

**THE RURAL ALMSHOUSE POPULATION
IN MISSOURI**

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COOPERATIVE RURAL RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the rural almshouse in Missouri. The various types of almshouse administration and methods of inmate care are defined and described, together with the social characteristics of the inmate population.

As a matter of considerable contemporary interest an analysis was made of the eligibility of inmates for old age assistance in order to determine the extent to which counties might be relieved of their inmate population through this type of public assistance. Examination of data on nearly 3,000 inmates indicated that more than one-half (52.4 per cent) were under 70 years of age which is the present minimum age limit for old age assistance. It was further determined that at least one-half of the ones eligible due to age were not likely to be approved for old age assistance since they were either physically or mentally disabled. It was concluded that less than one-fourth of the total inmate population might qualify for old age assistance and that additional provisions would be necessary if the rural counties are to be relieved of the care of their almshouse population.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Study of the rural almshouse population in Missouri was planned and instigated in 1933 by the late E. L. Morgan, Chairman of the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, and it is due to his endeavors and belief in a sound basis for rural social planning that this report is possible.

Special acknowledgment is due also to Ellen Winston, Analyst, of the Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, for a critical reading of the manuscript; to members of the Rural Research Staff; and to the Superintendents of county farms and local individuals who cooperated in providing the original data.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STUDY

This study was conducted under the cooperative plan of rural research, responsibility being assumed jointly by the Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Missouri, The Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, and the State Social Security Commission of Missouri. Responsibility for preparation of the manuscript and completion of the study was assumed by Dr. C. T. Pihlblad, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri; Arthur W. Nebel, Director, Division of Public Assistance, State Social Security Commission; Joseph H. Stokes, County Secretary-Director, State Social Security Commission; Melvin W. Sneed, Acting State Supervisor of Rural Research, and Cecil L. Gregory, Assistant State Supervisor.

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INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

From early times, the county poorhouse has been the traditional American institution for the care of the dependent poor of the county. Originating in the poor laws of Queen Elizabeth, it was imported from England by the colonists and has come down to us with little change as the last refuge which cannot be denied the destitute, too old or too feeble in body and mind to provide for their own support.

The sweeping changes of the past few years, which are so rapidly modifying our methods for the relief of poverty and dependency, have not greatly affected the rural almshouse. Just what place this ancient institution is to occupy in our programs of social and economic security is a question to which we have devoted little thought. This has been particularly true of Missouri as well as other states. Not since 1904, when Dr. C. A. Ellwood published a study of Missouri almshouses,¹ has any serious attempt been made to examine these institutions and their inmate populations. With the organization in the state of new systems of care for the aged, for dependent children, the unemployed, the insane and feeble-minded and other groups, it would seem appropriate to take some stock of the almshouse to see where--if at all--it fits into the picture.

Statements are often made that the almshouse no longer has a function, that it has become largely an institution for the indigent aged who will in the future be cared for under the Old Age Assistance program. It is also claimed that the poorhouse is largely peopled by the insane and feeble-minded who can better be cared for in state hospitals. These local institutions are criticized as inefficient and expensive and are said to have no place in modern systems of public

care for the dependent. The wisdom of such assertions can only be tested when the facts are available. The time seems particularly ripe for careful study and evaluation of the county almshouses. The data contained in this study should be of considerable significance to both state and county officials who are charged with responsibility for the administration of Missouri's public welfare program. They should also be of interest to the general public which has a stake in the efficient and economical administration of county government and county institutions. It is with this objective in mind that these facts are made public. The study specifically aims to describe the general characteristics and types of rural almshouses and their inmates in Missouri. It is intended to point out some of the significant features regarding present systems of operation and control and to show the size and composition of the inmate population.

SCOPE

The data used in this report are the result of two surveys. The first, a study of the rural almshouse population in Missouri, was made in 1933 by the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, and was part of a Federal Civil Works Service Project.¹ This survey was state-wide and included 94 rural almshouses. Since it was designed as a rural study, the counties of Buchanan, Greene, Jackson, and St. Louis were omitted because they contain cities larger than 50,000. Butler and Mississippi Counties were omitted because data were not available. The counties of Benton, Camden, Carter, Hickory, Knox, Madison, Oregon, Ozark, Phelps, Reynolds, Ripley, Stone, Taney and Wayne did not maintain almshouses, but their public charges were included whenever sufficient data were

¹ Ellwood, C. A., Conditions of County Almshouses of Missouri, 1904.

¹ This project was conducted jointly with the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission.

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available.^{1/}

In 1935 a second study was made through the Department of Rural Sociology in cooperation with the Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. This inquiry was extended to include 96 rural almshouses in the State. (Data for almshouses in Butler and Mississippi Counties were obtained for this study). Data were obtained regarding the systems of almshouse operation and methods of administration in addition to those relating to the following characteristics of the almshouse population: number and geographical distribution of inmates; sex, age, racial, and marital distribution; reasons for admittance; length of residence in almshouse; previous gainful occupation; pre-

sent physical and mental conditions. An attempt was also made to procure facts concerning the cost of operation and the distribution of expenditures according to purpose. However, upon examination of the financial records, it was found that they lacked uniformity and were entirely inadequate for that purpose.

PROCEDURE

Data were obtained largely on schedules through personal interviews by field representatives. When schedules were incomplete, attempts were made to secure the necessary information from other sources. The principal source of supplementary information was the State Auditor's office where certain data relating to almshouse operations are recorded periodically. Completed schedules and secondary data were assembled in the Department of Rural Sociology where they were tabulated and summarized by the Missouri Rural Research staff. Simple statistical methods were used in the analysis.

^{1/} Knox County sends its charges to the Marion County Institution and the remaining thirteen counties place their dependents in private homes. Wayne County had no inmates in 1935.

I ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL

THE ALMSHOUSE DEFINED

The traditional institution for the relief (care) of the poor and indigent in America is the almshouse or poorhouse. It is a part of a system of public welfare for which the English poor law furnished the pattern. Firmly established in the early colonies, it was carried westward by the descendants of the colonists and gradually came to be the "fundamental institution in American poor relief" in every American commonwealth.^{1/}

The almshouse is an institution which represents the principle of local responsibility for the care of the needy, a principle which has been central in our

theory concerning responsibility of the State for the care of indigence and dependency. Missouri has a general poor law which provides that all aged, infirm, blind, or sick persons who are residents and who are unable to support themselves or have no one to support them may be relieved, maintained, and supported by the county in which they are inhabitants. The almshouse is the primary institution designed to carry out the purpose of this law.^{1/} Since most Missouri counties do not have an urban center, the almshouse is primarily a rural institution serving farm and village people.

As has been pointed out in earlier investigations, there is no common agreement as to the name to be applied to institutions which are studied here. A variety of euphemistic names substitute for the term "almshouse" with all its unpleasant connotations. As Johnson points out, the

^{1/} For the history of the almshouse see Ellwood, C. A., *Public Relief and Private Charity in England*; Calcott, Mary S., *Principles of Social Legislation, 1932*, pp. 56-57; Gillen, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, pp. 185-214; Kelso, Robert W., *The Sciences of Public Welfare*, pp. 198-204.

^{1/} R. S., Mo., 1929, Secs. 12950, 12951, 12957.

term "almshouse" is most frequently used in New England and in some of the Eastern states, while the Middle West commonly uses the term "poorhouse".^{1/} Other terms used in some states are: "county infirmary", "county home", "county asylum", and "county hospital". In Missouri one finds the terms "almshouse", "county infirmary", "county farm", and "county home" most common.^{2/} The terms "almshouse" or "county home" will be used in this study. The legal term used in Missouri is "poorhouse".^{3/}

In most of the Middle Western states the functions of administering county institutions are vested in an elective board or commission variously known as "county commissioners" or "county supervisors". In Missouri this body is known as a board of "county judges" or the "County Court", but exercises the same function as the "county commissioners" or "board of supervisors" of other states. It is not a judicial body and as such, the supervision of the county institutions is not in the hands of "courts" as is implied in a study of almshouses published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.^{4/}

In addition to the direct responsibility for control of the almshouse by the county authority, some degree of supervision is maintained in many states by state official bodies in the field of public welfare. This has been true in Missouri where such supervision has been exercised by the State Board of Charities and Corrections. This Board has had the power to require annual reports and make periodic investigations into the conditions of county almshouses.^{5/} In 1933, however, the legal title "State Board of Charities and Corrections" was abolished and some of its functions were allocated

to the Board of Managers of the state eleemosynary institutions.^{1/} Some degree of supervision over financial administration is also exercised by the State Auditor who receives annual financial reports from the County Clerks concerning the affairs of the counties.^{2/}

TYPES OF CARE

There are five distinct systems of institutional or "indoor" care of the poor in operation in Missouri counties.^{3/} In the first type, the county maintains a farm on which all inmates live. This is the most common type. It is maintained by 88 counties and houses 2,562 inmates, or 88.2 per cent of the total. Under the second plan the county maintains a home to which no farm is attached. Four counties with 119 inmates, representing 4.1 per cent of the total, use this plan. The third plan provides for both farm and home maintained separately. Four counties with 97 inmates, involving 3.3 per cent of the total, operate under this scheme. Under the fourth plan no institution is maintained. All the county charges are boarded in private homes on contract.^{4/} Twelve counties operate under this plan, with 122 cases or 4.2 per cent of the total. Under the fifth plan the county sends its charges to other counties for care. One county with five individuals, representing 0.2 per cent of the total, makes such provision. The number of inmates and counties under the different types of care is shown in the accompanying Table 1 and Appendix Table I.

TYPES OF OPERATION

In common with a number of other states, Missouri counties use one of two methods or types of operation of alms-

^{1/} Johnson, Alexander, The Almshouse Construction and Management, p. 7.
^{2/} Report, Missouri State Board of Charities and Corrections, Vol. 12, June, 1919, p. 2.
^{3/} R. S., Mo., 1929, Secs. 12956-12960, inclusive.
^{4/} Stewart, Estelle, Cost of American Almshouses, Bul. No. 386, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 2.
^{5/} R. S., Mo., 1929, Sec. 12929.

^{1/} Session Laws, 1933, p. 400.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 340.

^{3/} Information based on 1935 study.

^{4/} In 1904 Ellwood found that 21 counties maintained no almshouse but boarded their paupers with farmers. (Ellwood, C. A., op. cit., p. 4).

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF INMATES AND COUNTIES, BY TYPE OF INMATE CARE, 1935

Type Of Care	Inmates		Counties	
	No.	%	No.	%
All Types	2,905	100.0	109	100.0
I ^{1/}	2,562	88.2	88	80.7
II ^{2/}	119	4.1	4	3.7
III ^{3/}	97	3.3	4	3.7
IV ^{4/}	122	4.2	12	11.0
V ^{5/}	5	0.2	1	0.9

1/ County maintains a farm.

2/ County maintains a home with no farm included.

3/ County maintains separately both a building and farm for county charges.

4/ County boards its public charges with private individuals by contract.

5/ County sends charges to almshouses of neighboring counties.

houses.^{1/} These are: (1) direct management by county officials through a hired superintendent; (2) the contract or lease system. Under the first of these plans a superintendent and staff are employed at a fixed salary per month which generally includes family maintenance. The institution operates on an annual appropriation from the County Court or the bills are simply paid by the court. Under this system the hired manager is directly responsible to the court and through them to the public for the economical and humane administration of the almshouse.^{2/} Under the contract or lease system responsibility is less definitely fixed. The "county home" or "farm" may be leased to an operator who takes care of the farm and furnishes full maintenance for all the inmates for a stipulated amount per inmate per month. Another method is to lease the farm at an annual rental to the

highest bidder. The lessee agrees to furnish board for the inmates at a stated figure per month and is allowed to keep any surplus which he may produce. Other items of maintenance are furnished by the county.

In general, the lease and contract systems have been--or are being--abandoned both in Missouri and in other states. In Connecticut, Indiana, and Utah the practice is forbidden by law. Under such a system the worst abuses--including the exploitation of the county poor--are reported to have developed. From the earliest years of its existence the State Board of Charities and Corrections in Missouri has condemned the contract system. However, in 1908 thirty-six counties were still reported using it.^{1/} In 1913 in its Eighth Biennial report, the State Board reported: "One-third of the county homes are operated under what is generally known as the lease system". At that time the Board again condemned the system and gave as evidence of its disappearance the fact that "during the last nine years, half the counties which had the lease system have abandoned it for the salary system".^{2/} In the Ninth Biennial report, 1915, thirty counties were still reported as using the lease system and in the Tenth Biennial report, 1917, thirty-one counties. In 1925 the study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported numerous cases of the contract system in Missouri.^{3/}

Data on this point were not made available through the two surveys included in the present study. That the lease system, however, is still in use is indicated in statements provided by some of the field workers who gathered the data in the 1933 study. The systems in use in some counties are indicated in the following excerpts from some of the statements:

1/ Stewart, Estelle, op. cit., p. 5.

2/ According to a report of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year 1923-24, 88 per cent of 2,183 almshouses were managed under this system and 12 per cent were under contract or lease plan. (Monthly Labor Review, November, 1925, p. 28).

1/ Report, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Appendix, Missouri Legislature, 45th General Assembly, 1909.

2/ State Board of Charities and Corrections, Eighth Biennial Report, 1913.

3/ Stewart, Estelle, op. cit., p. 7.

"..... County does not provide for a salaried administrator, but accepts the lowest bid from those submitted for the care of the inmates. The superintendent is paid \$10.50 per inmate per month by the county".

"..... County uses a combination farm-and-contract system. The county contracts with the superintendent to supply food to the indigent at so much per inmate. The superintendent is not paid a salary".

"..... County uses a combination farm-and-contract system. The County Court selects the superintendent from among the lowest bidders".

"..... County retains the contract system. The superintendent is chosen from among the lowest bidders without regard to capability or training. He is being paid \$15.00 per inmate per month to cover expenses for room, board, and clothing. The superintendent farms the land and the vegetables grown are used to feed the inmates".

