

Menard: Development of a Nineteenth-Century Prison

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At the 1950 Congress of Correction of the American Prison Association in St. Louis, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois observed that, "Most of the prisons of the United States are a heritage of our nineteenth century theories of crime and punishment."¹ While his remarks were meant to address antiquated prison conditions at the national level, he could also have been referring to Joliet and Menard, facilities of the Illinois State Penitentiary system in use from the previous century. Ironically, Menard would play a dramatic role in influencing Stevenson's public image at the end of his first presidential campaign. While Joliet Correctional Center has recently closed, and its future preservation as a historic structure remains in some doubt, Menard Correctional Center continues to serve the function for which it opened in 1878. Prison labor was used in the construction of its original buildings and walls, as well as in the stone quarries adjacent to facility and the numerous workshops. Inmate labor, a concept based in nineteenth-century penology, was the primary system of reform at Menard until changes were initiated in the 1950s and 1960s. The Illinois Department of Corrections has recently reassessed the physical plant at Menard, demolishing several obsolete buildings dating back to the first decades of the prison's existence. This reassessment is only one of several efforts throughout its history to renew the facility to keep up with the changing standards of correction.

Although Illinois State Penitentiary in Joliet, built between 1858 and 1863, was thought to be sufficient to house prisoners at least for a generation, it filled to capacity in less than ten years, a common theme in the history of the Illinois prisons.² In April 1877 a bill was introduced in the state legislature to enlarge the Joliet prison; however, it was decided to substitute the Southern Penitentiary bill already passed by the House in 1876. By August 1877, several sites were examined and Grand Tower in Jackson County was highly favored by the prison commissioners. The site was finally rejected by a committee of Governor S. M. Cullom, Attorney General Jones E. Edsall, and Public Auditor T.S. Needles. The committee revisited sites in Grafton, Alton, East Carondelet, and Chester, with the latter finally selected because of its two important railroad connections.³ The Great Railroad Strike of 1877 influenced the choice of Chester, since its location on the Kaskaskia River and proximity to the Mississippi meant the site was not entirely dependent on the railroad.

The selected site, thought to be above flood level, was located one mile from the center of Chester at the base of a limestone bluff, containing 122 and one-half acres. It was purchased from Springfield businessman Jacob Bunn for twenty-five dollars an acre.⁴ Plans were prepared by architects Bell & Hackney in only thirty days for one Auburn plan cell house with two hundred cells (later increased to four hundred cells) and a "Warden House" and "Central Building" (Administration Building).⁵ Behind these, a row of utilitarian stone and brick structures were built eventually to house the main prison support functions, including numerous workshop buildings. This arrangement was dictated by the site, located between the river and the limestone bluffs fronting the town of Chester. Given the name Southern Illinois Penitentiary, the new prison was established along the lines of the Auburn System, developed in the 1820s at the state prison in Auburn, New York, and in use in Illinois since the state prison in Joliet was established.⁶ While education played at least a small part in inmate reform at Joliet, Southern Illinois Penitentiary used labor under the contract system exclusively, largely due to lack of facilities for other purposes.⁷

At the beginning of 1878, a two-story wood frame building was constructed to serve as an office for the warden, clerk, and commissioners. A forty-two feet by two hundred feet brick building was constructed to house convicts who would help build the prison.⁸ After a stockade was built, two hundred inmates from Joliet arrived 21 March 1878.⁹ Sufficient progress on the North Cellhouse was made by October of that year to allow the transfer of more prisoners from Joliet. One hundred inmates labored at the prison quarry at the rear under contract to Joseph Brown of St. Louis, Missouri.¹⁰ Work also progressed on the Central Building, which formed the rear portion of the structure later referred to as the Administration Building.¹¹ The Central Building and Warden House contained the staff kitchen, dining room, and dayrooms for the guard staff on the basement floor; guard room, business offices for the commissioners, warden, and deputy warden on the first floor; library, small school rooms, Chaplain and commissioners' sleeping rooms, warden's living quarters, and Governor's reception room on the second floor; and the chapel and the guards' sleeping rooms on the third floor.¹² The use of exotic yet subtle Egyptian architectural motifs on the front facade, used in combination with more typical Greek Revival forms, reference southern Illinois's appellation as "Little Egypt." Bell & Hackney may have also been alluding to the work of the English-born Philadelphia architect John Haviland, who designed the New Jersey Penitentiary and the New York City Hall of Justice and House of Detention, commonly known as the "Tombs," in the Egyptian Revival style. The configuration of these prison buildings also shows the influence of the

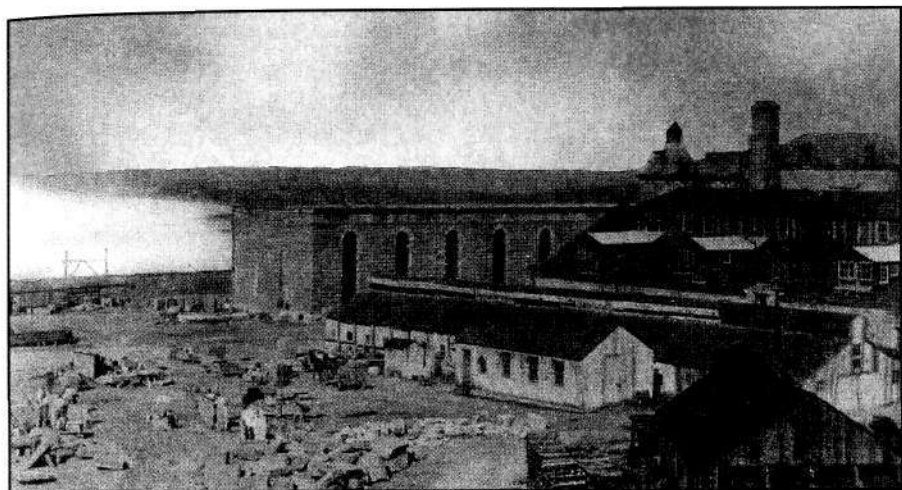
Kirkbride plan asylum, with cell houses taking the place of wings flanking a central administration building.¹³

The prison was originally established to confine both male and female prisoners, with the women's prison to be surrounded by a high stone wall. By the end of 1878, four women inmates were incarcerated at the prison. Due to the lack of an organized prison system of their own, the federal government sent their prisoners from the region to Southern Illinois Penitentiary.¹⁴ A tobacco shop was established in 1879 for inmate consumption. In April 1880, the first barge load of quarried stone left the prison, and brick shops initiated production the same month. Bell & Hackney reported that same year that additional buildings were planned at the prison, including a row of buildings for the inmates' kitchen, bakery, laundry,¹⁵ boilerhouse, and several workshops; another cell house (South Cellhouse) to flank the Central Building; a women's prison; and a "convicts' insane asylum."¹⁶ A prison hospital building was requested by the prisoner commissioners. It was also reported in that year that the Warden House was under construction and the Central Building was complete. (The Warden House and Central Building are hereinafter referred to jointly as the Administration Building.)

The discussion of building a facility for mentally ill convicted criminals, the beginnings of a dual institutional identity at Chester, dates back to 1878. Mentally ill criminals in Illinois had been housed in the state's mental health facilities at Jacksonville, Anna, Elgin, and the new institution at Kankakee, as well as Cook County Asylum. The State Commissioners of Public Charities for Illinois expressed that this condition "is felt to be a reproach and an insult to the other patients" in the state's mental institutions, and holding mentally ill inmates in the state's prisons greatly diminished their chances of recovery.¹⁷ Three solutions were proposed: a hospital department in connection with the prison, a separate department for convicts on the grounds of a hospital for the insane, or a distinct entity, not connected with either a prison or an insane asylum. On 29 May 1879, the Thirty-first General Assembly of Illinois authorized an appropriation for the second option.¹⁸ In 1880 the Southern Illinois Penitentiary commissioners selected a site for the hospital, immediately southeast of the prison on the adjacent bluff. Construction was delayed for ten years, however, as other projects were pursued at the prison.

Flooding in 1881 dramatically changed the route of the Mississippi River, as the river cut through a narrow portion land to subsume the bed of the Kaskaskia, moving the confluence several miles upstream.¹⁹ The following year a post office was established at the prison. Initially known as the Chester Prison Post Office, it was renamed the Menard Post Office in 1884, giving the prison the name associated with the prison ever since.²⁰

Prisoner labor was used by the Pettengill Boot and Shoe Company in the brick building constructed as the temporary cell house, which had another floor "added" by excavating a basement level. Another workshop building was requested by the commissioners to put more inmates to work. One industry the commissioners suggested was a stone cutting shop, since the raw materials were available from the adjacent quarry.



