

ARTICLE

“The Eye of the Juvenile Court”: Report Cards, Juvenile Corrections, and a Colorado Street Kid, 1900–1920

Wade H. Morris* 

United World College East Africa, Moshi, Tanzania

*Corresponding author. Email: morriswh@gmail.com

Abstract

Andrew Monroe [pseud.] (b. 1894) was a Colorado street kid whose acts of truancy and theft landed him before the state’s early juvenile courts, and his youth was marked by attempts at escape from reform school. His childhood and youth provide insights into the mechanics of how systems of juvenile corrections operated in the early twentieth century. To enforce new truancy laws, Progressive Era child-savers relied on report cards for the surveillance of probationers, categorizing children like Andrew as “stubborn,” “unyielding,” and “disobedient.” Ultimately, Andrew’s refusal to comply with these new forms of institutional control serves as a case study for the challenges that children faced in escaping an apparatus that reduced them to the label of “delinquent.”

Keywords: juvenile corrections; juvenile courts; reform schools; disciplinary power; report cards; Colorado history

For Andrew Monroe [pseud.] (1894–1971), report cards made the difference between incarceration and freedom.¹ Andrew was a street kid. He grew up in a variety of Colorado towns and the railroad tracks were his playground. He ran away from school, ran away from his mother, and tended to take things that were not his. In 1906, a judge sentenced Andrew to the State Industrial School for Boys, partially on the basis of information from school report cards. By April 1910, Andrew had been institutionalized for nearly four years at the Industrial School, and report cards were still keeping him from freedom. His misbehavior at the reform school, as well as his repeated attempts at escape, were all documented on periodic report cards submitted to the parole board. Given the information on the reports, Andrew would most likely have been incarcerated for another six years, or until he turned twenty-one years old. But on April 11, 1910, Andrew did what he had done

¹Colorado’s Department of Human Services requested that I use a pseudonym for the protagonist in this article.



Figure 1: Truant boys, appearing before one of Colorado's juvenile courts, around the same time that Andrew Monroe was sentenced as a twelve-year-old, c. 1906. Credit: Truant Boys, c. 1900-1910, Harry H. Buckwalter Collection, CHS-B1044 (Stephen H. Hart Research Center, History Colorado Museum, Denver, CO).²

three times before. He snuck out the Industrial School, made his way to the tracks near Golden, Colorado, and hopped on a train heading east.

Andrew Monroe's life—and the long-term impact that report cards played in that life—serves as a case study for broader insights into systems of juvenile corrections in the early twentieth century.³ I am defining report cards as the systematic communication from the school to guardians, detailing a student's attendance, academic performance, and/or personal conduct.

Early references to report cards appeared in the education journals of the 1830s and 1840s. In the antebellum period, schoolmasters experimented with ways to enlist the cooperation of parents who were quick to take the side of their children in disciplinary disputes.⁴ In other words, the report card was born as a teacher initiative in an era of common school expansion to co-opt parental support.

²Unfortunately, I was unable to locate any photographs of Andrew Monroe [pseud.].

³Andrew Monroe's life is also an example of what James C. Scott calls *high-modernist ideology* and how that ideology shaped the lives of marginalized adolescents. Scott coins the phrase *high modernism* in *Seeing Like a State*, which chronicles how nineteenth- and early twentieth-century states reduced complex social phenomena to "heroic simplification." See James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 3-8.

⁴Wade H. Morris, "The Birth of the Report Card: A Foucauldian Analysis of a 19th Century Classroom Teacher," *Vitae Scholasticae* 28, no. 1 (2020), 35-54. There were, of course, multiple causes for the rise of grading systems. As William Reese shows, one cause of antebellum testing was the effort by superintendents to assert their power over the traditional autonomy of schoolmasters. My argument is that the impetus for teachers to communicate those grades to parents was to co-opt parental support in the assertion of control over the pupil. See William J. Reese, *Testing Wars in the Public Schools: A Forgotten History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

After the Civil War, superintendents and principals mandated the use of report cards, an evolution that coincided with the increasing centralization of control over schools.⁵ The report card appeared in Colorado in the 1870s, a decade marked by school growth and centralization.⁶ In towns like Georgetown and Boulder, newspapers announced the distribution of report cards, reminding parents to review their child's "scholarship and deportment."⁷ Report cards from 1882, 1890, and 1893 have survived in a variety of Colorado archives.⁸ By Andrew Monroe's birth, report cards were an accepted ritual of the academic calendar.⁹ Teachers and principals no longer had to explain their function to the public. In fact, parents increasingly demanded more information on report cards.¹⁰

In the early 1900s, as Andrew entered school, teachers began submitting those same report cards to probation officers and judges, who relied on teachers for surveillance of their probationers.¹¹ Within the context of reform schools, teachers and "company commanders" submitted their report cards to parole boards within the state's juvenile corrections system. However, the performance areas designated in the reports remained consistent, whether the intended audience was a parent, probation officer, judge, or parole board: attendance, scholarship, and deportment.

⁵For examples among primary sources, see James Pyle Wickersham, *School Economy: A Treatise on the Preparation, Organization, Employments, Government, and Authorities of Schools* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1867); "School Registers," *Maine Journal of Education* 4, no. 6 (June 1870), 204-5; "Intelligence," *Massachusetts Teacher* 28, no. 6 (June 1874), 256-58; "Publisher's Notes," *Illinois School Journal* 1, no. 11 (March 1882), 30.

⁶Progressive reformers of all types favored a variety of centralization tactics. For studies of this process in local and national contexts, see David F. Labaree, *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988); Tracy L. Steffes, *School, Society, and State: A New Education to Govern Modern America, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Kate Rousmaniere, *The Principal's Office: A Social History of the American School Principal* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 3-4; David A. Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban: Designing the Progressive School District, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 7.

⁷"School Reports," *Colorado Banner* (Boulder), April 12, 1877, 1; "High School Report," *Colorado Miner* (Georgetown), Nov. 22, 1879, 4.

⁸Report Card, 1882, Folder 2, Box 11, Darley Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Colorado-Boulder, Boulder, CO; Mattie Love, Monthly Report Card, 1890, Folder 12, Box 1, Paul E. Miller Papers, Stephen H. Hart Research Center, History Colorado Museum, Denver, CO; Jean Hawkins, Report Card, 1893, Folder 8, Box 2, Addison Hawkins Family Collection, Stephen H. Hart Research Center, History Colorado Museum, Denver, CO.

⁹"School Reports That Puzzle Poor Parents," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Oct. 6, 1901, 5; "Giving Medals in Schools," *San Francisco Call*, May 11, 1897, 14; "Among Our Schools," *Sterling (IL) Daily Standard*, Dec. 17, 1897, 3.

¹⁰See the diary entries for March 3, 1879, and June 26, 1880, in Diary of Emily Jane Winkler Bealer, 1876-1886, MSS814f, Folder 2, Emily Jane Winkler Bealer Collection, Kenan Research Library, Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, GA; Henrietta Fletcher to Katherine Fletcher, c. 1885, Folder 015, Box 063, CnbC063f015i044, Fletcher Family Papers, University of Vermont Libraries, Burlington, VT; "All Mothers," *Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, OK), Dec. 8, 1900, 4.

¹¹Ethan Hutt and Jack Schneider identify the 1870s as the beginning of an era in which grades, originally intended for internal communication between parents and students, became a means through which to communicate a child's merit beyond the school community. I am arguing that the list of external recipients of grades should include juvenile court judges, truant officers, and parole boards. Jack Schneider and Ethan Hutt, "Making the Grade: A History of the A-F Marking Scheme," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 46, no. 2 (March 2014), 209.

This study of Andrew Monroe and his experiences with school reports extends recent scholarship on the history of juvenile corrections in the United States.¹² For instance, Ethan Hutt's research on the evolution of compulsory education before late nineteenth and early twentieth century courts reveals that by the first few decades of the twentieth century, judges deemed "education as being synonymous with attendance at school."¹³ Meanwhile, Tamara Myers documents the importance of "surveillance and regulation" in the new "disciplinary apparatus" of the Progressive Era.¹⁴ As Julia Grant points out, the nearly insurmountable task of "corralling the boys of the streets into schools" was a far more challenging endeavor than reformers had anticipated.¹⁵

This article argues that the report card was the most important tool that child-savers employed to do that corralling, an overlooked detail in a process that "proved more difficult than reformers had envisioned," as Grant writes.¹⁶ As the following discussion shows, the report card—written by teachers and school administrators then submitted to court officers and judges—was the lynchpin of the system that Myers describes.

By recovering Monroe's entire life history up to his death in 1971, this study also extends the work of scholars who have centered the narratives of children in their histories of juvenile corrections. In his study of race and juvenile justice in Texas, William S. Bush relies on the documentation of boys like Jimmy Jones, who fled reform school, was attacked by guard dogs, received "forty licks" for his insubordination, and then had to navigate a system of peer informants.¹⁷ However, because of a lack of primary sources, none of Bush's case studies extend into adulthood, beyond the confines of the juvenile correction system. Most recently, Tera Eva Agyepong shows how the discourse of racism, combined with systems of surveillance, shaped the lives of African American children in Chicago's juvenile justice system.¹⁸

¹²These more recent histories build on the work of Michael Katz, Anthony M. Platt, and Steven Mintz. Katz dedicates a chapter of *The Irony of Early School Reform* to a single Massachusetts reform school's history, when reformers "took off their velvet gloves" and made explicit that "education was to be a key weapon in a battle against poverty, crime, and vice." Platt, writing around the same time as Katz, argues that Progressive reformers, in their effort to help marginalized children, "invented new categories of youthful misbehavior which had been hitherto unappreciated." More recently, Mintz chronicles how the efforts of the urbanized elite to create juvenile corrections systems led them to "universalize the middle-class ideals of childhood." Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 164; Anthony M. Platt, *Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1969), 3-4; Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 184.