"..... County owns an 80 acre farm and contracts with a private individual to act as superintendent and to feed and clothe the inmates. The county pays the

superintendent \$12.50 per inmate per month".

"..... County has no almshouse or farm, but contracts with farm families for the care of the aged and mental defectives. At the present time the entire group of seventeen is kept in one boarding home at a cost to the county of \$12.25 per inmate per month. The amount allocated by the county is expected to cover food, clothing, medical care, and burial costs".

"..... County does not maintain an almshouse. The system of boarding out is employed and the amount paid each individual "boarding family" varies according to the physical ability of the recipient to work. If the client is able to help on the farm, \$5.00 per quarter (every three months) is paid to the family. Amounts paid for the care of the physically and mentally disabled range from \$25.00 to \$50.00 per quarter".

The above statements are typical of the counties which were reported as using some form of the contract or lease system. They do indicate that the practice of leasing or contracting out the care of paupers is still used by some Missouri counties.

II. PERSONNEL AND MANAGEMENT

The statutes provide for the appointment of a superintendent to operate the institution and care for the inmates. The qualifications of the superintendent and other terms connected with the appointment are not clearly defined, except that the person selected is to be a fit and discreet individual.^{1/} In every county except one, where the lease system of management is employed, the almshouse superintendent is reported to be a political appointee of the County Court and accordingly is subject to dismissal if the administration of the county changes. Fortunately, however, many of the superintendents have survived the wholesale changes which usually take place in county offices with every change in administration. One superintendent has served

the county in this capacity for twelve years, while another has been superintendent for nine years.

The chief qualification considered by the County Court in its selection of the superintendent is his ability as a farmer. This was found to be significant by talking to County Court judges who mentioned the necessity of economical operation of the almshouse and the need of practical farming experience by the superintendent. Apparently little emphasis is placed on professional training and experience of the superintendent since eleven of the thirteen superintendents interviewed had no formal education beyond the eighth grade. As to the former occupations of the superintendents, farming was followed by ten before their appointment and in the other three cases, one was a retail merchant, one a butcher, and one a salesman. These occupations are to be under-

^{1/} R. S. Mo., 1929, Sec. 12958.

stood as referring to the work pursued by the superintendents immediately prior to appointment and do not represent the total work history of the individuals.

If conditions in almshouses depend to a certain degree upon the character and efficiency of the administrative staff, then it is reasonable to assume that only individuals with adequate professional training and experience should be chosen. We are prone to accept the management of our almshouses in a rather indifferent manner and give little thought or consideration to the type of individuals selected to manage and direct the daily activities of our indigent poor. The position of almshouse superintendents, if successfully followed, requires much more skill and ability of the person selected than many people believe. In reality, the almshouse superintendent must not only possess a great amount of skill in handling the business and operating details of the almshouse proper, but must also be a skillful farmer in order to keep down the operating expenses. Unfortunately, this latter provision has received much more emphasis than the other phases of the work. If the superintendent performed all his duties with equal ability and efficiency he would need to qualify not only as a successful farmer, but also as a capable executive and manager of a public institution, and as a professional social worker. It can perhaps be said that the usual almshouse superintendent is able and equipped to perform the work in connection with the farm activities, but is not equipped by reason of training or experience to perform the other responsibilities of the almshouse superintendent. Care of the aged poor requires the skilled services of persons trained in the art of social treatment and understanding. In addition, care of mental and physical problems requires special skills seldom possessed by the superintendent. Apparently the almshouse is not operated with the intention of alleviating the cares of old people in their few remaining years, but merely as a thing of necessity. In Missouri it appears that almshouses are maintained and operated because the counties feel that they provide the most economical way to

take care of their county charges, whether they be the aged, the mentally ill, the physically ill, the crippled, the blind, or the unemployed.

Management of the county almshouse in Missouri is primarily a family affair. The family of the superintendent, in most instances, constitutes the administrative staff and responsibility for operation of the farm and care of the inmates becomes the duty of the superintendent and his wife. In a number of instances the superintendent's children also assist with the work but do not receive compensation from the county. The superintendent is paid a salary, ranging from about \$50.00 per month in the smaller counties to about \$100.00 per month in the larger ones, in addition to full maintenance for his family. In the larger almshouses, however, additional help such as cooks, attendants, and farm hands is necessary; these are paid by the county. Salaries paid cooks range from \$20.00 per month to \$40.00 per month; attendants receive on the average \$20.00 per month in addition to full maintenance; and farm hands receive from 75¢ to \$1.00 per day. It must be remembered that much of the farm work and duties about the home are performed by the able-bodied inmates who are required by statute to do useful labor by reasonable and humane coercion.¹ Although the inmates are not always physically able to perform strenuous tasks, they are able to do the numerous small tasks assigned them, thus obviating the necessity for additional paid labor.

The superintendent, upon taking charge of the institution, is required by law to furnish bond to the State in a sum not less than \$500.00 or more than \$3,000.00, upon condition that he will faithfully perform and execute the duties assigned to him. This bond must be approved by the County Court and filed with the County Clerk.² This provision of the law does not apply, however, to counties employing the contract and lease system.

¹/ R. S., Mo., 1929, Sec. 12959.
²/ R. S., Mo., 1929, Sec. 12966.

Since the operation of the farm demands and occupies most of the superintendent's time, the major responsibility for managing the almshouse and caring for the inmates usually becomes the task of his wife. Her work, however, entails far greater responsibility, from a social point of view, for she has the direct care of the inmates and the management and direction of the household. As a rule she has only the help of her children and some assistance given by the inmates. Of her many duties perhaps the greatest and most difficult task is in the care and nursing of the indigent sick. The significance of this responsibility is reflected in the figures shown in Appendix Table VI and will be discussed further in the following section.

In view of the large number of inmates requiring special attention, it would seem that their care could impose an unusual burden upon the almshouse matron. In addition, it appears that matrons are seldom equipped--either by training or experience--to perform the

rather specialized duties involved in the care of the invalid and the defective. The proper care and attention necessary to meet physical and medical needs of this class demand the regular services of trained personnel. Kindliness and understanding are not enough in the treatment of these mental and physical cases. Very few counties even provide for an initial physical examination upon commitment. In addition, there is needed an adequate knowledge of methods of treatment for individual problems. Furthermore, very few almshouses are equipped with facilities to care adequately for their sick inmates. In most cases hospital arrangements and provision for proper segregation of cases of communicable diseases are also lacking. In some of the larger counties special facilities for hospitalization are provided and trained nurses are employed. However, the use of professional nursing service was found in only four counties and even there was not considered adequate.

III. ALMSHOUSES AND ALMSHOUSE INMATES

SIZE OF ALMSHOUSE

The smallest institution in the State was reported in Washington County. Here there were only three inmates in 1933 and nine in 1935. Six almshouses had less than ten inmates. Of those included, the Jasper County home was the largest in 1933 with 128 inmates, while in 1935 Marion County had the largest number with 92 (Appendix Table II).

A distribution of almshouses according to size is shown in Table 2 and Figure 1. Here it is indicated that more than one-half had less than 30 inmates in both 1933 and 1935. The median sized institution in 1933 was 26; in 1935 it was 24. In 1933 the average number of inmates was 31.6 and in 1935, 29.3. In 1933, 32 per cent of the total almshouse population was being cared for in institutions having fewer than 30 inmates while 36 per cent were in county homes of this size in 1935.

In the former year 74 or 79.6 per

cent of the almshouses had less than 45 inmates, but in 1935 there were 81. Only three institutions reported 75 or more inmates in 1933. These contained 10.8 per cent of all inmates at that time. By 1935 this number of county homes of this size had decreased to two. The decline which occurred in the number of inmates housed in the larger institutions in 1935 may be partially ascribed to the transfer to state hospitals of some of the insane. Previously the cost to each county for the care of insane patients in state hospitals was \$18.00 per month.^{1/} In 1934, however, the state assumed \$12.00 or two-thirds of the cost.^{2/} Consequently, many counties found state care cheaper than maintenance in the almshouse.

As the above data indicate, most of the Missouri almshouses are small institutions and as such, probably share the

^{1/} R. S., Mo., 1929, Vol. 2, Sec. 8636.
^{2/} Session Laws, 1935, Sec. 46c, p. 177.

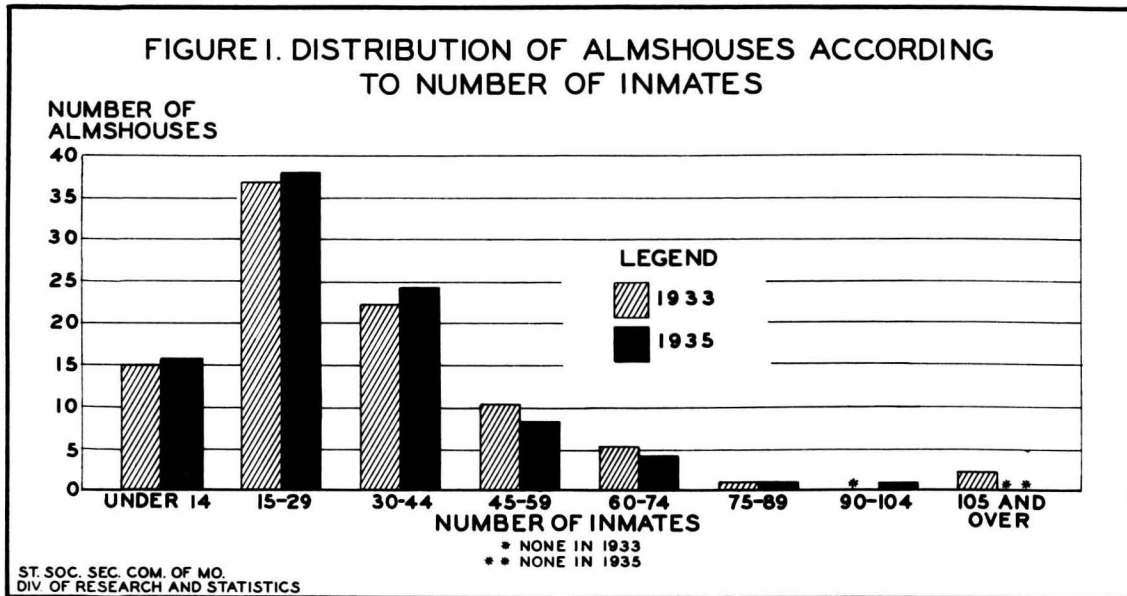
TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF ALMSHOUSES AND INMATES, BY SIZE OF ALMSHOUSE, 1933 AND 1935

Number Of Inmates	Almshouses				Inmates			
	1933		1935		1933		1935	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total ^{1/}	93	100.0	93	100.0	2,941	100.0	2,724	100.0
0 - 14	15	16.1	16	17.2	151	5.1	155	5.7
15 - 29	37	39.8	38	40.8	789	26.8	823	30.2
30 - 44	22	23.7	24	25.8	782	26.6	861	31.6
45 - 59	10	10.8	8	8.6	527	17.9	389	14.3
60 - 74	6	6.4	5	5.4	376	12.8	317	11.6
75 - 89	1	1.1	1	1.1	76	2.6	87	3.2
90 - 104			1	1.1			92	3.4
105 -and over	2	2.1			240	8.2		

^{1/} Includes 93 counties for which the number of inmates was available for both 1933 and 1935.

defects found in such places the country over. Other studies have shown that as the size of the institution increases, there is a decrease in per capita inmate

cost. ^{1/} Not only is the cost of maintain-
^{1/} Stewart, Estelle, op. cit., pp. 42-48; also, Clark, Mary V., "The Passing of the County Farm", The Survey, July 26, 1919.



ing the small almshouse high, but the kind of care provided is most meager. The situation may be summed up in the statement that the small institution probably provides the poorest kind of care at the highest cost. One of the principal reasons for this seems to be that many of them are operated under the contract system. In the present study all of the institutions reported with the contract system were small. Where the number of inmates is small, public attention is not readily attracted and the existing abuses continue to escape remedial measures. The large number of small rural institutions suggests rather pointedly the possibility of cooperation among adjacent counties through consolidation of this administrative function. This is now possible through legislative enactment. ^{1/}

AGE COMPOSITION

A distribution of inmates according to age is shown in Table 3 and Figure 2. These data were reported by the superintendents or attendants at the institutions. In many cases the ages were estimated. This contributed to a disproportionate number of cases being reported for ages which are multiples of five. The present distribution, based on a class interval of eight years, was selected as the one best describing the present age data.

The ages ranged from one year (reported in two counties) to 107 years. There were six persons reported as being more than 100 years old. The average was 65.2 years and the median 68.6 while the mode was 75.

Students of poverty have frequently pointed out that the almshouse is increasingly becoming an institution for the aged. ^{2/} Studies of the Census Bureau over a period of 40 years show an increasing proportion of cases over 50 years of age. In the last study available 18.9 per cent of the almshouse population is reported as under 50 years. ^{3/}

In Missouri 17 per cent of the inmates were under 50 in 1935; about 40 per cent were less than 65 years, while a little more than 50 per cent were under 70. Two age groups which contain a large share of the total population were those ranging from 68 to 80 years. Here there were 1,349 cases, or 46 per cent of the total. It was found that 388 individuals or 14.6 per cent of the total were more than 80 years old. This is just 3 per cent less than the total of those under 50 years.

The heterogeneous age composition of the population is indicative of a condition which has been pointed out in other studies--that almshouses contain a considerable number of persons whose claim to public care does not grow out of incapacities associated with old age. Among the younger inmates we find the feeble-minded, insane, crippled, blind and deaf, chronic invalids, etc. While many of the aged are also mentally defective and deteriorated, a great number of them are old people who have preserved a certain degree of morale and self respect and feel keenly the stigma of pauperism with which the almshouse is associated. Enforced association of this class with the abnormal types mentioned above is one of the demoralizing aspects of almshouse care. It should also be remarked that other institutions are much better suited to the care of the mentally and physically incapacitated than is the almshouse. This point will be dealt with more fully in connection with the discussion of the care of the feeble-minded and insane.

