A study of case work at the United Prison Association of Massachusetts

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A STUDY OF CASE WORK
AT THE UNITED PRISON ASSOCIATION
OF MASSACHUSETTS

A Thesis

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A STUDY OF CASE WORK AT THE UNITED PRISON ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The general purpose of this thesis is to discover possibilities in social case work with ex-prisoners at the United Prison Association of Massachusetts. More specifically, it is an evaluation of the intensive case work carried on by the agency with the purpose of finding what factors in the situations of these clients made real case work possible, and what general classification of applicants can be made.

The United Prison Association, the objectives and services of which will be described in Chapter II, is the only case-work agency for ex-prisoners in Massachusetts. Yet its usual run of service to individuals is quite superficial and routine. It provides, first of all, for the emergency period following release from prison and application to the agency, the necessities of life coupled with a knowledge of local conditions and situations which will confront the ex-prisoner. To these necessities are often added service in finding lodgings and employment. The occasion for intensive case-work treatment arrives after the client has established himself, but usually he recognizes no further need for contact with the agency, and drops away before any case-work relationship
can be established, returning only when subsequent emergencies arise. A few clients, for reasons to be investigated in the main part of this thesis, continue a relationship with the agency over a period of months or years. The agency staff has selected twenty-six cases which they considered to involve more than the usual amount of case-work service. These cases stood out in the minds of the staff as the ones involving the greatest amount of case work. They are to be presented in Chapter III, with a description and evaluation of the service given in each case.

One of the reasons for undertaking this study is that the United Prison Association, now in its fifth year, cannot decide, without further study of the value of its case-work program, where its greatest efforts should be applied. This evaluation will be one indication pointing toward increased emphasis upon either case work or reform activities.

As these cases are presented and evaluated, groupings will emerge which will be immediately useful to the agency. Workers do some classifying of cases as clients present their problems; this study will help them classify more accurately. They may feel more secure in their decisions as to which applicants should be rejected, which may need intensive treatment, and which may need help only once or twice. A little of the guess work in judging potentialities may be removed.

1 Letter from Henry J. Mascarello, Executive Secretary, United Prison Association.
The nature of this study precludes the use of any but the most general statistics. There is so little follow-up of most clients at the United Prison Association that any representative sampling of all cases would bring out few in which case-work relationships would be discernable. Also, a study of case-work treatment is too inexact a subject to lend itself to statistical analysis.

The cases under consideration in this study were handled at some time since January 1, 1940, when the United Prison Association was established by full-time, paid members of the staff. Each man's story is continued until contact with the agency ceased, or until the closing date of this research, March 4, 1944.

Since this is an evaluation of social case work, it is well to reconsider the meaning of the term. Mary Richmond's definition given in 1930 still stands among the best, and was quoted in Theory and Practice of Social Case Work by Gordon Hamilton in 1940. "Social case work is the art of doing different things for and with different people by cooperating with them to achieve at one and the same time their own and society's betterment."\(^2\) This is a fair definition to apply to the work with ex-prisoners at the United Prison Association, and is in keeping with the expressed purposes of the agency, as described in Chapter II.

\(^2\) Mary Richmond, The Long View, p. 374.
The part played by the prisoners' aid societies in the total crime picture in the United States is a very small one. It is a known fact that most dangerous criminals never get into prison. The recent revolution in the nature of crime has brought large-scale organized crime, and the commercialization of crime and racketeering, to a position of far greater significance in terms of cost to society than that of conventional crime. Gangsters and racketeers seldom have need or desire for the help of a prisoners' agency. It is only a small portion of the relatively petty and individual criminals who apply. These are the penniless, homeless, and friendless men, the least skilled and resourceful, on the whole.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that hundreds of men are given new hope and determination to make good as a result of their contacts with these agencies, although accurate measures of their successes are lacking. It is safe to assume that they would have passed out of the picture long ago if they did not have a constructive function to perform.

Several prisoners' aid agencies have applied social casework techniques in their treatment of ex-prisoners. Outstanding among these is the oldest of all prison societies in the world, the Pennsylvania Prison Society, organized in 1787. The Society began to experiment with the professional case-

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work approach in 1925, and is now primarily a case-work agency. Case work with ex-prisoners is especially favored by the parole regulations in Pennsylvania, for a requirement of every prisoner's parole plan is that he name a sponsor who will aid him in his adjustment to life in the community, and to whom he will make regular reports. The Pennsylvania Prison Society acts as sponsor to a great many parolees; most plans are laid well before the release date, and facilitated by an extensive program of prison visiting by the professional staff and lay persons. This setup has made social case work possible in the strictest sense of the term, and has avoided much use of relief because definite planning insures against immediate physical insecurity.

The Pennsylvania Prison Society has formulated certain rules of procedure aimed to place some responsibility upon the client. The burden of choice is placed upon the client, and the rules of procedure establish limits within which he must operate, thus giving reality to the client-worker relationship. The methods of handling cases are based on the thesis that self-reliance must come from within in terms of the client's own potentialities. All steps taken must be in


accordance with the client's own desires to the extent that the agency can approve his plan. Help must be taken in and made the client's own; otherwise, he will reject it.  

In fairness to prisoners' aid societies which do not adhere so firmly to agency structure and rules of procedure (including the United Prison Association), it should be pointed out that there are some common services undertaken by these agencies which the Pennsylvania Society does not carry on. No attempt is made to obtain jobs or homes for ex-prisoners, because the agency does not believe that social workers can know what is best for a man, or that men are amenable to such control. Probably ninety per cent of applicants request relief to meet acute situations upon release from prison, yet these cases constitute only ten or fifteen per cent of the case load at any one time. Less than $1,200 per year is allocated for relief purposes, out of a $19,000 budget, but between 1,200 and 1,500 men apply for relief. When assistance is given to the destitute, it is administered on the level of a Public Assistance grant, which is inadequate in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere. Psychopaths and other inadequate persons who intermittently return


to the agency are considered "nuisance cases". Above all, the Pennsylvania Prison Society attempts to work with the man in the setting in which it finds him. He must be helped to adjust to his environment in every respect, including the community's relief standards.

A survey of the work of the prisoners' aid societies in America was made in 1936 by Walter W. Argow. He sent questionnaires to the forty agencies listed by the American Prison Association, and received answers from twenty-nine of them, basing his study upon these replies. His findings are quoted here in part, omitting his recommendations, which are irrelevant to this discussion.

In comparison with other sociological efforts in America, the Prisoners' Aid Society is still in the horse-and-buggy era; but in all fairness to some agencies in the field, it must be acknowledged that something has been done. The reason for this backwardness is that Society in the main is still in ignorance as to who are the penal welfare workers and as to what they do.

There are such large differences between agencies that much of the data gathered in this study are not comparable, but the author did attempt to arrive at a fairly complete picture of the typical Prisoners' Aid Society.


9 Letter from Albert G. Fraser, Executive Secretary, Pennsylvania Prison Society.

Such an agency would employ five full time and two part time workers, six paid, and four with social service training. It would have a case load of about a thousand cases a year. It would cooperate with other agencies of social service. Its financial backing would come chiefly from Community Chest allotments, interest on investments, and gifts or subscriptions. Its budget would average and fluctuate as follows: 1930, $27,000; 1931, $22,000; 1932, $21,000; 1933, $22,000; 1934, $18,000; 1935, $11,000.

The stated aims show the following frequencies: charity relief, 50 per cent; educational, 66 per cent; recreational, 25 per cent; medical, 30 per cent; vocational guidance (and job getting), 75 per cent; religious, 33 per cent; custodial, 50 per cent. (Each agency had several aims.) In addition to this, some agencies have services peculiar to their organization, such as prison inspection, publicity on improved legislation, rehabilitational camps, informational service, and the like.

The agencies have a variety of restrictions as to types of cases served but predominantly it is a question of either inmate welfare or after-care.

Sixty-eight per cent of the Societies serve the same area with others. Eighty per cent keep histories of some kind.

As regards specific services registered by the twenty-nine agencies, the following numerical frequencies are recorded:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relief to prisoner</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relief to ex-prisoner</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief to family</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of medical clinic</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of physician</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of visiting nurse</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sponsor elementary classes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsor technical classes</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conduct forums</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsor shop training</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use reading guides</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsor character educ.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of psych. testing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal guidance</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational guidance</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic relations counsel</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal investigator</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of lawyer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of legal agency</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact inmate's pastor</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained probn. officers</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job finding service</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit ex-prisoners</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have house of refuge</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have agency magazine</td>
<td>7</td>
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Conduct religious services.  6  Give public lectures...  16
Religious counseling........  10  Control publicity......  10
Support prison library.  4

Fifty per cent of the agencies use the church in some way, varying in each case. Few agencies have any way of evaluating their work scientifically. Most judge their success by the number of repeater cases, or by using the figures in the report of cases completing parole successfully, or by the number now holding jobs successfully. The estimated per cent of clients not returning to crime averages seventy-two.

The picture of private agency efforts to aid prisoners has undoubtedly changed since 1936, since the importance of social case work techniques in the handling of persons needing help is being more and more accepted, and put into practice. Even the Pennsylvania Prison Society has formulated much of its definite functions and policy since 1937, and in the same period several other societies have re-organized and strengthened their work with individuals. The United Prison Association of Massachusetts did not come into existence until 1940, and its predecessor carried on its work on a most superficial level.

If the prisoners' aid societies can succeed in selling society the idea of individual after-care on an increased scale after the war, their position in the welfare setting of the community will be greatly enhanced. For a time they may be somewhat overwhelmed by sudden increases in case load

as employment drops off. The Osborne Association, incorporated, an agency similar in function and philosophy to the United Prison Association, fears a sudden rush of applicants when soldiers are discharged because the governor of New York has refused to sanction a bill to drop parolees now in the armed forces from parole supervision when they are honorably discharged. If the same difficulty is met in other states, some agencies may find themselves inadequate in staff and funds for a time.

12 Interview with Robert R. Hannum, Director of Vocational Placement, the Osborne Association, Inc.
CHAPTER II

THE UNITED PRISON ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS: OBJECTIVES AND SERVICES

The United Prison Association of Massachusetts is a social agency which has accepted the responsibility of carrying forward a four-point program. This includes social case work service for individual ex-prisoners, legislative action to promote the passage of constructive prison legislation, research to enhance the practicability of and give direction to legislative effort, and public education to help shape an informed public opinion on penal affairs.¹

Since the Association was organized January 1, 1940, the greatest part of its efforts in terms of time and funds have been expended in case work service to individual ex-prisoners. With varying emphases, however, all four points of the plan have been consistently carried on, together with some other activities in the interest of penal welfare. No final definition of the agency's function has yet been made, but one is gradually being evolved. At the present time, officers and directors are attempting to arrive at a decision as to whether the Association should remain primarily a case working agency, or should more heavily emphasize reform ac-

tivities. In other words, should they continue to deal with end products, or should they bend their efforts mainly toward an attack on root problems.

As stated in the Charter of the United Prison Association, it was organized:

To assist persons accused or convicted of crime, serving sentence, on parole, or discharged, and juveniles alleged or adjudged to be delinquent, in overcoming the social and industrial handicaps imposed upon them, and to help them to reestablish themselves as reputable citizens and to lead honest and useful lives. These general objectives may be accomplished in one or more of the following ways:

(a) By furnishing advice and encouragement.

(b) By obtaining employment.

(c) By giving pecuniary aid when necessary and advisable.

(d) By the assistance and preservation of families.

(e) By encouraging the improvement of correctional methods and conditions.

(f) By encouraging the better enforcement and administration of laws relating to the purposes and objects of this corporation.

(g) By education and enlightenment of employers and the public generally with regard to their attitude toward discharged prisoners.

(h) By contributing, if thought advisable, all or any part of the income of the corporation to any other charitable organization or organizations in furtherance of the foregoing objects, or any of them.

(i) Or by any other method deemed appropriate by the directors.

2 Letter from Mr. Mascarello.

3 United Prison Association of Massachusetts, Charter from Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1940.
These objectives are broad enough to permit a good deal of flexibility in the agency's program, as will be seen in the enumeration, beginning on Page 18, of some recent activities.

