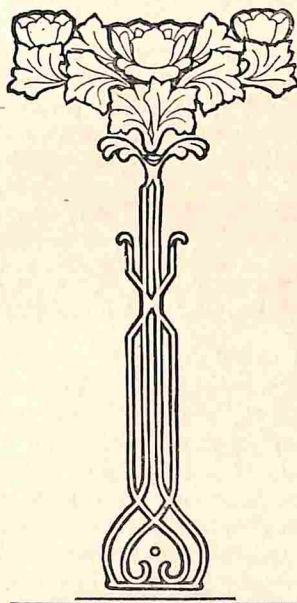


ALCOHOL AND CRIME

By DR. J. GONSER



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EDITOR'S NOTE

The discussion of the relation of Alcohol to Crime has a practical importance for all countries. The author of this pamphlet, Prof. J. Gonser, of Berlin, was formerly a prison official and is now Secretary of the German Society against the Misuse of Alcoholic Drinks, an organization which, although nominally representing the "moderate" of the German temperance advocates is, nevertheless, publishing some of the best and strongest of the German total abstinence literature.

The suggestions of Prof. Gonser as to what the prisons could do in a remedial way have an application in countries other than Germany, as have his remarks on the difficulties engendered in such work by the alcoholic environment, customs and temptations to which the prisoner must return on his release.

ALCOHOL AND CRIME

A few years before I ended my many years of service as a prison official, four prisoners were brought to me as "new admissions." Three were young peasants who had been sentenced for a joint offense, strong, primitive, apparently good-natured, young fellows, between 19 and 24 years of age, with sentences of between one and a half and two years, for a dangerous assault. The occasion was a church celebration, heavy drinking, quarreling over a girl, which ended in blows and stabs in which the three so injured a strange "guest" (in the public house) that he died from the effects of the wounds. All three, according to the unanimous testimony of their townsmen, were fine, industrious, thrifty fellows, one of them the only son and support of an aged widow, one whom no one would have suspected of such a deed, but for the fact that he drank.

After these three came a fourth, a salesman, 28 years old, married, father of four small children. He was a traveler, and as such became a drinker, because, as he said, in this calling one cannot do business without drinking. From an occasional drinker he became a habitual drinker and from the habit acquired a passion for drink. To the expenditures for drink were added others which grew out of the mental effects of the alcohol. Expenses increased out of proportion to the income. On one occasion when he felt the need of money he helped himself to funds from the treasury of a trade organization, intending to replace it on the first opportunity. The opportunity did not come, but a second and third pressure for money did. Finally his default was discovered.

For this man also the testimony of his townsmen was that he was a capable, thoroughly useful man, except for drink.

These were my last impressions connected with the admission of prisoners. These pictures, not exceptions, but continuously and frequently recurring cases, put clearly before us the awful connection between alcohol and crime.

It is the immense significance and bearing of this question that is to occupy us here.

When I speak of crime in what is to follow I am well aware that, according to the wording of the penal code, the term crime is applied only to those offenses that are punished by death or by confinement in a house of correction or a fortress for over five years. In what follows I do not use the term in this narrow, judicial sense, but, in conformity with the current meaning of the word in the ethical sense, apply it to all offenses treated in the statute books.

I. THE PREVALENCE OF THE ALCOHOLIC FACTOR IN CRIME

"Alcohol and Crime"—this is a subject much discussed at conventions, among jurists, prison officials and those interested in the care of prisoners as well as among those of all classes of opponents of alcohol, whether they carry the banner of moderation only, or of total abstinence. It is much discussed also in books, whether they are comprehensive works or only monographs. Among the more recent works I need remind you only of Dr. Aschaffenberg's "Crime and Its Contravention," (1903), which gave important suggestions in many directions; or the book by the Catholic Pastor Kraus, "Crime and Its Causes," (1906); or the proceedings of the Rheinisch Westfalian Prison Association, Dusseldorf, 1906; and, from the anti-alcohol camp, the book by Dr. Baer, the Nestor of prison physicians, "Alcoholism, Its Extent and Its Effects Upon the Individual Organism," (1878), a book which even today is still the best and most reliable handbook of the alcohol question; or the book by Dr. Hoppe "Alcohol and Criminality," (1906). Mention should be made also of numerous small works, by Dr. Juliusberger, Dr. Popert, Dr. Strecker and others, finally of the fact that this theme is one of the fundamental subjects treated at conventions of both the moderate and the total abstinent wings of the temperance movement.