SEX COMPOSITION

There were more than twice as many men in almshouses as there were women. In 1935, 1,977 or 68.1 per cent were men and 928 or 31.9 per cent were women (Appendix Table III). The 1933 study did not classify males and females separately except as they were reported by marital status. There are some duplications in these figures, but of the 3,886 inmates included in this classification, 2,730 or 73 per cent were men and 1,156 or 27 per cent were women. In only ten counties did the number of women exceed the number of men. In 1915 the report of the State Board of

^{1/} R. S., Mo., 1929, Vol. 2, Sec. 12090.

^{2/} Gillen, John L., Poverty and Dependency: Their Relief and Prevention, p. 194.

^{3/} U. S. Bureau of the Census, Paupers in Almshouses, 1923, p. 11, Table 8.

 THE RURAL ALMSHOUSE POPULATION IN MISSOURI

Charities and Corrections stated that "in the average county there are about two men to one woman".^{1/} Therefore, it appears that this proportion has prevailed for a long period of time. The ratio of the sexes was the same as that reported by studies of the Census Bureau.^{2/}

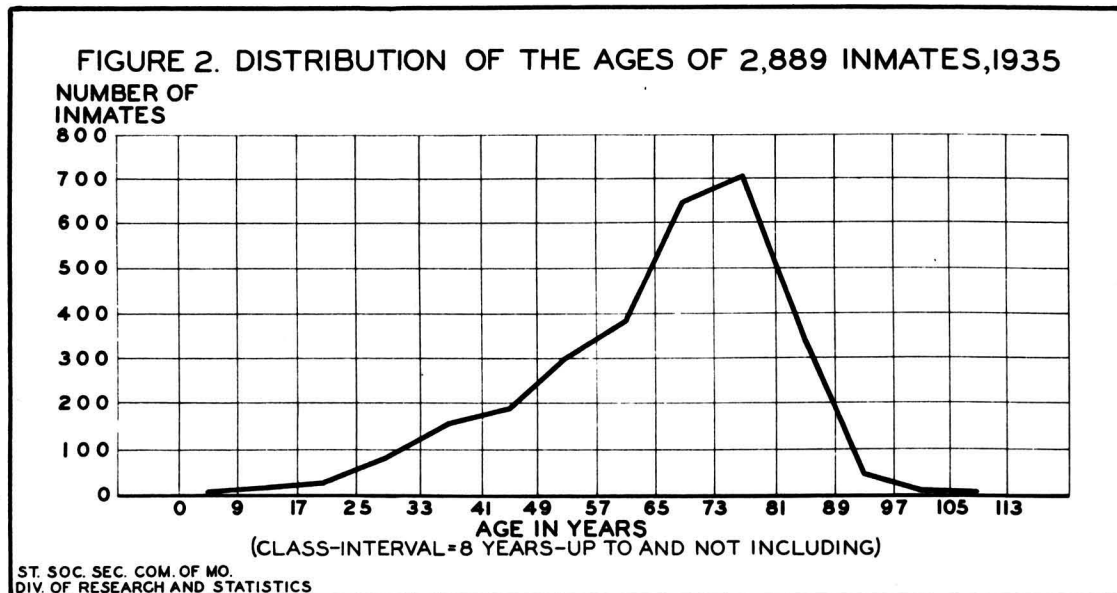
The reasons for the disproportion between the sexes are not entirely clear. Perhaps it is true that relatives are more willing to assist women than men. It may also be that County Courts give "out-door" relief to women more readily than to men. It is likewise possible that men are less reluctant to enter an almshouse than women. Another reason that appears feasible is the fact that in the general population there are more unattached men^{3/} than women. Tramps and transients, who

TABLE 3. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INMATES, 1935.

Age In Years	Inmates	
	No.	%
All Ages	2,889 ^{1/}	100.0
0 - 8	6	0.2
9 - 16	17	0.6
17 - 24	26	0.9
25 - 32	81	2.8
33 - 40	152	5.3
41 - 48	188	6.5
49 - 56	300	10.4
57 - 64	382	13.2
65 - 72	647	22.4
73 - 80	702	24.4
81 - 88	333	11.5
89 - 96	47	1.6
97 - 104	7	0.2
105 - 112	1	*

^{1/} Tenth Biennial Report of State Board of Charities and Corrections, Bulletin No. 2, 1917, p.
^{2/} Paupers in Almshouses, 1923, pp. 12 and 13.
^{3/} Men without family ties.

^{1/} Excluding 16 inmates for whom no data were reported.
 * Less than one-tenth of one per cent.



quite often find their way into the almshouse, are almost always men. Since a much larger proportion of males than females is engaged in gainful occupations and inasmuch as a larger proportion of males than females is directly dependent for a livelihood upon their earnings as gainful workers, it is probable that males more frequently than females become dependent because of lack of employment. And since, as a rule, man's work requires greater physical exertion than does a woman's work, it is possible that men who are physically unable to do a full day's work find it more difficult to secure employment than do women similarly situated. Partially incapacitated women may find employment in domestic service or housework, but in no field of labor is there a similar demand for the service of partially incapacitated men.

MARITAL STATUS

The marital status of inmates in fifty county almshouses for 1933 and 1935 is presented in Appendix Table IV. The total number of inmates included was 1,656 in 1933 and 1,192 in 1935. In 1933 the married amounted to 15 per cent of the total and in 1935, 4 per cent. For the widowed the percentages were 40 and 42, and for the single, 45 and 54 for the two years respectively. For both years the per cent of widowed and married was somewhat higher among females than males. Single persons made up a considerably larger proportion of the men than of the women in both years.

A more complete marital distribution was obtained by using only the data compiled for the year 1935 (Table 4 and Figure 3). Here it is indicated that a relatively large number of persons had never had marital ties. For the whole group 50.7 per cent or more than one-half had never been married. The proportion of single persons in the almshouse population was about five times greater than that of the state population comprised of similar age groups. For the latter in the age group 50 to 54, only 10.9 per cent of the men and 8.6 per cent of the women were single. For each succeeding five-year group the per cent single was 10 or

less.^{1/} These data indicate clearly that pauperism is associated with lack of normal family life.^{2/} The large proportion of the unmarried as compared with the state population is principally due to two factors. In the first place, the almshouse contains many who are physically incapacitated and mentally incompetent. Such people are likely to be industrially deficient and to lack personal qualities appealing to the opposite sex; that is, the same factors which account for their failure to marry also explain in part the reasons for their commitment to almshouses. In the second place, single persons are obviously more likely to reach old age without anyone either legally or morally responsible for their care and to end their days as public charges. It is well known that the professional tramp and hobo quite commonly find a final haven of refuge in a county almshouse which is not too careful in the observation of residence requirements for admission.

The larger proportion of single men than single women in almshouses may, to a small degree, be accounted for by the larger number of single men in the population. This difference of about 2 per cent is not significant enough, however, to account for the greater difference of 54.6 per cent for males and 42.2 per cent for females found in almshouses. Explanations may lie in the fact that the unmarried woman in old age is more likely than the old man to find a place in the home of relatives or other persons. It is also possible that aged women more easily find places in homes for the aged than do men.^{3/}

Table 4 shows further that 42.0 per cent of the almshouse population was comprised of widowed persons. If only those above 65 or 70 had been considered, a still larger per cent of the total would have been widowed. The proportion widowed was 47.5 per cent for females and only 39.3 per cent for males. It is also true that the proportion of widows consider-

^{1/} Fifteenth Census of the United States, Vol. 11, 1930, p. 880.

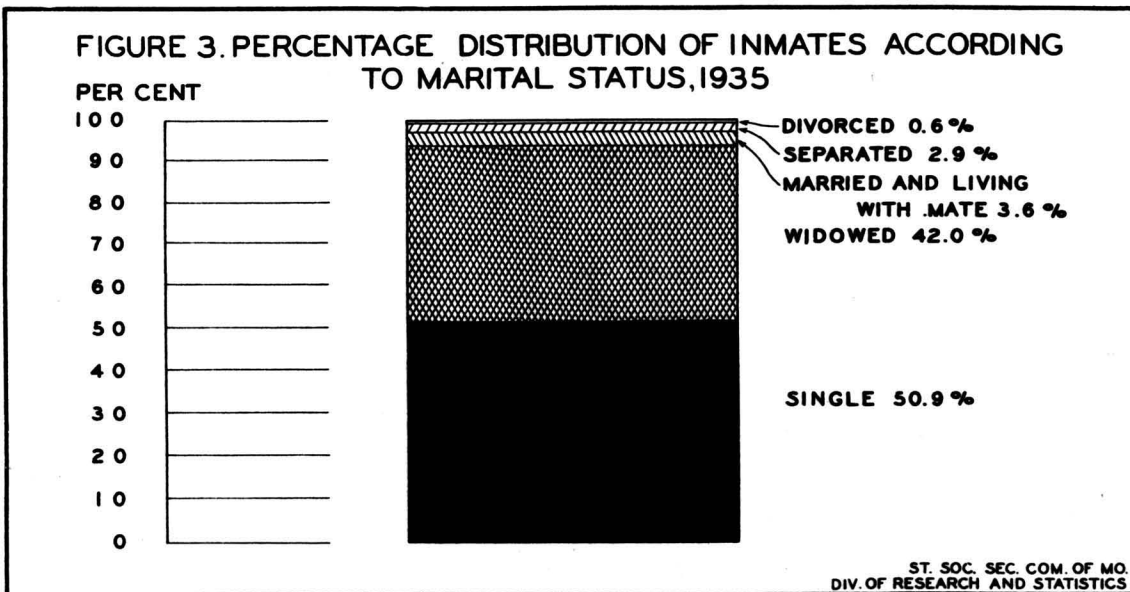
^{2/} United States Bureau of the Census, *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, p. 27.

^{3/} Gillen, John L., *op. cit.*, p. 195.

TABLE 4. MARITAL STATUS OF INMATES, CLASSIFIED BY COLOR AND SEX, 1935

Sex And Color	Marital Status											
	All Inmates		Single		Widowed		Married And Living With Mate		Separated		Divorced	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	2,894 ^{1/}	100.0	1,474	50.9	1,214	42.0	104	3.6	84	2.9	18	0.6
Male	1,968	100.0	1,081	54.9	774	39.3	52	2.7	50	2.5	11	0.6
Female	926	100.0	393	42.4	440	47.5	52	5.6	34	3.7	7	0.8
White	2,770	100.0	1,403	50.7	1,166	42.1	100	3.6	83	3.0	18	0.6
Male	1,877	100.0	1,028	54.6	740	39.4	50	2.7	50	2.7	11	0.6
Female	893	100.0	377	42.2	426	47.7	50	5.6	33	3.7	7	0.8
Negro	124	100.0	71	57.3	48	38.7	4	3.2	1	0.8		
Male	91	100.0	55	60.4	34	37.4	2	2.2				
Female	33	100.0	16	48.5	14	42.4	2	6.1	1	3.0		

^{1/} Excluding 11 inmates for whom no data were reported.



ably exceeds widowers in the population as a whole, a fact due partly to the longer duration of life among women and partly because the wife is usually younger than her husband. Likewise, men are somewhat more likely to remarry.

The number divorced and separated was negligible with only 18 cases reported in the former and 84 in the latter. The proportion divorced was considerably smaller than in the general population. In 104 or 6 per cent of the total number of cases the man and wife were reported married and living together in almshouses.

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION

Data concerning the former occupations of 2,813 inmates in 109 counties are presented in Appendix Table V. The occupations are those reported as formerly followed by the inmates prior to commitment to the institutions. They were classified into six general categories, and in each a substantial number of cases was found. Those which could not be classified were grouped together as "all others". In addition the classifications "none" and "never worked" were added. There were 282 who reported no occupation; these persons were not occupied at the time of commitment, but may have worked previously. Inmates whose physical and mental deficiencies incapacitated them for any gainful occupation were included as "never worked".

For males, farming and common labor were the most important and it is likely that a considerable number of those who reported themselves as farmers were farm laborers. Only 10 per cent were reported in the skilled trades and only 1 per cent were classed as clerical or professional. In the case of women two occupations predominated; 46.9 per cent or almost one-half were housewives, while 24.6 per cent or about one-fourth were domestics.^{1/} A negligible number were found in occupations requiring special skills or formal

training.

The foregoing seems to indicate that many of the inmates came from the least paying occupations as well as those requiring little skill and little formal education. Due to the high average age of the inmates, no valid conclusions could be drawn from a comparison of the occupational composition of the almshouse population and that of the state at large. Such a comparison, however, would undoubtedly show--as might be expected--that the inmates of almshouses came dominantly from the lowest economic strata of the general population.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

An important problem with reference to the population of Missouri almshouses is its mobility. This matter involves the question of whether almshouses are havens of refuge for indigent persons seeking temporary shelter and food during a part of the year, or are permanent homes for the incapacitated and aged. The information in Table 5 and Figure 4 gives a partial answer to the question. From these data it appears that the Missouri almshouse is a temporary shelter for an appreciable number of inmates. It was found that 404 cases or 14 per cent had been in residence less than six months, while 646 or almost one-fourth had resided less than one year. These data and the fact that almshouses provide temporary havens of refuge for indigent persons are substantiated by the Census Bureau.^{1/} In 1910, 30.5 per cent of the almshouse population had been in the institutions less than a year. In 1923 approximately seven out of eight or 87.1 per cent of all persons discharged or transferred during the previous year had been in the almshouse less than a year since last admission.

The Missouri data show--at the other extreme--a small proportion of inmates who had resided in the almshouse for a much longer period. A very few had spent most of their lives in the institution. One inmate had been in the county home

^{1/} The data here show a much smaller proportion of women reported as domestics than reported in Census Bureau studies. See Paupers in Almshouses, 1923, p. 33.

^{1/} Ibid.

