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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Offices:
H.M. PRISON SERVICE STAFF COLLEGE, LOVE LANE, WAKEFIELD

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MESSAGE FROM THE HOME SECRETARY

I am glad to welcome the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL *and wish it well for the future. The exchange of information among those engaged in this field of social work is an important part of the development of methods of penal treatment. The concluding paragraphs of the White Paper on Penal Practice in a Changing Society emphasised that in this development we must always be ready to experiment and to adjust our thinking realistically to the outcome. A journal such as this can make a valuable contribution to the knowledge and understanding of existing methods of treatment, whether they be long established or novel; and by the examination of problems which are as yet unsolved, it may help to point the way to new lines of development.*

The Journal will be on public sale and will include contributions from those outside the Prison Service. I hope that it will be widely read by those who are interested in, or concerned with, the administration of criminal justice and the treatment of offenders. The work which is done within penal establishments is but a part of the whole penal system, and this Journal can do much to help members of the Prison Service to see their work in a wider context and to promote better understanding outside the Prison Service of the complex human problems with which the Service is concerned.

Editorial

IT IS CUSTOMARY for the first issue of any new periodical magazine or journal to contain a statement of editorial policy. There is good reason for this. Potential readers want to know what to expect; potential contributors, what is expected from them. Let us state briefly then, our aims and purposes as we see them.

We hope to provide an opportunity for comment and discussion on any topic relevant to the function which the Prison Service performs and the field in which it operates.

At the same time by the publication of news and information, those outside the Service should be supplied with reliable information about what is happening inside it; those inside, with information about what is happening outside in related spheres of action.

We would also hope to improve communications within the Service. The implementation of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, has, over the past ten years, resulted in considerable growth in the size and complexity of our organisation, and the rapid development of specialisation. It is not surprising that communications have deteriorated.

* * *

Two further points must be made. The Prison Officers' Association through the medium of their magazine bade us a very kind, if slightly premature, "Welcome" in their March issue. In gratefully acknowledging this the Editorial Board would wish to state that it is no part of our policy to compete with the Prison Officers' Magazine in the domestic field. We intend rather to provide a complementary service dealing with wider issues on the lines indicated above.

The second point is of more general importance. This Journal is not an official publication: the views expressed in it are those of the contributors and must not be taken as representing statements of official policy. All contributions will be judged only on the basis of general interest for members of the Service, and relevance to our task and problems.

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We need say no more at this stage for what this Journal is to become lies in your hands. With the passage of time a periodical develops a personality of its own, and this is usually a reflection of the personalities of its readers and contributors. Finally the JOURNAL will be the product of your interest, support and participation.

EDITOR

The Prison Service Since the War

Sir Lionel Fox

HAVING been invited to write under this title, I propose to take it fairly literally. I shall have the Service more in mind than the prison and borstal systems, and recall where we started from before describing the journey.

When I became Chairman in April 1942, the Prison Commission was then in academic seclusion at Oriel College, Oxford. Our fire-watchers were alert, but so far as I remember undisturbed. It was very different elsewhere. A score of establishments had been struck with H.E. or incendiary bombs, some receiving severe damage, and more was to come. There were many casualties and much heroism, and some of the accommodation that was destroyed has not even now been replaced. By the end of 1942 over 400 officers had been called up out of a total of about 2,000, and wastage then and for some years had to be met by recruiting War Auxiliary Officers from among those who were not eligible for military service or directed into industry—not in general the most favourable field of recruitment. The office staffs too were reduced to less than half their pre-war strength, and temporary clerks were even harder to find than auxiliary officers. Meanwhile the prison population was rapidly expanding, and included those difficult bodies the 18B and Alien Internees. In these conditions the major task of the Service was just to keep going, and it did so. In their Annual Report for 1942-44 the Commissioners recorded "the striking fact that in spite of every strain and stress during these increasingly hard years, the Prison Service did all that was asked of it without serious friction and with no serious breakdown."

Looking back at the Annual Reports, it seems that the impact of peace in 1945 almost did what enemy action had failed to do. "The end of hostilities, far from bringing any respite to the over-strained and under-staffed organisation, already entangled in a complex of urgent problems, brought still more problems but no immediate help in their solution". Staff shortage was more acute than ever: even if the staff could have been increased, no quarters could be built for them. The population, and especially the borstal population, was rocketing up. There was grave under-employment in the prisons due to the cessation of war-work. Overcrowding was serious, and the damming up in local prisons of borstal boys with no borstals to go to led to violent criticism in Parliament and the Press. When Brigadier Bateman, the Director of Works, came back from the Army in 1945 he found a skeleton Works Department, an enormous load of arrears of maintenance and reconstruction, and an urgent demand for at least six more borstals, five more prisons, and a large staff housing programme.

However, the spirit and morale of the Service were there, and we were not short of ideas. It is interesting to look again at the Memorandum, printed in the Annual Report for 1945, which the Commissioners had submitted to the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders about "their proposals for the development of the prison system for adults during the immediate post-war years." We must remember that at that time, in spite of the establishment between the wars of the concept of "training" and the clearing away of many of the more deformative features of the prison system, more progress in the development of training had in fact been made in the borstals than in the prisons. These were still operating within the 19th century legal framework of convict prisons for sentences of penal servitude and local prisons for imprisonment. The one exception was the "training centre" established at Wakefield, with its satellite "open prison" at New Hall Camp, for selected Stars from the North and Midlands.

The 'Wakefield system' was based on the idea that, with the local prisons as they were, positive training in the fullest sense could only be given to a homogeneous group of selected prisoners in an establishment set aside for the purpose, and a staff concentrating on that purpose. Even before the end of the war, the Commissioners had taken that idea a stage further. In their Report for 1944 they said:

> "Emphasis has properly been laid on the necessity of treating those who come to prison for the first time in such a way that they do not come back, and, in fact, over 80 per cent do not come back. But the hard core of the prison problem is the 20 per cent who do come back: it is from among these that the professional criminals of the future will be recruited. The next step in training, therefore, should be to concentrate on those who return to prison after serving a first, or even a second sentence, in the hope of preventing them from becoming habitual criminals. The question what form that training should take has received very careful consideration."

The upshot of that consideration was the formation of a new category of prisoners who have since come to be known as "trainable Ordinaries", which could be mixed with Stars in a training centre on the assumption that "provided proper care was exercised in selecting the Ordinaries for training, classification need not be dominated by the bogey of contamination; on the contrary, it was more likely that the majority of decent men would influence the minority for good than the other way round."

That was the basis on which Maidstone was opened as a "training centre," and with John Vidler as its Governor it soon became so in fact as well as in name. The "five-year plan" of 1945 looked forward to the conversion of Wakefield to the new "mixed" system and the opening of similar regional centres to cover the whole country.

This plan was prepared in the expectation that the Criminal Justice Bill 1938, killed by the war, would as soon as possible be reintroduced. The main provisions of the Bill, so far as it affected the Prison Service had been:

(1) The substitution of a single sentence of simple imprisonment for penal servitude, imprisonment with and without hard labour, and the "Triple Division" of offenders sentenced without hard labour.

(2) Eventual prohibition of imprisonment for persons under 21 and provision of alternative methods.

(3) The implementation of the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders by the modification of preventive detention and the introduction of "corrective detention".

The memorandum pointed out, correctly, that the proposals under (1) would make no difference to the actual treatment of prisoners in prison. "Imprisonment with hard labour" had long been a meaningless expression. "Convicts", as those sentenced to penal servitude were called, had for some time been kept in local prisons, or sent to training centres, if their sentences were under four years. The main problem would be how to implement the new methods for persistent offenders. "The difficulty is perhaps made most clear by stating that on the one hand there are now some 30 'habitual criminals' serving sentences of preventive detention, while on the other hand there are some 2,000 prisoners serving sentences of penal servitude or imprisonment who would qualify for this form of sentence under the formula of the 1938 Bill. If the Courts use the powers it is proposed to give them to the full, evidently the make-up of the prison population and the allocation of accommodation will be radically changed."