And still the question has of late come up for especial attention. Our reason for this is the steadily increasing comprehension of the relation of the alcohol question to social-ethics, that has been generally awakened and promoted by the investigations and publications of prominent medical men, and has found expression in official orders, in measures taken by municipal authorities, in declarations from church and school boards. The conditions of misery which intemperance breeds and their relation to the social and national development of the people are being more and more recognized and readiness to help better these conditions is spreading through widening circles. Out of this grow naturally the needs and inclination for working out thoroughly the various aspects of the question. To these are to be added two further reasons. Through the careful and long-continued investigations of a large number of mental specialists, first of all in Germany, those of Dr. Kraepelin of Munich, the connection between alcohol and crime is physiologically explained. It has been demonstrated that not only the immoderate, but also the habitual moderate use of alcoholic drinks influences most strongly the mental faculties, the moral principles, the spiritual state, and that crime is no longer the unexpected final link in the chain of stages of development. These scientific works have found their sorrowful completion and verification in the enormous steady and still increas-

ing numbers of those crimes which are most notoriously connected with the immoderate use of alcohol.

As such alcoholic crimes in a narrow sense, that is, crimes which are not always but most often connected in some way with the use of alcohol, may be mentioned the following: Resistance to the law, housebreaking, offenses against morality; light, dangerous and serious assaults. According to the quarterly reports of the Statistics of the German Empire for six years, 1900-1905, about a third of all punishable offenses are those which are most frequently, demonstrably and notoriously caused, directly or indirectly, by the previous use of alcohol—a fact which is constantly being called to mind by the headings of such reports in the daily press: "A Victim of Alcohol," "Effects of Alcohol," "The Alcohol Devil," "The Demon Alcohol," "Under the Curse of Alcohol," "In the Domain of King Alcohol," "Under the Influence of Alcohol," "The Deed of an Alcoholic," "The Schnapsteufel" ("The Rum Demon").

It would be strange if these facts had not forced those who were formerly inclined to pass off the alcohol question with indifference or reject to more serious consideration and intelligent judgment.

II. VARYING ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF CRIME DUE TO ALCOHOLISM

Now the more this connection is recognized and understood, the stronger grows the desire for a clear and definite answer to the question: What proportion of crime can be definitely credited to the account of alcohol?

The only large work covering the whole field now dates some time back. Dr. Baer, previously mentioned, made very thorough preparation for his great book by collecting information from copious material placed at his disposal by officials. Since then a number of single investigations almost too many to be reviewed, covering limited field of research or separate penal institutions have been carried out and the results published in pamphlet form, or in trade and daily papers so that we have a superfluity of statistics for Germany and for other civilized countries. But the most striking fact about these reports is that the results of the investigations differ so widely. In proof of this I may cite some figures from the book by Dr. Hoppe, "Alcohol and Criminality," which are here placed one after the other without comment.

In chapter 3, "The Results of Statistics Concerning the Connection Between Alcohol and Crime," (pages 26-131), Hoppe takes the separate countries in turn. I select only one item from each country.

AMERICA—60.3 per cent of the crimes have alcohol as a cause. (From the Twelfth Annual report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

ENGLAND—48.7 per cent of penal offenses are caused through the misuse of alcohol. (International Congress for the Study of Alcoholism, Brussels, 1880.)

SWITZERLAND—38 per cent of cases (among men) are connected with drink as a cause (Seventh International Congress Against Alcoholism, Paris, 1889, Vol. 11.)

FRANCE—66.4 per cent of drinkers among the prisoners. (Marambat, Congress, International Penit. 1900, IV, page 112.)

BELGIUM—Four-fifths of all crimes are attributed to the drink passion. (Ducpetiaux, Inspector General of Belgian Prisoners.)

HOLLAND—75-80 per cent of all crimes committed under the influence of alcohol.

DENMARK—71.21 per cent of male culprits under the influence of alcohol. (General Director Wieselgren.)

NORWAY—51.3 per cent of the men were drinkers.

RUSSIA—20.2 per cent were habitual drinkers; 22.1 per cent of crimes begun in drunkenness.

AUSTRIA—45.8 per cent are men with whom alcohol played a part.

Now Some Figures From Germany

The statistics of the Prussian Jail and Prison Administration for the year 1888-1889 reckoned that of the men, 15.4 per cent were habitual drinkers, and 14.5 per cent of the deeds originated in drunkenness.

For Bavaria, according to the statistics of the Kingdom of Bavaria, the number of men who committed their acts in an intoxicated condition amounted to 21.9 per cent and 28.1 per cent of the men were habitual drinkers.

The 25th annual report of the medical colleagues of the Kingdom of Saxony for 1894 pointed out that of the prisoners delivered to the workhouse in Waldheim, 5 per cent were drinkers.

Director Siehart, of Wurttemberg, found that 29.5 per cent of the inmates of his workhouse were habitual drinkers.

In Baden, 34.7 per cent of those sentenced to punishment the last quarter of the year 1895, committed their acts during intoxication.