An earlier thesis on the work of the United Prison Association, written in 1941 by Lloyd W. Miller, was an analysis of the types of clients served and the kinds of services given. To complete the picture of the agency, the setting in which case work is carried on, the findings in Miller's thesis are here summarized.

In general, Miller wrote, the United Prison Association works with those whose conflict with the law is an important factor in their need for social case work. Cases are not accepted if they are already under the care of a competent agency, if the men have had only a minor conflict with the law, if the agency cannot be expected to help, or if the primary problem in a case is one of alcoholism. The clientele of the agency, far from being a cross section of all criminals, or even of all prisoners, is only a large selection of cases from all the prisoners released in Massachusetts.

For use in his analysis of types of men served by the agency, Miller selected sixty cases confirmed as representative of the total case load of 412 accepted in 1940 by corre-

lation of the sixty with the 412 in three factors -- marriage status, color, and age. Summarizing the conclusions regarding his sample of sixty clients, Miller wrote:

They usually live in Metropolitan Boston but probably have no homes, as few of them have families with whom they can live. They are citizens, usually of American or Irish-American extraction. Religion is not important to them, but they are more likely to say Catholic than Protestant if asked about it.

Most of these men are between twenty and thirty years of age, in fair health, but probably somewhat below average in education and intelligence. Only a few are definitely psychopathic. One-quarter of them have no special skill and only a few of them have any skill to make them easily employable.

All in all, they are not very different from any random group of the same ages that might be assembled in Greater Boston, but probably a little inferior, generally, to the community average. They are less stable, more reserved, and are characterized by their loose attachments, if any, to family, friends, vocation, religion, or social groups...

The most typical offender of those studied has a record of many larcenies, or of breaking and entering, or of both. His illegal activity seems to lead to other types of offenses--homicidal, sexual, public, and particularly drunkenness. The average acquisitive offender has 3.6 acquisitive crimes on his record as compared with 1.5 homicidal offenses for the homicidal criminal, or 1.2 sexual offenses for the sexual offender. In reading the records of acquisitive offenders, one gets the impression of persistent offenders who are going back and forth to major and minor institutions ad infinitum...

The sixty men considered here have served an average of five years and eleven months each, exclusive of time spent in juvenile institutions. The period of time most frequently served is three years and two months...

Only thirteen of the sixty men have been in State Prison where the state's worst criminals are kept. Nineteen come from the Reformatory at Concord... Six men have come from State Farm, but of these, two have been at State Prison, two at Concord... Fourteen are known to have
served time in major institutions in other states... New York was the leading state for out-of-state imprisonment, but all parts of the country were represented... Eight men were known to have served time in federal penal institutions...

The largest number of imprisonments was in houses of correction, where thirty-nine of the sixty men were incarcerated. Fifteen of these men never served time in any major institution.®

Miller found that about a quarter of the men apply on the day of release or prior to release, and more than half within a month of release. The largest single group are those who apply within six months, but not within one month of release. The need of help after a month or more in the community proves that they were unable to get along without the assistance of a social agency.

Twenty-two of Miller's sixty cases were referred by correctional sources—mostly by parole agents. Ten were referred by other agencies, and twenty-eight applied personally. Nearly half of the sixty cases were under some form of official supervision.

The request of the client in 1940 was usually for relief. He needs something to eat; he has no place to sleep; he needs shoes or overcoat. Occasionally the client is seeking only a job, or needs help in making some necessary contact. Almost always his request is for something material; the need he feels is for some help in his immediate problem.

5 Ibid., p. 32.
In writing about the services given, Miller found that relief played a large part in the work of the United Prison Association.

The fact is that a very large proportion of these men do need immediate financial help, although they can become eligible for public relief after a while.

All but eleven of the sixty men needed food at one time or another... Usually if a man is to be assisted to establish himself, it is considered necessary to put him up in a room for a week or two, unless he has a home where he can stay...

Some of the men are in desperate need of clothing. Depending upon circumstances, the man is given an order for necessary clothes at cooperating stores, or is referred to the Morgan Memorial or the Salvation Army, where he can work for his clothing.

... The agency directly found employment for nine of the sixty men. The more usual procedure is to refer the client seeking work to employment agencies, which cooperate closely. With others, all that is necessary is to give the client a list of good employment offices...

Thirty per cent of the cases accepted as clients are referred to some other agency...

Under the category of "service" is included a variety of types of assistance hard to classify. Special problems for particular trades are fulfilled. Personal problems are dealt with. Carfare to a job is provided... Another form of service permeating all case work is the value of the relationship itself, between client and case worker. This often seems to be the most important service rendered. Usually the men have no real friends. They feel rejected, friendless, suspicious, cynical, and often very insecure and fearful. To be treated respectfully, met as a friend, regarded as important, listened to earnestly by a man who is not trying to exploit him, does much to reestablish the offender's self-respect and self-confidence. When he learns further that the worker is not just "easy" or easily fooled, but understands him, the client is likely to develop a relationship with the worker that, in itself, is a valuable therapeutic factor.6

6 Ibid., pp. 63 ff.
The over-all picture of the United Prison Association has changed little since the end of 1940. The same type of clients, with the same problems, are handled in much the same way. The case load in 1941 rose to 616, to 600 in 1942, and dropped to 510 in 1943. The budget rose from $17,598 in 1940 to $24,386 in 1943, and each year a little over twenty-five per cent of the expenditures were for relief. Throughout the period, correctional sources referred about one-half of the clients. Most clients sought service within a week of release.

Wartime changes are seen more in other agencies than those serving ex-prisoners. After all, problems of physical and mental shortcomings demand special service and guidance even in times of economic prosperity, and even in wartime the prejudice against the ex-prisoner still operates.

Henry J. Mascarello has been the Executive Secretary since the Association was chartered in 1940. Harold P. Williams, a case worker of long experience and training, became Assistant Secretary in September, 1942, after Herbert E. Kunde had resigned to take a position with the American Red Cross. Mr. Williams has handled the greater part of the case work service, while Mr. Mascarello has undertaken more of the other parts of the agency's program. A part time worker was

7 Annual Reports, United Prison Association of Massachusetts, 1941, 1942, 1943.
added to the staff in 1944, making more field contacts with prisoners, employers and landlords possible.

Recent activities of the Association in behalf of penal welfare include the following:

1. Beginning in January, 1943, a representative of the Association has called at State Prison every other week to interview prisoners with special problems requiring outside assistance. Most of these were men soon to be released and who sought help in obtaining a residence and employment, as required by parole regulations.

2. Visits were also made to the State Prison Colony every three weeks, designed as a sampling of a sponsorship program which the Association may be able to establish after the war. With close cooperation of the staff at the Colony, the agency representative visits a small group of carefully selected prisoners in an effort to establish a tie with the community in anticipation of release. The need of such an outside tie is for emotional reasons, as well as for the more practical considerations, such as investigation of families, handling property, and obtaining legal service.

3. In 1942 the Association was asked by a church organization to aid inmates at the United States Immigration Station in East Boston. It was badly overcrowded with enemy aliens who were under investigation, and there were no recreational facilities or other amenities. Interest in their
welfare has been maintained, but the work there has decreased as the population there has been reduced.

4. The Friends of Prisoners' program, for women offenders, has been maintained; 112 different women were served in 1943. Most of these contacts originated while the women were still in prison. In addition to work at the Reformatory for Women, service for women at the Charles Street Jail has been considerably developed. More recreational and educational work is planned there for the coming year.

5. In the field of public relations, fifteen talks were given in 1943 before civic and religious groups, describing the background and operations of the Association. This represents a decrease over previous years, but there are plans to sponsor free lectures by leaders in correctional work. Copies of the printed annual report were sent to members, libraries, and to other interested sources. Annual dinners are successful affairs, resulting in considerable newspaper publicity. Several other news releases and editorials on correctional issues appeared in the local press.

6. Various other projects related to the function of the agency have been undertaken by the staff. Members of the staff have served on various committees of the Council of Social Agencies, the State Conference of Social Work, the American Association of Social Work, the Washingtonian Hospital, the Boston Committee on Public Safety, and the National
Prisoners' Aid Association. In the fall of 1943, the Executive Secretary attended the Annual Congress of the American Prison Association, and was elected President of the National Prisoners' Aid Association. This organization is to serve as a forum for discussion of common prisoners' aiders' problems, to permit the member agencies' methods and experiments to be heard nationally.

7. During the legislative season, the Executive Secretary attended most of the public hearings on prison bills, expressing favor or opposition. The Association also urged the continuance of the Penal Code Commission for the reexamination and modernization of Massachusetts' criminal laws. This kind of action is considered important because of the agency's belief that many of the problems of the men who apply for help arise from the process of conviction and imprisonment. Plans are being made for attack on more root problems, since it is important to prevent and treat prisoners' difficulties as much as possible before release.

8. The Association has encouraged the induction of prisoners directly into the armed forces, which was made possible in Massachusetts by the Cleary Act, passed in 1943. Army psychiatrists have been reluctant to accept prisoners, however, so the program collapsed to a great extent in this state and throughout the country.

9. Action was taken with regard to prison idleness in
Massachusetts where, during most of 1943, inmates at State Prison were working only two or three hours per day. A press release received wide publication, and several editorials followed it. Then the agency was instrumental in expediting an executive order by the Governor permitting prison industries to sub-contract with private industries. This action was taken not only because of the great need for manpower, but also because idleness is a danger to prisoners, eventually leading to inability to work in competition with other men.

10. The Association plans to take on problems of discharged servicemen who have had a prison experience for crime in or out of the Army. Members of the staff have volunteered to help at the Counselling Service Office if more men apply than can be handled by the present staff.

11. Efforts have been made from time to time to cooperate more closely with the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners. This is a relief agency, now nearly 100 years in existence, and run by a woman in much the same manner in which it was operated when first opened. With an income of about $6,500 and relief expenditures of about $1,500 per year, with relief grants made after only casual investigation and without registration at the Social Service Index, this

agency is largely a wasted resource which depreciates the standing of the United Prison Association. This effect results from duplication of aid to clients, and from the fact that the ideal of social case work in aiding prisoners is undermined. A merger of these two agencies would fill a great need in service to ex-prisoners, but every effort to bring this about has met with a hostile refusal to discuss the matter. When the Society was evicted from the building at 51 Cornhill in 1944, because clients waiting in the corridor were a disturbance to other tenants, the Directors were again approached. As usual, no discussion of the subject of a merger was possible.

Members of the Board of Directors of the United Prison Association are persons who have long been interested in the problems of the prisoner, dealing with these problems from various approaches. The President of the Board is a former State Prison chaplain. The present chaplain is a member. One is the executive of a large family agency. Two are pioneer sponsors at Norfolk State Prison Colony. Two are lawyers, one was formerly a district attorney. One is on the Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty. The President of the Friends of Prisoners is a member. The present Chairman of the Parole Board is also included.

Many of the cases considered in the next chapter were handled principally in 1943. The reason is that the drop in
case load in 1943 made it feasible for the workers to give certain applicants more intensive attention over a longer period than would have been possible otherwise.
CHAPTER III
CASE STUDIES WITH INTERPRETATION OF AGENCY SERVICE

In order to discover the possibilities in case work with ex-prisoners at the United Prison Association, the stories of the twenty-six men are presented in this chapter with an interpretation of the agency's service in their behalf. Six of the stories are told in the greatest detail that the records permit. The remainder are summarized, but include significant facts of personality, background, record, relationship with the agency, and accomplishments. Evaluation of the case work with these men follows in Chapter IV.

Case No. 1

The first case is that of Paul, a single man aged thirty-six.

Paul is the oldest of three children, and is the product of a forced marriage. His parents are French-Canadians, but all the children were born in Boston. The father was a chronic alcoholic and frequently deserted, making it necessary for the mother to call upon public and private agencies for help. He also had tuberculosis, and died at the Psychopathic Hospital of cerebral syphilis when Paul was still a boy. The mother became disturbed mentally, and was committed in 1927 to a State Hospital—diagnosis, dementia praecox. There she remained until about 1935, when she was discharged to live with her children. At the time of the agency's contact, she was living with her then married daughter. At the same time, Paul's younger brother entered the Army. Neither of the siblings were known to be delinquent.