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF INMATES
ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AS
PUBLIC CHARGES, 1935

Length Of Residence In Years	Inmates	
	No.	%
All Inmates	2,707 ^{1/2}	100.0
Less than 1	646 ^{2/3}	23.9
1 - 2*	367	13.5
2 - 3	316	11.7
3 - 4	299	11.0
4 - 5	208	7.7
5 - 6	182	6.7
6 - 7	92	3.4
7 - 8	74	2.7
8 - 9	65	2.4
9 - 10	72	2.6
10 - 11	48	1.8
11- 12	21	0.8
12 - 13	35	1.3
13 - 14	25	0.9
14 - 15	24	0.9
15 - 16	22	0.8
16 - 17	23	0.8
17 - 18	15	0.5
18 - 19	16	0.6
19 - 20	18	0.7
20 - 21	17	0.6
21 - 22	10	0.4
22 - 23	5	0.2
23 - 24	10	0.4
24 - 25	7	0.3
25 - 26	16	0.6
26 - 27	5	0.2
27 - 28	5	0.2
28 - 29	8	0.3
29 - 30	3	0.1
30 and over ^{3/}	53	2.0

* Up to but not including.

^{1/} Excluding 198 inmates for whom no data were reported.

^{2/} 404 inmates were in residence less than six months.

^{3/} Inmates in this interval range from 30 to 60 years.

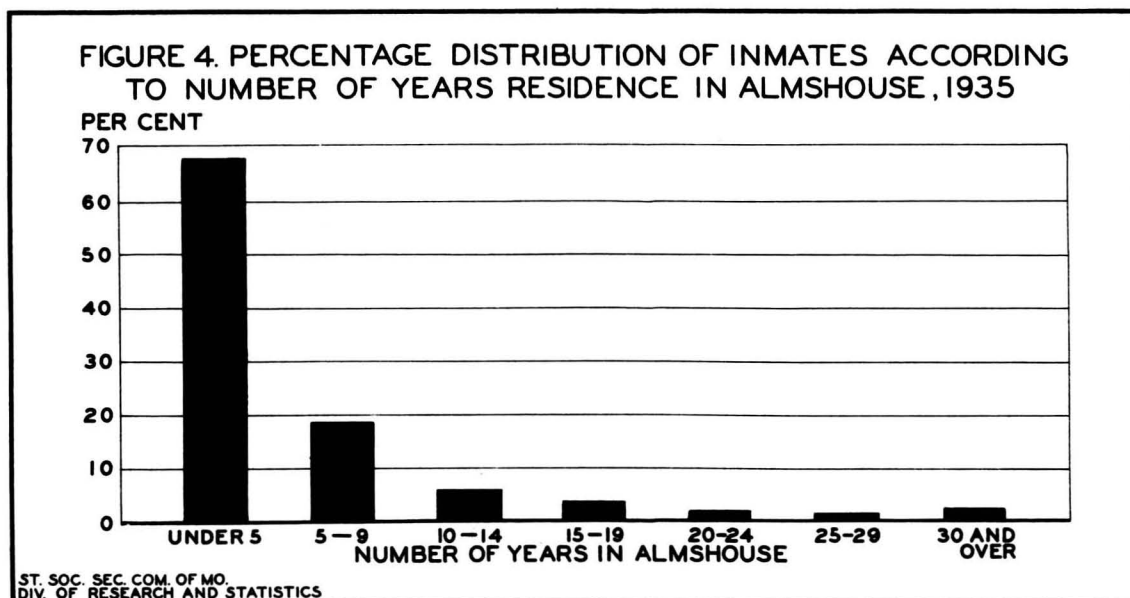
for 60 years; six had been there 50 years; 53 or 2 per cent for more than 30 years. As can be seen from Figure 4, many of them had been in residence from one to ten years. The average for all inmates was 4.7 years. These data seem to indi-

cate that there is a high rate of turn-over in the almshouse population. There seem to be three principal reasons for this. In the first place, the median age of the almshouse population is high (over 68 years). In addition, a great many of the inmates are physically and mentally incapacitated. Life expectancy is further reduced by such conditions. In the third place, it is reported that the county home serves as a temporary shelter for transients and casual laborers who stay only a short time. It is known that in many cases transients spend the Winter here and leave in the Summer to return again the following Fall. When this happens it is customary to enter the individual again as a new case. Hence, it may be true that many of those who are reported as having less than a year's residence actually have spent much more than a year in the institution. From the foregoing it appears that if the insane and feeble-minded were properly committed to state institutions, the county home would come nearer fitting its original objective--that of furnishing a home for the aged in their last years.

CHILDREN IN ALMSHOUSES

The presence of children in almshouses has been much more common in the past than it seems to be at the present time. In the first report (1899) of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, 142 children under 15 years of age were reported and thereafter the practice was condemned in almost every report. In 1911 the Board estimated that there were still about 100 children as inmates while the 1913 report stated that 11 counties had received 14 children between 3 and 15 years of age. According to the Biennial report for 1917 there were 71 children under 15, but in 1929 the practice of keeping children over 2 years and less than 18 in almshouses was prohibited by law.^{1/} In 1929 the State Board reports: "No children in the almshouses of this State else than an occasional one placed

^{1/} R. S., Mo., 1929, Chapter 90, Article I, Sec. 12931.



there very temporarily".^{1/}

The age distribution in Table 5 disclosed 23 children who were aged 16 years or less. Of these, four were 3 years old or less, three were aged 7 to 10 years, eleven were 10 to 14 years, three were 15, and two, 16 years. In most cases, however, it was reported that the children were being kept in residence only temporarily. Three feeble-minded children were being transferred to one of the state hospitals a month after the report was made. Several of the children were reported as feeble-minded. Three were classed as physically incapacitated and one, blind. It appeared that a few of these children were members of families who were residing permanently in almshouses. Three were illegitimate children born in the institution and in one of these cases a ten-year-old illegitimate boy was being maintained with his mother

and grandmother because "the County Court was unwilling to separate the family". Both the boy and his mother were reported to be feeble-minded.

Apparently the practice of maintaining children in almshouses in Missouri is no longer common, although it has not entirely been discontinued.

NEGROES IN ALMSHOUSES

A classification of inmates according to color was made and presented in Appendix Table II. Here it is shown that Negroes constituted 4.3 per cent of the total almshouse population in 1933 and 4.5 per cent in 1935. The total State population was 6.2 per cent Negro in 1930. Such a comparison, however, is not entirely adequate since the colored population of Missouri is rather heavily concentrated in the urban centers which were excluded in this study. There were only 29 almshouses in 1933 and 1935 which contained Negroes and only nine were reported with more than five Negroes in

^{1/} Biennial Report of State Board of Charities and Corrections, 1929-30, p. 49.

1933, while there were eight in 1935. The available data seem to indicate that Negroes receive less attention and consideration than whites in the counties that do admit them and, in a number of instances, their accommodations are distinctly inferior to those of white inmates.

FEEBLE-MINDED AND INSANE IN ALMSHOUSES

It has long been recognized that the almshouse is not an institution properly suited to the care of the insane and probably not for most of the feeble-minded. With the development of scientific knowledge concerning the nature of mental diseases, together with their causes and cures, has come the realization that such conditions can often be successfully treated if the necessary facilities and skillful medical service are available. Such facilities and service are, of course, available only in properly equipped and staffed institutions. In view of this, there has been for a long period of time constant pressure to remove insane patients from almshouses and place them in hospitals maintained by the State for care of the insane. Statutes which empower counties to make provisions for the relief of poor residents of the county contain no specific mention of the insane. In fact, the laws specifically provide that it shall be the duty of the County Court to provide for the removal of an insane person to the "state asylum"^{1/} and that money for the care of insane pauper patients shall be the first obligation of the county.^{2/} Despite the lack of legal sanction, it has long been the practice of many Missouri counties to care for insane persons in their county poor houses. In 1904 Ellwood found that 57 per cent of the inmates of Missouri almshouses were defective, being either feeble-minded, insane, or epileptic.^{3/}

In its earliest reports the State Board of Charities and Corrections called

attention to the presence of insane, often confined in chains or in stockades, in the county poor house. In the report for 1901, 1,400 insane and feeble-minded persons were reported as confined in Missouri poor houses.^{1/} In almost all of the succeeding reports attention was called to this practice and the County Courts were urged not to commit the insane to the almshouses and to remove inmates to state hospitals if they became insane subsequent to commitment to the almshouse.

In 1920, under the auspices of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, a survey of the care and treatment of the insane in Missouri was made.^{2/} This study reported 285 insane persons in the almshouses. The report was based on a definite diagnosis of mental diseases by competent psychiatrists. The diagnosis was very conservatively made and no cases of deteriorations of old age were included unless accompanied by marked conduct disorder.^{3/}

In this study an attempt was made to ascertain the mental conditions of the inmates by an analysis of the reasons for which they became public charges and by classifying them according to their disabilities. In connection with the presentation of the following materials, it should be stated that the present data concerning the reasons for commitment and the conditions of inmates were obtained from the records of the almshouse superintendents or other persons on the staff and do not represent findings of a physician or a psychiatrist. It is possible that those in charge did not distinguish carefully between feeble-mindedness and insanity and that some of the older inmates reported as feeble-minded represent cases of senile degeneration and senile psychoses instead.

The 2,905 inmates in 109 counties, 1935, were classified according to reasons

^{1/} R. S., Mo., 1929, Sec. 12950.

^{2/} See Session Laws of 57th General Assembly, County Budget Law, Sec. 2, p. 341.

^{3/} Ellwood, C. A., op. cit., p. 8.

^{1/} Second Biennial Report of State Board of Charities and Corrections, 1901, p. 34.

^{2/} Hamilton, S. W., The Care and Treatment of the Insane in Missouri, Bulletin, State Board of Charities and Corrections, September, 1920, pp. 82-122.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 82.

for becoming public charges. (Table 6 and Figure 5) These reasons are divided into eight classifications: physical incapacity, unemployment, chronic illness, old age, feeble-mindedness, insanity, blindness, deafness, and other reasons. According to these data more than one-fourth (25.8 per cent) were admitted as feeble-minded and an additional 13.1 per cent as insane. Old age accounted for 474 persons or one-fourth of the total, while the physically incapacitated and chronically ill made up an additional 24.9 per cent.

Similar information giving the physical and mental status of inmates was obtained in 1933. (Table 7) Here, persons 65 years of age and over were classified as "aged" unless physically or mentally incapacitated. More than one-third appeared to be mentally unsound, one-fourth feeble-minded, and about one-tenth insane. Approximately 40 per cent were classified as aged, and almost one-fifth were blind, crippled, and diseased. In this earlier survey inmates were classified under more than one condition and duplication of cases resulted.

It has been observed in earlier studies that most of the insane were found in the larger almshouses.^{1/} These data for

Missouri appear to substantiate this fact. In 1933 seven counties reported no insane or feeble-minded; the average number of inmates in these seven counties was 9.0. In that same year 39 counties reported no insane; the average number of inmates was 20.8 per almshouse. In 1935 eight almshouses reported no insane or feeble-minded; the average number of inmates was seven. In 1935 there were 50 almshouses with no insane reported; the average number of inmates in these 50 institutions was 18.9, with a total inmate population of 949. In 1935, 24 counties reported 35 or more inmates in their almshouses, with a total of 1,247. Of the latter group, 211 or 16.9 per cent were reported insane. Forty counties had less than 20 inmates each, with a total of 466. Of these, only 32 or 6.9 per cent were reported insane (Appendix Table VI).

Reports of the investigators who gathered the original data for the 1933 survey indicate the principal reason why these patients are in almshouses rather than in state hospitals; namely, that many counties considered it more economical to support them locally than to pay the sums required by law toward support in a state institution. The following excerpts are quoted from the field reports of investigators and are typical of

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF INMATES, BY REASONS FOR BECOMING PUBLIC CHARGES, 1935.

Reasons For Becoming Public Charge	All Inmates		White				Negro			
			Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	2,905	100.0	1,884	100.0	894	100.0	93	100.0	34	100.0
Physical Incapacity	430	14.8	320	17.0	93	10.4	15	16.1	2	5.9
Unemployment	204	7.0	156	8.3	43	4.8	2	2.1	3	8.8
Chronic Illness	293	10.1	214	11.4	64	7.2	13	14.0	2	5.9
Old Age	747	25.7	541	28.7	160	17.9	36	38.7	10	29.4
Feeble-Mindedness	750	25.8	395	21.0	324	36.2	18	19.4	13	38.2
Insanity	380	13.1	191	10.1	180	20.1	5	5.4	4	11.8
Blindness	62	2.1	42	2.2	17	1.9	3	3.2		
Deafness	23	0.8	17	0.9	5	0.6	1	1.1		
Other Reasons	16	0.6	8	0.4	8	0.9				

^{1/} Stewart, Estelle, op. cit., p. 5.