In the "Contributions to the Statistics of Hesse," it is reckoned that of the prisoners committed to the workhouse during 1895-1900, 6.1 per cent were drunk at the time of their act, 9.7 per cent were habitual drinkers, and of those committed to prison, 10.7 per cent were drunk at the time of their act, and 5.4 per cent were habitual drinkers.

Finally the words of three specialists:

Dr. Baer comes to the conclusion (from his extended investigations, which included 49 workhouses, 32 prisons for men and 18 for women, and 21 houses of correction), that among the 30,041 male prisoners, 13,190, that is, 43.9 per cent, were addicted to drink (of whom 53.6 per cent were occasional drinkers and 46.4 per cent habitual drinkers.)

The well-known P. von Koblinsky based upon his careful investigation of the prison at Sonnenburg the statement that of 997 prisoners, 127, or 12.8 per cent, were intoxicated at the time of the act; 223, or 23.4 per cent, were habitual drinkers.

Jurist Dr. Friedrich, referee at the Convention of the Hessian Society for Judicial Psychiatry and Psychology, came to the conclusion that among 600 jury cases, addiction to drink had played a part in 18 per cent of the condemned. We observe in looking over all these percentages that the differences between them are remarkable. It is to be noticed that in the above figures consideration is given always to the total number of crimes, not simply to the alcoholic.

III. REASONS FOR VARIATION IN THE ESTIMATES

How are these differences to be explained?

First, through the difficulties presented by the objects of the investigations. Apart from the distrust with which, unfortunately, all statements of the prisoners must be taken, there are first of all, two motives on the part of the prisoner which may work in opposite directions. One will represent himself as having been very much intoxicated, in order to minimize his guilt and place

himself in a favorable light; he will also rate his consumption of alcohol very high. Another will not admit himself a drinker for any reason, and will, therefore, rate his alcohol consumption low.

Erroneous Conceptions of Moderation

To this is to be added also the fact that these heads entertain wonderful conceptions of the words "moderate" and "immoderate." I recall two cases: One prisoner declared to me that he was entirely sober on the evening of his deed; he had at that time drunk 12 glasses of beer. Another assured me that he had always been moderate; he had, however, on the evening of the day on which he committed his crime, visited four public houses before he entered the fifth in which alone he drank three "schoppen" (pint glasses) of wine.

As to the quantities used the following illustration from the place of my previous activity will testify, and it is to be distinctly noted that these consumption figures were not looked upon by the prisoners nor by those with whom they formerly associated as being particularly high.

J. W., married, a gem-setter, first offense; drank between Friday evening and Sunday morning, 30 glasses (pints) of beer. His crime was a serious assault.

S. R., an occasional farm hand, lightly sentenced once before, drank on Sunday evening 15 glasses of beer. His deed also was a serious assault.

J. W., married, sawyer; had previously received a number of light sentences. On Saturday evening he drank 18 glasses of beer. Serious assault.

J. S., single, plasterer, first offense. Drank in a public house, 16 glasses of beer. Serious assault.

K. M., married, factory hand, no previous conviction. Drank at a celebration 16 glasses of beer. Crime against morality.

H. E., single, cement worker, first offense. Drank on Sunday evening 20 glasses of beer. Serious assault.

Differences in Attitude Toward Alcohol

The variation in the statistics is thus explained by the varying conceptions and the varying standards on the part of the person investigated. First to be taken into consideration is the attitude a convict takes personally toward the alcohol question, whether he is a very enthusiastic friend of a good drop or is a zealous enemy of alcohol. In the first case, whether knowingly or intentionally he would involuntarily not put much emphasis on the causal relation of alcohol to his act. In the other case he would unconsciously put other circumstances and viewpoints in the back ground, perhaps entirely overlook them and lay too much of the blame on alcohol.

Judgment Varies With Knowledge

There is also the further fact that more unanimity on the subject in hand is reached by those who have been closely associated with the alcohol question, while those who have studied the alcohol question only from one side, or very superficially, differ widely among themselves as to what is an habitual drinker, or an occasional drinker. How numerous are the occasions, with our present drinking customs, in which it is difficult for even a moderate drinker to refuse to join.

An habitual drinker? Is it he who drinks regularly very large amounts, or one who regularly uses, or believes he uses, small amounts? What is meant by exhilarated? By intoxicated? How many are the intermediate stages between

those who still retain their senses and can, therefore, be held responsible for their speech and acts, and those whose brains are already somewhat alcoholized and whose judgment and self-control are already weakened, and, finally, those who no longer know what they are doing or saying? What difficulties there are here in determining at what degree in the scale an individual case should be placed.