View of the South Cellhouse under construction, about 1881. At right are shop buildings for prison labor. To the left of the South Cellhouse is the stockade fence that enclosed much of the prison in its earliest decades.

Source: Walter L. Brieschke collection

The report for 1882 stated that part of the warden house basement was converted to hold women inmates, with "six large rooms with necessary closets and bath-rooms" in use for this purpose in 1884. A new Solitary Prison was constructed, consisting of "a small two story brick building designed as office for the Deputy Warden, who is immediately charged with the management and discipline of the convicts, and the solitary prison proper, which is 38x52 feet in size. ..." ²¹ The Solitary Prison, with twenty-six cells arranged on two tiers, was built for the detention of disobedient convicts and for the holding of new convicts arriving during night hours. The office of the deputy warden (later known as the Yard Office) used brick that was made at the prison. Inmate labor was used in constructing these structures. A brick wall enclosed a small yard area between the two buildings. ²²

By 1884, Chaplains organized a school teaching basic elementary education, located in the Administration Building's third floor chapel. Younger inmates were "very anxious to learn, and some of them learn very

rapidly."²³ Older inmates were less ambitious, desiring only to learn how to read. Chaplains also provided "counseling" on alcohol abuse, gambling, and personal matters, and were responsible for organizing a prison band. The total number of inmates on 30 September 1884 was 635: 552 "white" males, eight "white" women, 121 "colored" males, and four "colored" women.²⁴

Two workshop buildings were completed in 1886. One was a two story brick structure housing the State Workshop, with plumbing, material, and carpenter shops on the first floor, and the tin shop, mattress factory, paint shop, and tobacco factory on the second floor. Construction began on the South Cellhouse foundations, and a reservoir located on the bluff above the quarry provided a new supply of water.²⁵ It was later reported that the South Cellhouse foundations were set as much as thirty-five feet below ground level due to the poor quality of the substrate, with an average depth of twenty-two feet.²⁶ A prison farm was in operation, producing vegetables to supplement the prison's food supplies. Needed improvements included construction of a stone wall around the prison since the stockade had blown down several times, "leaving nothing between the prisoners and liberty except the shotguns in the hands of the guards."²⁷

Increases in the inmate population meant that more convict labor contracts were necessary to keep them occupied. In February 1886 two contracts were let for "stove hollow-ware" and brick, employing a total of 185 inmates.²⁸ This complemented the 225 inmates already employed in the boot and shoe factory.²⁹ A new contract was initiated in 1886 with the United States Department of Justice for the keeping of federal inmates, and the prison was reimbursed twenty-five cents per convict per day, five dollars in "gate money," and fifteen dollars for a suit of clothing upon release.³⁰ The following year, when Menard had 213 federal inmates, Congress passed legislation prohibiting states from leasing them for contract labor, and states using contracted inmate labor became reluctant to take federal inmates. After the first federal prison was established at Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1895, only sixteen federal inmates remained at Menard.³¹

Construction of the South Cellhouse progressed and its four hundred cells were expected to be ready for use on 1 July 1889.³² A permanent hospital was still needed, since the temporary arrangement on the second floor of the building housing the Laundry was "imperfect and unsatisfactory."³³ The state legislature, however, was reluctant to fund a separate hospital building until the facility for the "criminal insane" was completed. During this period, several new buildings were constructed on the farm, including two cattle barns, a hog house, an oxen barn, and a barn for "milch" cows.³⁴ Also in 1889, the twelve remaining female inmates were transferred to the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet. Contracts for two of the

prison industries expired on 1 July 1889, leaving 375 inmates out of work. One solution advanced was enlargement of the profitable brick yard.³⁵ The inmate population at this time was 667 convicts, and even after increasing the brick yard production and adding inmates to the quarry, farm, and prison kitchen, more than 250 inmates were without work.³⁶

Nine years after a hospital for the criminal insane was first authorized, the state legislature decided to create an institution on the grounds of the penitentiary, as opposed to the original plan for a facility connected to a state hospital for the insane. The new institution was subject to the control of the penitentiary administration under the guidance of a medical superintendent experienced in the treatment of the insane. Three classes of patients convicted of felonies were treated at the facility: insane convicts sent from state penitentiaries; persons charged with crimes and not found guilty by reason of insanity; and other cases transferred by writ directly from county courts.³⁷ Construction activities in the early 1890s were focused on the construction of the new hospital. The initial plans by Isaac L. Coleman, architect for several buildings at the state mental hospitals at Jacksonville and Elgin, were rejected by the secretaries of the State Commissioners of Public Charities and the State Board of Health. Substitute plans for the asylum were drawn up by Chicago architect J. H. Lawlor and contractor E.R. Brainard, receiving approval on 2 May 1890.³⁸ Stone from the prison quarry and brick made in the prison brick yard kept building costs down. The new facility, known as the Illinois Asylum for Insane Criminals, operated under the direction of the State Board of Public Charities, was ready to receive patients on 1 November 1891, with the first three patients transferred from Southern Illinois Penitentiary.³⁹ (The balance of this article focuses on the prison. A full discussion of the development of the hospital for mentally ill inmates is a story deserving its own narrative.)

When a new Board of Commissioners took over in January 1893, they found that only sixty percent of the prison inmates were employed in industries.⁴⁰ The financial panic of 1894 affected the demand for prison labor, and coal mining and railroad strikes delayed transportation of finished goods. Nonetheless, the commissioners refurbished the knitting plant with seventy-five more machines.⁴¹ In the ensuing years, the prison industries continued to suffer because of the economic depression. Labor unions, such as the Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly, objected to the goods produced at the prison foundry as being unfair competition.⁴² To improve the industries, the prison commissioners made even more changes: four new kilns and a large shed were added to the brick plant; the button plant was modified to enable the production of whole buttons instead of just parts; and a new stone quarry was opened north of the prison.⁴³

By 1896 the long-needed prison wall was finally under construction,

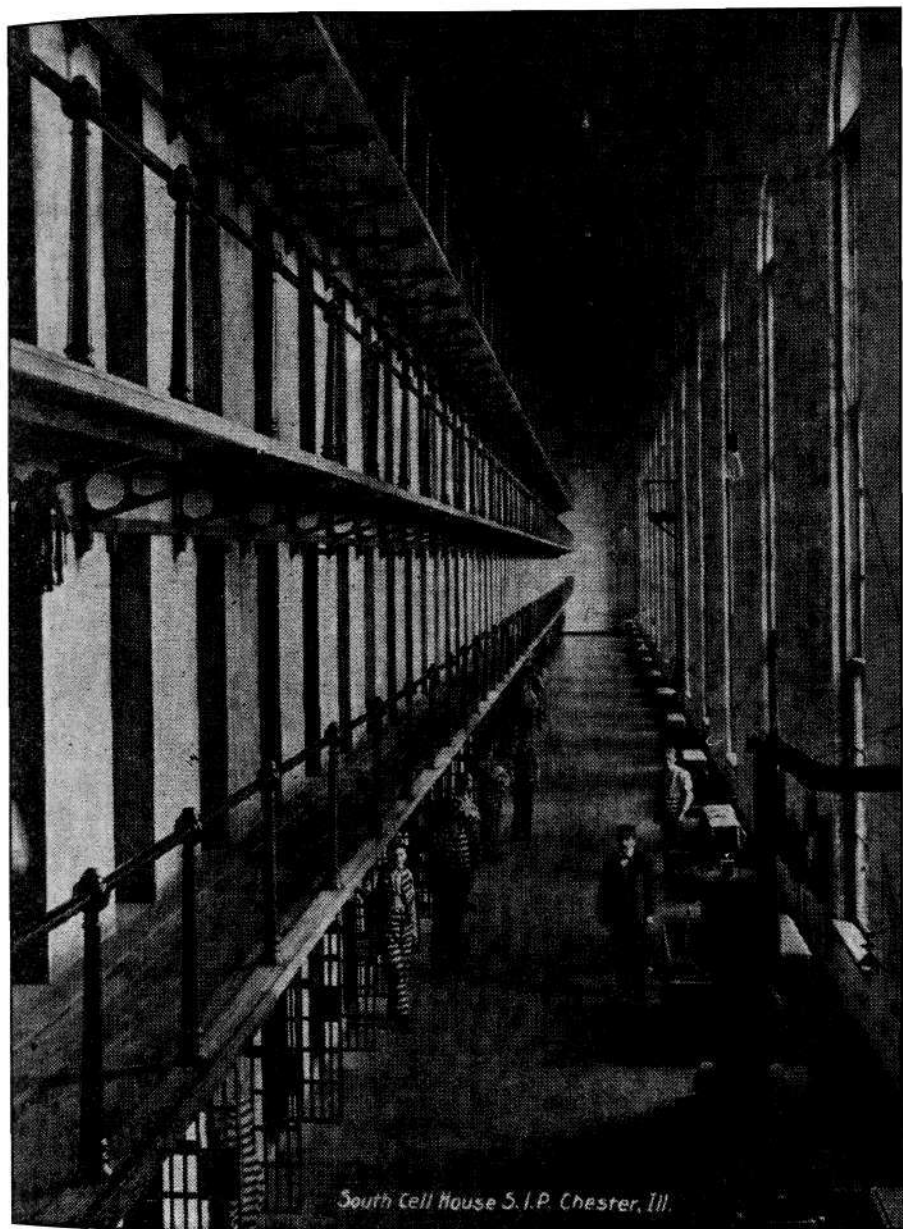
with 340 feet completed.⁴⁴ Over the next two years, the inmate population increased from approximately six hundred to nine hundred. The commissioners requested funding for a proper dining hall so inmates did not have to eat in their cells. Since almost sixty percent of the deaths at the prison between 1896 and 1898 were attributed to tuberculosis, a separate medical hospital for the treatment of tubercular inmates was urgently needed.⁴⁵ In the following years, the stone crusher was relocated closer to the quarry and refurbished to allow for more production. New shop buildings for the brick and stone industries were constructed.