1 Method of presentation was suggested to the writer by his reading of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Five Hundred Criminal Careers.
Paul left school after completing the eighth grade. He began to steal when he was 17 years old, and was arrested twice for larceny, once on a stubborn child complaint, and once for larceny of an auto while still a juvenile. There were ten arrests for drunkenness during the 20-year court record. Three times he was arrested for breaking and entering, with commitments to the House of Correction, the Reformatory, and State Prison. The last offense, in 1940, was assault and battery to rob, and robbery. Total time served has been about eight years, and he is on parole until 1946. He has used six aliases.

Paul worked fairly regularly between incarceration periods as a truck driver's helper, longshoreman, and laborer on W.P.A. At State Prison he was a cooperative and excellent worker in the foundry.

Just before Paul's release on parole, his brother was inducted into the Army, and failed to provide Paul with the factory job he had promised to arrange. His sister moved to a small apartment where there was room only for her family and mother. The parole department provided a room and found a restaurant job for Paul. These developments were a severe disappointment to him.

When he arrived at his family's home, his brother had just left for the Army the day before. The family felt severely disgraced when Paul walked in from prison, and they wept when they saw him and made him feel unwelcome. He walked out, got drunk, found some prostitute in a South End cafe, and lived with her about four days, when his prison earnings ran out.

Two weeks later he quit the restaurant job, complaining of over-work and a threat from his employer to return him to prison. The Deputy Commissioner of Correction referred him to the United Prison Association for a room and a small amount of cash.

Paul was quite upset when he came for his interview, fearing surrender by his parole agent for unsatisfactory attempts to keep working. During the first interview he related most of the story told in the preceding paragraphs, emphasizing the number of bad breaks he had had. His needs for cash, interest, and reassurance were provided.

After Prison Association interest was enlisted, the seriousness of Paul's disturbances began to become evident. He began to lose some jobs because of drinking, and left
others because they were what he called slave jobs. He visited his mother frequently, giving her ten dollars at a time, and then becoming very depressed, getting drunk, and losing or giving away all his money. He complained about being left out of the Army. He blamed all his difficulties on the poor start he had and on his sinus trouble. Despite the efforts of the worker, the same pattern of behavior was repeated many times throughout the ten months of agency contact. Paul came to the office often, sometimes just to discuss his progress, ambitions, or troubles. Sometimes he needed a little money for a night's lodging or food. He explained how he sometimes feels himself in a mood and has to let it out. He hoped to rent an apartment some day and live with his mother, but when he was confronted with the impossibility of this—since she needs constant supervision,—he said that was the kind of thing he dreamed about. He insisted that his main problem was a medical one, that his painful sinuses drove him to drink, but when appointments with a hospital were made, he would oversleep or miss a bus or be discouraged by all the questions asked there. He wrote many notes to report his situation between visits, and sometimes wrote that he had a lot on his mind; yet, he would not accept psychiatric attention. He was sure he would not drink if he had a decent job, if he did not have sinus trouble or trouble with his family, if he could build himself up physically. He tried to run away from his problem by avoiding the reasons for his failures, by moving about, by working on a farm.

Several times Paul saved up a little money from his restaurant jobs to be used while seeking a better job, but whenever he had nearly enough, he would go on another drunken spree and lose it all. He tried desperately to be successful, but always failed. To prove his good intentions, he made a few small refunds. The most recent job, in a fine suburban restaurant, paid him $30 a week and meals, but within six weeks he was discharged for passing a bottle to other employees.

After the last failure he was drunk four days, misspent $50, told his worker he was considering turning himself in to his parole agent for return to State Prison. Instead, he next appeared in jail awaiting trial on an appealed sentence for assault and battery and larceny, for which he claimed innocence. Later he was sentenced to the House of Correction for six months, and will probably be returned to State Prison when this sentence is completed. He requested, by letter, that the worker ask the Parole Department to check the facts of his case, presumably because he then expects to be given another chance on parole.
At the United Prison Association, this unstable and unhappy man found somebody who was immediately interested, sympathetic, and helpful. He received emotional and financial support from the beginning ($45 in all, a small portion of which he returned). He was deeply affected by acceptance, after feeling so much rejection by family and employers, and there was excellent rapport. He really wanted to support himself and meet his obligations, but his inability to face the harsher realities of life rendered him helpless to carry out his resolutions. The worker tried to give him insight into his problem, but Paul could never be made to see that there was need of treatment for anything but his sinus infection.

Paul seemed to be greatly relieved by the process of expressing his feelings and confessing his failings, but this could not lead him to use will power to face the world; he still withdrew into a dream world of a pleasanter life that never came within his grasp. At one time the worker was able to intercede for Paul with the parole agent, so that he was not surrendered for failing to report. Appointments were made at a hospital three times, with an arrangement to steer him to a psychiatrist if the examining physician considered such treatment necessary. Near the end of the contact, Paul was so defeated by his inadequacy that he seemed to seek a return to institutionalization.
It is unfortunate that this small agency can do very little home visiting, there being only two workers at the office. In this case, a visit to the sister's home could have revealed the kind of family attitudes Paul was facing, and possibly those attitudes could have been modified.

The agency could have maintained a closer control of this man's activities, thus perhaps reducing the frequency of failures, but then his dependency might have been increased. At least, the contact made life less insecure for him, and postponed a return to criminality.

Case No. 2

The next case, that of Edward, a forty-three-year-old family man with six children, cannot be presented in as great detail as that of Paul. His imprisonments were in other states, where the records were not as complete or as readily obtainable as those of Massachusetts prisons. Few of the agency's case records are as complete as that of Paul.

Edward was born into a poor, disorganized family in a New Hampshire city. The father was a chronic alcoholic, and never provided a decent home life for his children. There was no supervision of the children, and they were badly neglected physically and emotionally. Edward remembers roaming the streets as a small boy, staying away from home days at a time, sleeping wherever he could find shelter. In spite of this irregular life, he claimed to have completed a year of high school.

Edward and his brother soon became involved in delinquent

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2 This need has been met by addition of a part-time worker in February, 1944.
acts of an acquisitive nature, and as their skill increased they worked as an organized team committing larceny, breaking and entering. They were in their early adolescence when their first court appearance occurred, but whatever disposition was made of their cases, had no deterrent effect on their delinquent careers. Both became hardened criminals with long records of arrests and imprisonment. Edward used five different aliases.

During the late 1920's, Edward was serving a sentence at the New Hampshire State Prison. His bitter, defiant and rebellious attitude brought frequent placement in solitary confinement, but no treatment could make him conform. The prison chaplain, who was a large man and a "regular" fellow, took an interest in this tough non-conformist and determined to correct him. When he entered the cell, Edward told him to get out and refused to listen to him. Then the chaplain slapped him a shattering blow on the back, showed that he was tough, too, and persisted in establishing a relationship. After many days this rough and persistent approach won Edward over. He was given the opportunity to join the majority, and he left the prison at the expiration of his sentence well versed in the Christian principles and with a determination to live in accordance with them.

Edward worked steadily after release from prison, soon married and established a family. There was one more episode of breaking and entering, however, and he was given a five to seven year sentence to Vermont State Prison in 1935. Three years later, he was pardoned by the Governor, and has lived as a respectable, church-going, law-abiding citizen ever since.

In spite of his hard work and honest living, Edward has not been a successful breadwinner. Children arrived annually until there were six of them. Jobs were frequently lost when the long criminal record became known. Many times the widow of the former prison chaplain was called upon to help the family. In the spring of 1942 she referred Edward to the United Prison Association for help, agreeing to share the expense of relief.

During the previous winter, Edward earned high wages (seventy to eighty dollars a week), for the first time in his life, as a riveter in a Massachusetts shipyard. He thought that at last he could afford good furniture for his home and a fur coat for his wife, so he purchased them on a prolonged installment plan. At the time of referral, he was transferred to different work in the shipyard, and his wages were reduced during the training period. There was illness in the family,
creditors were pressing, and his distraught wife was threatening to leave.

The United Prison Association worker obtained an extension of time from the creditors and helped Edward work out a budget which included regular payments to the stores. He was given much relief during this crisis, and was encouraged to shoulder his own responsibilities.

A month later trouble moved into Edward's life for a long and persistent stay. Sickness kept him from work, first for a few days, then for a whole month. Then his wife became ill, and later the children all caught communicable diseases. Bills piled up in spite of generous grants by the agency, supplemented by the chaplain's widow. Edward was puzzled and overwhelmed by the succession of misfortunes, and he frequently broke down as he told the worker about his troubles and his futile efforts to cope with them. He had to be constantly reminded that he could cope with the situations that confronted him, that his problems would not last forever, that he had already come a long way toward their solution.

Except for one period of nearly three months in the spring and summer of 1943, when health was fair, wages good, many debts had been cleared up, and family relationships were at their best, misfortune continued to plague Edward. A four-year old charge for an automobile offense in New Hampshire cost him fifteen dollars, his pay was attached for an old doctor's bill, an ulcer condition recurred, income dropped below living costs, the children were teased about his record which became known to the neighbors.

Finally Edward was helped to find lighter and steadier work in a garage, where his health would not be impaired and wages would be regular.

This man brought with him the assets of honesty, fair intelligence, and determination to make good. Undoubtedly the greatest factor in straightening him out was the prison chaplain. However, life was one emergency after another, real or imagined, to Edward. He showed poor judgment in his expenditures when wages were high, and when wages were lost or re-
duced through illness he was overwhelmed. Considerable relief was granted to this family, $300 by the agency and $185 by the minister's widow in twenty-one months. At the same time, further dependency was avoided by planning with Edward to reduce his indebtedness by regular payments fitted into a suitable budget. Without these boosts and constant reassurance from the worker that the difficulties could be surmounted, Edward would probably have succumbed to an attitude of complete defeatism, or he might have become desperate and returned to criminal ways.

Several times Edward came to the agency for help with minor troubles which were quite imaginary, or of such little consequence that he could have handled them himself. For a time, much dependency was shown this way, but gradually he met more and more of his problems without help. Sometimes he came to the office to report successes, wishing to share the good news with somebody who cared.

The heavy expense of meeting Edward's needs was too great for a small private agency to cover, even with the cooperation of a provident sponsor. Prompt application for public relief when the more prolonged illnesses occurred would have placed responsibility more upon the community as a whole. The only other agency which was called upon at any time was the Salvation Army, which provided a Christmas gift.
Case No. 3

The next man, James, is a single man aged twenty-two at the time the Association took over his case from its predecessor in work with ex-prisoners, the Industrial Aid Society.

James was born at the State Infirmary, the illegitimate son of a Polish girl. As a state ward, he was placed in various foster homes, often changed, usually on farms. He completed the seventh grade.

James was never delinquent, and the only court appearance occurred when, at the age of eighteen, he was committed to the Reformatory for assault with intent to kill. The truth of the matter is that he was defending himself against the abuse of a foster father, but he received a five-year sentence and was paroled after serving two and one-half years.

James' attitude toward Society was very bitter at the time of his release. He wanted to become an automobile mechanic, but in order to maintain himself he was forced to return to farm work. After seven months of this, he came to Boston blindly seeking a garage job, in spite of the fact that he did not have sufficient funds to maintain himself for an extended period of time. A woman who has sponsored many young and promising ex-prisoners through disbursements from a private fund, took an interest in James, and remained his sponsor throughout the Prison Association's contact, sharing the expense of his relief needs through reimbursements.

James responded well to the help received at the Industrial Aid Society. His social worker there later became Executive Secretary of the United Prison Association. While a client at the former society, he was assigned to a National Youth Administration project, was enrolled in an evening school, was given a membership in the Young Men's Christian Association, and about ten dollars a week to supplement National Youth Administration earnings. He did more work in the National Youth Administration garage than he was paid for, in order to get more experience.