"Another factor making for uncertainty in planning", the memorandum went on "is the unpredictable fluctuations in the level of the prison population" and "a third factor of uncertainty is the number of years which will elapse before prisons become high enough in the scale of national priorities to enable a serious start to be made with a large-scale rebuilding programme."

Mercifully we cannot see what is to come. Ten, not five, years later the total population had passed 22,000, with over 2,000 men serving special sentences as persistent offenders, and the "large scale rebuilding programme" had not yet produced one new establishment.

The section on training and treatment accepted as basic the principles first developed by Sir Maurice Waller and Sir Alexander Paterson after the First World War. Even in the difficult circumstances of the Second War some advances had been made on these in method and detail. In 1942 conversation at exercise was allowed at all prisons, giving rise to the possibly apocryphal story of the prisoner who was charged with "not conversing on conversational exercise". Daily shaving was introduced. The enamelled disc with the prisoner's cell-number, which used to hang on the breast-pocket, followed the broad arrow into oblivion. The use of correspondence courses, intended at first to fill the war-time gaps in the educational scheme, was also developed at this time.

The stage system too had been turned inside-out, on the principle, first stated in 1944, "that in so far as the stage privileges are valuable for training, the sooner a prisoner profits by them the better; second, that in so far as they are intended to assist discipline, a prisoner is more likely to be affected by the loss of something he is actually enjoying than by the postponement of something he hopes to enjoy in the future." So library books ceased to be stage privileges, open access to the library shelves was allowed, and in 1944 all County Librarians were invited to follow the example of the Suffolk County Library.

which in 1942 had agreed with the governor of Hollesley Bay borstal to run his library as a branch of the County Library. These developments will always be associated with the name of Miss Mellanby, who pioneered and pursued them throughout. Then Stars were brought into the Second Stage, with association at meals and in the evenings, at four weeks instead of twelve weeks, and for the first time Ordinaries were allowed to dine in association at a certain point in the stage system.

But perhaps the most significant developments had been those which contained the seeds, then unrecognised for what they were, of the open prison system. New Hall Camp had long been there, and Aldington was soon to follow as a similar satellite for Maidstone; but these were for the selected men of a pre-selected population, and they were not self-contained and independent establishments. The key lay rather in various war-time necessities from which the Commissioners "had learned much which had led them to take a more generous view of the extent to which most ordinary prisoners can be trusted." At many prisons men slept in emergency huts of minimum security. At many more, parties went out daily to work on farms or other jobs of national importance with only token supervision. And at the outbreak of war the population of Wakefield (about 250) had been transported to the open institution at Lowdham Grange, while a mixed population of recidivists streamed into Wakefield. Only two men absconded from Lowdham, and the recidivists responded surprisingly well to a slightly adjusted "Wakefield system." All this led the Commissioners to propose, in their memorandum, that till the building programme came to their relief, camps and hostels should be sought as "stop-gaps" and "the possibility of setting up one or more Training Centres for men in camps or hostels should be explored." In the years between, these 'stop-gaps' and 'possibilities' have developed into the most complete and comprehensive open system to be found anywhere, an achievement in which the whole Service may take a proper pride.

About the employment of prisoners, the memorandum, again blind to the future, said "the eight-hour working day will be restored as soon as possible" and "no worse thing could happen than a relapse to the conditions in which machines stood idle while prisoners slowly spun out work by hand to make an order last as long as possible." The Commissioners looked forward to obtaining "greater consideration from government contracting departments of the needs and potentialities of prison industry," and recalled the wide range of skilled and semi-skilled work carried out by prison industries as sub-contractors for munition works during the war: they hoped that political and economic conditions would favour a resumption of such work for private firms. They also hoped for a continuance and extension of outside working parties on agriculture, drainage, etc., and considered the possibility of providing vocational training courses in the proposed training centres. They also touched on earnings schemes in relation to the concept of "the rate for the job".

In education they wished "to see lively development", and proposed to appoint an Educational Advisory Committee, with the possibility in

mind of basing the organisation on the assistance of Local Education Authorities.

The section on health looked forward to important developments in psychiatric research and treatment and the setting up of the "special psychiatric establishment" generally known as the East-Hubert institution. Improvements were also looked to in prison sanitation, clothing, and food, and the appointment of a Catering Adviser was proposed.

There was a special section about women which suggested that little imagination had been used in their treatment in the past. Radical changes were proposed in the nature of women's prisons, which should be of cottage-home type in minimum security and "In all types of women's prisons, the Commissioners propose drastic changes in the present style of dress, both outer garments and underwear. They do not think it helpful that a woman's appearance should be a source to her not of pride but of humiliation. They would see no objection to the use of cosmetics, if the administrative difficulties can be overcome." For the borstal girls, Aylesbury was regarded as "wholly unsatisfactory". Two new borstals were proposed, which it was hoped would be quite small.

This 'five-year plan' had dealt only with the prisons. The position of the borstals was even worse. A service which had stood high in morale and public esteem found itself in September 1939 lost almost overnight. With the immediate discharge of all senior boys and girls the tradition of over 30 years was abruptly broken. Much of the highly trained and experienced staff was lost. Accommodation was given up for other services. On this strained and diminished service, from 1945 onwards, fell an increasing flood of new committals, which by 1946 had raised the population from some 1,500 to over 3,000. The closed borstals which had been taken over as prisons were recovered; Latchmere House was opened as a second reception centre; by 1946 four camps had been acquired for open borstals and at the other extreme a borstal was put in a wing of Dartmoor. Yet the flood of boys always outran us: by 1949 it had reached 3,500 and by 1952 was nearing 4,000, with the finding, adapting and manning of still more institutions always panting behind. It was not till the pressure eased after 1953 that the borstal system began to achieve stability and maturity again.

Such then is the situation out of which our Service, a little bloody but quite unbowed, has been fighting its way these 15 years. We knew where we wanted to go, but we sadly lacked much of the means to get there, notably staff and buildings. Let us see what has happened about these, taking staff first since, as the White Paper of 1959 says, "the success of the system will, finally, depend on the quality of the staff which will administer it."

Looking first at quantity rather than quality, the adequacy of staff numbers is evidently relative to the number of inmates in charge, and the story is to be read against a continued rise in the population from some 14,700 in 1945 to a peak of over 24,000 in 1952. From there the tide ebbed to about 20,500 at the end of 1955, steadied in 1956, and then rose sharply to a new peak that at one time in 1959 approached 27,000. During the winter of 1959/60, it has been receding again: I venture no prediction

as to whether this will be a minor fluctuation or a major recession such as came after 1952.

Let us look first at the foundation of the staff pyramid, the prison officers, of whom there had been in 1938 over 2,200 men and about 200 women for about 11,000 inmates. On 1st January, 1946, there were some 1,880 men and 220 women for about 15,000. In post-war years recruitment was limited by Government directions, and increasingly full employment in the national economy did not help. Nevertheless, ten years later, this staff had nearly doubled, and notwithstanding the continued competition of full employment, had increased again to about 4,700 men and 240 women at the beginning of 1960. While this is, absolutely, a considerable achievement, it is still inadequate in relation to the needs. It is even now not possible to get back, in the local prisons, to the shift-system which before the war permitted a full workshop day for the prisoners. The bodies are not yet there on a pure staff/inmate ratio, and the over-riding factor is that whereas at the end of the war there were 40 establishments to man, there are now over 80, and still they come.

It is difficult to foresee the end of this relay race. Problems of policy also arise in relation to regulating the flow of recruitment. The Service cannot be inflated beyond its capacity to absorb inexperienced new entrants, or beyond the availability of quarters for those who are established. On one point policy is and must be firm: quantity must not be put before quality. The emergency methods of recruit training used after the war, to increase the output of the Training School, have long disappeared. So much importance is attached to the training of all grades that an Asst. Commissioner has for some years had special charge of it, and principal officers have been appointed at all establishments to supervise the first stage of recruit training and the continued training of successful candidates during their probation. Constant thought is given to improving the techniques for weeding out unsuitable candidates at the earliest stage, and improving the content of the initial training. To increase the flow, as well as the quality, new and larger quarters were found for the recruit training of prison officers, and the old school, re-named the Staff College, concentrated on the initial training of assistant governors and the provision of in-service training courses for all grades of the Service.