The Factor of the Indirect Effects of Alcohol

Still more important than all these difficulties is the determination of what importance is to be attached to the indirect effects of alcohol upon the criminal, effects that could scarcely appear in statistics, which at most could only be estimated, but which are doubtless as important to the connection between alcohol and crime as are the direct effects.

Drunkenness in the father is destructive to family life; it undermines the peace between man and wife, loosens the bond between parents and children. How much children see and hear! How much is neglected in the training, supervision and provision for the children! How much is lost through bad example! Children brought up in such environment are subjected to neglect and brutality. If some of them in time, and probably very early, become juvenile criminals, it is truly nothing to be wondered at.

Or, in an extremely large number of cases of poverty, alcohol is to blame for the financial bankruptcy. But when there is nothing more to win and nothing more to lose, then especially when temporary want is added, the first step to crime is easily taken.

Further, habitual moderate drinking endangers the sense of duty, of honor, of shame, of responsibility. Craving for pleasure and frivolity on the one hand, and distaste for work and loss of employment on the other prepare the soil for criminal tendencies and deeds.

Numerous are the lines leading from the use of alcohol to the development of criminal possibilities! If one glances at all of the conditions out of which crime springs or in which it is perpetrated, he is always brought to alcohol as the ultimate cause; it has done its gradual work, occasioned want, caused misery, ruined character, burdened the future generation, and the final end of the development in numberless cases and directions is a crime.

IV. THE IMPORTANCE OF ADEQUATE OFFICIAL STATISTICS

For more than one reason it is desirable, even necessary, that the connection between alcohol and crime be clearly and definitely determined. We must get beyond the stage of supposition and estimation, which leaves too much play to individual opinions, and reach the certain ground of reliable facts. This is not possible for every point. With the indirect effects, certainty can scarcely, or with difficulty, be reached; nevertheless, according to past studies of scientific investigation of alcohol and its effects—such a study is certainly needed—there are principles which can be used in the working out of methods of getting data and the formulation of questions which will help us to advance. What was the state of the parents in regard to drink? What were the conditions of the criminal in this respect during his childhood and youth? To what degree was the environment in which the man began his offense influenced and brought about by alcohol; that is, did he become careless, disinclined to work, or per-verse through alcohol? Was the crime committed in direct connection with the use of alcohol even if only the so-called moderate use; that is, was it committed in merely a state of exhilaration, or in intoxication?

The thing which we should earnestly seek is to get a serious effort for fighting alcoholism promoted by the government, to have an authoritative step taken by regular officials for the purpose of obtaining a new collection of data concerning the relation between alcoholism and crime, a collection which will have uniform provisions and will extend over the widest possible field, the latter in order that thereby the various opinions which are never entirely unanimous, may reach some degree of adjustment. That would be as much in the interest of prudence as in that of the anti-alcohol movement, and as in the interest of the public, which desires and ought to know how far alcohol constitutes a sole cause, or a contributing cause of crime.

V. OFFICIAL INFORMATION ALREADY AVAILABLE

But until a secure, uniformly working principle and a wide reaching explanation have been obtained, have we nothing but conjecture to depend upon? No, indeed! We already have a number of certain fundamental facts.

The Increase in Assaults in Germany

This is true, first of all, for dangerous assaults in Germany. According to the volume of "German Criminal Statistics for the Year 1902," published in 1906, the number of dangerous assaults is continually rising. It is now, next to larceny, the most frequent penal offense. The averages for the empire, based upon 100,000 sentences for the five-year periods from 1883 to 1902, were:

1883 to 1887—153

1888 to 1892—173

1893 to 1897—219

1898 to 1902—239

The increase from the first five-year period to the last amounted to more than 56 per cent, that is more than one-half. A still more frightful increase is found if we compare the year 1882, when only 121 dangerous bodily wounds (per 100,000 sentences) were recorded, with the year 1901, when the number amounted to 250. That is an increase of over 100 per cent. That the extension of the conception of dangerous bodily injuries which were previously considered slight, not a great strictness in the laws has caused a part of the frightful increase, is shown by the fact that the light assaults have also greatly increased, although not so much as the serious ones.

Assaults More Numerous on Drinking Days

The year 1902 was the first time that figures were obtained, at great trouble and cost, as already stated, showing to what extent dangerous bodily assaults were committed on Sundays and holidays, because the rest from work and pleasures of Sunday tended most, according to experience, to increase the consumption of alcohol. Previous to this there had existed numerous small statistics from single localities which all showed a fearful frequency of these evils on these days, Sunday and the following Monday, days on which, according to general experience, more is drunk than on other days. Thus the assaults committed on Sunday, according to Prof. Aschaffenburg, at Worms, amounted to 35.1 per cent of the 254 sentences imposed. In Heidelberg they constituted 47.5 per cent of 261 sentences; in Zurich, according to Lang, 42.6 per cent of 141; in Vienna (Löffler) 30 per cent of 228.