At the time of the transfer of the case to the United Prison Association, the National Youth Administration quota was reduced and James was discharged. Unsuccessful attempts at reinstatement, followed by the need for a minor operation, discouraged him, and he wanted to go to sea or back to farm
work. With agency help, he was able to postpone any such moves until possibilities in mechanical work were exhausted. After another short period on National Youth Administration, he obtained full time employment in one of Boston's best known garages. He earned eighteen dollars a week, bought a set of tools, and paid the employment agency which placed him. During the next six months, James worked steadily, reported often to the Association and to his sponsor, and purchased life insurance. Then he suddenly changed jobs for better pay at a garage which soon dropped him because of slow business. He quickly found other work but quit when he was underpaid. Then he ran into debt and asked his worker to countersign a fifty-dollar loan. This the worker declined to do, explaining that a loan would increase his liability. He was advised to consult the agency before making important changes, and not to plan beyond what is reasonably possible.

After two more months of odd jobs, unemployment, and financial assistance from the Association, James did return to farm work at one of the state hospitals, where he remained nearly six months. During the last half of 1941, he found four different jobs as a mechanic, the last employer paying him thirty-five dollars a week. His adjustment in the community remained good, but over-confidence was a constant danger. He spent all of his earnings and never reimbursed the agency.

Early in 1942, James enlisted in the Army, becoming a paratrooper. He enjoyed Army life, progressing steadily in rank. In December of that year, he wrote that he was happily married, but when he visited Boston about a year later he was about to be divorced from the childish, unfaithful girl he had chosen. At the time of this last visit, James showed considerable maturity. He visited his former landlady and employer, both of whom invited him to return after the war. He borrowed thirty dollars from the Prison Association, and promptly reimbursed that amount.

Correspondence between James and his social worker has been continued up to the time of this writing.

At the United Prison Association this impulsive, immature boy found the friendliness, direction, and support he so badly needed. The city was strange and big and frightening to him; he felt very lonely in it until he found his sponsor and
agency worker. These people became parent substitutes to him for a time; in fact, he felt close enough to his worker to address him by his first name. These ties and the help he received brightened James' outlook on life, and his assets could then be put into effect. He was appreciative and responded to friendliness. Although he was headstrong and impulsive, he was always willing to work and showed initiative in finding employment. As a result of the guidance and urging he received, James gradually showed better judgment with more careful planning, and he acquired more maturity. Relief expenditures amounted to ninety-five dollars by the Prison Association, and the same amount by the sponsor.

During the long periods when James was seeking suitable work, interviews might well have been scheduled regularly and frequently. In this way, discussions of work prospects and changes would have been held before he took his ill-considered steps. Further attempts to obtain reimbursements when his earnings were high might have contributed to his development of responsibility.

It is impossible to say to what extent James was removed from criminal ways by his contacts with the United Prison Association. Bitterness over the injustice he had suffered, 3

3 This is not as unusual at the United Prison Association as at most agencies. The worker was only three years older than James.
combined with feelings of discouragement, loneliness, and helplessness, might easily have fostered a criminal attitude if no help had been extended to him.

Case No. 4

In contrast to James is the case of Russell, who was also twenty-two years of age and single at time of application, but who had no observable assets.

Russell was born in a Maine city, sixth of seven children. His parents were American born, of English decent. The family moved to Boston when Russell was less than two years of age, and within two months they needed assistance from a family social agency. Both parents were alcoholic, and they deserted the children when Russell was two years of age. He was cared for by an aging foster mother, living in filthy, crowded quarters in a run-down section of Cambridge. The parents were divorced; the mother remarried; the father, when last heard of, was using an alias to avoid the police.

Russell suffered many injuries and ailments at various times beginning at the age of eleven years. In order, these were: a broken finger, a hernia operation, a broken arm, three broken ribs, a broken knee cap and injured back ligaments, a fractured ankle bone, nervous shock, ulcerated and impacted teeth, pyorrhea, gastric ulcers, and a cataract. He grew up with little supervision or training, and all his associates were delinquents. Oddly enough, he completed a year of high school.

All the children in this family whose later history could be found, had low standards or were inadequate. One sister, at the age of twenty-three, was a prostitute allegedly married three times. The younger brother had a forced marriage. Another sister required the assistance of three private social agencies.

Russell began working shortly after leaving school, but never worked steadily. His usual occupation was window washing. By the time he was sixteen years of age, he was drinking heavily and was sexually promiscuous. His court record began when he was seventeen, with a charge of breaking and
entering and larceny, for which he was placed on probation. The record also included larceny of an automobile, receiving stolen property, and carnal abuse of a female child. For the latter offense, Russell served twenty-six months at the Reformatory, and then was released on parole. He had used two aliases.

Russell returned to his aged and ailing foster mother upon release from the Reformatory. They were assisted by the local Family Welfare Society, but Russell misused the relief given to him, and the social worker was given the impression that he was unreliable and not a hopeful case. She also learned from the Department of Correction that he had been diagnosed at the Reformatory as suffering from psychoneurosis and hysteria, so that no planning would be worthwhile because Russell could not be expected to follow any set course of action. Marriage was not considered a possible stabilizing factor, and a wife would probably have to support him.

Next, Russell turned to the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners,\(^4\) where he was steered to a job in a filling station and given twenty cents for carfare. Here, too, he was considered unreliable.

Russell was referred to the United Prison Association by his parole agent. His first request was for food and lodging to be provided until he received his first pay on a window washing job. He received frequent aid over a period of seven months, during which time he had several jobs which lasted only a very short time. He lost jobs and working time due to drunkenness and injuries. Also during part of this period, he cohabited with a nineteen-year-old girl. She became pregnant, but Russell's paternity could not be established.

At the end of this period, Russell's parole was revoked because of his drinking. Four months later he was again released on parole, and he immediately applied to the Prison Association for assistance. This time he was given a minimum of financial aid and advised to return for further assistance when he could show proof of employment. His shortcomings were outlined, the seriousness of his drinking habit was impressed upon him, and he was advised to take poorer paying jobs when others were not available.

Still, Russell remained utterly irresponsible. Even when he earned a good week's pay, he would lose tools or go on a

\(^4\) Described on page 21.
spree or otherwise dissipate it. Three months after his second release on parole, a surrender warrant was issued by the Commissioner of Correction, and Russell was sent to State Farm. Soon afterwards he was transferred to the county jail to await trial for carnal abuse of another minor girl. This was a girl whom Russell has once brought to the agency to meet his social worker. She had deceived everybody about her age, and Russell really wanted to marry her if her mother would give consent. The agency worker passed this information along to the chief probation officer, but Russell was given a sentence of two and one-half to three years at State Prison for this offense.

To quote from the social worker’s diagnosis of this case, written after Russell was first returned to the Reformatory for parole violation, "so far this playboy has had no serious life purposes. His associates have been other delinquents; girls are his playthings. His chief desire is to meet his animal inclinations and to run away from his problems. His frequent injuries may be due to a lack of coordination caused by intoxication plus malnutrition and poisoning from neglect of teeth and personal hygiene. He has little idea of the value of money or property. He has had no known successes in employment or any other aspect of life. Needs have been abstinence from alcohol, cleanliness, and new habits in regard to health, work, spending, and recreation. He also needs to obtain social incentives and a better philosophy."

It was quite clear after the first few months’ experience with this man that no social agency could hope to bring about any important changes in him. He could be helped to see that he had lost friends, jobs, and health through drinking and
other careless living, but he neither could nor desired to change. A series of interviews for noting successes and discovering purposes and values might have given him some sense of achievement and some basis for self-respect, but he was not mentally equipped to follow any plan even if he really tried. Much time and money ($180) was expended fruitlessly in his behalf.

At most, Russell gained insight into what his way of living was doing to him, and good rapport was established. On the other hand, there was no increased stability, he did not find any real vocation, and the alcoholism was untreated.

**Case No. 5**

Jacob, the next case, was thirty-two years of age and separated from his wife at the time of his application to the United Prison Association.

Jacob was the youngest of five children, born in Boston of Jewish parents. He was the only boy in the family, the father died when the children were small, and Jacob was brought up like a girl by the unstable, inadequate mother. As a result of an accident which occurred when he was a baby, Jacob was unable to walk or talk before his sixth birthday. The home conditions resulted in his acquiring an effeminate manner, which he could never eliminate and about which he was very sensitive.

Jacob's long court record for acquisitive crimes began when he was twelve years of age. Examined at the Judge Baker Guidance Center, he was diagnosed as a neurotic delinquent and considered to be an unusually complicated problem. At that time, the whole family was said to be hysterical. A period of training at Lyman School was ineffective, and Jacob proceeded through a series of institutions, always sentenced
for larceny or other acquisitive crimes; Shirley Industrial School, Massachusetts Reformatory, Deer Island House of Correction, and state prisons in Virginia and Florida. He used five different aliases. He completed grammar school only, but presented a fair work record. Much of his employment had been newspaper writing.

At the age of twenty-six years he married. One child was born of this union. Within four years, Jacob left his wife and wandered about the country for a year, then returning to Boston to live with his mother and one unmarried sister who was helping with support. By this time, he had stomach ulcers and was quite run down physically.

Two months after his return to Boston, Jacob came to the United Prison Association and literally begged for clothes and help in finding a job. He revealed only part of his long criminal record in the first interview. He was terribly ashamed of his record, knew that he was a psychological misfit, but was determined to go straight and make good. While he waited for an assignment on the Work Projects Administration as a writer, he searched constantly for other work. The home situation deteriorated as he continued to depend upon his sister, eased somewhat by financial assistance given by the Prison Association.

About two months after his application to the agency, he was assigned to a Work Projects Administration job. Occasional talks with a rabbi helped to encourage and stabilize Jacob, but he did not find the employment leads he had hoped to gain from this source. As months passed by, he kept his worker informed of his progress by card or visit, addressing the worker by his first name.

A good paying job as promoter and publicity man for an organization selling symphonic recordings at low prices came his way. As long as this lasted, he was in high spirits, worked feverishly, and disregarded his health. When the job ended, and new discouragements were met, he became ill and morose.

Jacob was back on the Work Projects Administration three more months, but his ulcer condition became worse and the hospital ordered complete rest. The family, then including a married sister who was separated from her husband and who had a small child, was aided by the Jewish Family Welfare Society and the Overseers of the Public Welfare. During this period, Jacob helped prepare the publicity for the United Prison Association's annual fund-raising campaign and annual dinner.
He was able to obtain much newspaper publicity which the Association would not have been able to get otherwise.

So the story continues—over-enthusiasm alternating with disconsolateness, independence alternating with dependence, recurring illness, unpredictability, wandering about the country. For a time, he was in trouble with the Federal Bureau of Investigation over his use of aliases in connection with draft registration. Once he was imprisoned in New York on an old charge, but the case was dismissed after a few months. Often his record, as well as his erratic behavior, interfered with employment, but when last heard from, he had been working at a brewery in New York four months, earning a fair income and reporting for a newspaper on the side.

At the United Prison Association, the nearly hysterical psychopath found financial assistance and a steadying influence. When effusive, he was calmed down; when depressed, he found encouragement and an understanding ear. He was steered to the Work Projects Administration and other jobs. He was helped to find ties in the community. His needs and mistakes were interpreted to him with some effect. Family tensions were eased. No more could be expected of any agency when working with a man of Jacob's instability, which in this case overbalanced his intelligence and sincerity. Jacob made his own decision to go straight, but his long record and unpredictable behavior showed the need for bolstering that determination. Later on, when employment conditions are less favorable, he may be nearly unemployable. If he returns to Boston, he will be urged to accept psychiatric treatment. Cost to the agency over a twenty-two month period was $115, of which Jacob refunded four dollars and gave publicity serv-
ice which was worth much more.

Case No. 6

The sixth man, Frank, was single and thirty-seven years of age at the time of his referral to the United Prison Association, and one of the few first offenders. There is little early history material on him, but the work of the agency is very clear from the record.

Frank came from a good, middle-class family. His musical talent was recognized early, and he received considerable training in piano and organ. He completed two years of college, majoring in business, but worked mostly as a musician—organist and teacher.