This in-service training has many values. In their few days at the College people are taken out of their daily grind into a fresh and stimulating atmosphere. They meet others doing the same sort of work, and under the guidance of the College staff discuss common problems and new ideas. They are in every sense 'refresher' courses.

One feature of this form of staff training derives from the increasing specialisation of staff which during these years followed our wider conception of the training of inmates. The medical side must care for the mind as well as the body, so the medical officer must be as much psychiatrist as physician, and specialised psychiatric services have developed which will culminate in the 'East-Hubert' psychiatric hospital now being built at Grendon. So too, in these years, a complete psychological service has grown up within the Service. Education is no

longer a casual amateur affair, but is conducted by professional teachers with Tutor Organisers as a normal part of the staff: so too with physical education. Industry has also developed its own range of specialists, from civilian instructors upwards. Social welfare and preparation for discharge are increasingly in the hands of professionally qualified welfare officers.

This diversity of function has led to various measures designed to ensure that, in the words of the White Paper, every member of the staff "must work together as a team inspired by a common purpose which every officer clearly understands and in the achievement of which he has a real concern." All the in-service courses have that end in view, but some more directly than others. Since 1955 new entrants to certain specialist grades (e.g., chaplains, teachers, psychologists, physical education specialists) have met in a short annual "integration" course, which enables each to appreciate what the other has to contribute to the common task and to get the feeling of belonging to a team. Another such step was to arrange for all new entrants except prison officers and certain minor grades to have a few days at the College to introduce them to the Service. Still another, though it takes us away for a moment from Wakefield, was also taken in 1955, when Consultative Committees were set up at every establishment. These bring together, in quarterly meetings, representatives of every grade and interest to discuss together either local problems of their own or general questions on which the Commissioners seek their opinions.

Back at the College, let us consider assistant governors. These are in themselves a post-war innovation. Before the war, there were on the borstal side housemasters and assistant housemasters: in the prisons a new entrant usually joined as a governor class IV, as deputy at a large prison. With the development of training centres and young prisoners' centres after the war 'housemasters' soon found their way into the prisons as well. In 1947 they were all redesignated governors V, and a training course was started for them at Wakefield. Later on, it was decided that the title of governor should be reserved for the actual head of an establishment, and governors IV & V were re-named assistant governors I & II.

All entry to the governor grades was now through the ranks of the assistant governors: direct appointment disappeared. At the end of the war the Secretary of State had also approved the policy proposed to him by the Commissioners that governors should be found from within the Prison Service to the extent that suitable candidates were forthcoming. Some vacancies continued to be filled by the direct promotion of chief officers or foremen of works through normal promotion board procedure, others by direct entry through an open competition held by the Civil Service Commissioners, for which members of the service could also apply. Main interest centres on the considerable development of the pre-war 'staff courses'. These were now designed to select and train as assistant governors prison officers of over two years service who had passed a Civil Service qualifying test, and a preliminary selection board. These six months courses, run at the Staff College in conjunction with Leeds University, were in 1955 followed by shorter and less academic courses

to pick up older officers who might have missed earlier opportunities. At first separate four-week courses for direct entrants continued alongside the staff-courses, but in 1957 this anomalous situation was brought to an end. Since then direct entrants and 'long staff-course' candidates have taken the same course together: it aims to balance academic instruction, e.g., in sociology and criminal law, with practical training which includes increasing attention to case-work and group discussion techniques.

So we have sought through these years to build up a diversified staff of sufficient numbers and good quality. To attain these ends it is necessary first to ensure that the pay and other material conditions of service will attract and retain the right men and women, and this led to the setting up in 1957 of a Departmental Committee to make a comprehensive review of the pay and conditions of service of prison officer and governor grades. But even more important is to try to make the work rewarding and satisfying in itself. This means continued attention to in-service training, so that the Service may feel that it is being given the necessary techniques for the increasingly complicated calls made on it. It also means the provision of buildings and equipment which are not, as the White Paper says, "a monumental denial of the principles to which we are committed". And particularly for the ordinary officer at the grass-roots of the whole system, it means ensuring that he feels as much a part of the 'training team' as anyone else in his establishment.

What has been and may be done on the last of those necessities we shall see when we come to look at the training of our inmates. Let us now turn briefly to the buildings in which the work has to be done.

Again, one has to think in terms of both quality and quantity. I do not propose to spend time on the notorious deficiencies of our 19th century buildings. The Service has to work in them, and knows. The public has been told in the White Paper. I must however recall how much has been done to them since the war. By 1955 we had provided over 160 more workshops, and those since completed or now in hand or planned will bring the total to around 200. Ranges of class-rooms have been built at many prisons, and new libraries at some. Pleasant modern visiting rooms for prisoners' families and friends are coming year by year. Many new chapels have been provided, and most old ones made to look more worthy of their purpose. Gas has been completely replaced by electricity—no less than 35 establishments were still gas-lit at the end of the war! Modern central heating systems have been put into many establishments, and are going into many more. Most kitchens have been modernised and re-equipped. And now a great drive is being made on sanitation. The revolting old open W.Cs. on the exercise yards are rapidly giving way to decent ranges in brick-built structures, and bath-houses, internal sanitary recesses, and workshop sanitation of a high standard are removing some of the most offensive aspects of our prisons. Above all the cheerful new colour schemes have done as much as anything to make them less dreary places to live and work in. The White Paper looks forward to a time when the local prisons at least can one by one be emptied for complete reconstruction as modern training units.

As for quantity, our increase from 40 establishments to over 80 of all kinds still leaves over 6,000 men sleeping three in a cell in local prisons, and if two-thirds of those had gone the prisons would still be too full. Some more relief, but not perhaps very much, will be found by getting more open prisons: for the rest, unless the crime wave goes steeply down and stays down, we can only look to the gradual unfolding of the new building programme. To deal adequately with this would be matter for another article: it has been fully described in the White Paper. We have its first-fruits at Everthorpe, built as a prison but pressed into the borstal service. That is good, its fellow now coming up at Hindley will be better, but our full conception of a contemporary prison will only be seen in the third, which is about to start at Blundeston.

Now let us turn to the end in view, which is the treatment and training of the offenders in our charge in such a way as "to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge, and to fit them to do so." It may be that the inclusion of that statement in the new Prison Rules which followed the Criminal Justice Act 1948 was the most significant result of that Act for our Service. True, it followed the Bill of 1938 by clearing away a lot of 19th century deadwood and so simplifying the framework of our job, and also by providing new types of sentence for dealing with young offenders and persistent offenders. These changes were rather of the structure than of the spirit: but the Prison Rule above quoted, and certain others declaratory of principle rather than practice, followed the quiet introduction into the Act of the word "training" as one of the purposes for which Rules should be made. So, with the authority of Parliament, the principles for which our predecessors between the wars had been forced to fight so hard were now placed above the range of controversy.

The 'five year plan' of 1945 had already shown how the Commissioners meant to set about implementing these principles, and the story from 1949 becomes one of first providing the framework, and then developing the necessary techniques. On the prisons side, from the simple pre-war system of 26 local, four convict, and one preventive detention prison, there developed the pattern of central prisons for long-term imprisonment and preventive detention, regional and corrective training prisons for the training of prisoners with sentences of medium length, and local prisons forming a sort of sub-structure out of which the training system emerges. That at least is the pattern, but simple lack of accommodation has in fact kept many men of many categories in the local prisons who ought not to be there at all. To that extent overcrowding still defeats the main purpose of this system, which is to try to send every prisoner to the type of prison most likely to provide the training that he needs.