In 1903, Illinois law changes limited the sale of prisoner made goods on the open market.⁴⁶ At Southern Illinois Penitentiary the industries were shut down for a six-week period while the law's impact was determined. A State Board of Prison Industries was established under legislation passed by the 43rd General Assembly. The new board directed production of brick, crushed stone, clothing, hosiery, knit goods, and paper box plant; the foundry, however, was shut down.⁴⁷

Changes to prisoner treatment also occurred during this period. The congregate movement of prisoners, the lockstep, was abolished, and stripes were removed from prisoner uniforms except for those in the most restrictive level of confinement. The first inmate classification system at Menard, established by legislation passed in 1903, consisted of first, second, and third grades.⁴⁸ (This was later supplanted by the Progressive Merit System in the early 1920s.⁴⁹) The inmate population on 1 October 1904 was 957, with three hundred inmates employed in the hosiery department, two hundred in hollow ware, fifty-five in produced brick, fifty in the quarry, forty-five in the machinery department, and thirty on the farm.⁵⁰ Perhaps the most significant addition to the prison, however, was a thirty-two bed medical hospital, completed in 1906 and located behind the Administration Building.⁵¹ Two years later, an inmate dining hall was finished with seating capacity for one thousand.⁵²

With the introduction of the automobile in the early twentieth century, road and bridge building was a growing concern. A model bridge was constructed at the prison in 1907 using gravel from the quarry under the direction of the Illinois Highway Commission. Inmate laborers were used to build the wood formwork, set 13,270 pounds of reinforcing steel, and place 59.6 cubic yards concrete. Designed by A.N. Talbot, engineering professor at the University of Illinois, the model bridge was forty feet long by eighteen feet wide.⁵³

In June 1907, the Illinois Penitentiary Commission was created to replace the aging facility at Joliet, resulting in the construction of Stateville. Concurrent with this development, the Special Investigating Committee of the Illinois General Assembly was initiated after an accident occurred at the



Interior view of the South Cellhouse, about 1908. Source: Walter L. Brieschke collection.

Illinois Asylum for Feeble Minded Children (later Lincoln Developmental Center).⁵⁴ The committee commented on conditions at the Illinois Asylum for Insane Criminals, reporting that "the cells at this institution come nearer to a modern conception of the dungeons" despite these being the latest cells constructed.⁵⁵ This last comment would seem to be referring to the older cell houses in the adjacent prison. The committee's findings applied only to the asylum, which was renamed Chester State Hospital two years later. A new philosophy with the goal of transforming the asylum to a treatment-oriented mental hospital was instituted in Illinois. While this new approach did not influence the prison administration at this time, twenty years later the confinement and treatment of mentally ill inmates reemerged.

Counseling at Illinois prisons had its earliest beginnings with the creation of the Illinois Board of Administration in 1909, an attempt to bring the state's prisons into a centralized administrative umbrella. As a response to the Progressive Movement goals, the Board of Administration recommended a scientific classification of prisoners.⁵⁶ It was not until 1917 that headway was made when the Division of the State Criminologist was created within the Department of Public Welfare under the Civil Administrative Code.⁵⁷ The first state criminologist was Dr. Herman M. Adler, Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, whose tasks included selling "the idea of mental health work to the Wardens."⁵⁸ Adler's work was inhibited, however, since he only had a staff of three for the entire state.

Edward Dunne's inauguration as governor in January 1913 led to a number of policy changes at Menard, including the replacement of the prison commissioners.⁵⁹ Inmates were allowed to write letters and have visitors more often. Stripes were abolished for all inmates, including those in the "third grade" of confinement, with brown uniforms worn by all. Inmate hygiene and health was improved by the institution of showers and provision for clean underwear once a week. A barber shop was also established, and inmates given time for exercise. The prison commissioners optimistically stated that "a spirit of cheerfulness and contentment prevails among the prisoners."⁶⁰ Governor Dunne also advocated the use of inmate labor on road work around the state, since this would prevent inmates from being "debased by associations formed in the debilitating environments of cells and prison workshops."⁶¹ Besides using the prison's gravel for roads, a limestone dust mill for making fertilizer was installed and distributed to state agricultural operations. Regional farmers were also allowed to have small quantities of limestone dust for experimental purposes as a fertilizing agent.⁶² This product was so successful that later in the decade, the limestone dust plant doubled its output.

Despite the improvements of the previous decade, Southern Illinois Penitentiary was still operating in a facility with nineteenth-century Auburn

cell houses and a reform program based on inmate labor. In 1922, Warden Edward P. Petri of the prison outlined some of the pressing needs at the prison, but ultimately recommended replacement of the entire facility:

The installation of running water and toilets in each cell, and the removal of the unsightly and unsanitary dry toilets in each cell, and the removal of the state takes charge of a man, the very least thing it can do is to give him an opportunity to observe the ordinary rules of health and cleanliness. Until the wooden floors on the cell-house galleries are replaced with concrete, it will be practically impossible to get rid of bed-bugs and other vermin. In fact, as I look about, I see so many things that should be changed, I have about concluded that the only practical solution is to erect a new prison—the sort of institution that will enable an inmate to take a new lease on life and that would be a credit to the state of Illinois.⁶³

While psychiatric examinations were often delayed at the prison, a detailed personal history of inmates was taken upon admission, which was used by the prison administration to assign them to suitable jobs. Lighter work was given to inmates with “slighter build,” office work for educated inmates, and honor farm work for trusted inmates with agricultural skills.⁶⁴ In the mid-1920s, more than half of the prison population was assigned to the two quarries: production from the quarry inside the prison walls was crushed for agricultural limestone, and the second quarry, located outside the walls north of the prison, produced gravel for road material. The total production of both quarries was approximately forty-five thousand tons per year.⁶⁵

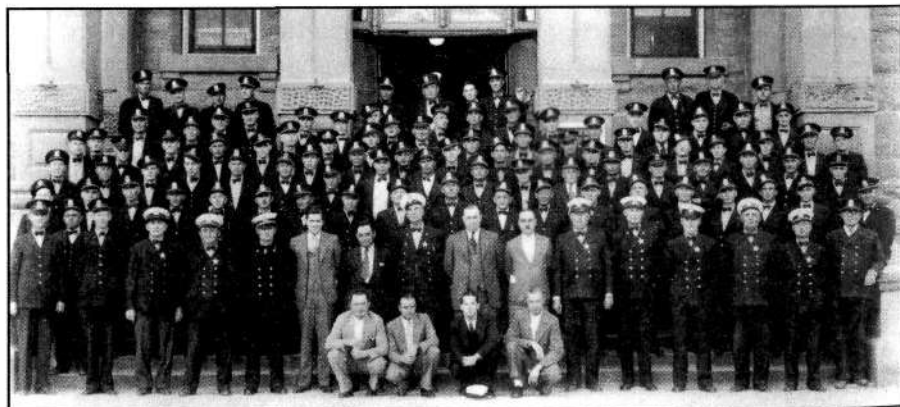
Mental health services were improved at Illinois prisons in 1930 when a psychologist, a social worker, and a sociologist were assigned to a “Mental Health Office” at Joliet-Stateville. In 1931 Donald Clemmer, a sociologist with the Division of the Criminologist and later affiliated with the Federal Bureau of Prisons, was assigned to Menard. Clemmer’s 1940 landmark book, *The Prison Community*, was based on his research into the sociology of imprisonment at Menard.⁶⁶

