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Multiple Property Documentation Form

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This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

☒ New Submission ☐ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Municipal, County, and State Corrections Properties in Iowa

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

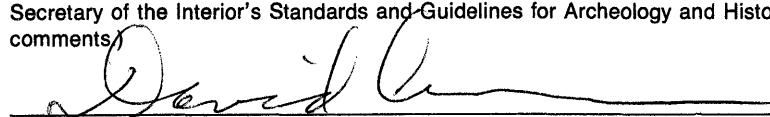
Iowa Corrections Institutions: 1839-1942

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

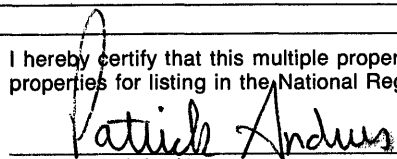

Signature and title of certifying official

10/23/92
Date

State Historical Society of Iowa

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.


Signature of the Keeper

12/18/92
Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

	Page Numbers
E. Statement of Historic Contexts (If more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)	1
F. Associated Property Types (Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)	103
G. Geographical Data	127
H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods (Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)	127
I. Major Bibliographical References (List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)	130

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 1

CFN-259-1116

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

CONTENTS

Section	Page
Introduction.....	2
Historical Overview: The Development of the State Corrections Insti- tutions in Iowa, 1839-1942.....	3
The Origins of the Prison System in the Pre-1820 Era.....	3
The Development of the State Penitentiary System in Iowa: 1839-1860s..	5
The Emergence of the Reform Movement in Iowa: 1872-1907.....	13
Progressive Prison Reform in Iowa: 1907-1942.....	23
The Penitentiary and Men's Reformatory in the Iowa Corrections System: 1834-1942.....	34
The State Penitentiary at Fort Madison: 1839-1942.....	34
The State Penitentiary as a Place of Penitence: 1839-1907.....	34
Prison Reform and Progressive Programs at the State Penitentiary: 1907-1942.....	51
The Additional Penitentiary or the Iowa Mens' Reformatory at Anamosa: 1872-1942.....	64
The Additional Penitentiary Builds: 1872-1907.....	64
The Creation of the Iowa Men's Reformatory: 1907-1942.....	78
Iowa's County and Municipal Jail System: ca. 1840s-1942.....	93
Figures:	
1. Plan of Pennsylvania and Auburn cellblocks.....	8
2. Plan showing the location of the current buildings at the Iowa State Penitentiary, Ft. Madison.....	36
3. Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1874.....	39
4. Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1884.....	40
5. Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1900.....	41
6. Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1913.....	53
7. Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1926.....	54
8. An 1875 design for the Additional Penitentiary, Anamosa.....	68
9. Plan showing the location of the current buildings at the Iowa Men's Reformatory, Anamosa.....	69

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 2

CFN-259-1116

INTRODUCTION

The historic context traces the development of state, county, and municipal corrections theory and properties in Iowa from the opening of the territory in 1838 to the early 1940s. To understand the meaning and significance of each period of development, the Iowa scene is compared with contemporary, national corrections movements. An opening section of the context maps out the major periods of nation-wide development in corrections theory. It briefly relates these movements to two of Iowa's correctional facilities: the Iowa State Penitentiary at Fort Madison and the Additional Penitentiary, now the Iowa Men's Reformatory, at Anamosa. The second portion of the context discusses the development of the two Iowa state corrections facilities and then turns to a more general history of municipal and county jails in Iowa. Because of building alteration, loss of properties, and construction of new facilities, the other three state correctional facilities: the Iowa Women's Reformatory at Rockwell City, the Training School for Boys at Eldora, and the Training School for Girls at Mitchellville lack properties or districts eligible for the National Register. Their individual histories and the associated theoretical corrections practices are placed in a separate report completed under this study of Iowa corrections facilities rather than this cover document.

Prior to the nineteenth century, corrections remained locally based and essentially secular in nature. The initial period of penal reform began at the turn of the nineteenth century. By the 1830s, it produced a state penitentiary system such as the one embodied in the Iowa State Penitentiary created in 1839. Known as the Auburn prison system, the movement was based on the notion that men guilty of crime would repent from their crime in the proper surroundings. This required appropriate surroundings in which to achieve reform. The monumental prison architecture still evident today in many states including Iowa began to replace the local jails then in use. But, this first movement failed to produce the anticipated penal reforms. A second movement was initiated in the late 1860s. This reformatory movement strove to actively reform and rehabilitate the criminal through specific programs. It produced architecture little different from the prisons of the earlier part of the century. This reformatory movement reached its apex in the early twentieth century. Established first as the Additional Penitentiary in 1872, the Iowa Men's Reformatory at Anamosa as well as the Women's Reformatory at Rockwell City and the juvenile reformatories established at Salem, Mt. Pleasant, Eldora, and Mitchellville were products of this era. The third reform movement beginning in the early twentieth century and culminating in the 1930s placed emphasis on the analysis and planned rehabilitation of the individual prisoner. This progressive prison movement did not produce new architectural types or emphasize penal programs but focused on the treatment of the individual. Reliance on the approaches of this movement continued into the 1960s. During all three movements, there was a twenty to thirty year delay between the development of a penological theory and the only partial implementation or practice of that theory by the states including Iowa.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 3

CFN-259-1116

From their founding through the early 1940s, county and municipal jails accommodated short term prisoners. These local jail systems grew from the eighteenth century detention gaols. Minimally influenced by the reforms affecting the state institutions, the county and municipal systems lagged considerably behind their state-level counterparts (Rothman 1971; DeFord 1963: 101, 110).

**HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE CORRECTIONS INSTITUTIONS
IN IOWA: 1839-1942**

The Origins of the Penitentiary System in the Pre-1820 Era

Prior to the nineteenth century, the administration of legal codes in America occurred primarily at the community rather than a county or state level. Tradition carefully guided behavior, and the family maintained strong influence over individual conduct. Man perceived both the social and natural order from a secular perspective. God rather than man regulated social disorder, and man possessed little power to control or reform men who disobeyed the secular order. Since the Calvinist Doctrine found man naturally depraved, disorder became an inevitable condition of man's sinful nature, and man remained unable to eliminate it. Deviants, the insane, the impoverished, the aged, and others whom society now attempts to treat were thus part of the natural order which community remained unable to control (Rothman 1971: xvi-xvii, 1-5).

Until the late eighteenth century, most communities remained tightly knit through kinship and mutual dependency to the point of insularity. Few newcomers entered, and they were carefully scrutinized and often excluded. In communities where survival depended on interdependence, deviant behavior required careful and rapid control. It was the role of family, church, and community to minimize misconduct. Although enforcement mechanisms, often embodied in the constable, were weak, community members informally but effectively policed each other's behavior. Religious precepts narrowly defined the guidelines for behavior. Sin or crime resulted from internal failings of the individual not the shortcomings of the social order. Crime was inevitable because man was unable to eradicate sin. While the threat of punishment might deter the criminal, the community remained unable to reform the deviant. As a consequence, the degree of severity between one sinful act and another was unclear, and little variation existed between the kinds of punishments meted out (Rothman 1971: 11-25, 47-48).

Prior to the nineteenth century when the elimination of deviant behavior did not appear possible, punishment occurred by intimidation rather than reform by confinement. The American counterpart of the sixteenth century English workhouse or Bridewell was established to rehabilitate the debtor and minor offender. There were few workhouse and usually located in urban areas. Since small

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 4

CFN-259-1116

communities lacked the institutional or financial means to support such programs, local legal codes left the selection of punishment to the presiding official. Criminals were warned through fines, shamed in stocks, flogged, banished, or executed. Exclusion from access to community services, often necessary to personal survival, remained a considerable deterrent. Punishment was harsh, and the number of offenses defined as capital crimes were substantial. Ultimately, if the assigned punishment failed to deter the criminal, execution became the only means to ensure protection of the community.

Rather than being an institution to administer a punishment or correction, the jail or gaol was reserved for the detention of individuals held for trial or indebtedness. Communities lacked the human and financial resources to retain offenders for long periods. Gaols possessed no distinctive architecture other than more secure doors and substantial walls. The form of the gaol was the contemporary dwelling. As the dwelling housed the family, so the family unit maintained the gaol. While inmates lived together in several large rooms, the gaol keeper maintained the remainder as his residence. Gaols were also placed in courthouses and small, single room buildings. Aside from the filth, frequent overcrowding, and mixing of prisoners without discrimination of sex, age, or type of crime committed in these local accommodations, the insecurity of such gaols made confinement for long periods difficult and incurred additional costs for sustenance. Communities recovered the costs through fees charged the prisoner (Rothman 1971: 42, 48-56, 89; American Correctional Association 1983: 2-4, 27; Burns 1971: 8; Stephens 1973: 51; Martin 1976: 31-32; Johnson 1973: 6, 14).

Iowa's legal precedent for the jail was derived from laws of the Northwest Territory which uneasily combined traditional practices with legal codes developed by the emerging nation in the nineteenth century. The office of sheriff was established in 1788. The Courts of the Quarter Session tried misdemeanants, punishing by fine, forfeiture of goods or land, and imprisonment for not more than one year. The Courts of Common Plea which tried criminal cases issued decisions of execution and imprisonment. The sheriff carried out all decisions and maintained the gaol. By 1792, the law of the territory specified the building of courthouses and jails. These buildings replaced the gaol as well as stocks and whipping posts when moneys became available. In addition to detaining prisoner, these jails confined debtors and criminals separately behind iron bars in two rooms (Shambough 1895-97 (2): 3-7, 28). Thus, by 1792, the law established the concept of imprisonment for punishment in jails. By 1815 when Iowa was under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Michigan, the term gaol for places of confinement at the county level remained in use. They contained compartments for solitary confinement and included fenced yards, more a jail than a gaol. The sheriff with his designated keeper retained his responsibility for the custody of felons in gaols during the 1820s (Shambough 1895-97 (2): 159-63, 213-15, 275).

The Territory of Wisconsin to which Iowa belonged between 1836 and 1838

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 5

CFN-259-1116

authorized the construction of county courthouses and jails rather than gaols in 1838. But, the form of the jail remained unspecified (Shambough 1895-97 (3): 26-27). Until Iowa became a separate territory in 1838, the incarceration of criminals remained under the jurisdiction of each county. Although the territorial law had set a precedent for use of the jail, the territory maintained only one county jail in Burlington in 1838. Well into the mid-1840s, the territorial laws provided for punishment primarily by fines because facilities to confine criminals remained inadequate. Iowa then contained about 22,900 individuals under very limited government authority (Watts 1965: 2; Hollowell 1922: 133).

The Development of the State Penitentiary System in Iowa: 1838-1860s

During the period of rapid cultural change at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, the perception of deviant behavior altered as man's non-secular sphere separated increasingly from everyday life. Society no longer viewed criminals simply as sinners possessing inherent evil. The community and its social order were no longer sacred or exonerated as a cause of crime but became its potential source. Social reformers in the late eighteenth century dictated that the elimination of evil temptations in society would eradicate crime. Further, because man now controlled his destiny, he possessed the power to eradicate social problems and improve the human condition. Both the criminal and society became susceptible to reform. Since the social deviant was now able to reform his aberrant behavior, his isolation from social temptations by incarceration promoted his rehabilitation. In addition, as county and state governments gained superceded the voluntary community and the welfare of its citizens, they gained a more significant role in the reform of deviants. The same era also witnessed general social change and disorder in which population expanded, urban areas grew, citizens became more socially and spatially mobile, and the composition of communities became culturally more heterogeneous. As the social complexity of community increased, traditional guidelines for behavior lost their hold and the community's self-policing capabilities declined. Therefore, intervention and a formal means of control beyond the level of the local community became necessary to maintain appropriate behavior and reform those who deviated from it (Finkenauer 1984: 113; McKelvey 1977: 34, 41-42; Rothman 1971: 57-58; 67-79; 157; Ayers 1980).

Since the causes of crime were external to the offender, then his isolation from society's temptations, the acknowledgement of sin through self-contemplation, rehabilitation by subjection to a strict routine which focused on hard labor, and the use of religious teachings to provide proper moral guidelines reformed the criminal. Punishment through isolation and hard labor was scaled to the seriousness of the crime. This approach assumed that all deviants were essentially alike because they were led to their crime by the prevailing social disorder of the times. Imprisonment became more than detention prior to trial. It was now a punishment graded by the severity of the crime and served as a

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 6

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

deterrent to crime. The relation of the jail to penitence had precedence in monastic life in which the church isolated the sinner in cells to achieve repentance and reform. With the belief that idleness led to sinful living and crime, the English Bridewell and later continental work houses such as the one opened at Ghent in 1773 sought to achieve correction through hard labor. In the late 1780s, the Pennsylvania Quakers led by Benjamin Rush advocated a prison program similar to the one advanced by John Howard in England: the isolation of prisoners in single cells and labor which led to their moral regeneration. This penitentiary program was first articulated in America and implemented at the Walnut Street Prison in 1790. The first known use of the term penitentiary referred to this block of single occupancy cells (Rothman 1971: 68, 79; Wines 1910; Martin 1955: 108-109; Eriksson 1976: 8; Empey 1982: 365; DeFord 1963: 64-66; Rothman 1981: 5; American Correctional Association 1983: 11).

Ideas embodied in the penitentiary movement were evident during the creation of Iowa's territorial prison in 1838. Iowa's criminal code graded punishment according to the crime committed and provided suitable punishment for each type. During the creation of the code, Governor Robert Lucas emphasized that criminal laws attempted to deter crime and reform penitent criminals. Confinement at hard labor for life replaced capital punishment. In his 1838 message, the governor advocated "...confinement at hard labor, for life, substituted in all cases, in lieu of capital punishment, when suitable prisons for the purposed can be had...." (Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1838-40: 1839: 8]). The goal of punishment matched to the seriousness of the offense as much as the desire to reform deviants guided the program (Hollowell 1922: 132; Haynes 1956: 5).

Between 1790 and the 1820s, most states revised their criminal codes restricting capital punishment and substituting incarceration. States rather than communities or counties acquired the role of maintaining offenders except in cases of minor crime. Jurisdiction for minor criminals remained at the municipal and county levels. Initially, states placed the authority for the building and operation of prisons in the hands of one or more legislative committees rather than a centralized authority (Rothman 1971: 58; McKelvey 1977: 60-61).

Without exception, Iowa's penal and charitable institutions developed in an administratively haphazard fashion. Except for the two state penitentiaries, individual Board of Trustees administered the state institutions until the establishment of the Board of Control in 1898. Board members were usually appointed by and responsible to the governor and his executive council or the legislature which supervised and audited financial affairs. The number of trustees varied between three and six. They served without payment except for reimbursement of expenses. Because neither the governor or the council could provide detailed oversight, one to three local trustees usually guided the operation of the institution. The boards received complete responsibility for the management of the institution, appointed the heads of the institutions, and

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 7

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

often fixed salary schedules. Each board devised its own system of accounting and auditing. They prepared reports to the legislature biennially. As early as 1840, various legislative committees including boards of inspection and visiting joint committees were appointed and periodically reported the condition of and submitted recommendations for the institutions to the legislature. Boards of Commissioners for the Additional Penitentiary and a Supervisor for the Penitentiary functioned solely to oversee the construction of these facilities. Although a Board of Inspectors oversaw its operations from 1851 to 1860, the warden of the Iowa State Penitentiary reported directly to the governor and his Executive Council. The absence of systematic management of these institutions caused few scandals, but the consumption of one-half of the state's revenues for their operation, uneconomical purchasing of supplies, and duplicated services eventually led to reorganization. However, prior to 1898, it was believed that a single supervising agency placed too much power with one group (Haynes 1956: 16-21; Briggs 1915: 103; Hollowell 1922: 135; Iowa, State of [Act] 1847- [1872: 50]; Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1839-42: 1840: 209-212]; Iowa Secretary of State 1876-1903; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

Two prison models based on slightly different philosophies of rehabilitation and prison architecture emerged by the 1820s: the Pennsylvania or solitary and Auburn prison systems (figure 1). By the late 1780s, the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons led by Quaker reformers supported solitary confinement as the means of reformation. It advocated isolation and complete silence in individual cells devoid of all corrupting influences and possessing only the basic necessities. Self-contemplation in isolation led to the recognition of errors and repentance from them. This experience was also intended to deter further crime. John Howard advocated this philosophy in his works of 1777. Solitary confinement of prisoners was adopted into English law in 1779 and received architectural expression at Gloucester between 1785 and 1791. The prisoner ate, slept, and worked in the confinement of his cell. He received a Bible and guidance from a chaplain to assist his self-reflection. Several years after establishing the system, prisoners produced hand-crafted goods to support the prison and learn habits of work and discipline.

The Pennsylvania legislature adopted solitary confinement in 1790. Erected in 1704, the Hospice of St. Michael in Rome provided a precedent for the use of cellular confinement. Cells were arranged along the walls of the building in three tiers with upper tiers accessed by galleries. The cells faced inward to a central hall used for work, dining, and chapel. In 1790, the Pennsylvania Legislature commissioned the addition of a block of cells to the Walnut Street Prison in Philadelphia to confine hardened criminals in this manner. The state had originally constructed the congregate prison in 1773. The principle was more fully expressed in the design of the Eastern Penitentiary or Cherry Hill in Philadelphia. Designed by John Haviland, the prison reached completion in 1829. Seven, long, one story wings containing cellblocks on each side of a corridor radiated from a central rotunda. A wall surrounded the complex. Cells measuring

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

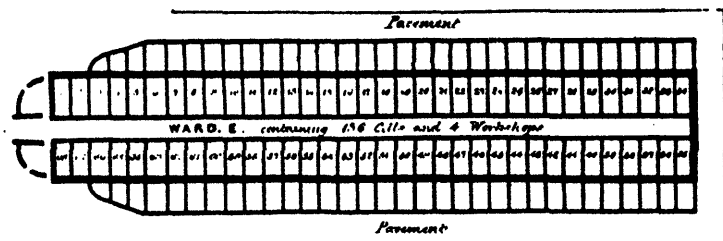
National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 8

CFN-259-1116

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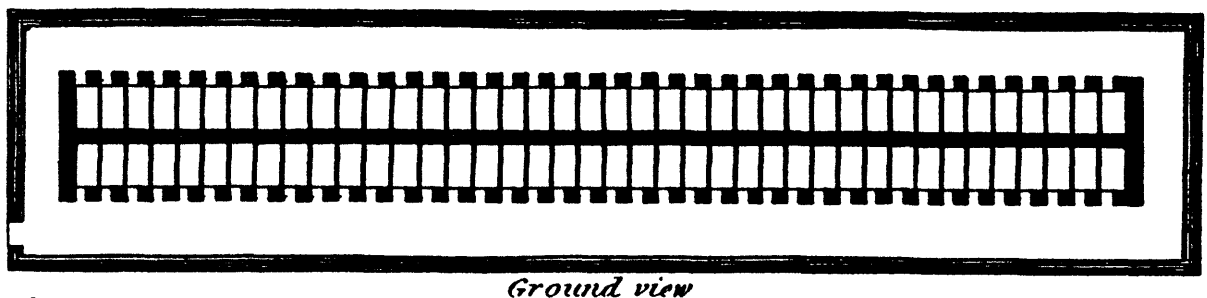


Figure 1: Plan of Pennsylvania and Auburn cellblocks. (a) Erected in 1823, the wings of the radial prison at Eastern State Penitentiary at Cherry Hill, Pennsylvania contained cells along the wall. It became the model for the Pennsylvania system. (b) In the Auburn prison system, the cellblock was positioned in center of the cellhouse as illustrated by its archetype erected at Auburn, New York in 1819-1824 (McKelvey 1977: 196).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 9

CFN-259-1116

about eight by twelve feet lined the outside walls of each wing. Each cell had access to an individual exercise yard. Permitting prisoner isolation, the architecture of the prison was a significant aspect of the reform program. Very few institutions adopted the Pennsylvania system. Examples included the Western Penitentiary at Pittsburgh built in the 1820s, the Philadelphia County prison erected in 1895-96, and the Rahway Reformatory erected in 1833 in New Jersey. Rhode Island, Maine, Maryland, and Massachusetts implemented part of the program for a short period. The Eastern and Western Penitentiaries abandoned the system by 1913 and 1869 respectively (Eriksson 1976: 62-63, 444-45; Empey 1982: 365; Barnes 1973: 105-11; 130-31; Wines 1910: 141-51; Johnson 1973: 11, 29-38; Martin 1972: 111-12; DeFord 1963: 65-69; McKelvey 1977: 5, 20; Hopkins 1930: 43-46; American Correctional Association 1983: 31, 37, 44; Rothman 1971: 82).

First developed at the Auburn Penitentiary in Auburn, New York between 1819 and 1824 and later at Sing Sing in Ossining, New York in 1825, the Auburn prison system quickly supplanted the Pennsylvania System. At least thirty state penitentiaries adopted the system between 1820 and 1870. Although both prison systems shared the goal of reformation and some of the underlying philosophy, the reform program and prison architecture varied. Elam Lynds and John Gray established Auburn's discipline program, the central element of the Auburn prison system's operation. The achievement of penitence and reformation proceeded through the learning of regulator habits, the use of strict discipline to attain such routines, and hard work which replaced reform through self-reflection. Rather than complete isolation in individual cells, prisoners worked together in large workshops, exercised and ate together during the day in complete silence, and retired to their cells at night. In addition to silence, the system maintained strict enforcement of an intricate system of rules which included the lock-step, prison stripes, and down-cast gaze. Breach of these rules gained severe punishment to ensure order within the prison.

In 1816, New York erected the first wing of the Auburn Penitentiary as a congregate prison without individual cells. In 1819-21, William Britin designed a second wing. This shell contained a cellblock or two long rows of inside cells placed back to back and facing the outside wall rather than a central corridor. The stone cells opened onto eight to ten foot corridors along each outside wall whose window provided the only source of light. The cells rose as many as five tiers with upper tiers accessible by galleries. Thus, the block of cells stood separately from the walls within the prison shell. Considerably smaller than those at the Eastern Penitentiary, these cells measured 3.5 by 7 feet. Precedent for inside cells stood at the prison in Ghent erected in 1723. East House at Sing Sing and the Wethersfield prison in Connecticut provided prototypes for American prisons during the remainder of the century. Here, two cellhouses flanked a central building containing the dining hall, chapel, and quarters for officers. The surrounding prison wall also enclosed a hospital, shops, and a power plant (Barnes 1973: 113-14, 131-35; Martin 1972: 110; Martin 1955: 112-13; Johnson 1973: 38-41; DeFord 1963: 67; Rothman 1971: 79, 82; Wines 1910: 135, 149,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 10

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

160; Empey 1982: 366; American Correctional Association 1983: 44-51; Eriksson 1976: 48-51).

From the 1830s to the 1850s, states gradually ceased placing all their deviant population in county jails and built penitentiaries. Despite heated discussions surrounding the benefits of the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems, they followed the Auburn system of discipline and architecture. State prisons at Columbus, Ohio in 1834; Joliet, Illinois in 1856-58; Cranston, Rhode Island in 1873-78; Nashville, Tennessee in 1895; and Waupun, Wisconsin in 1851-1852 as well as Huntsville, Texas; San Quentin, California; Carson City, Nevada; Moundsville, West Virginia; Michigan City, Indiana; Stillwater, Minnesota; and Clinton, New York followed this system. Although the sudden rise in prison population after the Civil War highlighted the ineffectiveness of penal practices, the Auburn prison system continued to be used as a guide to discipline and prison programs until the 1890s and for cellhouse design until the 1930s. The architectural form organizing the layout of the cells in cellblocks; the central location of dining area and religious services; the congregate work areas at the rear of the prison; the single exercise yard; and the security of the walls and cells closely reflected the Auburn program. Its monumental and castle-like appearance secured society from the prisoners within. The dimly light, poorly ventilated tiers of interior cells remained. After 1860, legislatures often refused to relieve prison crowding resulting in more than one inmate per cell and heightening discipline problems. By the 1860s, prisons separated prisoners only by sex. They did not segregate by age or type of crime committed or by degree of health or mental capacity until late in the century. Without this separation, the existence of cell mates inhibited proper discipline.

The rehabilitation program established a single system of discipline for all inmates in an effort to achieve control over the minority of serious offenders. As the system developed, the securing of obedience and order rather than prisoner reform became the major goal of the Auburn system of discipline. Although discipline devolved into a lax program at some prisons, in others it frequently relied on a military model of strict, unrelenting rules and daily routine to guide the inmate's every move. Such order inculcated regular life habits. Consistent and fixed punishments for infraction of rules reenforced proper behavior. But, punishment often lapsed into such corporal forms as lashings and various methods of restraint to enforce rules. Maintenance of total silence remained a prominent part of discipline. Its absence permitted disorder since it allowed inmates to discuss crime and thus encouraged deviant behavior rather than reform. The prison uniform to brand the inmate, sparse quarters, the lock-step to ensure orderly movement, the meager and monotonous diet, and closely scheduled days characterized Auburn discipline.

Prisons gradually modified some areas of discipline such as silence and the lock-step by the end of the century. They instituted rules intended to promote proper behavior. For example, in twenty-three states, good time laws reduced prison

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 11

CFN-259-1116

terms to reward good behavior by 1869. The governor gained the ability to commute sentences. Iowa passed such laws in 1857. Prisoners reduced their sentence up to four days each month for good behavior. Inmates at the Additional Penitentiary in 1872 and at the State Penitentiary in 1879 were allowed a reduction of fifty days in exchange for completion of work beyond the minimum (Haynes 1956: 59). Such laws marked the Auburn prison system's gradual moderation through the century.

The Auburn prison system allowed the development of congregate work in prison workshops using machinery rather than relying on individual handicrafts, a practice in the cells of the Pennsylvania system. The goals of prison labor under the Auburn prison system include punishment through hard labor, the learning of regular habits, and training for later employment. Labor was to be offensive making prison life hard and extracting repentance from the offender. Since idleness caused crime, constant labor also taught self-discipline and proper work habits. Because this system also taught a dislike for work, this approach became self-defeating. It secondarily introduced industrial skills and maintained the mental and physical well-being of the inmate. After the 1830s, labor achieved marked importance as a source of institutional support and eventually rivaled or replaced its rehabilitative goals.

Nineteenth century prisons employed their inmates by leasing or contracting. Under the leasing system, the manufacturer gained responsibility for the prison's entire operation including guarding, clothing, feeding, and instruction. This system failed to allow state control over the institution and possessed no assurances against overwork, brutality, and insufficient provisions. The leaser's goal was profit not prisoner reform or welfare. Under the contract system, the warden or state hired out the labor of a specified number of prisoners at a set daily rate per man. The state continued to operate the prison and provided industrial buildings while the contractor supplied the raw materials, tools, and supervisors to instruct the prisoners and sold the resulting products. The state thus maintained more control over the prisoners under the contract system. Considerably more common than leasing, contracting of prison labor continued until the 1930s. Although Iowa experimented briefly with leasing, it relied most heavily on contracting to employ its prisoners.

The Auburn prison system relied on religious training to gain penitence through compulsory Sunday services, Sabbath school, the distribution of Bibles, and individual exhortation by the chaplain. The approach emphasized the saving of men rather than preparing them to reenter society. Although prison libraries with religious tracts and uplifting literature were begun, education programs remained sporadic and often limited to reading and writing skills. Prison wardens gained their posts not for their understanding of the prison program but through political appointment. They and their personnel lacked systematic training and remained for too brief a period to obtain knowledge through experience.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 12

CFN-259-1116

Since there was no prudent alternative, the Auburn prison system remained. It was economical. The dictum of hard labor allowed prisoner support of the program. But, programs striving for reform often devolved to mere custody. By the 1870s, it had become clear that a properly constructed environment with regimented schedules, strict discipline, and religious exhortation alone did not reform. Because the penitentiary complex did protect society by isolation of the deviant, the program was simply a safe alternative (DeFord 1963: 68-70; American Correctional Association 1983: 51-59, 86-88; Wines 1910: 138-39, 151-53, 160, 192, 211, 220; Rothman 1971: 82-86, 100-05, 237-39, 247, 289; Martin 1955: 112; Barnes 1973: 138-41, 219; McKelvey 1977: 27, 54-62, 67; Hawkins 1976: 109-13; Langsam 1967: 170-71; Brookman 1934: 124).

The Territory of Iowa was formed in July, 1838 and entered the Union in 1846. In January, 1839, the Iowa territorial legislative assembly authorized the construction of a territorial penitentiary at Fort Madison. The prison was to secure and employ a capacity of 136 inmates and follow the plan of the Connecticut State Prison at Wethersfield (Briggs 1939: 406; Haynes 1956: 5). Because the authorization specified one cell per person and workshops in which to employ inmates during the day, it referred as much to the nature of the discipline and punishment as to the type of building. Known as the Wethersfield model, the Connecticut State Penitentiary became an example of the Auburn type penitentiary which include the Auburn cellblock. A strong proponent of the this penitentiary model, Timothy Dwight developed the general design of the Connecticut State Prison about 1825. Its Auburn cellblock housed one inmate in each of its 3.5 by 7 foot cells which were arranged in tiers in the center of the cellhouse. Corridors separated the cells from each wall. The Wethersfield model placed the cellhouses on either side of a central building which together formed the front prison wall. The central building contained the guard's hall, armory, dining hall, hospital, and chapel. The prison also included a separate females' quarters. The workshops occurred to the rear in the prison yard. The adjacent states of Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin also adopted this model (American Correctional Association 1983: 53-56; McKelvey 1977: 10, 28, figs. 4, 13; Eriksson 1967: 59).

In 1858, the Board of Inspectors for the Iowa State Penitentiary attempted to reorganize the building of the prison beyond its single cellhouse, now known as cellhouse 17, its partially completed wall, cluster of workshops, and other service buildings haphazardly erected as needs dictated. After personal investigations at several eastern prisons, the Board hired Godfrey Bryant, an eastern architect, to prepare a general plan for Iowa's penitentiary. A resident of Iowa, J.F. Edwards, completed the specifications. The plans followed those of the Massachusetts State Prison which also contained the Auburn cellhouse. The radial plan included a central octagon containing the dining room and kitchen, the guard's hall, chapel, and at the fourth floor, the hospital. Cellhouse 17 and a second cellhouse were to sit on either side of the octagon with the warden's residence and offices at the third, front side. The Board began the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 13

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

construction of the octagon at the east end of cellhouse 17, but the legislature failed to accept or fund the project. Although Iowa erected and enlarged its single cellhouse several times utilizing the Auburn type cellhouse prior to 1900, it never achieved the Wethersfield plan or the octagon arrangement of the Massachusetts State Prison. The state failed to adopt a clear master plan for its expansion (Iowa, State of [IA Docs] 1857-1931: [1859: 10-25]; Iowa Governor's Office n.d.a [letter from Godfrey Bryant, Boston, July 10, 1858]).

The Emergence of the Prison Reform Movement in Iowa: 1872-1907

The process of reconstruction at the close of the Civil War as well as rising crime particularly in growing urban areas gradually stimulated a period of social reform at the state level. The program looked to the care of special populations including the mentally ill, orphaned and dependent children, the blind and deaf, the aged, the diseased, and the poor as well as the deviant (McKelvey 1977: 64). The prison reform movement beginning in the early 1870s articulated many ideas advanced earlier in the century but never fully developed or organized into a successful prison program.

This prison reform movement drew considerable inspiration from the Irish prison system established in 1855 by Sir Walter Crofton and a somewhat earlier example designed by Alex Maconochie in Australia. These reformers modified and re-integrated unassociated ideas from different prison reform programs. The new program substituted indeterminate sentencing, in which the length of the commitment to prison depended on the time required to reach successful prisoner rehabilitation, for fixed sentences specified for each prisoner. To achieve release, the inmate earned marks for improved conduct and good habits of industry. As the prisoner earned marks, he gained privileges and advanced through three or four grades to achieve freedom. Thus, the mark system monitored the prisoners' progress toward reform. Punishment for misconduct held the inmate in his grade or returned him to a lower one thus lengthening the prison term. Changes in grade also meant transfer to different prison surroundings.

The Crofton system started the inmate in solitary confinement and engaged him in monotonous work. Assigned to working in groups at an intermediate prison in the second grade, the inmate progressed to work without supervision returning to an open prison after work. In the final stage, the prisoner who had employment entered the community under a ticket of leave or conditional pardon which could be revoked upon failure to meet the conditions of the pardon. Thus, the Crofton program viewed the prisoner not as a sinner but as a backslider and potential citizen deserving preparation for re-entrance into society and the right to earn that release. Imprisonment was now to reform rather than to punish. Repentance was no longer the penitentiary's objective. Americans adopted parts of this system at their adult reformatories, but failed to integrate them into the existing program (American Correctional Association 1983: 67-68; Barnes 1973:

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 14

CFN-259-1116

145-46; DeFord 1963: 75-76; McKelvey 1977: 78-79; Wines 1910: 195-96).

The founding 1870 meeting of the National Conference on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline at Cincinnati attracted noted penologists of the period such as Zebulon Brockway of Detroit and later the Elmira Reformatory at New York and Walter Crofton. Enoch C. Wines, an educator and religious leader who established the New York Prison Association in 1862, organized the conference. In addition to heightening public awareness of prison conditions, he conducted a nation-wide investigation of penal methods at reformatories and reform schools in 1867. Based on this information and the programs established by Crofton and Brockway, the conference created a list of far-reaching principles to guide the reformation of state prisons. They remain the guiding principles for corrections until their revision in the 1970s by the conference's 1904 successor, the American Prison Association.

These principles included acknowledgment of the prisoner's capacity to experience and his right to rehabilitation rather than vindictive punishment; the treatment of the criminal's problems rather than his punishment based on the severity of his crime; indeterminate sentencing granting release only with evidence of rehabilitation; progressive prisoner classification based on levels of rehabilitation measured by the mark system so that the prisoner himself gained control over his destiny; revision of codes for the criminally insane; small prisons and separate prison for different types of offenders; trained personnel administrated by a stable, non-political, central state agency; a prison architecture which provided more light and ventilation and improved or provided hospital and educational spaces; social training for prisoners through proper form of interaction and the elimination of the silence rule; systematic education including the areas of literacy, higher learning, and religion; industrial training to provide individual support; the ending of contract labor; an emphasis on systems of rewards for good conduct, industry, and learning rather than punishment for failure; discipline aiming at gaining the will of the prisoner; development of self-respect which degrading punishment and rules such as the silence system destroyed; and a parole program to supervise the behavior and work of the released prisoner. Although the national prison reform movement waned with more prosperous times in the mid-1870s, many states gradually adopted some of the principles (McKelvey 1977: 67-68, 88-93; Empey 1982: 50-64; Martin 1955: 114; Wines 1910: 193, 198-99; American Correctional Association 1983: 70-73).

The initial impetus for prison reform grew from the awareness that the Auburn prison program failed in its treatment of misdemeanants and youthful offenders. With the backing of the New York State legislature, Brockway implemented many of the principles established during the 1870 meeting at the Elmira Reformatory which opened in 1876. But, the Auburn prison architecture remained unchanged (McKelvey 1977: 83; Wines 1910: 196; DeFord 1963: 86; Eriksson 1976: 99; Grunhut 1948: 91; Empey 1982: 370; Langsam 1967: 241). Although formed in 1870 and employed at Elmira and Concord, Massachusetts, thirty to forty years passed

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 15

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

before the basic concepts were practiced at other prisons including adult reformatories. Then, often piece-meal programs emerged (Filo 1982: 42).

Reformatories established between the 1880s and 1920 generally required minimal prisoner classification for successful operation. They received young, first time, male offenders between the approximate ages of sixteen and thirty. Unlike those hardened in crime, they remained susceptible to rehabilitation. Further classification based on character did not occur until well into the twentieth century (Eriksson 1976: 99; American Correctional Association 1983: 196). The need for such a reformatory in Iowa which separated young offenders from habitual criminals was recognized by 1888 but implementation did not occur until 1907 (Iowa, State of [Iowa Docs.] 1857-1931 [1888: 37; c.f., 1898: 8]).

Indeterminate sentencing coupled with the mark and grade system and parole became cornerstone of the reformatory program in the United States. Only death, the earning of good time, and pardon by the governor shortened the fixed or determinate sentence which was in effect at most prisons during much of the nineteenth century. Because courts frequently failed to set fixed sentences on using established guidelines, individuals committed for the same crime often served different sentences. The fixed sentence also ignored the character of the individual and his previous criminal record. It, therefore, often proved to be retributory rather than reformatory. As with the Crofton system, the prisoner received a minimum and maximum sentence and gained release within that period upon evidence of reform under indeterminate sentencing. The incorrigible criminal served his full sentence. Proponents believed that this approach would stimulate good behavior in prisoners capable of reform. Although adopted as early as 1826 at the Massachusetts State Prison and at many juvenile reformatories by the 1870s, states failed to institute it until the late nineteenth century. It became almost universal by 1920 (Barnes 1973: 210; Eriksson 1976: 100; Wines 1910: 210-220; Langsam 1967: 242; Robinson 1905: 546, 532-33, 546-47, 558; DeFord 1963: 103). Iowa wardens and prison chaplains suggested the indeterminate sentence as early as 1888 (Iowa, State of [Iowa Docs] 1857-1931 [1888: 37; 1900: 115; 1902: 655]). On July 4, 1907, the Iowa legislature adopted indeterminate sentencing for the new Iowa Men's Reformatory established at Anamosa and the State Penitentiary (Hollowell 1922: 137).

Prisoners earned their privileges and shortened their sentences through the mark and grade system. American prisons like the Elmira Reformatory followed the Crofton program with some variations. New prisoners entered the grade system in the second of three grades. If the prisoner was able to earn a set number of marks through good behavior, appropriate work habits, and achievement in the training program, he rise to the first grade. Inability to perform in these areas demoted the prisoner to the first grade and resulted in loss of privileges. The system thus retained the inmate in prison for a longer period by requiring him to climb through all three grades. Although not followed consistently, each grade was placed in a separate cell area. Each grade carried privileges

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 16

CFN-259-1116

requiring greater social control on the part of the inmate. They included increased visiting privileges and letter writing, more palatable uniforms and diet, and work opportunities with less supervision.

After earning a specified number of marks in the first grade, the prisoner was eligible for release often after a minimum sentence of one year. The system required identification of employment prior to release. In most instances, the inmate received a conditional release for a specified period during which he received some supervision. This trial period determined whether the prisoner had successfully achieved reform. Failure returned the former inmate to prison. A conditional release required the governor's approval. Although essentially the same concept as conditional release, a parole was granted and supervised by an independent Board of Parole without interference from the executive branch. Parole received limited acceptance between 1860 and 1890, and gained its broadest use at juvenile reformatories after 1870. With improperly trained and limited personnel, adequate supervision of paroled prisoners remained a severe problem well into the twentieth century (DeFord 1963: 103; Langsam 1967: 241, 261; Martin 1955: 114; Martin 1970: 38; Eriksson 1976: 101; McKelvey 1977: 132; Robinson 1905: 547; Wines 1910: 220-222; Barnes 1973: 211-12, 216).

Iowa adopted the mark and grade system at its two penitentiaries on October 1, 1900. Conditional pardon by the governor had been in effect since 1878. The 1897 Iowa code created an elaborate scale for commutation of sentences on the basis of good behavior. Violation of prison rules resulted in forfeiture of good time earned by the prisoner for early release. The warden of the Additional State Penitentiary recommended the adoption of parole laws by 1898. When it established indeterminate sentences and parole in 1907, the state created a non-partisan Board of Parole who later defined the rules under which prisoners gained parole. The Board was to maintain contact with the parolee who gained final release after faithfully serving a twelve month period (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [Iowa Docs.] 1857-1931 [1898: 8; 1902: 655-56]; Hollowell 1922: 135-37; Robinson 1905: 558-61).

Work remained a central and sometimes controversial part of the reformatory program. By the 1870s, the support offered by prison manufacturing contracts rather than the reformatory nature of the work became a main objective of prison labor. However, during the depressions of the early 1870s and early 1880s, labor unions and manufacturers competing with prison contractors charged the prisons with accusations of unfair practice. During the 1880s, most midwest states including Iowa and northeastern states appointed special commissions to investigate contract labor. New York, Ohio, New Jersey, and Illinois prohibited leasing and contracting in their prisons by 1880s. A national issue by 1886, federal legislation ended contracting in federal prisons in 1887. In 1886, the manufacturers of shoes and furniture and later buttons in Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Missouri protested contracting. More industrialized states began to turn to piece-price and state-use systems of labor by the mid-1880s. But, in

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

E 17

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

states which supported limited manufacturing such as Iowa, contracting dominated prison labor into the next century.

Contractors found the piece-price system of labor more acceptable because the state retained control over maintenance of prisoners and all aspects of labor management except the sale of products. The manufacturer paid a set price for the finished product rather than for the prisoner's labor and sold the product at lower prices on the open market which technically gave him a competitive edge. Under the state-account system, the warden and his agents disposed of the products on the open market. Reducing competition further, the state-use system provided for the manufacture of goods for government agencies and institutions only. Goods were not sold on the open market. Although competing manufacturers preferred this system, it provided less profit for the state, and its management consumed much of the warden's time. The continuing need to earn a profit often led wardens like contractors to overwork the prisoners.