The system of classification, which is the instrument, intended to serve that end, has also, through the pressure of events, remained notably defective. If we are really to provide positive training on an individualised basis, it does not begin to be enough to divide prisoners into Stars who have not been in prison before and Ordinaries who have, even if on a very undetermined sort of basis we pick out some 'trainable Ordinaries' to go

along with the Stars. We all know what varieties not only of personality but also of criminal sophistication can be covered by the word Star. In 1956 the Commisioners set up a Working Party to consider how classification might be based on a real assessment of individual personality, but the sharp increase of population that followed made it necessary to put their proposals, with many others of that hopeful interlude, into cold storage. There, on the whole, they seem likely to remain until we have the remand and observation centres foreshadowed by the Act of 1948 and the Prison Rules 1949, with their specialised diagnostic staffs, to relieve the local prisons of their tasks of dealing with the unconvicted and classifying the convicted. The first of these is now being built.

It seems unlikely that before we have these centres, and the new training prisons promised by the White Paper, the Service will be able to tackle effectively the basic task set before it in 1945 — to stop recidivism. It cannot be done, as we have been forced to try to do it—except for the comparatively few sentenced to corrective training—between Dartmoor and the local prisons. We must have a number of small units which can become "therapeutic communities" in the sense that they will not only try to affect the states of mind and social attitudes of offenders, but will be equipped with the techniques to do it. Here in recent years it has been possible at least to sow some seeds of ideas which may bear fruit in proper soil.

Research, on which so much emphasis was laid in the White Paper, is being brought to bear directly on our own problems. The direct value for training of the science exemplified in the Mannheim-Wilkins borstal prediction table has yet to be developed. In other directions studies which should be of great practical value are under way. Teams of sociologists have studied the make-up of the prison community, so that we may better understand how imprisonment affects the prisoner and what are the inter-actions between the prisoners themselves and between them and the staff. Our psychologists, in conjunction with the Home Office Research Unit, are engaged on a project which seeks to identify the factors and personal characteristics which bring back to prison that 20 per cent or so of first-timers who do come back: then perhaps we shall be able to pick them out when they first come to us, and if they still come back we shall know better how to treat them so that they don't come back a second time.

New methods have also been developing. The 'Norwich system' in small local prisons, and experiments in the larger with special wings on the lines of 'H wing' at Pentonville, with 'induction units' in some others, are pointing the way to a training atmosphere involving the whole staff even in the local prisons as they are today. For the longer-term recidivists the hostel scheme has now spread, from its P.D. origins at Bristol some years ago, to a growing net-work providing each year, for a lot of men who had virtually written themselves off, a new hope and a real chance of establishment in normal life which most of them seem to be taking to heart. Group counselling, our newest technique, has yet to prove itself. It started at Wakefield and Pollington, but is now passing to a more generalised

basis with instruction provided at the College. Several prisons, including Dartmoor, report that, using prison officers for the most part as counsellors, they are finding most helpful results not only in changing the attitude of inmates towards themselves and towards authority, but in giving the staff greater insight and confidence in their work.

For young offenders too the scene has changed and is changing. In these years the Service has established the system of detention centres, and pioneered a senior attendance centre. Borstal, in spite of its constant struggle with too many boys in too few institutions, has added to its pre-war equipment fine systems of vocational training and general education, with a whole range of adventurous and character-forming activities outside the borstals, and is now beginning to seek ways to deepen its 'case-work' approach to the more disturbed and difficult of its charges. For those who have still come to prison, we have set up separate young prisoners' centres largely inspired by our own borstal training. For the free interchangeability of the two sides of the service has throughout been one of its strengths.

The White Paper confirms the value of what the Service has done for young offenders by projecting its work into the future in a new framework.

So, in whatever grade or part of the Service we find ourselves, we shall still go forward with that "constant heart-searching", and "tireless efforts to find curative and regenerative processes", which fifty years ago, in a famous passage, Sir Winston Churchill put among the first of our duties.

The Prison Service and the Prison Officers' Association

Harley Cronin

THOSE prison officers who are now on the point of retirement after a lifetime in the Service have seen a transformation in their conditions of service. The role of the prison officer in the administration of the prisons, of his status in society, his pay standards, and the accommodation which he and his family are expected to occupy have all changed greatly. I can speak of this with personal knowledge because it was in 1927 that I joined the Service at Bristol Prison.

Only ten years before I joined the Service, officers were still working from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. whilst the night staff reported for duty at 6 p.m. and worked through the night until 6 a.m. the following morning. For this kind of attendance the pay of the basic officer ranged from 29s. 0d. to 45s. 0d. weekly. The annual holiday was 18 days but no compensation was given for Public or Bank Holidays. Uniform was out-dated and officers were required to wear cutlasses whilst on duty. It was not until after the strike by police and prison staffs that these things were altered. The Governor class of that day were almost exclusively recruited from the commissioned ranks of the Army and Navy and they imported into the prisons the atmosphere of the barrack square and the quarter deck. Discipline was stern and rigid and the staff were expected to carry out their dealings with the prisoners in the same manner. Officers were reported for the most trivial offences and were subjected to a system of monetary fines which often caused real hardship to the men and their families. These conditions were only tolerated because other work was difficult to obtain.

The greatest change, perhaps, during the years that have followed has been in the part which the prison officer is expected to play in the administration of the prisons and the relationship that he is expected to have with the prisoner. In the old days to talk to a prisoner, except to give him a necessary order or to check him for some breach of discipline, was to run the risk of a charge of undue familiarity.

In the days when I entered the Service the first signs of a changing atmosphere were becoming apparent, particularly in connection with the purposes which prisons were intended officially to fulfil. According to Sir Lionel Fox, in his book "The English Prison and Borstal System", it was in 1921 that "gusts

of fresh air began to blow through the pages" of the Reports of the Prison Commissioners.

Since then, of course, there has been a good deal of such fresh air. Emphasis is now much more on training and rehabilitation—as indicated, for example, in the new Prison Rules introduced in 1949. Prisoners have been more carefully and diversely classified; the number of types of prisons has been extended. Detention Centres have been set up and the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 has introduced the conception that the purposes of a prison sentence may be avowedly different indeed in different cases. Great advances have been made in the study of the medical and psychological aspects of crime and the East - Hubert Institution for the treatment of convicted aggressive psychopaths will be opened in the comparatively near future.

All this, no doubt, will continue. More attention will be given to discussing and, let us hope, discovering the causes of crime. Certainly, with the present inflated size of the prison population, there is great urgency about this work, and no lack of material of which study may be made: a sobering thought which may create some doubt as to whether the problem is being tackled along the right lines.

In these changes, however, the individual prison officer has not always had the guidance, support or leadership to which he feels himself entitled. He will carry out the new functions expected of him more effectively if he is kept, by refresher courses and by the encouragement of study, in full touch with developments in thought about prison work. Prison officers have a unique experience of criminals and of the practical problems involved in maintaining them in custody. That experience ought to be fully used in any study of crime.

Indeed, if any further developments in prison policy are to be successful, the understanding and support of the prison staff must be enlisted. For the most part the Prison Service is staffed with men and women of more than average humanity; people with an abiding interest in their fellow men. No officer can serve in a prison for very long without learning, by personal experiences, that there are many types of criminal—from the individual who is genuinely the victim of some misfortune of circumstances or upbringing, to the person at the other end of the scale who has had every advantage of ability and opportunity but has deliberately chosen to take a calculated risk to win a good living by illegal means.

The British public being what it is (and we would not wish to change it) will always tend to sympathise with the underdog—at any rate so long as he is in custody—and tend to be ready to believe the worst of those who have to exercise authority. This is doubtless better than that public opinion should support uncritically or with indifference all that authority does but, at the same time, it can and does create great difficulties for prison officers (as it does for their colleagues in the police) and sometimes creates an atmosphere which can quite easily undermine their morale. Every inmate who enters prison is a human being entitled to all that can be done while in custody so as to be enabled to lead a useful life on release; nevertheless it is quite impossible for one to ignore the fact that the prison population

contains inmates who are violent and aggressive, people who are vindictive, sly and spiteful, and those who delight in making mischief between prisoner and prisoner or between prisoner and officer.