A new cell house was built in 1927 at the adjacent Chester State Hospital, designed by the Office of the State Supervising Engineer.⁶⁷ Using “the latest ideas for buildings of this type,”⁶⁸ it had four levels of open dayrooms overlooking the Mississippi River bordered by two tiers of cells having exterior windows. Increased criminality during Prohibition and the resultant prison overcrowding led to the construction in 1930 and 1931 of

the East Cellhouse at the penitentiary, based on the Auburn plan. Unlike the innovative cell house constructed at Chester State Hospital just a few years before, the new Auburn plan cell house (sixty-four feet wide by 410 feet long, containing five hundred cells on five tiers with two inmates in each) was designed to hold as many inmates as possible for the least amount of money.⁶⁹ Two similar structures were built at Stateville and the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac. All three made extensive use of reinforced concrete for the interior cellblock structures as well as the exterior walls. As with the two original cell houses built a half century before, inmates at Menard were trained as construction laborers to assist with the placement of reinforcing steel and other tasks.⁷⁰ In addition to the use of steel reinforced concrete for the building's structure, the interior cell block was set on separate foundations from the exterior walls.⁷¹

Hanging was abolished in Illinois counties in 1927; only Joliet, Menard, and Cook County Jail were authorized to execute inmates using electrocution. The first execution at Menard took place on 20 October 1931, with the electrocution of Murley J. Johnson, with the electric chair located in the Laundry Building. Several more executions took place before an addition to house the electric chair was constructed to the Yard Office in 1934. By the time the last executions were held in 1938, eighteen inmates (including one woman) were electrocuted at Menard.⁷²

Legislation passed in 1933 established the Illinois State Penitentiary system, with Southern Illinois Penitentiary renamed the Menard Branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary. Other legislation established the Illinois State Penitentiary Classification Act, shifting responsibility for placement of prisoners from the county of commitment to the Department of Public



Menard staff photo, about 1933 to 1935. Warden Joseph E. Ragen (with vest and spotted tie) is front center. Source: Illinois State Historical Library.

Welfare and providing for facilities for new inmate reception, called Diagnostic Depots. These were located at the old Joliet prison and at Menard, where a special cell block was constructed on the third floor of the Hospital building.⁷³ Psychological reports written on each incoming inmate provided "guidance" to the warden and his staff on the type of inmate, suggestions for proper placement in one of the state penitentiary branches, and recommendations for programs to help inmates adjust to prison life.⁷⁴ "Mental" cases were classified for the Menard institution.⁷⁵ Further changes at Menard occurred after the appointment of Joseph E. Ragen, former Sheriff and County Treasurer of Carlyle County, as warden in February 1933.

New legislation also established the Psychiatric Division at Menard for the treatment of mentally ill inmates, setting up a parallel institution to the adjacent Illinois Security Hospital, the name given to Chester State Hospital in 1933. The new division, however, was to hold only convicted criminals. Mentally ill or "feeble-minded male persons committed direct from the courts or transferred from other State hospitals for the insane or institutions for the feeble-minded"⁷⁶ with criminal characteristics were held at Illinois Security Hospital. The Psychiatric Division also received inmates with mental or developmental disability directly from court who were charged (but not convicted) with certain serious crimes. If the condition of mentally ill inmates improved, they were to be returned to court to stand trial.

Reconstruction of the North Cellhouse began in 1932, opening as the Psychiatric Division in December 1934.⁷⁷ Approximately half the population of the Illinois Security Hospital, 256 patients, and an additional 471 inmates from state prisons were transferred to the new division by 30 June 1935.⁷⁸ The new facility had a hydrotherapy department under the direction of a trained therapist, with special attention given to "epileptics and neurosyphilitic patients."⁷⁹ The latter were treated with tryparsamide and various other antiluetic drugs. Metrazol-induced shock therapy was also employed for certain mental disorders. In 1940 these treatments were reported to result in the recovery of several patients who could be released to the general prison group without recurrence.⁸⁰ Soon after the Psychiatric Division opened at the end of 1934, Governor Henry Horner sent a committee to investigate conditions. They recommended that an additional cell house for 500 inmates be constructed, with an appropriation of \$550,000, to allow more transfers from the Illinois Security Hospital because of its unsuitability to hold "insane murderers, holdup men, etc."⁸¹ This new cell house, North II Cellhouse, was completed in 1937 and was part of Governor Horner's \$14,000,000 building program at state institutions.⁸²

Changes to the treatment programs to the general prison population included a new addition to the hospital, completed in 1934.⁸³ Its

modern medical facilities included a laboratory, operating room, diagnostic rooms that included a new X-ray machine, and patient wards. The top floor of the building served as a tuberculosis ward, with large windows for the maximum exposure to light and air.⁸⁴

Other changes at the prison included expansion of the educational programs for inmates. All inmates who had not completed the third grade were required to attend school. Of the steady stream of inmates entering the school, about ten percent of the prisoners were illiterate. Stateville inmates had aided in establishing a high school level correspondence school in 1933, and Warden Ragen requested materials for use at Menard.⁸⁵ Football and boxing were added to the recreation program, and regular drill exercises were held on Sunday mornings. The prison industries were expanded between 1933 and 1935, with the priorities for supplying manufactured and agricultural goods to state institutions, providing inmates with vocational instruction, and preparing road building materials. Although officially all inmates were assigned to a labor duty, most were in fact idle.⁸⁶ At the end of the decade, inmate labor shops included knitting, machining, painting, baking, and mattress construction.⁸⁷

In 1940, Menard's security was improved with the construction of an "Electric Eye" gatehouse, named thus because of the metal detector used in the building.⁸⁸ New security measures within the wall included assigning inmates to recreation period divisions under guard supervision and regular searches when inmates were moved to work or yard assignments. A sixty-day guard training program was initiated at Stateville in April 1939, which was also meant to train guards for Menard and other state prisons.⁸⁹ Despite these improvements, the *Chicago Sun Times* reported in October 1943 the maltreatment of prisoners, including accusations of the use of a whipping post in the solitary cells of Psychiatric Division. These beatings were reportedly initiated after Governor Dwight Green took office and the new prison administration was installed.⁹⁰ One inmate described his first impressions of Menard during his incarceration in the 1940s:

I heard "column left" and I turned and juggled my feet to catch up with the left-right of the marching feet. A huge gate was opened and we walked through. The gate creaked shut with a tremendous clang and we were in a completely different world. A bare yard of hard-packed black earth, a gnarled dead stump of a tree in the center, two large buildings of blackened rust-colored stone along the side wall was all I could see in the dusk. Quickly we were hustled through a barred door ... and our names and numbers were called out. With the noise of hundreds of inmates talking,

whistling, shouting, were taken up a winding stairs to the top gallery. One by one we were locked in individual cells ... and heard a guard say, "Doan yo' all heah me talkin' to you? Git in that theah cell."⁹¹

When Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson was the Democratic candidate for president in 1952, riots at Menard that October created an embarrassing situation. An earlier riot on 22 September 1952 ended after thirty hours of disorder. A second riot began on 27 October 1952, when over half of the 650 inmates in the East Cellhouse seized control over it, taking seven guards as hostages. Inmate demands included improvements in food, medical care, and treatment by guards.⁹² Governor Stevenson flew back to Illinois on the night of 30 October from a campaign stop in Pittsburgh to settle the rebellion, arriving at 4:00 A.M. on 31 October.⁹³ After attempts to obtain the release of the hostages failed, the East Cellhouse was stormed by about one hundred prison guards and state police. The hostages were released unharmed, and one inmate received fatal wounds.⁹⁴

The early 1950s was still an era when teaching trades and providing education was thought to provide the needed "change" to turn individuals away from crime. Following the election of William Stratton as governor, Ross Randolph was appointed warden of Menard in February 1953.⁹⁵ Randolph was a former teacher and school principal until the early 1930s, when he became a deputy sheriff and Director of Education at Illinois State Penitentiary, Pontiac Branch. After serving as decade in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he was appointed as warden as Menard.