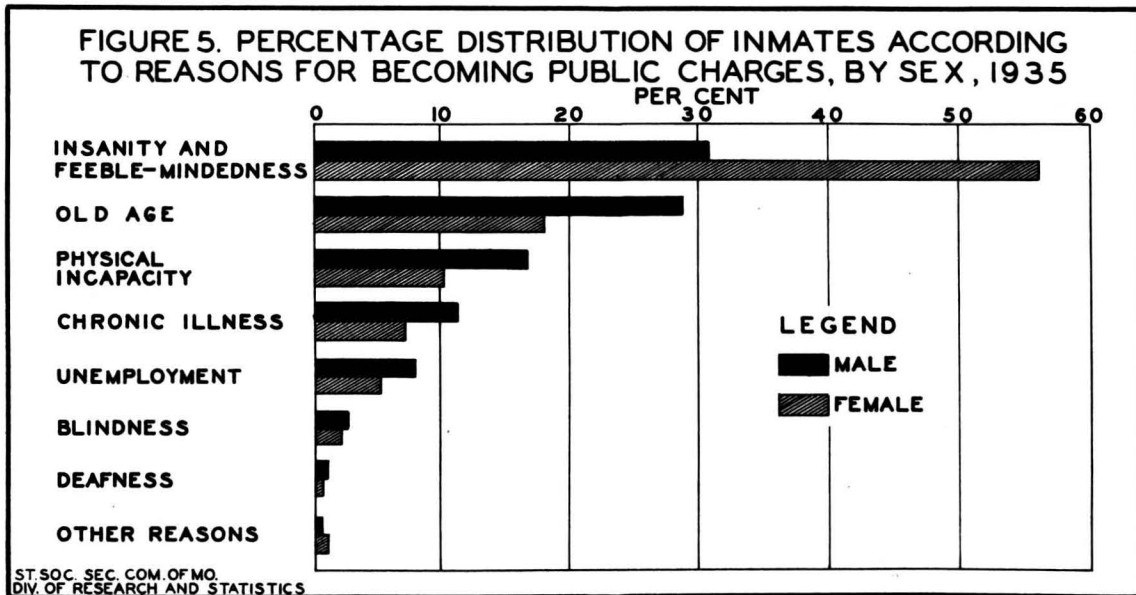


TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF INMATES ACCORDING TO PHYSICAL AND MENTAL STATUS, 1933^{1/}

Present Physical Condition	No.	%
Total	4,919 ^{2/}	100.0
Insane	467	9.5
Feeble-Minded	1,275	25.9
Blind	72	1.5
Crippled	420	8.5
Aged ^{3/}	2,126	43.2
Diseased	385	7.9
Other	174	3.5

^{1/} Complete data available in only 106 counties.
^{2/} Total does not equal number of inmates due to the fact that some inmates are classified under more than one disability.
^{3/} "Aged" defined as over 65 years.

a number of counties.

1. "In County A ten of the present inmates have been returned to the county farm from the state hospital at _____ because they can be kept there cheaper".

2. "In County B eleven of the present inmates were taken from the state hospital at _____".

3. "In County C eight of the seventeen inmates have been taken back from the state hospital for the insane".

4. "In County D an average of ten inmates were kept on the farm until this year when the number was increased by transfers of insane from the state hospital. This is the first year such a transfer was made from the hospital for the insane to the county farm".

5. "In County E an addition has been built to the county home to accommodate the insane from the county rather than send them to the state hospital. They thought the expense would be less to keep them in the county than to send them to the hospital for the insane at _____".

The foregoing seems to indicate that it is a common practice to house the insane and feeble-minded in Missouri almshouses. Since 1933, the year in which the statements quoted above were made, there has been some decrease in the number of county institutions housing insane and feeble-minded, as well as in the proportion of these classes of inmates. This decline appears to have been due in part to the reduction in cost to the county of maintaining these patients in state institutions.

However, despite this reduction in cost and the fact that under the Missouri law it is the duty of the County Court to place insane and feeble-minded patients in state hospitals, there were 18.0 per cent or about one-fifth of these public charges still being cared for locally in 1935. Out of a total of 6,240 insane and feeble-minded, 1,136 were in local institutions as compared with 5,104 in the state hospitals (Appendix Table VII). In some counties the number of such patients receiving local care exceeded the number in the state hospital. In one for example, only eight insane and feeble-minded had been sent to state institutions, while 43 were being cared for locally. In another the number of insane and feeble-minded in the almshouse was almost twice that in state hospitals. In 23 counties more than one-third of all county insane and feeble-minded patients were being cared for in local almshouses. Of the total of 1,136 insane and feeble-minded reported in county homes, 503 or 44 per cent were in these 23 counties. The total number of patients cared for both locally and in state institutions by these particular counties was 1,122 and 503 or 44 per cent were in local almshouses. The total almshouse population in these 23 counties was 899 of whom 503 or 56 per cent were feeble-minded or insane.^{1/}

^{1/} The feeble-minded and insane were grouped together here since there was little accuracy in the distinction made between them. Probably many of those reported feeble-minded by the almshouse superintendent are cases of senile deterioration.

The preponderance of mentally and physically ill in almshouses in Missouri is not common to this state alone, but appears to be the general situation in most states. A survey in the State of New York in 1923 reported most of the aged in almshouses as being either physically or mentally defective; 47 per cent of all inmates were reported as having some serious physical or mental defect; and only 7.1 per cent were able-bodied. In California it was estimated that not more than 5 per cent of the aged persons in county institutions in the State would be physically, mentally or socially able to care for themselves outside of institutions.^{1/} The Board of State Charities of Indiana reporting on county asylums in 1927 said: "The population of these institutions is made up almost entirely of aged infirm and chronic sick. They need infirmary-hospital care. Few of the poor asylums are equipped to give them the treatment they need".^{2/} A very recent study of almshouses in West Virginia reports that out of 1,082 inmates, 881 were in poor physical condition and 619 in poor mental condition.^{3/}

From the evidence presented it appears as though the almshouse, in the last analysis, is really an infirmary rather than a home for the aged and as such is unable to meet the needs of special care and attention which such cases require. Perhaps the most reasonable solution of this problem lies in the removal of the mentally and physically defective from the almshouse and providing them with the specialized care they need in state hospitals.

It should be added that failure to transfer the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, blind, deaf, and tuberculous has not been entirely due to ignorance or indifference or to the penury of local

^{1/} The Support of the Aged, National Industrial Conference Board, New York, 1931.

^{2/} Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections, 1928, p. 92.

^{3/} Survey of County Infirmary Inmates in West Virginia, West Virginia Department of Public Assistance, Earl L. Elmore, Chief Statistician.

County Courts, but also to two other reasons. In the first place, the financial condition of some of the counties has made it impossible for them to assume the financial burden. A few counties are far in arrears on their obligations to the state hospitals. In the second place, the facilities of the state hospitals have been extended to the limit and in many cases it has been almost impossible for the counties to secure admission of their

patients to these institutions. Particularly has this been true of applications for admission to the school for the feeble-minded and the tuberculosis hospital. It is possible that after the present building program at the state institutions is complete the almshouses may be completely relieved of the care of the insane and feeble-minded as well as other classes for which they are unsuited.

IV. ELIGIBILITY OF INMATES FOR OLD AGE ASSISTANCE

A matter of considerable contemporary interest in connection with the future of the almshouse concerns the relationship between the administration of the Old Age Assistance program and the support of persons in almshouses. In 1935 the legislature passed a law providing for assistance to aged persons in Missouri.^{1/} The law provides that financial assistance may be extended to needy persons 70 years of age and over. One of the arguments frequently advanced in support of this law was the contention that it would no longer be necessary to place the needy aged in almshouses for care and that the burden of almshouse support would in large measure be lifted from the shoulders of local tax payers. It was also argued that such old age assistance would do much more to preserve the self-respect and independence of needy persons than would the almshouse with all of its unsavory connotations. This substitution of "assistance" for institutional care is implied in both the Federal Social Security Act and in the Missouri Old Age Assistance Law. The former provides that Federal grants for old age assistance will not be extended to states for the care of persons in institutions, and the State law provides in Section 16 that "No person receiving assistance under this act shall at the same time receive any other relief from any public funds, except for medical and surgical assistance".

With these purposes of the law in mind, it may be of some interest to raise

the question as to the extent to which old age assistance as provided in the State will relieve the almshouses. No complete answer can be given, but some inference can be drawn from the data at hand. Since the Missouri assistance law extends aid only to those 70 years of age and over, younger inmates would not be eligible.^{1/} Hence, the almshouse population has been divided into two groups--those 70 years of age and over, and those under 70 (Table 8 and Figure 6). It may be noted that of the total county institution

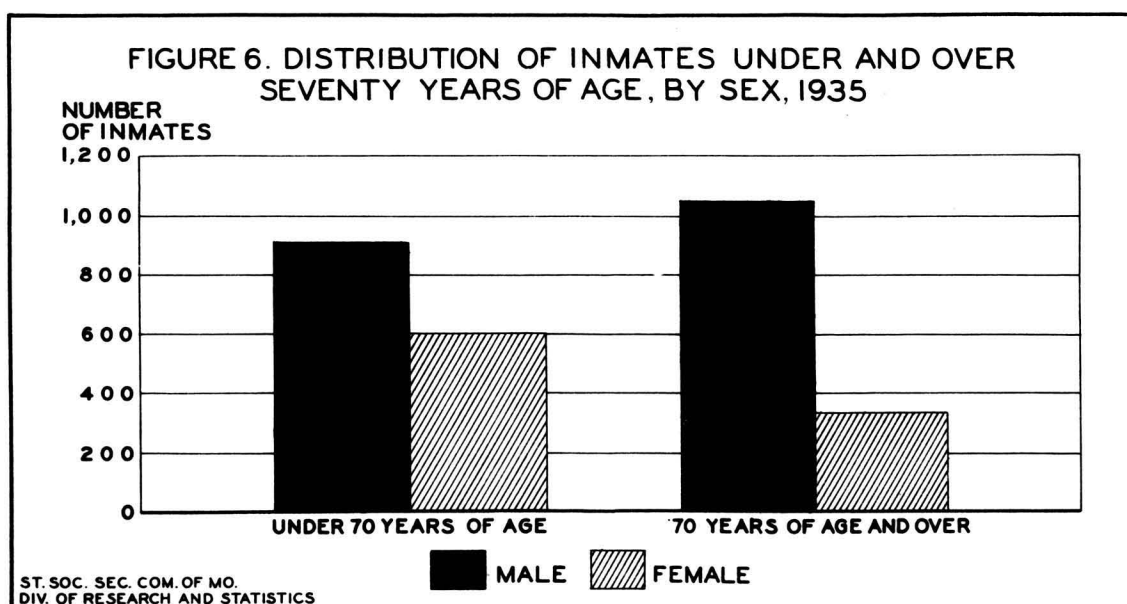
^{1/} It is likely, however, that the eligibility age will be reduced to 65 by 1940 to comply with the requirements of the Federal Law.

TABLE 8. NUMBER OF INMATES UNDER 70 YEARS OF AGE AND 70 AND OVER.

Sex And Color	All Inmates		Inmates Under 70 Years Of Age		Inmates 70 Years Of Age And Over	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	2,890	100.0	1,514	52.4	1,376	47.6
Male	1,967	100.0	913	46.4	1,054	53.6
Female	923	100.0	601	65.1	322	34.9
White	2,766	100.0	1,454	52.6	1,312	47.4
Male	1,877	100.0	875	46.6	1,002	53.4
Female	889	100.0	579	65.1	310	34.9
Negro	124	100.0	60	48.4	64	51.6
Male	90	100.0	38	42.2	52	57.8
Female	34	100.0	22	64.7	12	35.3

^{1/} Missouri Old Age Assistance Law, 58th General Assembly, Session Laws, pp. 308-315.

^{1/} Excluding 15 inmates for whom no data were reported.



population of 2,990 persons in 1935, only 1,376, or 47.6 per cent were 70 years of age and over. Of this number 774 or 56.3 per cent had applied for old age assistance while 352 or about one-fourth had not applied (Table 9). Is it likely then that almshouses will be relieved of the support of as much as one-half of their inmates 70 years of age or older? Such an assumption hardly seems justified in view of the analysis given in preceding sections of this study. It must be remembered that persons who are inmates of almshouses are not eligible for old age assistance.^{1/} This implies that those who receive grants must first leave the institution. In considering the number of aged inmates who could satisfactorily be cared for by an allowance outside institutions, the question immediately arises as to where they would go. In view of the data presented in Table 10, which indicates that a large proportion of the in-

^{1/} Session Laws, 1935, Sec. 16, p. 312.

mates aged 70 years and over were either insane, feeble-minded, crippled, or otherwise incapacitated, it does not seem likely that any great number would be able to find satisfactory care outside institutions.

Of the 1,366 inmates 70 and over, a total of 631 were classified as physically or mentally disabled. This amounts to 46.2 per cent of the total number. Although not all of these need institutional care, most of them do. The feeble-minded and insane are obviously institutional cases. Most of those classified as "physically incapacitated" and "chronically ill" need hospitalization. The relatively few blind and deaf might possibly be supported outside institutions.

If the number incapacitated is deducted from the number of inmates over 70, there remains a total of 735 who might be removed from almshouses by the old age assistance program. This is only about one-fourth of the total almshouse population. It is doubtful, however, that all of these could qualify and that success-

TABLE 9. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INMATES 70 AND OVER CLASSIFIED BY WHETHER THEY HAD APPLIED FOR OLD AGE ASSISTANCE, 1935

Sex And Color	All Inmates		Inmates 70 Years of Age and Over					
			Applied For Old Age Assistance		Had Not Applied For Old Age Assistance		Not Reporting On Application For Assistance ^{1/}	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Total	1,376	100.0	774	56.2	352	25.6	250	18.2
Male	1,054	100.0	617	58.5	251	23.8	186	17.7
Female	322	100.0	156	48.4	102	31.7	64	19.9
White	1,312	100.0	731	55.7	350	26.7	231	17.6
Male	1,002	100.0	577	57.6	250	25.0	175	17.5
Female	310	100.0	154	50.0	100	32.3	56	18.1
Negro	64	100.0	43	67.2	2	3.1	19	29.7
Male	52	100.0	40	76.9	1	1.9	11	21.2
Female	12	100.0	2	16.7	2	16.7	8	66.6

^{1/} Apparently most of these persons had not applied for old age assistance.

ful adjustments could be made by them in private homes. Therefore, it does not appear that the old age assistance program can be expected to do away with the almshouses in this State.

However, it is highly important to point out that if those who need institutional care could be transferred to state institutions and the able-bodied aged cared for under the old age assistance plan, the counties would then be relieved of the care of practically all except the chronically ill and incapacitated. These institutions could then actually be transformed into "infirmaries" as they are now called in many places. Then, it would

seem, that only a few of them would be needed and in most rural counties they could be eliminated entirely. Perhaps a plan should be devised to provide a small number of such institutions to be established on such a basis. These "infirmaries" or hospitals could then be specialized, for care of the rather restricted class of patients who would be sent to them, and approach the standards of the best hospital practice in the country. It is likely that such a plan would be more economical and would secure immeasurably better care for the patients than that now prevailing in most Missouri almshouses.