¹³Ethan L. Hutt, "Formalism Over Function: Compulsion, Courts, and the Rise of Educational Formalism in America, 1870-1930," *Teachers College Record* 114, no. 1 (Jan. 2012), 2-3.

¹⁴Tamara Myers, *Youth Squad: Policing Children in the Twentieth Century* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 44. Also see Sarah E. Igo, *The Known Citizen: A History of Privacy in Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 129-34.

¹⁵Julia Grant, *The Boy Problem: Educating Boys in Urban America, 1870-1970* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 26-27; 91-92.

¹⁶Grant, *The Boy Problem*, 91-92.

¹⁷William S. Bush, *Who Gets a Childhood? Race and Juvenile Justice in Twentieth-Century Texas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 7-9.

¹⁸Tera Eva Agyepong, *The Criminalization of Black Children: Race, Gender, and Delinquency in Chicago's Juvenile Justice System, 1899-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 7-9.

However, like Bush, Agyepong does not trace the impact of juvenile corrections onto the former “delinquents” after they left the correctional system. Meanwhile, in the epilogue of Miroslava Chávez-García’s book on juvenile justice in California, the author employs oral history to reflect on the long-term impact of reform school. One of her subjects, Frank Aguirre, recalled his time at reform school with a mix of nostalgia and disdain. He was grateful that the school taught him “self-restraint” while at the same time admitting that he “felt emotionally raped.”¹⁹

Monroe, unlike the examples in Agyepong’s and Chávez-García’s studies, was a native-born White, a child for whom the system of juvenile corrections was the intended beneficiary.²⁰ Society gave Monroe second chances, and most boys who had their reports submitted to juvenile courts avoided incarceration. Yet Monroe refused to comply with the system as a minor, and he grew into an adult who hurt people both physically and psychologically. Monroe’s life ultimately reveals a paradox of Foucauldian disciplinary power.²¹ In his resistance to the labels imposed on him by reports, Monroe inadvertently reinforced those labels. He was a delinquent, and the more he fought back, the more authorities documented his delinquency. This was a self-fulfilling cycle that led to tragic long-term consequences for boys like Andrew Monroe.²²

The Report Card and Early Juvenile Courts

Judge Ben B. Lindsey (see [Figure 2](#)), of Arapahoe County, Colorado, created the juvenile court system before which Andrew Monroe eventually appeared. On a typical Saturday in the early 1900s, about two hundred children and adolescents, most of them boys, would crowd into Judge Lindsey’s courtroom. For an entire afternoon, the children on probation would stand and read their reports, written by their classroom teachers. These report cards were essential to Judge Lindsey’s new and innovative juvenile court. The county government could not afford to hire truant officers, so Lindsey enlisted teachers to serve as his probation surveillance system. According to Lindsey, most of the teachers’ reports were positive. However, a series of negative

¹⁹See Miroslava Chávez-García, *States of Delinquency: Race and Science in the Making of California’s Juvenile Justice System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 173-75.

²⁰See Agyepong, *The Criminalization of Black Children*, 4 and 37.

²¹Michel Foucault identifies the rise of disciplinary power, where surveillance, observation, and ranking—all aspects of report cards—were essential components of a new era in which power eschewed violence, employing new tools in an effort to create “docile bodies.” Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 135.

²²Monroe’s life might reflect political philosopher Mark Bevir’s distinction between autonomy and agency. Building on Michel Foucault’s work, Bevir concludes that there can be no “autonomous subject who stands outside of society,” meaning that no individual can live, grow, and develop consciousness in isolation from their surroundings. Monroe, in other words, was not “sovereign” over his own life, he could not rule himself “uninfluenced by others.” Yet young Andrew asserted his independence. He “constructed” himself, as Bevir would say, by refusing to obey disciplinary power. Monroe acted in “creative, novel ways” to alter the social backdrop that attempted to control him. “Agents,” as Bevir wrote, “are creative beings.” A study of Monroe’s life therefore offers insight into how many individuals navigated the disciplinary power of modernity. Mark Bevir, “Foucault and Critique: Deploying Agency Against Autonomy,” *Political Theory* 27, no. 1 (Feb. 1999), 68-77.



Figure 2: Judge Ben Lindsey and boys in juvenile court, c. 1913. Credit: Mrs. Ben B. Lindsey Collection, LOT 5650 (Library of Congress, Washington, DC).

report cards from teachers, documenting a child's insolence, truancy, or misbehavior, could result in a child being sent to reform school.²³

By the early 1900s, the middle-class elite of industrialized urban centers like Denver struggled to manage the perceived threat of the working-class and largely immigrant labor force.²⁴ In response, municipal and state governments created new institutions such as juvenile courts, which were a continuation of the existing trends among middle-class "child-savers."²⁵ Before the 1890s, children typically appeared in the same criminal courts as adults.²⁶ But at the end of the century, judicial systems were being reformed in deference to the findings of scientific experts.²⁷ In 1899,

²³D'Ann Campbell, "Judge Ben Lindsey and the Juvenile Court Movement, 1901-1904," *Arizona and the West* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1976), 9-10. For the way compulsory education laws prompted greater school oversight of children, see Steffes, *School, Society, and State*, 119-54.

²⁴By the early 1900s, Denver was in the midst of a remarkable period of growth. In 1870, the city counted a population of 4,759. Fifty years later, about 200,000 people resided in Denver. The city served as a kind of port, where the mountain mines met the railroads that stretched east across the plains. At the juncture of mountains and plains, "diabolical conditions" existed in Denver's smelter plants, which employed thousands of immigrant laborers. See Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 59-63; Andrew J. Polsky, *The Rise of the Therapeutic State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 4-70.

²⁵Emma Watkins and Barry Godfrey, *Criminal Children: Researching Juvenile Offenders, 1820-1920* (Philadelphia: Pen & Sword Books, 2018), 4-5; Ken McGrew, *Education's Prisoners: Schooling, the Political Economy, and the Prison Industrial Complex* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 26-29; David S. Tanenhaus, *Juvenile Justice in the Making* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 35.

²⁶See Christopher J. Menihan, "Criminal Mind or Inculpable Adolescence? A Glimpse at the History, Failures, and Required Changes of the American Juvenile Correction System," *Pace Law Review* 35, no. 2 (Winter 2014), 766; Joseph E. Illick, *American Childhoods* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 89.

²⁷See Alice Boardman Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children, 1893-1935* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 7; Elizabeth Brown, "The 'Unchildlike Child': Making and Marking the Child/

the Illinois legislature created the Cook County Juvenile Court, which claimed to be the first of its kind in the United States.²⁸ Other cities followed, with the stated goal to “personalize the justice system” around the needs of the minors.²⁹

In 1901, Lindsey used a loophole in Colorado’s statutes to unilaterally create a juvenile court.³⁰ In contrast to the Illinois precedent, Judge Lindsey emphasized informality.³¹ He refused to call a juvenile a criminal and instead used the phrase a *juvenile disorderly person*.³² Lindsey told one reporter, “We don’t try cases. We hear the boys’ stories.”³³ The Denver press praised Lindsey as a progressive hero, affectionately calling him “Little Ben” (he stood five feet four and weighed less than one hundred pounds).³⁴ Lindsey believed that, through encouragement and empathy, disorderly juveniles could change their habits and reform themselves without the use of coercive force.³⁵

A bit of a paradox lay at the heart of Lindsey’s court. Claiming to be informal and empathetic, Lindsey even described the process within his juvenile court as “elastic” at one point. When he published a blank sample of report cards in 1905, however, the reports were brief and lacked any space for nuance, indicating that he relied on a formulaic system of teacher reports. (see Figure 3).³⁶ In one column, teachers rated the

Adult Divide in the Juvenile Court,” *Children’s Geographies* 9, no. 3-4 (Oct. 2011), 366-67; Chávez-García, *States of Delinquency*, 72-95. See also Rima D. Apple, *Perfect Motherhood: Science and Childrearing in America* (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 2-3; Platt, *Child Savers*, 9.

²⁸McGrew, *Education’s Prisoners*, 29.

²⁹Platt, *Child Savers*, 143.

³⁰Paul Colomy and Martin Kretzmann, “Projects and Institution Building: Judge Ben B. Lindsey and the Juvenile Court Movement,” *Social Problems* 42, no. 2 (May 1995), 197-99.

³¹Tanenhous, *Juvenile Justice in the Making*, 35.

³²Lindsey’s quote about “juvenile disorderly person” can be found in Joseph M. Hawes, *Children in Urban Society: Juvenile Delinquency in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 232. According to one report, Lindsey sent just fifty boys to the reform school in Golden during his career. Indeed, a Denver newspaper reported in 1914 that two hundred out of the two hundred probationers in that year received positive school reports and therefore avoided reform school. See Campbell, “Judge Ben Lindsey and the Juvenile Court Movement,” 8; “The Youthful Delinquent: A New Way to Deal with Him,” *New York Times*, Feb. 25, 1906, 3.