The inmate newspaper, *Menard Time*, in publication since September 1938, was a significant component to these reforms. Plans were laid to discontinue the paper after its suspected contribution to unrest at Menard in 1952. Warden Randolph, however, saw its potential contribution to inmate educational and vocational programs, and sought assistance from the Department of Journalism at Southern Illinois University to set up college credit courses in news writing and editing.⁹⁶ A journalism course first offered in 1956 was reported in *The New York Times* as the first college course for inmates in an American prison.⁹⁷ In other educational programs, 116 inmates receiving high school diplomas and twelve inmates graduating from the elementary grades in 1961.⁹⁸ A new vocational school building was completed in June 1967, providing classrooms for grade school, high school, and college levels; discussions began that year for the development of a baccalaureate program.⁹⁹

Vocational training programs were expanded in the latter part of the decade, encompassing a variety of building trades and mechanical and electrical repair. The tobacco industry remained one of the important industries

at the prison: in June 1953 alone, 11,426 pounds of plug tobacco and 15,623 pounds of smoking tobacco were produced under the name "Little Egypt."¹⁰⁰ Despite the number of industries still active at Menard, only two hundred to three hundred inmates were employed on a regular basis in those areas.¹⁰¹ While the institution still operated a quarry, the production was limited to use on the institution roadways and concrete product production. Randolph advocated automation and modernization of prison industries in an address to the annual congress of the American Correctional Association in 1964, since the purpose of prisoner labor was to help inmates "fit into [the] highly competitive labor market."¹⁰²

Although Randolph's appointment at Menard was political, his tenure was marked by significant changes to the inmate educational and vocational programs. Menard remained a maximum security prison; however, violence was still a significant possibility. Riots in 1965 resulted in the death of three guards, and several others seriously injured.

In 1970 legislation created the Illinois Department of Corrections to separate incarceration from the law enforcement functions of state government. Menard and other state prisons with adult inmates were renamed correctional centers. The Psychiatric Division was reorganized as Menard Psychiatric Center, administered separately from the main prison. A Clinical Services Department was instituted for state correctional centers staffed by "counselors." Ten counselors were hired at Menard to conduct therapy and various "coping" skills classes, drug and alcohol counseling, career counseling, and assessment of progress or failure of inmates while in the state's custody. The Diagnostic Depot concept was replaced in 1973 with Reception and Classification (R & C) Units at Menard, Joliet, and Dwight. They performed the same functions as the Diagnostic Depots but with larger staffs and facilities.

The 1970s brought renewed inmate disturbances, reaching Menard in May 1973 when thirty-eight prisoners took over the commissary and held a guard hostage for sixteen hours.¹⁰³ In May 1974 sixty inmates held four guards hostage, this time demanding congregation rights in the prison yard and several changes in administrative procedures.¹⁰⁴ The 1970s were also the beginning of significant increases in prison populations. While the decade began with some of the state's lowest inmate population figures (approximately eight thousand), by 1981 it had reached nearly fourteen thousand and twenty-seven thousand by 1990, due in part to increased drug-related crimes as well as the "tough on crime" movement.

In 1976, the relocation of Chester Mental Health Center (the new name for Illinois Security Hospital since 1973) to a new facility allowed Menard Correctional Center to occupy the former hospital buildings. They were renovated as a medium/minimum security unit, with minimum

security inmates working on the farm and outside the walls and medium security inmates working inside the prison walls. In June 1980, twenty-one Condemned Unit inmates were transferred to these buildings at Menard when the facility at Stateville became overcrowded, with the entire group redesignated the Multiple Security Unit.¹⁰⁵

A 1977 master plan by the National Clearinghouse for Criminal Justice Planning and Architecture, affiliated with the University of Illinois, included recommendations that Menard and Stateville be replaced with newer facilities. The master plan reflected contemporary trends in corrections philosophy for cell block configuration, cell space allotment, and social and medical services. Menard, it pointed out, was located on the edge of the flood plain and access roads were inundated every few years. Cells were too small for single occupancy (double celling was common), shower facilities were minimal, and indoor recreation space lacking. Numerous security problems in the cell block and building layouts were also noted.¹⁰⁶ The master plan recognized, however, that complete abandonment was probably not realistic. Short term alterations, including division of cell blocks into smaller sections, were recommended to allow occupation until new facilities were constructed.¹⁰⁷ (The East Cellhouse was divided into the East/West Cellhouse after riots at Pontiac Correctional Center in 1978 resulted in the death of three guards. It would not be until 1993 and 1994 that, after the adoption of the Unit Management concept, the physical and administrative division of North and South Cellhouses occurred.)¹⁰⁸

On 25 June 1987, Governor James Thompson threatened to close Menard due to budget shortfalls within the Department of Corrections. Lack of facilities within Menard allowed only half the inmates access to work assignments and classroom space. Shutdown would have meant the transfer of over twenty-four hundred inmates to already overcrowded prisons elsewhere. Advocates for the closure pointed to the obsolete design and physical condition of the prison, which made it dangerous for prisoners and guards alike.¹⁰⁹

Flooding of the Mississippi in the summer of 1993 led to a general lockdown at Menard from 18 July through the middle of August. The lower levels of the North and South Cellhouses were evacuated and primary access to the prison was limited to an opening made in the north wall. Total damages at Menard reached one and one-half million dollars.¹¹⁰

Menard Correctional Center took over administration of Menard Psychiatric Center effective 1 December 1994; its inmates were transferred to other state facilities eighteen months later. The former Psychiatric Center was converted to a Segregation Unit, a "prison within a prison" for violent inmates. A new Medium Security Unit was completed on high ground above the main prison in 1996, with remaining inmates in the Multiple

Security Unit were transferred to the new facility. Condemned Unit inmates were transferred to the North I cell house after modifications to separate it from the rest of the prison due to obvious security issues.

In the mid-1990s, the Department of Corrections decided to demolish several vacant and obsolete buildings at Menard, renovation being either too costly or impractical to meet the needs of a modern correctional facility. Staff offices in older buildings (such as those located in the former warden's living quarters of the Administration Building) lacked sufficient space, temperature and humidity controls, and lighting for ideal working conditions. While the historical significance of most of these buildings is undeniable, their retention, preservation, and renovation are at odds with the mission of the facility and the state agency operating it. Besides eliminating the burden of inefficiency, removal of these buildings also improves security by eliminating "blind spots" and hiding places for inmates.

Among the buildings at Menard that were demolished between 1999 and 2001 were the Laundry, Old Hospital, Yard Office, and Solitary Cellhouse. A new R & C Unit was subsequently built on the site of the Old Hospital, which housed the previous R & C Unit. In addition to the buildings removed from the prison, Cellhouse C of the former Chester State Hospital for Insane Criminals was demolished in late 1997, followed by the remaining buildings of that facility in late 2001.¹⁰ As a historic site, Menard is eligible (but not currently listed) on the National Register of Historic Places. A case could also be made for nominating the prison as a National Historic Landmark. But National Register or National Historic Landmark status would not just require the support of the state historic preservation office, the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, it would also require the unlikely approval of the Illinois Department of Corrections as owner's representative for the facility. Illinois Historic American Buildings Survey (Illinois HABS) documentation has mitigated this situation by preserving at least some record of the buildings and their uses.

The most historically significant structure at Menard to be impacted by recent demolition work is the Administration Building, which is scheduled for removal and replacement by a new inmate and visitor entrance and offices when funding permits. Menard lies only eighty miles north of the New Madrid Fault system that extends southward from Cairo, Illinois. It has been projected that a seismic event of magnitude 6.0 or greater has a ninety percent chance of occurrence within the next fifty years. As an un-reinforced heavy masonry structure, the Administration Building could be seriously damaged in such a significant seismic event. Although many historic buildings have been reinforced to protect public safety during an earthquake, studies conducted by architects and engineers during 2001 found that the cost of such work on Menard's Administration Building

would be nearly twice the cost of demolishing and replacing the building. An important design decision by the original architects was the placement of the basement at the same level of the surrounding ground. Although called a basement, it is a functional building level susceptible to damage during extreme flood conditions, such as during the 1993 Mississippi flood.

Menard Correctional Center remains a viable institution, primarily out of need rather than modern functionality. Its cell houses have undergone extensive and expensive renovation recently to reconfigure and divide cell blocks, replace windows, update mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems, and improve security provisions. The overall capacity of the prison has increased dramatically in the last decade through the assumption of the former Menard Psychiatric Center cell house and the construction of a new Medium Security Unit. The call to replace the facility with a new prison, which seems to appear almost every generation, has yet to become reality. Menard's program of inmate treatment has also evolved along with, if not parallel to, its physical plant. Labor as a means to reform the criminal mind, in decline since the middle twentieth century, is now replaced by counseling and social services. It would not be surprising if the prison was still in operation, perhaps with as yet unimagined changes, at the beginning of the twenty-second century.

Notes

1 Adlai E. Stevenson, "A Governor's Observation," *Proceedings of the Eightieth Annual Congress of Correction of the American Prison Association* (New York: American Prison Association, 1950), 16.