V. CONSOLIDATION OF ALMSHOUSES

It is the purpose of this section to discuss some alternative plans to the county almshouse. These plans have already been tried in other states and seem to be fairly successful. Their consideration here seems appropriate in light of the fact that our whole system for the care of public charges is at present undergoing considerable revision.

THE DISTRICT ALMSHOUSE

A few states have adopted the district plan of care for their indigent poor and find that it has done much to solve their problems of almshouse care and maintenance and, at the same time, to relieve the individual counties of a tremendous economic and social burden. The

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INMATES 70 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER CLASSIFIED BY PHYSICAL AND MENTAL STATUS, 1935.

Reasons For Becoming Public Charge	All Inmates		White				Negro			
			Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	1,366 ^{1/}	100.0	994	100.0	308	100.0	51	100.0	12	100.0
Physical Incapacity	211	15.4	163	16.4	41	13.3	6	11.8	1	8.4
Chronic Illness	116	8.5	100	10.0	14	4.5	2	3.9		
Old Age	735	53.8	542	54.9	149	48.3	33	64.7	7	58.3
Feeble-Mindedness	176	12.9	102	10.3	62	20.0	8	15.7	4	33.3
Insanity	86	6.3	51	5.2	35	11.3				
Deafness	6	0.5	6	0.6						
Blindness	36	2.6	26	2.6	8	2.6	2	3.9		

^{1/} Excluding one inmate for whom no data were reported.

first cooperation of counties in the United States to effect a district administration of indoor poor relief occurred in Virginia. The General Assembly of Virginia passed a consolidation act in 1918 which provided that two or more counties or cities might sell their almshouse property and agree to establish a district home for the aged and infirm.^{1/} Each city or county in the combination was to contribute a share of the initial cost pro rata of its population, and the costs of maintenance were to be paid by each, according to the number of inmates it sent. Each county or city was represented on the governing board by one representative and an additional representative for each 20,000 population or major fraction of that number. This act is permissive and not mandatory; consequently, certain opposing forces and factional differences prevented it from becoming effective until 1926. Since then, however, much progress has been made toward the gradual elimination of the county almshouse. In 1929 there were only thirty-three county almshouses left out of a total of one hundred that formerly exist-

ed in the State. The sixty-seven almshouses that disappeared did not all become consolidated into district homes; some were discontinued altogether and outdoor relief was substituted for some, but the main purpose of the act, designed to focus attention and arouse action on the part of the state toward existing conditions, was accomplished.

At the present time there are four district homes in Virginia which have taken the place of twenty-one county and three city almshouses which formerly existed. The four district homes are modern institutions of brick construction with hospital-type equipment and administered by trained and experienced institutional workers. They compare favorably with state institutions, with arrangements for segregation of races and sexes, isolation, and facilities for medical treatment. The average monthly per capita cost of all four district homes is about \$16.00, compared with about \$20.00 under the old plan of almshouse care.

Alabama is another state that has made some effort toward consolidation, although the law has never been enacted. The plan called for a division of the state into four districts, grouping counties so as to include as nearly as possible comparable population, wealth, and

^{1/} Johnson, Alexander, "Back from Over the Hill", Survey, September 15, 1929.

taxable properties.^{1/} The bill provided that each county in the district shall contribute to the initial investment in a district hospital an amount based on the assessed valuation of the county. The law was not mandatory; it recommended but did not require that each county sell its county farm and invest the proceeds from such sale in the new project. The expense of operation was to be borne by the participating counties on a per capita basis, the expense of upkeep to be prorated on the basis of the original assessment.

In a few other states there has been a gradual disappearance of the county almshouse, not through pressure exerted by state bodies, but rather by county officials who have recognized the need for change. These changes did not result in the adoption of a district plan of care through the joint operation of several counties, but was effected by the smaller counties in sending their inmates to a larger county institution. Some authorities believe that this is a better solution of the almshouse problem than the district plan inasmuch as it circumvents political and factional differences.

Such plans would be particularly applicable in the rural and sparsely populated counties of Missouri which find the financial upkeep of their almshouses burdensome. From the standpoint of more adequate hospital facilities, efficient administration, and proper classification and segregation, the district almshouse would be far superior to the typical county institution. In addition to improved methods of care for the aged, such a plan would likely be an economical one for the counties. Missouri legislators have taken cognizance of the possible advantage accruing from the district almshouse. It is provided by statute that in all counties having a population of less than 80,000 the County Court may contract jointly with the County Court of one or more adjoining counties for the location, construction, maintenance, and operation of district poor farms.^{2/} The law, how-

ever, is not mandatory and no effort has been exerted so far by the counties to bring about the establishment of district homes.

THE STATE REGIONAL ALMSHOUSE

One other alternative may tentatively be suggested. This would involve the assumption by the state of responsibility for the erection and operation of regional almshouses strategically located something on the plan of the present state hospitals for mental diseases.

A similar plan is operating at present in Delaware. The Delaware State Legislature in 1931 approved a measure calling for the erection of a state welfare home to care for any legal resident of the state "who has been unable to find employment, or is unable to work, who has no property or income sufficient to provide the necessities of life, who has no permanent place of abode and no relatives or friends to care for him or her".^{1/} This institution supplements the pension system and takes the place of the county almshouse, providing in addition to ordinary care, medical, nursing, and hospital service. The State Old Age Commission of Delaware was charged with the responsibility of carrying out the provisions of this act and at present there are 263 inmates housed in the State Home. It is estimated that the per capita costs will not exceed \$1.00 per day which includes care of all kinds—food, clothing, medical care, dental service, etc. The cost of maintenance is to be apportioned among the three counties of the state on the basis of the number of inmates from each, but half the cost is to be refunded the counties semi-annually by the state.

A number of arguments might be suggested for this plan as superior to the district almshouse. In the first place, some claim that the district plan only repeats on a larger scale the mistakes of the county almshouse. Secondly, it might be claimed that the state plan is in line

^{1/} Stewart, Estelle, Cost of American Almshouses, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1925.
^{2/} R. S. Mo., 1929, Vol. 2, Sec. 12090.

^{1/} "State Welfare Home for the Aged and Indigent in Delaware", Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 36, January, 1934.

with the tendency to centralize responsibility for all welfare problems in the state government. The State of Missouri, for example, has assumed the major responsibility for care of the blind, insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, tuberculous, dependent and neglected children, and other classes who at one time were the responsibility of counties. Such a proposal would fit logically into the old age assistance program, the administration of which is almost wholly the function of the state. It would also be closely related to the state function of care for the insane and feeble-minded since, as shown above, a considerable proportion of the almshouse population properly belongs in institutions for these classes. It may be pointed out that if a state home plan were to be adopted there would be less incentive to maintain--for reasons of local pride or imagined economy--the insane, feeble-minded, and other like classes in local institutions than would be the case if

district institutions controlled by a group of counties were made available. In the third place, if the state home proposal were to be adopted, some logical plan in the location of such institutions could be devised which might not be true if the counties are left to take the initiative. Finally, if the matter were left up to the counties as it now is, it appears likely that considerable time would elapse before any positive steps would be taken.

The foregoing has been included mainly to give some indication of what has been attempted elsewhere and to be suggestive of a plan for Missouri. When the Old Age Assistance program is fully effective and care of the insane and feeble-minded has been shifted from the counties to the state, the number of public charges still in need of additional institutional care should be considerably less than at present. Such changes would leave little place for the "county almshouse" in our state-wide program of public assistance.

VI. SUGGESTED RECOMMENDATIONS

In the previous section plans for the fundamental reorganization of the county almshouse were discussed and it was suggested that such institutions be replaced either by district homes or by state owned and managed regional institutions. These proposals would embody such fundamental changes that they should not be undertaken without careful study and investigation. They could not be accomplished over night. Hence, it is probably true that the county almshouse is likely to remain for some time. In view of this fact, it may be worthwhile to suggest certain remedies or reforms which would embody no sweeping changes or reorganization, but would help to correct some of the most obvious and glaring defects existing at the present time. These recommendations are set forth in light of the results of this investigation. Many of them are not new. Some are to be found in nearly all of the Biennial reports of the Missouri State Board of Charities and Corrections and in most research studies of almshouses made in other states. At the risk of seeming repetitive, we are

including them here.

1. The adoption of a standardized and complete system of records to include all matters dealing with business and financial transactions, as well as complete social statistics of inmates. The lack of adequate and standardized records is one of the greatest defects of the present system and has received little attention from county officials. While it is true that all financial records pertaining to almshouse expenditures and receipts are kept by the County Clerk, it is also true that they are often incomplete and do not provide sufficient information for efficient administration. In order to facilitate and simplify financial transactions, an accounting system should be installed in each institution and each superintendent should be held responsible for the recording of all transactions. At present, data concerning the inmates are almost impossible to obtain inasmuch as few almshouses keep records of any kind. In thirteen counties visited by the present investigators, only four superintendents were able to

give accurate data regarding the characteristics of their inmates. In the other counties, such information as age, place of residence, last occupation, marital status, etc., were given by the superintendent from memory and, of course, were grossly unreliable. A standardized record book should show at least the following data for each person received: admission number, name, date of admission, last previous address, age, sex, color, marital status (i.e., married, single, divorced, widowed), physical condition, mental condition, previous occupation, amount of formal education, and date of previous admittance, if any. This information could easily be kept in each institution and would lend itself to reliable and efficient management.

2. Enforcement by the County Courts of the statutory provisions pertaining to almshouses, particularly in regard to financial and business transactions.

3. Mandatory provisions requiring a complete physical and mental examination of each person before commitment to the almshouse.

4. A greater degree of segregation and classification of inmates as to sex, color, age, and physical and mental condition. Although this has been fulfilled to a great extent and much progress has been made, the housing and building facilities of most almshouses make complete segregation and classification difficult. Being cognizant of the fact that no appreciable improvement can be made under existing housing conditions, plans for future building programs should be directed toward the cottage type of construction. This plan of construction and care relieves--to some extent--the stigma of dependency and the mass care and overcrowded conditions that now exist and at the same time provides more habitable and comfortable quarters. In addition, proper segregation and classification of inmates can be made.

5. More adequate and improved facilities to meet the medical and physical needs of the almshouse patients. This would include a separate hospital unit, medical and dental care, and full-time nursing services. In the small rural

counties where the expense of such needs would be prohibitive, a joint undertaking by several counties, pooling expenses on a pro rata basis according to the number of inmates and taxable wealth of the county, could be effected.

6. Mandatory provisions for the removal of the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and chronically ill patients from the county almshouses to state institutions provided for their care and maintenance. In view of the recent reduction in costs to the county for care of patients in state institutions and with more adequate housing facilities being provided here by the current state building program, prohibitive costs and lack of room will not be valid arguments against the commitment of these people.

7. Support of the able-bodied aged for those who can qualify through the state program of old age assistance.

8. Outdoor relief for the unemployed, dependent mothers and children (who are not eligible for placement in state institutions), many of whom are now placed in almshouses.

9. More intensive investigation of cases before admittance. The statutes provide for the admittance of the county's indigent poor to the almshouse, but do not hold the county responsible for the care of non-residents. All cases should be investigated carefully in order to determine the dependency, financial and family status of the individual. Cases have come to attention where individuals who are quite able financially to provide for themselves and who have relatives that may be persuaded to care for them apply for admittance to the almshouse.

10. The exercising of greater care and skill in the appointment of almshouse superintendents with more attention directed toward the fitness, training, and experience of the appointee. At the present time appointments are made more often on a patronage basis or on that of competitive bidding. The salaries paid are very low and add further to the difficulties of securing well qualified men. In order to bring about an improvement in the efficiency and quality of management and to induce capable men to seek the

position, the salary scale must be raised and the appointment placed on a merit basis. Furthermore, sufficient help should be employed to enable the superintendent to devote more time to the welfare and care of his charges than he is now able to do. At present the major part of his time must be directed toward farming activities and all duties connected with the management of the almshouse and the care of inmates become the responsi-

bility of the matron who, in most instances, has neither the training nor experience to perform these important tasks.

11. Responsibility of the local almshouse administration to state agencies for both the financial administration and physical and social conditions in these institutions, together with provision for inspection by state agencies in order to enforce minimum standards.

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 THE RURAL ALMSHOUSE POPULATION IN MISSOURI

TABLE I. NUMBER OF INMATES BY COUNTIES, CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF CARE, 1935.

COUNTY	Inmates By Type Of Care					COUNTY	Inmates By Type Of Care				
	I ^{1/}	II ^{2/}	III ^{3/}	IV ^{4/}	V ^{5/}		I ^{1/}	II ^{2/}	III ^{3/}	IV ^{4/}	V ^{5/}
ALL COUNTIES	2,562	119	97	122	5	LINN	38				
ADAIR	24					LIVINGSTON	33				
ANDREW	32					MCDONALD	23				
ATCHISON	16					MACON	48				
AUDRAIN	23					MADISON				12	
BARRY	30					MARIES	13				
BARTON	18					MARION	92				
BATES	21					MERCER	31				
BENTON				22		MILLER	17				
BOLLINGER	11					MISSISSIPPI	13				
BOONE	61					MONITEAU	17				
BUTLER	32					MONROE	46				
CALDWELL	9					MONTGOMERY		17			
CALLAWAY	41					MORGAN	15				
CAMDEN				21		NEW MADRID	34				
CAPE GIRARDEAU	24					NEWTON	43				
CARROLL	19					NODAWAY	46				
CARTER				3		OREGON				2	
CASS	43					OSAGE	11				
CEDAR			24			OZARK				8	
CHARITON	30					PEMISCOT		62			
CHRISTIAN	23					PERRY	14				
CLARK	34					PETTIS	47				
CLAY	28					PHELPS				19	
CLINTON	14					PIKE			33		
COLE	12					PLATTE	21				
COOPER		25				POLK	27				
CRAWFORD	24					PULASKI	10				
DADE			8			PUTNAM	24				
DALLAS	7					RALLS	29				
DAVIESS	18					RANDOLPH	30				
DE KALB	21					RAY	53				
DENT	23					REYNOLDS				9	
DOUGLAS	17					RIPLEY				15	
DUNKLIN	47					ST. CHARLES	60				
FRANKLIN	32					ST. CLAIR	43				
GASCONADE	18					ST. FRANCOIS	25				
GENTRY	19					STE. GENEVIEVE	21				
GRUNDY	19					SALINE	66				
HARRISON	38					SCHUYLER	6				
HENRY	33					SCOTLAND	21				
HICKORY				6		SCOTT	31				
HOLT	21					SHANNON	21				
HOWARD	18					SHELBY	44				
HOWELL	62					STODDARD	55				
IRON	21					STONE				4	
JASPER	87					SULLIVAN	47				
JEFFERSON	13					TANEY				1	
JOHNSON	30					TEXAS	38				
KNOX					5	VERNON	24				
LACLEDE	4					WARREN	4				
LAFAYETTE	44					WASHINGTON		9			
LAWRENCE			32			WEBSTER	27				
LEWIS	44					WORTH	5				
LINCOLN	20					WRIGHT	14				

1/ County maintains a farm.