But the material upon which these statistics are based is a mere fraction compared with the extensive material of the Imperial Statistical Bureau of Ber-

lin, which covered 97,376 sentences for dangerous bodily assaults. Of these, as the laborious investigation showed, in 34,652 cases, or 35.6 per cent, that is in more than a third, the deed was committed on a Sunday or holiday; 69,543 on the other six working days, while in 2,181 the day of the act was not ascertained. Of the dangerous assaults, 198 occurred on work days, but 578 on Sundays or holidays, that is three times as many.

"The result would have been still more favorable to the working days and unfavorable to Sundays and holidays," the statistical office definitely affirmed, "if it had been possible to take into account the special holidays of the separate states and institutions." But we have also reliable facts to work with from these separate localities.

It is necessary to state here that when we have spoken of "alcohol" in the foregoing pages we have not meant that spirits alone are to blame, as people formerly were inclined to think.

Assaults More Frequent Where Heavy Drinking Is Prevalent

This work with the statistics of the German Empire, has also taken account of the geographical distribution of dangerous assaults. The results thus obtained were as follows:

Pfalz had by far the highest figures, 633 per 100,000 convictions, or 265 per cent of the average for the Empire. Next came lower Bavaria with 565, or 236 percent; Mannheim, with 481, or 201 per cent, and Oppeln, with 473, or 198 per cent of the national average. In connection with this extraordinary preponderance of dangerous assaults in the countries just mentioned, it is pointed out in the criminal statistics that it tends to indicate an influence from alcohol. "Crime," it says, "is frequent along the eastern border of the empire, where spirits are more the native drink, but it is still more frequent in Bavaria, which is renowned for its beer, and most frequent in Pfalz, noted for the abundance and cheapness of its wines, also in other upper Rhine regions."

Alcohol and Crimes Against Property

Pastor Dr. von Rohden, of Dusseldorf, has taken pains to learn the previous history of 68 cases of offenses against property. He published the result in an article entitled, "The Social Motives in Crime," appearing in the Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft (Journal of Social Science).

Of the 68 perpetrators of crime against property, 55 were men and 10 of these were under the influence of alcohol at the time. As the author expressed it: "Out for mischief after a drinking bout," or "robbed his drinking companions," or "to get money for drink," or "was well-to-do but drank," or "good position but drank," etc.

In 16 other cases the indirect connection with drink was perfectly clear. In 29 cases only the alcoholic factor could not be clearly made out, but it was evident without a question that there was some alcoholic influence at work among these cases.

I, myself, tried, once in the Heilbrenner prison cells, to ascertain the alcoholic factors among the total number of inmates, by means of the court records, by inquiries at the houses, and by questioning the individual prisoners. There were 124 male prisoners whom I had thus under the magnifying glass. Among these there were 106, condemned for various offenses, in which alcohol had played a part, either in their previous living or in connection with the deed, and only 18 in which such a connection was entirely absent.

The Alcoholic Factor in Crime Not Confined to One Class

The crime-inspiring influence of alcohol shows itself not only in the lower classes of society, but also in the so-called cultured classes certain and sorrowful evidence of which is furnished in a section on "Criminality of Students," in Dr. Aschaffenburg's "Crime and Its Prevention." We quote the following table:

	Number Per 10,000 Condemned		Of men	
	Of students	Previously Sentenced	ages 21-25	1886-1895
	1893	1899	1899	1886-1895
Crimes and misdemeanors in general.....	83.3	80.6	123.6	332.7
Insults	22.2	17.9	14.3	19.8
Dangerous assaults	15.0	9.4	24.5	95.8
Violence and threats against officials	14.5	13.9	4.4	17.4
Injury to property	9.3	10.5	4.9	17.0
Light assaults	5.5	4.6	6.9	24.4
Disturbance of the peace	4.1	5.6	5.8	19.1
Larceny	0.7	1.5	21.0	51.5
Fraud	0.5	3.0	6.3	16.4

These are bad figures, especially those relating to insults, violence, threats against officials, and injury to property. These figures are the more serious when one considers the extreme indulgence that has been shown to students in the matter of disrespect toward officials. One can easily understand from this how Dr. Wittich, in an article on "The Criminality of Students" in the year-book of the German Student World, 1905, (therefore, not in any kind of an anti-alcohol journal), could write, among other things, of these statistics:

"The student, so sensitive about defending his outward honor, loses nothing of the respect of his fellow-students if he stumbles home dead drunk, if he lies for a while in the gutter, riots, acts scandalously with any kind of a fellow, insults the police, pushes and crowds, is taken to the station house where he behaves most rudely and is confined until he sobers up and finally is sentenced for disorderly conduct, for insults or assaults, damages, disturbing the peace and resisting the law. All of this only puts a halo around his perverted head and all unmoved he will sing for a whole evening in a great roaring bass:

"Spotless is our honor
Like a polished shield."