2 Some of the inmates included disabled war veterans convicted of crimes after the Civil War. Changes in criminal laws were partially responsible for the overcrowded conditions, as well as population increases in Illinois during and after the war. Two-thirds of the inmates at Joliet were sentenced for larcenies of less than \$20 value (Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois at its 26th Session, 179).

3 The Belleville and Southern Illinois Railroad, running from Illinoistown (later East St. Louis) to Cairo, was built through Randolph County in 1870. The Chester & Tamaroa Coal and Railroad Company opened a connecting line with the Illinois Central Railroad in March 1872. (Combined History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties, Illinois (Philadelphia: J.L. McDonough & Co, 1883), 289.)

4 Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois at its 31st Session (Springfield, Illinois: Weber and Company, 1879), 10. Bunn had obtained the land in a foreclosure some years before. In order to enlarge the prison's farmlands, 114 acres of additional land was purchased from Bunn in 1883.

5 Bell was Mifflin E. Bell (1846-1904), born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, studied architecture under Alfred H. Piquenard, co-architect of the Illinois State Capitol and Iowa State Capitol with John Crombie Cochrane. W.F. Hackney (1854-1899), born in

Springfield, Missouri, trained in the Chicago office of Alfred H. Piquenard. Hackney entered into partnership with Bell to complete the Iowa State Capitol after Piquenard's death in 1876 (Cochrane was deemed to be too absent from the project to be given the commission in Piquenard's absence). Southern Illinois Penitentiary was the largest of several state commissions in Illinois. Bell was appointed supervising architect of the U.S. Treasury Department in 1882, where he supervised the design of post offices and federal courthouses (for a discussion of Bell's work with the federal government, see Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000]). After 1887, Bell was practicing in Chicago, where he designed churches, county courthouses, schools, banks, residences, and relatively modest commissions, such as comfort stations in Douglas Park in Chicago. One of his largest commissions late in his career was the "Administration Building" (now called the Resident Dining Hall) and flanking cellhouses, built in 1893, at the Illinois State Reformatory in Pontiac, Illinois (now Pontiac Correctional Center). Hackney later opened an office in Kansas City, Missouri, where he was appointed architect for the city school system. Hackney designed the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans Home in Normal, Illinois, in 1888. ("Obituary," *The Inland Architect and News Record* 43, Number 5, June 1904, 32; and Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (1970; reprint, Detroit, Michigan: Omnigraphics, 1996), 254.) Three of W.F. Hackney's buildings are listed on the National Register of Historic Places: Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Missouri; Bentley House, Greene County, Missouri; and Webster School, Kansas City, Missouri. Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, Springfield, Illinois, 30 September 1878, 14.

6 The Auburn model extended beyond the architectural plan of cell blocks with a bank of back to back cells set away from the exterior walls to form a multi-tiered gallery. The Auburn System, also known as the congregate system, utilized inmate assembly en masse for feeding and labor with separate confinement of inmates in individual cells. Inmates were moved from their cells to dining and work facilities using close-order single file known as the lockstep. The system offered an alternative to the Pennsylvania System where inmates slept, fed, and worked separately in individual cells for the duration of their prison term (not unlike the contemporary super-max prison). Although neither system was truly successful at inmate reform, the Auburn System was adopted by most state prisons in the United States during the nineteenth century. It was viewed as the better alternative due to its consistency with commonly held concepts of inmate reform, as well as it being more economical than the Pennsylvania System.

7 Under the contract system, inmates remained under state control (unlike the lease system, primarily used in southern states) and prisoner labor was contracted to private companies. The state usually provided the buildings to house the machinery and raw material furnished by the contractor.

8 According to Menard: Illinois State Penitentiary (Illinois Department of Public Safety, n.d. [circa 1950s]), the small brick building constructed as the original cell-house later become known as the concrete shop. In 1999, the building was slated for future demolition.

- 9 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1878, 11. The officers of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary were not satisfied with the 200 inmates transferred from Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, finding that some were "incorrigibly bad," invalids, or too sickly to perform construction labor. It was also charged that the authorities at Joliet had neglected to send the punishment records of the inmates included in this initial transfer. These charges were denied by Warden R.W. McClaughry of Joliet, in a letter dated 14 May 1878. Illinois State Archives Record Group 103.228, Executive Section, Governor's Subject Files, Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet.
- 10 Ibid., 12. The quarry was a 40 foot rock face of coarsely granular limestone whose layers are interbedded with shale. Other formations in the immediate region have layers of sandstone and different grades of limestone.
- 11 Cut stone for the facade of the prison was to be supplied from the Joliet penitentiary quarry under a \$14,000 contract (Ibid., 10). Examination of the Administration Building facade, however, reveals that the stone cladding is similar to limestone from Mankato, Minnesota, or perhaps another Mississippi River Valley quarry.
- 12 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1878, 16.
- 13 Dr. Thomas Kirkbride, head of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane from 1840 until his death in 1883, was prominent in the development of state asylums. In his *On the Construction, Organization, and General Arrangements of the Hospitals for the Insane* (2nd ed., 1880), Kirkbride outlined the proper layout (administration building flanked by wings) and detailing for such facilities. The development of administration buildings at prison and asylum facilities reflected the growth of professional staff to run these facilities. Without significant architectural models other than cellhouse configuration, and designing in the social context of "curing" the insane mind and "reforming" the criminal mind, architects for prisons often followed the Kirkbride plan until the early twentieth century.
- 14 Federal inmates were held at state and local prison facilities until the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, was established in 1895.
- 15 The laundry was documented for the Illinois Historic American Buildings Survey (Illinois HABS) program prior to its demolition (Laundry, Illinois HABS No. R-1997-1-C). In 1996, the State of Illinois initiated a program to demolish obsolete and unusable surplus buildings that constitute safety hazards at various state institutions. The Illinois State Agency Historic Resources Preservation Act (20 ILCS 3420) requires that historically significant buildings, or buildings at historically significant sites that are under the management of state agencies, shall be documented to Illinois HABS standards prior to demolition. Illinois HABS documentation typically includes a context history and description, drawings, photographs, and can be viewed at the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield, Illinois.
- 16 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 1878, 27-28.
- 17 The 1878 Biennial Report of the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities of the State of Illinois (Springfield, Illinois, 1878), quoted in Peter L. Hsin, "Historical Development of the Chester Mental Health Center, 1879-1980" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1980), 40.
- 18 The legislature considered the establishment of a facility as a way to alleviate two

other problems of the time: the abuse of the insanity plea and disposition of insane persons who manifested criminal traits (Hsin, "Historical Development of the Chester Mental Health Center, 1879-1980," 42).

19 J.H. Burnham, "Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River," Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society, No. 20 (1914): 95-112.

20 Illinois Place Names, edited by William E. Keller, compiled by James N. Adams, with an addendum by Lowell E. Volkel (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Society, 1989), 319 and 435. The reason for the name change from "Chester Prison Post Office" to "Menard Post Office" is not recorded. It is possible that the citizens of Chester objected to the appropriation of the Chester name by the prison, or that the dual use of the Chester name was confusing to the postal service. The use of the name Menard, of course, relates to the historical associations the site had to Pierre Menard, whose home is located a few miles to the north.

21 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1882, 10-13.

22 Ibid. The Solitary Cellhouse and Yard Office were recorded for the Illinois HABS program (Interior Perimeter Office and Honor Dormitory, Illinois HABS No. R-1997-1-D).

23 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1884, 27.

24 Ibid., 64.

25 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1886, 6.

26 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1888, 35.

27 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1886, 9.

28 Two years later, the warden reported that there were 56 inmates working in the brick yard (Warden Greenville M. Mitchell to Governor Richard James Oglesby, 26 December 1888. Illinois State Archives Record Group 103.228, Executive Section, Governor's Subject Files, Illinois State Penitentiary at Chester).

29 At the end of 1888, 125 inmates were employed making shoes for E.A. Gliddeus; 125 inmates, also employed making shoes, for the Western Boot and Shoe Company; and 125 inmates employed making hollow ware for the Menard Manufacturing Company. Some of the inmate labor contracts extended through 1894 (Ibid.).

30 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1888, 8.

31 Ana Baue, Clerk at Southern Illinois Penitentiary, to Warden John J. Schneider, Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 26 December 1895 (Attached to correspondence of Warden Schneider to Governor John Peter Altgeld, 26 December 1895, Illinois State Archives Record Group 103.228, Executive Section, Governor's Subject Files, Illinois State Penitentiary at Chester).

32 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1888, 35.

33 Ibid., 62.

34 Ibid., 8.

35 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September

1890, 5-6. The \$20,000 requested by the commissioners for the expansion was subsequently approved by the legislature.