The prison officer, even the youngest and least experienced—or, perhaps I should say, particularly the youngest and the least experienced—cannot ignore these facts; they make up his daily life. He must maintain his authority or everything is lost; and he must maintain it now by his character and leadership rather than by the exclusive reliance on the sharp discipline of past days. The change in atmosphere and attitude is welcome, for it makes the task of the officer a more constructive and interesting one, but at the same time, of course, it makes it a more difficult one.

In discharging it the support of the higher authorities is essential. We recognise that the Prison Commissioners cannot and should not attempt to take up every case in which an author who has been in prison alleges some harshness against prison officers (or who merely concentrates on prison staff a generalised hatred of authority), but certainly the more glaring and vindictive of such attacks should be answered. More important, however, the Prison Commissioners and the Home Office should do all that they can to make known the positive and constructive role that prison officers play.

Of even greater practical importance is an understanding by Governors and Commissioners that the new relationship between prisoners and staff—which has received a big boost from what has been described as the "Norwich Scheme"—can exist only in a framework of firm but understanding discipline. The prison officer and the prisoner must know that abuses of the freer and more human atmosphere will not be tolerated. Indeed, in my view, the "Norwich Scheme" was helped to success very substantially by the fact that in the Governor of Norwich Prison—a former Chairman of the Prison Officers' Association, we are proud to say—we have a man who understands prison administration thoroughly largely because of his lengthy experience as a basic grade prison officer.

There have been, since the war, a number of occasions on which Home Secretaries have paid tribute to the essential role of the individual prison officer and the social service nature of prison employment. "The prison administration", runs one of the resolutions agreed at the first United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders, held in 1955, "shall constantly seek to awaken and maintain in the minds both of the personnel and of the public the conviction that this work is a social service of great importance . . .". In the Prison Officers' Association, however, we have had to comment rather sharply that, while these statements have been made, the standards of pay, educational requirement, career prospects, etc., which they imply have not been readily extended to prison staffs.

In this respect the Wynn-Parry Report represents a great step forward. While it did not, by any means, recommend everything which the Association members would have liked to see, it proposed—and the Government have implemented—pay levels which

were substantially above those previously ruling. It drew attention to the need to improve the standards of messing, quarters and welfare, and has set us on the path of an arrangement of working hours and of reasonable recompense for overtime which provides some recognition of the fact that the seven-day-a-week nature of prison work merits some mitigation.

Of equal importance, however, is the comment and guidance which the Committee gave in respect of the future. I have two points particularly in mind. The first is the broad hint given by the Committee that although it did not feel able to recommend immediately the sort of qualification for entry to the Service which the Association had urged—three subjects at "O" level in G.C.E.—the question of raising the educational standard of entry should be considered in the future against their view that "the present standard is definitely too low". This question of educational standard is, of course, linked with that of career prospects, including the filling of vacancies in the Governor grades from within the Service. Here again the Committee had a measure of sympathy although they did not consider that the Association's view—that there should be a unified Service—could be accepted for implementation straight away.

The second guide given to the future was on the way in which pay and conditions should henceforth be determined. The broad principle relating future changes to those in the Civil Service—with an "escape clause" to cover exceptional circumstances—will provide a basis for negotiation which has been lacking in the past.

The Wynn-Parry Report ce
tainly provided a basis for the futu
very different from the Stanhop
Report of 1923. This, in effec
recommended an increase of 1s.0
per week for the officer grade
whereas the Wynn-Parry Repo
has led to marked improvemen
both in pay and career structur
It is by no means fanciful
state that one important reaso
for the differences between th
two Reports was that on the mo
recent occasion there was a
active, independent Associatio
representing prison officers whic
was lacking in 1923.

It is strange in a way th
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the period between the two wor
wars, prison officers were denied th
right of free men to form an effe
tive organisation for the defence an
advancement of their occupation
interests. The right to have suc
an organisation had to be fough
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Association celebrates its 21
birthday this year—helps to foste
the spirit of interest in P.O.A. wor
which is so vitally necessary if th
fruits of its labours are not to b
complacently whittled away in th
future.

There will certainly be ampl
scope for prison officers and fo
their Association in the years t
come. We hope to see negotiation
in respect of our pay and condition
based on a firm footing as a resul
of the principles laid down by th
Wynn-Parry Committee and th
opportunity for officers, both
individually and as a body, to hav
their experience more fully use
in the administration of a
essential public and social service

The Prison Service and The Howard League

Hugh J. Klare

PERHAPS it may be as well to begin by recalling briefly what the Howard League actually is. It is a small voluntary organisation of fewer than 2,000 members and a minute income. It has some dingy offices a stone's throw from Westminster Abbey in a building, the general decor of which is like a mixture of the less attractive features of Pentonville and of Horseferry House. Everyone from Prison Commissioners to ex-prisoners cannot but feel at home in such familiar surroundings.

The League itself was born in 1921 but it has, as one of its parent organisations, the Howard Association, named after John Howard, and founded in 1866. The first President of this Association was Lord Brougham, a famous Lord Chancellor.

The objects of the Howard League are the prevention of crime and the promotion of constructive treatment methods for offenders. The first of these objects, though highly desirable, is unlikely ever to be achieved: having a shot at the second is both enormously difficult and highly rewarding.

I think perhaps one aspect of the gradually changing relationship between the Prison Service and the Howard League was the growing realisation of common aims.

In an article in the *Bulletin of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission*, May 1949, Sir Lionel Fox, in a typically generous manner, summed up the relationship as it then was:

> "To start at the top on the national level I would first mention the position of the Howard League for Penal Reform. I need not describe this organisation, which is internationally known I wish only to bring out two points. First, it is an entirely voluntary and independent organisation whose sole purpose is to further the ends of penal reform and to protect the interests of prisoners wherever necessary. Second, that its existence in that capacity is recognised by authority as being like that of 'His Majesty's Opposition' in the House of Commons, completely desirable and necessary. The Prison Commissioners are generally prepared to give the representatives of the Howard League full information and facilities to visit their establishments, and welcome their activity as a useful corrective to official complacency."

What stands out here is the way in which the administration is prepared to accept the existence of a possible "opposition" and indeed to aid and abet it in order to ensure that it can function effectively. This is in the finest tradition of democracy and of disinterested public service. In other countries similar arrangements are not only unknown but unimaginable.

Partly perhaps in response to such a positive attitude and partly because of a growing and possibly more sophisticated understanding of the difficulties of the administration and of the Service, the League

has tried to place the emphasis of its work increasingly on support of the Service. It seemed to us that it needed encouragement far more than it needed criticism to accomplish its task. Today the primary task of the League is probably the help that it might be able to give in the consideration of how present treatment methods might be deepened and made more effective.

Specifically, what we have tried to do in the Howard League in the last few years, as far as the Prison Service is concerned, was this: we sought to understand, as fully as possible, the status, function and social role of all members of the Service, and the attitude which seemed to be engendered by these things. Secondly, we tried to look for ways in which status, function and social role of staff members could be improved or made more positive. In doing this, we particularly tried to see whether pilot experiments in industry or in mental hospitals (the organisation of which has certain resemblances to that of prisons) could be adapted. Finally, we tried to grope towards a treatment rationale, that is to say definite treatment aims related to the personality and character of prisoners, especially recidivists.

One of the most difficult problems that besets modern criminology is precisely this enormous task of trying to bring about changes in the attitude of adult recidivist prisoners whose personality is already set. It may well be that we shall never find a completely satisfactory solution, but in struggling towards new ways of understanding and tackling the task—today perhaps by means of group counselling and group therapy, tomorrow in other ways not yet discovered—the League can aid and abet the Prison Service in its common aim. It can also help to change the public image of the Prison Service and aid in bringing about a sympathetic understanding of what is being attempted. It can do this by the public lectures it arranges and by seeking to influence what is written or said about the Service: in a sense, by public relations on behalf of the Service. In a different sense, in its summer schools the League has, in recent years, specifically tried to encourage custodial staff to express their views and to communicate their sentiments to magistrates and social workers, in order to increase mutual understanding.