³³“The Youthful Delinquent: A New Way to Deal with Him,” 3. Lindsey’s approach became typical among progressive judges. In New York, Jacob Panken expanded the power of his municipal court to deal with family violence while maintaining the “leeway in deciding case outcomes” based on his principles of “love, sympathy, understanding, and kindness.” See Britt P. Tevis, “‘The People’s Judge’: Jacob Panken, Yiddish Socialism, and American Law,” *American Journal of Legal History* 59, no. 1 (March 2019), 58 and 61.

³⁴A. E. Winship, “Ben B. Lindsey,” *Journal of Education* 59, no. 19 (May 12, 1904), 291.

³⁵Ben B. Lindsey, “General Discussion,” in *Proceeding of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at the Twenty-Ninth Annual Session Held in the City of Detroit*, ed. Isabel C. Barrows (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, Co., 1902), 436. Typically, over 90 percent of the juveniles who appeared before Lindsey’s court were White. About 15 percent of the total were labeled “Irish,” 12 percent were “Italian,” and 20 percent were “Jewish.” Between 5 and 10 percent were categorized as “Negro.” In terms of gender, typically 10-15 percent of the juveniles who appeared before the court were female. See *Report of the Denver Juvenile Court* (Denver, CO: Published by the City and County of Denver, 1909), 11-16; *Report of the Denver Juvenile Court* (Denver, CO: Published by the City and County of Denver, 1910), 9-12.

³⁶Ben B. Lindsey, “The Bad Boy: How to Save Him,” *American Motherhood* 21, no. 6 (Oct. 1905), 231-38. Lindsey used the term *elastic* on page 235.

TEACHER'S REPORT TO JUVENILE COURT.
(Delivered to Child.)

Denver, Colo. 190..

School

Name in full

Age Grade

Department Attendance

Remarks

Teacher.

PRINCIPAL'S PETITION
Recommending Action in the Interest of Habitual Truants
and Delinquents.

Principal

Teacher

School

Date of Report

To be sent to the Juvenile Court.

1. Name of Child
2. Address
3. Sex:
4. Age: (Give date and place of birth, if known.)
..... Years. Months
5. Offense: (Habitual Truancy or Incurable Conduct.)
6. Date of last Offense:

Truant officers will assist Principals in obtaining any information which may be lacking.

Principals will please fill out this blank in full, as the information is essential in order to handle the case successfully. State the facts briefly.

7. Name of Parent:
8. Occupation of Parent:

9. Nationality of Parent:
10. Creed of Parents: (In order that the same may be respected in case commitment to an institution or finding a home is ever necessary.)
Father Mother
11. Have Parents been indifferent about school attendance of child?
12. How often has the child been reported to Truant Officer?
13. Has the child ever been arrested, or taken into court as a delinquent?
14. Has the child ever been an inmate of any institution?
15. If so, which one?
16. Record of attendance at school:
17. Grade:

Department in school: (Good or bad.)

CHARACTERISTICS.
This information is for the benefit of the Court and Probation Officials, to be used in an endeavor to assist the child.
Unruly or obedient? .. Stubborn or Yielding? .. Dull or bright? Lazy or energetic? .. Generous or selfish? .. Slovenly or neat? .. Ill-tempered or amiable? .. Untruthful or truthful? .. Best work is in .. Poorest work is in .. Has he ever been suspended? If so, when, and for what cause? ..¹

HISTORY OF CASE.

No child should be referred to the court until the Teacher and Principal have made very reasonable effort to effect a correction in school.

Remarks

And I therefore recommend that this child be referred to the Juvenile Court for proper action by the officials thereof.

....., Principal.....

Figure 3: A sample of the school report card used in Judge Ben B. Lindsey’s court. Credit: Ben B. Lindsey, *The Juvenile Court Laws of the State of Colorado* (Denver, CO: Juvenile Improvement Association of Denver, 1905), 70-71.

probationer’s conduct with one-word answers: *good, fair, or poor*. In the next column, Lindsey asked teachers to report on the child’s attendance. On the back of the card, teachers could choose from a series of binary characteristics: “Unruly or obedient?” and “Stubborn or yielding?” and “Untruthful or truthful?” These rigid and somewhat simplistic categories provided the evidence for determining whether a child ended up in reform school.³⁷ As Lindsey wrote, the teachers’ reports were “the eye of the juvenile court.”³⁸

³⁷Ben B. Lindsey, *The Juvenile Court Laws of the State of Colorado* (Denver, CO: Juvenile Improvement Association of Denver, 1905), 68-71, <https://archive.org/details/juvenilecourtl00denvgoog/page/n72/mode/lup>.

In Foucauldian terms, Lindsey had created a new form of panopticism, or as Foucault wrote, “a type of power that is applied to individuals in the form of continuous supervision, in the form of control, punishment and compensation, and in the form of correction, that is the molding and transformation of individuals in terms of certain norms.” Michel Foucault, “Truth and Juridical Forms,” in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley and others (New York: The New Press, 1994), 70-71.

³⁸Lindsey, *The Juvenile Court Laws of the State of Colorado*, 13. Lindsey cultivated a network of progressive reformers, which fits with another theme in David A. Gamson’s book. Gamson studied educational reformers in four different cities but, in doing so, he revealed the interconnectedness of their ideas and efforts. As an example, see Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 114-21.

Juvenile Courts and Systems of Teacher Reporting

Ben Lindsey became one of several voices nationwide promoting the use of report cards in juvenile courts. He was featured in progressive journals like the nationally distributed *Juvenile Record*, where he emphasized that for his system to work, “the report must be made by [the probationer’s] teacher and principal . . . detailing school attendance and conduct.”³⁹ Articles about and by Lindsey appeared for wider audiences in the *New York Times* and the *Atlanta Constitution*.⁴⁰ In multiple trips, he traveled to locations as distant as California, Boston, and Mississippi.⁴¹ It did not take long for other cities to adopt Lindsey’s approach. In 1902, Buffalo’s teachers began returning report cards to probation officers.⁴² By 1905, a Kentucky court was using report cards.⁴³ Then, in 1908, a judge in Los Angeles adopted the practice.⁴⁴ In 1912, New York City was using customized school reports in order to “know the quality of mind of each offender,” as one judge explained.⁴⁵ In Cleveland, a probation officer wrote that “much of the success of our work is due to the hearty cooperation given by principals and teachers” who “furnish intelligence” through “report cards which pass weekly between the individual teacher and the probation officer.”⁴⁶ State laws in Massachusetts (1906), Nebraska (1906), and Idaho (1907) expressly required school authorities to make reports to juvenile court judges.⁴⁷

Each year, report cards also led to incarceration. Report cards in Chicago documented one child’s 213 absences in just two years, described another child as “the worst boy in school,” reported that one boy had taken money from a teacher’s purse, and alleged that another boy had beaten a teacher with a stick.⁴⁸ All of these children ended up in reform school. In New York, a teacher’s report of delinquency led police officers to arrive at school “with a bench warrant.”⁴⁹ The power of

³⁹Ben B. Lindsey, “Probation Work,” *Juvenile Record* 4, no. 6 (June 1903), 13-14.

⁴⁰“The Youthful Delinquent: A New Way to Deal with Him,” 3; Ben B. Lindsey, “Denver’s Juvenile Court; Its Successful Operation,” *Atlanta Constitution*, April 3, 1904, 2.

⁴¹Ben B. Lindsey, “The Child and the State,” in *Proceedings of the Third California State Conference on Charities and Corrections* (San Francisco: Preston School of Industry, 1904), 12-27; “King’s Daughters Hold Interesting Session: The Conference Was Addressed Last Night by Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 17, 1907, 1.

⁴²Frederic Almy, “Juvenile Courts and Probation,” *Juvenile Record* 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1902), 8-9.

⁴³George L. Sehon, “Address of George L. Sehon of Kentucky Children’s Home Society,” *Juvenile Record* 6, no. 11 (Nov. 1905), 5-7.

⁴⁴“Trials of Boyhood Told Gentle Judge,” *Los Angeles Herald*, April 13, 1908, 3.

⁴⁵“Schools Ask Help with Defectives,” *New York Times*, Jan. 27, 1913, 7.

⁴⁶Minnie L. Bauldauf, “The History of Juvenile Court Movement in Cleveland,” *Juvenile Record* 11, no. 5 (May 1910), 14.

⁴⁷Hastings H. Hart, ed., *Juvenile Court Laws in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910); Lorna F. Hurl and David J. Tucker, “The Michigan County Agents and the Development of Juvenile Probation, 1873-1900,” *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 4 (Summer 1997), 913; “Juvenile Court Annual Report,” *Desert Evening News*, Dec. 17, 1906, 5; “Juvenile Court—What It Is Doing,” *Fargo (ND) Forum and Daily Republican*, Oct. 3, 1911, 5 and 7; “Report of the Juvenile Court of Lyon County, Kansas,” June 30, 1921, Folder: Report of Delinquent, Dependent and Neglected Children, Office of Governor, Misc. Reports, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, KS (hereafter KHS).

⁴⁸“A Day in the Chicago Juvenile Court,” *Juvenile Record* 3, no. 5 (May 1902), 12-13.