At the end of the nineteenth century, uncompensated prison labor was characterized as degrading enslavement and a deterrent to the development of good work habits. It produced avoidance of labor after release and led to further crime. States began offering minimal payment for work completed beyond the cost of maintenance in both reformatories and penitentiaries. Such earnings usually supported families or remained in the prisoner's account until release. Payment gave the prisoner dignity and pride in his work (Langsam 1967: 172-73, 176-78, 211-14; McKelvey 1977: 86, 111, 117-28, 136; Brookman 1934: 124-25, 134; DeFord 1963: 103).

With one exception, contracting at the Iowa State Penitentiary remained into the twentieth century. From the arrival of the prisoners in 1873 to 1898, inmates at the Additional Penitentiary, now the Iowa Men's Reformatory, engaged only in the quarrying of limestone, some of which it sold to other state institutions, and the construction of the prison. Since the quarrying and construction work at this prison were done directly for the state, both were forms of the state-use system. State law expressly prohibited contracting at Anamosa in 1876. However, when the Board of Control began its administration in 1898, the Additional Penitentiary engaged with a private firm, the American Cooperage Company, to produce goods under contract. Because of opposition to prison contract work from organized labor in Iowa, an act of 1900 prohibited the manufacture of butter tubs at the Additional Penitentiary and the production of pearl buttons made under a contract at the Iowa State Penitentiary after the expiration of the existing contracts (Brookman 1934: 134-35; Briggs 1915: 211). Thus, at the end of the century, the state continued to view prison labor primarily as a means of occupying prisoners and defraying the cost of their keep (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

Despite the prison reform movement begun in 1870, the view that hard, monotonous prison labor deterred prisoners from further crime often guided prison policy as

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 18

CFN-259-1116

late as 1900. Labor performed only for the benefit of the inmate remained relatively uncommon. The conviction that each prisoner deserved mental stimulation and training in academic areas, work skills, and vocational programs in addition to religious guidance to live effectively outside the prison slowly gained support by 1900. At Elmira during the late 1870s and 1880s, Brockway established education through high school with several college level courses, training in thirty-five vocations, and instruction by public school teachers and lecturers. As the anti-contract movement gained strength at the end by 1900, greater emphasis on training gradually replaced hours spent under prison contracts. But, until 1900, academic training was aimed at literacy, and any vocational training was limited to repetitive tasks performed during prison labor. Rather than professional educators, the teachers included only the chaplain, other prisoners, and the contractors (Martin 1976: 40; DeFord 1963: 83-84, 212; Barnes 1973: 214; McKelvey 1977: 131-34; Eriksson 1976: 100-102).

Reformatories such as Elmira also attempted to improve social skills, personal habits, and self-maintenance. They believed the extensive use of military drill developed personal discipline and that recreation, including gymnastic training, taught proper use of leisure time as well as discipline. Brockway introduced organized sports to Elmira in 1896 to teach self-control and team loyalty. However, most reformatories utilized recreation primarily for entertainment and to replace time once spent in fulfilling prison contracts. The administration of harsh punishments for infraction of the many rules also declined slowly although it did not cease altogether. The rules of silence, the prison dress, and the other trappings of the Auburn system slowly disappeared with corporal punishment. But, the new reformatory programs remained unintegrated with the old (Wines 1910: 224-225; McKelvey 1977: 110, 137; American Correctional Association 1983: 80; DeFord 1963: 83-84; Barnes 1973: 212; Eriksson 1976: 100).

Leaders in Iowa penology and the state government had recognized the need for a reformatory in Iowa since the 1870s. Governor Carpenter suggested the use of the Penitentiary at Anamosa for young men committing first offenses in 1876. Governor Gear presented a similar argument in 1880. In his reports to the Board of Control between 1897 to 1900, the Warden at the State Penitentiary, N.N. Jones, strongly urged the legislature to create a young men's reformatory with a graded system of discipline and to include in this legislation indeterminate sentencing, parole, and provisions for industrial and educational training. Warden Hunter of the Additional Penitentiary also supported this legislation in 1901 and 1903. From 1899 to 1906, the Board of Control itself urged these measures. Joseph Emmert introduced the first reformatory bill to the legislature in 1900. G.S. Robinson, a member of the Board of Control, personally recommended the passage of reformatory legislation in 1905 (Robinson 1905).

In 1904, the senate established a committee to investigate the need for "an Elmira Reformatory system" and associated measures. In 1905, the committee visited midwestern and eastern institutions including the Elmira Reformatory.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

19

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

Their report noted that even in Iowa and those states without reformatories, these institutions had gradually adopted some reformatory ideas. Although none of the existing reformatories duplicated the Elmira model, twelve states including Pontiac in Illinois, Men's Reformatory in Wisconsin, Mansfield in Ohio, Rahway in New Jersey, and also the states of Kansas and Minnesota created such an institution by 1905 (American Correction Association 1983: 114). Thirteen states now possessed the indeterminate sentence law. The Iowa committee noted that, however different their programs were, all reformatories possessed a grading system with privileges, markings for conduct, character building and educational programs, ethical training, religious services, productive labor, and guidance in employment after release. The regimental drill, industrial training, educational program, and grading system at Elmira particularly impressed the Iowa group. The committee recommended the passage of indeterminate sentencing and parole laws, the creation of reformatory laws for first offenders between sixteen and thirty, and the transformation of the prison at the Anamosa to a reformatory. The governor approved a bill incorporating these recommendations in April, 1907 (Robinson 1905: 529-30; McKelvey 1977: 243; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1899: 8, 152-55, 518-20; 1901: 65, 900; 1903: 41; 1905: 57; 1906: 28]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

By the turn of the century, many penologists questioned the ability of the 1870s reformatory movement to reform the prisoner. Many of its guidelines were ignored. With the addition of sewage systems, sanitary and bathing facilities, ventilation systems, adequate heating, and standardized diets, physical conditions inside the state prisons and reformatories frequently improved especially when new buildings became necessary. However, as prison population expanded in the 1880s and 1890s, the popular equation of one inmate per cell often disappeared and serious overcrowding inhibited prison reforms. Although the old punitive devices remained, discipline became more liberal. The progressive grading system became popular by the 1890s, but it was frequently not coupled with the indeterminate sentence. With a majority of the prisoners rising to the top grade and enjoying such privileges as talking, playing games, reading newspapers, and wearing plain rather than stripped clothing, the lop-sided system failed to stimulate individual development as intended. However, the grading system eventually did completely eliminate some of the punitive prison customs such as the prison stripes, shaved heads, and the lock-step. Parole where extant remained unregulated. The evening schools provided limited training in elementary education. Prison libraries offered a motley array of donated materials. Some states presented industrial training in a few areas, particularly printing. Prisons remained obsessed with self-support through their prison industries. However, pressure from the labor movement forced states to limit the kinds of prison industries after 1900. But, as private enterprise objected to contract labor, prisons removed those trades which competed with the state's industries, the same ones which the inmate would have most likely encountered upon release. They added limited recreational opportunities, primarily yard privileges on holidays, and began bands and orchestras. But, in

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 20

CFN-259-1116

most instances, the prison staff lacked the numbers and training necessary to successfully present many features of the reformatory prison program to a socially maladjusted audience.

Therefore, the prison reformatory movement in many states, whether applied to the younger, more tractable inmates between the ages of sixteen and thirty or to the general prison population, only altered behavior sufficiently to allow the prisoner to rise through the prison grades. Even when the program reached its zenith between 1900 and 1910, prisons failed to completely integrate the reform program into its activities. Instead, a small number of program segments became haphazard add-ons to the existing custodial prison routine. These programs did not noticeably improve the prison's ability to reform and train its inmates. A single program presented in a similar manner to all inmates did not reform any inmates. The formidable prison walls and row on row of cells often likened to a "castle-like bastille" (Martin 1955: 115) remained as more than a symbol of the old Auburn system which punished and secured its prisoners from the rest of society more than it reformed them to return to society. Yet, for all its failures, the reform movement had turned penologists and legislatures from the objective of prisoner punishment to reform. In the twentieth century, penologists of the Progressive Era sought new approaches to reform (McKelvey 1977: 112, 138, 157-60; 176-80, 184-89; Filo 1982: 45-52; American Correctional Association 1983: 80-87; Rafter 1985: 23; Martin 1955: 115; DeFord 1963: 54-55, 87).

In addition to young men, states also began to separate the criminally insane from the general prison population in the last quarter of the century. Prior to the nineteenth century, society attributed insanity to the possession of evil spirits which punishment might release. However, by the 1820s, much of society viewed insane as incapable of reason and not responsible for their acts. However, the degree of mental incapacity required for insanity remained unclear. This ambiguity likely prolonged the retention of the criminally insane among the general prison population.

The problems of the criminally insane and their need for separate quarters received increasing attention after 1890. Late in the century, studies suggested that a large number of prisoners possessed some degree of insanity. When separate treatment became accepted, most penal institutions preferred to erect facilities for the criminally insane within the prison rather than remove them to special wards of hospitals for the insane. Only a few states erected separate facilities. In the late 1850s, New York opened a special section for them at Auburn. New facilities were erected in 1892 and 1899 at Mattituck and Dannemora. Other states erecting separate facilities included Illinois in the mid-1890s and Minnesota in 1885. Only five separate prisons for the criminally insane existed by 1904. States such as Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, and Kansas equipped wards within the prisons, but they lacked the medical personnel to assist their patients. In general, most states allowed their criminally insane to cope with prison life,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 21

CFN-259-1116

often resulting in injury to the insane and other inmates and disruption of prison discipline (Eriksson 1976: 198-99; McKelvey 1977: 27, 166-68, 190; Barnes 1973: 204-05).

Iowa completed its Department for the Criminally Insane in its own yard adjacent to the main prison yard at the Additional Penitentiary between 1884 and 1888. The department received the insane inmates from Fort Madison in 1888. This same building soon served as the prison's general hospital. The Department for Criminally Insane remained at Anamosa until September, 1969 when the state moved the facility into new quarters at the Iowa Security Medical Facility at Oakdale (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Hollowell 1922: 135; Briggs 1915: 103; Iowa Secretary of State 1969-70: 162).

As the Iowa prison system entered the twentieth century, legislatures and their constituents came to feel that this system as well as the other state institutions required firmer guidance which the trustee system failed to give. By 1890, a separate Board of Trustees with direction from the Executive Council, the governor, and legislature directed eleven state institutions including the State Penitentiary at Fort Madison (1839), the college for the blind at Vinton (1853), an institution for the deaf and dumb at Iowa City and later Council Bluffs (1856), hospitals for the insane at Mt. Pleasant (1861), Independence (1873), and Clarinda (1888), the Additional Penitentiary at Anamosa (1872), the two reform schools founded in 1868 and opened at Eldora in 1873 and Mitchellville in 1880, the soldiers orphans' home at Davenport (1864-65), and the asylum for feeble minded children at Glenwood (1876). This listing excludes the state university system.

An 1870 bill creating a board of examiners to inspect state institutions represents the first attempt to secure their more uniform supervision. The 1878 legislature entertained but failed to pass a bill forming a state board of control to manage the charitable and penal institutions. By 1880, Governor Gear as well as governors in 1882, 1884, 1892, 1894, and 1896 noted the need for general oversight of the state institutions either through boards of inspectors, state boards of trustees or state board of charities. Several governors observed the large number of Boards of Trustees, individual trustees, and investigating committees governing the state institutions. These positions absorbed a high percentage of the state budget, over 70% by 1893. The general assembly appointed an investigating committee in 1897 as the complaints against large state expenditures at Iowa institutions, rumors of mismanaged funds, favoritism in the purchase of supplies, and antagonism between the trustees and legislature grew in the 1890s. The committee concluded that a structure composed of thirteen boards with a total of seventy-five members could not ensure uniform purchasing or record keeping, economical expenditures, absence of political partisanship, or intelligent management. It recommended a single, central board.

The substitution of boards of charities for the trustee system first occurred in

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 22

CFN-259-1116

midwestern states: in 1867 in Ohio, 1869 in Illinois, 1871 in Wisconsin, and 1883 in Minnesota. This form of organization provided a central advisory authority to inspect and report operations and conditions and recommend expenditures for penal and charitable state institutions. Established in 1869, the Rhode Island Board of Charities and Corrections possessed the managerial power of the later boards of control. Minnesota and Wisconsin replaced their existing boards in 1890 and 1901. However, the creation of similar boards in other midwest states such as Illinois and Kansas awaited the turn of the century. Possessing more control, this form of management inspected institutions and recommended major policy changes and needed additions to the physical plant to the legislature. It also selected the heads of institutions, possessed considerable fiscal control, and attempted to free the control of state institutions from the government (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; McKelvey 1977: 71-74, 150-53, 240-41; Haynes 1956: 19-20; McKelvey 1977: 175).

Taking effective on March 29, 1898, the Iowa legislature created a Board of Control of State Institutions to manage, govern, and control all but the educational institutions of Iowa. This board replaced the different boards of trustees and freed the governor and his executive council from the management of the penitentiaries. Serving six year, staggered terms, the board contained three paid members only two of whom belonged to the same political party. The senate confirmed the governor's appointment of each member. The board appointed all wardens and superintendents for four year terms and created subordinate positions which the institution's chief executive then filled. Despite the unified management, each institution continued to maintain its own autonomy. The board supplied biennial reports to the general assembly, inspected each institution at six-month intervals and reported any abuses or problems to the governor, met quarterly with chief executives, gathered statistics, fixed annual salaries, created and maintained a uniform method of accounting, supply purchase, and distribution, prepared a biennial statement of cost of operations and estimate of needed appropriations, presented suggestions to the legislature for the care of inmates, gathered and published information about the care of penal classes and the insane in other states, transferred prisoners and patients, appointed a state architect, and let contracts for prison labor. The new board assumed control of the institutions on July 1, 1898 (Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1898: 62]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 1-15]; Haynes 1939: 220-22; 1956: 22-29; Brookman 1939: 134; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Stubbe 1970).

The 1898 legislation specified the creation of a full-time state architect and permitted the hiring of a draftsman. The architect prepared all plans, specifications, and estimates for buildings and improvements costing more than one thousand dollars. He supervised construction which cost about \$200,000 annually between 1898 through 1908. The chief executive of each institution bore the responsibility for the letting of contracts. Where possible, he was to employ inmate labor in construction and repairs. In 1904, the legislature authorized the board to procure plans and specifications from outside architects

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 23

CFN-259-1116

for major building projects. This step insured variety of building appearance. Henry F. Liebbe served as the first state architect from 1898 to 1927. His son, Henry J. Liebbe, replaced him and remained until 1941 (Liebbe, H.F. 1898-1927 [letter, 1908]; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1942: 6]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 5-7, 15; 1904: 44-45; 1906: 17-18; 1918: 30]).

The laws regulating the Board of Control remained relatively unchanged until 1968. By 1938, the board oversaw fifteen different state institutions. In 1925, its administration also included the Bureau of Child Welfare which primarily supervised child placing activities. The bureau was transferred to the State Board of Social Welfare upon its creation in 1937. In 1934, the Board of Control added a Department of Psychology which provided testing services for all state institutions. The Department of Social Services gained the functions of the Board of Control and the State Department of Social Welfare in 1968. These two subdivision became the Bureau of Adult Corrections Services and the Bureau of Family and Child Services. Adult Corrections Services supervised all adult correction programs including its state penitentiary and two reformatories, camps, farm programs, community facilities, Parole and Probation Services, and jail inspection program. Until 1968, Parole and Probation Services had operated under the Board of Parole as a separate, three member board with staff appointed by the governor for six year, staggered terms. The Bureau of Family and Child Services oversaw community and institutional welfare services for children and their families, juvenile placement services, and juvenile correctional services including the two training schools. In 1983, the Department of Social Services was again split into two parts, the Department of Human Services which gained supervision of child and family services including the remaining training school and the Department of Corrections which guides adults penal services (Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 9, 30; Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 6; 1936: 6-7; 1938: 20]; Iowa Department of Social Services 1969; Iowa Secretary of State 1969-70: 162; Public Administration Service ca. 1960; Stubbe 1970; Johnson 1941).

Progressive Prison Reform in Iowa: 1907-1942

As Iowa began its prison reform movement, twenty-two reformatories were opened by the new century. A steadily rising prison population accelerated by a renewed drive to end the death sentence stimulated the construction of thirty-one new prisons and seven reformatories by 1925. Many retained the fortress-like construction of the nineteenth century, and they continued to symbolize the old ideas of a punitive and custodial penology. The prohibition era of the 1920s, and the depression of the late twenties and thirties continued to add to this population, tremendously overcrowding state prisons. Separate spaces allowing classification of prisoners, adequate medical services, vocational training, and education were non-existent. With staffs limited in numbers and training, prison chaplains continued to lead the existing social programs. Prison industries stressed output not education. To an atmosphere which continued to place

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 24

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

behavior control above prisoner reform, progressive prison reform of the early twentieth century added new approaches, gave new functions and emphases to the existing prison programs, and integrated them into a new penal system. Although prisons gradually added a few elements to their existing penological system, the new reform movement often failed to bear fruit until the mid-1930s to early 1940s. Despite the eventual acceptance of the program, many prisons lacked the personnel and tax dollars to put the carefully balanced program in place. Although progressive prison reform lasted into the 1960s, penologists questioned these approaches by the end of the 1940s (McKelvey 1977: 12, 234-38, 263-64; Rothman 1981: 2; American Correctional Association 1983: 126-30, 126, 134-35, 151, 156-57; Empey 1982: 374-76).

The prison reform of the early twentieth century grew from the Progressive Movement. While progressive government of the 1900 to 1920 era believed that the basic American system remained healthy, it restructured old institutions and introduced new types of public regulation. The government and private groups became active in public issues such as juvenile courts, women's suffrage, public health, urban slums, child labor, child care, compulsory school laws, and large business combinations. It became the state's responsibility to accomplish public good in the interests of all its citizens by correcting inequalities. National level government extended its authority over many areas of society through the branches of its growing bureaucracy. Its government officials were not elected but trained for their positions. These reforms brought the opportunities and benefits of middle class citizens to poor Americans. This era maintained confidence in the scientific methods which sought to identify the causes of social ills and prescribed treatment for correction (Rafter 1985: 53-54; Rothman 1981: 2, 49, 48-53, 205).

The public for whom the progressive government promised a better life included the criminal classes. Society then became responsible for the regeneration of criminals. Science replaced the religious and humanitarian approaches of the previous century. This positivistic approach used the laws of science to explain man and his society. The professional in penology replaced the experimenting wardens of the previous century. Penologists including teams of physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, educators, chaplains, and social workers developed a scientific model explaining crime as a disease with specific causes to be cured through detailed study of each prisoner. It was now not society which was ill but the offender.

Under the new approach, these experts compiled a case history for each prisoner which included a series of biological, sociological, and psychological studies. These studies examined personality traits, work skills, family and community background, educational needs, and ability to accept penal discipline. The identification of specific traits in each individual criminal allowed placement of each inmate in a specific category. Because the studies indicated not several but many causes of criminal behavior, penologist often remained unable to create

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 25

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

a limited number of categories in which to place inmates. Biological determinism gained limited popularity prior to 1910. In the era of clinical criminology initiated at Sing Sing by 1916, most studies focused on a combination of sociological and psychological problems of the offender. By the 1930s, about fifty percent of the state prisons performed some form of mental testing for classification. After 1940, therapeutic treatment based on the study of the inmate's life history began to replace discipline through the grading system. States then established centralized reception and diagnostic centers for classification upon admittance of the prisoner (Rafter 1985: 54, 66-68; Grunhut 1948: 98-100; McKelvey 1977: 146, 169, 195, 267-74; 304; Rothman 1971: 50; 1981: 5, 59, 132; Barnes 1973: 198-200; American Correctional Association 1983: 196; Hart 1922: 16).

The underlying causes of crime defied systematic classification intended to assist prescription of treatment for each class of inmate. By the 1930s, prisons segregated the mentally ill into their own facility and grouped inmates into different kinds of facilities according to their risk of escape. Those possessing a high risk, the hardened criminals who were often beyond reformation, generally remained in the cellblocks within the high walls of Auburn prison. Prisons relocated those with a medium security risk showing hope for reform from cellblocks into prison dormitories. They still remained in the prison walls or in fenced areas outside them. These prisoners often worked outside the prison under close supervision. The honor prisoners, highly susceptible to reform and a minimum security risk, frequently lived at the honor farms and road and forestry work camps which included dormitories without walls or bars. This system of classification partially or entirely removed two classes of prisoners from the overcrowded prisons (Grunhut 1948: 130; Davison 1930: 69-73; Hopkins 1930: 29-34; McKelvey 1977: 282, 315-20; Martin 1955: 122; 1976: 113, 116-119; Haynes 1939: 35-36; Rothman 1981: 72).

Under the progressive program, the prison placed each inmate in a treatment program based on his classification and identified needs. The rigid rules of earlier prison reform programs had treated all prisoners alike. Because of the wide range of causes leading to an individual's crime, one program rarely suited all prisoners. In the progressive system, prison personnel tailored programs to suit each individual depending on his life history and personality. This individual approach required that the courts transfer to prison officials much discretionary power in the manner and length of treatment through indeterminate sentencing. The program's treatment plan involving prisoner interaction in small groups tried to return the prisoner to the community as soon as possible. The use of dormitories, prison farms, and camps and out-of-prison work placed those capable of reform in surroundings resembling normal living circumstances without violating security. Prior to the 1930s, prisons adopted little of the progressive program. Because security rather than rehabilitation remained the prime concern, the programs remained highly structured maintaining the same regimen for all prisoners, and lacked individual treatment plans. Prisons only

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 26

CFN-259-1116

added a small number of progressive elements such as recreation to their existing program rather than adopting the progressive approach. The absence of progressive prison programs also resulted from the penologists' inability to design specific treatment plans at the group or individual level (Martin 1976: 119-21; McKelvey 1977: 301-303; American Correctional Association 1983: 148; Rothman 1981: 5-12, 43-50, 123-134).

The State of Iowa conducted a detailed investigation of its prison facilities in 1911 at the beginning of the progressive prison era. Prisoner complaints against the warden at the Iowa State Penitentiary initiated the investigation and produced the Cosson Report of 1912. What began as an examination of prison facilities, programs, personnel, and inmates at Fort Madison extended to other penal institutions and to an examination of other state prisons at Illinois and Indiana; the Elmira Reformatory, Auburn Penitentiary, and the Agricultural and Industrial School in New York; the Ohio State Reformatory; and the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. This study gave Iowa leaders in penology a clear understanding of contemporary practices. The report placed the problems occurring at Fort Madison in the inadequacies of the system rather than with the personalities involved. A far reaching document, it stressed the need to maintain inmates' records of physical and mental abilities and recommended the classification, segregation, and individualized treatment of prisoners (Cosson 1912). The investigation condemned contract labor programs at the State Penitentiary and Men's Reformatory and recommended the withdrawal of private interests. It recommended modernization of out-of-date facilities at Fort Madison and the creation of trade schools and strengthening of the educational system at Anamosa (Cosson 1912; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

Iowa, like other states, struggled during the first three decades to rectify the problems illuminated by the Cosson report and often addressed by the progressive prison movement. In 1937, the Osborne Association completed a general inspection of prisons across the nation. At the Iowa Men's Reformatory and the Iowa State Penitentiary, it noted the continued absence of classification or individualized treatment and recommended the upgrading of the educational, vocational, medical, psychiatry, recreational, and religious programs. However, its report praised the early development of prison farms to employ honor prisoners since the early twentieth century (Osborne Association 1938b: 9-10; Haynes 1939: 47, 59).

Prison discipline was altered gradually during the first forty years of the century. In a effort to ease prisoners back into society, progressive penologists advocated community models for the prison. Allowing the prison to function in a more normal social setting, the movement advocated elimination of much of the regimentation which guided the prisoner's every move, removed him from the decision process, and enhanced an already abnormal isolation. These recommended changes included the lock-step, bright prison uniforms, withdrawal of correspondence and visitation privileges, and rules of silence. The addition of amusements to the prison routine such as calisthenics, sports, movies, bands,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 27

CFN-259-1116

and commissaries broke prison routine and assisted socialization skills. Participation by inmates in the decision process made inmates responsible for their own conduct and prepared them to control their actions in society. Thomas Mott Osborne's experiment with self-government at Auburn lasted only two years between 1914 and 1916. Inmates involved in this plan selected a council which established and enforced the disciplinary rules. Although never successful at the scale followed at Auburn and Sing Sing, this example of inmate participation introduced the policy of prisoner involvement in prison programming (Eriksson 1976: 140-47; Martin 1955: 117; Rothman 1981: 118-22).

Prison discipline, in particular, remain unchanged from the turn of the century until the 1930s. The mark and grading system continued to guide discipline at most prisons. The common absence of indeterminate sentencing and/or parole from the grading system reduced its effectiveness. Because prisoners then lacked the incentive of release toward which to strive, they were less inclined to modify their behavior. Improper application of classification by prison staff also placed most of the inmates in the top grade. Privileges accorded this grade became almost universal within the prison. And, discipline at a single prison often bounced between laxity and capricious cruelty. By the mid-1920s, many of the petty rules such as the lock-step had disappeared. Although withdrawal of privileges remained a common sanction, many prisons opted for stronger forms of punishment to insure control. Most of the brutal forms of punishment had disappeared but long term solitary confinement in concrete cells without light, ventilation, and adequate diet had not. The decline of systematic discipline and prison crowding between 1915 and the late 1930s caused prison riots such as those at Joliet in 1918 and at the federal prison at Leavenworth in 1929. Prisoners protested overcrowding, brutality, bad food, enforced labor, and similar inequities.

The 105 prisoners' rules published at the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1905 were intended to maintain order. They governed actions from fighting to grimacing, cleanliness, visitation, and contraband and controlled the inmates' every move. Their intricacy did not allow effective enforcement and promoted capricious discipline. While not ending in riots, the 1911 protests at the Iowa State Penitentiary (Cosson 1912) expressed a similar failure of the prison system to achieve a careful balance between security and control and the relaxing of prison rules to fit the new program. The inspection in 1911 noted the evils of solitary confinement and the silence system. They did not produce reformation but resulted in resentment and deadened the human spirit producing the common prison stupor (McKelvey 1977: 252, 290-95; Rothman 1981: 148-157; American Correctional Association 1983: 148; Cosson 1912).

Prison philosophy supported prison labor in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries because it alleviated idleness, assisted discipline, and provided training in work habits. This labor composed an important element in the reform process because it allowed the inmate to learn the value of labor. But, in

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 28

CFN-259-1116

reality states primarily engaged in prison labor because it added substantially to the support of the prison. An emphasis on profit placed the prisoner in the prison factory for long hours performing a limited number of tasks. This approach reduced the training and reformative value of labor. The bribing of prison officials and even prisoners to enhance production levels by contractors also became an obstacle to reform. This breach of prison ethics and the presumed competition with private enterprise sparked controversy over prison labor from at least the 1870s onward (DeFord 1963: 104; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Cosson 1912; Langsam 1968: 212; Barnes 1973: 221; Rothman 1981: 141).

Contract and to a lesser degree piece-price labor gained the greatest opposition from labor unions and private industry. Under these contracts, private enterprise controlled production, paying inmate labor at a daily rate and selling the products on the open market. In the piece-price system, the manufacturer paid a set amount for goods produced and sold them on the open market. Under the first, the prison relinquished control over inmates but did not expend time overseeing the operation and received more income. The piece-price system gave control of the inmates to the prison allowing more training if desired but occupied the time of prison officials and earned less money for prison support. Thus, reformers and the public preferred the piece-price system while prison administrators and initially legislatures opted for contracting. Manufacturers preferred neither. To avoid competition with labor and firms within a state, prisons frequently contracted with out-of-state business firms. As opposition from labor rose in the nineteenth century even though prison labor produced only .25% of the manufactured goods, the amount of labor performed under contracts declined. The number employed under contracts as opposed to other systems fell from 72% to 61% between 1895 and 1925, and by 1929 it declined to 52% (Brookman 1934: 124; McKelvey 1977: 292; Rothman 1981: 141; Barnes 1973: 220; Haynes 1956: 39; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

In response to pressure from labor and business, federal and state laws slowly restricted the markets for and production of prison products. Passed in 1929 and effective in 1934, the Hawes-Cooper Bill allowed states to regulate the sale of prison-made goods within their boundaries. The Sumner Ashurst Act of 1935 also prohibited interstate sale of these goods. It also required the labeling of prison-made products. Thirty-three states prohibited the sale of prison-made goods on the open market with the onset of the Depression in the early 1930s. Seven states failed to regulate their sale and three states including Iowa required only labeling without other restrictions. In response, Congress completely prohibited their interstate sale on the open market in 1940. This federal legislation and the depression of the late 1920 and 1930s reduced the number of prisoners employed by prison industries and produced idleness. Between 1885 and 1940, the number of productively employed prisoners dropped from approximately 75% to 44%. Frustrated by the economic climate, legislatures also reduced the number of new programs providing alternative training. In 1937, the newly created U.S. Bureau of Prisons assisted states develop non-profit

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 29

CFN-259-1116

industrial programs and construct buildings for the training of prisoners. The Executive Order of 1942 lifted restrictions against prison products for two years allowing prisons to fill war contracts (McKelvey 1977: 291-93, 300, 305, 315; Haynes 1956: 57-58; American Correctional Association 1983: 158; Martin 1955: 116; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Cosson 1912; Martin 1976: 41).

As states encountered resistance to contracting and the piece-price system, they turned to the state-use system. Under this system, prisons produced goods only for state, county, municipal, and quasi-government agencies at a fixed price. The products never entered the open market. Prisoners often produced license plates and food, clothing, and furniture for the prisons and other state institutions. Other forms of this program included state public works programs and prison farms. The State of New York introduced the system in 1886. Under the state-account system, the state operated the industry and marketed the goods on the open market. By 1932, these programs employed 32% of the prisoners nation-wide. However, the markets for such goods were limited and the number of prisoners absorbed by work outside the prison on public works or prison farms remained low. These approaches rarely adequately employed all available labor (Langsam 1968: 212, 236; Rothman 1981: 142-43; McKelvey 1977: 252; Brookman 1934: 124-25).

When the Iowa Board of Control gained the responsibility for letting contracts at the two state prisons in 1898, it continued contracting and state-use work at the State Penitentiary. It likewise added contracting to the Additional Penitentiary's state-use projects which included quarrying of stone for state projects and building of the prison. In 1899, the board contracted with the American Cooperage Company of Anamosa to employ twenty-five to fifty inmates at the Additional Penitentiary for the manufacture of woodenware. Shortly after the prison at Anamosa became the Men's Reformatory in 1907, the state restricted labor at both the reformatory and the penitentiary to the state-use system which was more conducive to teaching useful trades.

The Cosson study closely examined working conditions at the State Penitentiary and Men's Reformatory in 1911. The investigation failed to identify substandard working conditions or actual abuse but did find an outdated system of prison contract labor. Because of the control which contractors possessed over prison labor, the report described it as a form of involuntary servitude. The contractors' motives were purely monetary without interest in the prisoner's welfare or training. The report favored prison labor outside the walls at public work or farms for some classes of prisoners. Although the system destroyed discipline and allowed corruption, the report preferred contract work to enforced idleness. The report advocated the state-use, state-account, and prison farm systems. It cautioned against retention of prisoners beyond their time of release because of their labor. It also recommended payment of prisoner at a standard rate of pay with deductions taken for maintenance.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 30

CFN-259-1116

The State of Iowa initiated only part of these recommendations in ensuing years. In 1915, it ended contract labor by the 1918 expiration date of the three contracts then operative at the penitentiary and reformatory and restricted prison labor to the state-use, state-account, and public works systems. The 1915 legislation specified that prison labor was to be conducive to the teaching of useful trades and the moral development of the inmates. The Board of Control authorized limited funds to establish the necessary state-operated prison industries and to purchase lands for prison farms to employ honor prisoners. The law required just compensation for labor as recommended in the Cosson report. In 1921, the Board of Control permitted the operation of a non-Iowa operated, piece-price apron factory at Anamosa and a shirt factory at Fort Madison. Reacting to this move in 1923, state newspapers began a controversy concerning the enforced labor system at the reformatory and penitentiary. After considerable debate, the legislature allowed the extension of the piece-price contracts until their expiration in 1927 and later extended them through 1929 and then indefinitely. The 1927 legislation required purchase of prison products by state and local agencies, but it did not provide an enforcement mechanism. Federal laws finally ended the piece-price and contracting systems by 1940 (Brookman 1934: 134; Briggs 1915: 211; Cosson 1912; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Haynes 1956: 39-43, 57-58; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1913: 31; 1918: 15; 1924: 26; 1929: 20]; Swisher and Schaffter 1927: 517-18).

States also employed inmates in the construction and maintenance of public works and the operation of state farms. Because this work resulted in products for the state, it was also state-use work. The popular belief in the physical and mental benefits of outdoor, rural work and the desire to place prisoners in a more normal social setting led to the removal of minimum security or honor prisoners to rural work camps and farms. Such devices also reduced the number of idle prisoners and relieved overcrowded prisons. Although prisoners had cultivated small farms near prisons since the 1830s, the movement toward state-use work resulted in large-scale farming well beyond the prison walls. It began in the first decade of the twentieth century and became relatively common with rising prison populations of the 1920s. Employment of prisoners on road work became fairly common in the Midwest at the inauguration of the Good Roads Movement in the second decade of the twentieth century.

Iowa prisons followed a similar states-use prison farm and public work program beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century. Inmates cultivated prison farms near the prisons beginning after 1900. In 1902, the legislature sanctioned work beyond prison walls. Iowa purchased 211 acres at Fort Madison in 1910 and lands west of the Men's Reformatory in the same period for cultivation by its prisoners. The Cosson investigation in 1911 examined work camps and prison farms in other states. The report emphasized the benefits of outside work, especially farm work, on prisoners' health and mental attitude and also pointed to their financial success. In response to the recommendations of the report and appropriations made in 1913, the state purchased additional lands

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 31

CFN-259-1116

at both prisons and the 781.82 acre Martin Flynn farm at Clive near Des Moines in 1914. Although the legislature originally intended to create a district custodial farm for misdemeanants at county jails, it never funded the program. The state operated it as a prison farm to provide honor prisoners with a more normal life prior to release. Prisoners from the State Penitentiary between 1915 and 1921 and 1941 to 1965 and from the Men's Reformatory between 1922 and 1936 operated the farm using most of the original buildings. Inmates also raised crops and/or performed gardening at both of the training schools, the State Penitentiary, Men's Reformatory, and Women's Reformatory as well as other state institutions.

After 1913, the state also employed honor prisoners in road construction, the building of state facilities, and landscaping at the state institutions. The prisoners remained under the supervision of the warden rather than private or county agents, lived in camps or dormitories, received payment for labor, and wore normal dress to minimize disruption to the community. In 1927, the legislature authorized the use of prison labor to maintain state parks. Thus, in addition to the piece-price contracts, the prisons engaged in state-use, state-account, and public works systems of labor (Iowa Board of Control 1934-42; Iowa Governor's Office n.d.b [1901]; Hopkins 1930: 11-12; Barnes 1973: 220; McKelvey 1977: 102, 114, 242, 252-57, 288; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1904: 2; 1927: 25]; Cosson 1912; Briggs 1915: 212; Haynes 1956: 44-45, 79).

By the turn of the century, the notion that the criminal entered prison to undergo punishment and repent from his crime by hard labor was no longer accepted. But, the transition to the rehabilitative model which addressed the prisoner's educational needs remained gradual until the 1930s. The industrial prison which employed prisoners to support the prison rather than to train them in vocational skills dominated the scene. A 1928 study reported that thirteen of the sixty prisons investigated failed to offer literacy courses, most provided little more education above this level, and none developed adequate vocational programs. Because prisons commonly utilized inmates or guards as teachers, the quality of teaching remained low. For example, in Iowa education remained the responsibility of the chaplain and selected inmates well into the twentieth century at both the state prison and reformatory. The State Penitentiary offered night schools which addressed literacy problem only. In 1909, the state established a day school at the Men's Reformatory. Here, a teacher did eventually assume educational duties (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942). During the 1930s, federal prisons established more individual programs by updating seriously deficient prison libraries and instituting cell study courses to supplement classroom instruction. Following this lead, state prisons established programs with the assistance of professionals in the state university system. During the 1930s, about twelve state prisons including those in Iowa developed vocational programs and updated equipment using funding from the Works Progress Administration. Training did improve during this decade. However, because of understaffing, inadequate facilities, and limited funding, programs

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 32

CFN-259-1116

still failed to meet the needs of most prisoners (McKelvey 1977: 249, 307; Martin 1976: 42, 114; Rothman 1981: 135-37; Grunhut 1948: 117; Hawkins 1976: 118-23; Haynes 1939: 120-23).

During the Progressive Era, recreation became an important element of the prison program. Prior to 1910, occasional freedom of the prison yard at holidays and random lectures constituted the only recreation. After 1910, most prisoners gained yard privileges weekly, and prisoners engaged in organized sports, particularly baseball. Special games with neighboring institutions, even non-prison groups, developed an institutional spirit. Prison bands presented concerts on Sundays and during holidays. Prisons also introduced entertainments, primarily movies and later the radio. The Iowa State Penitentiary provided money for entertainments such as lectures, concerts, and somewhat later movies through visitors' gate receipts. Yard privileges became less sporadic in the 1920's, and a coherent recreation program developed at the penitentiary and reformatory in the 1930s. The recreation program made prison life more tolerable. It burned energy and consumed idle hours as prison industries closed. Such efforts maintained discipline and thwarted the prison riots which began by the second decade of the century. A few of the more successful programs of the 1930s also provided opportunities for appropriate forms of social interaction (McKelvey 1977: 200-01, 267, 294; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

The progressive prison strove to return the prisoner to society as quickly as his rehabilitation allowed or, when possible, retained him in society while that process occurred. Parole released the prisoner prior to his maximum sentence. The prisoner remained under supervision of the state during the adjustment period. States sporadically applied parole laws to juveniles as early as the 1840s. The Elmira Reformatory first used parole laws to supervise adults in the mid-1870s. Parole became more common after 1900. The Iowa legislature enacted a parole law for the penitentiary and reformatory in 1907. This law created an independent, three member parole board which met quarterly to hold hearings with prisoners and maintained contact with paroled prisoners. Parole staff initially included only a secretary. The state added one parole agent in 1910, and the number reached five by 1937. Although they supervised each parolee, agents had limited opportunity to offer proper assistance. Serving under indeterminate sentences limited only by a statutory maximum, prisoners became eligible for parole hearing after eleven months and were reviewed annually. The Iowa parole board was to base decisions about parole on a combination of the court transcripts, the behavior of the prisoner, his statement at the hearing, a case history indicating data about environment and personality, and statements by prison officials rather than the nature of the crime itself. The small staff limited the investigation of each inmate and reduced supervision during parole, often to monthly letters. Actual release in Iowa required employment for six months. The board possessed the power to recall prisoners for violation of parole and to recommend discharge to the governor after one year.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 33

CFN-259-1116

After the turn of the century, the released prisoner continued to reenter society with little support. He received five dollars, a suit of cloths, and the cost of transportation to a residence. Assistance by the parole board was minimal. However, the Society for the Friendless founded by Charles Parsons in 1910 provided additional clothing, food, shelter, support, and assistance finding employment (Cosson 1912; Empey 1982: 372-73; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Haynes 1956: 35, 60-63; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 10-12; Heald 1912; Rothman 1981: 193).

Probation kept those committing minor crimes out of prison and in their communities under the authority of the law. Municipalities administered probation. Rural areas and villages usually lacked the tax base to support the system. And, cities rarely possessed the funding to hire the highly trained personnel needed to perform pre-sentence investigations, compile life histories, and supervise probation. The job usually devolved to city staff already fulfilling other duties. Like parole supervision, those under probation usually communicated with their officers by mail rather than in person. In Addition, state laws rarely included guidelines by which to determine those eligible for probation or operate the rehabilitation program for the offender. Probation was not a substitute for prison or jail sentences but became a supplementary program increasing the number of persons brought under the supervision of the criminal justice program. With crowded court schedules, prisons, and jails, it became an alternative to doing nothing.

Recidivism remained at high levels through much of the first half of the twentieth century. Faith in the ability of progressive prison to reform its inmates began to dim in the 1940s. But, the movement had established the state's responsibility to rehabilitate its prison population. It became clear that treatment needed to occur at an individual or group level, and that different classes of inmates required very different treatment. The program included parole and advocated placement back into the community as soon as treatment had succeeded. When possible, it favored treatment in the community through probation. The establishment of the underlying causes of crime, the determination of a basis for prisoner classification, and the prescription of treatment programs for different classes of criminals remained major issues at the end of the era as they had in the beginning.