Somehow this very ordinary, thoroughly masculine-appearing man became involved in homosexual activities, was apprehended, and sentenced to two and one-half years at the House of Correction. The assistant chaplain there was very favorably impressed with Frank, thought he had superior intelligence and was capable of a satisfactory adjustment.

Upon release, Frank went to live with a married sister in a small New Hampshire town, but three weeks later he applied to the United Prison Association, referred there by the assistant prison chaplain. He was a neat, well spoken man, impressing the social worker favorably. His plan was to work in New Hampshire for a while to avoid facing former associates, later to find a good job and return to Boston.

Frank's first job was that of a clerk in a drug store run by his brother-in-law. Almost as soon as he began working there, he spent days off seeking work in Boston. He was inclined to place undue faith in the ability of the United Prison Association to obtain the white-collar job he wanted, and he expected the agency worker to make his decisions for him. He was given encouragement and referred to employment agencies, and the limitations of the Prison Association were made clear to him.

Months passed, then a year. It became clear that Frank could never establish himself firmly in the small town, be-
cause gossips learned of his irregular past. He was extremely sensitive, and unable to fight unpleasant circumstances. For a while he was encouraged by opportunities to play the organ for several functions in the town, but the gossip or fear of gossip defeated him. He would almost leave for a new start in Boston, but could never make the decision. Finally, after a year and nine months, the chaplain and the social worker simply told him to settle in Boston and make a complete survey of employment possibilities.

There followed a short period of unsuccessful job-hunting, ended when the worker made a contact for Frank at a grocery store, where he remained six months. The employer reported exceptional satisfaction, and soon rewarded Frank with shorter hours and a raise in pay.

When classified I-A by Selective Service, Frank tried to join the Navy and the Coast Guard. He was turned down by both, and was then put in class IV-F.

Frank's next job, which he obtained through the United States Employment Service, was clerical work for an oil company. Worried when his fingerprints were taken, he asked his social worker to intercede for him if his record threatened his job. He was unsettled by the thought that his job might not be secure, so he decided to reveal his record to his employer. The management had learned about, but overlooked, the prison record and accepted Frank as the industrious, dependable person he proved to be. As soon as this was settled, he studied stenography and gradually worked into a highly responsible position.

Frank still drops in to the United Prison Association occasionally for social visits and help in making decisions. He addresses the worker by his first name, considers him a real friend. It appears now that Frank may be married soon.

Here was a man of real ability and good character, badly shaken by his incarceration, who wanted above all else to live down his record and build up a new and better one. He was fearful and unsettled, but as the United Prison Association added its belief in him to his shaky belief in himself over a period of two and one-half years, he found new freedom
and happiness. This was all he needed; there was never any financial need. The homosexuality was apparently not a glandular disturbance or an insuperable inherited tendency.

The remainder of the cases in this study are presented in less detail, as explained at the beginning of this chapter.

**Case No. 7**

Emil

Emil, twenty-four years of age at the time of referral to the United Prison Association, was fourth of thirteen children born to defective and dependent French-Canadian parents in a north coastal Massachusetts town. After spending nine years as a pupil in a school for feebleminded children, he joined the Civilian Conservation Corps where his work record was good, but his stealing began. For two larcenies and a breaking and entering charge, he was put on probation, sentenced to three months at the House of Correction, and five years at the Reformatory, from which he was released on parole after two years to the care and supervision of the United Prison Association. Four of Emil's brothers were also delinquent. Emil used two aliases.

Through an employment agency, Emil found work on a poultry farm. After three days he left this job, went home, failed to report to his parole agent, and was returned to the Reformatory.

Emil's work record after his second release was unimpressive, but he did remain independent and reimbursed most of the fifteen dollars spent for his relief needs.

Emotional and physical security were provided; Emil's need for a friend and adviser was ably met by the agency worker and a cooperative landlady. For a time he was spending all his earnings on a cheap little girl he had met at the rooming house, but when he brought her to the Prison Association to meet his friend, the worker discouraged the girl from leading Emil on.

To date, his adjustment in the community has been quite successful, but the outlook when employment opportunities diminish is not bright.
Case No. 8

Albert

Albert was a twenty-six year old negro, one of a large, poor family from South Carolina. The family was helped by many public and private agencies, and his mother is now supported by Aid to Dependent Children. Albert completed the fifth grade, which was probably close to the limit of his mental capacity. He was married, but later separated from his wife; there are no children by this union.

Albert began working as a truck driver's helper, then drove a truck and worked as a private chauffeur. Six automobile driving offenses are on his record, along with three larcenies for which he was given short sentences in the House of Correction. He was referred to the United Prison Association by a private family agency interested in the family.

The experience with this man was a series of job changes and relief grants. He was rejected by Selective Service for "failure to meet minimum intelligence standards and having a psychopathic personality". His reasons for quitting jobs were: work too heavy, insults received, he might endanger the public with his disease, low pay, ceiling in a dining car too low. His chief physical difficulties were a weak back, a sensitive foot, and syphilis. Added to this was his low intelligence and instability.

The social worker did much exploring in this case, testing out Albert's stability and treatability, and finding them extremely limited. Service was obtained in a matter of property disposal and in connection with his divorce. The social worker convinced Albert that he must keep up treatments for syphilis. The decision was made to refer him to the Overseers of the Public Welfare after he had purchased an automobile, still failed and asked for relief, and the agency had spent $89.25 in his behalf.

Case No. 9

Michael

Michael was a forty-nine year old drug addict, just released from a federal institution for narcotics when he applied for help at the United Prison Association. Born into a decent little working class home, one of four children, Michael was sent to a parochial school at the age of five years. Both
parents died about that time, and the children were separated. Michael left the school at the age of seventeen, when he was in the ninth grade, and became a seaman. He served two terms of enlistment in the United States Navy, one of which was during World War I.

Michael began using drugs when he was only eighteen, but the habit did not seriously affect him until years later. His work record was fair, and he was quite successful as a boxer for several years. He never maintained any family relationships. Ten different social agencies had known him, including the Massachusetts Prison Association, one of the forerunners of the United Prison Association. He had been arrested five times since 1932 for using drugs, and when known to the earlier agency he was in very poor health. His last sentence was two years at a federal narcotic farm.

Referred by a federal probation officer, Michael impressed the social worker as being too self-assured and talkative for a very successful adjustment. He did get a good job right away, and was given money for work clothes, food, and carfare. Soon, he injured himself at work and when better he planned to return to sea, but was no longer qualified for seaman's papers. There followed an irregular work record, much dependence upon agency help, and disagreeableness when forced to earn his way. Much of his working and reimbursement to the agency was done at the insistence of the probation officer. After he had completed the probation period, he did slide downhill rapidly, continually bringing in new hard-luck stories until finally relief was cut off. He had been given ninety-five dollars in a sixteen-month period, of which he reimbursed twenty dollars.

Michael's term at the Narcotic Farm had cured his need for drugs, but the dreamy attitude toward a return to an earlier life (as a seaman), typical of drug users, remained. He was incurably careless about his money and his person, overconfident of his ability, and gradually heading for unemployment and permanent dependency.

Case No. 10

Harry

Harry, thirty-five years of age at the time of his referral by a parole agent, was the oldest of five children in a closely knit family. He completed the eighth grade, then went to work in a shoe shop, the first job in a fair work record. The children were orphaned when Harry was nineteen.
He began drinking at that time, and was arrested for drunkenness several times, but his serious offenses began when he was twenty-four. At that time, his seventeen-year-old brother, with whom he had been very close, was convicted of the hammer slaying of an older woman, and given a life sentence to State Prison.

Harry was desperate to raise money with which to bribe officials at a time when parole was thought to be for sale in Massachusetts, so he committed an armed payroll robbery. The sentence was twelve to fifteen years at State Prison.

When released on parole after serving eight years of his sentence, Harry was in poor health, basis for which was anxiety, and he continued his former heavy drinking. He was careful to clean up before his visits to the Prison Association, so his drinking was not detected until late.

The social worker obtained medical and psychiatric treatment for Harry, but he could not stop thinking and planning for his brother, and he did not continue with the psychiatrist. He rapidly deteriorated into an irresponsible derelict, and was returned to prison. The alcoholism and anxiety reacted one upon the other, forcing him ever downward.

Harry received many services and relief (seventy-four dollars) from the United Prison Association, but his needs were greater than any agency or institution could provide. Near the end of the contact, he was warned that the worker might have to report his activities to the parole agent, but no warning could stop his deterioration then.

**Case No. 11**

Sidney

Sidney was only seventeen when he was referred to the United Prison Association by Commissioner of Correction. He had no record, but was drifting about with a State Prison parolee, working irregularly in restaurants and practicing sodomy with men he met at an amusement center. A degenerate member of a degenerate family, he had been abused and nervous for many years, receiving treatment in the Habit Clinic of the Boston Dispensary. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children had often been called to meet the needs of the ragged, neglected children in this family. The mother died when Sidney was five. There are two siblings and two step-brothers.
Sidney was straightforward and sincere in his relations with the United Prison Association at first, reporting every move and following every suggestion. The worker assumed temporary guardianship, and Sidney was boarded in the home of one of his better friends.

There were a number of failures. Sidney lost some jobs, failed to continue the appointments with the psychiatrist, once returned to his father's home, and once again returned to depraved companions. His best job was lost because he refused to work longer than from Monday through Thursday. The personnel worker and the foreman at the factory where he worked took special interest in Sidney, but with the effect of making him act superior and more undisciplined.

For a year Sidney's activities were directed in part by the good rapport with the worker and the service of the agency, but the effects of years of neglect, abuse, poor training and environment could not be overcome. At a cost of seventy dollars, he was kept out of much trouble, finally brought around to accepting regular treatment at the clinic of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, and he now discusses all his problems with the social worker. Progress has been made in his treatment, but the psychiatrist does not expect a complete return to normality.

Case No. 12

Alfred

Alfred was fifty-three at the time of his application to the United Prison Association. His long record of arrests for larceny, use of drugs, and drunkenness did not end with the date of the application--there followed three more arrests for drunkenness--but he had outgrown his criminality. The contact amounted to much financial and referral service, illness, drunkenness, and unemployment. During the longer illness periods, caused by ulcers and lack of teeth, Alfred was supported mainly by the Overseers of Public Welfare, and was able to live in the home of a married sister, but much of the time he was supported by the Prison Association at the cost of $187, two dollars of which he refunded.

When his brother died of acute alcoholism, Alfred took to drink in earnest, panhandled, and slept in all-night theatres and flop houses. This man's confidence in the hospital was improved by the social worker, and his worry about his health was diminished, but the end result is continued failure.
Later he did pull himself out of his long drinking spell and returned to his sister's home, but he remained moody, depressed, semi-dependent. When last heard from, he had contracted syphilis, become panic-stricken, and left the city.

**Case No. 13**

Richard

Richard was a forty-nine-year-old chronic alcoholic and failure. After a year's contact with the United Prison Association, he was a fifty-year-old chronic alcoholic and a failure. His parents, his wife, and he made a total of seventeen contacts with social agencies. By the time he applied to the Prison Association, all other agencies had discontinued help, with the exception of the Travelers' Aid Society which sometimes gave a meal of a lodging as the simplest method of getting rid of him.

Richard was an ex-seaman with a long record of drunkenness arrests, immorality, poor relations with social agencies, and general deterioration. Pleased by acceptance at this agency after many refusals from others, he was as cooperative as his disorganized personality would permit him to be. The social worker almost got him into janitor work at a veteran's hospital in a rural setting, but the responsibility of keeping appointments and being self-supporting was too much for him and made him flee. When last heard from, he had dropped this plan and taken a job as kitchen man in a private school. Cost to the agency was at least seventy-five dollars, although Public Assistance was obtained for a time.

**Case No. 14**

Isaac

Isaac was a former salesman and investment sales manager, aged fifty, at the time of his referral to the United Prison Association by a federal probation officer. He was one of seventy-five men indicted in a conspiracy case in which the mails were used to defraud, and was sentenced to three years in a federal penitentiary.