⁴⁹“New York: Report on the System of Probation in Operation in the Court of Special Sessions in the City of New York, First Division,” *Juvenile Court Record* 9, no. 5 (May 1908), 5-8.

the report card began to concern some progressives. *Juvenile Record* captured a court scene in Detroit where a judge scolded a probationer: "I am mad at you. . . Your report says, 'Bad, bad, bad.'" As the child was threatened with reform school, the boy's mother burst into tears.⁵⁰ Critics of the new system recognized that too much power rested with the discretion of teachers. One probation officer in Chicago indicated that teachers could be unfair and that they held deep prejudices toward some children. At times, the officer would "get the boy a transfer to another school."⁵¹

In 1903, Judge Ben B. Lindsey successfully lobbied his home state, Colorado, to legally mandate his juvenile court system.⁵² Across Colorado, judges adopted the same pattern of juvenile justice.⁵³ First, minors below the age of sixteen would appear before the judge, and if they were found guilty, the judge would commute their sentences to the State Industrial School. Second, the juveniles would be ordered to attend their local public school during the probationary period. Finally, each probationer would be required to appear periodically before the court with written school reports.⁵⁴ Girls were subject to both the standard practice of school reports and extra scrutiny into their sex lives. In 1909, a sixteen-year-old girl was sentenced to the State Industrial School for Girls because of her "unusual fondness for men, both married and single."⁵⁵ Five years later in Boulder, a newspaper reported on a

⁵⁰"Detroit Juvenile Court: Some of Judge Rohnert's Views of the Delinquent Problem and His Methods of Handling the Children," *Juvenile Court Record* 10, no. 2 (Feb. 1909), 4-5.

⁵¹Henry W. Thurston, "What Should a Probation Officer Do for the Child?," in *Proceeding of the Annual Congress of the American Prison Association* (Indianapolis, IN: Wm. B. Burford, 1908), 45-55. Joseph L. Tropea argues that teachers and administrators in the Progressive Era selectively used formal programs to segregate troublesome children. See Joseph L. Tropea, "Bureaucratic Order and Special Children: Urban Schools, 1890s-1940s," *History of Education Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1987), 29-30.

⁵²Charles Larsen, *The Good Fight: The Life and Times of Ben B. Lindsey* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1972), 32-35.

⁵³Evidence of the Lindsey-style juvenile system can be found from as far away as the town of Wray, in the eastern edge of Colorado, to Cañon City, closer to the New Mexico border. See "Paroled Youth Taken on Booze Charge," *Wray (CO) Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1927, 4; "Taken to the State Industrial School This Morning," *Canon City (CO) Record*, July 15, 1909, 4.

⁵⁴Locating surviving school reports cards used in juvenile courts is not an easy task because most courts seal the case files for minors. In the few instances that a judge will unseal a minor's records from the early 1900s, what remains in the file is a cursory summary of the charges against the juvenile and the sentencing. Extra documentation like school reports is typically missing. The example of Ben Lindsey is reflective of judges who went to lengths to protect the anonymity of their probationers. In 1927, Lindsey publicly burned his files on juvenile cases, which included thousands of school report cards. As juvenile courts grew, teachers submitted report cards to probation officers, not judges. Identifying the records of probation officers is a bit more difficult than identifying official court documents. The Kansas State Historical Society maintained the papers of one probation officer in Leavenworth County, Kansas, including a handful of school reports documenting the conduct of probationers. The report card is a standard-page size, front and back. The questions that teachers answered were a series of two-word binary choices: "department: good or bad," "unruly or otherwise," "dull or bright," "stubborn or yielding," "untruthful or truthful," and so on. The report card is a case study in efficiency. Probation officers tended to be overworked and underpaid. There was little time for elaboration. See School Record of [RESTRICTED], Folder 3, Box 13, Confidential Records of Courts in Leavenworth County, ID: 28-11-06-06, State of Kansas, Leavenworth County, Juvenile Court, Dec. 19, 1919, KHS.

⁵⁵"Sentenced for Incurability," *Western Slope Criterion* (Olathe, CO), Aug. 5, 1909, 1.

thirteen-year-old girl's appearance before the juvenile court that led to "a confession that involved at least fifteen boys and men."⁵⁶

Andrew Monroe's Colorado: Glenwood Springs, Railroad Tracks, and Juvenile Detention

Andrew was born in 1894 in Greeley, Colorado.⁵⁷ His father was an aspiring photographer from New York and his mother was a palm reader from Illinois. These were not typical jobs for a family living in Greeley. The town was established in 1870 on the edge of the dry northern grasslands and the Cache la Poudre River, all within sight of the Rocky Mountains.⁵⁸ Greeley was originally a utopian temperance settlement in which early colonists paid \$150 to join the Union Colony. This payment entitled colonists to about ten acres near the town.⁵⁹ By the time that baby Andrew was born, Greeley had prospered as a result of the railroad construction boom. Tracks connected the Great Plains to urban centers like Denver and beyond, to the mines and smelter towns in the Rockies.⁶⁰ Greeley had established itself as the potato capital of Colorado, surviving a decades-long water-rights legal battle with nearby Fort Collins, periodic drought, locusts, floods, and a blizzard.⁶¹

The family did not last long in Greeley. By 1900, the Monroes had moved to Glenwood Springs, Colorado's first resort town on the western slope (see

⁵⁶"Girl's Confession Involved Fifteen," *Colorado Statesman* (Denver), Nov. 6, 1915, 3. For the regulation and criminalization of adolescent girls' sexual activity, see Steven Schlossman and Stephanie Wallach, "The Crime of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency in the Progressive Era," *Harvard Educational Review* 48, no. 1 (Feb. 1978), 65-94; Agyepong, *The Criminalization of Black Children*, 70-95; Karin Lorene Zipf, *Bad Girls at Samariland: Sexuality and Sterilization in a Southern Juvenile Reformatory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016), 158-64; Anne Meis Knupfer, "'To Become Good, Self-Supporting Women': The State Industrial School for Delinquent Girls at Geneva, Illinois, 1900-1935," *Journal of History of Sexuality* 9, no. 4 (Oct. 2000), 420-46; Tamara Myers, *Caught: Montreal's Modern Girls and the Law, 1869-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 8.

⁵⁷There are several important histories of schooling in the West. David Wallace Adams studies the factionalism among the faculty and administrators at the Fort Defiance Indian Agency. Steven Mintz describes the lives of children in western mining towns, struggling through poverty while also enjoying less supervision than their urban middle-class counterparts. Elliott West analyzes the layers of complexity with respect to how growing up on the frontier changed the experience of childhood. West explains that "the lines between childhood and adulthood became vague and imprecise on the frontier." Finally, David A. Gamson, once again, clarifies the greater context of Denver's schools. Through the leadership of superintendents like Jesse Newlon, Denver's public schools developed a reputation for valuing teacher feedback with curriculum reform in the 1920s. See David Wallace Adams, "Blood and Ice: Intimacy and Factionalism at Fort Defiance Indian Agency, 1887-1888," *Western Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (Autumn 2019), 209-31; Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 149-52; Elliott West, *Growing Up with the Country* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), xix; Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 141-47.

⁵⁸Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard, and David McComb, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1994), 162.

⁵⁹Richard Hogan, *Class and Community in Frontier Colorado* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1990), 82.

⁶⁰William Wei, *Asians in Colorado: A History of Persecution and Perseverance in the Centennial State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 55.

⁶¹David Schorr, *The Colorado Doctrine: Water Rights, Corporations, and Distributive Justice on the American Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012) 49; Peggy Ford Waldo, *Greeley: Images of America* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2016), 59-60.



Figure 4: Glenwood Springs, c. 1900. Credit: Harry H. Buckwalter Collection, CHS-B219 (Stephen H. Hart Research Center, History Colorado Museum, Denver, CO).

Figure 4).⁶² Nearly twenty years earlier, the US Army forced the Ute people onto increasingly smaller reservations, which opened the western slope to land speculators, cattle ranchers, and miners.⁶³ The railroads that snaked their way through the narrow canyons carried iron ore and silver to smelting plants, as well as tourists to Glenwood Springs.⁶⁴ In the late 1880s, investors from Denver had constructed Hotel Colorado, a massive Villa de Medici. By the time the Monroes arrived, there were 1,350 permanent residences, twenty-one saloons, and over fifty prostitutes.⁶⁵ All of these factors made Glenwood Springs an attractive choice for the Monroes. There were tourists in the town with disposable income to purchase photographs.⁶⁶ There was also work for Ervill, Andrew's mother. Glenwood Springs was the headquarters of Al G. Barnes's traveling circus, and Barnes employed fortune tellers.⁶⁷ Included in the records of the

⁶²William Philpott, *Vacationland: Tourism and Environment in the Colorado High Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 15-16.

⁶³Andrew Guilford, *The Woolly West: Colorado's History of Sheepscapes* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018), 46, 49-50; Jim Nelson, *Glenwood Springs: The History of a Rocky Mountain Resort* (Ouray, CO: Western Reflections, 1999), 123.

⁶⁴See Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith, *A Colorado History* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing, 1976), 232; Duane A. Smith, *The Trail of Silver and Gold: Mining in Colorado, 1859-2009* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009), 187-92; Nelson, *Glenwood Springs*, 123; Abbott, Leonard, and McComb, *Colorado*, 111.