People have a great need to feel themselves understood. Whatever small part the League might eventually play in this, the new PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL has a unique opportunity to serve as a channel, not only of new ideas, but of real communication. The more the Service gains in self-awareness the better it will be able to see itself and its own problems, and the more effective and united it will become.

The JOURNAL is being launched at a time which is particularly interesting and important. The long and often stony road that has led to the present exciting possibilities, the new methods already used or planned, the new building projects the research schemes, the endeavour to test specific treatment elements —all this adds up to a Service in process of transforming itself into a vital and dynamic social force bent upon a greater understanding of the human personality and the encouragement of its growth where it is stunted.

From my temporary vantage point at the Council of Europe in

Strasbourg, I have been able to see a little of the Prison Services of other countries, and as far as I can judge, none comes up to the actual standard or performance potential of our own. And what is more, even though there may be things which our Service can learn from industry or mental hospitals, there are already some matters—there will be many more—which industry or hospital administration could learn from the Prison Service.

In a middle-page article of "*The Times*" of the 15th February, 1960, this problem of interchange of information and co-operation was put extremely clearly:

> "It is now increasingly realised that a large part of the study of 'handling human relationships' is a generic study, that is, it is the same kind of study for doctors, teachers, social workers, and so on. Because this is so it is now beginning to be understood that the advancement of these skills can be substantially helped by an interchange of ideas, of experience, and by co-operation in other ways'.

We have found it imperative to include in the Library which is attached to the Howard League* (and which is one of the largest of its kind in the country) books not only on delinquency and its treatment but also on human behaviour and human relations in quite other contexts. For instance, "The Lonely Crowd" by David Riesman is an important sociological study of the changing American character. It relates the emergence of a certain character type to a high or a low growth potential amongst the population as a whole. But this book also helps to make some aspects of modern juvenile delinquency more comprehensible even though it does not deal directly with the subject.

Criminology and penology cannot grow in isolation. They need to be nourished by, and nourish, the discoveries of other sciences and other skills. It may be that from time to time the Howard League could help to bring together people who work in related fields, as in the past it has tried to interest the administration in the findings of social psychology in industry and hospital administration. It could, perhaps, do this by special meetings or courses, and to some extent by what is published in the Howard Journal.

The Howard League is, of course, not exclusively or even mainly concerned with prisons. It is at least as concerned with juvenile delinquency and with other treatment methods such as probation. I must confess, however, that I personally have gradually developed a special interest and liking for the Prison Service and there are many times when I envy those who have the opportunity to try out for themselves new and hopeful ideas.

I hope that the new PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL will become a great success. I hope that as time goes on the editorial board will have a long waiting list of contributors, and that the JOURNAL will become an important and respected instrument for forging opinion. Finally, I hope that the Prison Service will grow increasingly conscious of the tremendous power for good which is in it, and that the Howard League may in some small way remain associated with it in the effort to bring that power to bear in the most effective way possible.

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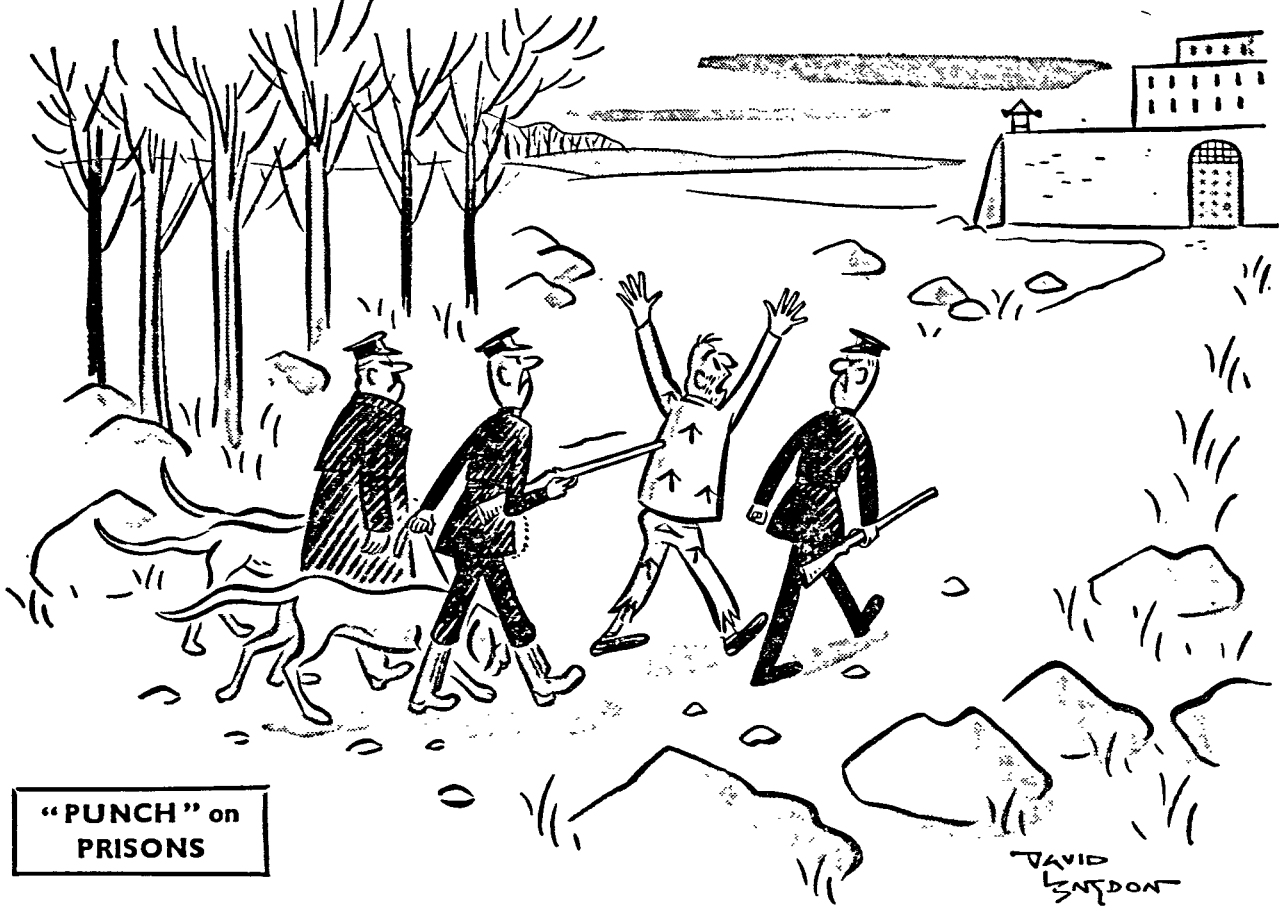
*This library is open to members of the Prison Service and if anyone wishes to avail himself (or herself) of its services, he (or she) is very welcome.



"PUNCH" on PRISONS

"Honest, I'd been reading the bit in the White Paper on overcrowding."

What the doers think

John Conrad

MOST correctional theory is made by practical men. This has always been the case. Though learned social scientists take an increasing interest in our field, the working hypotheses which govern our programmes are constructed by the people who operate our prisons, probation departments and the rest of the correctional apparatus.

This is just as it should be. No social scientist will argue that his theories should be applied by people who are not thoroughly sold on them. No correctional administrator wants to run a programme which he doesn't think he can handle. But most administrators are eagerly grateful for useful new ideas from social scientists which can be translated into action. We have a tough job. We need all the help we can get to solve our problems more effectively. What help we get from the social sciences is recent and is thinly applied. Hardly anywhere in the civilised world are the problems of penology being subjected to as massive attack as in England, where the research resources of the Home Office are teamed with the experience and enthusiasm of the Prison Commission.