Isaac had grown up amid much family friction, especially violent between his father and himself. He completed three years of high school. At the age of thirty-seven he married.
For a year or so things went well. For a few years he was quite successful in the investment field, but on three occasions he was caught selling worthless securities. He was in court eighteen times for automobile offenses. When he came to the Prison Association, he was voluble, bitter, tense, aggressive, excited, and talked rapidly in a high-pitched voice about his previous affluence and his anger at being destitute and having to ask for help. He was separated from his wife.

Isaac's attempts to find work involved high pressure salesmanship which he could not overcome. His aggressive and lengthy talks about his big deals always antagonized prospective employers, and he talked himself out of jobs. When he occasionally did obtain one, he would soon talk himself out of it again. He was persuasive, but always talked beyond the point at hand. His personality was of a poor type, too much hate expressed. And, he was unable to follow anyone's counselling.

At the United Prison Association, Isaac obtained much release from anxiety, as well as an unprecedented amount of relief, $314 in four months. He was steered to jobs, listened to by the hour, advised on application procedure. Eventually he became so dependent and ineffective in getting jobs that aid had to be cut off. Thus he was forced to support himself, but continued unsuccessful at his best calling, salesmanship.

**Case No. 15**

**Ralph**

Ralph was chosen by the State Prison Colony and the United Prison Association worker as one of the first candidates for an experiment in sponsorship. The agency worker was to begin regular visits about six months before Ralph's release date, discussing problems and making plans. Ralph was in favor of the idea, but felt that he had no real problems and suggested that the agency representative should give his time to other men, especially family men, who needed service more. Three months before release, he did request service.

Ralph's home was broken up by the death of both parents before he was five years old. A paternal uncle became his guardian and tried to give him a good home, but Ralph was always a behavior problem. At the age of ten years he was a serious school offender, and at seventeen he was first in
court for stealing. For various acquisitive offenses he spent time in a training school, the Reformatory, the House of Correction, and State Prison.

A job was obtained for Ralph in a factory restaurant, since he had no skill. After a good beginning, he began to be careless, rude to women, independent, and thoughtless about his spending. Not until he had been fired (this in the fall of 1943) did he begin to take the social worker’s point of view in the matter of acceptable attitudes. After he had become less cocky and had gained some sense of responsibility, he settled down in a new job and made good.

Ralph found security at the Prison Association, mental and financial. He had allowed his family ties to dissolve, and needed a relationship with a dependable citizen. A big change came over him when he was not dropped by the agency at the time he was fired from his job. He addressed his worker by the first name. All of the fifteen dollars given him was refunded, and he paid off a loan of ten dollars.

Case No. 16

Thomas

Thomas was born in Ireland, coming with his parents to Boston at an early age. He worked as a farmhand and laborer, never married. At the age of thirty-eight he was first arrested for drunkenness, and in the next ten years he was picked up twenty-three times on that charge. Two larcenies appeared on his record during the same period. The final court appearance resulted from his landlady, after which she died. He was sentenced to two and one-half years at the House of Correction for attempted murder.

This charge and the penalty made a deep impression on Thomas. He came to the Prison Association three days after release from prison, low in spirits, dazed, afraid to face people, and in need of clothing. He could not concentrate on his problems or make decisions without help.

Thomas was given much assistance, and for a while he obtained additional money from the Industrial Aid Society, until the duplication was discovered. Occasionally he worked, but he did not impress employers very favorable, and he was often sick or injured. He tried twice to get into institutions for the indigent sick. Near the end of the eight-month contact he was quite well and contented, worked regularly in a restau-
rant about two months, and refunded seven dollars. This career ended when Thomas was found dead at a subway entrance after he had been struck by a trolley car. Net cost to the agency, in terms of relief, was $58.60.

This man came out of prison in a condition of extreme anxiety, and was nearly ready for a mental hospital. Since he was afraid to face old friends, he needed some tie, somebody to talk to to relieve his anxiety. The results were encouraging, considering the past record.

Case No. 17
Salvatore

Salvatore was born in Italy forty-two years before he was known to the United Prison Association. He was an ignorant, but not dull, laborer, married, and had one son fourteen years of age. While on watchman duty for the Work Projects Administration at a housing project, he was often annoyed and abused by neighborhood children. Once, while trying to chase them away, he grabbed one little girl by the arm. Immediately there was a hue and cry by the local mothers for his arrest and he was sentenced to six months in the city jail. Such an event is a major catastrophe in an Italian family, perhaps more so than in many others, and Salvatore emerged from jail extremely excited, fearful, and ashamed. He came directly to the agency, referred by the Deputy Sheriff. The acceptance and assistance received there calmed him down rapidly. His protestations of innocence were believed, and this reduced the emotional tension.

Salvatore was a willing worker; when placed on a job, he stayed at it until it ended or he found something better. The contact would have ended after about seven months if there had not been the need for a foot operation. He needed assurance from the worker that resources could be found for maintaining the family, and he was sold the importance of attending to his medical needs before they became more serious.

More service was given when Salvatore's son, American born, showed a studiousness that was out of proportion in an Italian working class culture. The value of this, and the New World nature of it were interpreted to this father, and he accepted the fact that his son did not need to show a great deal of toughness at a day's labor to be a man. Salvatore was given a total of fifty-six dollars in relief grants, and he has refunded two dollars.
Case No. 18
Kendall

Kendall was a forty-two-year-old, formerly successful accountant when he was referred to the United Prison Association by the Chairman of the Parole Board. He was a college graduate and had studied three years at law school, earning as much as $10,000 a year as a tax accountant. His downfall was due to gradually succumbing to alcoholism.

One of nine children, Kendall married at the age of twenty-six and five children were born into his family. His first arrest for drunkenness occurred in the year he was married, and in the next thirteen years, he was picked up seventeen times for this offense, and served a total of ten months at the State Farm. Twice he used aliases. The last offense was armed robbery, for which he was sentenced to three to five years at State Prison and was paroled after serving two and one-half years. During his incarceration, the family was supported by the Public Welfare Department of the suburban city in which they lived, and was also aided by private social agencies.

The Chairman of the Parole Board believed that Kendall was innocent of the offense of armed robbery, and that his return to drinking was due to poor morale occasioned by feelings of injustice. During four months after release, Kendall searched constantly for work when he was sober, and became very discouraged when no contacts resulted in employment. He was a friendly, talkative man who always impressed prospective employers very favorably. He addressed the worker by his first name. Finally he accepted a Work Projects Administration job, after being dropped by Public Welfare for refusing an earlier assignment. This work was a great disgrace in his mind, and he wore good white clothes to work so his neighbors would not know he was a laborer.

Kendall became unreasonable at home, the children wanted him to go away, and the wife, who had once before begun divorce proceedings, again wanted a divorce when his parole was revoked. She never could go through with it, however.

The Parole Board was willing to release Kendall again immediately if the Prison Association worker could convince him that he should seek treatment for alcoholism, but he would not accept treatment, and was held two months. He convinced his wife that she should hold up divorce proceedings, returned to her after release, and found permanent employment as ac-
countant for a milk dealer. This lasted eight months, at which time Kendall resumed his drinking, was sentenced to State Farm for thirty days, and then returned to prison. Cost to the agency was exactly $150. The untreated alcoholism prevented a satisfactory adjustment to home and employment.

Case No. 19

Wilfred

Wilfred was fifty years of age when referred to the United Prison Association by Austin H. MacCormick of the Osborne Association in New York. He had graduated from high school and had worked in a shoe shop, as a waiter, as a seaman, and as a street car operator. At the age of forty-two, he was sentenced to eight and one-half years at a Federal Medical Center for narcotics. That is about all the agency knew of his history, except that there was a story of his having been shanghaied, which began his career of wandering and poor life. The Medical Center considered Wilfred to be a candidate for a mental hospital, with a manic-depressive psychosis serious enough to prevent his making a living. An examining board in New Hampshire, on the other hand, found him not psychotic.

Psychotic or not, Wilfred displayed sudden and extreme changes of mood, and during outbursts of temper he revealed persecutory delusions. He worked some of the time, but even his employer at Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries appeared to him to have a hostile attitude. He tried several times to get himself admitted to mental hospitals, but they would not take him. He had been spoiled by the security and good living in the federal institution, and now found competition with other men impossible. An intelligent man, with a better than average ability to express himself, he just did not fit anywhere. He succeeded in getting into a house of correction for ninety days on a vagrancy charge, and admitted that he preferred life in jail to that in a community. This man, too, addressed his worker by the first name.

After two years of consecutive failures, Wilfred went to New York with no definite plan and found work as an elevator operator in a hospital. About a year later he moved to Chicago, operated a hotel elevator, married and settled down, and maintained himself without further aid. His nine months' stay in Boston cost the Prison Association ninety-seven dollars. It is not possible to say that the happy ending was due to the praise, criticism, and encouragement Wilfred received.
from the agency, but good service was given during the crucial period immediately following release from the institution when it counted most.

Case No. 20

Manuel

Manuel was the only child in a White Portuguese family. Few facts of his early life are recorded, but for some reason he became badly disorganized very early. Although he was of average intelligence, he truanted many times and had to repeat two grades in school, completing only the sixth grade. When he was only fifteen, he was arrested for burglary and spent eleven months in jail. At the age of twenty-one he married a woman with two children. By that time he was a heavy drinker, and abused his wife and children. They stayed together, however, and eight children were born. He worked quite steadily as a stone cutter and laborer.

Two years after his marriage, Manuel was arrested for assault and battery, but not sentenced. Nine years later he was in court for neglect of children, for which he received a suspended sentence of four months in the House of Correction. The following year he was sentenced to seven to ten years at State Prison for carnal abuse of a stepdaughter. Within a year he was transferred to State Prison Colony, where he made a good adjustment, always trying hard to please the authorities. During the incarceration period, Manuel's wife obtained a legal separation and was not ready to accept him at the time of his release.

After six years of imprisonment, at the age of thirty-nine, Manuel was released on parole. With nineteen dollars of prison earnings, he was given the opportunity to earn bed and board by the Salvation Army while adjusting himself to life in the community. He was quickly unnerved by his failure to find immediate employment, but his Prison Association worker smoothed his adjustment and found work for him, furnishing financial aid for living expenses until pay day.

After a month at work, Manuel began visiting his wife, who lived in another city, every Sunday. Three months after work was found, he reimbursed the agency for the full amount of its relief grants to him. Soon afterwards, he returned to his family, the children who had been placed by the State were returned to their parents, and no further trouble has occurred in over two years.
Case No. 21

Dallas

Dallas was a forty-five-year-old first offender at the time of his application to the United Prison Association. A World War I veteran of high average intelligence, he had been a successful restaurant manager and owner. Trouble began in his family shortly after the war. He began associating with another woman, with the result that his wife divorced him. Then followed a long period of wandering about the country. His criminal offense was that of attempted kidnaping for extortion, for which he was sentenced to California State Prison. Paroled to Massachusetts, he soon requested help from the Industrial Aid Society, which during the two years preceding the formation of the United Prison Association gave him about $100 in relief grants.

Dallas did considerable writing, publishing one book with the help of a wealthy sponsor, but never settled into practical work. When the Prison Association inherited the case, Dallas was at the end of his rope. His publishing enterprise was failing, and he was several hundred dollars in debt. He often tried to obtain work for which he was not qualified, and tried one get-rich-quick plan after another. He married while earning very little money writing motion picture script.

The social worker continually discouraged Dallas' projects, insisting that he must settle with a modest, but steady income until Dallas began to call him "the pessimist". He also addressed the worker by his first name, coming often to the office to discuss his problems. He did take a job as janitor and maintenance man in an apartment house, which he kept for a year, but when he and his wife inherited $4,000 from her father, he left his job and invested his money in a music publishing business which failed. When last heard from, he was a fireman in a big office building. Sixty-one dollars was given to him in relief grants, a small share of which he refunded.

Dallas' outstanding characteristics were his willingness to work and his ability to impress prospective employers favorably. He was sincere and honest, but too unrealistic; he could easily adjust to living on little money, but not to a modest job. After ten months with the agency, he did accept prosaic work, but when an inheritance came his way, he was off on another venture. However, he quickly settled down to steady employment as soon as his last business failed. He
remained reasonably well adjusted.