Then, despite the efforts of penologist during periods of greater social reforms in the 1820s and 1830s, the 1870s, and just after the turn of the century to design a successful penological program to deal with social deviants, states not only significantly delayed the implementation of the programs but almost always adopted only parts of the program to ongoing programs. The resulting programs were often not coherent expression of the original philosophy and failed at their purpose of altering the social deviant.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 34

CFN-259-1116

THE PENITENTIARY AND MEN'S REFORMATORY IN THE IOWA CORRECTIONS SYSTEM: 1839-1942

The State Penitentiary at Fort Madison: 1839-1942

The State Penitentiary as a Place of Penitence: 1839-1907

The United States Congress separated the Territory of Iowa from Wisconsin in 1838. The military reoccupied Fort Madison in 1832 after evacuation of the fort in 1813. Platted in 1835, the community was first settled in 1837 (Watts 1965: 1; Newhall 1846: 79-81). Two years after its initial settlement on January 25, 1839, the territorial legislature established the territorial penitentiary at Fort Madison. The Act to Provide for the Erection of a Penitentiary specified a penitentiary of sufficient size to receive, secure, and employ at hard labor 136 inmates convicted of any infamous crime in separate cells. Discussion of the act in the territorial council focused on the use of a prison discipline intended to both punish and reform through hard labor. The act required that the three directors whose positions the act also created secure a complete plan¹ and an estimate of cost not to exceed \$40,000. It authorized the governor to draw \$20,000 appropriated by Congress in July, 1838, for the erection of public building in the Territory of Iowa. Responding to the request of December, 1839 for this appropriation, Congress appropriated \$15,000 for the construction of the State Penitentiary in August, 1842 (Iowa, Territory of [Laws] 1838-46 [1839: 365]; Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1838-39: 1839: 179-84, 196; 1839-42: 1839: 59; 1841: 151, 233]; Iowa, Territory of [Revised Statutes] 1843 [1/25/39: 341-44]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1860: 3-5; 1874: 10]; Iowa Secretary of State 1886: 75; Briggs 1939: 406-07; Shambough 1895-97: (1) 120). The state re-established the penitentiary at Fort Madison in 1854 perhaps to secure clear title to the land donated by Fort Madison (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 19]).

In January, 1839, the Council also considered Davenport, Fort Madison, Bloomington, Dubuque, and Burlington as locations for the new penitentiary. The act of January 25 authorized the directors to locate the penitentiary on ten acres within one mile of the Public Square in the town of Fort Madison, Lee County by May, 1839. The act indicated that the town of Fort Madison had agreed to donate this property to the state. Because they offered a source of employment and created a market for goods and services, communities generally welcomed the location of such institutions within their boundaries. The president of the Council and speaker of the house from Fort Madison evidently pressed hard for the location of the prison in their community.

¹ The existence or location of the original plan and estimate remains unknown.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 35

CFN-259-1116

The land donated to the state was located at the east edge of the community along a low ridge abutting the base of a bluff 400 yards from the Mississippi River. Within twenty years, the idyllic rural qualities of this tract became translated to an unpropitious plot of land "...located on the point of a hill scarcely wide enough on which to locate the first building; with deep ravines on the east and west sides, especially the former; and rising abruptly north..." (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1860: 7]). Over the years, adaption of the area to a level building site required the excavation of the bluff to the north and the filling of the ravines along the east, west, and south. Because of the expense entailed in filling the ravines, the state remained reluctant to expand the prison as late as the 1870s (Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1838-39: 1839: 180-81, 365]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs. 1857-1931 [1860: 4; 1872: 8]; Briggs 1939: 407; Campbell 1900: 72).

The 1839 act establishing the State Penitentiary required that the superintendent overseeing construction of the penitentiary under the directors' supervision "...project a plan for the said penitentiary, conforming as nearly as convenient and may appear advisable to the Connecticut State Prison at Wethersfield..." (Iowa, Territory of [Revised Statutes] 1843 [1839: 342]). An advocate of the Auburn plan, Timothy Dwight designed a model prison using this plan at Wethersfield. Erected between 1825 and 1834, this prison included a 232 cellblock, separate female quarters, and an industrial department. Its original single occupancy cells measured 7 by 3.5 feet and 7 feet high. Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa all adopted this plan (McKelvey 1977: 16, 28). Presuming that the superintendent did prepare the plan, Amos Ladd of Burlington appointed in June, 1839 designed the territorial prison, now cellhouse 17 (figure 2²) (Iowa Secretary of State 1886-90 [1886: 75]; Haynes 1956: 6; Briggs 1939: 408). The law also authorized the superintendent to procure all materials and labor and to utilize the labor of the convicts where possible. The state procured much of the limestone from quarries at nearby Sonorra, Illinois, located one mile from the Mississippi (Watts 1966: 13; Briggs 1939: 407-08; Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1839-42: 1840: 209, 241, 244, 272; 1842-46: 1846: 54]; Iowa, Territory of [Laws] 1838-46 [1839: 366]; Iowa, Territory of [Revised Statutes] 1843 [1841: 345]).

Construction of the territorial prison, cellhouse 17, began July 9, 1839. Between 1839 and 1841, contractors Wells and Wilson using the labor of available prisoners constructed part of the main building. The original plan probably specified a two story, 44 by 200 foot stone building with the warden's dwelling in forty-four feet of the west end; the two tier cellblock of 136 cells, blacksmith shop, shoemakers' shop, and kitchen in the middle fifty-six feet; and a coopers' shop in 100 feet at the east end. By November, 1840, three-quarters

² A number in parentheses after a building refers to its identification number on the accompanying current plan of the building complex.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 36

CFN-259-1116

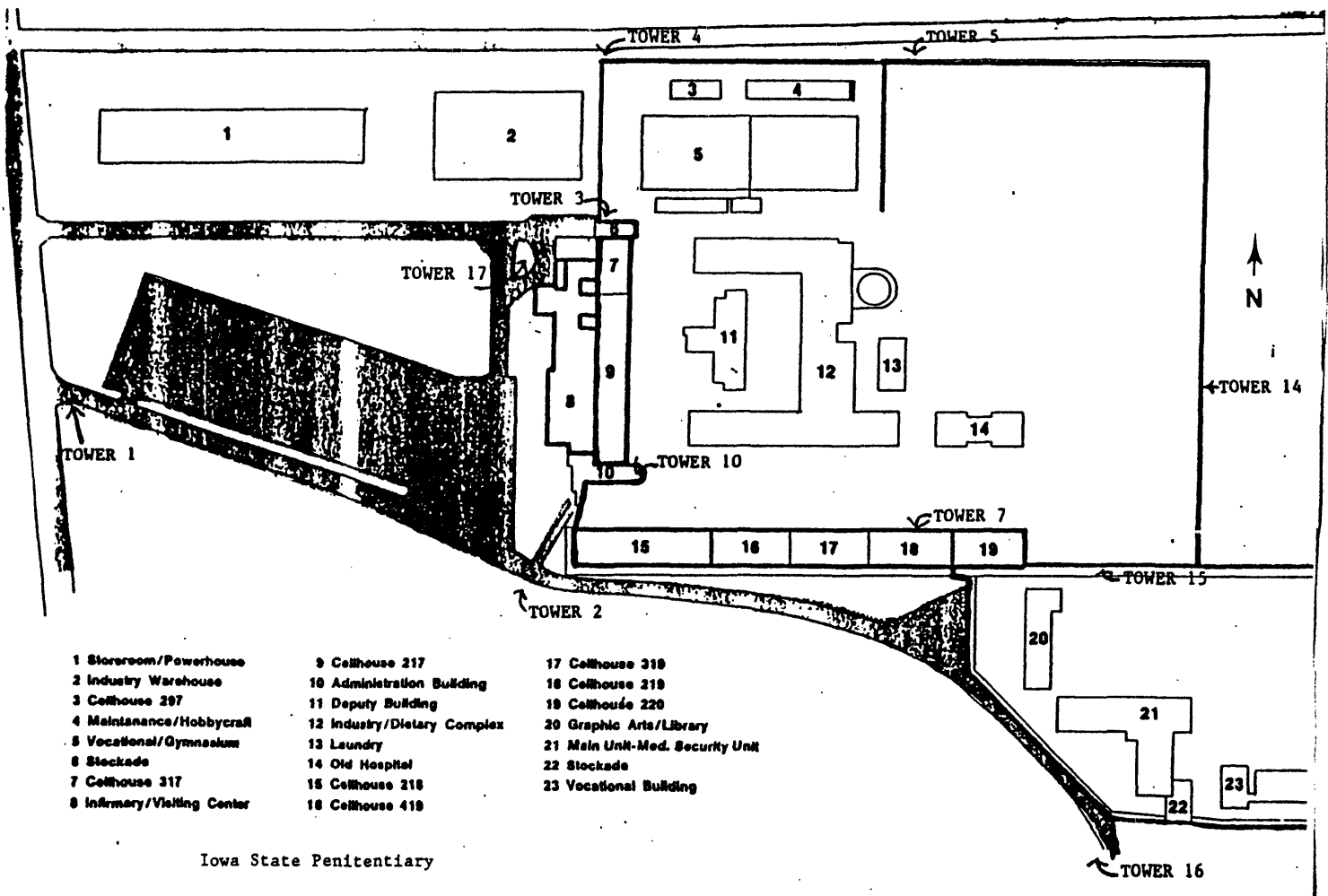


Figure 2: Plan showing the location of the current buildings of the
Iowa State Penitentiary, Ft. Madison.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 37

CFN-259-1116

of the main building including the cell area and dwelling had reached thirteen feet or two cell tiers. The walls around the dwelling reached completion at two stories and had received a temporary roof. Construction of thirty cells in both tiers had begun; ten were finished except for their doors. Following the Auburn plan, these and subsequent cells were placed back-to-back at the center of the cellblock with ten foot corridors along each side. In 1842, a temporary, one room cooper and blacksmith shop and guard room occupied the unfinished twenty feet between the finished end of the cell room and the east end of the cellhouse. Planking completed the walls of the east end. Windows were placed in the dwelling allowing occupancy by the warden but they did not exist in the remainder of the prison. The walls of the cellhouse including the east end and a temporary shingle and plank roof reached completion in 1843. The basement of the workshop served as the dining room and kitchen into the mid-1850s (Walker 1934: 11-21; Briggs 1939: 408; Iowa Secretary of State 1886-90 [1886: 75]; Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1839-42: 1840: 52-53, 209-10, 241-43; 1841: 272; 1842: 198-203; 1842-46: 1843: 19-20; 1845: 190; 1846: 51]; Iowa, Territory of [Laws] 1838-46 [1841: 68]; Iowa, Territory of [House Journal] 1838-46 [1846: 268]; Hollowell 1922: 132; Bennett 1959).

The building of the cellhouse halted from 1848 or 1849 through 1851. Incomplete work included the further raising of the cellhouse walls, additional roofing, and the construction of cells and walls around the prison yard. The progress of this work is unclear. Thirty were finished in 1854. By 1860, Winterbottom and Jones built additional cells to complete two tiers or 108 stone cells. The first fourteen foot high, board fence encircled the 210 by 180 foot yard by 1847. To the detriment of security, a plank fence remained until 1857. An act passed in 1857 specified that the Iowa Board of Inspection acting as superintendents supervise the erection of a prison wall with a four foot wide and seven foot high foundation and a twenty-two foot high wall finished with a stone cap. Between May, 1857 and July, 1859, McHenry and Dinsmore of Fort Madison began the stone prison wall which enlarged the yard several fold. They completed the prison's 360 foot long west wall ending with an arched gate and guard house along the south wall west of cellhouse 17 and a small portion of the east wall. The state set the east wall back 120 feet east of the east end of the cellhouse. The 340 feet of the north wall, 150 feet of the east wall, and the east section of the south wall remained plank. The depth of the foundation and filling of the yard which were necessary to achieve a sufficiently level surface along the east side of the yard slowed the building process. Fire consumed the temporary workshops attached to the cellhouse in 1855. A two story brick shop replaced them in 1856. The prison used the second brick workshop erected in 1855 or 1856 as a temporary kitchen and dining hall between 1855-1856 and 1858. In 1858, the state erected a two story 30 by 90 foot frame shop which the prison then used as its dining hall, kitchen, hospital and chapel (Walker 1934: 20-41; Iowa, State of [Senate Journal] 1847- [1850: 132]; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1846- [1847: 125; 1849: 371; 1851: 205, 622; 1856: 90; 1857: 30-31; 1860: 81]; Haynes 1956: 4; Bennett 1959; Iowa Governor's Office n.d. [1860]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs] 1857-1931 [1857:

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 38

CFN-259-1116

227; 1858: 16, 21-25; 1860: 5-6]; Iowa, State of [House Journal] 1847- [1856: 12-13]; Iowa Secretary of State n.d. [contract for building wall, May, 1857-July, 1858).

In 1859, the Board of Inspectors attempted to create an overall plan for construction of the prison. A representative of the board investigated the construction as well as the operation of eastern state prisons including those at Auburn, New York; Columbus, Ohio; and Charlestown, Massachusetts. All these prisons included the Auburn cellhouse with its cellblock or "prison within a prison" and a cell for each convict (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1859: 11-12]). Similar to the Massachusetts State Prison designed by J.F. Edwards in ca. 1859, the proposed plan called for an octagonal building surrounded on the west by the current cellhouse, on the south by a new warden's residence and offices, and on the east and north by cellhouses. The four story octagonal contained the kitchen and dining room, guard house, chapel, and hospital. Since the legislature rejected the plan because of its expense, except for the foundation of the octagonal, construction never occurred. Its foundation stone supplied material for other walls (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1859: 13-21; 1860: 9-10]). After 1860, the prison appears to have followed an evolving plan aimed at raising the walls of cellhouse 17 to accommodate four tiers of 250 cells in all, placing a female department in the warden's former dwelling outside the wall, building the warden's dwelling to the south of the cellhouse, and erecting a kitchen, dining, chapel, and hospital building in the prison yard (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1860: 18]; Iowa Board of Inspectors 1858; Iowa Governor's Record n.d.b [7/10/58]).

In June, 1862 a fire beginning in the engine room which supplied power to the workshops necessitated the immediate replacement of burned shops with three two story, brick shops covered with slate roofs and a separate fire proof, brick boiler room and dry house. J.F. Edwards supplied the plans. The state excavated the hill north of the prison extending the west plank wall north and completing the west wall 380 feet north to it. Contractors added one additional two story shop in 1872. The number reached six brick shops in 1874 (figure 3). At this date, the connected shop buildings formed a south facing U north of the cellhouse. The stone prison wall finally reached completion in 1866. Erected between 1863 and 1867, the warden's fourteen room, brick dwelling was connected to cellhouse 17. All but the northeast tower stood at the four corners of the wall by 1864. After the warden moved, the west thirty-four feet of the cellhouse became the deputy warden's dwelling between 1866 and 1877. The remaining ten foot corridor between the dwelling and the cellblock served as the clerk's office and entrance to the prison yard. Between 1862 and 1866, the state also constructed the fifty-two cells of the third tier of the cellhouse. The 162 cells measuring 3.5 by 7 foot by 7 foot high were stone with brick partitions and iron doors. Four cells were designated as the hospital. In 1869, hot air replaced the stove heat in the cellhouse. In 1868, the legislature appropriated moneys to extend the walls of the cellhouse 125 feet east to the east prison wall

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 39

CFN-259-1116

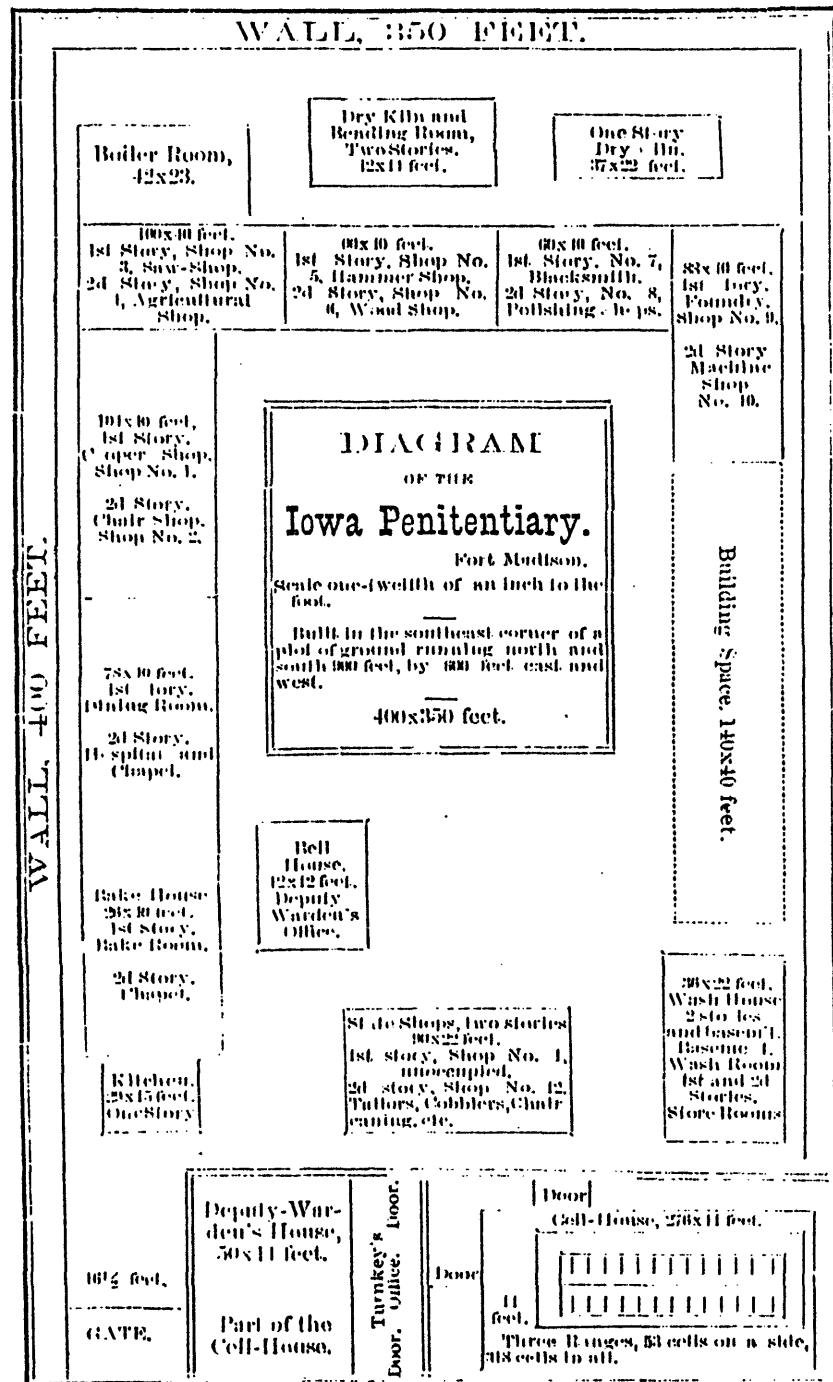


Figure 3: Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1874
(Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 3]).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 40

CFN-259-1116

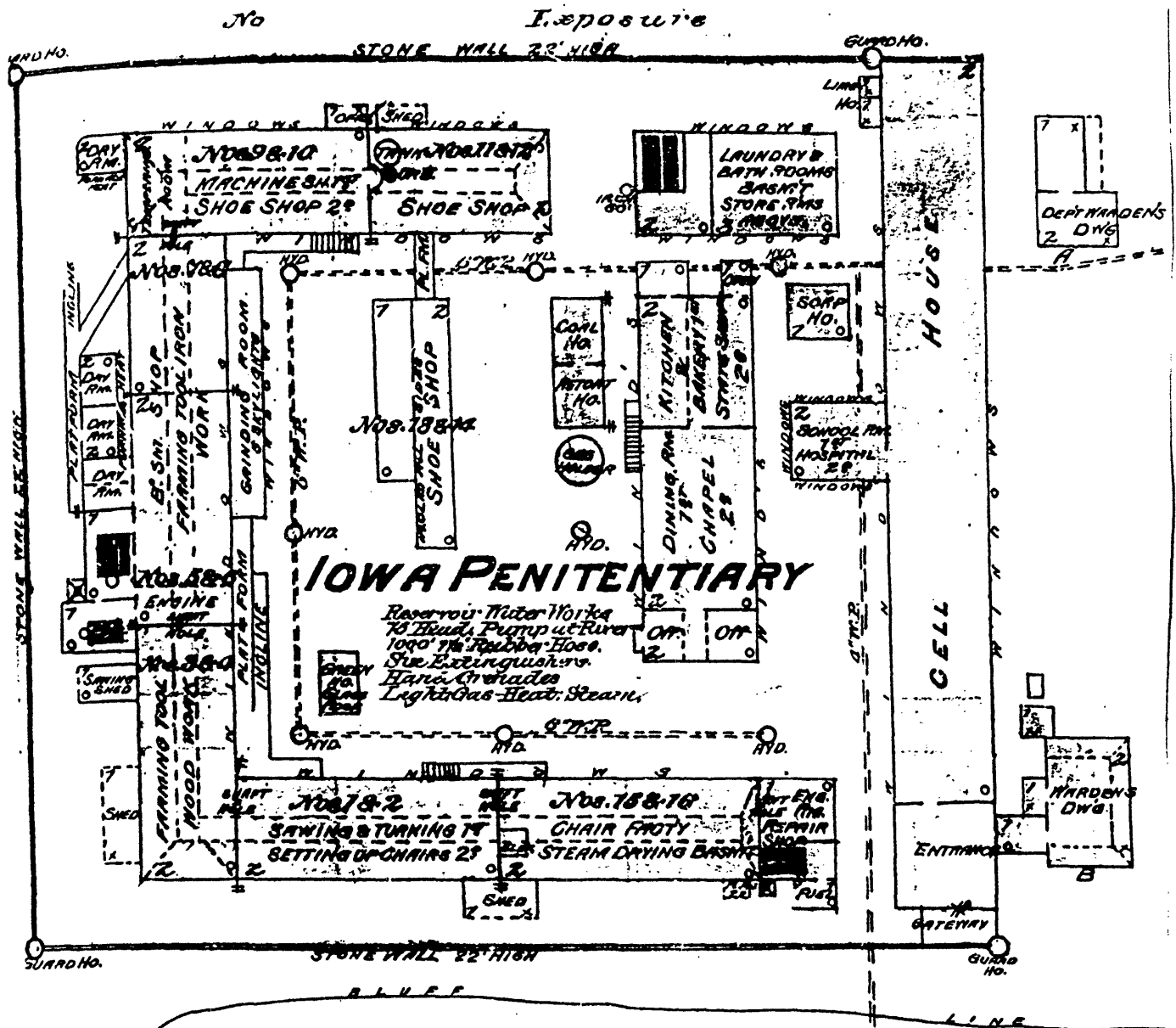


Figure 4: Map of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1884
(Sanborn-Perris Map Company 1884).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 41

CFN-259-1116

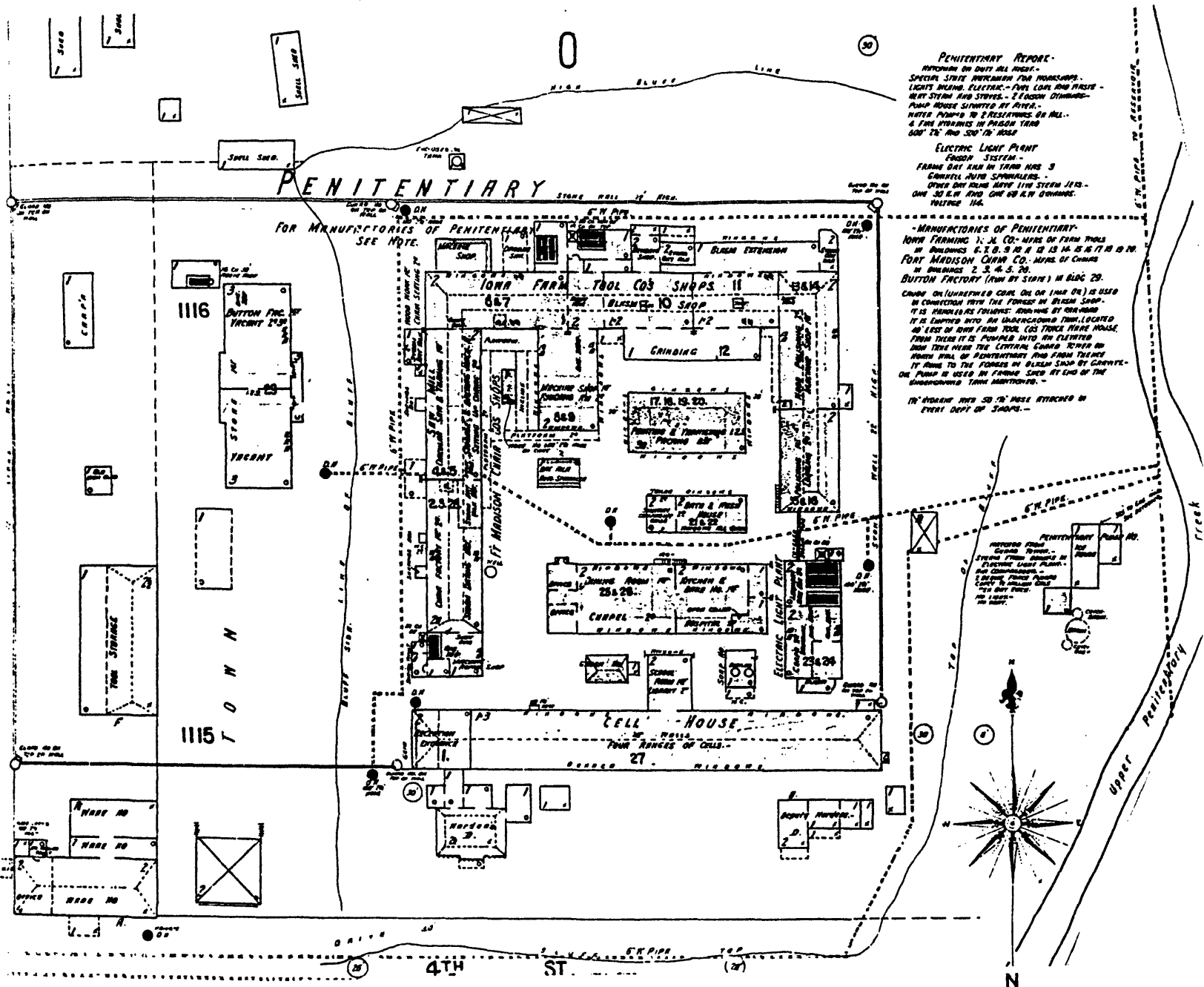


Figure 5: Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1900
(Sanborn-Perris Map Company 1900).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 42

CFN-259-1116

and to cover the extension with a slate roof, replace the shingle roof of the present cellhouse with slate, and enlarge the windows. The extension contained two tiers of 104 cells by 1870 and a third tier of 52 cells by 1872. Now the cellhouse measured 325 feet in length. The brick kitchen, dining hall, hospital, and chapel building placed northwest of the cellhouse between 1864 and 1867 burned in 1868. Its two story, brick, 104 by 40 foot replacement with kitchen addition and library reached completion by 1870. The state also finished a combined brick wash and bathhouse and storeroom between 1868 and 1870 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1864: 1-12; 1868: 6-7, 14; 1870: 5-7, 13-14; 1872: 6-7]; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1864: 77; 1868: 143-44]; Iowa, State of [House Journal] 1847- [1864: 336-341]; Iowa Secretary of State n.d [1868: specifications for cellhouse, bathhouse, and shop]; Walker 1934: 42-45; Bennett 1959; Smith 1885: 14).

In 1877, the state removed the west wall of the cellhouse and added fifty-six cells in part of the former deputy warden's dwelling. The total number of cells reached 372. The remainder of the dwelling became a receiving room and a turnkey's room on the first floor, and two rooms on the upper story became the female department. A seven room, frame house outside the prison walls served as the new deputy warden's dwelling by 1877. The cellhouse received a new iron roof by 1882. Between 1877 and 1879, the state extended a two story, 30 by 40 foot, stone wing from the north wall of the cellhouse to serve as the hospital on the first floor and the school and library on the second (figure 4). In this period, the state also constructed a two story, brick building with offices, chapel, dining room, workshop, and storeroom north of the cellhouse and east of the former hospital and dining facility (figure 4). Demolished and replaced in 1964, this building became known as the deputy's building. The hospital moved into the second floor of the chapel/dining hall in 1888. By 1884, the former dining hall became a chair factory (figure 4), making with the addition of a frame and iron clad shop, eight workshops in total.

Except for the replacement of frame shop no. 13-14 between 1889 and 1894, the building of a new bathhouse and solitary between 1884 and 1889, and the extension of the electric light plant in the former bathhouse in 1886, the prison altered little until 1894 (figure 5). Improvement of the cellhouse between 1896 and 1898 included raising the walls, adding a fourth tier of 140 steel cells, improving the ventilation, and replacing the roof. In 1896 and 1897, it also extended the south and north walls 213 feet west and rebuilt the 379 foot long west wall. This wall reached 26 feet high. The extension doubled the yard space and allowed the entrance of a railroad siding, facilitating the loading of shipments. The state placed a new three story, brick and stone shop in the new yard and erected a barn just west of the cellhouse and south of the wall between 1898 and 1899 (Walker 1939: 47-48; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1876: 12; 1878: 6-8; 1880: 6-7, 53, 58; 1882: 5; 1884: 3; 1888: 64; 1896: 9-10, 15; 1898: 7]; Presidio 5/1964; Sanborn-Perris Map Co. 1884; 1889; 1894; 1900; Smith 1885: 56; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

43

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

The first prisoner entered Fort Madison on September 22,³ 1839. During the 1840s, the number of occupants varied between four and nine.³ Up through the middle of this decade, about one-third of the inmates escaped. Although the prison contained only eight inmates in 1853, this number rose to thirty-five and forty-seven by 1854 and 1857 and jumped to 122 in 1859. Such growth reflects a combination of a growing state population and a period of depression. Although the 1859 population was sustained through 1861, the Civil War era dropped the number between 70 to 87 until 1865. At the end of the war between 1866 to 1877, the prison population rose from 160 to 402. The suspension of the death penalty from 1872 to 1878 added little to the overall numbers. But, the federal government did begin adding its prisoners to Iowa's penitentiary by 1864. By the 1870s, the rising numbers threatened to and sometimes actually overtook the favored ratio of one inmate per cell. Building did not always keep pace of population. As the period of relative prosperity continued, the prison population remained stable between 341 and 412 from 1879 to 1893. The Additional Penitentiary absorbed some of the prisoners. Because the level remained relatively stable for a long period, the state closely questioned the wisdom of physical expansion which required significant landscaping and proposed the elimination of the Fort Madison prison. However, with the onset of the depression in the 1890s, the prison population rose rapidly from 441 in 1895 to a high of 627 in 1898. With the onset of significant prosperity by 1900, the number levelled to 449 by 1901.

Most of the criminals at the State Penitentiary committed murder, burglary, and larceny. Since wardens recommended that inmates serve at least one year to allow reformation of character, it is apparent that until at least the late 1860s many prisoners gained release earlier. In 1864, the warden noted prisoners serving from thirty days to three to six months. The newer counties lacked adequate facilities to house short-term prisoners. By 1878, inmates sustained an average sentence of two and a half years. Small numbers of females, probably not more than several until at least 1856 and rarely more than five or six in the late 1870s, remained at Fort Madison. The state probably maintained them in the cellblock until 1877 when it placed them in the west end of the cellhouse 17. Ceasing to maintain female prisoners at Ft. Madison in 1884, the state moved the small number of female convicts to the Additional Penitentiary (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1864: 13; 1884: 3]). Until the founding of the reformatory in 1868, the State Penitentiary held children as young as twelve. Even in the 1880s and 1890s, it maintained inmates as young as fourteen (Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1839-46; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1857-1901; 1864: 13; 1868: 11; 1878: 6-8]; Watts 1965: 15; Haynes 1956: 14-15; Lunden 1966: 115).

The 1839 act provided for the administration of the State Penitentiary. The

³ These population figures generally represent approximate totals at the time of reporting for that year.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 44

CFN-259-1116

legislature elected two directors to oversee the construction of the prison, its operation including the creation of prison regulations, its finances, and the hiring of prison officers. In 1841, the state reduced the number of directors to one. The directors appointed a building superintendent to supervise construction, prepare plans, hire contractors, procure materials, and employ inmates at construction tasks. The superintendent served until the completion of major construction and managed the prisoners until the hiring of the warden in 1841. The warden administered the prison on a daily basis. He purchased clothing, food, general supplies, and materials needed for the prison industry. He supervised or hired out prison labor, sold goods manufactured at the prison, and administered prison rules. Beginning in 1841, the directors, later the General assembly, and finally the governor appointed the warden. The directors possessed the ability to employ ten assistants and the part-time services of a minister at the prison. Perhaps because of the tension caused by the number of prison administrators, the legislature abolished the positions of director and superintendent in 1843. The warden under the supervision of a Board of Inspectors assumed their duties. The board inspected the prison and audited its accounts.

Inability to complete prison construction and the poor management of funds spent for building and supplies led to the leasing of the prison and prisoners between 1846 and 1849. The lessee maintained control over construction, all aspects of prison labor, the administration of discipline, and the maintenance of the prisoners. After the three year lease, the state replaced the lease system with a supervisor between 1849 and 1851 and then with a warden and a board of three inspectors between 1851 and 1860. The division of authority again created conflict and poor prison conditions. From 1860 to 1898, the warden was appointed by and reported directly to the governor and his Executive Council. Short term legislative investigating committees continued to inspect the condition of the prison, its prisoners, and prison finances (Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1847: 125-26; 1849: 371-72; 1851: 622; 1852: 708; 1857: 30-31, 81-82; 1852: 40]; Iowa, Territory of [Revised Statutes] 1843 [1839: 341-43; 1841: 343-45]; Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1839-42: 1839: 149; 1841: 289; 1842-46: 1846: 223-24]; Iowa, Territory of [Laws] 1838-46 [1839: 365-67; 1840: 165; 1841: 68; 1846: 655-57]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs] 1857-1931 [1857: 228-230]; Haynes 1956: 10-11; Hollowell 1932: 132; Walker 1934: 22-26, 61).

The state prison slowly added staff in addition to its guards as it expanded its program. The state employed a clerk who maintained the records and the turnkey by the 1840s. The deputy warden was hired by 1851 to guide the discipline of the prison. Although the original law creating the institution provided for a chaplain, he served part-time until about 1872, and the physician remained part-time through the century. Through the nineteenth century, individuals never received training for their position. Lack of trained personnel hindered the operation of the prison (Haynes 1956: 8-9; Hollowell 1922: 135; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1860: 6, 8; 1864: 25; 1868: 14; 1883: 3; 1886: 77; 1890:

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 45

CFN-259-1116

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The goals of prison discipline altered gradually through the century, reflecting the orientation of the period prior to the 1880s. Iowa's prison administrators and legislative examiners viewed the prison as a place to secure society from its prisoners and to punish and secondarily to reform. Strict discipline, hard labor which was a condition of sentencing, counseling with the chaplain, and reading of the Bible strove to awaken the prisoner to a sense of guilt and penitence. Hard labor developed industrious habits and assured the necessary order. Each prisoner attained his own improvement including moral rejuvenation and social respectability through self-reflection. Reformatory agents included the religious service, Sabbath school, and individual consultation with the chaplain.

Since the State Penitentiary stood at the edge of the frontier during the 1840s and lacked secure walls until the late 1850s, discipline frequently resorted to corporal punishment and restraints such as the ball and chain and collar merely to prevent escape and maintain order. Reform received little emphasis. By the 1850s, the prison guided discipline by a myriad of rules. These rules governed the prisoner's every move, dressed him in identifying uniforms, enforced silence during almost all occasions, maintained him in solitary confinement when not working, eating, or attending religious exercise, and until late in the century excluded him from pastimes except reading books from the prison library. Reading assisted reform. Transgression from these rules brought special penalties including shaven heads, the wearing of ball and chain, and flogging until 1869. Solitary confinement for the most part replaced them in the 1870s. However, cells for this purpose did not exist until after 1886. Suggesting that Iowa conformed to the prevailing approach, Enoch Wines, an authority on penal discipline, said of the Iowa Penitentiary in 1880 that the "...state is wide awake on the issue of prison discipline and reform. It is one of the banner states of the Union in its penitentiary system..." (Wines and Dwight 1880: 178). Wines lauded the goal of securing order, obedience, and hard labor (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1863: 28-29; 1868: 11; 1870: 9-11; 1872: 9-10; 1874: 8-12; 1876: 17-19; 1886: 7, 108-111; 1888: 8; 1890: 10]; Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1838-39: 179; 1842-46: 1842: 48, 200; 1843: 20; 1846: 51-54]; Iowa Board of Inspectors 1858: 10; Haynes 1956: 12).

The State of Iowa slowly altered its approach to discipline and reform rewarding good behavior and placing less reliance on self-reflection and penitence. In 1857, the legislature allowed diminution of sentence for good behavior. By constant good behavior, a convict shortened his term in the first year by forty-two days and by forty-eight days in each succeeding year. The warden's attendance at the 1872 National Prison Reform Congress strongly influenced his management of prison discipline. He strove to replace physical discipline with "appeals to reason and conscience" (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1880: 9]). He placed emphasis on rewarding good behavior rather than punishing rule infractions. While the prison continued to rely on religious inspiration to

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

46

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

achieve moral reform and govern the prisoner's every move with rules, reform began to replace punishment as a goal of prison discipline. Influenced by the 1872 conference, the warden described his prisoners as an unclassified mass who varied in age, condition, temperament, nativity, education, moral and mental capacity, and type of crime committed. He observed that the prison required separation of hardened criminals from first time offenders to achieve reform (Walker 1939: 57; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1864: 13-14; 1872: 12; 1874: 18; 1878: 8, 55; 1880: 9; 1882: 10-11; 1888: 8]).

When the state established the penitentiary in 1839, it sentenced its prisoners to hard labor to punishment and teach inmates industrious habits. With some modification, this concept of labor remained intact through the end of the century. An investigating committee of 1882 reported that prisoners labored hard with insufficient open air exercise. Contracts demanded an excessive amount of labor which deteriorated the health of prisoners within six to eight years. They noted that prisoners received training to perform one operation at a machine and failed to acquire skill in a trade. Thus, the goal of prison labor did not include vocational training to prepare prisoners for a specific occupation at release. In the 1840s, prisoners were engaged in prison construction, a pattern of work followed through the century. Until 1846, prisoners also engaged in outdoor work near the prison, cutting timber and in the adjacent community, digging cellars, doing agricultural work, and performing other casual labor. The prison also employed surplus prisoners at a sawmill in 1872. Despite objections from the community, the legislature specifically permitted the hiring out of prisoners as a group outside the prison in Fort Madison in 1846. By 1841, the prison contained a temporary shop which allowed inmates to engage in a modest amount of coopering and blacksmithing. Scarce materials and crowding limited production. The construction of more permanent shops in 1843 improved work conditions and permitted the addition of shoe making. The warden sold their products on the open market (Iowa, Territory of [Laws] 1838-46 [1839: 365-67; 1840: 213; 1846: 68]; Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1839-42: 1841: 272-74, 289-91; 1842-46: 1842: 198-203; 1843: 116, 191-92; 1846: 51, 268]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1872: 4; 1876: 22; 1882: 9-10; 1896: 7; 1898: 8]; Walker 1934: 27, 51).

Making little profit to reduce the debt of the prison through the several crafts and outside employment, the state reluctantly leased the prison to John Cohick between 1846 and 1849. Cohick acquired complete management of the prison, its inmates, and their labor from which he was to profit. Because of its short duration, this system presumably proved unsatisfactory. The state inaugurated the contracting of prison labor in 1853. The act authorized the warden to execute contracts using the labor of the prisoners within the confines of the prison. In June, 1854, the warden entered into a ten year contract with Winterbotham and Headley of Ohio, later Winterbotham and Jones, to employ all able-bodied inmates at a set price to manufacture wagons, buggies, harnesses, and agricultural implements. They provided raw materials and sold the products. The

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 47

CFN-259-1116

state retained responsibility for the supervision of the prison and the care, guarding of the inmates, and the provision of shop space for the operation. Between 1865 and 1875, the warden and inspectors operated under a new contract with Thomas Hale and Company to employ 150 prisoners in coopering and the manufacture of agricultural implements and later household implements in shops provided by the state. The contractor provided necessary instruction in the trades and the raw materials. In 1871, the governor also contracted with Soule, Kretsinger & Co. of Fort Madison to paint and place bottoms in chairs manufactured by the company. The contract ran until about 1877.

In 1875, the state entered into three new five year contracts to employ a total of 300 inmates for 10 hours each day on similar terms. The state contracted with Benjamin S. Brown & Co. of Ohio, later the Iowa Farming Tool Company, to manufacture agricultural implements, the Fort Madison Chair Company to produce chairs and coffins, and O.B. Dodge of Red Wing, Minnesota to manufacture boots and shoes. Under the later contract, the inmates received two months of instruction. Because of the depression of the 1870s, O.B. Dodge failed by 1876. A contract with Huiskamp Brothers of Keokuk who manufactured boots, shoes, horse collars, and saddles replaced this contract in 1878. The state continued these contracts employing about the same number of inmates with Huiskamp Brothers until 1898, the Iowa Farming Tool Company until 1901, and the Fort Madison Chair Company until 1900. The warden also contracted with the Iowa Button Factory in 1899. Except for storage and finishing, the manufacturers utilized state buildings located in or near the U-shaped configuration inside the walls.⁴

The prison also employed its inmates in state work. Prior to 1900, such work provided goods and services necessary for the operation of the prison. It included prison construction, cooking, washing, and other repair and maintenance activities performed from the establishment of the prison; the provision and mending of shoes and clothing by about 1859; and the making of soap by 1881. Inmate labor also intermittently produced some of the food used at the prison. By 1841, the inmates cleared garden for this purpose. While the Investigating Committee of 1878 complained of the absence of stock and land under cultivation, a report of 1882 and 1884 noted the presence of a barn and stockyard. A barn existed just west and south of the prison gate by 1900. But, agriculture clearly received little emphasis at the prison until after 1900 (Iowa, Territory of

⁴ Kern 1848: 189; Walker 1934: 52-55; Watts 1965: 10; Brookman 1934: 131; Iowa, Territory of [House Journal] 1838-46 [1846: 272-73]; Iowa, Territory of [Laws] 1838-46 [1842-46: 1846: 655-57]; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1853: 37, 706; 1860: 106; 1862: 13]; Iowa, State of [House Journal] 1847- [1855: 25-26]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs] 1857-1931 [1855: 58; 1860: 8, 27-28; 1870: 18-25; 1872: 15-16; 1874: 22, 26; 1876: 30-38; 1878: 15, 21, 57; 1880: 15; 1886: 76; 1890: 8; 1896: 7-8; 1898: 9]; Sanborn-Perris Map Company 1884; 1899; 1894; 1900; Iowa Secretary of State 1876-1903 [contract with Fort Madison Chair Co., 1888, 1896].