Repeated Offenders and Alcohol

If the connection between alcohol and crime is present in so large a percentage of the first offenses, it is still more so in the criminal repeater.

According to the criminal statistics for the year 1901, the number of repeaters in the year 1882 amounted to a little over a third of those sentenced for the first time; in 1901 they amounted to three-fourths. Of the total number of repeaters in 1882 those who had been sentenced once before formed 42 per cent; twice before, 22 per cent; from three to five times before, 25 per cent; six times and over, 9 per cent. Of 2 per cent the number of sentences was unknown.

In 1901, of the total number of previously convicted, 36 per cent had been sentenced once before, 19 per cent twice, 27 per cent three to five times, 18 per

cent six times and over. The proportion of those who had been sentenced more than five times had doubled in 20 years.

All students of the subject agree that alcohol is here much oftener to be regarded as an explanation (than in the first-offense class.) According to Neuhaus ("The Recidivist Criminals in Prussia," Journal of the Royal Statistical Bureau, 1904) there were among the recidivists in Prussia, 1900-1902:

Year.	Habitual Drinker.	Drunk at time of last crime.	Tramps.	Prostitutes.
1900	Men.....27.4	35.4	18.2	0.6
1900	Women..22.0	9.2	14.2	37.6
1901	Men.....25.3	33.7	16.4	0.6
1901	Women..19.3	9.0	11.9	32.5
1902	Men.....24.7	35.6	15.7	0.7
1902	Women..23.7	9.5	16.6	38.1

Therefore, about one-fourth of the men, somewhat less of the women, were habitual drinkers. Of the men, more than a third, of the women, almost one-tenth, had committed the last act in a state of drunkenness. The tramps formed about a sixth of both sexes (these are practically all drinkers.)

The great number of prostitutes among the women (over a third) shows that there drink and prostitution are most closely associated, the number of habitual drinkers among the women repeaters is really larger than the official figures ascertained assign. The same is unquestionably true of the men repeaters. The official figures are to be regarded only as minimal as they enumerate only the most pronounced soakers.

VI. CHECKING ALCOHOLIC CRIME

If we turn our attention only to those facts that are absolutely established, without taking into consideration those for which we have only estimates, it follows that whoever wishes to diminish the number of crimes and criminals—and who does not—can not escape the task of doing all he can to stop this chief source. For these reasons to which a series of others based upon hygienic and economic grounds are also to be added, it is the duty of all who wish to prevent crime and help the prisoners to join in the fight against alcoholism.

Difficulties and Opportunities of the Prison

Education in prison has undoubtedly its special difficulties. The compulsory association of occasional and habitual criminals, of men who have stepped aside from the most various paths of rectitude, begets in the prison a general atmosphere which influences more or less the individual prisoner.

On the other hand, by separation from the outside world, at least through isolation in the prison cells, injurious influences of various kinds are shut out. The prisoners open their hearts easily to friendly, serious talk. Influences can be exerted with more concentration upon the individual. This is true of prison life for all educational questions, and not least for our question.

Truly, if this education is to bear fruit, the problem of alcoholism and of the alcoholic must be given its proper place. Not much will be accomplished by those who see in intemperance only a personal fault of the individual and would make him alone responsible; not much either by those who look only at the universally prevalent drinking customs and the strong temptations to drink to which the alcoholic was formerly subjected, and take too much of the blame

away from him. The first is hard and gives rise to bitterness; the second is too effeminate and calls forth no strong internal reaction in the alcoholic.

Intemperance is a personal fault as well as a social fault. What is most important is for the individual to come to a decision.

And yet a second consideration. Formerly, people were inclined to see in intemperance only a vice; therefore, they used only moral measures. That was one-sided. Equally one-sided at present appears to be the greater danger if intemperance is to be looked upon only as a disease, and the question of conscience is to be more or less eliminated. The alcoholic can and must—aside from individual exceptions—be held responsible for his drinking.

Equally certain is it that intemperance can and frequently does lead to disease—a condition in which nothing further can be gained by reproaches, in which sympathetic support and comfort are needed. It is a matter of individual testing, what judgment and treatment should be given.

If once a certainty in diagnosis can be reached by thorough study and practical experience, then it will no longer be too difficult to work out the individual problem.

What can be done individually in our particular line to the prisoner and for the prisoners?