Case No. 22

Phillip

Phillip was thirty-four, of average intelligence, eighth grade education, and extremely unstable in personality. He was separated from his wife, who was still devoted to him; they had two children. He had worked as a laborer, but had a poor work record.

Phillip has spent time in a jail, a house of correction, and a reformatory, for breaking and entering and larceny before he committed his last offense. This was assault with intent to rob and robbery, for which he was given a sentence of eight to fifteen years at State Prison. He was paroled five times from the last sentence, and each time the parole was revoked for drunkenness. In fact, the parole was revoked the same day he was referred to the United Prison Association by his parole agent.

The Chairman of the Parole Board and the prison psychiatrist were interested in this case, and asked the Prison Association to help obtain treatment for Phillip's alcoholism. This was given in the form of payments to the Washingtonian Hospital, to which Phillip was paroled. The program was carried out according to plan, with a gradual return to the community, but Phillip did not cooperate very long. Within a month he had persuaded a trusted employee to bring liquor into the hospital, and when he was allowed to visit his family, he failed to return to the Hospital on time. Then he began staying out late at night, borrowing money from other patients, and exhibiting mild persecutory delusions.

Finally discharged from the hospital for failure to abide by the regulations, Phillip went to work in a shipyard. A revocation warrant had been issued, but was suspended when he voluntarily made application for reconditioning treatment at the hospital. The next day he appeared at the Prison Association with evidence of further drinking; he had just been refused treatment at the hospital, and was advised to discuss his next move with the Chairman of the Parole Board. He agreed to do so, went out of the office, returned to report an interview which was never held. Then the revoke warrant was served, and he was returned to prison.

One hundred and sixty-three dollars was spent in Phillip's
behalf, thirty-five dollars of which came from a private fund. His psychopathic condition was not recognized until after treatment for alcoholism had been begun. The simple conditioning treatment could have little effect on this personality. At least, Phillip may have gained some impression that the world was not all against him, and that the officialdom he hated did include men who wanted to help him.

Case No. 23

Fred

Fred was a sixty-one year old, thoroughly institutionalized ex-prisoner when he was referred to the United Prison Association by the Deputy Commissioner of Correction. One of nine children of a Cape Cod fisherman, Fred was a high-grade moron, completed only two grades of school, and always worked with his father or other fishermen. Occasional offenses occurred from time to time after he was past twenty-five; petty larceny, assault and battery, drunkenness, and gambling. One time, while drunk, he made a vicious attack on two little girls, ages six and seven years. For this, he was sentenced to twenty-two years at State Prison. After seven years he was transferred to the State Prison Colony, where the routine life, relative comfort, and outdoor work satisfied his simple tastes. Eleven years of this life left him more dependent and less able to compete with other men than he was before.

One day, shortly after release from prison, Fred came to Boston from his Cape town to join the Merchant Marine, and was stranded when he failed to pass the physical examination. Sent back home, he supported himself during the following year at fishing and as a seaman on coastwise vessels.

The next time he appeared, he was seeking work in Boston, but the nature of his crime and his inability to impress employers favorably made work hard to find. Quickly becoming discouraged and despondent, he needed guidance and encouragement. Only after a number of incidents of Fred's undertaking unsuitable employment, mishandling his money, and becoming emotionally upset, did he settle down into simple restaurant work. He was employed by a man who has often cooperated with the Prison Association, and who gave Fred only such responsibilities as he could be expected to successfully carry.

Cost to the agency was seventy-five dollars, part of which Fred is now refunding. Fred has learned to expect pre-
judice against a man with his record and to accept work commensurate with his strength and ability. Although he is reasonably well adjusted, he may be expected to fail again when competition rises. The best treatment might have been permanent segregation in an institution for defective delinquents.

Case No. 24

Malcolm

Malcolm was forty-two years of age, single, with no living relative, a ninth grade education, no work record within the previous twenty years, and a court record that began when he was nine. He was brought to court twelve times, four of which occurred when he was still a juvenile. The last offense was robbery, for which he was sentenced to seven to ten years at State Prison. He escaped prison twice, was out on parole, but was returned for parole violation. He was out of prison long enough to serve in the Army during the first World War. At prison he was always rebellious and bitter, and was diagnosed a psychopath by the prison psychiatrist.

Malcolm's principal limitation when referred to the United Prison Association by his parole agent was a serious cardiac condition. Added to this was his inability to face his situation and accept a restricted program. He tried again and again to remain at normal full time employment, but he was so weak that breathing was an effort. Only his own collapse could convince him of the need for rest in a soldiers' home, and he did not remain there longer than two months. Although close enough to his worker to address him by the first name, he was slow to accept advice. Finally his parole agent and agency worker got him admitted into a Federal Veterans' Facility where he remained six months, gaining strength and weight.

Again Malcolm left the rest home to work beyond his capacity, and again he collapsed. Many needs in the community and in the hospitals were paid for by the Prison Association, to the extent of $160. Only force of circumstances could make him accept the reality of his limitations.

Case No. 25

Peter

Peter was a thirty-four year old, mentally deficient,
illiterate negro with no family and no skills. Born out of wedlock, he became a ward of the state and was placed in a foster home. There he developed rickets, and was a hospital patient during five years of his childhood. Later placed in various foster homes, he attempted burglary at the age of fourteen, and was sent to a training school where he was kept until he reached the age limit of twenty-one years. He worked in a police barracks caring for horses, and then became transient. Ten years ago, he committed an armed robbery in New York and was sentenced to seven to fourteen years in Comstock Prison.

While in prison, Peter added another handicap to his list by cutting off the ends of two fingers in a saw, leaving exposed nerves at the tip of the stub. Besides, he lacked initiative and felt insecure. Assets were simple needs, faithfulness, sobriety, and good response to encouragement.

After many attempts to find work, Peter was referred to the Overseers of the Public Welfare, and through them obtained a job on the Work Projects Administration. He remained at this work over a year, but trouble with the sore fingers continued, and his landlady took advantage of his dullness to get extra money from him.

A friendly man in need of friends, Peter often came to the agency to talk with his worker. He was especially concerned when rejected from the Army because of "constitutional psychopathic inferiority", and was sure this meant he was crazy.

The remainder of the contact revealed a series of failures to stay at work, more trouble with the sensitive fingers, and more financial needs. There was intermittent dependence, but not as much as might be expected, considering the handicaps which had to be overcome. Cost to the agency has been $812.

Case No. 26

George

George was a seventy-two-year-old occasional offender. The Social Service Index revealed that he had a wife and two children, but he applied as a single man. A separation had occurred years before. Born in a small suburb of Boston, George spent most of his life working as a farmhand in Massachusetts and Maine. He was arrested nine times in forty years
for larceny, the last episode occurring four years before application to the United Prison Association. He used three aliases.

During the previous twenty years, he worked on various farms in Maine spending his winters in Boston at restaurant work. As age reduced his ability to work and peptic ulcers made a special diet necessary, he decided to settle down in Boston and apply for Old Age Assistance. However, his frequent changes of residence made a long wait necessary, so he lived on Public Welfare grants supplemented by the Prison Association.

George was restless to work, and often tried to find jobs, but gradually resigned himself to the fact that he no longer was able to compete with younger men. He brought gifts to the staff, carved boxes and framed stamp collections. Sometimes he earned relief by polishing furniture and cleaning the office.

Appeals were necessary before Old Age Assistance money arrived, and when approved he received over $100 in retroactive payments. He left ten dollars of this at the Prison Association, and purchased a bond with part of the remainder.

Contacts continued several more months as the need for an eye operation arose and George needed somebody with whom he could discuss his worries.

The acceptance of this case was mainly a humane gesture, since criminality was such a minor factor in George's life. An old, lonely, destitute man was befriended and tided over a dependency period. One hundred and thirty-nine dollars was spent in his behalf, of which he refunded fourteen dollars.
CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Before the work with these men can be evaluated fairly, the type of client dealt with must be considered. As was noted in Chapter II, the clients of the United Prison Association come largely from the bottom of the social scale. They are below average in education and intelligence. Few have any skill to make them readily employable. They are less stable than the average person in the community, and are characterized by their loose attachments, if any, to family, friends, vocation, religion, or social group.

Many of the clients can be considered "end of the road" cases, in that the Prison Association is practically the last and only resource available to them. Not only are most prisoners failures before their imprisonment, but the penal institutions do not prepare them for employment, and do spoil them for life outside the prison.¹

Applicants to a prisoners' agency are, in large measure, less promising than the usual run of prisoners. Clear evidence of this fact is seen by comparing the typical clientele of the United Prison Association with some other observations of prison populations.

One such observation noted the following:

¹ Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p. 806.
"The elements of mental deficiency, psychosis, psychopathy, excessive alcoholism, drug addiction, and similar factors are present in criminal groups only to a very minor degree. The vast majority of the group is normal."  

A cursory examination of the cases discussed in Chapter III reveals the fact that abnormal factors are present in nearly every case. These factors may not be the cause of the criminality, but are related to the clients' needs for social service and to their predisposition toward maladjustment.

There are many other written comments on the difficulty of helping prisoners and ex-prisoners. Barnes and Teeters conclude, "At best the prisoner aid societies can help only a few who have within them the potentialities of self-assistance."

Sutherland wrote,

"The personality may be an expression of a disorganized culture, a culture in which many aspects of life are not defined in terms of attitudes and loyalties, a culture in which behavior is impulsive. The personality and the culture are not separate and distinct. Attempts to change individuals one at a time while their groups and their culture remain unchanged is generally futile."

The United Prison Association is well aware of the small percentage of real successes it can expect. Mr. Mascarello has been dealing with prisoners and ex-prisoners in some way


at least seven years, and he is an instructor in criminology at Tufts College. He knows the problem. No one has any delusions about the chances of success in treatment. However, there seems to be great optimism pervading the work of the agency.

An applicant to the Prison Association generally has an immediate financial need, and that is the only need he recognizes. Unless his crimes are too petty, or he is intoxicated, or he admits that another agency is dealing with him, or there is a long previous experience of unsuccessful contacts with him, he can expect to be accepted and to have his needs met. His court and Social Service Index records will not be checked until the end of the week unless the social worker has a special reason to be suspicious of the applicant's eligibility.

The United Prison Association recognizes the fact that the time of release from prison is a most crucial period in the life of a client. It is then that he most needs friendliness, advice, guidance, a tie with the community, and financial aid. If he is determined to make good, that determination must not be frustrated by hostility and by destitution, but must be strengthened by acceptance and by sustenance. So, any applicant whose experience fits into the agency's requirements is given the material assistance indicated by his needs, plus whatever advice he asks for or obviously needs for intelligent planning, and is sent on his way. If he will need sup-
port for about two weeks, he is given enough for one week and asked to return for more later. Usually he is asked to report his progress even though he needs no more help, since the worker is interested in him and wants him to succeed. Unless the applicant brings out his emotions and feelings, he is not questioned about them. It is thought at the agency that a new client is not ready to discuss his innermost thoughts until his material needs have been met, until a relationship with the worker has had a chance to develop, and until he has had a few days' experience at making his way outside prison walls.

An important service of the agency is that of securing jobs for men in prison so that parole requirements may be met. Recognizing that an important bar to adjusting in the community after a prison sentence is the prejudice against hiring ex-prisoners, great effort is made to help the clients overcome this handicap. A social agency is not an employment agency, but a prisoner's agency is justified in entering that field because employment difficulties are so bound up with the released man's adjustment. If jobs were not obtained for prospective parolees, they would be released much later and with much more anti-social attitudes. One purpose in hiring a part time worker was to expand the employment and lodging services of the agency.

When the relationship with a client can begin before release from prison, it is more advanced at the time of return
to the community. A plan of readjustment has been worked out, following as far as possible the desires of the client. It is his plan, and he has been guided to help himself by working it out. Some social therapy has been begun. A case history has been compiled. Ground work has been laid for release of anxieties in later interviews, so that objectives can be reached without too much interference from personality defects.