36 *Ibid.*, 7. The concern over prison industries was an issue common to American corrections management of this period, including those in Illinois. See Report of the Joint Committee of the Thirty-sixth General Assembly (Springfield, Illinois: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1891) for contemporary recommendations for prison industries, including finding appropriate contractors so that state appropriations were not necessary; having prison administrators manage industries where contractors could not be found; and limiting conflict between inmate and free market labor.

37 Hsin, "Historical Development of the Chester Mental Health Center, 1879-1980," 42.

38 Research did not discover any significant information about Isaac L. Coleman, J. H. Lawlor, or R. Brainard.

39 The First Biennial Report of the Trustees, Superintendent and Treasurer of the Illinois Asylum for Insane Criminals (Springfield, Illinois, 1892), 7.

40 "Nearly every change of State Administration ushers in a new regime of prison managers...and the turn-over of the greater percentage of the subordinate officers is even more frequent" (Illinois Prison Inquiry Commission, *The Prison System in Illinois, A Report to the Governor of Illinois* (1937), 563). See also James B. Jacobs, *Stateville: The Penitentiary in Mass Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 19-25, for reports of "patronage" and "partisan politics" in Illinois prisons.

41 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1894, 5-8. The stone yard produced 22,051 cubic yards of sandstone ashlar, 4,000 cubic feet of cut stone for the enclosing walls of the prison yard, 1,100 cubic feet of retaining wall at the north portion of the quarry, 2,255 linear feet of stone gutters around the cell house, 3,000 cubic yards of macadam, 300 linear feet of limestone curbing at the prison yard and roads, and 300 linear yards of riprap for the river front.

42 Warden James D. Baker, Southern Illinois Penitentiary, to William F. Dose, Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly, 22 March 1894. Illinois State Archives Record Group 101.022, John Peter Altgeld Correspondence.

43 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1896, 8-9.

44 *Ibid.*, 9. The perimeter wall was not completed until 1911.

45 Report of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1898, 7-8.

46 Additional restrictions on the sale of prison made goods were enacted in 1905 and 1931.

47 Report of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1904, 5-6.

48 Based on the premise of inmate reform in addition to confinement, the earliest classification systems were developed by Alexander Maconochie at Norfolk Island prison in the 1840s and Sir Walter Crofton at the Irish convict prisons in the 1850s, and included stages of solitary confinement, congregate confinement, group socialization, and conditional release (a form of parole). These predecessors evolved by the end of the nineteenth century into the reformatory movement in the United States.

49 The Progressive Merit System was an inmate classification system attributed to Warden John L. Whitman of Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, who served briefly as acting warden at Menard in 1920. It was one component of the optimistic corrections

program that included indeterminate sentencing, and parole review in conjunction with industrial workshops and vocational and educational training. Inmates were classified into one of the five grades (A, B, C, D, and E), with periodic evaluations leading to parole hearings. Its application was truly meant for the new prison designed between 1907 and 1917 to replace Joliet, later named Stateville. Menard, with its congregate cellhouses based on the Auburn plan, did not have the same flexibility and could not fully implement the Progressive Merit System.

50 Ibid., 10.

51 Report of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1906, 6-7. The Hospital, possibly designed by Robert Bruce Watson (1869-1921), Supervising Architect for the State of Illinois from circa 1900 to 1905, was recorded for the Illinois HABS program (Old Hospital, Illinois HABS No. R-1997-1-B).

52 Report of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1908, 5.

53 "Reinforced Concrete Bridge Test," in Second Annual Report of the Illinois Highway Commission for the Year 1907 (Springfield, Illinois: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1908), 77-81.

54 This investigation was initiated after a patient had an epileptic seizure and fell onto a hot water radiator at the Illinois Asylum for Feeble Minded Children. The patient's father arrived to find his son receiving inadequate treatment and complained to his state representative, initiating the state investigation.

55 Illinois General Assembly, Investigation of Illinois State Institutions: Testimony, Findings, and Debate (Chicago, Illinois: Regan Printing House, 1908), n.p. Because of the "insurmountable" problems, recommendations were made to abandon the Illinois Asylum for Insane Criminals and build a new institution, more centrally located in the state and operationally disconnected from either the state penitentiaries or the state hospital for the insane. An earlier commission of state mental health officials, writing in 1899, had similar opinions best expressed when they termed the main building at the Illinois Asylum for Insane Criminals as "modeled more upon the line of an ancient bastille than a modern hospital." (F.C. Winslow, W.E. Taylor, W.A. Stoker, George A. Zeller, and William G. Stearns to Governor John R. Tanner, undated [1899], Illinois State Archives Record Group 101.023, John Riley Tanner Correspondence.)

56 Institutional Quarterly (30 Sept. 1915), 19-24.

57 The creation of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare in 1917 brought Illinois prisons and their industries under a unified administrative agency.

58 Harold S. Frum, Fifty Year History of the Division of the Criminologist (State of Illinois, 1968), 12.

59 This is another example of the prison administration being changed with the inauguration of a new governor. Dunne, a former judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County and mayor of Chicago, instituted numerous reforms in the criminal justice and prison system.

60 Report of the Commissioners of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary (Springfield, Illinois, 30 September 1914), 12-15.

61 Edward F. Dunne, "Message to the Forty-eighth Assembly," in Dunne: Judge, Mayor, Governor, edited by William L. Sullivan (Chicago: The Windermere Press, Publishers, 1916), 404. Work camps for honor inmates were founded throughout the

state, including Camp Hope, opened 3 September 1913 near Dixon; Camp Dunne, opened 27 April 1914 near Starved Rock, and which later moved to Mokena and Frankfort; Camp Allen, opened 15 June 1914 near Beecher; and the Honor Farm on the future site of Stateville, opened 27 February 1914. (Warden Edmund Allen to Governor Edward Dunne, 19 December 1914, quoted in "The Honor System in Illinois Prisons," in Dunne: Judge, Mayor, Governor, 753.) A road-building camp with Menard inmates (who received three days decrease in their sentence for every day worked) was operating at Ava, Illinois, located between Chester and Carbondale, in 1915.

62 Report of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, 30 September 1912.

63 The Department of Public Welfare Fifth Annual Report, July 1, 1921 to June 30, 1922, n.p. The recommendation to replace Menard may have been in reaction to the construction of the new prison, Stateville, which promised to be an ideal environment to implement the Progressive Merit System. The North Cellhouse was renovated in the early 1930s (when it was converted for the new Psychiatric Division) and the South Cellhouse in the late 1940s.

64 Andrew A. Bruce, Albert J. Harno, Ernest W. Burgess, and John Landesco, *The Workings of the Indeterminate-Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois* (1928), 172, 177-8.

65 Frank Krey and J.E. Lamar, *Limestone Resources of Illinois*, Bulletin No. 46 of the State Geological Survey of Illinois (Urbana, Illinois, 1925), 241-2.

66 Donald Clemmer's *The Prison Community* (Boston, Christopher Publishing Co., 1940) documented the existence of "a 'prison culture' " and recognized that " 'prisonization' is a process which inhibits or prevents future normal social living" (James V. Bennett, "Review of *The Prison Community*," *Federal Probation* 51 (June 1987): 83).

67 The cellhouse at the Illinois Asylum for Insane Criminals was recorded for the Illinois HABS program (Cellhouse C, Illinois HABS No. R-1997-1-A). Cellhouse C was designed at the time that William J. Lindstrom was State Supervising Engineer of the Division of Architecture and Engineering. Although further research is necessary to uncover biographical information on Lindstrom, he restored integrity to the state's architectural and engineering agency following a period of minor scandal under his predecessor, architect James Dibelka (1869-1924).

68 Eleventh Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, July 1, 1927 to June 30, 1928, n.p.

69 The East Cellhouse was designed by the Office of the State Supervising Architect, then under the direction of C. Herrick Hammond (1882-1969). Hammond received his architectural education at the Armour Institute (later Illinois Institute of Technology) in Chicago. Prior to becoming State Supervising Architect in 1929, Hammond was a partner in the firm Burnham Brothers and Hammond with Daniel H. and Hubert Burnham, the sons of Daniel Burnham. As state architect, he was responsible for the design of numerous state buildings, including the Neuropsychiatric Institute at the University of Illinois Medical Center (1941). He served as State Supervising Architect until 1952. Among the buildings designed by Hammond that are listed on the National Register of Historic Places are Eastern Illinois University's Health Education Building (1938) and the Berwyn Municipal Building (1939). ("The Grand Tour: Travel Sketches from the Permanent Collection." The Art Institute of Chicago, Summer 1997.)

