesting against such acts as unfriendly and inconsistent with the comity of nations.

The intimation that municipalities have been active in sending paupers to our country is very clearly illustrated by the following quotation from the last volume of the Cobden Club Essays, "On Local Government Taxation in Ireland," by W. Neilson Hancock, LL.D. Speaking of the power given by Parliament to local authorities in Ireland to raise taxes for sending paupers out of the country, Mr. Hancock writes as follows: "The poor Law of 1838 sanctioned the principle of an emigration rate, but the original act prohibited assistance being given to emigrants going to other than British colonies, thus excluding emigration to the United States. When the pressure of the famine came, the most munificent contributions to alleviate the distress came from the United States, and Parliament repealed the restriction in 1849, and it was found afterwards that of the Irish agricultural classes eighty-four per cent usually emigrated to the United States.

"By the act of 1838 emigration rates were only to be levied when the majority in value of rate payers of an electoral division voted for the rate. In 1843 the guardians were allowed to impose emigration rates not exceeding in one year sixpence in the pound or two and a half per cent, but these were only to be applied to relieve persons who had been three months in the
workhouse. In 1847, after only four years' existence, both these restrictions were abolished. In 1849 provision was made for borrowing money for emigration, but Parliament thought it necessary to impose a limit. The entire sum borrowed to assist emigration was not to exceed eleven shillings and four pence in the electoral division, and two shillings and eight pence on the union at large, or fourteen shillings in the pound; this would, at the then valuation of Ireland, have amounted to about £9,000,000. All the guardians did expend on emigration in twenty years after 1849 was only £119,280, or about £6,000 (or half a farthing in the pound) in the year.

It thus appears that all attempts of Parliament to regulate what persons were to emigrate, where they were to go to, or how much was to be spent on them, eventuated in restrictions that had either to be promptly repealed, or were so wide of the mark as to be practically inoperative."

It should be borne in mind that the whole paragraph is shown by the context to bear upon paupers in the strict sense of the term.

It seems from this that the local authorities in Ireland have spent £119,280 or about $600,000 in assisting emigration. At the average rate of passage, this would provide for the transportation of something like twenty-four thousand persons to America. Probably something like ninety per cent of these landed ultimately in the United States, whether their nominal destination was Quebec or New York. From this very inadequate estimate of the number of paupers that has been sent from Ireland we may infer the number that has been transported from the united kingdom, under sanction of act of Parliament, by local authorities, by friends, and in various surreptitious modes for the past twenty years. These statements will to some extent account for the fact that two-thirds of the paupers of the state of New York are foreign born, and will account also for the number of paupers that have been maintained heretofore out of the proceeds of the head money by the emigrant commission at Ward's Island and elsewhere in the state. A similar state of things must exist to a greater or less extent in all the northern states. The magnitude of the evil has not been
duly recognized because so little attention has been given to the facts.

We believe it to be the imperative duty of the general government to take measures at once to prevent persons actually paupers or criminals from being sent to our country and also to give power to the states if need be to send such persons, when found, back to the countries from which they came and to which they belong. That we have a clear right to do so is shown by the paper of John N. Pomeroy, Esq., published in the report of the New York Board of Charities for 1875. If the United States and the states in the proper exercise of their several powers were to adopt and carry out with vigor the two classes of measures which we have hinted at, we believe that the evil which we have described would be greatly diminished if not entirely abated.

Mr. Hamilton Hill, secretary of the Board of Trade of Boston, argued against Mr. Sanborn's paper and the bill proposed to be presented in congress favoring the imposition of "head money." He called attention to the commercial aspects of the case, the decrease in immigration which had taken place, and the turning of the tide of travel towards Europe. He presented statistics in support of his position and argued that everything should be done to encourage immigration and that the poor immigrants themselves should not be oppressed with the tax.

Dr. Anderson said that there was a large number of paupers here now. No matter whether they came over ten or five years ago, it was just the same. This discussion about the good and evil of immigration was very well, but the main question was shall we take any measures to protect ourselves against those paupers who are here.