⁶⁵Melanie Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers: The Early Second Homes of Colorado, 1880-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 32-33; Nelson, *Glenwood Springs*, 86-87, 122, and 128-29.

⁶⁶Lena M. Urquhart, *Glenwood Springs: Spa in the Mountains* (Glenwood Springs, CO: Taylor Publishing, 1970), 68.

⁶⁷The circus's tarot cards survive in the local historical society. See Tarot Cards, c. 1905, Permanent Public Display, Al G. Barnes Show Company Collection, Glenwood Springs Historical Society, Frontier Museum and Archive, Glenwood Springs, CO.

circus is the name “Candy” Monroe, perhaps Andrew’s mother who may have adopted Candy as a stage name.⁶⁸

Glenwood Springs was where Andrew spent his formative years. The town was also where the Monroe marriage dissolved. By 1902, Daniel Monroe, Andrew’s father, had built a photography studio on the corner of Cooper Avenue and Ninth Street, a block away from the heart of town.⁶⁹ At some point, Daniel may have stopped running a legitimate business, instead swindling investors of their money and engaging in fraud. One business partner confronted Daniel at the railroad depot in July 1902. The two men threw punches.⁷⁰ Daniel fled town, abandoning both his family and his investors. Sometime in 1903, Daniel ended up in Nebraska and in the process filed for divorce from Ervilla.⁷¹ Then, for some reason, Daniel returned to Glenwood Springs in October 1903, fifteen months after first leaving. Ervilla did not welcome him home. The estranged couple confronted one another in front of their children, and Ervilla called for the police.⁷² Daniel then spent several weeks in jail, and he was only released so that he could financially support his estranged family.⁷³ A year later, Daniel had once again abandoned the family and traveled to Yuma, Colorado, where he established a photography tent.⁷⁴ By 1906, Andrew reported that he was unaware of his father’s whereabouts or even his father’s profession.⁷⁵

Andrew Monroe and the Glenwood Springs’ Court

In the early 1900s, the Glenwood Springs newspapers warned of a crime wave. Coal miners drank excessively, fought, and sometimes shot each other.⁷⁶ Con artists and hucksters, loitering in the town’s many saloons, swindled visitors.⁷⁷ Bootlegging was ubiquitous and banks were occasionally robbed.⁷⁸ In January 1906, the town council called for a squad of night police to be hired.⁷⁹ In March 1906, a boy accidentally shot himself.⁸⁰ One of the local newspapers also reported the problem of children “doing all sorts of mischief” along the town’s railroad tracks, “crawling through box cars” and “boarding running trains.”⁸¹ More than likely, Andrew

⁶⁸Dave Robeson, *Al G. Barnes: Master Showman* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1936), 456.

⁶⁹“Partners Disagree,” *Avalanche - Echo* (Glenwood Springs, CO), July 3, 1902, 1.

⁷⁰“Partners Disagree,” *Avalanche - Echo*, 1.

⁷¹“Monroe [pseud.] in Jail,” *Glenwood Post* (CO), Oct. 10, 1903, 1.

⁷²“Nonpariel Notes,” *New Castle Nonpareil* (CO), Oct. 16, 1903, 1.

⁷³“Nonpariel Notes,” *New Castle Nonpareil*, 1.

⁷⁴“Advertisement,” *Yuma Pioneer* (CO), Oct. 7, 1904, 8.

⁷⁵State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Book No. 3, Box 18485 C, State Industrial School for Boys Collection, Colorado State Archive, Denver, CO (hereafter SISBC-CSA).

⁷⁶“Murder in a Marion Saloon,” *Glenwood Post*, Feb. 15, 1908, 1.

⁷⁷“A Great Fake,” *Daily Avalanche* (Glenwood Springs, CO), Feb. 23, 1906, 4; “Andrew J. Harris Again in Jail,” *Glenwood (CO) Post*, Jan. 8, 1910, 5.

⁷⁸“Court Grills Bootleggers,” *Glenwood Post*, Feb. 12, 1910, 5; “Glenwood Bank Robber Caught,” *Glenwood Post*, Feb. 19, 1910, 1.

⁷⁹“Night Police Needed,” *Daily Avalanche*, Jan. 26, 1906, 4.

⁸⁰“Local Happenings,” *Daily Avalanche*, March 13, 1906, 4.

⁸¹“Local Happenings,” *Daily Avalanche*, 4.

Monroe was one of these boys on the tracks, developing a skill set that would later be essential in his escapes from reform school.⁸²

The Monroe family members were no strangers to the legal system. When Andrew was eight years old, Ervilla Monroe appeared before the county commissioners requesting financial assistance. She was behind on rent, and she had four children who needed to be kept warm in the winter. The commissioners granted her an allowance of \$15 per month to help.⁸³ Later that summer, Andrew's older brother, Willard, destroyed a neighbor's garden. The sheriff was called, and Ervilla promised to keep a closer watch on her boys.⁸⁴ In July 1903, a month after his brother's arrest, Andrew and two friends hopped on a train and traveled twenty miles south to the town of Rifle to watch a shooting competition. As the three boys walked over a bridge that spanned the Colorado River, the youngest of the group, Willie McKissack, fell into the rushing water. He was never seen again.⁸⁵ Instead of running for help, Andrew convinced his surviving companion to keep Willie's drowning a secret. Andrew believed that they would be blamed for the boy's death, and he maintained his silence the next day when police questioned him. Only after Andrew's companion confessed did the truth emerge.⁸⁶ The incident provided a window into the eight-year-old's views of authority; to young Andrew, adults could not be trusted.

Trouble continued for the Monroe family. In 1905, when Andrew was ten, he and Willard wandered into the surrounding woods. When darkness came, the Monroe boys were unaccounted for, and a search party was mobilized. Andrew and Willard were not found until the next morning.⁸⁷ In August 1906, Ervilla deserted her children, perhaps leaving them to join Al G. Barnes's traveling circus as a fortune teller.⁸⁸ Andrew thus began living with a foster family, whose patriarch was a barber. Andrew spent his afternoons after school selling fruit at the train station and "doing odd jobs" around the shop. The barber described him as a "bright boy."⁸⁹

Andrew may have been bright, but he also tended to run away from authority. Records mention that he ran away from school, ran away from his mother, and ran away from the barber.⁹⁰ Sometime in September 1906, Andrew snuck away once again to the railroad tracks, where he stole a handcar. Twelve-year-old Andrew started to trek down the westward slope but was caught several miles out of town (see [Figure 5](#)).⁹¹ In short, he not only disobeyed court orders by running away from school, but also committed larceny by stealing the handcar. The county

⁸²Monroe was known to hop trains and it was his fondness for making mischief on the railroad tracks that ultimately led to his incarceration in the fall of 1906. State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Box 18485 C, SISBC-CSA.

⁸³"Winding Up Business," *Avalanche - Echo*, Jan. 15, 1903, 1.

⁸⁴"Current Events: Town and County," *Avalanche - Echo*, July 2, 1903, 1.

⁸⁵"Fell to His Death," *Glenwood Post*, July 11, 1903, 1.

⁸⁶"Drowned," *Avalanche* (Glenwood Springs, CO), July 9, 1903, 1.

⁸⁷"Week's Local News," *Avalanche - Echo*, June 8, 1905, 3.

⁸⁸"Local News," *Palisades Tribune* (CO), Aug. 18, 1906, 3.

⁸⁹"Local News," *Palisades Tribune*, 3; see also "Advertisement," *Palisades Tribune*, June 27, 1903, 1.

⁹⁰State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Book No. 3, Box 18485 C, SISBC-CSA.

⁹¹State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Book No. 3, Box 18485 C, SISBC-CSA.



Figure 5: The railroad tracks down river from Glenwood Springs, c. 1930. Credit: D&RGW train, engine number 1703, engine type 4-8-4, c. 1930, Western History Collection, OP-10398 (Denver Public Library, Denver, CO).

judge—following the process established by Judge Ben Lindsey that considered school reports—labeled Andrew “truant” and reinstated Andrew’s sentence to the State Industrial School for Boys.⁹²

Reform Schools, the Parole Process, and Report Cards

Colorado’s State Industrial School for Boys was typical of the era. By 1910, when Monroe was sentenced, nearly every state had some form of government-sponsored reform school.⁹³ Some children attended the reform schools voluntarily.⁹⁴ More typically, the minors incarcerated were guilty of “status offenses,” or crimes that only applied to children. These included offenses like incorrigibility, truancy, and behaving

⁹²State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Book No. 3, Box 18485 C, SISBC-CSA.

⁹³State-sponsored reform schools in the United States predate juvenile courts. Philanthropists established early versions of reform schools in New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia in the 1820s. They were known as Houses of Refuge and they separated juvenile criminals from adult inmates. In the 1830s, the Massachusetts legislature created a system of publicly funded reformatory institutions. Similar systems were subsequently established in Pennsylvania (1851), Maine (1853), Ohio (1856), Wisconsin (1860), and New Jersey (1864). Western states like Kansas (1879) and Colorado (1882) adopted state-sponsored reform schools, and by the late nineteenth century the system moved south to Tennessee (1895) and Georgia (1902). See McGrew, *Education’s Prisoners*, 23-24; Paul D. Nelson, “Early Days of the State Reform School,” *Minnesota History* 63, no. 4 (Winter 2012), 134; “Fifteenth Biennial Report of the State Industrial School for Boys, Topeka Kansas,” June 30, 1910, in *Biennial Reports of the Boys Industrial School, 1882-1924*, SP 364 K13t, KHS; Randall G. Shelden, “A History of the Shelby County Industrial and Training School,” *Tennessee Historical Society* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1992), 96; “Grand Jury Presentments,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 25, 1904, 8.