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 48

CFN-259-1116

[Council Journal] 1838-46 [1839-42: 1841: 273, 289; 1842-46: 1845: 191]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1859: 22; 1868: 14; 1878: 2; 1880: 4; 1882: 5-6; 1884: 44; 1886: 77; Campbell 1900).

The inmates' competition with local labor became a concern at the establishment of the prison and again toward the end of the century. As early as 1841, investigating committees noted the detrimental effect of prison labor on local craftsmen and day laborers. Additionally, they observed that contracting companies employed prisoners to make a profit rather than to reform prisoners. Such a manner of employment did not guarantee humane treatment. On the other hand, idle prisoners led to disharmony and absence of work failed to teach industrious habits. By 1888, the warden noted that the abolition of contract labor caused these difficulties in New York. But, he concluded that such methods as the state-use system proved financially unsuccessful. Influenced by the Iowa Federation of Labor, the legislature prohibited the manufacture of pearl buttons at the State Penitentiary in 1900. As elsewhere, members of the legislature anticipated that prison industry at the State Penitentiary would support at least the maintenance of the prison if not construction. Particularly by the 1870s, wardens continued to strive for prison self-support as one objective of contract labor. The conflicting goals of prison support and humane treatment remained an issue through the first quarter of the twentieth century (Iowa, Territory of [Council Journal] 1838-46 [1842-46: 1845: 190-91; 1846: 52, 56]; Iowa, Territory of [House Journal] 1838-46 [1846: 273-74]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1860: 6; 1874: 10, 14; 1882: 5; 1888: 12; 1890: 8, 48]; Walker 1934: 27-28, 55).

Through the nineteenth century in addition to hard labor, prison authorities pointed to religion as the primary element of moral reformation in the inmate's life. The 1839 act creating the penitentiary provided for the hiring of a minister on a part-time basis. By 1843, inmates received services on alternating Sundays, and Bibles were placed in each cell. But, the Visiting Committee of 1846 noted no such sources of moral reformation and recommended its reintroduction to prison life. By the 1850s, the prison reinstated at least the weekly Sunday services which may have occurred in the west end of the cellhouse. The prison added a Sunday School and Bible class by 1858, and consultation in individual cells occurred by 1860 and probably considerably earlier. In 1858, these services and exercises occurred in a separate frame dining hall. Governor Merrill reinstated the Sunday School in 1869, and citizens from Fort Madison volunteered to guide the school. Between 1867 and 1868, the chapel moved into the new brick dining hall and remained in its 1870 successor until 1879 when it occupied the second floor of the new dining hall. Characteristically evangelical social meetings attended by about 12% to 15% of the inmates occurred after the services by 1875. A full-time chaplain served the prison after 1875. Religious groups including temperance organizations presented programs at the penitentiary by the 1880s. The chaplain had organized a prison choir in the 1890s. These religious activities emphasized the need to acknowledge crime, repent, and seek redemption, and they provided moral discipline (Iowa, Territory of [Council

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

49

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

Journal] 1838-46 [1842-46: 1843: 20; 1846: 53]; Iowa, Territory of [House Journal] 1838-46 [1846: 270]; Iowa, Territory of [Laws] 1838-46 [1839: 368]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1857: 212; 1860: 36; 1864: 28-29; 1870: 11-13; 1874: 41; 1876: 3-4; 1880: 53; 1882: 36; 1886: 108; 1896: 40]; Iowa Board of Inspectors 1858).

The State Penitentiary initiated the prison school as a cell study program under the chaplain's direction by 1868. The training of illiterate inmates remained the focus of the program through the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By the time the prison hired a full-time chaplain in 1875, this instruction may have moved into the west end of the cellhouse and/or the chapel. It was then taught as formal classes of fifteen to twenty men. In 1879, the school and library moved into the second floor of the north wing of the cellhouse (figure 4). In 1888, the school received the first floor of the wing, and the library occupied the second floor. By that date, instruction included one elementary and one intermediate class meeting two evenings per week and one advanced class meeting a single evening. While the first two classes focused on literacy, the advanced class which was taught by the inmates presented math and bookkeeping. By 1894, the prison added grammar, history, geography, and algebra. Education reformed by inspiring the inmate to a more productive life. This pattern of education remained intact into the twentieth century. Also offering a source of moral instruction and diversion, an act of 1851 supported a rather sparse prison library through the visitor's fund. The donated and purchased selections focused on moral and religious works, biographies, histories, and works of science as well as magazines and newspapers by 1882. It first occupied the clerk's office, and it moved to the chapel by 1858 and to the school/hospital wing by 1874 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1857: 211; 1868: 13, 38-39; 1872: 14; 1874: 8; 1876: 3-4, 21; 1878: 13, 50; 1882: 36; 1884: 63; 1888: 68; 1890: 40-48; 1894: 41; 1898: 36-39; 1902: 679]; Bennett 1959; Walker 1934: 29; Iowa Board of Inspection 1858).

Living conditions in the prison remained relatively primitive until the mid-1850s. Diet, general health, and cleanliness of prisoners, the buildings, and yard received minimal attention until the appointment of a part-time prison physician in 1854. Cells did not receive adequate heat, ventilation, sunlight or artificial light. In the nineteenth century, physicians commonly attributed disease in the prisons to these problems. Minimal examination of inmates before admittance into the prison began in 1854. The prison cared for its sick in their cells until about 1856 when it converted several small cells in the cellhouse to that purpose. Improvements occurred gradually. Kerosene lighting in 1868 and gas lighting in 1872 were furnished to the cellhouse to allow reading at night. The prison added an electric light plant to the bathhouse to furnish lighting in the cellhouse and yard in 1886. It installed a steam heating plant in 1881. The extension of the wall to the west in 1896-1897 and the raising of the cellhouse roof and lengthening the windows in 1896-1898 significantly increased ventilation and sunlight. The hospital moved to temporary dining room in 1858, the second

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 50

CFN-259-1116

floor of the brick dining hall built in 1867, the first floor of the north wing of the cellhouse erected in 1879, and the second floor of the 1879 dining hall in 1888 (Walker 1934: 29, 49; Bennett 1959; Watts 1965: 12; Smith 1885: 13; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1857: 227; 1888: 7; 1896: 40]; Iowa, State of [Senate Journal] 1847- [1855: 60; 1860: 35; 1878: 40]; Iowa Secretary of State n.d [contact for heating plant, 1881]).

Except for pardoning and diminution of sentence, the prisoner served his full term at the penitentiary through the nineteenth century. The state constitution of 1846 gave the governor the power to grant pardons and commute sentences after conviction for all offenses but treason. The codes of 1851 provided for conditional pardons for sentences of less than one year. To reward continual good behavior, the legislature permitted the diminution of sentences in 1851. The number of days reduced from a sentence through the good time laws increased in the early 1890s. Further, by 1872, the state reduced a sentence by fifty days for every \$100 worth of labor performed in excess of \$300 in one year. The prisoner also earned one-third of this \$100 excess. This approach tended to promote good behavior in prison but failed to increase respect for the law after discharge. Although the prison warden advocated parole in 1896 to supervise the prisoner after discharge, Iowa failed to adopt it until 1907.

As early as 1846, an investigating committee observed that prisoners received discharge in their prison suits without guidance toward employment or financial provision for their maintenance or transportation home. In 1872, the legislature finally furnished each discharged prisoner his transportation to any point within the state and three to five dollars. Several wardens recommended the formation of a prisoners' aid association. It was to assist discharged prisoners find employment and to provide other kinds of guidance as early as 1876. The chaplain provided some of these services by the 1880s. However, the state failed to fund such an organization until 1886. Because it operated on a volunteer basis, the organization remained in existence only to about 1890 (Hollowell 1922: 134-35; Newhall 1846: 81; Iowa, Territory of [House Journal] 1838-46 [1846: 270-71]; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1857: 82; 1872: 59-60]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1868: 9; 1870: 10; 1872: 136; 1874: 5; 1876: 60; 1882: 7, 36; 1884: 39; 1890: 47-48; 1892: 46; 1896: 40; Iowa Board of Inspectors 1858).

The Auburn prison system with its emphasis on penitence rather than retraining guided prison reform through the nineteenth century at the State Penitentiary. The prison strove to achieve this reform through hard labor, religious teachings in moral reform, strict and often harsh discipline, prison contracts, and limited educational training. The absence of recreational activities and stark conditions provided an appropriate environment in which the inmate was to realize his errors and modify his behavior. Although its design never achieved the Wethersfield pattern, the arrangement of the cells in the cellhouse also reflect the heavy influence of this program.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 51

CFN-259-1116

Prison Reform and Progressive Programs at the State Penitentiary: 1907-1942

The Iowa legislature passed a series of acts in the first decade of the twentieth century which imperfectly reflected the principles of the 1870 prison conference. The conference intended that these principles guide the reform of young, first offender rather than multiple offenders. The state's designation of the Additional Penitentiary as the Men's Reformatory removed most of the younger prisoners from the State Penitentiary and focused the reform efforts at the reformatory. However, the grading of the prisoners by behavior in 1900, indeterminate sentencing and parole laws of 1907, and acts governing prison labor affected both the Men's Reformatory and the State Penitentiary. Perhaps to a greater degree at the reformatory but also at the penitentiary, the object of a prison term became not punishment and reformation by religious conversion and hard labor but rehabilitation of attitude primarily through retraining. Prisoners were not entirely judged according to the crime they committed but primarily by their behavior within the prison walls. The state gradually improved physical conditions in the penitentiary; added more specialized staff, more educational opportunities, very limited vocational training, and more privileges allowing social interaction; gradually reduced the number of petty rules; placed less emphasis on prison labor; provided limited counseling while in prison and after release; developed better medical facilities; and removed short-term prisoners from within the prison walls. However, prior to 1942, the prison failed to achieve a true classification and treatment program based on the individual causes of crime and the needs of each prisoner (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 28; Haynes 1956; Briggs 1942a; Briggs 1942b).

After 1907, the State Penitentiary was to receive the hardened criminals, those males who were first offenders over thirty or recidivists. Although the prison roughly grouped men by grade into general behavioral categories, they remained unclassified by specific problem or type of treatment except for minimum security offenders. The number of inmates including state and federal prisoners, descended from a high of 524 in 1898 to a low of 439 in 1908. The reduction reflected a period of general prosperity. The population then rose again beginning in 1909 to a high of 640 in 1916. During World War I, the number fell reaching 466 by 1920. Reflecting the onset of the agricultural depression, the number of inmates then ascended rapidly through the 1920s from 567 in 1922 to 1164 in 1930. In the 1930s, it continued to climb to a high of 1513 inmates in 1938. The number fell to 1379 by 1942. Serious crowding of cellhouses over the 1166-man capacity began by the late 1920s and continued to the early 1940s. Such crowding frustrated progressive program development overall but did result in the removal of some honor prisoners from the prison environment (Iowa, State of [IA Docs] 1857-1931 [1923: 5]; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 27; 1936: 91; 1942]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

At the turn of the century, the state began the long task of modernizing

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 52

CFN-259-1116

facilities at the State Penitentiary. It erected separate buildings to serve the daily needs of the prisoners; increased living spaces as the inmate population rose after 1909 and after 1922 through the 1930s; expanded the yard; and updated its industry buildings. H.F. Liebbe who served as the state architect for the Board of Control directed much of the building activity at the prison after 1898 to 1927. Succeeding him as state architect, Henry J. Liebbe designed the penitentiary's buildings within its walls from 1927 to his death in 1941 (Liebbe, H.F. 1898-1927; Liebbe, H.J. 1927-41).

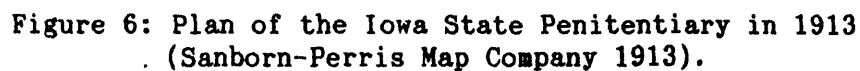
After completion of the west wall and the addition of the fourth range of cells and new ventilating system in cellhouse 17 in 1897-1898 and 1900-1901, the construction of the button factory building in the west yard and a second workshop by 1900, the prison began to improve its hospital and school facilities. The state erected a new hospital (figure 6), now called the rear administration building, at the southeast corner of the yard between 1904 and 1906. It then contained solitary confinement cells in the basement, the school and library on the first floor, and the hospital on the second and third floors. The prison converted the former school in the north wing of cellhouse 17 to a carpenter shop. It removed the wing between 1913 and 1919. The rear administration building served its original functions until 1957 when the state constructed a new hospital (14) north of the current industries building. By 1906, the 1879 dining hall contained the chapel across its entire second floor. After the construction of the new power house between 1902 and 1904 in the west yard, the kitchen, storage areas, and small shops replaced the old power plant in the building just to the east of the dining hall about 1905 (figure 6). Between 1905 and 1910, the state extended the east prison wall about 100 feet to the east of the rear administration building. It removed the north bluff sufficiently to continue the east wall 100 feet north of the original north wall to accommodate cellhouse 19 (16-18). The new north wall extended to the west end of the old prison yard but not across the west addition. Designed in 1907 by H.F. Liebbe, the State Architect, the state erected cellhouse 19 between 1908 and 1913. Constructed of limestone with concrete floors, the cellhouse contained two ranges of four tiers of 400 cells. The 5.9 by 8.5 feet by 8 feet high cells were constructed of reinforced concrete with steel grating across their fronts. This cellhouse included sanitary facilities. In 1917, the warden received a new dwelling placed between his former house which was converted to prison offices and the deputy warden's house along the south side of the south wall. A greenhouse appeared east of the new dwelling at about the same time (figure 7).

Although a few warehouses and several prison shops occurred outside the west wall of the prison prior to 1900, the number increased after that date. Between 1913 and 1919, the northeast and east sections, except the south end of the U-shaped industrial building complex, were removed (figure 7). The Fort Madison Chair Company factory building along the west and northwest leg of the U-shaped complex burned in 1922. The four story reinforced concrete industries building, the west leg of the current industries building (12), replaced it in the same year. The

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

CFN-259-1116



National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 54

CFN-259-1116

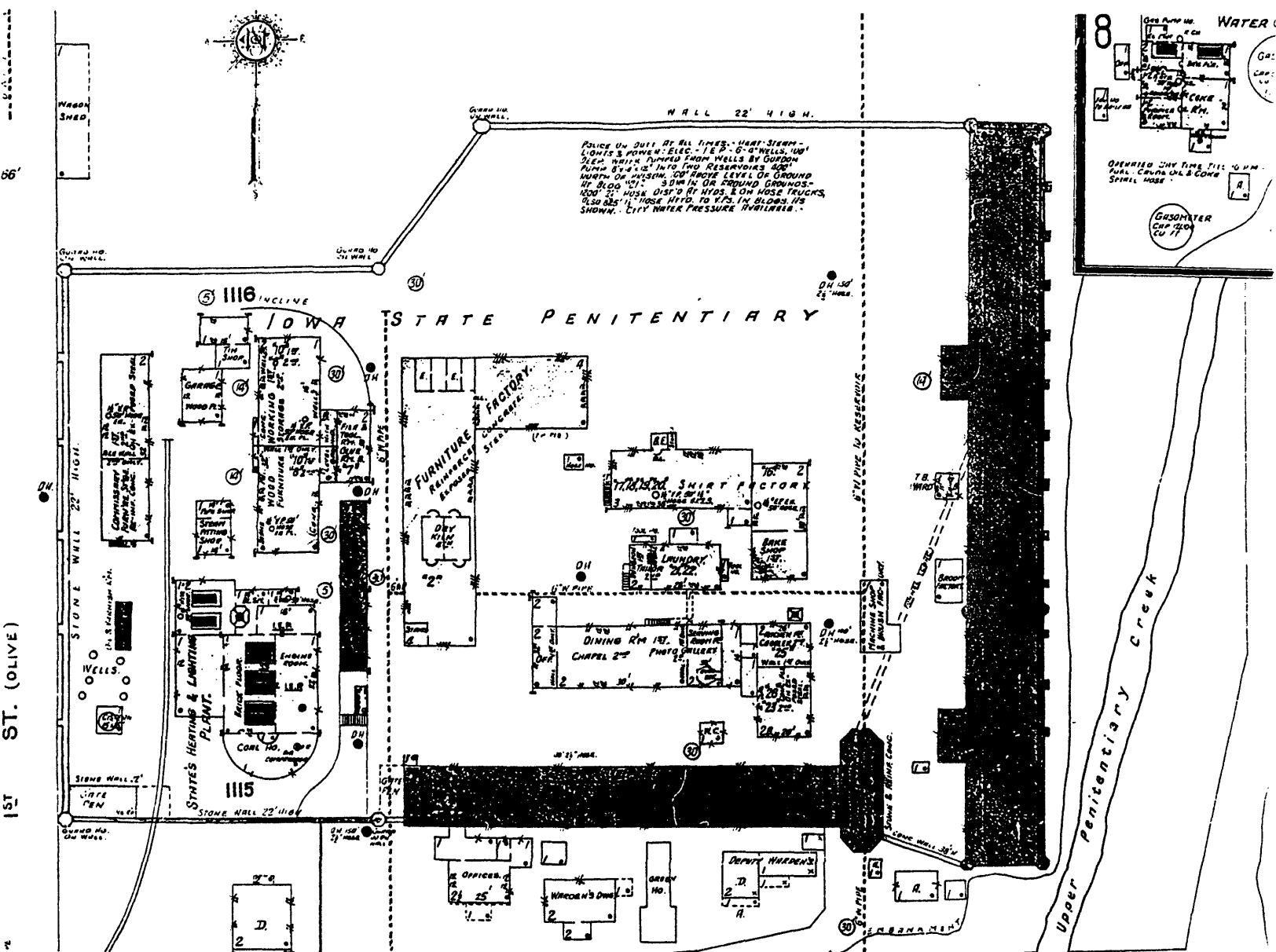


Figure 7: Plan of the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1926
(Sanborn-Perris Map Company 1926).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 55

CFN-259-1116

new building contained the furniture factory on the lower three floors and the weaving industry on the fourth. H.F. Liebbe had prepared the plans for cellhouse 18 (15) just prior to the fire, and the state completed the building in 1925. Constructed of stone, the 52 by 192 foot cellhouse contained two ranges of five tiers of 260 cells built to the specifications of those in cellhouse 19. These cells measured 5.6 by 8.15 feet by 8 feet high. A diagonal concrete prison wall connected the rear administration building to cellhouse 18. Cellhouse 17 (7, 9) received some sanitary facilities in 1917 but still lacked adequate plumbing and sewer. Between 1925 and 1927, it received 400 7.5 by 4 to 6 foot by 8 feet high concrete cells with steel grating along the front and sanitary facilities. In 1926, the east elevation of the industries building (12) received the a four story reinforced concrete ell. It now forms the west portion of the center wing. About 1925, a reinforced concrete commissary was also constructed in the west prison yard west of the former button factory.

As the prison population continued to rise, the updating and maintenance of cellhouses lagged during the depression. State funding did allow the prison to offer an increasing number of programs to rehabilitate its inmates and slowly construct the necessary facilities. Located at the north end of cellhouse 19, half of cellhouse 20 (19) was built between 1929 and 1931. Constructed of limestone, it contained one tier of four ranges of 50 cells measuring 7.6 by 6 feet by 8 feet high. The state added the second range of 51 cells in 1937-1938. Because it extended north of the existing north wall until after 1938, the cellhouse initially received honor prisoners. Also between 1930 and 1932, the state extended the center wing of the industries building (12) and added a perpendicular east wing. This section of the building contained the kitchen on the first and weaving on the second through fourth floors of the center wing and the bakery in the basement, the dining hall on the first floor, the chapel on the second floor, and weaving on the third and fourth floors of the east wing. A tailor's shop filled the space left by the dining hall in what became known as the deputy's building (figure 7). In 1938, a north section was added to the east wing. It contained industries and the library on the second floor. A new steam laundry (13) was erected by 1939 north of the industries building replacing the one built in the old bathhouse built about 1907. Between 1925 and 1931, the state removed part of the bluff north of the prison, extended the west wall, and built a new north wall to enclose cellhouse 20 in the prison proper and enlarge the yard for recreational purposes. At this point, the 22 to 30 foot high walls enclosed eight acres. A new reinforced concrete power plant and adjoining warehouse (1) were constructed in 1939-1941. Erected outside and southwest of the prison wall, they completed the major pre-1942 building projects at the prison.

Later additions included the new canteen erected in 1947 and replaced in 1969, the hospital (14) built in 1957, the 1963 administration building (south end of 10), the replacement of the deputy's building in 1964-66 (11), the medium security dormitory (21) just northeast of the prison in 1965, the gymnasium and

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 56

CFN-259-1116

vocational school (5) built in 1972, and the addition of a new hospital (8) along the front of cellhouse 17 in 1982-1984. In 1981, cellhouses 18, 19, and 20 (15-19) underwent unitization and interior remodeling.

The discipline which guided behavior at the State Penitentiary in the twentieth century made a gradual transition from the Auburn toward the reform approach of the 1870s. Progressive prison philosophy did not begin to affect the approach to discipline until the 1930s. Iowa introduced the graded system of discipline advocated in the 1870s in 1900. Except for the honor prisoners, the system formed the only prisoner classification system until the 1940s. Prisoners entered into the second grade gaining the first grade with its added privileges by following prison rules. Rule infraction reduced them to the third grade. Focusing on poor conduct rather than rewarding proper behavior, the prison reduced the number of grades to two sometime prior to the 1930s. As late as 1930s, the prison maintained a long list of 73 detailed rules. They included silence, the wearing of uniforms appropriate to the grade, the proper demeanor with others, neatness of person and surroundings, attentiveness, and punctuality. Not yet in step with the progressive notion that the prison should simulate a community and rules should not repress individuality, this negative approach failed to allow the prisoner to improve social skills and responsibility. Punishments for rule infraction included reduction to a lower grade and loss of good time and in more severe cases solitary confinement and dietary restrictions for up to twenty-one days. The poorly lit and ventilated, damp confinement cells occupied the basement of the rear administration building after 1906 and were moved to a small concrete building of similar circumstance by 1938.

By the 1930s, the prison began to base the treatment of each prisoner on behavior in prison rather than on previous crimes. Creating a more positive atmosphere by 1940, prisoners were able to earn back loss of good time. All prisoners received similar treatment despite their problems or needs. However, with the assistance of part-time psychologists from the State University in the early 1940s, the prison began progressive prisoner classification. Actual categories included only the three divisions based on security. Thus, the prison slowly stepped away from reliance on a rigid set of rules and the same treatment plan

⁵ Iowa Governor's Office n.d.a [1901]; Iowa State Penitentiary n.d.; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 11, 91; 1938: 150; 1940: 147]; 1945-46: 18; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Sanborn-Perris Map Co. 1900; 1907; 1913; 1919; 1926; 1939; Cosson 1912: 9-10; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1898: 596-98; 1902: 654, 657-58; 1904: 87; 1906: 35; 1907: 11, 32; 1909: 13; 1911: 14; 1913: 12; 1915: 19; 1917: 17; 1919: 28; 1923: 25; 1925: 23-24; 1927: 17-18; 1929: 5; 1931: 14]; General Services Administration 1884-1979 [Plans for warehouse and Deputy Building, State Penitentiary 1940, 1964]; Nix 1984; Presidio 1969 [Nov.-Dec.: 18]; Liebke, H.F. 1898-1927 [letters dated 11/16/06, 4/30/07, 5/4/07]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 14-15, 20.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 57

CFN-259-1116

for all inmates toward a more individualized approach treating specific problems (Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1940: 160]; Presidio 1966 [Dec.]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Cosson 1912; Iowa, State of [IA Doc.] 1857-1931 [1900: 21; 1902: 656; 1904: 954]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 18-20, 27-28; Briggs 1942a: 330-331; 1942b: 310).

Although the emphasis on hard labor as a punishment had clearly diminished, prison labor at the State Penitentiary remained primarily a means to occupy inmates and provided prison support. The funds earned from contracts composed much although not all of the general support fund except for a brief period from 1918 into the 1920s. At least until 1912, in theory and much later in reality, training for life outside the prison walls clearly remained a secondary issue. Until their final expiration in 1915 and 1917 respectively, contracts with the Iowa Farming Tool Company and the Fort Madison Chair Company employed most of the inmates. After objections from manufacturers, the legislature ended the pearl button contract initiated in 1904. To occupy idle prisoners, the warden established a piece-price industry to produce cane chair seats by 1904. However, while the manufacturer provided the machinery and raw materials, it paid the prison according to the number of seats produced not by inmate hours. The state-use industries which produced goods used by the prison such as shoes and clothing and engaged inmates in the building of the institution and its maintenance remained in operation (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1957-1931 [1900: 872, 899; 1902: 655, 667; 1904: 975; 1913: 31-34; 1915: 38; 1927: 27]; Brookman 1934: 134-35; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

The Cosson report of 1912 included an investigation of contract labor at the State Penitentiary. Complaints of inmates concerning denial of parole because of their employment in prison contracts, employment of prisoners when physically unable, abuse of inmates by employees of the contractors, the warden's interest in the contract, and the passage of letters and contraband by the contractors' employees possessed little validity. However, the report concluded that contract labor lent itself to these problems. The Board of Control found the work neither hard nor wearing and found no basis for the other allegations. The board concluded that the contract situation only enslaved prisoners in the sense that they were required to work when capable. And, the board stressed that all inmates required employment for their well-being. Except for a small number of honor prisoners who might engage in farm work or public works, employment for most inmates had to occur within the security of the prison walls. Both the board and the Cosson commission agreed that the replacement of contracts with state-account and state-use work in which prisoners received some wages for their work addressed the complaints of 1911-1912 and permitted more vocational training.

To accomplish the recommendations of the Cosson report, the legislature provided for a special, five year tax levy in 1913. The levy supported the development and maintenance of state industries by funding the purchase of land and equipment

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 58

CFN-259-1116

and the construction and improvement of buildings at state correctional institutions. The 1928 legislation also established a revolving industrial fund to help support the creation and maintenance of state industries. In 1915, the legislature abolished contract labor, established only state-account and state-use industries, and provided for wages equivalent to those earned by free labor less the cost of maintenance. By 1917, the state expended a total of \$157,476.80 to meet these goals at the State Penitentiary. Although the industrial program mostly conformed to either state-use or state-account labor, one piece-price shirt industry operated by the Reliance Company appeared in 1921. The industry was placed in the old tool factory, moved to industry building, and located in the former dining hall in early 1930s. By 1923, manufacturers and Cedar Rapids labor unions competing with the private firm in Chicago who marketed the goods also pushed for the cessation of these contracts. Although the Board of Control moved to cancel the contract in July, 1924, the legislature eventually extended it indefinitely. The Hawes-Cooper Act finally ended piece-price contracting in Iowa in 1933 (Cosson 1912 Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1913: 31; 1917: 16-17; 1919: 43]; Watts 1965: 18-19; Brookman 1934: 147-48; Swisher and Schaffter 1929: 517-19; Presidio 1964 [May, p. 8]; 1966 [Dec, p. 20]; Haynes 1956: 41-42).

After the expiration of the last private contract in 1915, the State Penitentiary established a large state-account factory which produced chairs and other furniture beginning in the same year. The prison marketed the chairs through a private jobber to avoid the stigma of prison-make products. It utilized the buildings of the former chair factory on the west side of the yard and then the west wing of the current industries building (12). The industry operated through 1942. State-use operations produced such goods as rugs in 1918 and 1919; brooms and brushes from 1918 into the 1940s; mattresses; clothing in the late 1920s; shoes from 1918 through 1940; underwear and hosiery by 1930 to 1940; and sanitary supplies from 1918 to 1930. Assembly of auto parts in 1918-1919 and tire salvage about 1929 also added to the goods used in the prison or sold to other state institutions. In 1930 through 1939, the state created a weaving industry which produced cloth for blankets, towels, and ticking. It occupied the top floors of the industry building. The state continued utilizing prison labor to maintain its own facilities such as the power plant, kitchen, yards, and buildings. In the 1930s and into the early 1940s, the state frequently engaged a large group in prison construction, an occupation which temporarily absorbed those laid-off from the piece-price industry in 1933 (Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 20, 28; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1940: 146; 1942: 91]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1917: 16-17; 1919: 8-10; 1921: 14; 1923: 27; 1925: 26; 1927: 23; 1929: 17-19; 1931: 15-16]; Sanborn-Perris Map Co. 1913; 1919; 1926; 1939).

The Cosson Report of 1912 recommended the use of honor prisoners outside the walls on prison farms and in public works. Although this group composed a small percentage of the prison population, it provided an opportunity to separate minimum security risks from the general prison population, a process which was

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 59

CFN-259-1116

not possible inside the prison. The report favored such work because of the positive effects of open air on the prisoners' health, because it introduced the prisoners into a more normal social situation, and because it provided a vocation by teaching scientific farming. By the 1930s and the early 1940s, the use of honor prisoners outside the prison rose substantially and became one means to relieve prison overcrowding (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1913: 32-33]; Cosson 1912: 42-45; Briggs 1942: 313).

Except for small gardens created early in its establishment, the State Penitentiary did not operate a farm or garden until about 1906 when the legislature appropriated funds for such land. However, even by 1909, it cultivated only eight acres south of the prison. In that year with the purchase of 220 acres, the state began acquiring tracts of agricultural lands from one to fifteen miles away from the prison. The prison cultivated 238.5 acres by 1914. It rapidly added to these lands acquiring a total of 979 acres by 1920. The prison farms received greater emphasis as the prison closed some of its industries 1930s. In 1928, it employed fifty-three prisoners on its farms and one hundred inmates operated them in 1940. In the 1920s, the prison emphasized dairy farming, but beef cattle, hogs, and poultry also remained important products into the 1940s. Currently, the prison retains two farms, farm 1 or the Augusta Unit, one and a half miles northwest of the prison, and farm 3 or the Montrose unit, twelve miles southwest of the prison. Purchase of these properties which included 949.4 acres at farm 1 and 523.48 acres at farm 3, occurred in 1909 and 1917-1919 and 1950. Although several may date to the 1930s, the buildings on these farms were erected primarily in the 1940s to the 1950s. They include dormitories, dairy barns, granaries, hog houses, machine sheds, cattle sheds, a slaughter house, and other small outbuildings. The state hired a farmer and dairyman to supervise each farm (Iowa, State of 1857-1931 [1902: 874; 1906: 28-29; 1907: 15, 19; 1909: 13, 18-19; 1911: 15; 1914: 24; 1921: 31; 1929: 202]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942: 15; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1920: 1]; 1934-42 [1934: 34; 1936: 91; 1940: 160]; Iowa State Penitentiary n.d. [farm report, 1981]; Doane Agricultural Services 1965: 6-4; Briggs 1942: 313).

Following the recommendations of the Cosson Report, the state purchased 781 acres ten miles northwest of Des Moines in Clive in 1913. This land comprised much of the 1300 acre Martin Flynn Farm established in 1867. The legislature secured the farm with the intent to convert it to one of four district or custodial farms for rehabilitation of offenders in county jails. However, the legislature never provided further funding or direction for this program. Beginning in 1915, the Board of Control operated the Clive Honor Farm as a state-account prison industry with 15 to 20 of the State Penitentiary's honor prisoners working under the direction of a farm supervisor. The board initially operated the farm with minimal addition to the original buildings. The superintendent and some of the prisoners occupied the main house and an adjacent dwelling, and the state utilized the extant outbuildings. During the farm's early operation, prisoners

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 60

CFN-259-1116

raised primarily beef cattle, hogs, and the necessary grain. The board sold these products in the Chicago market. Beginning in the 1920s, the state concentrated on its dairy operations selling the milk in Des Moines. From 1922 to 1935, the Board replaced the prisoners from Fort Madison with those from the Reformatory. After leasing the farm during the Depression from 1936 to 1941, the state again maintained prisoners from the Penitentiary until its sale to Living History Farms in 1965. Because of the architectural significance of the main house and its relationship to Martin Flynn rather than its relation to the State Penitentiary, the Clive Honor Farm was placed on the National Register in 1973 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 40-41; 1917: 44-45; 1919: 13-15; 1921: 21-22]; National Register nomination for Living History Farms 1973; Steven Green [Curator, Living History Farms] 7/22/1991; Haynes 1956: 44-45; Doane Agricultural Services 1965; Haynes 1946: 70-74).

The legislature sanctioned the use of honor prisoners in state road construction and in public works projects in 1913. It prohibited the leasing of prison labor to contractors and specified payment of wages and their proper supervision under the authority of the warden. Concerned about the reaction of the local community, it also warned against the use of conspicuous clothing. In 1914, an ordinance passed by the City of Fort Madison prohibited their use along its streets. In 1913, the State Highway Commission began to use a limited number of prisoners on state highways. Prisoners from the Penitentiary also worked on building and landscaping projects and on agricultural lands at state institutions including the Institution for the Feeble Minded Children at Glenwood and the State Hospital and Colony for Epileptics at Woodward. The state accommodated the inmates in tents without guards. During 1938, honor prisoners assisted Works Progress Administration workers with the levee at Fort Madison. An amendment to the 1927 bill regulating piece-price labor in the Penitentiary and Reformatory also permitted the use of prison labor to build and maintain roads in state parks. As early as 1915, the Board lauded the successful operation of these projects and their benefit to the prisoners (Cosson 1912; Briggs 1915: 212-13; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 19, 38; 1917: 17; 1929: 21; 1931: 17]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; n.d.a [1938]; Swisher and Schaffter 1929: 517-19).

The Cosson Report suggested placing greater emphasis on education and vocational training at the State Penitentiary in 1912. Although the Board of Control belatedly defended its prison industry program by pointing to the training it provided in specific vocations by 1921, it continued to emphasize the industries' large contribution to institutional support. The 1938 study by the Osborne Association clearly indicated the absence of vocational programs. The institution lacked employees trained to present such programs, tended to employ prisoners on a single machine for long periods, relied solely on foremen for supervision to the late 1930s, and failed to tie its educational programs to the training in work skills.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

61

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

From the turn of the century to 1937, the penitentiary's educational program focused almost entirely on the illiterate prisoner. The chaplain and a growing number of inmate assistants offered education in evening courses held five nights each week. Two elementary classes met twice a week and the advanced group gathered weekly. As in the previous century, these classes received remedial teaching in basic subjects as prescribed by the 1907 penal reform law. Classes met in the north wing of the cellhouse until 1906 when the school and library moved to the rear administration building (10) and remained there through 1939. By 1934, the prison required that those men determined to be illiterate through achievement tests receive remedial education through the eighth grade. The elementary classes occupied half a day. The chaplain and inmate assistants continued to provide the program through the 1930s. The implementation of individualized cell study in 1937 considerably augmented the limited educational opportunities. More advanced students took correspondence courses in agriculture, animal husbandry, civics, mathematics, Spanish, commercial law, salesmanship, and English grammar prepared at the Illinois Penitentiary at Statesville. Also supervised by the chaplain through 1938, the library continued to receive support from the visitor's funds.

The religious program underwent subtle but significant changes by the 1940s. After 1934, participation was no longer mandatory for prisoners, and leadership expanded to include a part-time Catholic chaplain in addition to the full-time Protestant Chaplain. Although the basic program remained the same, the approach to it had grown considerably less dogmatic and evangelic and encouraged inmates to express and discuss their own views. Except for the addition of an inmate orchestra to the program, the kind of religious services including the morning service, Sunday School, devotional or prayer meeting, and inmate choir continued as before. The chapel remained on the second floor of the old dining hall until the 1932 completion of the new chapel in the east wing of the industries building (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 889-90, 921-23; 1904: 987-990; 1921: 14, 31; 1929: 19-20; 1931: 16]; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 34; 1936: 92; 1938: 149-50]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 21, 24-28; Presidio 1966 [Dec, p. 20]; Sanborn-Perris Map Company 1900; 1907; 1926; 1939; Briggs 1942b: 312).

Grading by outward behavior remained the only form of classification from 1900 to the mid-1930s. The chaplain then acquired the job of both administering the intelligence test and interviewing and orienting all new inmates to prison life. This testing resulted only in the determination of mental age and placement of the inmate in the correct academic grade if necessary. It did not determine the sources of the prisoner's deviancy nor permit the creation of a treatment plan. In the late 1930s, a psychology student from Iowa State University replaced the chaplain in this task. By 1940, Warden Haynes created a classification committee including the warden, deputy warden, chaplain, records clerk, and the part-time student psychologist and sociologist from the university. To the testing, the prison added the compilation of life histories through inmate interviews and

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 62

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

committee consultation. The prison then strived for proper classification by the inmate's needs and possible solutions which involved placement for education, vocational training, and group therapy.

Minimal medical examination of new prisoners began in 1854. By 1912, physical care for all but admittance and emergencies remained limited. Dental treatment was unavailable, the prison failed to isolate all inmates with contagious diseases, and many mental problems remained undiagnosed. These limitations existed because of limited funding and the absence of a full-time physician. A 1938 study observed that the medical work at the State Penitentiary reached higher standards than most similar institutions. But, the outdated hospital facility in the rear administration building (10) since 1906 and the absence of a full-time physician made this achievement rather difficult. The full-time physician and complete entrance examinations came in 1939, but construction of a new hospital did not occur until 1957 (Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 34]; Haynes 1956: 53; Briggs 1942b: 312-13; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 26, 28; Cosson 1912; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

The recreation program had expanded little by 1900. In 1912, it included concerts and lectures supported by the visitor's fund, but not sports. Yard privileges remained quite sporadic into the 1920s. By the 1930s, especially after 1934 during the administration of Warden Haynes, the penitentiary established a considerably more active program as did many prisons. Haynes sanctioned the weekly showing of movies at the chapel in the industries building (12), cells occupied by prisoners in good standing received a radio, outside groups presented dramatic and musical programs, the public attended inmate productions, and the prison formed its own band and bugle corps. Founded in 1934, the prison newspaper, the Presidio, provided a forum for inmates to express their ideas and discuss problems developing outside the prison walls and for the staff to offer general advice. Established in 1935, the canteen provided a further privilege and raised money for prison events.

After 1935, yard privileges became a daily routine instead of an occasional luxury saved for holidays. Until 1934, the athletic activities centered around baseball with occasional Saturday or Sunday morning games with outside teams. The extension of the north wall enlarged the recreation field at the northwest corner of the prison yard after 1934. Then, sports became a growing part of the prison program. The chaplain served as the athletic director after 1934, and the prison hired a full-time director in 1938. Team sports included baseball, softball, basketball, football, and volley ball. The winning team competed with outside groups, and spectators frequently attended. The inside basketball court occupied the 1938 rear addition to the industries building (12). Between 1935 and 1940, the prison also introduced more individual sports such as hand ball, horse shoes, tennis, boxing, track, and ice skating. Inmates were permitted to elect an Athletic Committee in 1940. This group managed sporting events and other recreation at the prison. The sports program actively involved many of the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

63

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

prisoners rather than simply a select team. Sports uplifted morale as well as health and required group interaction and the development of responsibility (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1912: 658]; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 12; 1936: 12; 1938: 150; 1940: 160]; Haynes 1956: 52; Briggs 1942b: 310-15, 331; Osborne Association 1938b: 24-27; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Presidio 1966 [Dec., p. 21]).

Several mechanisms allowed early release from the State Penitentiary. The state increased time earned for good behavior through a complex commutation law enacted in 1897. Indeterminate sentence and parole were introduced to the State Penitentiary as well as the Men's Reformatory in 1907. However, the high rate of recidivism remained a major problem, reaching a return rate of 56% in 1940. The prisoner's inability to maintain employment remained a major cause. At release, inmates gained fifteen rather than five dollars and additional wearing apparel beyond the suit of clothing after 1924. Discharged men still lacked adequate supervision. They relied on the state-wide volunteer organization, the Howard Association formed between 1902 and 1904, and the efforts of the chaplain. Starting in 1910, one parole officer served the prison and the Men's Reformatory until the 1920s when the state assigned one to the State Penitentiary. The limited staffing of the Board of Parole provided little real guidance except when prisoners experienced identified problems (Briggs 1942b: 311, 333; 1915: 103-04; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 19; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1902: 679; 1904: 9; 1925: 24]; Haynes 1956: 52).