The prisoner is brought in. Registration follows immediately. It is not so very much trouble, in connection with other information to establish clearly the facts we mentioned under IV., not by conducting a judicial inquisitorium, but with interested friendliness. This information will be further enlarged in the course of the prison term, in some cases corrected. If we could gather during one year, from all, or at least from many prisons, from all outgoing and incoming prisoners, information concerning the relation between alcohol and crime, it would form a very valuable contribution to the question. The more knowledge of the alcohol question possessed by the person making the investigation and the keener his criticisms, so much the more carefully would the investigation be made and the more reliable would be the results obtained.

Anti-Alcohol Education in Prison

And now the time in prison. The prison might and should, in a certain sense, be a drink cure establishment. It is very desirable that the prisoner receive not a drop of alcohol during the whole time (something that has not been attained yet, for example, in South Germany, where, in some prisons during work, in others on special occasion, alcoholic drinks are allowed), and that everything that is possible should be done to turn them against alcohol. Many opportunities for this will be presented. How much can be done by the prison director whose word and whose authority always carries much weight. How much the prison physician can do, whose advice to the individual prisoners is the first to be followed! How much the prison chaplain can do, if he tries in his preaching and individual visits to bring the prisoners gradually to resolve: Not another drop after liberation! How much the teacher can do if in the course of his instruction he uses good material such as is now obtainable to explain with all possible concrete illustrations, the injury to health, to finances and to morals that results from alcoholism. How much the overseer can do if he gives his support to the educational efforts of the higher officers and does not, as is too frequently the case, tear down, by improper work or his own example a good part of what has been built up.

The Value of Printed Matter

In the prison library should be a large number of books that treat the alcohol question, in narrative or instructive form. Among these books there should be not only those written from the religious standpoint (these, naturally, should not be lacking), but also those that put health and economics in the foreground. In every cell there should be placed, (as has already been done with good effect in some prisons), wall placards which show in brief, crisp, clear sentences, the dangers of alcohol, and in wall pockets well-written pamphlets, which, by repeated reading, will be converted by the prisoners into their very lives.

Personal Example of Officials

In the prison itself alcohol in every form should be banished from every room. It makes a singular impression on a prisoner who has been persuaded to become an anti-alcoholic if he is confronted with the beer bottle when sent to the room of an overseer or higher officer. It is certain that the majority of the prisoners must be won, not simply to moderation, but to abstinence. In some of the men intemperance has already led to indications of disease, or the moral power of resistance has been greatly weakened. With very many, therefore, the first glass again will be the beginning of the end. It is also certain that only those who are themselves abstainers can lead others to abstinence. That is a fact that has been verified by innumerable cases.

I may be permitted, at this point, to tell a personal experience. While drinking moderately myself, I took special pains to recommend abstinence to the prisoners. But I always had a strong impression that the men were saying to themselves: "That is nice talk. He would turn me against my beer, or whisky, which is often the only enjoyment I have, while he treats himself to his glass."

Immediately the condition changed, and my advice was taken in a different attitude when I could say: I am myself abstinent; it is not necessary for me, personally, but I do it, in order to show you that one can get along without alcoholic drinks, that strength and enjoyment are not diminished by abstinence, but rather the contrary. From that time on I know that in many of the worst cases I obtained results.

I am not disposed to make this attitude a condition of holding an official position in a prison, but whoever will take an earnest stand in this line will in any case, be always less troubled by the question: Who should be the protection and support of the weak?

Helpful Environment for the Discharged Prisoner

Now comes the day of discharge: On his departure the heart of the prisoner is in a state of jubilant anticipation at getting outside of prison walls. And a last impressive word will not be lost if it occurs in conversation during the time of close relations. Very great are the temptations and dangers outside and for that reason he needs to enter a protective circle. If he returns to his family, how do his nearest relatives stand on the alcohol question? An example from my own experience: A married man (a mason) was in prison for the second time, both offenses being for cruelty committed in the state of intoxication. After his second admission he wrote home that the food was good, only he did not get any beer. In the next letter the wife wrote that she was praying daily that God would move the heart of the director to allow him the beer that was so necessary for his health and strength—a case that is both laughable and pathetic.

The woman was in earnest. Instead of being glad that her husband was being weaned from alcohol which had caused so much unhappiness in the family, she was afraid that going without it would injure his health.

It is into the midst of such opinions that many convicts return. Would it not be possible, by sending literature, perhaps by a short letter, to bring the relatives also to right views?

Many prisoners are without family ties. In these cases care must be exercised to find a substitute. The surest way, always, when it can be done, is to bring the man into touch with a society for the care of prisoners in an abstinence society, and, if possible, have him become a member of such a society while he is still in the prison. It frequently happens that his first taste of liberty leads him to the public house, that former friends are already outside the prison awaiting for him.