⁹⁴See McGrew, *Education’s Prisoners*, 23-29; Menihan, “Criminal Mind or Inculpable Adolescence?,” 766; Paul D. Nelson, “Early Days of the State Reform School”; Shelden, “A History of the Shelby County Industrial and Training School”; Knupfer, ““To Become Good, Self-Supporting Women,”” 420-45.

in a manner that was “beyond control.”⁹⁵ Industrial schools employed a mix of military discipline, vocational training, and academics in their efforts to reform children. The State Industrial School of Michigan declared that military drills would teach “immediate obedience to orders” to “correct a boy’s habits and make him a useful citizen.”⁹⁶ In Georgia, the industrial school paroled students once they were deemed “good citizens,” both from “a humane standpoint” and “an economic standpoint.”⁹⁷ Alabama’s industrial school would only parole a boy once he had acquired a trade such as tailoring or woodworking, where a boy could make an “honest living.”⁹⁸

Report cards were the means through which school officials communicated to parole boards or superintendents. Since reforming institutions tended to be large, there was a desire for a standardization of the paroling process.⁹⁹ Industrial schools therefore relied on point-based systems recorded by either parole officers, industrial schoolteachers, or company commanders. The juvenile’s report card, in other words, became more important than ever before. At the Lyman School, one of Massachusetts’s oldest industrial schools, boys would be free once they obtained five thousand “credits.” The Lyman School’s report cards reduced the inmates to single phrases like “doing well,” “doubtful,” and “doing badly.”¹⁰⁰ When boys arrived at the State Industrial School of Nebraska, they were automatically given a number of demerits. Each day, the boy had an opportunity to cancel a few demerits with good behavior or add to his total with misbehavior. Once the total number of

⁹⁵See Shelden, “A History of the Shelby County Industrial and Training School,” 97-99; Menihan, “Criminal Mind or Inculpable Adolescence?,” 766; “Tens of Thousands Truant Schoolboys,” *New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1912, 5; “Detention School Needed,” *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald* (IA), July 5, 1910, 8; *Tenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Colorado* (Denver, CO: Smith-Brooks Printing Co., 1910), 42-43.

⁹⁶*Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the Industrial School for Boys of Michigan* (Lansing, MI: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1908), 7-8, hathitrust.org.

⁹⁷“Grand Jury Presentments,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 25, 1904, 8.

⁹⁸“Alabama Industrial School Is Leading Many: Wayward Lads to Happy Citizenship,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 10, 1903, 5. There is a wide-ranging list of secondary literature on reform schools during the Progressive Era. Khalil Gibran Muhammed examines how “ideas of racial inferiority and crime became fastened to African Americans,” leading to disproportionate incarceration rates for Black adolescents and “an enduring statistical discourse of black dysfunctionality.” Likewise, Carl Suddler argues that reform schools led to the “racialized construction of youth criminality in [postwar] New York City.” Geoff K. Ward studies the increasing rates of African American juvenile incarceration in reform schools. As an example, by 1910 in North Carolina, Black males were incarcerated at four times the rate of non-immigrant White males. Karan L. Zipf chronicles the history of a female reform school in North Carolina called Samarcand Manor, an institution that was “explicitly designed to protect and uphold white womanhood.” Anne Meis Knupfer writes about the history of resistance at the Illinois State Industrial School for Delinquent Girls. See Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 6-7; Carl Suddler, *Presumed Criminal: Black Youth and the Justice System in Postwar New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), 5; Geoff K. Ward, *The Black Child-Savers: Racial Democracy and Juvenile Justice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 88; Zipf, *Bad Girls at Samarcand*, 162; Knupfer, “To Become Good, Self-Supporting Women,” 420-45.

⁹⁹Some states like Alabama had small enough systems that the decision of when and how to release minors from the institutions was left up entirely to the discretion of the superintendent. See “Alabama Industrial School Is Leading Many: Wayward Lads to Happy Citizenship,” 5.

¹⁰⁰*First Annual Report of the Trustees of Massachusetts Training Schools* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1912).



Figure 6: Truant boys, c. 1906. Credit: Harry H. Buckwalter Collection, CHS-B1044 (Stephen H. Hart Research Center, History Colorado Museum, Denver, CO).

demerits dwindled to zero, the boy gained his freedom.¹⁰¹ In New York, 924 boys appeared before the parole board in a single year. A juvenile obtained liberty when “the required number of reports” were submitted to the parole board without any blemishes.¹⁰²

Even decentralized reform schools with just a few dozen inmates relied on systematic reporting. That was the case at the Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls, located in the farming community of Bon Air. Despite there being only thirty girls at the school, the superintendent relied on periodic merit reports in her decision to release a minor.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, the reporting system at the State Industrial School in Topeka, Kansas, was the subject of an investigation.¹⁰⁴ The governor’s office was concerned with the arbitrariness of the parole process and concluded that too much power lay in the hands of company commanders. They were “decent, well-intentioned,” but they were also “\$40 men,” meaning that the meager monthly salary attracted failed farmers and day laborers, men who were “lacking in mental acuteness.”¹⁰⁵ These were the employees filling out the ubiquitous weekly report cards that carried so much power to dictate an adolescent’s future.

¹⁰¹*Seventh Biennial Report of the State Industrial School for Boys at Kerney, Nebraska* (Fremont, NE: The Fremont Tribune, 1902), Nebraska State Historical Society, accessed June 11, 2021, <http://nebpubdocs.unl.edu>.

¹⁰²O. E. Lewis, “After the Reformatory—What?,” *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1910, 7.

¹⁰³*First Annual Report, Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls* (Richmond, VA: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1915), 13.

¹⁰⁴*Fifteenth Biennial Report of the State Industrial School for Boys*, June 30, 1910, Boys Industrial School Collection, SP 364 K13t, KHS, see page 12.

¹⁰⁵*Report on Boys Industrial School to Governor W.R. Stubbs*, May 5, 1909, Fol. 7, Box 19, Records of the Governor’s Office, Gov. Walter R. Stubbs, KHS.

Andrew Monroe's Life at the State Industrial School for Boys

Andrew was twelve years old when he arrived at the State Industrial School for Boys (see Figure 7) on October 2, 1906. He was four feet, eight inches tall and he weighed just eighty pounds. His body was riddled with an unusual number of scars: on both elbows, on his abdomen, on his right shoulder and right knee. Perhaps the scars had been accumulated over years of unregulated mischief-making along Garfield County's railroad tracks, or perhaps at the hands of parental discipline. An official at the Industrial School wrote that young Andrew had already "bummed trains all over the country."¹⁰⁶ The skill of train hopping would be put to practical use during his many escapes in the coming years.

By the time Andrew arrived, the State Industrial School had existed for just over twenty-four years. In a typical year, about 850 boys would appear before Colorado's juvenile courts, and of those, about 150 would be sent to the State Industrial School.¹⁰⁷ The average length of stay at the school was seventeen months. Andrew was one of approximately 350 boys enrolled at the time, overseen by thirty-four teachers and officers. The stated goal was to ensure that "pupils are enabled to realize the uplifting influence of discipline and rightly directed industry."¹⁰⁸ The campus was nestled on sixty-four acres among the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and Lookout Mountain rose two thousand feet above the school.¹⁰⁹ Golden's railroad depot was less than two miles away, and Denver was another fifteen miles to the east, also accessible by rail.¹¹⁰

The boys were divided into six companies, A through F, with each company consisting of between forty and seventy pupils.¹¹¹ They wore military-style khaki uniforms and were overseen by "company commanders." Andrew was assigned to Company B, also known as "Mr. Davis' boys."¹¹² Four years before Andrew's arrival, the school underwent an investigation for excessive use of corporal punishment. The investigatory committee concluded that whippings were being "administered upon too slight provocation."¹¹³ One boy was whipped so hard that he could not sleep on his back, and the investigation recommended that the superintendent resign for his inability to "control his fellow officers."¹¹⁴ Later, another investigation discovered

¹⁰⁶State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Book No. 3, Box 18485 C, SISBC-CSA.

¹⁰⁷"Charities Board Reports," *Colorado Farm & Ranch* (Denver), March 24, 1916, 7.

¹⁰⁸*Tenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Colorado* (Denver, CO: Smith-Brooks Printing Co., 1910), 50 and 44. The quotation can be found on page 50.

¹⁰⁹"Settlement Work," *Jewish Outlook* (Denver, CO), March 1906, 7.

¹¹⁰Golden Pioneer Museum, *Golden, Colorado: Images of America* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 51-77.

¹¹¹"School News," *Daily Pickings* (Golden, CO), Dec. 18, 1907, 3, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606 Stephen H. Hart Research Center, History Colorado Museum, Denver, CO; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, Feb. 17, 1908, 4, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606. Stephen H. Hart Research Center, History Colorado Museum, Denver, CO (hereafter SHHRC-CM).

¹¹²"School News," *Daily Pickings*, Feb. 17, 1908, 4, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, April 7, 1908, 3, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM.