The State Penitentiary gradually met the goals of the progressive prison: individual classification and treatment, educational and vocational programs to meet the diverse needs of the inmates, the closer approximation of a normal community, and rapid return of prisoners to the community under supervision under parole. The Penitentiary's counseling programs began in the 1940s. Although still limited by the amount of data on inmate life histories and the small number of professionals, a screening committee studied prisoners needs and recommended treatment by the 1940s. As usual, the chaplain continued to serve multiple roles. He promoted prisoner self-expression by allowing inmates to discuss their views in group surroundings. The Presidio also allowed prisoner communication. Medical facilities remained in inadequate quarters. Vocational programs began by 1940, and inmate support of the institution through the prison industries lost its overwhelming significance. Individually organized cell study programs better met many inmate's educational needs. Although the prison developed only limited inmate participation in the decision-making process through the sports program, other recreational opportunities, team participation, the publication of the paper, the creation of a canteen, and other privileges required social interaction and the handling of responsibilities gained with these privileges. But, once released, only limited volunteer and professional assistance existed to assist former prisoners form relationships in their community and maintain employment.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 64

CFN-259-1116

The Additional Penitentiary or Iowa Mens' Reformatory at Anamosa: 1872-1942

The Additional Penitentiary Builds: 1872-1907

As the state attracted a growing population at the end of the Civil War and the Iowa State Penitentiary suffered crowded conditions in the late 1860s, the state moved to construct a second penitentiary. In 1868 and again in 1872, a legislative Visiting Committee found that the location of the State Penitentiary with the bluff to the north and ravines along its other sides did not readily allow expansion. It recommended the eventual closing of this facility. In 1870, Governor Merrill supported the construction of a new facility in the northern part of the state at such locations as McGregor, Charles City, Marshalltown, or Anamosa. Armed with petitions signed by neighboring communities, Senator John McKean actively promoted his hometown of Anamosa as the site of the new prison in the 1870 General Assembly. Anamosa offered a growing community, limestone quarries for building stone, abundant timber, a plentiful supply of water from the Wapsipinicon River, and access to railroad transportation on the Dubuque Southwestern. Additionally, boosters in the community agreed to donate a site for the penitentiary and additional acreages for use as farm land. A penitentiary added new jobs and a source of demand for its businesses and industries. Although the legislature failed to pass the bill in 1870, it acted on the measure in 1872 after again hearing the recommendations of the State Penitentiary Visiting Committee (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1872: 48]; Zumbrunnen 1978: 88-89; Finn 1988: 77).

On April 12, 1872, the General Assembly permanently located the Additional Penitentiary adjacent to the stone quarries near Anamosa. Although limiting the type of labor performed by the prisoners and providing for sentence commutation and the ability to earn minimal wages, the legislature founded the new penitentiary to relieve the overcrowding at State Penitentiary. The act provided for the construction of the prison to house five hundred inmates using stone provided from a nearby quarry also to be purchased by the state. The state attempted to curtail construction costs by specifying the use of prison labor. The act also directed the General Assembly to elect three commissioners to locate the building site, obtain bids for the purchase of a limestone quarry covering at least ten acres near the Dubuque Southwestern Railroad and the Wapsipinicon River, and supervise its design, the contracting of materials, and construction. The General Assembly appropriated \$50,000 for initial construction costs and an additional \$15,000 to purchase the quarry. The commissioners were not to accept bids until Anamosa deeded 70 acres of agricultural and grazing land to the state. After the commissioners completed the land transactions and provided some accommodations for the prisoners, the warden at Fort Madison sent inmates from the State Penitentiary to prepare for the construction of the new prison as directed by the legislation (Zumbrunnen 1978: 90; Haynes 1956: 12; Briggs 1915: 79; Iowa, State of [1857-1931 [1874: 7]; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1872: 49-

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 65

CFN-259-1116

52])).

The Board of Commissioners not only inspected different quarry sites at Anamosa in May, 1872, but it visited other penal institutions to examine their physical plant and understand their operation. In June, 1872, the commissioners received a ten acre site from the community of Anamosa. The parcel lay on the west side of Anamosa within its corporate limits. In July, the commissioners requested an additional five acres just east of the ten acres and west of High Street. These lands occupied twenty lots in all of block 2, the north half of block 1, and the south half of block 3 in Gibb's Addition. Anamosa donated these lands on the condition that the commissioners recommend to the 1874 General Assembly the purchase of an additional five acres priced at \$2,500. The commissioners accepted this proposition. However, the ownership of this tract remained under dispute until at least 1878. D.G. Sales donated a 61 acre parcel of pasture land between the quarry and the corporate limits of the community and west of Buffalo Creek. The commissioners purchased the 128 acre quarry parcel with three quarries already opened in the stratified limestone. This tract also contained an existing lime kiln near the quarries. The site included Dubuque Southwestern railroad right-of-way along its south edge. Between 1876 and 1877, the Dubuque and Southwestern Railway which ran one mile along the south boundary of the land connected the quarry and the main line to the prison. About 1884, the state purchased an additional tract between the existing south wall of the prison and the railroad track on which to erect the Department of Criminally Insane and the Female Department (Zumbrunnen 1978: 90-91; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 7-16, 54; 1878: 3, 15; 1880: 7; 1884: 8]; Western Historical Company 1879: 398).

In May, 1872, the Board of Commissioners visited Sing Sing in New York, the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, and the state penitentiaries in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Canada to understand their physical design as well as their program. In their 1874 report, the commissioners rejected the radial design first constructed by John Haviland at the Eastern Pennsylvania penitentiary in the 1820s and considered for the Iowa State Penitentiary in 1859. This design included a central round or hexagonal center building and three to five radiating cellhouses. Cellhouses contained Auburn type cellblocks. The commissioners instead chose the Wethersfield model or the "wing plan" which included a multi-storied central building containing the necessary services and warden's residence placed between two flanking cellhouses along the front of the complex and a row of industrial buildings behind (Iowa, State of [IA Docs] 1857-1931 [1874: 46]). A prison wall surrounded the buildings. The typically monumental, fortress-like Gothic or Romanesque Revival prison architecture displayed massive, masonry outer walls and buildings, crenelated turrets and towers, heavy projections, and tall, narrow openings. It communicated the permanence, great strength, and authority of the state and displayed an austere and forbidding mien to both prisoners and the outside community. This style of prison architecture was not only intended to convey the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 66

CFN-259-1116

idea of society's protection but deter its members from crime (Erickson 1990: 22; Eriksson 1976: 62-68; McKelvey 1977: 16, 28; Iowa, State of [IA Docs. 1857-1931 [1874: 8]]).

The Board of Commissioners chose William Foster⁶, a prominent architect of Des Moines, to design the prison and supervise construction in the spring of 1872. They adopted his plans on June 19. Foster selected the monumental Romanesque Revival style in which to express his ideas of penology. The original plan included a central building with two flanking cellhouses which together formed part of the front wall. Behind these buildings stood nine industrial buildings, and prison walls surround the entire complex (figure 8). In the design, the connected administration and central building contained two connected segments. The administration building which projected beyond the front wall included administrative offices and the warden's dwelling. The guard hall stood at the rear of the administration building between the two cellhouses. At the rear of the guard's hall and standing behind the cellhouses, the center building housed the dining hall, kitchen, chapel, and laundry. Although considerably modified as the construction of the prison progressed, the building maintained this overall design.

Foster provided specific plans and guidance for the project from 1872 through about 1895. Although J. Frank Barnes, an architect and master mechanic, replaced Foster about 1895, he followed Foster's designs through the end of the century. H.F. Liebbe, who became State Architect in 1898, was associated with Foster and provided some input into the project after 1895. He also followed Foster's designs for the buildings still under construction. H.F. Liebbe and after 1927 Henry J. Liebbe, his son, provided plans for the industrial and service buildings and post-1900 cellhouses. They continued the style set by Foster (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1872: 12; 1874: 14, 46; 1880: 8; 1882: 28; 1884: 6; 1886: 3; 1896: 47]; Curtis 1899; Andreas 1875; Remley 1901: 63-64; General Services Administration 1884-1979 [plans for North Cellhouse, H.F. Liebbe 1895; 1898]).

Contractors began the construction of temporary facilities adequate to contain the prisoners in August, 1872. Beginning in September, 1872, they erected a sixteen foot high, board stockade to enclose the twelve acre prison ground, an engine house, and Work Shop No. 1. They also erected a second stockade and temporary buildings at the limestone quarry. Hired laborers began operations at the quarry in April, 1873. After their transfer from the State Penitentiary in

⁶ In some references, L.W. Foster & Company is identified as the source of the architectural plans. However, William Foster did not form this firm with his brother until 1873, one year after the design of the Additional Penitentiary (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 14, 45]). A.T. Andreas illustrates the only identified early design of the prison (Andreas 1875).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 67

CFN-259-1116

May, 1873, the twenty prisoners began quarrying and dressing stone at the state quarry. Between 1873 and 1875, the prisoners finished constructing the north wing of Work Shop No. 1, a two story, stone building which initially housed the dining room, kitchen, hospital, chapel, and later the library. At the same time, they erected the one story, frame engine house which served as a temporary cellhouse with seventy-two stone and twenty-one wooden cells. Because the state relied on prisoners under supervision of craftsmen to furnish stone and other materials and to erect the prison, this and subsequent construction advanced slowly. After 1901, prisoners produced most of the wood trim in a planing mill on the prison grounds. Although the quarrying and dressing of stone for this prison and other state institutions continued, building ceased between 1875 and 1877 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 12-15, 18, 50-54; 1876: 6; 1878: 4-5]; Remley 1901: 65, 68).

Building of the south cellhouse (4) (figure 9) continued between the settlement of the title to the prison ground in November, 1877 and February, 1881. Its 52 by 192 foot limestone, outer shell contained two ranges of four tiers of 320 cells measuring 4.5 by 6.5 feet by 7 feet high. Cells were placed back to back in the center of the building. Stone composed the cell walls and floors, and iron grating and iron doors closed the front of the cells. This cellhouse received electric lighting by 1882 and steam heat produced at the engine house but it lacked other sanitary facilities until well into the twentieth century. After cracking in 1901, the arches were replaced and covered by a lathe and plaster ceiling. The state began the approximately 22 foot high, four to six foot wide stone prison walls beginning about 1876. They rested on 8 to 14 foot concrete footings and a limestone foundation. Guard houses were eventually placed at each corner. The 639 by 755 foot wall around the original prison which enclosed twelve acres reached completion by 1887 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1904: 1006]; Remley 1901: 65; Curtis 1899; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-96 [1884]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 31-32).

The state began construction of the Department of Criminally Insane (8) and the Female Department (6) in 1884. This three story, limestone building supported by iron beams and brick arches stood in a walled yard south of and outside the rest of the prison. The Female Department occurred to the east in its separate courtyard. Completed in 1893, the twenty-seven foot high walls surrounding these two buildings added thirteen acres. The Department of Criminally Insane contained not only wards for the criminally insane for all state penal institutions on the first floor, but also the prison's hospital on the second floor. From its opening in December, 1888, the building filled both functions. Brick arches and iron beams supported the three story, 50 by 150 foot ashlar limestone building of the Female Department. The building included electricity, steam heat, and its own sanitary facilities. When complete, it accommodated 75 to 100 prisoners in cells. The building provided dining, kitchen, and laundry facilities and a matron's quarters. The exterior of the Female Department

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

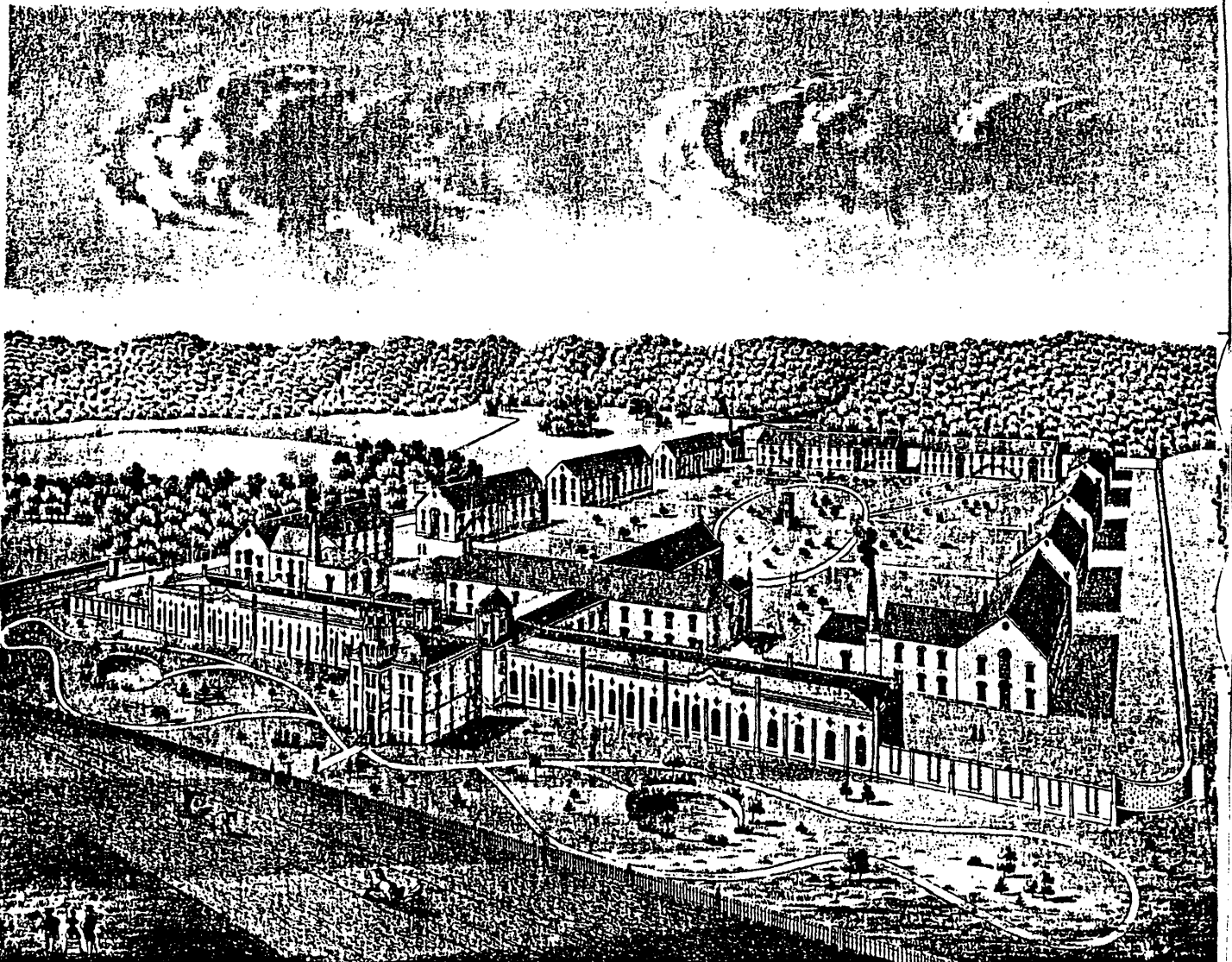
National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 68

CFN-259-1116

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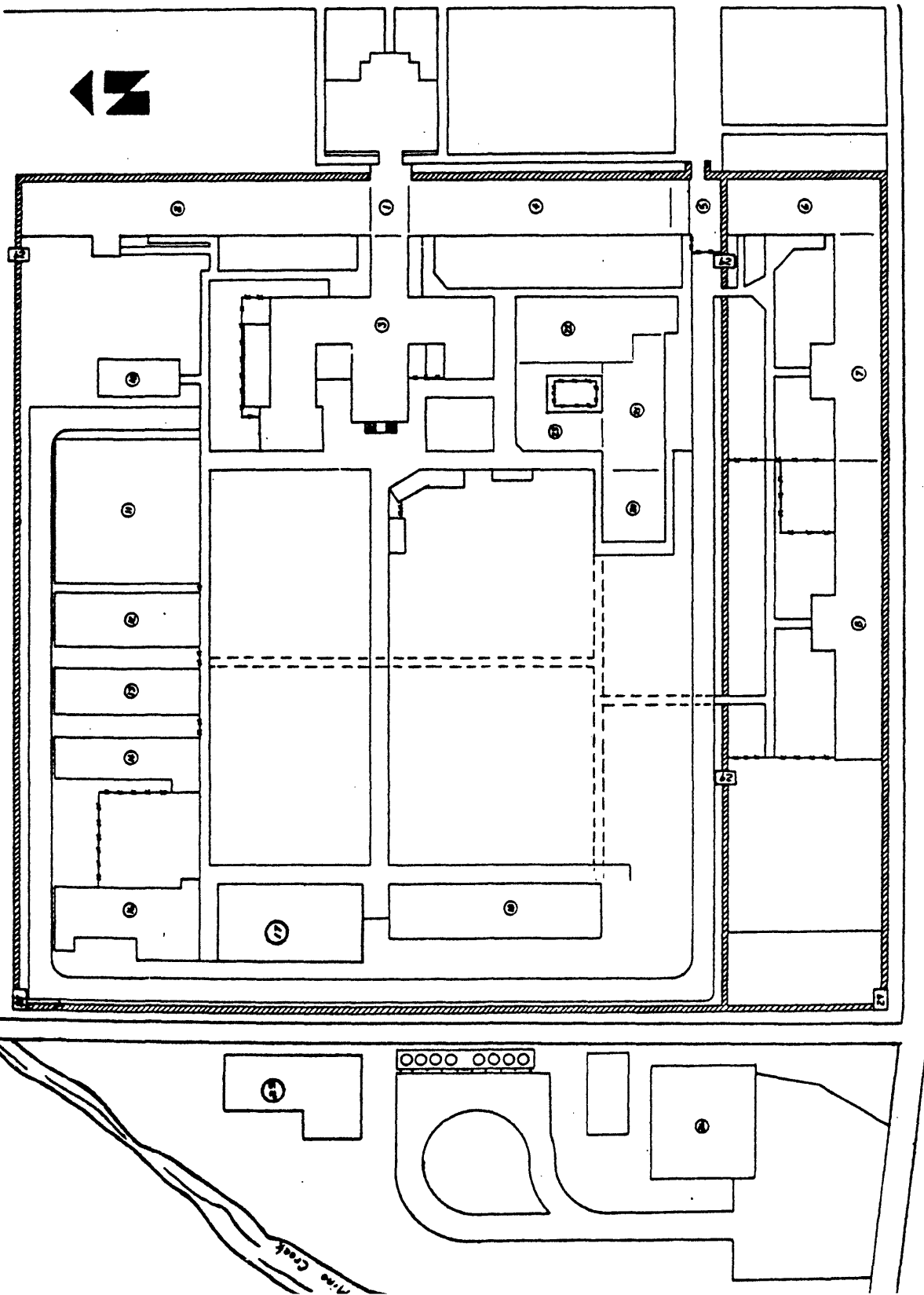


THE IOWA STATE PENITENTIARY AT ANAMOSA, JONES CO., as seen from the NORTH-EAST.

Figure 8: An 1875 design for the Additional Penitentiary, Anamosa
(Andreas 1875: 156)

BUILDING CODE

1. Ad. Building
2. Visiting, Social Services, Infirmary
3. Dietary, Chapel, Auditorium, Music Room, Rec. Hall
4. LUC
5. Vehicle Entrance
6. School
7. LUB
8. LUD
10. Greenhouse
11. Metal Stamping, Printing, Blood Plasma
12. Custom Wood
13. Sign Shop
14. Laundry, Soap Shop
16. Auto Body, Voc. Welding, Tire Recapping
17. Furniture Shop
18. Old Furniture
20. Commissary
21. Gym
22. Maintenance, Library
23. Security Director, Isolation
24. Yard Area
25. Power Plant
26. Industries Warehouse
29. Towers



IOWA STATE MEN'S REFORMATORY
 ANAMOSA, IOWA
 JOHN THALACKER WARDEN
 PLOT PLAN MARCH, 1989

Figure 9: Plan showing the location of the current buildings at the Iowa Men's Reformatory, Anamosa

Municipal, County, and State Corrections Properties in Iowa

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 70

CFN-259-1116

reached completion in 1892. The interior remained unfinished except for offices for the clerk and warden, armory, turnkey's office, and guard hall, temporary quarters occupied by 1893. Construction resumed in 1899, and it was ready for use by January, 1900. The small number of female prisoners did not make this building a high priority. These prisoners occupied a ward on the first floor of the Department for Criminally Insane from 1888 until they moved to the Female Department in February, 1902. The main gate (5) stood west of the Female Department. The arch reached completion between 1877 and 1881, but the iron gates were not installed until sometime later. In 1899, the prison completed the cage area inside the prison and behind the gates which ended with a second set of gates (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1878: 3; 1880: 7-8; 1882: 4; 1884: 3-4, 23; 1886: 3-4; 1888: 3-5; 1890: 3-7; 1894: 4, 9; 1896: 3; 1900: 38; 1902: 691-96; 1904: 1005]; Curtis 1899; Iowa Men's Reformatory n.d.b [photograph of deputy warden's house]; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1884; 1886; 1888; 1890; 1894).

By 1882, the state converted the engine house which first served as a temporary cellhouse to its intended use as an electric plant for the south cellhouse. After the floors and roof of the old dining hall burned in 1896, the prison erected the limestone power house (22) on its foundations. It produced all the prison's heat, light, and power. The prison retained the 1882 plant in case of failure. When the state installed the new electric plant equipment in 1906, the building received a boiler house addition with a blacksmith shop and foundry. After the construction of the current power plant in 1957 which stands south of the prison wall, it became the maintenance building. The prison retained the dining room, kitchen, hospital, and chapel in the building erected as Work Shop No. 1 until it burned in 1896 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1896: 40; 1898: 40-41; 1906: 12, 62]; Reformatory Press 1908 [7/8/28: 1/3]; Hawkeye 1952 [Nov., p. 23]).

The construction of the center building (3) which connects the north and south cellhouses and administration building (1) began in 1892. While brick arches held the lower floors, iron columns and girders and steel eye beams supported the upper floors of both ashlar limestone buildings. Tile, slate, and copper covered the steel supported roofs. The administration building projected out beyond the walls of the prison. The four story building contained the main, pedestrian entrance to the prison, the warden's and clerk's offices, the state bedroom, and reception room on the first floor; the warden's residence on the second floor; and a tower over the fourth floor. Intended as the central architectural focus of the prison complex, a central tower, turrets, an elaborate two story porch, and statuary at its entrance accentuated its exterior. The lower floors of the interior contained marble floors, baseboards, and mantles; hanging stairs; and oak and mahogany woodwork. This building reached completion in December, 1901 when the clerk and warden moved from the Female Department to their new offices. In February, 1902, the warden moved his residence from the warden's 1876-1877 dwelling to the administration building. This dwelling probably became the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 71

CFN-259-1116

deputy warden's house which once stood east of the north cellhouse (2). Completed by 1901, the four story guard house (1) connected to the rear of the administration building and stood between the two cellhouses (2, 4). It too was elaborately finished with self-supporting, marble stairs and covered with a rotunda resting on steel supports. It contained not only the turnkey's office but sleeping rooms for the guards.

Connected to and west of the guard house, the central building (3) rose two floors above a basement and contained three sections arranged in a north-south direction. Finished in 1897 with the dedication of the chapel, the 150 by 250 foot central portion included the dining hall and kitchen at the rear on the first floor, the chapel on the second floor, and food storage and the bakery in the basement. By 1900, an inmate applied the fresco painting along the walls of the chapel. Completed in 1899, the 32 by 80 foot south wing contained a bathhouse and fourteen isolation cells in the basement and a tailor and shoe shop on the first floor. Although the plans placed the hospital on the second floor, it was always located in the Department for Criminally Insane. The school, library, printing office, and workshops including a tin shop occupied the north wing which was finished in 1897 (Curtis 1899; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1882: 9, 28; 1890: 7; 1896: 39, 49; 1898: 5; 1900: 969-71; 1902: 687-692; 1904: 999]; Reformatory Press 1908 [10/11: 1/3]; Curtis 1899; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-96 [1894]).

The state began construction of the north cellhouse (2) in 1895 and finally completed it in 1910. Like the south cellhouse, this 52 by 192 foot, limestone cellhouse with steel framework originally contained two ranges of four tiers of 320 cells. Composed of concrete walls closed with steel grating along the front, each cell measured 5 by 8.5 feet and 7 feet high. This building included electricity, steam heat, and sanitary facilities. Because the law creating the Additional Penitentiary explicitly limited prison labor to state-use work including the quarrying of stone and the building of the prison, workshops remained a low priority. Founded in 1898, the Board of Control, however, set as one of its goals the reduction of expenditures at the state institutions. In 1898-1899 when major prison construction neared completion, the board arranged the first contract with the American Cooperage Company. It was to occupy excess prison labor and pay prison expenses. The main workshop used by this company and the state-use industries performing finish work for the prison's construction burned in March, 1902. The state immediately replaced it by June, 1903 with a 50 by 160 foot, two story, rubble limestone building. Intended to be fireproof, its iron supports carried a slate roof. It became known as Work Shop No. 2 (18). The building of this workshop and the north cellhouse completed construction of the major buildings that served the complex when it was functioning as a penitentiary (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1896: 5, 49; 1902: 89; 1904: 989, 999, 1006; 1911: 14]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1910: 4]; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-96 [1896]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 32).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 72

CFN-259-1116

The State Penitentiary sent twenty prisoners to the Additional Penitentiary in 1873. By the end of the year, the prison had received thirty-three prisoners. Growing slowly in the 1870s, the prison contained 171 inmates by 1879. The number rose relatively rapidly during the depression of the 1880s from 144 in 1881 to a high of 313 in 1887. It descended to a low of 224 in 1889, but ascended rapidly during the depression of the 1890s to a peak of 625 in 1897. As prosperity returned, the population fell quickly from 625 in 1899 to 494 in 1900. By the mid-1890s when the state began the construction of the north cellhouse, the south cellhouse (2) had become greatly overcrowded with two prisoners in many cells. Since the Additional Penitentiary accepted the general prison population, the age dropped as low as eleven even in the 1890s after the founding of the Boys' Reform School in 1868. By the 1890s, the Additional Penitentiary like the State Penitentiary also housed federal prisoners (Haynes 1956; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [c.f. 1896: 5, 60-61]; Remley 1901: 68).

The number of female prisoners at the Additional Penitentiary remained between about 11 and 23 prior to 1900. Although they were under the care of a female guard until 1884, their probable location in the general cellhouse allowed no separation. After 1884, the prison housed them under a matron in Work Shop No. 1. The state sent all female state prisoners to the Additional Penitentiary after 1884. It moved the female prisoners to the a ward on the first floor of the Department of Criminally Insane in 1888. Here, they occupied individual cells which opened onto a common room. As prostitution became punishable by imprisonment, these accommodations became crowded by 1896. Following years of agitation by women's groups, the legislature introduced a bill in 1898 creating a separate department for women. A law passed in 1901 established a reformatory for unruly girls between the ages of nine and sixteen. It was for those girls whose behavior disrupted the discipline of the Girls' Reform School. However, the legislature never funded this reformatory. The prison finally moved the women prisoners to the Female Department from their cramped quarters in the Department for Criminally Insane in 1902. The women had provided a poor influence to the discipline of the hospital. Hesitancy to create and fund a separate program with a special staff continued for another decade largely because of the small number of female inmates. The prison pursued some reformatory measures in the Female Department by 1903. It established a school offering the women basic instruction in academic areas and moral training for one-half day. They worked for the remainder of the day. Established in 1884, this work included sewing, mending, and washing of clothing for the prison (Haynes 1956: 47-48; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1884: 3, 6; 1886: 3; 1883: 3; 1890: 3-4, 16; 1892: 4; 1896: 4; 1898: 957; 1902: 63-64, 688, 698; 1904: 41, 999, 1005]; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-96 [1884; 1886; 1888; 1890]).

After 1888, the state sent all criminally insane to the Additional Penitentiary. By the 1820s, the American public generally found the insane incapable of reason

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 73

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

and did not hold them responsible for their own acts. However the precise division between sanity and insanity remained ambiguous. Complicating this distinction through the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, penologists linked crime to insanity. Thus, states did not always recognize the need to place them in quarters separate from the general prison population until after 1890. By 1904, only five entirely separate prisons for the insane existed nationwide and four additional penitentiaries segregated the insane. Few states chose to place them in their hospitals for the insane. Iowa did not entirely follow the usual pattern. It placed its criminally insane in the State Hospitals for the Insane at Mt. Pleasant after 1861. In 1888, the state placed all its criminally insane in the Department for the Criminally Insane (8) which occupied its own yard of the Additional Penitentiary. Prior to 1904, the Department for Criminally Insane never contained more than 32 prisoners. Since the building also contained the hospital and Female Department until 1902, their separation was far from perfect.

The main goal of the facility remained the protection of society from the criminally insane. In Iowa as elsewhere, few treatment programs existed for this class of prisoners. Since the prisoner's achievement of recovery remained unclear, the necessary length of stay or sentence was poorly defined. Many of the insane appeared to have remained for long periods. By the mid to late nineteenth century, as state laws and policies released the insane from the custody of local jails, their treatment slowly grew more humane. But, in Iowa's Department for Criminally Insane as elsewhere, physicians possessing contemporary knowledge about insanity rarely provided care. Iowa's program followed few of existing approaches to the treatment of the insane. Because of the presumed healthful and quieting benefits of the rural landscape to the insane, Iowa's program included three hours of outside exercise in the courtyard as well as amusement through games and occupation through simple maintenance tasks. But, the facility failed to introduce other contemporary treatments for the insane such as gainful employment in simple industries or garden work followed at the State Hospital for the Insane at Mount Pleasant or other medical treatments such as blood letting, violent emesis, purgation, or sedatives. Thus, while Iowa dealt with its criminally insane population early, its programs remained inadequate by the standards of the period (Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-1896 [1890]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1864: 15; 1876: 52; 1882: 6; 1884: 6; 1890: 16; 1904: 63]; Shank 1975: 5; Calvert 1971).

The April, 1872 act creating the penitentiary established a board of three commissioners to oversee initial administration. Their duties included the acquisition of property and material, the designing of the penitentiary, and management of funds for this operation. The legislature transferred all duties administered by the commissioners to the warden in April, 1876. The same 1872 act also designated a superintendent to specifically oversee the building operations: the purchase of materials, the employment of hired labor, and

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 74

CFN-259-1116

supervision of the building and quarry operations done by hired labor and the inmates. Since the first warden, also acted as the superintendent of building, this position never existed as it did at the State Penitentiary. The warden also oversaw the guarding, discipline, and maintenance of the inmates, directed their labor, kept accounts of finances and each inmate's work, and performed all other duties ascribed to the warden of the State Penitentiary. At the arrival of the prisoners in May, 1873, the commissioners elected the first warden, Martin Heisey who had also served as a member of the board. After the dissolution of the commissioners in 1876 until the founding of the Board of Control, the legislature appointed this position. The prison operated under the supervision of a warden, his clerk and turnkey, and the guards as well as part-time teacher and chaplain, physician, and hospital steward. By about 1876, the prison also gained a deputy warden who guided discipline. Foremen oversaw the various construction operations. As at other state institutions, the legislature periodically appointed an examining committee to investigate the Additional Penitentiary, particularly the expenditure of funds (Remley 1901: 65; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1872: 49-51]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 3, 50-51; 1876: 3; 1878: 3; 1882: 3; 1884: 25; 1888: 5; 1896: 3; 1898: 5]; Curtis 1899).

The legislature created the Additional Penitentiary to both reform and punish inmates through hard labor. To encourage proper employment after the prison term, reform based on hard labor focused on developing habits of industry through repetition of work but did not develop specific work skills. Perhaps as a result of the 1870 national conference on prison reform, the goal of reform appears more prevalent at the Additional Penitentiary than at the State Penitentiary. The legislature did not initially permit contract work, giving the warden direct control over all areas of the prisoners' behavior. The 1872 law explicitly provided for commutation of sentence and limited earnings to reward hard work although not specifically good behavior. For every one hundred dollars' worth of labor performed in excess of three hundred dollars in any one year, inmates shortened their sentence by fifty days. The state rewarded additional work beyond this period through payment received at discharge. But, prisoners received no daily wage. By the 1880s, the wardens found that this minimal reward insulted more than inspired. Thus, labor did not reform the prisoner through vocational experience.

The process of moral reformation still remained under the guidance of the chaplain and depended on the religious conversion experience. By the late 1890s, the warden still favored the stern enforcement of the prison policies, the prisoner's unquestioning obedience to them, and vigorous discipline of all insubordination. These policies included many of the rules which governed the State Penitentiary. Rather than focusing on the prisoner's good behavior, the prison continued to emphasize negative behavior by punishing through withholding good time, solitary confinement, and the use of the club (Curtis 1899; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1872: 52]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1882: 3; 1884: 5; 1886: 5, 8; 1888: 4, 37; 1892: 6-7; 1894: 3; 1898: 7-10, 12; 1900: 6]).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 75

CFN-259-1116

Promoters of the Additional Penitentiary's location at Anamosa emphasized the importance of its nearby limestone quarries to employ inmates and support the prison. Members of the Iowa legislature believed that the Iowa State Penitentiary had not attained self-support itself because of the unprofitable contracts available to the state at that location. However, the prisons at Sing Sing, New York and Columbus, Ohio reduced prison construction costs by using inmate labor to quarry and dress the stone from nearby, state-owned quarries. Anamosa provided such a site. Promoters also pointed to additional savings gained by the use of stone from state quarries in other state construction projects. Thus, the 1872 law provided for the Additional Penitentiary's location near the stone quarries adjacent to Anamosa. It also directed the purchase of a quarry site, and limited prison labor to the quarrying and dressing of stone, and construction of the prison. Any profits from the sale of stone supported the Additional Penitentiary. This state-use work and the maintenance tasks including blacksmithing, carpentry, and some mechanical engineering remained the only labor engaging the prisoners until 1898 (Zumbrunnen 1978: 89; Iowa, State of [Acts] 1847- [1872: 49-52]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 15; 1878: 7; 1896: 5]; Briggs 1915: 79; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-96 [1894]; Brookman 1934: 130).

Limestone quarried in the vicinity of Anamosa was generally a bright yellow dolomite, a form of limestone with a high magnesium carbonate content. For the most part, this context will simply refer to the stone as limestone. In 1872, the state purchased the first 128 acre quarry located three miles west of the prison along the Wapsipinicon River. It was situated in sections five and eight of township 84 north, range 4 west. This quarry became exhausted by 1877, and the state acquired the second quarry along Buffalo Creek between 1877 and 1879. This eighty acre site occurred 1.75 miles northwest of the prison in the east half of the southwest quarter of section 33, township 85 north, range 4 west. The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad connected both quarries to the prison. Prisoners trimmed and dressed the limestone at the quarry. Although the state erected buildings at the quarry prior to 1900, it constructed the oldest standing buildings there in 1904 and 1905. These properties included the one story, limestone dining hall and kitchen and the blacksmith shop which continue to stand. The hot house no longer stands. A small, limestone scale house built in 1938 also remains (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1906: 75]). A photograph dating between 1905 and 1912 also shows the line of derricks along the rock face, the adjacent railroad line, a fence along the parameter of the quarry operations, and at least five additional small, frame or stone buildings (Finn 1988: 82). Authorized to sell the limestone in the 1872 act, the Additional Penitentiary, for example, shipped significant quantities of stone to state institutions at Independence in 1884, 1886, and 1888; Davenport and Vinton in 1886; and the State Penitentiary about 1907 (Iowa, State of [IA. Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 12, 15-16, 20-21, 45; 1877: 10; 1880: 5, 8; 1882: 4; 1884: 4; 1886: 3; 1888: 5; 1902: 698]; Western Historical Company 1879: 398; Iowa Governor's Office n.d.b [1872]).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 76

CFN-259-1116

Although the original land purchase associated with the creation of the penitentiary included sixty-one acres of agricultural and pasture lands, farming did not become a significant enterprise at the prison until just after 1900. By 1878, the inmates grew a 4.5 acre vegetable garden inside the stockade and maintained sixty-five hogs. Inmates were also engaged in prison maintenance and production of goods for prison construction, for example in the blacksmith, cooper, machine, carpenter, paint, and tin shops and in the foundry. Most of these operations occurred in the central building (3), the power house, the engine room, or in small, temporary buildings. Erected in 1903, Work Shop No. 2 (18) contained several state shops and the American Cooperage Company which contracted with the state after 1899 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1878: 6-8; 1880: 3-4; 1892: 9; 1896: 8, 48]; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-96 [1896]; Remley 1901: 67).

With some exceptions, the services offered at the Additional Penitentiary paralleled those at the State Penitentiary prior to 1900. Previously guided on a part-time basis by local clergy, the prison gained a female teacher and religious leader in 1876. She lead the Sunday worship with occasional visits from the local clergy, established the Sunday school and Sunday morning prayer meeting or social meeting, and visited prisoners in their cells. After a single year of operation, the Sunday school which was guided by local volunteers grew from an uneasy start of seventeen to seventy-seven. Volunteers from the Women Christian Temperance Union and other religious groups gave presentations at the prisons. This program remained unchanged in the nineteenth century. After about 1888, this female leader provided separate services to female prisoners and added a prison choir. All aspects of this religious program were dedicated to the "moral welfare" of its participants through the confession of their act and instruction for proper direction. The prison completed the chapel room located in Work Shop No. 1 in 1879 and occupied it until the fire of August, 1896. Without a meeting place, the religious leader suspended religious services until the dedication of the new chapel (3) in the center building in 1897.

The teacher began the educational program in 1878. By 1888, the prison required all illiterate inmates to attend. Without a secure evening meeting place, the school met five afternoons per week in the winter when outdoor work became limited. The program presented basic educational skills and moral instruction. The teacher provided more advanced students with materials for cell study by 1890. It remained a day school after its transfer to the new chapel room in 1879 through 1896 when the fire forced the school to close. The chaplain then supervised cell study for all students. After suffering some disorganization between 1896 and 1898, the prison re-organized its school in the center building (3). The teacher began assembling a library in 1876. By 1878, the visitor's fee had purchased 400 volumes of religious works, histories, travel, adventure, and fiction. It grew to 2700 volumes by 1890. Also placed in Work Shop No. 1, the library burned in 1896 and was rapidly replaced primarily through donations. Reading and freedom of the yard at holidays by 1894 constituted the few

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 77

CFN-259-1116

recreational activities available to the inmates.

The prison hired a part-time physician in 1876. This physician cared for both the physically and mentally ill. In 1881, the physician attributed the 33% improvement of inmate health to the proper ventilation, heat, and sanitation of the new cellhouse (4). The prison located the hospital in a single, well ventilated room of Work Shop No. 1 until the opening of the Department for Criminally Insane in 1888 when it was permanently located in one ward of this building. This move and the construction of a permanent bathhouse in the basement of the south wing of the center building added to the improving health conditions in the prison (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1876: 6; 1878: 3, 25; 1880: 8, 29; 1882: 31; 1886: 9, 26, 35-37; 1888: 32; 1890: 4, 10-11; 1892: 26-28; 1894: 8, 21; 1896: 13, 55-60]; Iowa Department of Social Services 1973: 3; Iowa Joint Committee to Visit the Additional Penitentiary 1874-96 [1888; 1890]; Curtis 1899).

As at the State Penitentiary, except for pardoning and diminution of sentence, the prisoner at the Additional Penitentiary served his full term until the reform laws of 1907. The 1851 and 1897 laws reduced sentences for good behavior at both penitentiaries. The warden at the Additional Penitentiary found good-time to be a primary inducement for good behavior. The 1872 act rewarded good work although not good behavior by reducing sentences for additional performance of labor. By 1890, the warden at the Additional Penitentiary pressed for a just system of release other than conditional pardon. He advocated release based on the inmate's reform and employment prospects, a form of indeterminate sentencing. Lack of prisoner supervision after release frustrated the operation of such programs. Until the twentieth century, the only assistance available to the prisoner came from voluntary organizations such as the Iowa Prisoners' Association. It was established for a short period from the mid-1880s to about 1890 and funded by the state in 1886. The prison chaplain also provided guidance. The suit of clothing, five dollar gift money, and transportation back home provided after 1872 proved more humiliating than helpful. These conditions of release remained the same until the 1907 law which reorganized the Additional Penitentiary into a reformatory (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1878: 9; 1880: 8; 1884: 7; 1890: 4-10, 14-15; 1892: 4, 8, 28; 1894: 8; 1896: 7]).

Thus, except for several new prison labor laws generally affecting both penitentiaries, the limitation of labor to state-use work, and the location of work outside the prison walls, the Additional Penitentiary operated much like the State Penitentiary. Its policies sought punishment and reform through hard labor and religious moral regeneration. Its discipline remained strict and was governed by detailed rules. Training remained limited to literacy programs and a small number of more advanced courses. Work supported the prison, but vocational training was almost non-existent. While the differences between the two penitentiary programs appear minimal, they reflected the gradual acceptance first by the wardens and then by the legislature of the prison reform movement

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 78

CFN-259-1116

initiated in 1870 just prior to the building of the Additional Penitentiary. The Additional Penitentiary had become the logical place to separate women prisoners and the criminally insane and became the prison in which the state gradually attempted to bring its prison program in line with the reformatory movement of the 1870s.

The Creation of the Iowa Men's Reformatory: 1907-1942

The prison in which Iowa began to reform its prison labor policies by introducing only state-use work, the Additional Penitentiary became the logical choice for the location of the Iowa Men's Reformatory. Beginning in 1900 and again in 1902 and 1904, the Board of Control advocated legislation creating such a reformatory for young male offenders. The legislature appointed a 1905 investigating committee to examine the young men's reformatories including the Elmira reformatory at New York. At that time, indeterminate sentencing governed reformatories in thirteen states, and a parole system was utilized in six states. The move in Iowa to create a reformatory reflected the prison reform movement beginning almost forty years before. This movement acknowledged that every individual committing a crime was not necessarily a hardened criminal incapable of reform. The movement directed reform toward the young, first offender not yet set in his habits, and it separated this first group from the influences of the general prison population to accomplish reform. A reformatory retained its prisoners until they clearly achieved reform. Unlike the Auburn prison system, the reformatory accomplished its goal through educational and vocational training, military drill, and strict discipline with positive rewards for good behavior through grading rather than relying on simply hard labor or religious conversion. Because the period necessary for change varied between prisoners, indeterminate sentencing and parole became important elements of the program.