So it is that most correctional theory is developed on the spot by trial and error methods. To a disconcerting extent, the prisons of today have been designed and developed by unschooled turnkeys, keepers, governors and warders of years gone by. They were grizzled old characters who never heard of anomie and wouldn't know a chi-square from a T-square. But they built our prisons, organsied our staffs, and instituted the procedures by which we work to this day. They learned from experience; they applied what they learned as far as they could. Research and social science have added a gadget or two here and have subtracted an excrescence or an obsolescence there. But the structure of the correctional field is intact. The prison governor of the good old days would not be much mystified by today's institutions.

This is the framework on which we must build. Even if we wanted to, we could not tear it all down and start anew. But from this framework change will proceed, whether we like it or not. Prisons are no more immune to evolution than any other social institution. It just seems to take longer.

Our problem as social scientists is to see what can be done to channel the course of evolution. In California, a new Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency has been established. Its principal objective will be the harnessing of social science research and correctional practice so as to bring about a moreorderly development of our field. For an initial project to break the ground the Ford Foundation has allocated a substantial grant.

I have thought of this project as an enterprise to find out *what the doers think and what the thinkers do.* It is quite correct to say as we often do, that this institution or that

agency wasn't planned—"it just grew like Topsy". But a lot of able people devote their lives to Topsy-like programmes. They *think* they are getting results; they *think* that what their programmes do is helpful in accomplishing an important social assignment. What makes them think so? The answer may be inarticulate but it is based on operational social theory. It is one of the tasks of the project to search out and define theories of this kind.

Let me cite a couple of random examples from my own observation. In California, we have evolved a technique for dealing with aggressive inmates which we refer to as the Adjustment Centre. The Adjustment Centre is the direct descendant of segregation units at San Quentin and Folsom. By trial and error, by good advice and bad, we seem to be arriving at something which may actually help certain disturbed inmates. What theories of group management support the Adjustment Centre? What are the ideas about human beings in confinement which make them effective? If another prison system wanted to incorporate Adjustment Centres, how would we advise going about it? Why?

Another example. In England last year I observed with admiration and fascinated interest the development of the Detention Centres. I spent some time trying to find out what makes them work; I was deeply grateful for the patience of their wardens in explaining their conceptualisations to me. But then we have a new type of institutional care based on a combination of intuition, some social theory, some common sense, a rising public demand, and an administrative necessity. Out of these factors was developed, not without pain, a hopeful new kind of institutional treatment which works for some lads. For whom does it work, and why? For whom is this treatment contra-indicated, and why? Can these techniques be exported to California, where they would be eagerly received if we could assure ourselves of their effectiveness with our particular kinds of adolescent hell-raisers? Or is this an institutional form which is rooted in the national peculiarities of English culture? It is not only in the United States or in England that these questions burn. With the steady drift into mass social forms there will be in the years to come a concern over issues like this in every civilised country in the West.

So part of our task is to find out what the doers think. What do the thinkers do? All over the Western World there is an active attack by the forces of scientific method on the stubborn problems of systematically modifying human behaviour which represent dangerous or otherwise undesirable social deviations. A good deal of this work is being done in the universities and scientific institutes. But there is an increasing sense of public responsibility for correctional research.

The work being done by the British Home Office, by the United States Bureau of Prisons and by the California Department of Corrections is only a token of a much larger effort to come in which we shall be working out together a rational basis for the effective treatment of delinquents.

Questions to the thinker are urgent as never before in the history of corrections. With the accelerating urbanisation of society we can be sure that the number of people to be corrected will increase, and not

at the same rate as the population explosion. It takes no prophetic insight to imagine what is ahead for us if between our doers and our thinkers we do not arrive at solutions to check crime and its consequences. Further, we ask these questions at a propitious time. The development of theory in the social sciences has reached a stage when it will be to the mutual benefit of both thinkers and doers to improve channels of communication.

Our project will scarcely clear all the channels or bring together all the ideas. But it will be a reconnaissance of the whole field to see where the ideas of the doers and the deeds of the thinkers are taking us. For social evolution need not be a blind process. Topsy may have just grown, so far, but maybe with planning we can make a real lady out of her.

Mens Sana . . . ?

Aidan Healey

"THE physical welfare of the boys is in the hands of Sister E. O'Rourke, S.R.N., (Dublin) and a trained staff", ran the message on page six of the prospectus. On page ten, in humble type, under the general heading 'Domestic Staff' was the following item:—

Physical Training & Tuck Shop:
C.S.M. BATTERSBY, D.C.M.
(Royal Fusiliers)

'Plum-bum' Battersby made his appearance in the Masters' Common Room twice daily, to refill the coal buckets, and would have been no less horrified than the rest of the staff to learn that he occupied in the affection of most of the school a higher and more permanent place than any of his loftier colleagues — despite their Oxons, their Cantabs and their place on page two of the prospectus. Yet such was the case. Indeed, more successful old boys returning in Crombies and motor cars made their way not to their Housemaster's study—that friendly scene of man-to-man chats and hot crumpets—but in less traditional fashion to the gymnasium, cold austere building reeking of leather and fusty woodwork.

The Sergeant Major's philosophy of training was rooted and grounded in the doctrine of original sin. In contrast to current educational theory, which hints that all will be well if the young are left to develop 'naturally', he was a firm believer in the basic badness of boys. In his view therefore education in general, and more particularly physical training, were concerned not so much with the permissive development of good qualities as with the ruthless extermination of bad ones. This policy was eminently acceptable to other members of the staff, delighted to concern themselves with 'Character Training'—the real stuff of education—unencumbered with the more pedestrian business of punishment. Plum-bum's policy enjoyed the great advantage of simplicity. All new boys were told precisely what was required of them in the gymnasium: punctuality, clean bodies, alert minds, hard work, and no underpants under your gym shorts. Boxing was, of course, compulsory throughout the school. The Sergeant Major's own appearance was exemplary. His white flannels were spotless, sharply creased and fitted snugly round the ankle so as not to hinder demonstrations on the horizontal or parallel bars. His gym shoes were blanco white and his sweater a cream colour with the red crossed swords of the Army School on the chest an inch or two below the V of the neck. In build he was of medium height, thickset with lightish thinning hair immaculately brushed down on either side of a centre parting. He had the puffy eyebrows and the slightly splayed nose of the boxer, and his shoulders, like those of most gymnasts, were thickly muscled and slightly rounded. In contrast to a rather belligerent and tough appearance his speaking voice was gentle in tone and his manner of dealing with classes or individuals was

competent, unruffled and entirely devoid of the easy conviviality which is normally the stock in trade of those who are 'good with youngsters'.

The gymnasium had about it an awesome sanctity. Shooting eights, O.T.C. groups, gymnastic and boxing teams from byegone years lined the walls, utterly safe from damage since nothing which was round, bounced or rolled was ever permitted inside the building. Each period of P.T. lasted one hour. A short inspection of knees and necks was followed by marching, running and formal free standing exercises. If this were done efficiently there would follow a short session of class instruction in boxing or gymnastics and the final quarter of an hour in work by groups on life saving drills, boxing, fencing or gymnastics. No talking was permitted in the gym.

In addition to the normal day to day P.T., C.S.M. Battersby was responsible for swimming, shooting, and, of course, the tuck shop. Although possessing some knowledge of athletics, particularly of field events, he was not encouraged to trespass beyond a brief appearance as timekeeper on sports day. The serious coaching was undertaken by a housemaster of late middle age who had run cross country for Oxford forty years earlier.

Tuesday and Friday were 'Corps' days. The Sergeant Major inspected the parade at 2 p.m. and then drilled the assembled company until 3 p.m. At 3.15 p.m. the tacticians took over and a cram course in the serious arts of warfare began in preparation for Cert. A. A Scout troop run by the chaplain met on the same afternoons. Membership was restricted to those who were excused boots or possessed a certificate from Sister O'Rourke restricting them from O.T.C. parade. Such a certificate was almost unprocurable, and even if successfully obtained, carried with it a stigma which was hard to live down. Plum-bum considered Scouts an 'unwholesome' business leading not only to absence from Corps parade but to the use on two afternoons a week of trouser pockets—a luxury denied to the remainder of the school whose pockets where sewn up on the first day of term and stayed so until the holidays began.