2/ County maintains a home with no farm attached.

3/ County maintains separately both a building and farm for county charges.

4/ County boards its public charges with private individuals by contract.

5/ County sends charges to almshouses of neighboring counties.

THE RURAL ALMSHOUSE POPULATION IN MISSOURI

TABLE II. NUMBER OF INMATES IN ALMSHOUSES, CLASSIFIED BY COLOR, 1933 AND 1935.

COUNTY	All Inmates		White		Negro		COUNTY	All Inmates		White		Negro	
	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935		1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935
ALL COUNTIES	2,942	2,733	2,815	2,609	127	124	LEWIS	41	44	38	41	3	3
ADAIR	25	24	25	24			LINCOLN	23	20	18	14	5	6
ANDREW	30	32	30	32			LINN	49	38	49	38		
ATCHISON	18	16	18	16			LIVINGSTON	36	33	36	33		
AUDRAIN	16	23	15	21	1	2	MACON	64	48	60	46	4	2
BARRY	34	30	34	30			MARIES	17	13	17	13		
BARTON	10	18	10	18			MARION	112	92	93	76	19	16
BATES	23	21	23	21			McDONALD	27	23	27	23		
BOLLINGER	13	11	13	11			MERCER	25	31	25	31		
BOONE	50	61	40	48	10	13	MILLER	22	17	22	17		
CALDWELL	11	9	11	9			MONITEAU	16	17	16	17		
CALLAWAY	51	41	40	30	11	11	MONROE	33	46	28	42	5	4
CAPE GIRARDEAU	33	24	32	24	1		MONTGOMERY	22	17	19	15	3	2
CARROLL	18	19	18	19			MORGAN	16	15	15	14		
CASS	35	43	35	43			NEW MADRID	49	34	49	34	1	1
CEDAR	16	24	16	24			NEWTON	44	43	42	43		
CHARITON	35	30	29	26	6	4	NODAWAY	42	46	42	46		
CHRISTIAN	28	28	28	28			OSAGE	10	11	10	11		
CLARK	35	34	35	33		1	PEMISCOT	76	68	66	59	10	9
CLAY	33	28	33	27		1	PERRY	10	14	10	14		
CLINTON	17	14	16	13	1	1	PETTIS	54	47	54	47		
COLE	13	12	13	12			PIKE	32	33	22	31	10	2
COOPER	28	25	25	24	3	1	PLATTE	19	21	19	20		1
CRAWFORD	24	24	24	24			POLK	31	27	31	27		
DADE	16	8	16	8			PULASKI	8	10	8	10		
DALLAS	11	7	11	7			PUTNAM	25	24	25	24		
DAVLESS	12	18	12	18			RALLS	23	29	22	28	1	1
DE KALB	17	21	17	21			RANDOLPH	37	30	37	30		
DENT	26	28	26	28			RAY	60	53	59	52	1	1
DOUGLAS	20	17	20	17			ST. CHARLES	64	60	58	52	6	8
DUNKLIN	62	47	62	47			ST. CLAIR	56	43	56	43		
FRANKLIN	27	32	27	32			ST. FRANCOIS	26	25	26	25		
GASCONADE	12	18	12	18			STE. GENEVIEVE	29	21	29	21		
GENTRY	19	19	19	19			SALINE	62	66	54	52	8	14
GRUNDY	18	19	18	19			SCHUYLER	7	6	7	6		
HARRISON	39	38	39	38			SCOTLAND	14	21	14	21		
HENRY	31	33	31	33			SCOTT	37	31	36	30	1	1
HOLT	20	21	20	21			SHANNON	20	21	20	21		
HOWARD	17	18	8	11	9	7	SHELBY	50	44	47	40	3	4
HOWELL	59	62	59	62			STODDARD	57	55	54	53	3	2
IRON	23	21	23	21			SULLIVAN	64	47	64	47		
JASPER	128	87	125	85	3	2	TEXAS	52	38	52	38		
JEFFERSON	15	13	14	13	1		VERNON	31	24	31	24		
JOHNSON	41	30	40	30	1		WARREN	6	4	5	3	1	1
LACLEDE	5	4	5	4			WASHINGTON	3	9	3	9		
LAFAYETTE	39	44	39	41		3	WEBSTER	25	27	25	27		
LAWRENCE	32	32	32	32			WORTH	8	5	8	5		
							WRIGHT	23	14	23	14		

TABLE III. INMATES CLASSIFIED BY COLOR AND SEX, 1935.

COUNTY	All Inmates			White			Negro			COUNTY	All Inmates			White			Negro		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
ALL COUNTIES	2,905	1,977	928	2,778	1,884	894	127	93	34	LINCOLN	20	15	5	14	9	5	6	6	
ADAIR	24	15	9	24	15	9				LINN	36	24	14	33	24	14			
ANDREW	32	25	7	33	25	7				LIVINGSTON	24	24	9	33	24	9			
ATCHISON	16	16	1	16	16	1				MACON	27	21	48	26	20		2	1	1
AUDRAIN	23	19	4	21	17	4	2	2		MADISON	12	6	6	10	6	4	2		2
BARRY	30	21	9	30	21	9				MARIES	13	10	3	13	10	3			
BARTON	18	13	5	18	13	5				MARION	92	62	30	78	52	24	16	10	6
BATES	21	17	4	21	17	4				MCDONALD	23	15	8	23	15	8			
BENTON	22	12	10	22	12	10				MERCER	51	22	9	31	22	9			
BOLLINGER	11	3	8	11	3	8				MILLER	17	9	8	17	9	8			
BOONE	61	40	21	48	29	19	13	11	2	MISSISSIPPI	13	12	1	13	12	1			
BUTLER	32	12	20	31	12	19	1		1	MONITEAU	17	9	8	17	9	8			
CALLDWELL	9	7	2	9	7	2				MONROE	46	31	15	42	27	15	4	4	
CALLAWAY	41	20	21	30	15	15	11	5	6	MONTGOMERY	17	13	4	15	11	4	2		
CAMDEN	21	16	5	21	16	5				MORGAN	15	9	6	14	9	5			1
CAPE GIRARDEAU	24	16	8	24	16	8				NEW MADRID	34	23	11	34	23	11			
CARROLL	19	16	4	19	15	4				NEWTON	45	36	7	43	36	7			
CARTER	2	3	2	2	3	2				NOBLET	46	32	14	46	32	14			
CASS	43	31	12	43	31	12				OREGON	2	2	2	2	2	2			
CEDAR	24	20	4	24	20	4				OSAGE	11	6	5	11	6	5			
CHARITON	30	22	8	26	20	6	4	2	2	OZARK	8	3	5	8	3	5			
CHRISTIAN	28	13	15	28	13	15				PEMISCOT	68	44	24	59	37	22	9	7	2
CLARK	34	26	8	33	25	8	1	1		PERRY	14	12	2	14	12	2			
CLAY	28	22	6	27	21	6	1	1		PETTIS	47	33	14	47	33	14			
CLINTON	14	14	13	13	13	13	1	1		PHILIPS	12	12	7	12	7	7			
COLE	12	10	2	12	10	2				PIKE	33	28	7	31	25	6	2	1	1
COOPER	25	21	4	24	20	4	1	1		PLATTE	21	18	3	20	17	3	1	1	
CRAWFORD	24	18	6	24	18	6				POLK	27	12	15	27	12	15			
DADE	8	4	4	4	4	4				PULASKI	10	5	5	10	5	5			
DAVIES	18	13	5	18	13	5				PUTNAM	24	13	11	24	13	11			
DALLAS	7	6	1	7	6	1				RALLS	29	24	5	28	23	5	1	1	
DE KALB	21	13	8	21	13	8				RANDOLPH	30	25	5	30	25	5			
DENT	28	19	9	28	19	9				RAY	53	42	11	52	42	10	1		1
DOUGLAS	17	12	5	17	12	5				REYNOLDS	9	1	8	9	1	8			
DUNKLIN	47	33	14	47	33	14				RIPLEY	15	9	6	15	9	6			
FRANKLIN	32	23	9	32	23	9				ST. CHARLES	60	45	15	52	38	14	6	7	1
GASCONADE	18	15	3	18	15	3				ST. CLAIR	43	27	16	43	27	16			
GENTRY	19	11	8	19	11	8				ST. FRANCOIS	25	18	7	25	18	7			
GRUNDY	19	16	3	19	16	3				ST. GENEVIEVE	21	15	6	21	15	6			
HARRISON	25	18	7	25	18	7				SALINE	60	16	52	41	11	14	9	5	
HENRY	33	28	5	33	28	5				SCHUYLER	6	5	1	6	5	1			
HICKORY	6	5	1	6	5	1				SCOTLAND	21	15	6	21	15	6			
HOLT	21	16	5	21	16	5				SCOTT	31	20	11	30	20	10	1		1
HOWARD	18	13	5	11	6	5	7	7		SHANNON	21	13	8	21	13	8			
HOWELL	62	34	28	62	34	28				SHELBY	44	33	11	40	29	11	4	4	
IRON	21	10	11	21	10	11				STODDARD	55	36	19	55	27	18	2	1	1
JASPER	87	54	33	85	52	33	2	2		STONE	1	4	4	1	3	3			
JEFFERSON	13	6	7	13	6	7				SULLIVAN	47	29	18	47	29	18			
JOHNSON	30	20	10	30	20	10				TANEY	1	1	1	1	1	1			
KNOX	5	2	3	5	2	3				TEXAS	38	17	21	38	17	21			
LACLEDE	4	4		4	4					VERNON	24	22	2	24	22	2			
LAFAYETTE	44	36	8	41	33	8	3	3		WARREN	4	4	1	3	3	1	1	1	
LAWRENCE	32	23	9	32	23	9				WASHINGTON	9	8	9	9	8	8			
LEWIS	44	20	24	41	18	23	3	2	1	WEBSTER	27	18	9	27	18	9			
										WORTH	5	2	3	5	3	2			
										WRIGHT	14	5	9	14	5	9			

TABLE IV. MARITAL STATUS OF INMATES, CLASSIFIED BY SEX, 1933 AND 1935.