Passed in 1907, Iowa's prison reform law created the Men's Reformatory at Anamosa for first offenders between the ages of 16 and 30. It specified the transfer of prisoners between the State Penitentiary and the Reformatory to attain the appropriate populations at each institution. The State Penitentiary retained those over thirty and those committing more than one offense. The law provided for indeterminate sentencing and parole for both the Reformatory and the State Penitentiary. The state had already established a grading system for both institutions in 1900. The law called for prison labor which taught vocations and the upgrading of the educational program. It initially appropriated few funds to effect the program. After the Cosson study, the legislature established a special tax in 1913 to support the development of state-use industries, the construction of buildings, and purchase of equipment necessary to support them (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 120-21, 185; 1902: 65-66, 965, 996; 1904: 41, 997-98; 1908: 13-14; 1909: 14; 1915: 18; 1919: 36]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1914: 6-7]; Haynes 1956: 32-34).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 79

CFN-259-1116

The completion of the north cellhouse (2) in 1910 ended the construction of major, non-industrial buildings within the prison walls until 1929. Then, the building program shifted to other needs. The Reformatory paid increasing attention to the landscaping of the grounds, adding plantings in front of as well as within the reformatory complex. In 1901, the state added a greenhouse perhaps near the site of the current one (10) which dates to the 1940s. In 1913-1914, it replaced the deputy warden's dwelling east of the Reformatory with a two story, seven room, stone residence just northeast of the Reformatory. Prior to 1930, the Reformatory also maintained and updated its cellhouses. In 1910, it added twenty cells along the upper gallery of the north cellhouse (2) giving a total of 340 cells. In 1922 to 1925 and again in 1927 to 1930, the state added sanitary facilities to the south cellhouse (4) and it replaced the roof of the north cellhouse after a tornado removed it in 1928-1929. After the Female Department moved to its new facilities at Rockwell City in 1918, the state maintained federal prisoners in its former quarters from about 1919 to 1921. When the Reformatory faced overcrowding in 1922 to 1925 and 1928 to 1930, it converted the former workshops to dormitories for honor prisoners called the "early risers" (Anamosa Journal 1930 [3/13]). In 1931 and again from 1937 to 1942 when the state constructed the new hospital (8), it shifted its hospital wards to the former Female Department (Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1910: 4]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 31-32; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa Department of Social Services 1987; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1913: 51; 1915: 18; 1929: 6; 1931: 7]; Iowa Executive Council 1925-57 [1927 contract for south cellhouse; 1931 contract for Female Department]).

Changes also occurred in the center and administration buildings (1, 3). A one room, 52 by 28.5 foot school room addition was attached to the end of the north wing of the center building in 1912. The state renovated the dining hall area several times beginning in 1920. About 1933, it replaced the stone floor with granolithic floors, tiled the walls in the dining hall, and remodeled the kitchen with a red tile floor and tile walls. When overcrowding required the service of meals in two shifts, the state added a new 40 by 80 foot dining hall area in the courtyard at the north side of the dining hall wing in 1935-1937. The bakery and dishwashing room were added in the basement. The state added a one story, two room office wing onto the north side of the Administration Building in 1929, and built an identical office extension to the south elevation in 1957-1958. Although the power plant was constructed on the ruins of Workshop Shop No. 1 in 1896 and served the Reformatory until 1957, equipment was replaced in 1928 and 1936, and it received a new boiler room addition with foundry and blacksmith shop perhaps along its north side at the west end in 1906. The limestone gym (21), commissary and blacksmith shop (20), and receiving addition or deputy's building (23) were erected adjacent to this building in 1935. Originally placed in the basement of the basement of the deputy building, the disciplinary cells were moved to its first floor 1962. Solitary cells in this building replaced those in the basement of the south wing of the Center Building (3) (Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1906: 2; 1928: 4; 1932: 7]; 1934-42 [1934: 91]; Osborne

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 80

CFN-259-1116

Association, Inc. 1938b: 38, 42; Iowa Men's Reformatory n.d. [1930-35]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1909: 14; 1913: 13; 1921: 3; 1929: 4, 5; 1931: 7]; Hawkeye 1956 [Nov., p. 23]; Iowa Executive Council 1925-57 [1929 and 1957 contract for office addition]; Iowa General Services Administration 1884-1979 [H.J. Liebbe, plans for Gym, Commissary, and Receiving Building, 1935; H.J. Liebbe, plans for power plant, 1936).

The rapid growth of the Reformatory population in the 1920s shifted men to the former Female Department (6) and placed them in the aisles of existing cellhouses (2, 4). Overcrowding finally led to the construction of a new cellhouse (7) in 1930. Completed in 1932, the 47 by 240 foot, limestone cellhouse contained two ranges of five tiers of 320 cells measuring 5.6 by 7.3 feet and 7 feet high. The cellblocks were constructed of steel and concrete, cells were locked with a central, selective locking system, and each cell contained sanitary facilities. Its interior was finished with concrete and white tile floors. Prisoners entered each tier through the 25 by 36 foot central hall area projecting to the north of the building. This arrangement separated each tier of each range of cells.

The Department for the Criminally Insane originally stood in its own courtyard facing east toward the Female Department. During the twentieth century, the criminally insane occupied the first floor and a thirty-six bed hospital with one ward and eleven cells, kitchen, laboratory, and operating room occurred on the second floor. The condition of the building necessitated replacement between 1937 and 1943. The new hospital (8) paralleled the south wall and faced north. The dividing wall between the Female Department and the Department for Criminally Insane was removed and the south prison wall was extended west to the west wall thus enlarging the yard area. The new hospital contained four levels and included facilities for the Criminally Insane until the department was moved to the Iowa Security Medical Facility in Oakdale near Iowa City in 1969 (Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 30-32; Anamosa Journal 1930 [3/13]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa Department of Social Services 1987; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 91; 1940: 160; 1942: 137]; 1898-1934 [1930: 5; 1932: 4-5]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1931: 7]; Iowa General Services Administration 1884-1979 [H.J. Liebbe, plans for cellhouse, 1930 and plans for Hospital 1936, 1940, 1941]).

The state erected several buildings outside the prison yard in the 1920s and 1930s. It constructed a new, tile pump house along Buffalo Creek in 1931. The Reformatory acquired the property south of the Reformatory with its existing farmhouse in 1932. The deputy warden now occupies the one and a half story, frame vernacular dwelling, a one story cube dwelling type, and its adjacent clay tile garage. Now serving as a firing range, the fifty foot long, concrete-lined root cellar adjacent to the dwelling was extant at the time of purchase. The state also erected a two car, tile garage for the warden along the east side of High Street across from the Administration Building sometime after the burning of the Catholic Church in 1926, probably in the 1940s (Finn 1988: 80; Iowa

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 81

CFN-259-1116

General Services Administration 1884-1979 [plans for pump house, 1931]; Iowa Executive Council 1925-57 [contract for deputy warden's house: vol. 16: 423 dated 8/29/32]).

When the prison became the Men's Reformatory in 1907, its population had been rising since 1905 when it numbered 353 inmates. The number of inmates rose rapidly until 1918 when it reached 737. The north cellhouse (2) absorbed these additional prisoners. The warden attributed this apparent increase to the increased length of sentence effected by indeterminate sentencing. Prisoners remained until they underwent reform or their maximum sentence expired. Although dropping to 658 prisoners by 1920, the number increased rapidly in the aftermath of the war and the growing agricultural depression of the 1920s. Reaching 200 inmates above cell capacity in 1924, the population grew from 788 in 1922 to 1025 in 1928. At the opening of the Depression in 1930, the 1142 inmates was 300 men over capacity. The new cellhouse completed in 1932 barely absorbed this number. Dormitory space for honor prisoners opened in the Female Department in the 1920s and was expanded in the 1930s to cope with overcrowding. Additionally, other honor prisoners lived at prison farms or in work camps. Excess numbers then occupied the corridors of the cellhouses. The Reformatory reached its peak number of 1489 in 1934. The population began its decline reaching 1199 in 1936. Then, the number stood close to capacity if the count included dormitory space and accommodations in outside facilities in addition to the 1016 cells. The Reformatory contained sufficient space for all but the criminally insane. By the opening of World War II in 1942, the population dropped to 1065 (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1930: 4; 1942: 135]; 1898-1934 [1924: 95]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

Although the Men's Reformatory was to include only first offenders between the ages of sixteen and thirty, other groups remained. The Women's Department and the Department for Criminally Insane occupied their sections of the Reformatory. In 1914 and in later periods, the Reformatory also maintained a small number of inmates who had committed more than one offense and/or were over thirty. These prisoners inhibited the reform efforts of the Reformatory.

After 1902, women prisoners entered the Female Department (6). By 1909, this building contained 28 inmates. The number never reached above 42 and generally remained between 28 and 35 from 1910 to 1918. In the same act of 1913 which provided for state-account industries in the prisons and created the custodial farms, the General Assembly directed the Board of Control to purchase a separate location for the Industrial Reformatory for Females. This directive finally led to the opening of the Women's Reformatory in Rockwell City in 1918. Unlike the Men's Reformatory, the Women's Reformatory contained all women above the age of eighteen. The small number of female prisoners did not allow the placement of young, first offenders in their own institution (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1902: 63-66]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1904: 41, 1005; 1911: 36; 1915: 40]).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 82

CFN-259-1116

The Department for Criminally Insane included 24 occupants in 1900. By 1914, this number had grown to 60. In 1914, a trained psychologist worked at the department for a brief period introducing recreational activities such as games and arts and crafts. However, the Department for Criminally Insane lacked the personnel to adequately deal with its patients. Guards treated them as criminals rather than as patients. To provide trained staffing and appropriate treatment, the warden recommended the location of a completely separate facility near one of the state hospitals for the insane. Although a board composed of the heads of four state hospitals determined criminal insanity by 1917, the staffing remained under the direction of a partially-trained supervisor and a part-time physician. By this date, the physical condition of the Department for Criminally Insane had deteriorated, and the requests for separate facilities and professional care including occupational therapy continued. Overcrowded conditions reported by 1932 finally lead to the construction of the new hospital with wards for the criminally insane between 1937 and 1943. No psychiatric treatment existed at the facility by the late 1930s (Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1914: 6-9; 1932: 8]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 39-40; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1941 [1900: 992; 1917: 38-39]).

The Men's Reformatory introduced the grading system in 1900. Remaining relatively unchanged through the 1930s, the grading system guided prisoner classification and treatment. The system viewed all prisoners as if they possessed similar problems and capacities. This mass discipline of prisoners continued until the individual orientation under more progressive policies introduced after 1948. Each prisoner began in the middle of three grades and rose to grade 1 or fell to grade 3 through outward behavior measured by degree of obedience to an intricate system of rules. The prisoner rose to higher grades by earning a specific number of positive marks in the areas of conduct, work, and attitude. As he rose, the inmate gained more privileges relating to attire, location in the dining hall, mail, communication, use of the yard, and availability of reading matter and tobacco. Thus, the prisoner gained limited control over his own treatment. Established in 1907, the parole board generally granted release to prisoners who occupied the first grade for a specified period. Indeterminate sentencing and parole enhanced the grade system by providing a clear incentive for proper behavior (Rees 1957; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1907: 19; 1900: 21, 152, 924-28, 965; 1902: 65-66; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 35-37]; Davis ca. 1948).

Military discipline similar to that practiced at Elmira also guided behavior. At the turn of the century, Warden Hunter substituted a military step, formation, and drill for the prison lock-step. Hunter also organized a training school for his officers or guards by 1899. This school continued at least sporadically through the 1930s. The Reformatory maintained a detailed, written list of rules to teach prisoners self-control and obedience to society's laws. As late as 1937, these rules like those at the State Penitentiary enforced strict silence at most locations and guided the prisoner's every move in the cell, in the dining

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 83

CFN-259-1116

hall, at work, and in the yard. Inappropriate behavior resulted in loss of credits or perhaps grade, good time, and honor time; demotion to a menial job; or in more extreme cases solitary confinement with limited diet. After 1899, the 7 by 3.5 foot, poorly lit and ventilated solitary cells were located in the basement of the south wing of the center building (3). The cells occupied the basement of the receiving building (23) from 1935 to 1962 when they were relocated to the first floor. By 1912, the purpose of these cells became more the protection of prisoners outside them from the influence of those committing the disturbance than the punishment of those within the cells. The use of confinement diminished in the late 1930s. The warden sent incorrigible prisoners to the State Penitentiary. However, by the standards of progressive prison administration, this discipline system was outdated. The progressive prison fostered the creation of positive guidelines for behavior instead of strict, negative rules specifying outward conduct (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Curtis 1899; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 152-53, 943; 1902: 66, 679]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1912: 14-16]; 1934-42 [1938: 164-65]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 35-38, 46).

Prison labor continued to play an important role in the prisoner's reform particularly in the area of his personal work habits and the training of specific vocational skills. Legislation supported this commitment to prison labor although the goal of vocational training often became subordinated to support of the prison. The 1907 law creating the Men's Reformatory specified that state-account and state-use work replace contract labor in a manner conducive to the teaching of useful trades and moral and intellectual development. But, the law failed to fund implementation of the training program. The 1913 legislature stimulated by the Cosson Report ended contract work in part because of public complaints of competition but also because of the state's loss of control over prison work. The state provided funds for building improvement, equipment, and establishing and maintaining state-account and state-use industries. Although Iowa manufacturers and labor unions objected to 1921 piece-price contracts as state competition with the private sector, the Board of Control continued them. The assurance of work for prisoners appeared too important to eliminate the piece-price contracts. To improve training, the state gradually added more foremen to guide additional state-use industries, but they lacked the teaching skills of vocational teachers (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1911: 37; 1921:31; 1925: 41; 1931: 37]; Swisher and Schaffter 1929: 517-19; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

The state gradually increased the number of buildings housing these industries. Built before the creation of the Reformatory in 1903, Work Shop No. 2 (18) contained the American Cooperage Company until the end of the contract and state-use work. Some maintenance work occurred in the south wing of the center building (3) and probably in the power house (22), still designated as Work Shop No. 1. As the Reformatory's population expanded, the state added the east wing of Work Shop No. 3 (11) in 1910. The first floor of the west wing dates to about

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 84

CFN-259-1116

1912-1913, and the second floor was added about 1920. Its one story north wing was erected between 1920 and 1928, and the state built another section in 1940. The annex to this workshop (12) was erected in 1916. As the pool of prison labor rose rapidly again in the 1920s, the Reformatory gained workshops number four (13) and five (14) in 1925 and 1926. Work Shop No. 5 gained an addition in 1939. Work Shop No. 7 (16) replaced a burned, frame workshop in 1932. The cheese industry had expanded sufficiently by 1931 to merit the conversion of a barn built about 1916 to a cheese factory in 1931. It stands outside and north of the prison wall. Finally, the state maintained warehouses in the north wing of Work Shop No. 3 by 1928, in shop no. 2 by 1933, and added a stone warehouse outside and west of the prison wall in 1938. The industrial buildings are long, narrow, two story stone or concrete block buildings lined along the north wall of the prison (date stone on warehouse; Sanborn Map Company 1928; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1914: 9; 1916: 50; 1920: plate on p. 132; 1926: 4; 1928: 4; 1932: 5]; 1934-42 [1940: 160]; Iowa Executive Council 1925-57 [contracts for building no. 13, 1925 and the cheese factory, 1931]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 18; 1927: 24]).

As construction occupied fewer prisoners and became less urgent, the Board of Control created its first contract at the prison with the American Cooperage Company in January, 1900. The contract employed twenty-five to fifty inmates at fifty cents per day for each inmate in the manufacture of butter tubs, pails, and barrels. This contract contained an added incentive for work. After prisoners reached their quota, they received payment per each item above that ceiling. The American Cooperage Company probably initially occupied the engine building and after 1903 Work Shop No. 2 (18). At the insistence of organized laborers and manufacturers, the legislature prohibited the renewal of contracts for the manufacture of butter tubs late in 1900. When this contract ended in December 31, 1914 as a result of the 1913 legislation ending contract work, the state continued the operation on state-account in 1915 selling its goods to private firms including creameries and dealers in Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, and Nebraska.

As creameries began the use of paper cartons, the Men's Reformatory switched its operation in 1923 to the manufacture of aprons. Operating this industry as a piece-price industry, the Board of Control sold the products to the Sterling Company of Chicago. The apron industry employed about 440 to 450 inmates between 1923 and 1933. It replaced the cooperage industry in Work Shop No. 1 and occupied the Shop No. 3 Annex (12) and probably Shop No. 3 (11). Having already drawn objections from manufacturers and labor since 1923 and facing federal legislation prohibiting the sale of prison-made products across state lines, the state closed the apron factory in September, 1933 (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 74, 186; 1902: 687; 1911: 14; 1913: 31; 1915: 18, 37; 1918: 10; 1919: 10; 1921: 15; 1923: 27; 1927: 21]; Board of Control 1898-1934 [1901: 10; 1934: 5]; Briggs 1915: 211; Brookman 1934: 134-35, 148-49; Sanborn Perris Map Company 1928).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 85

CFN-259-1116

The state expanded the number and production of state-use industries after 1913. With the exception of limestone, the Reformatory had sold few of its products to other state institutions or municipal governments prior to this date. It continued its quarrying operations at the second quarry until about 1943. The state sold building stone to the State Penitentiary to erect its new hospital and to the Training School for Boys at Eldora and at Marshalltown. Although the quarry produced building stone for the prison's use into the 1930s, it had removed most of this stone by about 1915. The operation shifted to crushed gravel and sold it to other state institutions and road districts by 1906. Installing a forty ton stone crusher by 1911, inmates ceased breaking the stone by hand into specified sizes. The site of a later crusher remains visible at the quarry. The state cut the stone at the stone shed in a frame building standing north of Work Shop No. 7 (16) until it burned in 1932. The operation moved to Shop No. 2 (18) in 1933 (Iowa Department of Social Services 1987; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1906: 2; 1912: 12]; 1934-42 [1942: 136]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs. 1857-1931 [1905: 75; 1913: 29]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

From the emergency funds released by the 1907 legislation, the state obtained additional machinery to expand its state-use printing, binding, and ruling operations first established in 1898 to produce the prison newspaper and letter head. By 1908, the printing department served other institutions. The operation moved from the second floor or the center building (3) into larger quarters in the then one story west wing of Shop No. 3 (11) in 1912-1913. It remained in this building through 1938. In the same period, the Reformatory began the sheet metal industry in tin, copper and galvanized iron to produce metal roofing and gutters. It added aluminum products such as eating utensils and cooking ware in 1924. The industry occupied the first floor of the center building and Shop No. 3 (11) by 1910, moved to Shop No. 7 in 1932, and was discontinued by 1934. The tailor and shoe industries produced goods for the prison by the 1880s. After 1899, shoe-making occurred in the south wing of the center building (3) and by 1926 in Shop No. 5 (14). Women prisoners manufactured many of the sewn goods in the Female Department (6) until 1918. By 1911, this task also employed male inmates in the center building. As production expanded to serve other institutions, the industry was moved to Shop No. 3 (11) about 1910 and to the Shop No. 3 Annex (12) in 1933. The Reformatory produced license plates and signs beginning in 1925. This industry occupied Shop No. 4 (13) from its construction in 1925. The state erected Shop No. 5 (14) in 1926 and in 1927 through 1942 to house the manufacture soap products for its own benefit and sale to other institutions (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 973-74, 996; 1902: 704; 1906: 28; 1909: 14; 1915: 18; 1917: 43; 1921: 15; 1923: 27; 1925: 26-27; 1927: 20-22]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1906: 2; 1912: 11; 1926: 4; 1934: 5]; 1934-42 [1934: 92; 1942: 136]; Sanborn Perris Map Company 1928; Iowa Men's Reformatory 1930s; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 31; Curtis 1899).

Utilizing the milk produced by its expanding dairy farm located northwest and west of the Reformatory and milk from local farmers, the Reformatory established

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 86

CFN-259-1116

a cheese factory in 1925. It sold its surplus cheese to other state and municipal institutions. The factory's early location remains unidentified. In 1931, the Reformatory converted its stone barn just north of the Reformatory to a cheese factory and added a concrete block cold storage unit about 1940. A cannery established in Shop No. 3 (11) in 1933 and continued through 1942 processed the vegetables grown at its farms. The state established a smoking and chewing tobacco factory for its institutions after 1933 through 1942 in Shop No. 7 (16). The Reformatory also continued to employ prisoners in maintenance activities such as cooking and baking (3), operating the power house (22), blacksmithing, carpentry, electrical work, plumbing, and mechanical work which primarily occurred in the power plant (22), repairing vehicles (14, 16), office work (1), and in the construction and maintenance of its buildings and lawns. In 1942, the state began wartime, contract industries for two years (Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 31, 38-39; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1902: 696-97; 1909: 14-15; 1925: 26-27; 1927: 20-22; 1929: 20]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1926: 4; 1934: 5, 7]); 1934-42 [1936: 102; 1940: 2; 1942: 136-37]; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942).

At the turn of the century, inmates grew vegetables on the forty acres donated by Anamosa to the west of the Reformatory and had cleared a twenty acre strip within the quarry lands. Much of the lands then operated by the Reformatory contained poor soils adaptable primarily to livestock grazing. By 1902, inmates raised a small number of hogs and cattle in addition to vegetables. In 1904, the state added 80.31 acres to the lands west of the prison and constructed a stone barn and hog house in the same year. But, agriculture at the Reformatory remained limited through 1916. In response to the directive of the 1913 legislation, the Board of Control began purchasing farm land and expanding farm operations. By 1917, inmates farmed 380 acres of its own land and at least 985 acres leased by the state. Owning a total of 1594.15 acres of agricultural land in 1930, the state had purchased many of these leased acres. Now, the state owns a total of 1495 acres in six farms: two are located just west and northwest of the Reformatory along Buffalo Creek and the Wapsipinicon River at Farm No. 1, the 338 acre dairy farm, and Farm No. 5, the 141 acre Lavey Farm; Farm Nos. 2, 3, and 4 occur one and a half miles to the north of the Reformatory on the 816 acres; Farm No. 6 lies three miles east of the Reformatory on 260 acres (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 690; 1902: 698-701; 1904: 1010; 1917: 21-24]; Iowa Men's Reformatory ca. 1930: 11, 19; Husman 1991).

Farmsteads at all six farms cluster fairly tightly. Farm No. 1 was developed the earliest of the six farms on lands purchases in 1872, 1904, 1919, and 1921. It stands about 2000 feet west of the Reformatory. Its limestone buildings include the South Barn, a dairy barn constructed in 1912 and 1926; the North Barn erected as a cattle barn in ca. 1919; the granary erected in 1915; the 1922 slaughter house; a 1922 meat processing plant; the 1918, ell-shaped root cellar; and a 1939 greenhouse as well as the frame dwelling and a cinder block garage. The ca. 1904 hog house and barn are now gone. First rented by the state, Farm No. 5 was

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 87

CFN-259-1116

purchased in 1916 and 1928. The state removed the frame house and bunk house. A large, ell-shaped, tile dairy barn was erected in 1929-1930 to house about eighty cattle. A 1933 stone calf barn, a cinder block bull barn, and two granaries also stand on the farmstead. The state acquired Farm No. 2 in 1919 and 1920. Although earlier buildings did exist, the buildings of Farm No. 2 now date to the 1950s and 1960s. The state bought the lands for Farms No. 3 and No. 4 in 1919. The limestone barn and tile hog house of Farm No. 3 date to the mid-1930s and 1940s respectively. The concrete silo was removed. Farm No. 4 includes a tile hog house, a barn erected in the 1950s, and a recently constructed dwelling and garage. After leasing for several years, the state purchased Farm No. 6 in 1921 and 1954. Its farmstead contains a small, brick dwelling erected ca. 1889 well before state acquisition; and several post-1940 buildings including a frame granary, tile hog house, a 1964 pole frame barn, a metal machine shed, and a garage. A one story, stone dining hall and kitchen probably built during the state's development of the farm in the 1920s or 1930s served honor prisoners living at this outlying farm (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1923: 25; 1931: 15, 31]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1926: 14-15; 1934: 35]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 32; Iowa Executive Council 1925-57 [contracts for tile barn, 1928, 1929; Farm No. 1 outbuilding date stones; Husman 1991 [land purchases at the Iowa Men's Penitentiary]; Doane Agricultural Services 1965).

Adding substantially to vegetables and hogs raised to supplement the diet at the prison prior to 1915, production by 1920 also included all the necessary vegetables, all the feed used at the Reformatory and farms with surplus for sale, and beef cattle and hogs slaughtered for prison use. By the 1930s, the farms had added to the kinds and amount of feed crops and also expanded their production of fruit, poultry, eggs, milk and milk products including cheese, butter, and ice cream to meet the needs of the prison. By 1932, the Reformatory had created larger fields to accommodate mechanization and began a crop rotation program. It also maintained a greenhouse within the prison walls by 1901 in which it raised seedlings used in prison's flower beds. The current greenhouse (10) post-dates 1940 (Remley 1901: 69; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1920: 5; 1932: 7; 1934: 35]; 1934-42 [1936: 102]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1901: 695]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 32).

The Men's Reformatory also operated a farm at Clive ten miles northwest of Des Moines and one near Granite in Lyon County. The state purchased 200 acres in Lyon County in 1915 to obtain the 36 acre granite quarry. Because the cost of extending a railroad spur to the site and installing machinery proved too great, the Reformatory operated a farm at the property for one year. Too far from the Reformatory to operate productively, it discontinued this use and later sold the property. The 1913 legislation directed the Board of Control to acquire the Clive farm in 1914 as a custodial farm. Because the legislature continually failed to make provisions for its operation, the Board of Control ran the farm with prisoners from the State Penitentiary rather than county jails from 1915 to

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 88

CFN-259-1116

1922. An average of twenty honor prisoners from the Men's Reformatory ran the farm from 1922 to 1935. The Reformatory raised dairy cattle on the farm and sold the milk in Des Moines. By 1927, the state increased the dairy stock to sixty to eighty Holstein cows and also raised 800 head of pigs and poultry, garden, and orchard products. Maintaining 119 head of dairy cattle in 1930, the state established a creamery to furnish butter to state institutions. Significant losses caused by depressed prices led the state to lease the farm between 1936 and 1941. Then the State Penitentiary resumed operation of the farm. During the 1922 to 1935 period, the state added few buildings except for the creamery, pump house, a two story, brick residence for the farmer, and perhaps small outbuildings. It remodeled the main house and a small dwelling and utilized the existing barn and other cattle and hog buildings located at its two farmsteads. These buildings now compose part of Living History Farms (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 40-41; 1917: 21, 44-45; 1918: 14; 1922: 32-33; 1925: 29-32; 1927: 22-25; 1931: 19-20]; Haynes 1946: 75; 1956: 44-45; Green 1991 [director, Living History Farms]; Doane Agricultural Services 1965).

Also directed by the 1912 Cosson Report and mandated by the resulting 1913 legislation, the Reformatory began to employ its honor prisoners in the construction and maintenance of public works. In 1913, it established a camp of prisoners from the Reformatory at Iowa State College in Ames. They assisted in foundation construction and landscaping of the grounds. Here, the inmates camped in tents without guards and received wages for their work. The state viewed this experiment as a success. Immediately after the state moved to substitute state-use labor for contract labor in 1915, the Reformatory began to employ one to two hundred men on public works including construction of buildings at other state institutions and public highways. In 1918, honor prisoners assisted with the grading of the property and farming at the Women's Reformatory at Rockwell City. However, potential or real interaction with the inmates ended this project. The state extended the use of honor prisoners to state park highways in 1929 and continued to engage them in public work programs primarily at state institutions through 1942. By the 1930s, the farm and public works programs assisted the Reformatory to reduce the overcrowded conditions within the facility as well as to provide a variety of work for prisoners making the transition from Reformatory back to the community (Haynes 1956: 42-43; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 38; 1918: 13]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1914: 10-11]; 1934-42 [1942: 138]; Swisher and Schaffter 1929: 518).

Prisons at the turn of the century found that many inmates committed crimes because they lacked the knowledge, skills, and work ethic to earn a living. The Reformatory slowly de-emphasized the need for prisoners to support the institution and attempted to develop programs which both gave some support, occupied their men, and gave them training in a trade. At the creation of the Men's Reformatory in 1907, its wardens and members of the Board of Control also acknowledged the need to upgrade the institution's education and industrial

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 89

CFN-259-1116

program to prepare its inmates for a vocation at release. The laws of 1907, 1913, and 1915 which created the Reformatory and specified the type of work in which inmates engaged noted this need, but the legislature often failed to fund adequate personnel and programs and necessary buildings and equipment. As a consequence, these programs developed slowly (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 18]).

At the turn of the century, the state required only that the Reformatory provide instruction to illiterate inmates. Its educational program provided such instruction to "exceptionally deficient" inmates although its effectiveness was occasionally questioned (Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1911: 68]). The chaplain reorganized the day school operated by the prison prior to 1896 into a night school in December, 1898. These classes attempted to offer the graded curriculum available in common schools of the area by 1901. The chaplain oversaw the teaching of four classes six evenings per week by inmate teachers. In 1909, the Reformatory reinstated the day school which ran for twelve months of the year under a full-time principal. It divided the day school with its graded curriculum into two sections. Each was held for half a day. This arrangement allowed the prisoner to work half a day and attend school the other half. Sessions for advanced students occurred in the evening. The school maintained this schedule through the 1930s. Focusing on those practical areas required for understanding of trades, the school covered materials in grades one to six. Based on examination results and past education and ability, the Reformatory prescribed a course of study for each student and advanced him by course rather than grade. Until 1915, the Reformatory relied on four inmates under the guidance of a teacher to present the materials. After 1915, the Board permitted the hiring of four civilian teachers. The Reformatory again added inmate teachers to cope with growing prison populations in later years so that by 1938 three teachers, a superintendent, and twenty inmates taught the school. After 1934, the school required that each inmate attain an eighth grade education. It also added courses in business and training for manual arts for more advanced students and furnished correspondence courses from the University of Iowa and agricultural courses from the State Agricultural College.

In the twentieth century, the school held its classes in the dining hall of the center building (3). In 1912, the Reformatory built a west addition to the north wing of the center building to enlarge the space for the school. Located in the Center Building (3) or the second floor of the guard's hall, the library was reestablished after the 1896 fire destroyed the collections in the former dining hall. The library continued to provide both recreational and educational literature maintained and selected by a librarian (Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1900: 973-74; 1902: 696-98; 1911: 37]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1902: 24; 1912: 7-8, 11, 68; 1914: 8, 58; 1916: 12; 1934: 5, 12]; Curtis 1899; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938: 41, 43-44; Haynes 1956: 37).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

90

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

In 1912, the Board of Control listed forty-four areas in which the Reformatory provided state-account or state-use work and vocational training. The jobs ranged from accounting to carpentry, engineering, farming, pipe-fitting, printing, quarrying, wood turning, and tailoring to teaching. The funding from state appropriations supported the addition of equipment in the printing office, tailor shop, shoe shop, tin shop, blacksmith shop, and the sewing shop in the Female Department and gradually allowed the addition of shops (11-16). The Board of Control attempted to establish a manual training program recommending to the legislature the addition of business and scientific agriculture in 1914. It also desired to key the Reformatory's education program to areas of knowledge required by different trades presented at the prison school. The board recognized the need for its inmates to gain proficiency in a trade prior to parole. Although the legislature did allot monies for buildings and equipment, it failed to provide a systematic teaching program in vocations; it relied on foremen rather than instructors to teach many trades; and it did not create circumstances in which the prisoner might acquire broad knowledge and skills in a specific vocation. By 1938, the Osborne Association noted the small number of industries which were correlated with course instruction. For example, those working in the print shop received instruction in spelling, English, and the mechanics of printing, but other programs did not have this luxury (Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1912: 8; 1914: 10, 58-60]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1913: 13; 1919: 8]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 39, 44; Haynes 1956: 36-37).

The Reformatory dedicated the chapel in the center building in 1897. Services had lagged after the burning of the dining hall. After 1897, the chaplain presented essentially the same program established prior to that period: the Sunday services, religious instruction in individual cells which aimed at repentance and moral reform, and the Sunday school. The religious program added an unsuccessful Christian Endeavor organization between 1900 and 1904. Although the chaplain gained a full-time position by 1909 when the superintendent absorbed his teaching duties, the Reformatory probably did not introduce the more individualized religious program allowing inmate discussion of ideas as did the State Penitentiary. The impersonalized treatment of graves and their limited epitaphs at the prison cemetery suggests this absence of individual treatment through the 1930s. By 1873, the prison maintained the cemetery at Farm No. 1 for those inmates whose bodies were not claimed by relatives. The Reformatory moved the cemetery in 1914 to its present site on a hill north of Farm No. 1. It reburied thirty-five individuals in the rear northeast corner of this plot in mass graves marked by tall cemetery stones. These stones noted only the names of the individuals below. Placed in rows, later burials are single and marked with a plain stone identifying the prisoner, his number in early graves, and birth and death dates (Finn 1988: 83; Remley 1901: 65; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1884: 24; 1900: 993; 1902: 725; 1904: 89, 1053]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938: 43).

The medical program remained in the Department of Criminally Insane until 1938.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E 91

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

Both departments then moved temporarily to the Female Department until completion of the new hospital in 1943. The Department for Criminally Insane remained in the hospital until 1969. Except for the examination of entrants, treatment continued to respond to acute illness and was not diagnostic. The limited staff of part-time physician, inmates employed as hospital stewards, hospital supervisor, and dental intern prevented the later approach. And as late as 1938, the Osborne Association noted that the criminally insane failed to receive necessary professional treatment, and it strongly recommended the department's separation from the Reformatory. The Reformatory's hospital lacked personnel trained to determine individual causes of criminal behavior. Psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers who prepared case histories were absent from the hospital staff. The progressive approach to prisoner treatment was absent in the rest of the Reformatory. The Reformatory assigned jobs and cells based on brief interviews with new inmates by the deputy warden, warden, records clerk, school superintendent, and chaplain and limited educational and intelligence testing until the early 1940s. The prison's limited classification separated only those imprisoned for life and honor prisoners who frequently worked outside the prison walls. In 1948, Warden Foss Davis established a classification board with the prison's first professional diagnostic staff as well as educational and recreational advisors. This program inaugurated the individualized study and treatment plan recommended by the progressive approach for penal reform prior to the 1920s (Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1934: 34; 1936: 102; 1938: 163; 1942: 136]; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1904: 1012-13; 1921: 31; 1925: 41; 1931: 37]; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938: 37, 46-47; Curtis 1899; Davis ca. 1948; Haynes 1956: 76).

Recreational opportunities remained limited until the 1930s. By 1898, the warden had begun granting freedom of the yard for public holidays. By 1900, the prison presented very occasional concerts, lectures, and other performances in the chapel to relieve the monotony of prison life. The prison sponsored an orchestra and band as well as the choir which gave performances during Sunday and holidays beginning in 1906. Concerts in the prison rotunda had become a semi-monthly event in 1912. In 1914, the Reformatory also installed a movie projector to improve teaching and provide recreation. Prior to the mid-1930s, the Reformatory had not developed a regularly scheduled recreation program integrated with its other activities except for the hobby and craft program added about 1932. By 1936, the Reformatory instituted a seven hour work schedule to allow daily exercise in the yard in the late afternoon and extended recreation periods on the weekends. By 1938, the Reformatory had added equipment and increased emphasis on hobbies and crafts for evening recreation but did not support a program director. Athletic activities included basketball, soft ball, volley ball, boxing, horse shoes, baseball, football, and tennis. They occurred in the yard at the center of the reformatory complex. By this date an inmate athletic board oversaw fifteen intramural teams in baseball, football, and basketball. A second committee operated the prisoners' canteen. By 1942, Reformatory teams competed with outside teams. The recreation program strove to build Reformatory morale

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 92

CFN-259-1116

and simply occupy the prisoner when not engaged in the prison industries or other maintenance tasks. Thus, recreation had not become integrated with other activities in the Reformatory program to improve the prisoner's social skills or self-perception (McKelvey 1977: 188; Iowa, State Historical Society of 1942; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1902: 701; 1904: 1002]; Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934 [1906: 44; 1912: 6; 1914: 10, 60-61]; 1934-42 [1936: 102; 1938: 163; 1940: 160; 1942: 136]; Sherman 1990; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938: 43-45, 164).

Prior to 1907, discharge at the Men's Reformatory, like the State Penitentiary, occurred at the end of a determinate sentence unless the governor granted a conditional pardon. The prisoner could commute his sentence through good behavior and performance of additional labor. The legislature established indeterminate sentence, parole, and a supervisory parole board when creating the Men's Reformatory in 1907. Like the inmates at the State Penitentiary, prisoners gained fifteen rather than five dollars and additional wearing apparel beyond the suit of clothing in 1924. Because indeterminate sentencing and parole released men when they had achieved reform and acquired work, sentences often became longer to allow completion of this process. The Board of Parole hired one parole officer to supervise those on parole from the Men's Reformatory and State Penitentiary in 1910. The Reformatory did not gain its own parole officer until the 1920s. This limited personnel offered only limited employment guidance and general supervision and were unable to conduct case history studies. Determination of parole was ideally based on the nature and speed of the prisoner's reform and training. Without necessary personnel, the decision often stressed the nature of the crime for which the inmate was committed. There were few other sources of assistance for the paroled prisoner. The Reformatory's chaplain offered limited advice and assisted with employment. Organized in 1904, the Howard Association provided limited employment assistance to those paroled from the State Penitentiary and Men's Reformatory. As a consequence, recidivism remained high through the 1930s (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1934 [1901: 686; 1904: 999, 1007, 1058; 1907: 2; 1923: 12]; Iowa Board of Control 1934-42 [1936: 112]).

After its 1937 survey of reformatories and prisons which included the facilities at the Iowa Men's Reformatory, the Osborne Association found it to be "...a well-managed junior prison rather than a true reformatory" (Osborne Association, Inc. 1938: 46). Among the contributing factors to this condition, the association noted the physical plant which was more conducive to insuring safe custody than facilitating rehabilitation; negative rather than positive rules governing discipline; the industries program which continued to emphasize support with vocational training holding only a secondary place in the program; the staff, quarters, and materials available for education were insufficient for the needs of a Reformatory; and the absence of case studies, diagnosis, classification, and treatment plans prepared by a properly trained staff. The Reformatory began to align its program with the progressive approach after the mid-1940s (Osborne

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 93

CFN-259-1116

Association, Inc. 1938: 46; Haynes 1956: 37-38; Davis ca. 1948).

IOWA'S COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL JAIL SYSTEM: 1840S-1942

The physical arrangement and the structure of the jail program remained remarkably stable in Iowa as in other states despite the existence of slightly less than ninety-nine county jails and numerous municipal jails across Iowa (Rothman 1971; Ford 1962: 101, 110). Perhaps because of this stability or because records were poorly maintained, the written histories describing the development of the county jail system in Iowa or most other states remain limited. Written at the turn of the century to the 1930s, most of these works focused on the poor conditions then existing in most facilities and provided little analysis of past or contemporary programs. Much of the following context relies on these histories and a reconnaissance level study of Iowa jails and a more intensive study of twenty-four county and municipal facilities completed under this project in 1991.

The American county and municipal jail systems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries derived directly from the gaol rather than the state penitentiary system. Municipal and county jails initially functioned as places of detention for those accused of crime, for those detained as witnesses prior to a trial, and into the early nineteenth century for debtors. By the 1830s, local jails functioned as the alternative to fines and corporal punishment and at first served as the only facility for prisoners. Several eastern cities established municipal workhouses for a short period during the early nineteenth century. They separated petty offenders from more serious criminals and placed them in a work program. The survey failed to identify this type of facility in Iowa. The importance of the county jail derived from the earlier prominence of the county in government. With limited transportation and communication, local facilities at the municipal and county level retained importance through the first third of the twentieth century. In Iowa, the construction of the county jail paralleled the building of the State Penitentiary in 1839. After its construction, Iowa's county jails held those convicted of misdemeanants and other minor crimes who were usually imprisoned for less than one year. It also housed those detained as witnesses, those awaiting transfer to prison or execution, and, for a very brief period, debtors. Executions occurred in the county of offense until 1896 except when the state suspended them between 1872 and 1878. Because of the lawlessness of the post-Civil War era in 1878, the state reinstated execution at the county level. The state relocated the place of execution to the State Penitentiary and the Additional Penitentiary in 1896. However, the county sheriff completed the actual execution (DeFord 1963: 88-89; Moynahan and Stewart 1980: 42; Burns 1971: 6-8; McKelvey 1977: 24; Lewis n.d.: 270; Haynes 1939: 147).