¹¹³"State Industrial School: Report of the Board of Charities Urges Removal of Superintendent," *Carrizo Weekly Miner* (CO), Jan. 24, 1902, 2.

¹¹⁴Carey Southwell, *The History of Golden's Schools* (Golden, CO: Published through the State Historical Fund Grant from the Colorado Historical Society, 1997), 34-35 (Southwell's book can be found in the



Figure 7: State Industrial School for Boys, Golden, Colorado, c. 1910. Credit: Western History Collection, MCC-608 (Denver Public Library, Denver, CO).

that a boy was handcuffed to a basement table and fed only bread and water for four days.¹¹⁵

In a typical day, company commanders would wake the pupils up at 5:40 a.m. The morning would consist of military drills and industrial schooling. Academic work began after lunch and lasted until 4:30 p.m. Before supper, there was time for recess and sports on the parade ground, which was flanked by barracks, the dining hall, and academic classrooms. At 6:00 p.m., supper was served, and the evening concluded with a chapel service.¹¹⁶ Judge Ben B. Lindsey made the trip out from Denver to give a chapel talk, at which Andrew was present.¹¹⁷ Sports were part of the daily experience at the reform school. The State Industrial School for Boys had an excellent baseball team, going undefeated in 1910 and even playing semi-professional teams.¹¹⁸ The school band offered a concert to Golden residents in the spring.¹¹⁹ Andrew, however, was not listed on the roster of any sports team during his time

archive of the Golden History Museum and Park, located in Golden, CO); "State Industrial School: Report of the Board of Charities Urges Removal of Superintendent," *Carrizo Weekly Miner*, Jan. 24, 1902, 2.

¹¹⁵"Charges Filed Against Jones," *Jefferson County Republican* (CO), Feb. 11, 1926, 1.

¹¹⁶"Settlement Work," *Jewish Outlook*, March 1906, 7; Southwell, *The History of Golden's Schools*, 34; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, Jan. 9, 1908, 3.

¹¹⁷"School News," *Daily Pickings*, Oct. 21, 1907, 3, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM.

¹¹⁸"Semi-Professional Baseball for 1910," *Statesman* (Golden, CO), April 16, 1910, 5.

¹¹⁹"Boys' Industrial School Band Will Play at City Park at 2:30 Sunday Afternoon," *Jefferson County Republican*, May 6, 1926, 1.

at the State Industrial School nor in any musical group. Families visited nearly every week, but from 1906 through the end of 1909, there was no record of any family member visiting Andrew.

The main emphasis at the Industrial School was on learning discipline through manual labor. On any given day, boys hauled coal from Golden's train station, herded livestock, raked gravel from the school's parade ground, or dug sewer lines.¹²⁰ The boys did not always comply. There were instances of "mutiny" and a number of boys received demerits because they "took part in strikes."¹²¹ Perhaps the most common form of resistance was running away, and there were plenty of opportunities. Boys went to Golden unescorted for doctor's appointments; they were allowed to leave to attend funerals, and the superintendent even sent one boy to "run errands" in Denver.¹²² On the other hand, there was a distinction between running away, where the boy was captured within a week, and an escape, where a boy was still unaccounted for by the end of the calendar year. From November 1908 through November 1910, only four pupils had *escaped*.¹²³ The typical reward for an escapee was between \$20 and \$25.¹²⁴ In 1910, nineteen-year-old Sidney Maxwell stole the superintendent's horse to make his getaway. He rode the horse across the Great Plains and into Kansas, before being caught nearly 450 miles away.¹²⁵ A few years later, fifteen-year-old Fred Palario fled to Denver. When caught, Fred explained that he only wanted to "play a couple of games of pool and have a pack of cigarettes."¹²⁶ Later, three boys attempted to break their friend out by driving a stolen car onto campus. One boy was shot in the leg as a result.¹²⁷

To be paroled, boys at the State Industrial School needed to earn twelve "badges." Each badge represented a month's worth of obedience and hard work.¹²⁸ At the end of each month, teachers and company commanders gathered to "sort demerits" on their pupils' report cards and then submit those report cards to the parole board.¹²⁹ Demerits were issued for a range of behaviors: "disobedience," "destruction," "poor working," "scheming," and "theft."¹³⁰ Boys with positive report cards would be publicly recognized on an honor roll each month. The list of names included between 20 percent and 25 percent of the total student population.¹³¹

¹²⁰"School News," *Daily Pickings*, Jan. 8, 1908, 3; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, Jan. 27, 1908, 3; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, Feb. 10, 1908, 3; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, May 8, 1907, 3; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, Jan. 14, 1908, 4, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM.

¹²¹Lookout Mountain, Demerit Book [RESTRICTED], 1898-1905, pp. 272, 298, Book No. 3, Box 18485 C, SISBC-CSA.

¹²²"School News," *Daily Pickings*, Jan. 11, 1908, 4; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, Feb. 8, 1908, 3; *Daily Pickings*, March 5, 1908, 3, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM.

¹²³*Tenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Colorado*, 42.

¹²⁴"Looking for Deserter," *Herald Democrat* (Leadville, CO), Feb. 2, 1910, 5.

¹²⁵"Local Paragraphs," *Colorado Transcript* (Golden), Feb. 24, 1910, 8.

¹²⁶"Marshal Straub Captures Runaway," *Gilpin Observer* (CO), April 27, 1916, 1.

¹²⁷"Boys Try to Free Industrial Lads," *Idaho Springs Siftings-News* (CO), Sept. 30, 1921, 1.

¹²⁸"Settlement Work," *Jewish Outlook*, March 1906, 7.

¹²⁹"School News," Feb. 1, 1908, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM.

¹³⁰Lookout Mountain, Demerit Book [RESTRICTED], 1898-1905, pp. 272, 298, Book 1, Box 19358 C, Book 1, SISBC-CSA.

¹³¹"School News," *Daily Pickings*, May 4, 1907, 3; "School News," *Daily Pickings*, June 3, 1908, 4, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM.



Figure 8: Boys and teacher in classroom at the Industrial School for Boys, Colorado, c. 1910-1915. Credit: Mrs. Ben B. Lindsey Collection, LOT 5651 (Library of Congress, Washington, DC).

Each year, the student with the best grades and deportment score on his report cards received a “\$10 gold piece.”¹³² Andrew’s name never appeared on any honor roll.

More than honors, however, the scores on the report card revealed the amount of time that a pupil spent at the State Industrial School. As an example, the parole board chronicled how one pupil began as “lazy, disobedient and impudent.” Six months later, the parole board wrote, “conduct - much improved,” followed by “good reports” and “paroled.”¹³³ Almost always, the word “paroled” was only preceded by several months of “good reports.”¹³⁴ Attempting to escape, on the other hand, not only prevented a boy from gaining a new badge, but also resulted in the parole board removing badges and extending the incarceration time by months.¹³⁵ Card number 2279

¹³²“Colored Boy Leads School in Scholarship and Deportment and Industry,” *Statesman* (Denver, CO), Jan. 6, 1912, 1.

¹³³The Receiving and Discharge Register from Andrew’s years at State Industrial School has not survived. However, the register from 1914 through 1924 does still exist and provides a window into the process at the State Industrial School. Incidentally, the register is the same version that was used in Kansas’s industrial school. Receiving and Discharge Register/Record, 1914-1924, p. 10, Box 19417 B, Industrial School for Boys Collection, SISBC-CSA.

¹³⁴Receiving and Discharge Register/Record, 1914-1924, pp. 11, 15, and 26, Box 19417 B, Industrial School for Boys Collection, SISBC-CSA.

¹³⁵“School News,” *Daily Pickings*, Dec. 20, 1907, 3, State Industrial School Collection, SER.2606, SHHRC-CM.

documents Andrew Monroe's repeated attempts to flee the State Industrial School, reporting his efforts to the parole board. This report card, in essence, added years to Andrew's incarceration.¹³⁶

Andrew first ran away with another boy on October 22, 1907, just over a year into his sentence. He used an exit from the school's hospital ward to flee, although he was quickly caught. Andrew's second attempt came in November 1908. This time he was more successful, making his way to Laramie, Wyoming, over 130 miles to the north. In the process of escaping, Andrew suffered a severe case of frostbite. Winter temperatures in Laramie average between 13 degrees and 32 degrees Fahrenheit, occasionally dipping as low as -4 degrees.¹³⁷ As the fourteen-year-old Andrew struggled to find shelter in Wyoming, the tissues on his fingers and toes began to freeze. Within forty-eight hours, the ice particles in Andrew's extremities would have caused blistering, swelling, and throbbing pains that probably lasted for weeks.¹³⁸ Eventually, the tissue died, turned black, shriveled, and hardened.¹³⁹ The result was the amputation of Andrew's pinkie finger, two toes on his right foot, and a toe on his left foot.¹⁴⁰

Andrew hid in Wyoming a few winter months before being caught. The authorities returned him to the State Industrial School, hobbled by a limp and limited in the amount of labor he could perform with his missing finger and toes. Andrew did not repeat the mistake of escaping in the winter. In May 1909, six months after his reincarceration, Andrew escaped once again while "doing field work." This time, he traveled south, presumably by rail, making it to the New Mexico border before being caught and returned in August 1909. By April 1910, Andrew had probably given up on being paroled through legal means. His history of escape and his lack of academic success were all documented on his monthly report cards, and each report would have added at least a month to his incarceration. Then, on April 11, 1910, Andrew slipped away from the State Industrial School for the final time and hopped on a train bound for St. Louis.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶The company commander's report cards have not survived in the Colorado State Archive; evidence of their existence comes from the school newspaper and the Receiving and Discharge Register. However, one of Andrew Monroe's report cards has survived on microform. See Intimate Card File, No. 2279, 1901-1910, Folder 2180, Box 240, State Industrial School Collection, SISBC-CSA.