What kind of an abstinence society it is best for him to join, whether a Good Templar Lodge or a Blue Cross Union, is to be decided by the individual convict, according to his individuality. It is highly advisable under all circumstances that the membership be effected before discharge, either through a visit from a member of the Union or by letter. This method is quite admissible. Only recently the "Berlin Correspondent," on April 3, 1907, officially published the following:

"In order to lighten the work of the supervisory department, the management has decided that the board of managers may allow a member of the central union or a person authorized by them, to see the prisoners in the institution, especially by visiting the cells, and take part in those meetings of the superior officers in which supervision is advised. Unfortunately, little use has been made, hitherto, of this authority."

I beg not to be misunderstood when I urge the education of the prisoners, or at least of the majority of them, for abstinence. I wish for no compulsory measures, which for the most part produce only the opposite of what is desired. I want no kind of pledges, which involve great dangers, particularly hypocrisy. The prisoner, even in chains, must be free. But whatever can be done by friendly talk to quicken the conscience, must be done, in the interest of prevention. In that sense I would provide that any money coming to the prisoner, in all doubtful cases should not be handed to him, but given either to his family or to his family clergyman or to a trusted man of his locality, or to an abstinence society that will accept him as a member and which he has shown an inclination to join. Most prisoners turn with good resolutions from their previous sorrowful state. The great danger is that these resolutions will be forgotten. For that reason it is well to remind the discharged men from time to time of these resolutions by sending them a short greeting, a multigraphed letter with an anti-alcohol leaflet. There is now so wide a field for choice in anti-alcoholic literature, an individual touch can be shown and a new emphasis given.

To this objection may be made, that is all well-meant, but it is, nevertheless, more or less wasted effort. That is not correct. Everyone who labors in this way, with a warm heart and tireless perseverance, will be rewarded by gratifying experiences. And what if the number of them is small? What does it mean when a single criminal back-slides? How much calamity he causes! What a burden of care and sorrow he is for those belonging to him. What a heavy load upon the state and the community! What a danger to the public safety! On the other hand, a single prisoner permanently rescued, how much is thereby won, whether one thinks of his family or the community.

VII. THE DEMAND FOR AN ALCOHOL-FREE WORLD

No social welfare work can be done for itself alone. It is only proper, and attended by results when it is carried on in conjunction with the great whole. This is true in a special sense with anti-alcoholic education in the prisons.

How do we explain the many cases that fall back into drink and through drink enter again the paths of crime?

A South German workhouse chaplain wrote me recently: "**The prisoners declare, unreservedly, 'Put us in an alcohol-free world and we are rescued.'**" What are the facts? When the prisoner goes back to freedom he enters a more or less alcoholized world. This sounds hard, but it corresponds, unfortunately, with the facts. In the prisons the man hears that alcoholic drinks are entirely unnecessary. Outside, he finds the theory and practice that these drinks are necessary and excellent food substances, and that hard work can not be done without them.

In the prison, he hears of the many miseries that alcohol causes. Outside, at liberty, he finds an almost indissoluble bond between enjoyment and alcohol. It is taken at work and after work, on workdays and Sundays, in the home and outside of it. It is drunk by those holding property and those without property. It is a care-breaker for the poor, a joy-giver to those who crave pleasure. It is offered, almost forced, upon one from every side. Friends exhort, numberless public houses entice, the seller invites.

What wonder if the boat on which the man embarked with honest resolutions is overturned in a sea of alcohol.

Our work in this field will always have to count on many failures and will have little lasting results to hope for as long as it does not succeed in creating a strong temperance or abstinence movement, which will fundamentally change public opinion, correct false views, improve customs, reform conditions, and diminish the demand for drink.

Many noble public-spirited people have recognized this and are engaged in the work. The societies that have taken part in the fight against alcoholism, whether in the line of temperance or of abstinence have made great progress. But many other workers and comrades in arms are needed.

The German people can perform their great task for civilization, can overcome their social misery, can take and hold their national place in the competition of the races only when both the upper and lower classes of our people recognize and become aware that sobriety and temperance are the sources of health and strength, of efficiency and the power of resistance.

If we place ourselves in the ranks of the friends of temperance and abstinence, if, in whatever social position and calling we may be, we promote by word and act the efforts of these generally beneficial societies, we shall be working for a prosperous development of our people and for a diminution of the feeding ground upon which crime thrives

CONCLUSION

If this work is to achieve great and lasting results it must join in a continually advancing temperance and abstinence movement, which will correct popular misconceptions, combat drinking customs, decrease the desire for drink and displace enjoyment of alcohol with better pleasures, a movement in which prison officials and all friends for the aid of prisoners will be most effective co-operators and fellow combatants.

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