This is sound case work procedure, but in practice it is difficult to follow. For one thing, the prisoners do not apply for help unless they find it necessary in order to gain release on parole. Also, since only the State Prison and the State Prison Colony are visited by the agency, the former every two weeks and the latter every three, not all prisoners who apply can be visited even once. Most applications are handled by mail; the plan is not embraced by the prisoner as his own, but is just a means of getting out of prison in the shortest possible time. No limitations are placed upon the client by set agency policies, and he does not have to accept much responsibility in the case-work relationship.

Another difficulty in the way of good case work is the fact that many of the clients come from the county Houses of Correction, where there is little or no parole planning, no money is given the prisoner on his release date, and no worthwhile case records are kept. Men from these county prisons often come directly to the agency at the suggestion of the
chaplain, a guard or other official, or another prisoner. They present their emergency need and some plan (usually vague) and, giving a certain amount of information for the agency's records, they receive assistance.

Many of the men who apply to the United Prison Association are too disorganized to carry out any plans, even their own. Cases numbered 1, 4, 8, 10, 12, 13, 18 and 22 are of this type. The help given these men seems to have been prompted largely by an aimless hope that what was done would turn out all right. The workers were operating on a nebulous philosophy of function with few limits to the service they could give. Too much was done for the men with too little expectation of responsibility on their part.

The United Prison Association has not accepted social case work as the only answer to the problem of the ex-prisoner. It is a fact that many of the more self-reliant ex-prisoners can make their way if supplied with only the necessities of life, and with these for only a short time. Many others have outgrown their criminal ways. But no one of the twenty-six men considered in Chapter III failed to need treatment expressed in terms of emotions, feelings, understanding,

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5 The subject of prisoners' aid work within definite agency function has been ably discussed by Albert G. Fraser, "What Is the Responsibility of a Prisoners' Aid in Job Placement, Sponsorship, and Community Readjustment", Proceedings, American Prison Association, 1941.

6 Interview with Mr. Mascarello.
relationship, trust, and the like. The only ones who could not benefit from case work were the ones who could not benefit from anything else. Certainly no personality changes have taken place without treatment for their neuroses and other mental twists, and psychiatric treatment is almost impossible to obtain.

The scarcity of background information in the case records is a result of the agency's attitude that the man, not the record, should be the center of interest. However, modern case work teaches that early developmental data are the best criteria for interpreting behavior, and this has been proved quite conclusively in studies of ex-prisoners by the Gluecks.  

Full records can be obtained of men from the state institutions where the records are much more up-to-date than the treatment methods.

A stated purpose of this thesis is to discover what made case work possible in the twenty-six selected cases. Conclusions on this objective are necessarily rather general.

Some of the men were so completely demoralized that they were ready to take anything that was handed to them without any problem of forgiving the giver. They did not seem to resent a service to which they were not entitled, and were not bothered by thoughts of what they must do to receive help.

7 Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Criminal Careers in Retrospect.
Russell, Case No. 4, is an example of such a degraded person; there was simply no solid substance with which to build a stronger character. Albert, Alfred, and Richard, Cases numbered 8, 12, and 13, are other examples of thoroughly demoralized men who kept coming to the agency because they remained dependent. They may not have been further pauperized by the constant financial support, but they were not made more self-reliant either. The continuing relationship depended mainly on the assistance given.

Other men who come to the agency are plainly dependent because of old age or mental deficiency plus institutionalization. Usually these men receive Public Welfare checks which need supplementing. Often they are not referred to Public Welfare soon enough, because of their resistance and the optimism of both them and the workers. George, Case No. 26, was merely an aged dependent man. Fred, Case No. 23, was a feeble-minded semi-dependent man, as were Emil, Case No. 7, and Peter, Case No. 25. Here again, the continuing relationship depended mainly upon the relief-giving function of the agency, although Fred and Peter did get much service with their personal problems.

Many clients continue a relationship with the United Prison Association because their personality inadequacies force them into continual failure. The psychopathic, neurotic, and psycho-neurotic men continue to bring in their hard-luck
stories. These are cases in which a real case-work job can be done, because these clients bring out their attitudes and anxieties as they explain their continuing difficulties. But case work alone is insufficient. Little or no progress could be made with Russell, Jacob, Harry, Alfred, Richard, Kendall, Wilfred or Phillip without psychiatric service. At least, the worker needed to see a complete diagnosis so that the reasons for the failure and the possibilities in treatment could be made clear. Of course, seeing the need and leading the client to see it are two different things. Most prisoners have a strong suspicion of and contempt for the "bug doctor" because they feel that their prison assignments and release dates depend upon what he learns from them. 8

The more successful cases described in Chapter III were, on the whole, quite hopeful before they were accepted by the United Prison Association. They all needed help, however, and some good work was done with them.

The greatest changes in Edward, Case No. 2, had occurred before he was known to the agency, but there was still a lot to be done. He was not responsible for all the hard luck that came his way. Family, financial, and medical problems arose continually. He was dependent from the beginning, but such tools for self-help as the budget placed responsibility for

8 For a discussion of the prisoner's attitude toward the psychiatrist, see Victor Nelson's Prison Days and Nights.
buttering himself on Edward's own shoulders. His relief needs were so great that even the large amount ($485) given to him did not relieve him of responsibility.

James, Case No. 3, in spite of an unfortunate background, had good qualities and the potentialities for self-help that were bound to bring him through to successful living. The agency filled a gap in James' life. An impulsive, immature man, his personal growth could have been enhanced if more results had been expected and demanded of him.

Jacob, Case No. 5, and Frank, Case No. 6, had something to offer the community, special abilities that could be turned to useful purpose. Frank's ineffectualness gave him a slow start, but his steady manner brought about a good adjustment. Jacob's handicaps were more serious, and his present success cannot be expected to last, but neither can that of any other psychopath. Impulsive behavior is always a bar to success, and the agency did well to gain the response Jacob gave. Much of the time the worker was acting as a shock absorber. Many of the more unsettled clients gain considerable release from inner tensions by sounding off to an interested ear.

Sidney, Case No. 11, and Emil, Case No. 7, responded well to a more or less fatherly acceptance and guidance by the social worker. Loyalty and trust were developed so that Sidney would accept treatment for his abnormality. Considering his unfortunate background, the results were encouraging. Not much
was done with Emil, but at least this simple boy was kept independent and protected from at least one poor relationship. Dallas, Case No. 21, was brought down to earth long enough to become less dependent. He was faced with realities which he had been trying to avoid.

Salvatore, Case No. 20, and Manuel, Case No. 17, were extremely unnerved by the experience of transition from prison to community, but could readily be calmed down by listening, agreeing, accepting, interpreting, and reassuring. That, plus financial assistance, was all that was needed, and the service could be given on a simple level with good chance of success. Somehow, Manuel straightened out his anti-social way of living. Neither the prison nor the Salvation Army nor the Prison Association can claim much of the credit.

Very often the work with clients at the United Prison Association is carried on with more of a friendship basis than is usual among social agencies. At the same time, the relationships are maintained at a dignified level which avoids emotional involvement on the part of the worker. It is felt that the prisoner is generally rather bitter toward Society, and if his first important contact is not satisfactory to him he may be more quick to lose whatever determination he may have had to go straight. He comes to the agency with some fear, confusion, and distrust, and must be understood and respected if he is to regain his position as a man.
This same attitude of wanting to satisfy the applicant's needs before he becomes discouraged carries over into the use of relief. Workers are often pressured into relief giving without making the client try to contribute something of his own to the project of finding himself again. The worker does not insist that the client should do as much as he can for himself, so the client does not gain confidence in his own ability to do things. In such cases, the ex-prisoner drops his problem in the lap of the worker. He is very ready to do so, because all the time he was in prison his whole life situation was controlled by others. Somehow, he must make the transition from the controlled environment to the free. If the agency does not handle this delicate problem well at the beginning of the contact, there is likely to be an experience like those with Russell, Albert, Alfred, Richard, and Fred.

The reasons for special efforts on the part of the United Prison Association in behalf of certain clients very considerably, and the special worth or promise of the ex-prisoner is only one of several factors involved. Often the parole or other correctional officials refer men who are not at all hopeful. When a parolee presents a problem, usually financial, to his agent, the agent's easiest solution is to suggest the Prison Association. Sometimes a prisoner attracts attention from parole authorities by the fantastic nature of his personality or crime.
Occasionally, unofficial sponsors of ex-prisoners find that their client's troubles are too mystifying or expensive for them to handle alone, so they make a referral and work with the agency.

Among those men who apply directly to the office of the Prison Association, the ones with a more than usually appealing personality or story are quite likely to elicit special interest and effort from the worker. A man who is hopelessly burdened with handicaps may present a special challenge to the worker, even though his case may be obviously beyond the reach of social treatment.

These observations point to the need for a combination of the Pennsylvania ideal of case work within a definite frame of agency function and the more realistic relief policy of the United Prison Association. The workers need to be able to know and say just what they can or cannot do, and to make the agency's limitations known to clients and referring persons and agencies. It is not possible to decide immediately what the limitations should be, but the definition of function can be speeded considerably by concerted experimentation.

In any case, there will always be an area in which the client can exercise some effort in his own behalf, and he should be told he is expected to take some responsibility. This might be simply an application for Public Welfare assistance, or an attempt to get help from a family resource, or an
agreement fulfilled to keep an appointment. The reason for this demand for a show of responsibility is that the client comes to the agency with doubts about his ability to make his way, and if the worker immediately accepts the man's need, his doubt in himself is confirmed. No definition of agency function is needed to go this far along the way to better case work, and the client is turned from aiming his energy toward making the agency carry his burden indefinitely.

As the relationship with the client continues, he must gain an increasing sense of control of his destiny by continuing to carry some responsibility. To make a constructive use of the agency's service, the client must keep contributing something to the project of his rehabilitation. Certain rules of procedure to which he must adhere will force some effort on his part. The client's ability to accept and operate within the agency's restrictions is indicative of his capacity for successful life in the community. If he cannot accept the agency's limitations by keeping to scheduled appointments, reporting by telephone, or carrying out any other expectations, then his case should be closed. Of course, the level of individual responsibility varies in each case according to the personality, mental and physical condition, or length of incarceration period. A little testing by the worker can find this level and the client must be held to it or above it. Otherwise, the agency will continue to support a large number
of failures, a function that it can ill afford to do.

As the agency works out its definition of function, it must acquaint the most frequent sources of referral with its rules. All correction officials should be able to tell inquiring prisoners or parolees what the Prison Association will expect of them. If the man cannot accept any limitations imposed by the agency, he must seek help elsewhere. He could not be expected to use the experience constructively if he cannot agree to the methods of the agency. Prisoners can be informed of what will be expected of them if they apply to the Prison Association. Explanations of agency policy printed in the inmate publications could reach many prisoners. Others could be reached by notices sent to the prison, just as announcement of visiting days are now made.

Reopened cases should be told that new policies demand a better response on their part. If a continued relationship is expected, the case record should be built up with the man's reactions to become more understandable in the light of his experience.

The services of a full-time case worker will be needed later. The intake may drop somewhat as some applicants for hand-outs are discouraged by agency requirements. Many cases will be closed more quickly, but those that are carried on a more intensive basis will require more service from a worker. As requirements are set up for clients, some follow-up will
...
be necessary to carry through. Another reason for the need of a full-time worker is that the executive should be free to carry on the parts of the Association's program other than the case work. Any one of the several objectives could be a full-time job.

The present emphasis on case work should be continued, no matter how futile it may seem. The service is needed within the community social service setting, and will not be unnecessary after years of concentration on improvements in criminal codes, administration of justice, and prison methods.

As intensive case-work treatment is attempted, more referrals to psychiatric service will be necessary. More of the time of a psychiatrist would be a worth-while investment.

A good deal of courage and vision went into the establishment of the United Prison Association. The same courage and vision can improve its standards and services. Service to prisoners and ex-prisoners has been expanded and improved many fold in Massachusetts during the past four years; it can continue this growth.

Approved,

Richard K. Conant, Dean
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