Mr. Hill subsequently stated that his position referred only to the measure proposed by Mr. Sanborn and not to that presented by Dr. Anderson. He believed fully in immigration but did not wish to encourage pauper immigration.

Dr. Anderson said: Are we bound to support an English subject coming to the state of New York simply because he lands here? He did not care himself about the head money, was not practically in favor of it. He would not discuss this
bill, but the question of preventing pauper immigration was a very important one.

Prof. Dwight of New York said: I am free to say I sympathize with Prof. Anderson very strongly and think something should be done in the direction which he has pointed out. He was inclined to think from the remarks of the gentlemen of the Boston Board of Trade, that they felt the same difficulty that had been suggested in regard to paupers; for if he understood them correctly, they admitted that paupers were coming into Boston, since the Cunard Steam Company was giving bonds to take them back. How numerous they may be, depends much upon the commerce of the port into which they were introduced. It would be proportionately smaller in Boston than in New York because the commerce is smaller. Within the last few years, and the fact is still true, a large class of persons have come into the city of New York who are paupers to-day and who have to be provided for in some way; and the city of New York should be protected. There is no mode of protection, it seems to me, so satisfactory as the one suggested by Dr. Anderson, and which is that they shall be sent back to the country from which they came. International law as interpreted lays down the proposition that every nation may repel from its borders all those who are likely to be a burden on society. The comity of nations does not require us to admit persons who, instead of being a benefit to us, would be a burden. We are not to injure ourselves by it. I see no difficulty in regard to the treaties with Great Britain. There is an implication in all such treaties that they are not to include persons who are a burden upon society.

Within what time that power shall be exercised is for the nation to decide. If it has not been so long that we are liable to be charged with neglect, we should have a fair right, it seems to me, to return the subject. In reference to what has been said by Dr. Anderson as to the disposition of some of the foreign nations to send criminals here I can speak from my own knowledge. One of the philanthropic societies of some prison association abroad sent over to us a confidential letter asking that we should coöperate with them in providing places for prisoners
sent from England to us. Of course we replied to them that our views of international propriety would not allow any such thing and our secretary Dr. Wines, read them a severe homily upon such a proposition as that. It was a striking thing that a philanthropic society should confine its philanthropy to its own country, without good to any other.

In reference to the bill proposed by Mr. Sanborn it seemed to him a very grave and difficult question. He rejoiced when the Massachusetts and New York laws were declared unconstitutional. He had for a long time thought that it was an improper thing for a state to interfere with the general regulation of commerce.

The constitution had conferred upon congress the power of regulating commerce. As to what is the duty of the national government in the matter, it seems harsh that every person should pay two dollars for the purpose of sending back paupers or infirm persons. Much reflection ought to be had before such a measure is adopted. But that the other thing should be adopted, that the paupers should be sent back, was extremely clear to him.

Dr. Anderson said that he was about to say in connection with what Professor Dwight had said that he had disliked some features of the bill and always had a prejudice against head-money. It is a matter of doubtful policy. It is analogous entirely to the hospital money which every seaman pays. His own view was that we should protect ourselves against paupers introduced surreptitiously into the country. From the statistics of the poorhouses in New York state he knew what he was talking about when he said that there is a large number of paupers supported by taxation in that state whose support belongs to Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and various other countries. Our legislators have no right to lay a tax upon us to support paupers from foreign countries.
FINAL PROCEEDINGS.

On motion of Mr. Sanborn it was ordered that the proceedings of this Conference be printed entire in pamphlet form, and that 1,000 copies be published for circulation by the State Boards. The secretaries of the Conference were appointed a Committee on Publication. It was agreed that the cost of publication, not exceeding $300, should be borne by the different Boards represented in the Conference, each Board subscribing for as many copies as it might need, and paying for them at such a rate as would defray the cost of publishing.

It was voted that the chairman and secretaries of this Conference have authority to call future Conferences, either of the Boards as a whole, or of their secretaries. No further business appearing, the Conference adjourned, at 5 p. m., on Thursday, September 7, 1876.