¹³⁷"Average Weather in Laramie," WeatherSpark.com, accessed July 13, 2021.

¹³⁸Michael Ward, "Occasional Survey: Frostbite," *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 5897 (Jan. 1974), 67-70; Tiina M. Mäkinen et al., "Occurrence of Frostbite in the General Population—Work-Related and Individual Factors," *Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment & Health* 35, no. 5 (Oct. 2009), 384-93.

¹³⁹"Frostbite," in *Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia* (Chicago: World Book, Inc., 2018); David W. Page, *Body Trauma: A Writer's Guide to Wounds and Injuries* (Lake Forest, CA: Behler Publications, 2006), 167.

¹⁴⁰State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Book No. 3, Box 18485 C, State Industrial School for Boys Collection, SISBC-CSA.

¹⁴¹State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906; "Andrew Monroe [pseud.] in Jail Again: Arrested for Beating His Wife After Being Pardoned by Governor of Colorado," *Daily Gate City* (Iowa City, IA), June 18, 1913, 1.

Andrew Monroe's Life After the State Industrial School

In November 1912, Andrew Monroe was eighteen years old.¹⁴² By then, he had made his way to Des Moines, Iowa, and found work in a tannery that specialized in manufacturing gloves. His salary rose from \$6 to \$17 a week, and the owners of the factory regarded him as “one of the best factory employees.”¹⁴³ He was even furthering his education at night school.¹⁴⁴ Monroe married the daughter of a businessman, and in early November his wife gave birth to their son.¹⁴⁵ Then, somehow, authorities at the State Industrial School in Golden discovered his whereabouts. Local business leaders, led by Monroe’s employer, mobilized a letter-writing campaign to lobby for his pardon.¹⁴⁶ The press labeled Andrew a real-life “Jean Valjean,” comparing him to the self-reforming character in Victor Hugo’s well-known novel, *Les Misérables*.¹⁴⁷ As a result, the superintendent of the industrial school and the governor conceded to the public and granted Monroe a full pardon.¹⁴⁸ The superintendent even paid for Monroe’s train ticket back to Denver, shaking hands with Andrew in person and telling his former pupil that he was proud of him. Monroe’s story seemed to be having a happy ending.

The positive news did not last long. Rachel, Monroe’s wife, discovered his criminal past through newspaper reports, and their relationship changed to one increasingly characterized by mistrust. Monroe began to “stay out late at nights and grew abusive.”¹⁴⁹ In June 1913, just seven months after receiving his pardon, Monroe assaulted Rachel. Their argument began when Monroe accused his young wife of “neglect of their eight months old child.”¹⁵⁰ He admitted to choking her in a fit of anger, and Rachel responded by pressing charges of assault and battery.¹⁵¹ Monroe, for his part, blamed the turn of events on the long memory of the law. “My wife turned against me and I lost my job,” Andrew told a reporter. “The home is busted and what is to become of me?” He then added, “Once you’ve been in [reform school], the world will find it out and remind you of it.”¹⁵²

Conclusion: An Unmarked Grave and Unintended Consequences

Monroe’s life continued to unravel after he was arrested for beating his wife. In 1916, at the age of twenty-two, Monroe stole a car in Denver and drove it across Colorado

¹⁴²“Youth Who Made Good to Get Pardon,” *Daily Journal* (Des Moines, IA), Nov. 29, 1912, 1.

¹⁴³“19 Year Old Father in Law’s Clutches: Andrew Monroe [pseud.], Who Escaped Two Years Ago from Denver Institute,” *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald* (IA), Nov. 24, 1912, 7.

¹⁴⁴“Industrial School Boy as Jean Valjean,” *Colorado Transcript*, Nov. 28, 1912, 1.

¹⁴⁵“Industrial School Fugitive Given Discharge,” *Telluride Journal* (CO), Dec. 5, 1912, 7.

¹⁴⁶“Model Youth’ Is Arrested for Wife Beating,” *Daily Journal* (IA), June 18, 1913, 1. The article, which focused on Andrew’s arrest in 1913, mentioned in passing, “When [Andrew] was pardoned last winter his case attracted country-wide attention and he received the endorsement of many prominent citizens in Denver who made appeals to the governor.”

¹⁴⁷“Industrial School Boy as Jean Valjean,” 1.

¹⁴⁸“Will Not Have to Go Back,” *Montrose Daily Press* (CO), Nov. 25, 1912, 1.

¹⁴⁹“Andrew Monroe [pseud.] Says It’s No Use to Try; He Cannot Live Down the Past His Wife Accuses,” *Des Moines News*, June 18, 1913, 1.

¹⁵⁰“Monroe [pseud.] Held on Wife’s Complaint,” *Des Moines News*, June 14, 1913, 3.

¹⁵¹“Model Youth’ Is Arrested for Wife Beating,” *Daily Journal*, June 18, 1913, 1.

¹⁵²“Andrew Monroe [pseud.] Says It’s No Use to Try,” 1.



Figure 9: Boys playing on the parade ground at the Industrial School for Boys, c. 1910. Credit: Colorado State Industrial School Collection, 2012.062.013 (Golden History Museum and Park, Golden, CO).

and most of Nebraska.¹⁵³ After being incarcerated for the stolen car, Andrew was arrested for a third time as an adult in 1918 for “receiving and concealing stolen property.”¹⁵⁴ By the 1930s, Andrew had remarried, and then abandoned his second wife and child. His estranged second wife wrote that Monroe “had babies all over the country” and that “he had no heart or principle.”¹⁵⁵ Monroe spent the 1940s working on the docks of Port Arthur, Texas, loading and unloading freight.¹⁵⁶ In 1965, at the age of seventy-one, Monroe retired and moved back to his place of birth: Greeley, Colorado.¹⁵⁷ He died in January 1971, at the age of seventy-seven.¹⁵⁸ No family members attended Monroe’s funeral. Categorized as a “welfare case,” Monroe is buried in an unmarked grave at Greeley’s Sunset Memorial Gardens.¹⁵⁹

Young Andrew’s resistance to juvenile corrections serves a broader historical purpose. His life lays bare the true reason behind relics of educational bookkeeping like report cards, which reduced Andrew to simplistic categories like “stubborn,”

¹⁵³“Mere Mention,” *Nebraska State Journal* (Lincoln), Sept. 26, 1916, 8; “One to Seven Years for Stealing Auto,” *Lincoln Daily News* (NE), Oct. 3, 1916, 1.

¹⁵⁴Andrew Monroe [pseud.], World War I Draft Registration Card of Andrew Monroe [pseud.], 1917, no. 14 (right side numbering), precinct Lancaster, Nebraska, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed May 12, 2021; “Hamilton Held for Murder,” *Des Moines News*, Sept. 18, 1918, 7.

¹⁵⁵The letter from Monroe’s second estranged wife is wedged between the pages of the State Industrial School’s Record of Examinations, within the pages dedicated to Monroe’s case. See Rita Oler to State Industrial School, Oct. 19, 1939, State Industrial School, Record of Examinations [RESTRICTED], 1906, Book No. 3, Box 18485, SISBC-CSA.

¹⁵⁶World War II Draft Registration Card, 1942, serial number 1993, local board No. 4, Jefferson County, sub courthouse, Port Arthur, Texas, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed May 12, 2021.

¹⁵⁷“Andrew Monroe [pseud.],” *Greeley Daily Tribune* (CO), Jan. 12, 1971, 6.

¹⁵⁸“Andrew Monroe [pseud.],” 6.

¹⁵⁹Internment Order: Andrew Monroe [pseud.], Jan. 14, 1971, Macy-Allnutt Funeral Home Records (Sunset Memorial Gardens, Greeley, CO).

“unyielding,” and “disobedient.” Report cards were about control. When children like Andrew went to such extraordinary lengths to reject those attempts at control, they highlighted the essence of the system. Even Judge Ben Lindsey—the creator of that system—recognized the flaws of building a juvenile court around teacher reports. In 1912, Lindsey wrote about his concern that teachers were too quick to use the power of their reports to threaten unruly pupils. Lindsey concluded that controlling children through surveillance and threats sometimes leads to “storing up possibilities of a criminal” in children.¹⁶⁰ Lindsey recognized that as an unintended consequence of the reductionist report card, some children would be unable to escape their labels. In the end, Andrew Monroe’s life was one of those tragic—albeit unintended—consequences.

Wade H. Morris teaches history at United World College East Africa in Moshi, Tanzania. He earned his PhD from Georgia State University. The author would like to thank Chara Bohan, Nick Boke, and Susan Ehtesham-Zadeh for their years of mentorship and Kim Tolley, Wayne Urban, and the anonymous reviewers for their insightful feedback on early versions of this manuscript. Georgia State University’s Provost Dissertation Fellowship supported the research for this article.

¹⁶⁰Ben B. Lindsey, “Moral Training, No. 4,” *Denver Weekly Post*, Dec. 14, 1912, 1.