The use of the jail or gaol as a place for short term confinement of those committing crimes possessed considerable precedence in early midwestern history.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number E Page 94

CFN-259-1116

The occasional use of the term gaol rather than jail supports the original intent of this institution. The 1788 laws creating the Territory of the Northwest which included the State of Iowa required the appointment of a county sheriff by the governor. The law commissioned him to maintain all felons committed by the county court of pleas in a gaol or jail. By 1896, the law specifically directed the building of the county jail and courthouse. The building was to be well secured with bars, gratings and locks and contain at least two rooms, one for the criminal and the other for the debtor (Shambough 1895-97: (2) 5-8, 28). The 1815 laws of the Territory of Michigan also required the construction of a county gaol under the charge of the county sheriff. It was to possess at least one compartment for solitary confinement and an exercise yard (Shambough 1895-97: (2) 105, 159). The provision for solitary confinement reflects its new role in guiding the prisoner to seek penitence for his crime. The laws of the Territory of Wisconsin which affected Iowa from 1836 to 1838 refer to the county jail rather than the gaol and permitted the borrowing of money for their construction (Shambough 1895-97: (3) 26-27). In 1839, the Territory of Iowa likewise provided for the appointment of the sheriff by the county government. The sheriff maintained the county jail to hold indicted felons as well as those awaiting trial. If the county commissioners refused to provide an adequate jail, the law directed the sheriff to make such provisions to ensure the health of his prisoners (Shambough 1895-97 (3): 85, 90-92). Thus, the Iowa law clearly established the jail as a place for confinement after as well as before trial. The Iowa legislature empowered municipalities to maintain jails in 1851 (Hollowell 1922: 135; Haynes 1939: 2).

Iowa county and municipal jails generally experienced two phases of development. From the founding of the county to about the late 1840s depending on the initial settlement date, the Iowa jails functioned like the gaol. They served primarily as places of detention for individuals prior to trial or sentence and until 1840 for debtors. Early communities lacked the personnel and financial resources to detain prisoners for long periods. Most of these municipal jails occurred in their own one or two room building or calaboose. Use of the calaboose at the county level remains unconfirmed. Early county jails occurred in a barred room of the sheriff's dwelling; or slightly later in a barred room in the basement of the courthouse. Such jails were known to be located in the basement of the Lee and Madison county courthouses. The first historically identified jail existed at Burlington in 1838 (Briggs 1922: 133). The County of Plymouth may have detained its prisoners in the basement of a frame dwelling in Le Mars. This building was slated for demolition in 1991.

When detention quickly gave way to punishment in county and municipal jails by the late 1840s, the notion of redemption through hard work and religious council that prevailed at state penitentiaries including Iowa's became slowly and imperfectly incorporated into the county program (Rothman 1971: 42, 48-56, 89; Burns 1971: 8). Needing to house more criminals for up to one year, counties expanded the barred room in the sheriff's or jail keeper's dwelling to a multi-

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

E

95

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

room and multi-cell facility which still incorporated the dwelling. Because of limited mobility, the municipal and county jails retained their importance for short term prisoners into the 1950s. A center portion of the 1849-1850 county jail in Fort Madison, Lee County appears to represent the earliest example (Hansman 1982). The sheriff's dwelling/jail type remained the prevalent jail form at the county level until the 1950s and 1960s. When counties began to replace their county buildings in the 1930s and 1940s, many counties including, for example Jones and Floyd counties, incorporated their jails into the top floor. They also included the sheriff's quarters in these jails. Thus, while the counties relocated the facility, they maintained the same administrative system. They housed both the sheriff's dwelling and jail at one facility. Although counties continue to use both jail types, the sheriff has moved from all but one dwelling and jail combination, the Cedar County Jail in Tipton. Offices now occupy the dwellings. The county sheriff's office and jail without residence began slowly replacing these earlier types in the 1950s.

Municipalities and some townships constructed jails for short-term detention. They often initially adopted the single or double room, one story jail type or calaboose. Extant examples include the jails at Cascade constructed in the 1881 and Lu Verne erected in 1912. As communities grew, they incorporated the jail into municipal facilities which often combined most of the municipal functions such as city hall or fire station. With the exception of the 1920 example in Des Moines, the separate city police station did not develop until after 1940. Examples of jails at city halls remain at Atlantic, Guttenberg, Monticello, Ida Grove, and Chariton. The fire station and jail combination at Knoxville was demolished while the example at What Cheer was nominated to the National Register. Probably because their concern remained detention and not punishment, municipalities continued to use the calaboose as late as the 1930s and retained the other forms up to the recent past. By the 1960s, municipalities began to close their facilities and take prisoners directly to county jails (Historic Preservation Bureau, Corrections Survey; Burns 1971: 2; Wilson 1979: 340-44).

States normally specified in the act creating each county the form of county government including the operation of the county jail. However, following a tradition of strong local government, few state governments set regulations or standards for jail construction or maintenance, the jail program, the level of care or the qualifications of the supervisory personnel. In Iowa as elsewhere, the county governments maintained control over the operation of their county jail, enjoying considerable freedom in the creation of their jail system. The precedent set by the 1839 law which placed administration of the jail in the hands of the sheriff continued through the 1940s. However, while the Territory of Iowa appointed the position, counties frequently elected their sheriff after Iowa became a state. Elected sheriffs generally lacked the training or experience to supervise the jail. Usually remaining for too short a period and possessing little job security, the sheriff often failed to meet his legal responsibility for providing adequate care of prisoners. The sheriff in turn

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 96

CFN-259-1116

usually hired a jailor to oversee the daily routine of the jail. Often receiving his appointment as a political favor, the jailor likewise lacked training for his position. Local municipalities relied on their elected constable to perform the same function. The county seats occasionally but not always utilized the county jail to detain prisoners. The Cosson Report of 1912 echoed the statements of earlier investigators associated with the Iowa Conference on Charities. They indicated that while some sheriffs successfully filled their positions, many were elected along with other candidates of their party and were completely unfit to accomplish their duties. The reliance by the county and municipalities on untrained personnel continued through the mid-1940s (Shambough 1895-97 (1) 83, 97; Lewis n.d.: 271; Ensign 1912: 120; Burns 1971: 19-21; Haynes 1939: 2; McKelvey 1977: 106; Wines and Dwight 1867: 335; Cosson 1912).

The laws of the Northwest Territory in 1792 supported its jails through a fee system. The jailor provided the prisoner a basic sustenance only when the prisoner lacked access to food, and then the county or municipality expected payment as well as the fee charged at the prisoner's release. The territory and state of Iowa continued this policy to the twentieth century. During the nineteenth century in the State of Iowa, the sheriff or jailor also charged a per diem fee and, if the prisoner could not provide them, added the cost of food, clothing, and bedding. Because charges remained unregulated, the fee system enhanced possibilities for corruption by local authorities. Fees fluctuated considerably between the counties suggesting that prisoners paid for more than simply basic upkeep of the jail and provisions. Although the state paid the counties a rate per meal for the feeding of each prisoner after 1900, the sheriff continued to charge a turnkey fee for an unidentified period. Whether paid by the prisoner or the county, the fees not only paid for the upkeep of the jail but also provided the sheriff with a profit between the actual fee and the amount paid for provisions. The system occasionally led to detention beyond the period of imprisonment to gain additional fees. As the Cosson Report of 1912 indicated, this jail system with its fee structure provided a consistent source of local corruption in Iowa and many other states. A successful effort to end the fee system did not begin in Iowa until the 1930s (Shambough 1895-97: (2) 31; (3) 90; Burns 1971: 20, 194; Cosson 1912; Queen 1920: 13-17; McKelvey 1977: 192-93; DeFord 1963: 92; Moynahan and Stewart 1980: 20; Briggs 1919: 505).

The state also failed to set clear guidelines defining the type of criminal to be housed in county and municipal facilities and their maximum length of stay. Thus, the length and type of punishment for a given crime varied considerably among the counties. Municipal and county facilities detained all prisoners prior to trial regardless of the offense committed and also witnesses waiting to give testimony. The municipal jails held those suffering from intoxication, the idle, and minor misdemeanants violating local ordinances for usually not more than several days but occasionally up to several months. The Cosson investigation of 1911 found that arrests for intoxication composed about 50% of the total number of arrests in Iowa. The state of Iowa abolished punishment for debt by

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 97

CFN-259-1116

imprisonment in 1843. Those held at county jails included misdemeanants, felons accused of affecting property of a limited value, and those committed for minor sexual crimes. Although some prisoners remained considerably longer, county prisoners were usually detained from a few days to a year. Because of overcrowding at the State Penitentiary as early as 1874 to the 1930s, the state objected to the maintenance of short term prisoners. As early as the late 1860s, penologists believed that short term sentences for misdemeanants proved ineffective. At these facilities, the prisoners did not participate in a reform program to break the habits for which the individual was committed. The Cosson report advocated placing those warranting only thirty days' confinement on probation and focusing more attention on petty offenders committed to jail before they became hardened criminals. Primarily because of the absence of a labor program, the report recommended the use of municipal and county facilities solely for detention of prisoners prior to trial and the creation of penal farms to rehabilitate minor offenders (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 19; 1929: 5]; Hollowell 1922: 132; Ensign 1909: 48; Queen 1920: 6; Moynahan and Steward 1980: 64; Burns 1971: 21; DeFord 1963: 90; Wines and Dwight 1867: 67; Cosson 1912).

Most county and municipal jails pre-dating the 1840s placed all prisoners regardless of age, health, mental state, degree of criminality or the ability for self-maintenance in one or more common rooms. Such practices adversely affected the behavior of young, first offenders, endangered health, and frustrated reformation of all prisoners. Through the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, Iowa jail administrators gradually adopted the Auburn method of imprisonment which isolated prisoners in their own cells. However, overcrowding often led to the placement of more than one prisoner in these small cells. Jails also began the minimal separation of different classes of prisoners. Although the territorial laws specified clear separation by sex, this dictum was not always followed even later in the nineteenth century. Some large, well funded municipal and county jails probably attained this segregation of most of these classes by the turn of the century. But, the maintenance of a small number of prisoners and their frequent turn-over delayed this conversion from a congregate cell room to single cells and separation of cellblocks by prisoner type. The insane, juveniles, and the aged were gradually removed from county jails to county or state facilities.

When Iowa counties grew sufficiently populous to construct a combination sheriff's residence and jail, usually in the 1850s and 1860s depending on the period of settlement, they often included several cells isolated from although frequently near the main cellblock for female prisoners. In a multi-tier cellblock, the cells or as often a room on the top floor contained female prisoners. Although women gained their separate quarters, their care by matrons was not commonplace. Violated with some frequency, the state law of 1897 required that cities over 25,000 maintain separate quarters for females and appoint matrons to supervise them. Prior to the occupation of the Female

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 98

CFN-259-1116

Department at Anamosa in 1902, many courts preferred to place their convicted females in the county jail regardless of the type of crime committed. State facilities were crowded and often inadequate.

The 1897 legislation also specified the separation of minors under sixteen into a different facility if they existed. For example, the City of Davenport maintained a detention home for youths and women by 1909. Although juvenile males were often as not placed in the same cells as the male prisoners despite this law, some county jails designated one cell, usually adjacent to the female section, for youths. Lacking other locations, some counties and municipalities also placed orphaned children in these facilities. The act of 1868 creating the state reformatories provided superior facilities for the maintenance of delinquent children. Although not their function, the reformatories also absorbed neglected and dependent youths. The 1904, juvenile court act placed some errant youths of good character on probation rather than committing them to jail or the reformatory. It also prohibited the placement of juveniles with adults in the same "confinement" which often resulted in their placement in a juvenile cell in a separate room.

Prior to 1940, separation of the remainder of the jail population occurred slowly or not at all depending on the size of the jail. Although some separation began in larger jails by the 1920s, many jails continued to imprison together the first offender, hardened criminal, and those awaiting trial. The corrupting influence of the multiple offender disrupted any discipline maintained in the jail. Some jails did segregate inebriates into a large room, later known as the drunk tank. However, this class received not treatment for their problem. They frequently composed about 50% of the jail population. The Cosson study proposed the creation of prison farms in addition to the State Hospital for the inebriates to treat alcoholics. Without additional facilities, counties and municipalities also housed the impoverished, insane, and sometimes the sick and aged in their jails as late as the early twentieth century. Society's fear of the insane most commonly led to the imprisonment of this class. The state and counties did not begin the construction of insane asylums, homes for the aged and poor, and hospitals until the mid-1850s and afterwards (Wines and Dwight 1867: 67, 339; Haynes 1946: 79; Bannister 1899: 27; Ensign 1909: 40-47, 50; 1912: 118; Cosson 1912; Lewis n.d.: 268-71; Hart 1922: 9; Moynahan and Stewart 1980: 64; Shambough 1895-97: (3) 91; McKelvey 1977: 257, 309; Briggs 1897: 103; Garfield 1986: 3; Howe 1906: 44-46; Hopkins 1930: 18-19).

Prior to limited studies conducted by the Cosson investigation in 1912, no agency counted or collected statistics recording the numbers of prisoners maintained in Iowa facilities. Through the first quarter of the twentieth century, many rural counties maintained only a small number of prisoners at any given time. In the same period, jails serving the small number of large urban areas contained from one to three hundred prisoners. For example, in 1909, Polk County Jail, one of the largest jails in Iowa, maintained between 216 and 334 prisoners per month,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 99

CFN-259-1116

and in 1911 it imprisoned between 236 and 445 per month. Like the state prison population, the county jail population also rose rapidly in the 1920s and 1930s. This rise eventually forced the counties with large prison populations to construct larger and usually improved facilities during the 1930s and 1940s.

The poor physical condition of jails remained a problem in the state through the 1940s. The Cosson report of 1912 described Iowa jails as a disgrace to the state. Similar conditions existed throughout the United States. Jails were often in disrepair. When first constructed, the cell areas often lacked adequate ventilation, sanitation facilities, heating, and lighting. The limited number of high windows admitted little light and air. Jails suffered from an overabundance of vermin and filth frequently creating intolerable physical conditions. The jailor also failed to maintain a reasonably high standard of cleanliness among its occupants. Even though supported by a fee system or later a county subsidy, this institution also provided inadequate sustenance or clothing. Overcrowding in more populous counties led to the maintenance of two prisoners in one four by seven foot cell or four in a seven by seven foot cell. Overflow went on top of the cellblock or along the corridors creating among other things insecure conditions. Since the fee system or its successor allotted a rate per inmate, the sheriff did not discourage such conditions. Although many jails included day rooms placed just outside the cells but within the cellblock for meals and limited recreation, areas for exercise, usually a fenced location adjacent to the prison, did not appear until well after the turn of the century. These exercise yards had been advocated by the penal reform movement of the 1820s. These circumstances along with inadequate professional attention ensured the spread of infectious diseases, particularly tuberculosis (Johnson 1973: 16; Ensign 1909: 42-46; 1912: 118-120; Bannister 1899: 28; Cosson 1912; Haynes 1946: 62, 68, 83; Queen 1920: 16; Lunden 1959: 149).

Supervised by untrained personnel, many jails maintained little if any discipline and certainly not the rigid daily routine and silence of the Auburn system advocated for penitentiaries. While historical sources draw a clear picture of inappropriately operated jails, there are few notations about those which succeeded in maintaining proper order. Their operation appears to have resembled a lax form of the Auburn system. However, in most jails, prisoners usually associated freely with one another in day room areas. Chosen either because of good behavior or just as often because they bribed or otherwise influenced the jailor, trusty or honor prisoners supervised the other prisoners and gained added privileges. To achieve their own order, a hierarchy of prisoners occasionally established kangaroo courts in which prisoners adopted the rules governing their cell life. These rules frequently involved personnel cleanliness and noise limitations. In some cases, the prisoners meted out maintenance duties to attain more tolerable conditions while in other jails long-term prisoners extorted work and possessions from newcomers (Queen 1920: 3, 10-12; McKelvey 1977: 192; Lewis n.d.: 271; Bannister 1899: 28; Ensign 1912: 118; Haynes 1946: 63).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number E Page 100

CFN-259-1116

Programs to achieve prisoner reform and provide some form of exercise remained few. At the state penitentiaries, labor provided some measure of discipline simply by occupying time. In most jails, prisoners sat in idleness except for the maintenance chores which the jailor or kangaroo court directed. A few jails used a detail of prisoners to perform outdoor maintenance work, street repair or construction. Prisoners provided some of the labor for the building of the 1907 Polk County Jail. Several other jails occasionally forced prisoners to break rock. At the Polk and Scott county jails, prisoners broke rock in a work room in the basement as late as 1912. Hard labor formed the bulwark of the Auburn penitentiary system of which this requirement appears to be an interpretation. This often unproductive labor was intended to punish prisoners and direct them toward a more upstanding life. While the State Penitentiary discarded hard labor as a means of punishment and penitence by the turn of the century, the jails enforcing labor maintained this approach into at least the second decade of the twentieth century. The Cosson Report failed to find productive labor being performed in any of Iowa's jails in 1912. Contract labor through which prisoners earned income to defray the cost of their maintenance does not appear to have existed in Iowa jails. Nor did counties maintain work houses or penal farms which employed misdemeanants and vagrants.

Because of the appalling physical conditions and the absence of productive work discovered in Iowa's jails by the Cosson investigation of 1911, the 1912 report recommended the closing of county and municipal jails. It suggested committing those guilty of crimes less than a felony, such as a misdemeanor or vagrancy, to one of three, state-operated district penal farms. Other penitentiaries and reformatories including Iowa's and county jails in other states had begun similar farms as well as public work programs in this period. The report also recommended a penal colony for women committing immoral acts, and the creation of another farm to deal with intoxicants. Thus, the report attempted to classify prisoners and provide a more individualized program. Commitment was to exceed thirty days to accomplish minimal reformation. Probation programs absorbed those serving a shorter period. Farming and some crafts provided constructive labor and training for future employment. In 1913, the legislature provided funds to purchase a district custodial farm. In the same year, the Board of Control purchased Clive Farm northwest of Des Moines for use as one of these penal farms. However, because the legislature failed to make provisions for administering the farm or for the purchase of the two other farms, the board operated Clive Farm as a prison industry with prisoners from the State Penitentiary and the Men's Reformatory. The state never instituted the district farm program (Ensign 1909: 42, 47; 1912: 119-21; Des Moines Capitol 1908 [5/18]; Cosson 1912; Queen 1920: 10; Haynes 1946: 69-76; DeFord 1963: 95; Haynes 1956: 44-45; Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1915: 40-41; 1917: 21, 45]).

In addition to the absence of a work program, the jails did not provide religious council with chaplains. Under the Auburn system, religion provided an avenue through which the prisoner gained penitence and learned the proper moral

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 101

CFN-259-1116

standards which guided behavior. Educational programs for self-improvement were also unavailable. Without such training programs, jails only secured the community from the prisoners. Jails were custodial and failed to reform and elevate the moral standards of their prisoners. Because of the poor conditions under which the jail maintained prisoners, their occupants often left in a worse mental if not physical state than when they entered. Wines and Dwight described them as publicly maintained facilities for the teaching of vice. Since jails lacked the ability to alter character, recidivism remained high. In the early twentieth century, probation remained a better alternative even if the program failed to maintain proper oversight (Lewis n.d.: 271; Ensign 1909: 46-47; 1912: 115-17; Wines and Dwight 1867: 67).

Even with the creation of state Boards of Charities or Control toward the end of the nineteenth century, most state governments remained unable to adequately regulate local jails. Only nineteen states set standards, and only six then subsidized the upkeep of the jails. Wines and Dwight, early leaders in jail reform, indicated the need for state-wide standards governing the form, condition, programs, and type of personnel for county and municipal jail buildings by state commissions as early as 1867. In 1880, the National Conference of Charities and Corrections condemned the condition of local facilities. A nation-wide investigation by the National Prison Association occurred in 1906. However, these investigations appear to have had little effect. Although generally inadequate, jail conditions depended on the interests and goals of the county supervisors, attorney, and sheriff in each county or those in the municipal governments. Until the 1930s and later, the number of jails requiring inspection and the closely guarded autonomy of this county institution frustrated the efforts of most state officials including Iowa's to institute and enforce state-wide standards. Despite the criticism of Iowa's county jail system from the turn of the century onwards, the Board of Control also failed to institute a successful jail inspection program, one of its specified duties. Its founding in 1898 probably prompted inquiries into the condition of local facilities by members of the Iowa Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1898, 1904, 1905-1912. The Cosson studies of 1911 in part focused on county and municipal jail conditions and attempted to recommend solutions. It collected the first substantive data describing jails in Iowa. The report strongly recommended that the state abolish county and municipal jails except for detention prior to trial and urged the creation of district penal farms for misdemeanants. It received no action from the state legislature.

Until 1930, jail investigations remained cursory and ineffective. In 1930, the United States Department of Justice through its Bureau of Prisons set standards for jails in which it kept federal prisoners. It inspected and rated three thousand county jails. Over one-third were determined ineligible for the use of federal prisoners while another one-third were approved. The government used the other third which received a low rating only in emergency and paid them a low per diem rate for keeping prisoners. The 1941 inspection ranked Iowa below many

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number E Page 102

CFN-259-1116

other states in the condition of its facilities, care received by inmates, the available programming for rehabilitation, administrative skills, and training of personnel. The survey disqualified most of Iowa's jails for the receipt of federal prisoners. The removal of federal prisoners from jails deprived the sheriff of an important part of his income and stimulated a gradual improvement of jail conditions. But, conditions in jails improved markedly across the state only with the jail inspection program instituted by the Department of Social Services in 1968 (DeFord 1963: 99; Ensign 1909: 40, 47; 1912: 117, 122; Burns 1971: 17-19; Cosson 1912; McKelvey 1977: 11, 45, 62, 106, 192; Moynahan and Stewart 1982: 65; Stubbe 1970: 2; Haynes 1946: 61-63, 83).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number F Page 103

CFN-259-1116

F. Associated Property Types

Name

Type 1: The Auburn Penitentiary Property Type

Description

The Auburn Penitentiary Property Type occurs at the edge of two small urban centers, the Iowa State Penitentiary in Anamosa and the Iowa Men's Reformatory in Fort Madison. These communities vied for the location of the facilities in their community and donated land on which to place them. State institutions provided employment and a market for goods and services. The state sought property separated from the community on which to secure its prisoners from it but remain close enough to avail itself of community services, employable population, and transportation.

The Auburn Penitentiary Property Type divides into four property subtypes. This categorization attempts to account for the auxiliary properties associated with and located outside the walls of the prison or reformatory complex. The subtypes include: 1a. the Auburn Penitentiary Complex, 1b. the prison quarry, 1c. the prison farm, and 1d. the prison cemetery.

Subtype 1a: The Auburn Penitentiary Complex

The Auburn Penitentiary Property Type includes the two Iowa penitentiary properties, the Iowa State Penitentiary and the Iowa Men's Reformatory. The state erected its first corrections property, the Iowa State Penitentiary at Fort Madison, beginning in 1839. Although its construction continued through the early 1940s, the form of the buildings erected between 1907 and the 1938 reflect the operation of the Auburn and reformatory prison movements operative into the 1930s. The Iowa Men's Reformatory began as a penitentiary. Although construction of temporary buildings began in 1872, the state did not start the building of extant properties until 1877. The building of the original plan of the prison reached completion in 1910. Construction of industrial buildings and cellhouses continued into the early 1940s. These later buildings in part reflect its function as a men's reformatory rather than a penitentiary. The state converted the Additional Penitentiary to a reformatory in 1907. The construction of its industrial buildings parallel the growth of its work program.

During the second and third decades of the nineteenth century when eastern states began to construct their corrections facilities, penological theory supported two forms of penitentiaries, the Pennsylvania or the individual system and the Auburn

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 104

CFN-259-1116

penitentiary. Because it was less expensive to construct and allowed prisoners to work together in a congregate setting rather than in their individual cells, the later form dominated prison construction from 1820 into the twentieth century.

The cellhouse became the major defining element of the Auburn penitentiary subtype. In the Auburn type cellhouse, a free-standing cellblock occurred in the center of the cellhouse which, in effect, functions as a long, narrow shell (figure 1). The cellblock included two long rows of cells placed back-to-back and faced outward to the outer wall. It often contained from three to five tiers of cells with those above the first accessed by galleries. An approximately eight to ten foot corridor separated the outer wall of the cellhouse from the cells. When the cellhouse was divided width-wise into two or more sections, each half or third was designated as a range. During the nineteenth century, each cell frequently measured approximately 3.5 to 4 by 7 feet and 7 feet high. By the 1890s and early twentieth century, cells were enlarged to about 5 by 8 feet. Both the cells and the cellhouse were built of solid stone construction in early penitentiaries. Iron grating or solid stone composed their fronts, and iron plate, iron grating or wood doors closed the cells. By the 1880s, stone construction was used in the walls of the cellhouse, but the cells were usually concrete with fronts and doors of steel grating. After the turn of the century, the interior walls and floor of the cellhouse were finished with concrete. The weight of the buildings required brick arches and iron supports which later became all steel supports. Roof forms included gable, hip, and flat. Many states used this Auburn type cellhouse in their penitentiaries which first contained all classes of prisoners. Toward the end of the nineteenth or in the early twentieth century, states often converted a second Auburn type penitentiary to a young male's reformatory (American Correctional Association 1983: 44-51; Eriksson 1976: 48-51; Johnson 1973: 38-41; McKelvey 1977: 180-82).

The Auburn type cellhouse was combined with other buildings to form a prison complex in a limited number of ways. The Wethersfield version was the most common variant. In this complex, a central building containing kitchen, dining facilities, the chapel, administrative services, the warden's apartment, and sometimes the hospital and educational services was flanked on either side by a cellhouse. The front walls of the two cellhouses and the center building also formed the front prison wall. Usually surmounted by guardhouses, this wall was continued with or without buildings to form a rectangle or square prison yard. Additional cellhouses sometimes formed the remainder of the front and/or part of a side prison wall. The yard contained additional buildings such as the powerhouse, pump house, and other services buildings. Multi-story workshops usually constructed away from the wall stood at the side or rear of the yard. Later, a gymnasium, additional administrative facilities, storage buildings, maintenance buildings, and outdoor recreational areas were added. Prison complexes also included associated buildings lying immediately outside their walls. As spaces shrank inside the walls, warehouses, power plants, additional

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 105

CFN-259-1116

housing for the deputy warden and other staff, and additional industry buildings appeared just beyond the prison walls.

The Iowa State Penitentiary and the Iowa Men's Reformatory are the only properties belonging to this type. Although the initial directive by the 1839 legislature specified a penitentiary of the Wethersfield form such as the example at the Connecticut State Penitentiary and plans were drawn in 1859-60 to achieve this form, the Iowa State Penitentiary never achieved this model. The four cellhouses at the penitentiary follow the Auburn form and the walls form a rectangle around the prison. However, the prison grew rather haphazardly producing a pattern of residential and administrative buildings along the south and east walls, workshops near the west and north walls, and service buildings within the yard. The state later replaced all but one of the original buildings. Built as the Additional Penitentiary, the Men's Reformatory adheres closely to the Wethersfield version. Its north and south cellhouses which form part of the front wall flank a center building originally containing administrative services, the warden's quarters, dining facilities, the chapel, and educational programs as well as several workshops. Its walls form a rectangle around the prison yard. The industrial buildings are lined along the rear and one side wall. Additional cellhouses and the hospital form the remainder of the front or east wall and the south wall. Additional service buildings group in the yard near the front. Its cellhouses follow the Auburn form. The limestone and later steel and concrete construction used in both penitentiaries also parallel common materials used in this building subtype (Iowa, Territory of [Revised Statutes] 1843 [1839: 342]; McKelvey 1977: 16, 28; Johnson 1973: 21; Hopkins 1930: 43-46).

The walled Auburn penitentiary complex generally displayed heavy massing and used architectural detailing common to the period. The most common styles included Gothic and Romanesque. The Tudor, classical Roman and Greek, and Italianate styles also appeared. Both the State Penitentiary and the Men's Reformatory primarily follow the Romanesque Revival style. Because it grew as need required, the stylistic features at the State Penitentiary are less unified. The first cellhouse displays limited Greek Revival detailing around its windows. Buildings constructed in the late nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth century show both Romanesque Revival and Classical decorative detailing. The architectural unity of the Men's Reformatory is striking. Although constructed at different periods, the buildings of the reformatory contribute to the Romanesque Revival style of the prison. Some Gothic Revival elements which often appear with the Romanesque Revival details in prison architecture are visible in the administration building (1) and in Shop No. 2 (18). Some of the later industrial buildings follow a utilitarian design. But, their heavily massed buildings contribute positively to overall appearance. Prison labor under the direction of foremen completed almost all the building tasks within the two prisons. The evidence of this workmanship remains relatively intact at the Men's Reformatory. The haphazard building at the State Penitentiary has destroyed or altered a considerable amount of this work (Johnson 1973: 26-28; American

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 106

CFN-259-1116

Correctional Association 1983: 59).

The low, heavy massing of picturesque, Romanesque Revival style was well suited to prison architecture. Richard Upjohn developed the style in the eastern states in the 1840s. Often rendered in monochrome stone, the style's coursed, rough-faced, coursed limestone contributed to its monolithic appearance. Stylistic elements such as the rhythm of its narrow windows with round arch lintels and entrances; the circular windows; and the horizontal lines of its corbel tables, parapets, belt courses, and heavy watertabling composed the buildings. Voussoirs sometimes placed on piers or columns around entrances or hood molds with corbel stops added to the heavy massing. The fenestration often varied uniformly by floor. Gothic Revival elements such as the square and octagonal towers, turrets, and buttresses provided an asymmetrical accent to the generally regular form. This massing and composition implied security and commitment to purpose. Particularly the Men's Reformatory but also the early twentieth century cellhouses at the State Penitentiary display these decorative elements. Although plain in detailing, even the stone buildings outside the wall of the Men's Reformatory, at Farm No. 1 and its quarry display affinity to the Romanesque Revival style.

Extent Examples:⁷

- *Iowa Men's Reformatory (entire complex)
- *Iowa State Penitentiary (three cellhouses)

Subtype 1b: The Prison Quarry

As states expanded their prison labor program to support the operation of the prison in the nineteenth century, they added building complexes well beyond the prison walls. One complex was associated with stone quarrying. Financing the construction of the penitentiary, states such as New York as well as Iowa placed their penitentiaries near previously identified stone quarries. These states worked them with prison labor to produce stone for building not only their prisons but for sale to other state institutions. References to these operations do not specify the types of buildings and structures constructed at these sites (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1872: 48]; Zumbrunnen 1978: 88-89). The Iowa Men's Reformatory established two prison quarries. The precise location of the first site three miles west of the reformatory is unknown. The second site northwest of the Reformatory contained the following buildings which currently or once stood at the site: a dining hall, tool shed, scale house, stone crusher, hoisting apparatus, fencing, and other small outbuildings. Their massive form and the limited decorative detailing resembles the Romanesque Revival style which

⁷ The examples marked with an asterisk were nominated to the National Register of Historic Places under this project.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 107

CFN-259-1116

is visible at the prison complex at the Iowa Men's Reformatory. Those standing at the quarry prior to 1900 are unidentified and may remain as historical archaeological deposits. The State of Iowa erected some of these buildings just prior to the creation of the Iowa Men's Reformatory in 1907 when the reformatory functioned as a penitentiary. Thus, the subtype is associated with both penitentiaries and men's reformatories and were not initially established solely for honor prisoners.

Extant Examples:

*The Prison Quarry, Iowa Men's Reformatory

Subtype 1c: The Prison Farm

As states revised their work programs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to reflect the reformatory movement of the 1870s, they erected additional building complexes outside the walls to employ honor prisoners. Reformatories and penitentiaries most frequently added the prison farm (Cosson 1912). Other than references to dormitories (Hopkins 1930; Hart 1922), sources again do not specify the type of buildings established at these farms. Prison farms in Iowa often contained a cluster of farm outbuildings necessary for the particular type of farm operation such as dairy barns and hog houses; storage areas such as root cellars, silos, granaries, and machine sheds; processing plants such as slaughter houses and creameries; a hired farmer's dwelling; and dining hall and/or dormitory. The Iowa State Penitentiary originally operated three prison farms, and the Men's Reformatory maintained six farms. These farms were first begun shortly after the turn of the century. Farmsteads at all but one farm existed prior to the purchase of the property by the state. Their outbuilding whether built before or after the time of purchase resemble those constructed in the general area. At Farm No. 1 at Anamosa, the state erected the stone buildings with prison labor. Their massive form and the limited decorative detailing resembles the Romanesque Revival style which is visible at the prison complex at the Iowa Men's Reformatory.

Extant Examples:

*Farm No. 1, Iowa Men's Reformatory
Farms No. 2-6, Iowa Men's Reformatory
Montrose Farm, Iowa State Penitentiary
Augustana Farm, Iowa State Penitentiary

Subtype 1d: The Prison Cemetery

Reformatory and penitentiary cemeteries occur outside the walls of the complex. Although a prison cemetery did exist at the Iowa State Penitentiary, its location remains unidentified. The cemetery at the Iowa Men's Reformatory lies on a hill

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number F Page 108

CFN-259-1116

above Prison Farm No. 1 and the reformatory complex. It is small in size, and its graves include only prisoners. The cemetery contains four varieties of gravestone. These varieties alter with time and differ by marking a single or a mass grave.

Extant Examples:

*The Prison Cemetery, Iowa Men's Reformatory

Although single properties including sites are associated with the Auburn Penitentiary Property Type, the penitentiary buildings usually cluster to create districts. The walls of the prison complexes partially define the boundaries of the property. Alterations at the State Penitentiary limit eligible buildings to one section of the prison and thus result in a number of arbitrary boundaries tightly enclosing this area. The prison walls at the Men's Reformatory draw a clear boundary along three sides. The inclusion of additional buildings outside the north wall result in an arbitrary north boundary. The boundaries enclosing the other three properties including districts and a site at the Iowa Men's Reformatory tightly surround the cluster of properties.

Property Significance

The Auburn Penitentiary Property Type gains its primary significance under criteria A and C in the areas of Law and Architecture respectively. The context, Iowa Correctional Institutions: 1838-1942, provides the basis through which the property type acquires significance under these criteria at the state level.

Under criterion A and in the area of law, the property type represents several stages in the development of penological theory for the treatment of primarily male but also juvenile, female, and insane prisoners. The arrangement and style of buildings in the Auburn type penitentiary clearly expressed the orientation toward correction in the early nineteenth century. Developed in the 1820s, the goal of the Auburn prison system was punishment which was ultimately to produce prisoner reform. The prisoner achieved this reform by seeking penitence for his crime. The prisoner gained this penitence by himself through hard labor and self-reflection assisted by religious council. The penitentiary's arrangement into small, stark, single occupancy cells allowed contemplation in silence without the evil influence of other prisoners. These cellhouses fed into a congregate dining hall and chapel at which prisoners ate and worshipped in silence. The row of industrial buildings at the rear or side of the prison provided congregate work places for hard labor. The interior cellblocks containing the cells, the walls of the cellhouse, and the massive wall of the penitentiary secured society from the prisoner.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

F 109

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

Although followed in almost all American penitentiaries, the Auburn system of discipline failed to accomplish the desired reform. Penitence was not achieved, and recidivism remained high. Auburn penitentiaries became custodial prisons. Without an alternative, states continued the program and built the prison complex into the early twentieth century. Prisons continued to build the Auburn cellhouse into the early 1940s. The reformatory movement of the 1870s directed its reform program toward young, first offenders rather than the older, hardened criminals who were frequently committed to the penitentiary multiple times or for life. The hope also remained that the threat of repeated, harsh punishment would deter further crime. The reformatory program approached prisoner reform in a different manner. A program including a basic education which opened the criminal to a broader world, vocational training which minimally taught the prisoner how to work, and religious instruction which emphasized proper moral standards turned the prisoner from crime to a productive citizen.

The use of grading, indeterminate sentencing, and probation encouraged good behavior. But these techniques often resulted only in sufficient behavior alteration to rise through the grades but not actual reform of character. Unlike the prison program of the progressive movement, the reformatory program treated all prisoners alike. It did not meet individual needs. States did gradually add portions but rarely all of the 1870s reformatory program between the 1890s and 1910. They generally failed to integrate the program into the normal routine of the prison so that many elements of the early Auburn prison system remained. Reflecting their hesitancy to expend large amounts of funding on the program, states usually converted an Auburn type penitentiary to their reformatory. They adapted a complex which insured maximum security rather than retraining and thus restricted program development. Individual cells intended to isolate the prisoner and promote meditation inhibited the social interaction necessary in the reformatory program. As a consequence, as the maximum security prisons turned reformatories began to experience overcrowding, the administration developed of prison farms and created public works programs to place honor prisoners beyond the prison walls (Filo 1982: 45-52; McKinley 1977: 83; 157-60, 176-80, 184-89; American Correctional Association 1983: 80-87; Rothman 1971: 82-86, 100-05, 237-39; Haynes 1939: 118; Davison 1930: 73; DeFord 1963: 55).

The Iowa State Penitentiary and Iowa Men's Reformatory programs and building complexes reflect these developments in somewhat different ways. The State Penitentiary with its Auburn type cellhouses and its industrial buildings by the 1920s and 1930s represented what became known as the maximum security prison. Beginning in 1872, the state first built the Men's Reformatory or Additional Penitentiary to function and resemble a penitentiary. The state altered its function to a Men's Reformatory in 1907. At that time, it began the construction of industrial buildings in the prison, established its prison farms, and expanded the space containing its education program. But, like other reformatories of its day, this reformatory still looked like and in part functioned as a maximum security prison (Grunhut 1930: 130; Hopkins 1930: 29-34; McKelvey 1977: 315-20).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number F Page 110

CFN-259-1116

The property type gains significance under criterion C in the area of architecture as representation of the form of the Auburn Penitentiary Property Type and as a stylistic example of penal architecture. The property type embodies the form believed necessary to administer a specific prison program. The Auburn penitentiary subtype was patterned after the Auburn Penitentiary erected at Auburn, New York between 1819 and 1824. The Auburn penitentiary confined each prisoner into a separate, secure unit of the cellblock and placed them in congregate situations for dining, worship, and work in its walled area. While the reformatory did not require such complete separation of prisoners, states often retained Auburn type prison. Again, since the prison isolated prisoners rather than allowing controlled association, this form proved detrimental to the program. The stone materials; fortress-like, heavily massed, monumental Romanesque Revival style; and the high walls displayed by the Auburn penitentiary represented the strength, permanence, and authority of the state and the security of society from the prisoner. The balanced organization of decorative features emphasized discipline, regularity, sobriety, and temperance. The spatial arrangement of the cellblock within the cellhouse, the relation of the cellhouses to the center building with many of the necessary services, the inclusion of the row of workshops within the complex, and the enclosure of the whole in a wall also not only visually implied but created security. The turrets and battlements of the low, heavily massed complex with its wide corbel tables and rounded-arch windows and voussoirs created a castle-like image. Its austere, forbidding prospect was intended to discourage crime not only among those within but among the general society without (American Correctional Association 1983: 53-56; McKelvey 1977: 10, 28, 13; Eriksson 1967: 59; Erickson 1990: 22; Johnson 1973: 26, 31; Rothman 1971: 83, 107-08).

Some of the principal architects involved in the planning of the two prisons achieved prominence in their field. The portions of the State Penitentiary complex constructed prior to 1898 were probably planned by local a builder/architect, Amos Ladd of Burlington. He was appointed as superintendent of construction in 1839. J.F. Edwards and Robert Finkbine guided the building of the State Penitentiary prior to the 1860-1870 building period (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1859: 13-21]). Henry Franz Liebke and then his son Henry Jackson Liebke in their capacities as state architect for the Board of Control prepared the plans for sections erected between 1898 and 1941. William Foster, just prior to his association with the firm of L.W. Foster and Company in Des Moines, designed the Men's Reformatory in 1872. J. Frank Barnes, an architect and master mechanic, directed construction but probably not design work after Foster's retirement as an architect in about 1895 to 1898-1899. However, Henry F. Liebke prepared the plans for the north cellhouse in 1895 and 1898. Henry F. and then Henry J. Liebke followed Foster's original plan and stylistic elements and designed later buildings at the reformatory in the same style (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1872: 12; 1874: 14, 46; 1896: 47]; General Services Administration 1884-1979 [plans for North Cellhouse, H.F. Liebke 1895; 1898]; Haynes 1956: 6; Iowa Secretary of State 1886-90 [1886: 75]; Iowa, Territory of

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

F 111

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

1838-46 [1839: 366]].

Born in Littleneck, New York in 1842, William Foster apprenticed under Richard Upjohn prior to moving west. Upjohn heavily influenced the development of the Romanesque style in the 1840s. Foster with his father and at least one brother who is identified as L.W. Foster moved to Des Moines in 1867. One of the earliest architects in Des Moines, Foster had begun his practice as an architect by 1868-1869 when he designed the Hawkeye Insurance Building in that period. Foster worked under the name of William Foster by 1872, L.W. Foster and Company between 1873 and 1878, William Foster after 1878, Foster and Liebbe by 1883, Foster, Liebbe, and Company in 1895, and Foster, Liebbe, and Smith by 1896 to 1899. After his brother moved to Nebraska, he designed the Nebraska State Penitentiary in 1878 which is similar in style to the Iowa Men's Reformatory and the Nebraska State Insane Asylum. They are both located in Lincoln. In about 1875, Henry F. Liebbe apprenticed under Foster as a draftsman. A German born in 1851, Henry F. Liebbe immigrated with his parents to Muscatine, Iowa at the age of four. He came to Des Moines in 1867. Foster and Liebbe became partners forming the company of Foster and Liebbe from 1883 to 1899 when Foster left the company to manage his opera house full-time. Foster died in 1909.