COUNTY	All Inmates								Male								Female							
	Total		Married		Widowed		Single		Total		Married		Widowed		Single		Total		Married		Widowed		Single	
	1933 ¹	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935	1933	1935
ALL COUNTIES	1,656	1,192	241	46	675	501	740	645	1,176	816	156	23	465	320	553	473	480	376	83	23	210	181	187	173
ANDREW	30	32	1	2	9	15	20	15	24	25	2	1	7	14	16	10	6	7	2	1	2	1	4	5
ATCHISON	18	15 ²	2		6	4	10	11	17	15			9	11	10	11	7	9	3		2	8	2	1
BARRY	34	30	8		11	23	15	7	27	21	5	1	2	6	3	7	4	5	1		1	2	2	3
BARTON	10	18	2		3	8	5	10	6	13	1		6	4	2	2	10	10			2	6		
BENTON	13	22	1	8	8	12	4	2	11	12	1	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	1	7	1
CALDWELL	11	8 ²	1		5	3	5	5	8	8	1		3	2	4	3	2	2			2	1	7	1
CALLAWAY	51	39 ²			29	11	22	28	28	19			13	3	15	16	23	20			16	8	12	4
CAPE GIRARDEAU	33	24	9		8	10	16	14	26	18	8		4	6	14	10	7	8	1	1	4	4	2	2
CARROLL	18	19	2		10	6	6	13	14	15	1		7	4	11	4	3	3			3	2	1	
CARTER	10	3	6		4	4	3	7	7	2	3		8	7	4	6	4	2			2	5	4	4
CASS	35	43	6		13	15	16	22	24	31	4		4	10	12	18	11	12	3	3	5	4	4	
CEDAR	16	24	1	2	13	13	2	9	15	20	3		13	10	2	9	1	4	1	1	3	7	7	7
CHRISTIAN	28	28	7	2	7	21	19	9	17	13	3		1	13	4	1	9	2			1	1	1	
CLINTON	17	13 ²	2		13	7	2	6	15	13	1		9	5	2	5	2	2			1	2		
COLE	13	12			10	7	2	5	11	10			4	2	4	3	4	4						
DADE	16	8	3		6	1	7	7	12	4	3		5	1	4	3	4	4			1	3	4	4
DALLAS	11	7	2		3	2	6	5	10	6	2		2	2	2	4	4	4			1	1	2	2
DAVIESS	12	18	2	4	6	7	4	7	10	13	1	2	5	6	6	2	2	6	1	2	1	2	2	2
DE KALB	17	21	1		2	3	14	18	11	13	1		1	10	13	6	9	1			2	4	2	8
DENT	26	28	2		7	7	17	21	22	19	1		6	7	15	13	4	4			3	3	4	5
GENTRY	19	19	1		10	7	8	12	12	11	1		10	20	16	10	7	7	1		2	4	7	3
HENRY	31	35	1		7	14	27	19	21	26	3	1	6	4	5	11	6	5			2	2	3	2
HOLT	20	21	5	2	3	8	13	13	14	16	3		1	3	3	1	2	2			1	1	1	1
LACLEDE	5	4	1		3	4	1	3	4	4			3	4	3	1	2	2			1	1	1	1
LAWRENCE	32	32	7	4	17	14	8	14	24	23	4	2	13	8	7	13	8	9			4	6	1	1
LIVINGSTON	36	33	5		11	19	20	14	24	24	3		16	12	8	12	9	9	2	2	4	3	6	6
MACON	64	48		2	46	19	18	27	34	27	1		22	6	12	20	30	21	1		24	13	6	6
MCDONALD	27	22 ²			9	14	18	8	21	14			7	7	6	6	8	8			2	2	4	6
MONITEAU	16	17	2		2	5	12	12	8	9			29	14	3	6	8	11			20	4	1	1
NEW MADRID	49	34		2	49	23	9	29	29	23	8	1	8	19	13	17	9	7	2	1	4	2	3	5
NEWTON	44	43	10		18	21	16	22	35	36	2	2	1	11	14	21	10	14			10	4	4	4
NODAWAY	42	46	3		21	21	18	25	32	32	2		16	11	14	21	10	14	1		1	4	4	4
OSAGE	10	11	1		1	3	8	8	6	6			2	2	4	4	5	5			1	4	4	4
FEMISCOT	78	68	4	4	33	72	31	59	44	44	2	2	2	57	21	17	24	2	2	2	12	15	10	
FERRY	10	14	1	2	1	3	8	9	9	12	1		1	2	7	9	1	2			1	1	1	1
PHELPS	11	19			1	6	10	13	6	12	2		7	5	6	7	5	7	1		3	1	4	6
POLK	31	27	3		10	6	18	21	14	12	2		4	4	5	8	15	15	1		2	2	13	13
PULASKI	8	10	3		2	6	3	4	6	5	3		1	3	2	2	2	11			1	5	2	2
RAY	60	53	2		37	28	21	25	43	42	1		26	1	16	22	11	11	1		11	5	3	3
REYNOLDS	17	9	1		9	5	7	4	4	1			2	2	1	2	5	5			2	1	1	1
RIPLEY	25	14 ²	4		10	4	11	6	13	8	2	2	15	7	22	19	12	16	4		4	6	6	3
ST. CLAIR	56	43	10	2	21	13	25	28	43	27	6		6	3	3	5	2	2			2	4	1	2
SCHUYLER	7	6			4	1	3	5	5	5			2	2	4	10	6	1	1		3	4	1	2
SCOTLAND	14	21	3		6	9	5	12	9	15	2		3	5	4	10	5	6			1	4	13	7
SHELBY	50	44	4		13	16	33	28	35	33	3		12	12	20	21	15	11	1		1	4	7	7
STODDARD	57	55	14		20	24	23	31	31	36	6		9	12	16	24	28	19	6		11	12	7	7
STONE	4	4			3	2	1	2	2	1			1	1	1	3	3	2			1	1	1	2
TANEY	1	1			1	1	1	2	1	1			1	1	1	9	2	2			2	1	1	1
VERNON	31	24			20	15	11	9	28	22			18	13	10	3	3	2			1	2	1	1
WORTH	8	5	3		1	2	4	3	5	3	2		1	1	2	2	2	2	1		1	1	1	1

¹ Complete data for 1933 available for only the 50 counties included in the table.
² Excluding one inmate for whom no data were reported.
³ Excluding two inmates for whom no data were reported.

TABLE V. LAST OCCUPATION OF INMATES, CLASSIFIED BY COLOR AND SEX, 1935.

Last Occupation ^{1/}	All Inmates						White						Negro					
	Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ALL OCCUPATIONS	2,813 ^{2/}	100.0	1,922	100.0	893	100.0	2,688	100.0	1,829	100.0	859	100.0	125	100.0	92	100.0	33	100.0
FARMING	735	26.1	723	37.6	12	1.4	721	26.8	709	38.8	12	1.4	14	11.2	14	15.2		
HOUSEKEEPING	419	14.9			419	46.9	414	15.5			414	48.2	5	4.0			5	15.1
LABORING	794	28.2	772	40.2	22	2.5	732	27.2	710	38.8	22	2.6	62	49.6	62	67.4		
SKILLED TRADES	204	7.3	194	10.1	10	1.2	200	7.4	192	10.5	8	0.9	4	3.2	2	2.2	2	6.1
PERSONAL AND DOMESTIC SERVICE	231	8.2	11	0.6	220	24.6	209	7.8	8	0.4	201	23.4	22	17.6	3	3.2	19	57.6
CLERICAL AND PROFESSIONAL	41	1.5	22	1.1	19	2.1	40	1.5	21	1.1	19	2.2	1	0.8	1	1.1		
ALL OTHER OCCUPATIONS	61	2.2	57	3.0	4	0.5	60	2.2	56	3.1	4	0.5	1	0.8	1	1.1		
NONE	282	10.0	123	6.4	159	17.8	266	9.9	114	6.2	152	17.7	16	12.8	9	9.8	7	21.2
NEVER WORKED	46	1.6	19	1.0	27	3.0	46	1.7	19	1.1	27	3.1						

^{1/} Occupation followed by inmate prior to commitment to institution.

^{2/} Excluding 92 inmates for whom no data were reported.

THE RURAL ALMSHOUSE POPULATION IN MISSOURI

TABLE VI. NUMBER OF FEEBLE-MINDED AND INSANE INMATES, 1933 AND 1935. 1/

COUNTY	1933			1935			COUNTY	1933			1935		
	All Inmates	Feeble-Minded	Insane	All Inmates	Feeble-Minded	Insane		All Inmates	Feeble-Minded	Insane	All Inmates	Feeble-Minded	Insane
ALL COUNTIES	3,114	1,001	470	2,855	759	360	LINN	49	42	5	38	9	12
ADAIR	25	5	1	24	8		LIVINGSTON	36	30	4	33	11	7
ANDREW	30	9	6	32	15	2	MACON	64	14	4	48	39	
ATCHISON	18	2		16	2		MADISON	20	3	17	12	3	
AUDRAIN	18	2		23	6		MARIES	17	4	1	13	8	
BARRY	34	10	2	30	3	10	MARION	112	64	28	92	28	15
BARTON	10			18	13		McDONALD	27	18	3	23	2	4
BATES	23	4		21	4	2	MERCER	25	19	4	31	16	
BENTON	13	4		22	9		MILLER	22	10	1	17	2	1
BOLLINGER	13	7	6	11	2	4	MONITEAU	16	5	1	17	9	2
BOONE	50	8		61	10	3	MONROE	33	26		46	14	5
CALDWELL	11	8		9	3	1	MONTGOMERY	22	4		17		
CALLAWAY	51		13	41	11	8	MORGAN	16	2	3	15	7	
CAMDEN	15	8		21	7	5	NEW MADRID	49	4	20	34	8	7
CAPE GIRARDEAU	33	11		24	4		NEWTON	44	19	2	43	22	
CARROLL	18	4		19	2		NODAWAY	42	7	14	46	10	10
CARTER	10	4	1	3	2		OREGON	8			2		
CASS	35	6	3	43	7	6	OSAGE	10	5		11	3	4
CEDAR	18	7	1	24	6		OZARK	27	1		8	7	
CHARITON	35	22		30	10	3	FEMISCOT	76	3	29	68	6	23
CHRISTIAN	28	3	9	28	4		PERRY	10			14	4	
CLARK	35	24	2	34	4	2	PETTIS	52	1	7	47	9	1
CLAY	33	3		28	5		PHELPS	11			19		
CLINTON	17	3	1	14		2	PIKE	32	5		33	14	
COLE	13	3		12	3		PLATTE	19	4	1	21	4	1
COOPER	28	1		25	6		POLK	31	14	8	27	5	5
CRAWFORD	24	16	1	24	10		PULLASKI	8	3		10	6	
DADE	16	3		8	1		PUTNAM	25	14	1	24	10	1
DALLAS	11	3	2	7	2	1	RALLS	23	9	3	29	2	2
DAVISS	12	7		18	2		RANDOLPH	37	6	1	30	6	
DE KALB	17	8	3	21	10		RAY	60	14		53	8	7
DENT	26	5	4	28	8	6	REYNOLDS	17	7	8	9	6	1
DOUGLAS	20	5	6	17	4	5	RIPLEY	25	5	8	15	6	
DUNKLIN	62	10	20	47	11	10	ST. CHARLES	64	16	8	60	14	1
FRANKLIN	27	18		32	7	1	ST. CLAIR	56	9	30	43	11	18
GASCONADE	12			18	8		ST. FRANCOIS	26	21		25	6	
GENTRY	19	4	2	19	1	3	STE. GENEVIEVE	29	5		21	4	
GRUNDY	18	6	1	19	2		SALINE	62	22		66	5	
HARRISON	39	34	2	38	13	6	SCHUYLER	7	2	1	6	1	
HENRY	31	10	6	33	10	8	SCOTLAND	14	10	2	21	2	1
HICKORY	21	2		6			SCOTT	37	15		31	8	
HOLT	20	4	1	21	3		SHANNON	20	3	8	21	4	7
HOWARD	17			18	7	5	SHELBY	50	26	1	44	17	8
HOWELL	59	4	36	62	5	38	STODDARD	57	35	5	55	13	13
IRCN	23	9	12	21	11	5	STONE	4	1		4		
JASPER	128	50	23	97	23	16	SULLIVAN	64	41	23	47	9	14
JEFFERSON	15	2	1	13	2		TANEY	1			1		
JOHNSON	41	12	3	30	9	2	TEXAS	52	6	26	38	11	15
LACLEDE	5	2		4			VERNON	31	5	4	24	7	
LAFAYETTE	39	9		44	5	1	WARREN	6	1		4	1	
LAWRENCE	32	6	2	32	11		WASHINGTON	5			9	1	
LEWIS	41	12	9	44	17	10	WEBSTER	25	8	1	27	6	6
LINCOLN	23	3	1	20	6		WORTH	8	3	2	5	4	
							WRIGHT	23	4	4	14	5	3

1/ Complete data available for only 106 counties.

THE RURAL ALMSHOUSE POPULATION IN MISSOURI

 TABLE VII. NUMBER OF INSANE AND FEEBLE-MINDED INMATES IN STATE HOSPITALS
 AND NUMBER RECEIVING LOCAL CARE, 1935.

COUNTY	Insane and Feeble-Minded			COUNTY	Insane and Feeble-Minded		
	Total	Number in State Hospitals	Number Receiving Local Care		Total	Number in State Hospitals	Number Receiving Local Care
ALL COUNTIES	6,240	5,104	1,136	LIVINGSTON	63	45	18
ADAIR	67	59	8	MCDONALD	36	30	6
ANDREW	54	37	17	MACON	116	77	39
ATCHISON	40	38	2	MADISON	20	17	3
AUDRAIN	100	94	6	MARIES	30	22	8
BARRY	72	59	13	MARION	111	68	43
BARTON	79	66	13	MERCER	36	20	16
BATES	72	66	6	MILLER	51	48	3
BENTON	52	43	9	MISSISSIPPI	31	31	
BOLLINGER	31	25	6	MONTEAU	56	45	11
BOONE	120	107	13	MONROE	61	42	19
BUTLER	52	35	17	MONTGOMERY	55	55	
CALDWELL	45	41	4	MORGAN	40	33	7
CALLAWAY	103	84	19	NEW MADRID	51	36	15
CAMDEN	25	13	12	NEWTON	94	72	22
CAPE GIRARDEAU	72	68	4	NODAWAY	96	76	20
CARROLL	62	60	2	OREGON	12	12	
CARTER	9	7	2	OSAGE	41	34	7
CASS	76	63	13	OZARK	21	14	7
CEDAR	54	45	9	PEMISCOT	75	46	29
CHARITON	70	60	10	PERRY	43	38	5
CHRISTIAN	36	32	4	PETTIS	131	122	9
CLARK	47	41	6	PHELPS	50	36	14
CLAY	81	76	5	PIKE	92	87	5
CLINTON	55	53	2	PLATTE	59	54	5
COLE	86	83	3	POLK	56	39	17
COOPER	69	63	6	PULASKI	28	20	6
CRAWFORD	24	14	10	PUTNAM	33	22	11
DADE	38	37	1	RALLS	37	33	4
DALLAS	28	25	3	RANDOLPH	94	88	6
DAVIESS	52	50	2	RAY	67	52	15
DE KALE	44	34	10	REYNOLDS	18	11	7
DENT	29	15	14	RIPLEY	32	26	6
DOUGLAS	25	15	10	ST. CHARLES	87	72	15
DUNKLIN	55	34	21	ST. CLAIR	45	16	29
FRANKLIN	92	84	8	ST. FRANCOIS	116	110	6
GASCONADE	46	38	8	STE. GENEVIEVE	35	31	4
GENTRY	36	32	4	SALINE	111	106	5
GRUNDY	42	40	2	SCHUYLER	16	15	1
HARRISON	58	39	19	SCOTLAND	39	36	3
HENRY	83	65	18	SCOTT	64	56	8
HICKORY	25	25		SHANNON	17	8	11
HOLT	43	40	3	SHELBY	53	28	25
HOWARD	46	34	12	STODDARD	62	36	26
HOWELL	51	8	43	STOLE	21	21	
IRON	33	17	16	SULLIVAN	42	19	23
JASPER	277	238	39	TANEY	15	15	
JEFFERSON	84	82	2	TEXAS	53	27	26
JOHNSON	101	90	11	VERNON	90	83	7
LACLEDE	39	39		WARREN	16	15	1
LAFAYETTE	109	103	6	WASHINGTON	29	28	1
LAWRENCE	86	75	11	WAYNE	33	33	
LEWIS	56	29	27	WEBSTER	51	39	12
LINCOLN	59	53	6	WORTH	16	12	4
LINN	72	51	21	WRIGHT	31	23	8