- 70 During the construction of buildings and the perimeter wall at Stateville earlier in the 1920s, inmate laborers were reported to have attained "a high degree of proficiency in concrete work." (W. Carby's Zimmerman, Albert Moore Saxe, and R.W. Zimmerman, *The New Illinois State Penitentiary at Stateville: A Treatise on Prison Design* (N.p., n.d., [circa 1920s]), 18.)
- 71 Bryant E. Hadley, "Illinois' First State-Owned Monolith," *Architectural Concrete* 1, no. 6 (6 November 1935), 5-7.
- 72 Walter Brieschke, "Menard solitary/laundry/execution chamber."
- 73 The northern depot at Joliet was located in the former Women's Prison; female inmates were relocated to the new Oakdale Reformatory at Dwight in 1931 (later named the Dwight Branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary and Dwight Correctional Center).
- 74 See Menard: Illinois State Penitentiary (Illinois Department of Public Safety, n.d. [circa 1950s]); a copy of this publication is in the collection of the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield, Illinois.
- 75 Prisoners of the "improvable type" and first offenders were classified for the Pontiac Branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary (formerly known as the Illinois State Reformatory), and first or second offenders of the "improvable type" for Joliet-Stateville. (Jacobs, *Stateville: The Penitentiary in Mass Society*, 17; Illinois Prison Inquiry Commission, *The Prison System in Illinois*, 47.)
- 76 A. L. Bowen, Director, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Annual Reports of the Department of Public Welfare, 30 June 1935, 127.
- 77 Of the two cell houses flanking the Administration Building, the North Cellhouse was constructed first. Reports from the mid-1890s state that it was unoccupied, although it is not clear why. It is possible that inadequacies of the original construction made it a less desirable cell house and remodeling may have been the best possible long term use for the building. In February 1950, a three year renovation project reconstructing the cellblock was completed in the South Cellhouse.
- 78 Prison guards, lacking in experience in the care of mental illnesses, were utilized as attendants. The psychiatric, psychological, and sociological services in the Psychiatric Division were conducted by the staff of the Diagnostic Depot at Menard (Nineteenth Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 30 June 1936).
- 79 Hydrotherapy treatments included warm baths given to nervous, jittery patients, reportedly leaving the patient drowsy and inert. This was followed by a cold shower. Catatonic, maniac depressive patients were wrapped in wet sheet packs. Other treatments included massages with hot fomentations and salt glows; electric light cabinet for patients with pleurisy and obesity; infra ray lamp treatments; and sitz baths, perineal douches, and hot and cold compresses. (Annual Report of the Department of Public Safety, July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942, 112.) Hydrotherapy application declined in the late 1940s after electroconvulsive therapy came into wider use.
- 80 Twenty-third Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 30 June 1940, 845. Insulin- and Metrazol-induced and electroconvulsive therapies were developed in the 1930s for the treatment of schizophrenia and other mental illnesses. Only electroconvulsive therapy continued in wide use past the mid-1940s in the United States.
- 81 Nineteenth Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 30 June 1936, 29.

- 82 Twenty-first Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 30 June 1938, 592. Another structure completed that year was a new auditorium and chapel with a capacity of 1,800, a near-identical copy of buildings constructed at Stateville and Pontiac during the same period.
- 83 The hospital building's addition, designed by the State Architect's office under the direction of C. Herrick Hammond, was recorded with the original 1906 building for the Illinois HABS program (Old Hospital, Illinois HABS No. R-1997-1-B).
- 84 In the late 1930s, a specialized tuberculosis hospital was construction at the Pontiac Branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary, which was planned to hold tubercular male inmates from the state's prisons.
- 85 Nathan F. Leopold, Jr., *Life Plus 99 Years* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1958), 231. Although fewer inmates at Menard were equipped to handle high school level work than at Stateville, some 40 inmates participated.
- 86 Illinois Prison Inquiry Commission, *The Prison System in Illinois*, 103-9.
- 87 Twenty-third Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 30 June 1940, 822.
- 88 An Electric Eye building was constructed at Stateville in 1931, with a similar building constructed at Illinois State Penitentiary, Pontiac Branch, in 1936.
- 89 Twenty-third Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 30 June 1940, 823. The training program was suspended after the United States entered World War II, and on-the-job training of guards resumed.
- 90 Jay Earle Miller, "Whipping Post in Use at Menard, Say Prisoners," *Chicago Sun Times*, 24 October 1943.
- 91 Paul Warren, *Next Time is for Life* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1953), 169-70.
- 92 "Menard Convicts Seize 7 Hostages in New Riot," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 28 October 1952, p. 3; "Menard Rioters Threaten to Kill 8 Hostages," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 28 October 1952, p. 1; and "Rebel Felons Agree to Meet Menard Chiefs," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 29 October 1952, p. 1.
- 93 "Felons Spurn Appeal to Set 7 Guards Free," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 30 October 1952, p. 1; "Stevenson Flies to Menard Riot," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 31 October 1952, p. 1; "Adlai Flies to Menard Prison; Convicts Issue Ultimatum," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 31 October 1952, p. 1; and John Bartlow Martin, *Adlai Stevenson of Illinois* (Garden City: New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976) 747-9.
- 94 William E. Doherty, "Menard Prison Riot Smashed," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 1 November 1952, p. 2; Martin, 750; and Joseph D. Bibb, Director, *Annual Report of the Department of Public Safety, for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1952-June 30, 1953*, 48. For a broader perspective, despite its selective and partisan viewpoints, see Reid H. Montgomery and Gordon A. Crews, *A History of Correctional Violence: An Examination of Reported Causes of Riots and Disturbances* (Lanham, Maryland: American Correctional Association, 1998).
- 95 Randolph served as warden at Menard from 1953 until 1965, following which he served as director of the Department of Public Safety until 1970.
- 96 Jeanne Marie Bortz, "A Study of University Level Prisoner Education in Correctional Institution Served by Southern Illinois University Carbondale from 1956 to 1975" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1981), 20-21.

By the mid-1980s, the inmate newspaper *Menard Time* had won nine awards from the Southern Illinois University School of Journalism, when the circulation for the paper extended outside the prison, including inmates' families and inmates at other state correctional facilities. (Laura Kavesh, "Censored Press: Winning Awards Behind Bars," *Chicago Tribune*, 21 June 1984, sec. 5, p. 1.)

97 "University Offers Prison Courses," *The New York Times*, 28 October 1956.

98 Annual Report of the Department of Public Safety, 1961.

99 Bortz, "A Study of University Level Prisoner Education in Correctional Institution Served by Southern Illinois University Carbondale from 1956 to 1975," 52-3. The baccalaureate program was delayed until after the formation of School District #428 in 1972 by the new Illinois Department of Corrections. The liberal arts degree program was initiated in the fall of 1974, with its first three inmate graduates the following July (*Ibid.*, 68-9).

100 Annual Report of the Department of Public Safety, for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1952-June 30, 1953, 40. Other tobacco products were given "brand names" such as "Egyptian Smoking Tobacco," "Pyramid Cigarettes," and others. The tobacco shop at Menard was closed on 25 April 1997.

101 Annual Report of the Department of Public Safety for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1957, 69.

102 Ross V. Randolph, "Automation in Industries," in *Proceedings of the Ninety-fourth Annual Congress of Correction of the American Correctional Association* (Washington, D.C., 1964), 196-200.

103 "Gas Quells Menard Prison Riot," *Chicago Tribune*, 2 May 1973, sec. 1C, p. 1.

104 "Four Guards Freed in Menard Protest," *Chicago Tribune*, 18 May 1974, sec. 1, p. 6.

105 "U.S. Court OKs Death Row Transfer," *Chicago Tribune*, 10 June 1980, sec. 3, p. 5.

106 National Clearinghouse for Criminal Justice Planning and Architecture, *Illinois Corrections Master Plan: Adult Division* (Urbana, Illinois: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, 1977), 168, 173-8.

107 *Ibid.*, 175.

108 Unit Management has been defined as "an approach to inmate and institutional administration designed to improve control and relationships by dividing a large institution into smaller, more manageable groups" (Roy E. Gerard, former Assistant Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, quoted in Ira J. Silverman, *Corrections: A Comprehensive View*, Second edition (Belmont, California: Wadsworth/Thompson Learning, 2001).

109 Jean Davidson, "Targeted for Cost-Cutters, Menard Fights for its Life," *Chicago Tribune*, 25 June 1987, sec. 2, p. 6.

110 Alan Mairson, "The Great Flood of '93," *National Geographic* (January 1994): 51-81; Ron Willnow, editor, "The High and Mighty: The Flood of '93," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, special issue, 1993.

111 Documented as Illinois HABS No. R-1997-1-E.