During their partnership, Foster and Liebbe designed a wide range of building types including commercial buildings such as the wholesale grocery erected in 1883, banks, schools, residences, courthouses, and at least seven churches between the years 1886 and 1894. Between 1885 and 1896, they prepared courthouse designs for Wapello, Clark, Lucas, Woodbury, Story, Iowa, Page, and Fremont counties. Most of their courthouses were executed in the Romanesque and Renaissance styles. Foster and Liebbe designed their buildings in a number of styles but most commonly used the Romanesque Revival and Gothic Revival than the low, rounded masses produced by the Richardson Romanesque, their interpretations were more elevated with tall towers, turrets, and finials. Many of these commissions were located in Des Moines but also occurred in other Iowa communities. Together, Foster and Liebbe produced plans for the State Hospital at Clarinda in 1884 and other public buildings including the Iowa Children's Hospital in 1897, the Iowa Veteran's Home in Marshalltown in 1898, and the West Des Moines High School in 1899 (Foster 1867-1882; Foster and Liebbe 1883-1899).

After Foster left the firm in 1899, Liebbe joined with Clinton C. Nourse and Edward F. Rasmussen to form Liebbe, Nourse and Rasmussen. This company continued to design the broad range of building types in varied styles including the Romanesque, Renaissance, and Queen Anne. Their commissions included public schools, commercial warehouses, retail stores, hotels, residences, churches, libraries, schools, buildings at the Iowa State University campus, county homes but not state institutions. During the twenty-seven years it remained in business, the company increasingly designed more residences surrendering the design of civic buildings to Proudfoot, Bird, and Rawson. Although they became a highly sought-after firm, their designs were not innovative. Nourse left the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 112

CFN-259-1116

firm about 1918, Liebbe died in 1927, and Rasmussen carried on its work until his death in 1930.

Beginning in 1898, Henry F. Liebbe also served as state architect for the Board of Control. In this position, he designed, let bids for, and supervised the construction of most of the buildings erected at state institutions including the five correctional institutions addressed in this project as well as the state hospitals and homes at Cherokee, Glenwood, Independence, Clarinda, Council Bluffs, Vinton, Marshalltown, Woodward, Knoxville, Oakdale, and Mt. Pleasant. His correspondence particularly notes the 1908 Women's Infirmary at Clarinda which appears to have closely resembled the one at Mt. Pleasant. He readjusted his designs for cellhouse 19 at the State Penitentiary in 1907 to follow the warden's suggestions about the use of the building. His correspondence noted the designs for the 1908-1909 cottage and the 1918 laundry at Mitchellville. In 1915, he and the firm of Proudfoot, Bird, and Rawson prepared plans for the Women's Reformatory (American Contractor 1915 [8/14]). His designs remained conservative, often using Classical Revival style and at the State Penitentiary and Men's Reformatory, the Romanesque Revival. After his death in 1927, his son, Henry Jackson Liebbe became the state architect. He had served as a draftsman for the Board between 1914 and 1919 and as assistant architect to his father from 1919 to 1927. He continued the restrained style of his father, most commonly employing the Classical Revival. This professionally associated sequence of architects working at both penitentiaries provided considerable architectural unity, particularly considering the span of time over which these facilities were constructed (Foster and Liebbe 1883-99; Liebbe, H.F. 1898-1927; Liebbe, H.J. 1927-1941; Liebbe, Nourse, and Rasmussen 1899-1930).

This property type includes criteria consideration D relating to the eligibility of cemeteries. The cemetery at the Men's Reformatory gains significance under criterion C in the area of landscape architecture for its specific design or arrangement of graves in its austere setting and under criterion D in the area of law for the social information which this cemetery can provide about society's view and treatment of the prisoners. In this cemetery, the state buried bodies of prisoners who were not claimed by a private party. The small cemetery contains single graves of prisoners dating after 1914. It also includes several mass prisoner graves placed at the rear of the cemetery when it was opened by the state in 1914. These graves represent bodies moved from an earlier cemetery. All single and mass gravestones are plain, usually providing only the name and dates of the individual or individuals buried therein. While not more elaborate, later stones are composed of a better quality of stone. Thus, the design of the cemetery stones is distinctive in its starkness. This design with the existence of mass graves and the limited identifications on the stones strongly indicates society's exclusion of these prisoners from its community.

The Auburn Penitentiary Property Type remained a common prison design from the 1820s to about 1910. Prisons continued to build the Auburn cellhouse until the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number F Page 113

CFN-259-1116

early 1940s. Between 1820 and 1870, about thirty state penitentiaries were built following the same form. For example, the Connecticut State Prison in 1825, the Ohio State Penitentiary at Columbus in 1834, the Rhode Island State Penitentiary at Cranston from 1873 to 1878, the Wisconsin State Penitentiary at Waupun in 1851, and the Tennessee State Penitentiary at Nashville in 1895 all follow the Auburn prison subtype. Additionally, the prisons at Huntsville, Texas; San Quentin, California; Carson City, Nevada; Moundsville, West Virginia; Michigan City, Indiana; Stillwater, Minnesota; and Clinton, New York belonged to this subtype. The two Iowa examples represent two interpretations of this design. The State Penitentiary uses the Auburn cellhouse and reflects a piece-meal approach to prison design while the Men's Reformatory followed a clear plan of penitentiary development using the Wethersfield version. Legislative committees guiding the construction program of both penitentiaries gained familiarity with the Auburn system during construction. In 1859, prior to a major phase of construction at the Iowa State Penitentiary in the 1860s and 1870s, a legislative commission from Iowa visited the state penitentiaries in Auburn, New York; Columbus, Ohio; and Charlestown, Massachusetts (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1859: 11-12]). In 1872 prior to the construction of Additional Penitentiary, the Iowa legislative committees visited Sing Sing in New York, the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, and state penitentiaries in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Canada. Thus, the Iowa Men's Reformatory and the Iowa State Penitentiary not surprisingly display common penitentiary forms of their day.

The Wethersfield version or the "wing plan" (Iowa, State of [IA Docs.] 1857-1931 [1874: 46]) of the Auburn type continues to stand in the adjacent states of Wisconsin and Illinois. Initially erected between 1854 and 1868 with many later additions, the Wisconsin State Penitentiary at Waupun has a center building executed in the Gothic style with flanking cellhouses forming its front walls. The other three walls enclose its workshops and service buildings. The appearance of the Wisconsin State Penitentiary parallels the penitentiary at Auburn, New York quite closely. Built later beginning in 1898, the Men's Reformatory at Green Bay, Wisconsin follows the Romanesque Revival style. Its plan parallels the Waupun prison. Both of these properties are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Erected beginning between 1856 and 1858, the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet follows the Wethersfield pattern and was designed in the Gothic style. This prison also continues to stand but underwent significant remodelling after 1948. Much of the Nebraska State penitentiary which was designed by William Foster about 1878 is no longer extant. Thus, the Iowa Auburn penitentiaries represent a common prison type in its region. The other examples possess uneven integrity like the Iowa State Penitentiary and appear to be less intact than the Men's Reformatory. Because the prison type is constructed by the state to serve state level functions, the Auburn Penitentiary Property Type gains significance at the state level (Barnes 1973: 113-14, 131-35; Eriksson 1976: 62-68; Johnson 1973: 40; Martin 1955: 112-13, 149; Osborne Association, Inc. 1938b: 239-41; Henderson 1910: 63, 310;

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number F Page 114

CFN-259-1116

National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Wisconsin State Penitentiary, Waupun and the Wisconsin Men's Reformatory, Green Bay).

Registration Requirements

To gain significance under criterion A in the area of law, the Auburn Penitentiary Property Type must have been built and functioned as a penitentiary. Subtype 1a, the Auburn Penitentiary Complex, must also contain a well defined district of buildings which clearly relate to a main function or functions of the institution. The center of these complexes include the administration building and housing units. A grouping of service buildings without living quarters or the administration building would not qualify for nomination. They lack the functional and architectural focal point of the building complex, and integrity of feeling and association has been lost. Ranging between 1838 and 1942, the period of significance for the overall type permits the inclusion of institutions whose physical growth occurred gradually over time.

To gain significance under criterion C in the area of architecture, properties of this type must retain integrity of location and immediate setting and integrity of exterior design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To possess significance under criterion D, the cemetery property must retain integrity of design, workmanship, materials, location, and setting. Although the potential location of historical archaeological sites is noted, this area was not the focus of the multiple property nomination. Thus, properties do not gain significance for associated archaeological sites.

Initial location adjacent to but not within a community is a common characteristic. While the non-institutional buildings adjacent to the institution need not continue to stand, the density and types of buildings should be similar to retain integrity of setting. The earliest corrections institution, the State Penitentiary, was located without concern for the extensive employment of its inmates in agriculture. Low industrial buildings and warehouses came to surround this penitentiary. The reformatory was founded with the intent to incorporate agriculture into its program. The original spatial interrelationship between the buildings should also remain. These buildings functioned together to achieve a corrections program. Therefore, the open and closed spaces between and around them are significant.

Although the two institutions continue to function as corrections properties, the specific functions of the buildings have altered somewhat in a number of instances. Therefore, the interior original design, materials, and workmanship may not be intact. Because this is a common occurrence among Iowa corrections institutions, this level of integrity is acceptable. However, the design including the style, materials, and workmanship of the exterior were intended to communicate a strong statement to society and the inmates about the punitive or

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 115

CFN-259-1116

reformatory and security functions of the complex. In some cases, materials were extracted and shaped by inmates and in many cases inmates constructed the buildings. Inmates from one institution produced materials for and infrequently became involved in the construction of other corrections institutions. This work is manifest in the materials and workmanship of the buildings. The stylistic details of the Romanesque also conveyed important statement about the purpose of the institution. Thus, exterior design, materials, and workmanship must remain sufficiently intact to state ideas about corrections.

To gain significance under criterion D, the cemetery's location and setting must remain intact. The arrangement of stones within a cemetery conveys important social information. The design, materials, and workmanship shaping the stones must also be sufficiently intact to convey information about most of the burials therein. The site gains significance under criterion C because of its very stark design. Cemetery properties associated with corrections institutions become eligible under criterion consideration D because of the social information they provide and their unique designs.

Name

Type 2: County and Municipal Corrections Properties in Iowa: 1849-1942

Extant county and municipal corrections properties considered under this property type were constructed between 1849 and 1942. County corrections properties almost always occur at the county seat within several blocks of the courthouse. Municipal corrections properties occur in cities or small unincorporated communities. They usually sit on one or several lots and are often located adjacent to public, commercial, and residential buildings. Although once also placed in rural areas, current documentation failed to locate them in such a setting. Both municipal and county properties usually include a single building which may be associated with one or several outbuildings such as a garage. The four subtypes differ according to municipal or county ownership, the presence of other government services, the presence of residential accommodations other than those of the inmates, period of construction, materials, vertical and horizontal size, presence and type of stylistic elaboration, and floor plans.

Description

The accompanying description examines the prevalent jail types. Already on the National Register of Historic Places, the 1885 Pottawattamie County rotary or "Squirrel Cage Jail" located in Council Bluffs (Lunden 1959) is not included as a jail type because of its uniqueness in the state.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 116

CFN-259-1116

Subtype 2a: Calaboose

Although surviving properties are municipally owned, some early calaboses probably served both municipal and county functions. The construction of identified examples may date as early as 1851 or 1852 to 1912. They are one story, small in scale, and contain from one to four rooms. The one room example is most common. The buildings range in size from 10 by 12 feet to 16 by 20 feet. The early examples held their prisoners in rooms with small, barred windows and heavy wood and iron doors. Floors are stone. In turn of the century examples which contain several permanent cells, steel grating forms the front and steel plate divides two adjacent cells while the building creates the side and rear walls. Later examples dating after the turn of the century contain usually two 4 by 6 foot, moveable steel cells with steel bases placed on concrete floors. Steel plate divides the cells, and steel grating forms the remaining walls. The building materials vary and include stone particularly for early examples, brick, cement block, and frame. Interiors are often unfinished or roughly finished. Identified examples do not display exterior stylistic detailing. While most calaboses simply served to detain prisoners for one to two nights, the buildings might also house fire equipment.

Extant Examples (recorded during the intensive survey):

*City Jail, Lu Verne
City Jail, Cascade
City Jail, Clermont

Subtype 2b: Municipal Building with Jail

Generally, city municipal buildings which include the city hall served a large number of municipal functions including local corrections. After a community became sufficiently established to place its functions within a permanent building, it moved its jail from the calaboose if extant to that building. Communities erected municipal buildings containing jails as early as the 1880s like the 1886 example at What Cheer. It is now a National Register property. More commonly, their construction began in the second decade of the nineteenth century and proliferated in the 1930s and early 1940s. By the later period, the federal government supported the building projects through the Work Progress Administration and Federal Emergency Works Administration programs.

The city hall often includes the city clerk's office, additional city offices such as the mayor's and auditor's offices, storage rooms and vaults, a council room, police department, fire station, auditorium, library, lodge rooms, gymnasium, community meeting room, and kitchen as well as the jail. City halls at Guttenberg and Monticello provide examples containing most of these functions. The Ida Grove Municipal Building housed city offices, storage rooms, a community room, lodge hall, library, and the jail. Other functionally different examples

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

F

117

Section number _____ Page _____

CFN-259-1116

include the Clermont Opera House which housed an auditorium on the first floor and a meeting area which contained the jail in the basement. Its moveable jail cell was later relocated to the city park. The Cascade municipal building originally included a fire station, gymnasium, lodge rooms, and jail but no city offices. Small city halls such as the example at Pilot Mound may be limited to a council room, record storage room, and jail. In several instances, the building contained only a fire station and the jail. Here, the subtype's separation from a calaboose becomes more physical than functional. Serving a large, populated area, the 1920 building containing the Des Moines city jail was one of a few designed to function primarily as the city police department prior to the early 1940s. It contained the offices of the city police, the municipal courts, and the jail in the rear, three story wing. This building is placed on the National Register.

The location of the jail in the municipal building varies widely with the different possible functions of the municipal building. Thus, the jail might occur on any floor of a multi-storied building. And, the size of the jail itself varies with the size of the population it served. Some are simply a concrete block room secured with steel wire or steel bars over door and windows. More commonly, normally two but up to eight steel cells occur along the wall of one room often closed with a steel wire or barred door. Any windows are barred or covered with steel security cloth. Cells frequently measure 3.5 to 5 by 7 to 8 feet. They are enclosed with steel grating along the front, rear and exterior sides and steel plate between the cells. Depending on their size, each cell contains two or more bunks. Since many of the post-1910 cells were moveable, they might have occupied several buildings during the course of a community's development. For example, the two cells at the Lu Verne City Jail were originally placed in its 1912 calaboose, moved to the city hall in the 1930s, and recently located back in the calaboose. The most complex municipal facility resembles a county jail. The City of Des Moines devoted three stories to its jail. The first floor contained a large cell for male inebriates and a large male detention cell. The second floor included one room with ten steel cells placed along its walls and separated by a corridor, a padded cell, and a large male detention room. The third level contained facilities for female and juveniles: a room with a block of five steel cells, one large single detention room, a matron's room, and one room for female and one room for male juvenile detention.

The buildings within which these facilities are located vary as much as the locations of the cells. They include small, single story, two to three room buildings; single story, multiple room buildings; and the more common two story, multi-room buildings. At the other extreme are the imposing three story, multi-room buildings serving major urban areas. All these buildings may contain basements, one relatively common location for the jail such as the city halls at Guttenberg or Denison. While brick is the predominate material, stone, concrete block, tile, and wood frame also occur. Styles also vary. While some display

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 118

CFN-259-1116

no particular style and may resemble commercial buildings, others possess the detailing of the Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Romanesque Revival, Late Gothic Revival or Prairie style depending on the period of their construction. Only a few possess elaborate stylistic detailing, most commonly in the Classical Revival style.

Linked primarily by their municipal functions, perhaps the most striking characteristic of this subtype is its lack of physical unity.

Extant Examples (recorded during the intensive survey):

City Jail, Atlantic	City Jail, Chariton
City Jail, Guttenberg	City Jail, Le Mars
City Jail, Cascade	City Jail, Monticello
City Jail, Des Moines	

Subtype 2c: Sheriff's Quarters/Jail

Counties continued to build the combination sheriff's quarters and jail from the late 1840s to the 1950s during which period it remained the predominant county jail facility in Iowa as well as many other states. Usually a single building but also two or rarely three attached or closely clustered buildings contained the jail, sheriff's or jailor's residence, and office and occasionally a related garage.

The location of the jail in relationship to the residence has several variations. The early and less common variation dating from the 1840s to the 1880s placed the residence on one floor, often the second, and the jail on the other. This version also later gained a rear jail wing. By the 1850s to the 1940s, the jail occurred as a wing at the rear of the residence or much less commonly as an ell to the side. In either case, the wing was usually attached. Some of the few detached jails were built along side existing dwellings and later attached by enclosed corridors. Rather than placing their jails in attached wings which appear visually different from the residence, counties in the 1930s and 1940s placed their jail behind or on the second floor of the residence so that it no longer appeared to have a wing.

Most frequently, the dwelling was a two story, brick or less commonly stone or frame building. It was often a side gable but also a front gable dwelling type or an ell. In more elaborate, late nineteenth century examples, the dwelling possessed an irregular shape or in the twentieth century a cube shape. The dwelling often contained a parlor, dining room, kitchen, pantry, bedrooms, usually a cellar, and sometimes an office. The office also occurred in the jail or was absent. Laundrying and other domestic functions occurred in the cellar below the dwelling. As noted below, the residence might also contain several individual cells constructed as barred rooms at the rear where it junctions with

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 119

CFN-259-1116

the jail.

Even when attached to a brick residence, the jail section of the building was frequently composed of massive, coursed ashlar stone. In late nineteenth century examples when the county was more assured of the safety of its cells, the jail became brick. By the 1930s, jail additions were reinforced concrete. A one to two and a half story, open shell with one room per floor composed the jail building. The smaller jails usually contained one story with an Auburn type cellblock of one to three tiers of cells. Larger jails included two floors with cellblocks of one tier of cells and occasionally a third half floor which contained a room for female prisoners. Although the cellar under Dubuque's jail contained several "dungeons," most jails usually lacked basements. Interior walls and often ceilings and floors were frequently lined with steel plate, and some of the pre-1880 jails contained cannon balls within their walls. Otherwise, interior walls were initially plastered and when it became available covered with concrete. By the 1930s, ceramic tile became a popular interior finish. Windows were typically long and narrow and secured with a grating of steel bars. The bars of early examples were strap iron. Sometime between the mid-1880s and the turn of the century, most jails adopted tool proof, double steel bars for their windows and other metal work. Covered with a stable steel outer casing, the inner steel core of these bars rotated when cut.

Any single jail usually contained a number of different cell types. The variety it maintained depended the size of the population it served, the degree of prisoner separation it strove to achieve, and different levels of security maintained by the jail. Most early jails separated female and male prisoners. The number of recognized prisoner categories increased in time and varied with the potential size of the prison population. In addition to females, they included juveniles, inebriates, misdemeanants, first time offenders, hardened criminals, and the sick and insane.

Maximum security cells for males initially included those lined in a row along the wall like the Pennsylvania type cell and the interior, Auburn type cellblocks. To about the 1870s, Pennsylvania type cellblocks included between two and five, approximately 4 by 6 foot to 5 by 8 foot cells lined along the wall and constructed with stone walls. Doors of iron bars and/or plate closed them (Ensign 1909: 45). The largest known example, the Dubuque County Jail, contained twenty-four of these cells in three tiers along one wall (Martin 1969). Stone cells might also occur in the center of the room and contain several tiers with a gallery providing an entrance to the second tier. This version followed the Auburn model. By the 1860s, blocks of two to four and up to ten steel cells which individually opened onto a corridor composed of steel bars occurred in the center of the room or of one wall in the jail room (Davison 1930: 74). Steel bars composed the front and rear of the cells while steel plate secured the side walls, floor, ceiling and sometime the exterior side walls. Often measuring 4 by 7 feet to 7 by 7 feet and 7 feet high, the smaller cells contained one bunk

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number F Page 120

CFN-259-1116

and often a second suspended above, and the larger cells might double that number. Around the cellblock stood a two to three foot guard's corridor. Its outer wall either abutted the two to three outer walls of the building or was lined with steel bars. The day or common room in which prisoners ate their meals and had limited recreation stood adjacent to the cell in the jail room. This area filled the remainder of the jail room or was partitioned off with steel bars and steel plate (Ensign 1909: 41).

In addition to these more secure cells, county facilities also contained larger, open dormitory type cells surrounded by a combination of steel bars and steel plate. They often housed up to six or eight or sometime more prisoners. A day room partitioned off by steel bars and plate usually stood adjacent and the whole might be partly or entirely surrounded by a guard's corridor. This facility held minimum and medium security risks: the minor felon or misdemeanor. It also served as the drunk tank. The female and juvenile facilities occurred in separate but adjacent rooms from the male cells. Perhaps as late as the turn of the century, female prisoners might be grouped above the main jail in a single attic room with barred doors and windows. They and juveniles were most frequently placed in a single or double occupancy room secured with bars or in a steel cell or small cellblock. These and perhaps a secured hospital room were occasionally placed at the rear of the residence rather than in the jail proper. Counties added limited sanitary facilities after the turn of the century. In the 1930s, several county jails placed reinforced concrete additions at the side of the original jail or replaced the original jail. They included the cellblock or a dormitory style jail. The later variety contained a single, secured room with a row of bunks, sanitary facilities, and a common area with tables and benches. In general, the outdoor exercise yards connected to the jail and exercise or recreation rooms in the jail were post-1940 additions to county jails.

Viewed as rather important buildings, most county jails usually displayed some stylistic elements. Decorative details concentrated on the residential portion and included limited elements from the style in vogue. Early examples displayed Greek Revival, Italianate, Second Empire or, in one case, Egyptian Revival elements (Martin 1969). Late 1880 or turn of the century jails acquired a combination of Romanesque Revival and Queen Anne details, and those dating after the first decade of the twentieth century had Late Gothic Revival or Classical Revival elements. Resembling the two story cube or the American Foursquare, several twentieth century examples lacked elaboration.

Thus, the greatest unifying thread within this type is its county ownership and the presence of the residence. The other characteristics such as materials, number of stories, size and massiveness, style, position of jail to residence, floor plans of the two components, and the cell types vary within definite limits. These elements of the subtype altered gradually in time.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetMunicipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in IowaSection number F Page 121

CFN-259-1116

Extant Examples (recorded during the intensive survey):

*Montgomery County Jail, Red Oak	Madison County Jail, Winterset
Appanoose County Jail, Centerville	Mills County Jail, Glenwood
Cedar County Jail, Tipton	Monroe County Jail, Albia
Hardin County Jail, Eldora	Plymouth County Jail, Le Mars
Keokuk County Jail, Sigourney	Sac County Jail, Sac City
Lee County Jail, Fort Madison	
Louisa County Jail, Wapello	

Subtype 2d: County Jail Facilities in the Courthouse

The location of the county jail in the courthouse never attained the popularity of the sheriff's quarters/jail combination. Although a few examples occur between the two periods, this subtype experienced a period of limited popularity relatively early in county development and again in the 1930s and early 1940s (Davison 1930: 84-86). The first period likely represents the inability of the county to finance two separate buildings. Extant examples were usually located in the second, more permanent courthouse constructed in the county. By the 1930s, county governments often required expanded facilities to accommodate additional county offices during a period of increasing county government responsibilities. Economy perhaps required updating outmoded jails by incorporating them into the courthouse. Many of these Depression Era projects received Works Projects Administration or Public Works Administration funding.

Jails located in courthouses dating from the 1850s to the 1890s occurred in the basement (Bannister 1899: 27; Garfield 1986). Because many of these courthouses were removed, this type remains poorly understood. For example, in the Madison County and perhaps the Lee and Davis county courthouses, the jail occupied one room. The Madison County Jail lacked cells. Its window is barred, and a wood door secured with iron straps closes the only entrance. The jail at the Davis County Courthouse contained five steel cells. This basement variety was probably constructed as late as the turn of the century. Beginning with a few examples in the 1920s and proliferating in the 1930s and early 1940s, the courthouse jail moved to the top floor. In larger counties, the jail occupied the entire floor. Because county jails generally began to separate a greater number of prisoner categories, the variety of cells grew. They included small steel cellblocks with day room located in as many as three separate areas to serve males, juveniles, and females. Females and juveniles were also secured in small rooms with barred windows and doors. Large rooms with secured windows and doors also held misdemeanants or served as drunk tanks. There were also single cells for the insane and the sick. Additional rooms contained the sheriff's and deputy sheriff's offices and a jail kitchen. A suit of rooms contained the sheriff's or jailor's apartment.

Materials, building size and scale, interior arrangement, and style of the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 122

CFN-259-1116

courthouse varied considerably with the period of construction and size of the county. Thus, unity of the type occurs in the property's overall function.

Extant Examples (recorded during the intensive survey):

Madison County Jail, Winterset (National Register property)

Floyd County Jail, Charles City

Jones County Jail, Anamosa

Property Significance

The county and municipal corrections property type in Iowa gains local significance under criterion A in the area of law and under criterion C in the area of architecture. The property subtypes possess particular historical importance because they represent a type about which little analytical history has been written. The surviving calaboose subtype represents the remaining examples of the earliest identified municipal and perhaps county jail form. While the calaboose subtype was generally an expedient for sparsely populated areas usually but not always erected during the early settlement period, the municipal building with jail subtype represents a longer term solution to local corrections. Continuing to require a facility in which to confine prisoners for short period either prior to sending them to county facilities or simply to secure a public nuisance, established communities incorporated their jail facilities into municipal buildings. They did not always make the facility larger but simply placed it at a different location and often in better surroundings. The county sheriff's quarters/jail subtype gains significance through its overwhelming dominance, stability, and longevity of the form, and the prisoner treatment it represents. Their programs were one of custody rather than reform. The early courthouse forms allowed the incorporation of multiple functions into one building during a period of sparse population and limited funds. Those erected during the 1930s provided an expanded county facility to house growing county government function often using federal funding. In this example, the separation of a large number of prisoner categories and addition of new functions indicates the hesitating step toward the improvement of county jails. In the State of Iowa, the general period of significance ranges between 1849 and 1942. The beginning of this period is defined by the first identified example, the Lee County Jail, and ends with the beginning of the modern era. Since these corrections facilities serve municipal and county functions, the properties gain significance at the local level.

Thus, under criterion A, county and municipal jails illustrate the process of short term imprisonment. The limited space and number of cells in the municipal jail and the absence of facilities for a care-taker clearly limit care of its occupants to one to two days and necessarily mixed all types of prisoners. Confining prisoners up to a year, the larger county facilities with sheriff's quarters made provisions for staff to supervise prisoners at all times. However,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 123

CFN-259-1116

both municipal and county facilities suffered from many similar problems. Depending on the population density of the county, all jail types were generally overcrowded and poorly maintained. The system charged its prisoners for their care in the nineteenth century and packed small cells with multiple bunks to gain financial support from the fee system. Jails provided poor living conditions with little light and ventilation and few sanitary facilities. They also often mixed prisoner categories, offered few services and reform programs to its prisoners, and provided almost no facilities for activity and exercise (Moynahan and Stewart 1980: 71; Ensign 1909: 43; Wilson 1939: 340). The jail clearly remained a custodial institution often without the programs of the Auburn prison system or the later reformatory movement. The evils of the county jail system were clear to contemporaries well before the turn of the century. The Cosson report confirmed them and strongly recommended their closing in 1912. But, no action resulted. These jails demonstrate the stability of the process and the very gradual improvement of physical jail conditions. Significant changes often did not occur until the 1930s or later. Benefiting from the support of federal funding programs of the Depression Era, courthouse facilities of the 1930s indicate some improvement in all these areas. Thus, documentation of the operation of each jail type contributes to the understanding of the development of the municipal and county jail systems in the state (Davison 1930: 83).

The property type similarly gains significance under criterion C in the area of architecture because it represents an historically poorly known group of facilities and helps to illustrate the manner in which they operated. Its significance derives from the interrelationship of building spaces and functions, the equipment it contains and the interior and exterior construction materials as well as the styles in which it was constructed. This property type illustrates the limited changes in the jail system. While the small calaboose and some municipal buildings lack stylistic elaboration, jails of large municipalities and county facilities gained considerable stylistic detailing. These buildings generally maintain a prominent position along the main street and appear rather massive suggesting the permanence and strength of the government in the maintenance of order (Garfield 1986). The government of small municipalities projects no such image. Tucked away along the rear alley of the community, the calaboose and small municipal building hid its maladjusted occupants from society.

Local builders and blacksmiths erected the buildings and equipment of the calaboose, other municipal jails, and many county facilities. Some well known architects such as John Rague who designed the Dubuque County Jail did provide plans for single facilities. But, in general architects and architectural firms did not supply more than one design for county and municipal facilities until the 1920s. For example, Dougher, Woodburn, and Rich designed several courthouses as well as the Monroe County Jail in 1941. Similarly, Keefer and Jones served as the architectural firm for the Clay County Jail erected in 1938 while this team in association with other architects provided the design for the Des Moines

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number F Page 124

CFN-259-1116

municipal facility in 1920. However, several companies did consistently provide iron work for county jails. The Pauly Jail Building and Manufacturing Company of St. Louis supplied the iron work for the Winneshiek, Ringgold, Fayette, Hardin, Mahaska, Marshall, Taylor, and Wapello county jails. Those cells supplied to the Marshall and Plymouth county jails have been removed. The company installed these cells between 1878 and 1912. P.J. Pauly and his son John Pauly both practiced blacksmithing after their arrival from Germany. They began the manufacture of jail cells and related equipment in 1870 as Mr. P.J. Pauly and Son. The company also manufactured safes (Kargau 1902: 311-13). Pauly appears to have had at least one agent in Iowa, Blackman Dorr & Company who supplied Taylor County. Pauly may have also provided plans for jails as appears to be the case for the Plymouth County Jail in Le Mars. Additional companies included the King Iron Bridge Company of Cincinnati who provided equipment for the Adams County Jail in 1877, the Diebold Safe and Lock Company who sold equipment to Allamakee County in ca. 1882, the Champion Iron Company of Kenton, Ohio who provided equipment to Montgomery County in 1898 and Cedar County in 1892, and Frier and Son of Covington, Kentucky who supplied Buchanan County in ca. 1934-1936 and Sac County in 1942.

Registration Requirements

Properties registered under this type must contain examples of pre-1942 county or municipal jail facilities. The properties' original and later functions must be clearly defined. Since buildings in which these facilities were removed no longer show the spatial arrangements, materials, or relationships to the room which contained them, these properties are generally not eligible. County courthouses and municipal buildings whose floor plan remains relatively intact and which have not undergone extensive alteration on the exterior may gain significance under this theme while they might not possess sufficient significance under the theme of government. Likewise, the nomination of the county courthouse and municipal building involves consideration of more than simply the theme of law and function as county and municipal corrections property. Such a nomination must deal minimally with the theme of local and county government and how the building reflects that theme. The following discussion of integrity requirements is directed primarily toward the consideration of the calaboose and the sheriff's dwelling/jail property subtypes rather than the county courthouse and municipal building which contain correction facilities in addition to serving other important functions. Although the potential location of historical archaeological sites is noted, this area was not the focus of the multiple property nomination. Thus, properties do not gain significance for associated archaeological sites.

The property must retain its original location. The sheriff's quarters/jail generally occurred adjacent to or within several blocks of the courthouse because its functions were closely tied to that building and because the two buildings

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number F Page 125

CFN-259-1116

together usually communicated the permanence and strength of the county government. The calaboose, on the other hand, merely briefly detained misdemeanants and inebriates. It was tucked away along an alley or an insignificant street of the community. The relocation of these buildings diminishes their interpretive qualities. Immediate setting, particularly if located adjacent to the courthouse, should be maintained. However, since both these types might be placed adjacent to a variety of buildings which altered in appearance or were replaced over time, the setting is considerably less important than integrity of location.

While the integrity of the original design and workmanship of these two subtypes possesses considerable importance, some changes appear more acceptable than others. To understand how the county jail and calaboose functioned, the building should retain the original floor plan in both the dwelling and the jail of the sheriff's quarter/jail and the calaboose. Iowa counties have converted all but one of the dwelling spaces in the sheriff's quarters/jail subtype to offices. As long as the spaces remain even though covered but not destroyed by recent remodeling, this change in function is acceptable. Given the small size of the calaboose, additions to the original structure would likely obscure the building. Additions pre-dating 1942 which do not alter the function or change the overall exterior appearance of the sheriff's dwelling/jail are acceptable. They illustrate the development of the type. Depending on their scale and the amount of the jail they obscure, rear additions post-dating 1942 are also generally acceptable. While interior equipment dating from the pre-1942 period is essential to the significance of both subtypes, equipment contemporary with the building of the jail is preferred. Generally occurring at sheriff's quarters/jail subtype during the initial jail inspections of the 1970s, alterations to meet new jail codes will likely exist and are acceptable if the basic structure of the facility remains intact. While decorative elements of the county sheriff's dwelling/jail contributed to its symbolic function as a place to secure deviants from society, they are generally less important than interior integrity. Identified calaboosees lack decorative elements. Again, given the size of the calaboose, the building should retain its original material. For sheriff's quarters/jail subtype, while original materials might suffer some covering or removal as would occur with additions to the building, retention of the sense of the original materials and their massiveness as well as the interior materials of the jail and equipment is particularly important.

Retention of basic materials, design, and workmanship and a representative portion of the interior jail equipment together with integrity of location preserves a sense of building function and the historical associations of the two subtypes. Because changes in adjacent properties may affect the setting of an example which otherwise maintains high interior integrity, the loss of some sense of feeling from the exterior vantage is acceptable.

While a relatively high number of the sheriff's quarters/jail subtype remains,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Prop-
erties in Iowa

Section number F Page 126

CFN-259-1116

many are no longer intact. Representative examples from the 1850 to 1880, the 1880 to 1910, 1910 to 1930 and 1930s and early 1940s might be nominated. Table 1 in the cultural resources management report indicates all the known municipal and county jail facilities. Representative examples of the first period are relatively few and nominated properties may not meet all the noted requirement of the subtype. The building of county jails proliferated in the 1880 to 1910 period and characteristics of the subtype became more restricted. Thus, proportionately fewer jails to the total number should represent this period. The era between 1910 and 1930 saw greater separation of prisoners and merits examination on this basis. Counties generally built fewer jails in this period. They continued to construct the sheriff's quarters/jail subtype through the 1940s. Modern materials such as tile and concrete replaced brick and stone, decorative elaboration was reduced, and counties more completely separated prisoners and likely began minor prisoner reform programs in this era. Likely once more abundant, only six identified calaboooses remain. Of this total, one is already on the National Register, two are moved, and the functional identification of one remains uncertain. These small numbers give the remaining two examples at Lu Verne and Cascade greater significance.

Some general integrity guidelines for the municipal building and courthouse subtypes are necessary to place their corrections functions in proper relationship to their other functions when considering overall integrity. Only a small number of the courthouse basement jails appear to remain. Thus, those intact examples are likely to gain significance if the remainder of the courthouse remains sufficiently intact to communicate its other functions. Like the Madison County Courthouse, some of these courthouses may have been entered onto the National Register but the nomination failed to note the significance of this function. While many courthouses erected in the 1930s and early 1940s retain the spaces occupied by jails on their upper floors, counties are moving their jails to separate buildings and converting their top floors to office space. Thus, eligible courthouses include those facilities whose exterior integrity of design, materials, and workmanship remain reasonably intact with parallel interior integrity of public and jail spaces even if sheriff's quarters are now offices. Municipalities are rapidly closing their jails and placing prisoners in county facilities. Jails located in the basements of these buildings are often simply converted to storage space without alteration of the facility. But, many municipalities often convert the jail spaces on other floors to other functions. Like the courthouse examples, eligible examples include those municipal buildings with intact jails which retain reasonable integrity of design, materials, and workmanship along the exterior and in interior public spaces.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa**

Section number G, H Page 127

CFN-259-1116

G. Geographic Data

The context listed under section B applies to a considerably broader area than the properties listed in the multiple property listing. The context includes all municipal, county, and state corrections properties in Iowa. Corrections properties refer to those facilities associated with the security, rehabilitation, and historically the punishment of individuals legally judged to have transgressed the law at any jurisdiction level. Such a facility can occur anywhere in the state. However, generally they are placed within or adjacent to a municipality. Some prison farms and a prison quarry site as well as the first juvenile reformatory occurred in rural areas. The current listings include the areas encompassed by part or all of the historic county corrections property in the City of Red Oak, the municipal correction property in the City of Lu Verne, and the state corrections properties in Fort Madison and in and near Anamosa.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The 1991 survey examining Iowa's corrections resources collected data relative to municipal, county, and state properties. The study of state resources intensively examined all pre-1942 properties at the seven facilities now owned by the Department of Corrections. Those properties relevant to this theme include the Iowa State Penitentiary and its two prison farms at or near Fort Madison; the Iowa Men's Reformatory and its quarry property, cemetery, six prison farms, and other miscellaneous properties at or near Anamosa; the Iowa Women's Reformatory at Rockwell City; and the Training School for Girls at Mitchellville. The survey also examined the Training School for Boys at Eldora now administered by the Department of Human Services and the two privately owned properties of the first location of the Iowa Reform School near Houghton in Lee County and the second location of the Iowa Reform School for Girls at Mt. Pleasant in Henry County. Because of property alteration, property loss, and new construction, resources either as individual properties or as districts at the Iowa Women's Reformatory, the Training School for Boys, the Training School for Girls, and the early locations of the Iowa Reform School were not found eligible.

The survey of the municipal and county jails proceeded at two levels. Initial research included a short questionnaire mailed to each of the ninety-nine county sheriffs to determine the existence of pre-1942 facilities in their county. The first round of the survey was completed by a 55% response to the mail survey followed by a telephone contact with 61% of the county jails. These telephone contacts reached those who did not respond and gathered some additional information about pre-1942 jails noted in initial responses. Jail surveys and the state inventory indicated that the other 20% had a building post-dating 1942 or in a few cases that their jail was already on the National Register. Some supplemental research in secondary sources or through contacts made with local libraries and historical societies augmented this data. This reconnaissance

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number H Page 128

CFN-259-1116

level survey produced eighty-seven single page forms briefly describing each property. The initial survey permitted the definition of the property types described in section F. Twenty-five examples identified in the first level of the survey and representing each of the four subtypes were chosen for intensive survey. Because of the overwhelming number of county sheriff's quarters/jail properties, this subtype was again subdivided by time periods which were sampled to determine the stability of the type. This method allowed a broad understanding of municipal and county jail properties across the state. Because historical documentation at both the site-specific and more general level is limited, the survey provided the basis for most of the physical description and some more general conclusions about these facilities in both sections E and F.

Historical research tapped both local and state repositories. Initial research examined general, contextual materials concerning the development of penology in Iowa and the United States from the early nineteenth century to the 1940s. This material provided the basis for the interpretation of property-specific materials and contributed information to the overall context. The Library Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin Libraries in Madison; the archives of the State Historical Society of Iowa in Des Moines and Iowa City; and Law Library at the Iowa State Capitol Building, the State Library, the Library of the Division of Human Services, and the General Services Administration which retains some building designs of the state institutions all located in Des Moines contained data about state institutions. The Law Library maintains the only full collection of reports of the state institutions which provided a major portion of the research material (see Iowa Board of Control 1898-1934; Iowa Executive Council 1858-98).

Property-specific research occurred at the properties themselves, particularly the Men's Reformatory at Anamosa; State Penitentiary at Fort Madison; the Correctional Institute for Women, originally the Girls' Training School, at Mitchellville; and the Training School for Boys at Eldora. The firm of Brooks, Borg and Skiles, successors to Proudfoot, Bird and Rawson, was contacted to locate original building plans of the Women's Reformatory dating to 1915. While the firm maintained cards identifying eight job numbers, it had sent the plans to the Board of Control in 1963. These plans were not identified by the research at the General Services Administration. County auditor's office provided floor plans and occasionally other records for some of the county jails included in the intensive survey. County histories frequently contain limited information about these facilities. However, data about the operation of county jails and information about local facilities are scarce. The historic site survey records of the Historic Preservation Bureau provided data for some jails across the state and listed thirteen National Register properties related to the corrections theme exclusive of courthouse and municipal buildings.

The context, Iowa Corrections Institutions: 1838-1942, is a theme noted in the Iowa Preservation Plan and provided the guide for original research. This theme

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number H Page 129

CFN-259-1116

examines all corrections properties in the State of Iowa from the founding of the territory to the modern era beginning in 1942. It provides an overview for all corrections properties operated by the Department of Corrections and the Division of Human Services and county and municipal properties located across the state. Historic function and the three periods of the development of penological theory provided the basis for property types. Knowledge of existing corrections properties examined during the survey indicated those qualities which properties must maintain to express their function and provided the basis for delineating the registration requirements.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number I Page 130

CFN-259-1116

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number I Page 131

CFN-259-1116

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 132

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 133

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National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 134

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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 135

CFN-259-1116

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number I Page 136

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

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Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 137

CFN-259-1116

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 138

CFN-259-1116

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
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Section number I Page 139

CFN-259-1116

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
perties in Iowa

Section number I Page 140

CFN-259-1116

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 141

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National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 142

CFN-259-1116

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National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

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State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 143

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Continuation Sheet

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State Corrections Pro-
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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 145

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Continuation Sheet

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Section number I Page 146

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National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

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State Corrections Pro-
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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Municipal, County, and
State Corrections Pro-
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Section number I Page 148

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