Once each year at the Staff Concert Plum-bum, thinly disguised as a wealthy man about town, would be set upon by a gang of thugs—a trio of junior masters wearing cloth caps and chokers—whom he proceeded to throw in all directions until they lay prostrate on the stage. He would then dust off his striped trousers, pick up his bowler and walking cane and stroll nonchalantly into the wings amid hysterical applause and shouts of 'encore'.

The Sergeant Major lived in a small house at the rear entrance to the school which enabled him to scan the lane for smokers and take the names of those coming in late from pass. He had a large, friendly wife and three sons. The sons he chased mercilessly and denounced as idle—and occasionally 'unwholsome'—two of these were decorated for gallantry in the war and are now in business, and the third is a doctor.

Some years have now passed since Plum-bum's last public performance. His place has been taken by two trained teachers, the tuck shop is in the care of two ladies in blue nylon overalls, the house by the back lane is occupied by a dietician, membership

of the 'Corps' is voluntary, compulsory P.T. is restricted to Junior boys, the athletics is first class, the boxing a disgrace. The boys are happier, everyone maintains, natural aptitudes are developed, self-discipline encouraged, physical training has broadened into physical education, the P.E. staff join their colleagues in the Masters' Common Room for morning tea, all continue to train characters.

This is not the occasion to discuss sociological aspects of physical activity nor to consider how a subject which was once non-U is now becoming respectable—nor, even if this be so, whether respectability is really worth all the fuss.

It is, too, a risky business to attempt a comparison of the old with the new in any field of activity. If the comparison is to be objective then considerable effort of will and as near complete emotional detachment as possible are both essential. Many accept new developments because on rational grounds they are evidently worthwhile, yet they remain, in De Berker's phrase, 'emotionally attached to the old regime'. Others embrace all innovations that come their way on the tenuous ground that if a little of the 'new' is good, then a lot must be better still. Whatever opinion may be held about 'old' or 'new' methods of training, the problem of character building through physical activities is one which has particular relevance in this service. This whole problem is of fairly recent origin.

From 393 A.D., when Theodosius abolished the Olympic Games, the 'body' and things physical virtually sank without trace. The shapelessness of human figures in Byzantine art testifies to this. Moreover the word 'flesh' denoted in Christian doctrine all that should be avoided for the good of the soul. Apart from a short lived emancipation in the Renaissance, the 'body' continued to be considered as an appendage to be mortified rather than as an integral part of the growth and personality of the individual. Mortification of the flesh remained until the heyday of the newer Public Schools of the 19th century, when the playing field startlingly became a training ground for character, and good sportsmanship the key to the kingdom of heaven.

Depending on their own natural ability, and of course on the way they earn their living, most people now occupy an uneasy position somewhere between Theodosius and Dr. Arnold where their claims for the character training value of physical activities are concerned—assuming that they think about it at all.

Consider team games. These of course vary so greatly, not only in their equipment and laws, but in the assortment of characteristics, temperament, skills, physiques, training methods, degrees of fitness and co-ordination which each particular game requires.

Social distinctions which surrounded certain games, notably those labelled 'Made in England', have now largely disappeared, or at any rate are not so evident, so that the sanctions and generally recognised code of conduct attached to each game are less well defined than they were. True, one or two remnants of more honourable years are still embodied in some of our sports, the F.A. Law relating to 'ungentlemanly conduct' is one example of this, but the antics of Football League players each Saturday suggests that this law is retained for sentimental reasons only.

It must be recognised, then, that there is nothing automatically beneficial, reformative, character building or therapeutic in team games. They provide as many opportunities for the acquisition of bad habits and characteristics as they do for the learning of good ones. This can hardly come as a very startling revelation to any who have watched, for example, the progress of a schoolboy Rugby League player through intermediate school games to top class club play—this cannot be attributed merely to professionalism, since the same deterioration frequently occurs in the amateur game.

Whether or not there is deterioration depends upon many factors: on organisation, on training, on the coach and what he teaches, but chiefly it depends on the climate of opinion current in those taking part in this game as well as those watching it. If, for example, heavy tackling and free use of the boot on the opponent meet with approval of team mates and spectators then you may rely on it that men who play football for that team in that institution will become heavy tacklers and freebooters. If skill and sportsmanship are at a premium then it is probable that, for ninety minutes at any rate, the most anti-social will pass for a sportsman: a possible explanation of the excellent reports which prison and borstal teams receive when playing 'outside' matches. The creating of the right climate of opinion is the most difficult of all tasks in any organisation as well as the most important so far as effectiveness or ineffectiveness of team games within that organisation is concerned.

Can some at any rate of the qualities essential of this healthy climate of opinion, then, be built through team games? Possibly they can, but with this qualification. Frequently those qualities of character supposedly built through a physical activity are in fact prerequisites of it. Cross country running is held by many to produce perseverance, mental stamina, and a capacity for physical endurance whereas these are the very qualities which good cross country runners already possess, and which in fact make them good performers. The team game of Rugby football calls for considerable bodily resilience and, amongst Welshmen certainly, the enjoyment of hard physical contact with an opponent. Yet it is most unlikely that a youngster temperamentally and physically unsuited to the game could, through Rugby, be taught to 'take hard knocks and come up smiling'.

Surprisingly, this medieval reasoning may still be heard; worse, is occasionally put into practice and called training. The result of this mental gymnastics is to teach the unwilling participant to appear from the touchline to be doing great things whilst in fact doing nothing; at this, many of those with whom we deal are already experts: we merely enlarge their sphere of operation.

It may seem a statement of the obvious to assert that if there is to be any character training in team games, it is most likely to occur where those of a team who possess the characteristics of good sportsmanship heavily outnumber those who don't. This poses problems in prisons and borstals where it is probable that the opposite is the case, and where there sometimes appears to be a depressing lack of improvement in what we have come to call good sportsmanship, the

general standard tending to settle downwards rather than move upwards. Two conclusions must be drawn from this. First that the more staff participation in recreative work that there is, the greater the likelihood of leavening the lump. Second, that the quality of sportsmanship, unlike a tetanus injection, does not automatically 'take' in cases of those exposed to it.

At one time it was considered that if two men were taught to head a ball to each other, back and forwards, in the gymnasium, this would improve their football. We now realise that all this really improves is their ability to head a ball back and forwards to each other in the gymnasium. That there is in fact no transfer of training to the football field or to the game itself, where the ball comes at all angles, at all speeds, and where as likely as not it arrives wet, heavy and at the same time as the opposing centre half. In much the same way there can be no guarantee that habits of conduct, even if they can be instilled on the games field, will carry over to a man's behaviour off the field, where he is mixing with others without even the slim common ground that they are taking part in the same activity. He faces entirely different stresses in his work, in his house, on his wing, amongst the men in his mess than he has learnt to cope with on the games field. It is not surprising then that so often, as compliment or criticism, can be heard 'He's a different man off the field'—of course he is, and likely to remain so. Even very well adjusted and highly respected citizens vary alarmingly when set in different environments. Ask anyone who has crewed for a friend during the critical stage of a dinghy race. It is probable, however, that though a satisfactory change in conduct on the playing field may not be necessarily indicative of any real change for the better, off it, a change for the worse over a period of time on the field is almost certainly an indication of general all round deterioration in morale, and probably if too long uninvestigated, of the likelihood of more serious permanent effects.

In this connection it must be remembered that the sanctions imposed in well organised and efficiently refereed games, if less severe in consequence than the laws of the realm, are more restrictive, more immediate, more publically administered, and permit of positively no deviation from the laid down rules of the game. Were the same minute observance of the law enforced off the field, few could hope to avoid public disgrace and most would face a heavy term of imprisonment. Perhaps it is a legacy of our past tradition that we still demand an infinitely higher standard of conduct in our games than in private and public life.

An equally illogical and peculiarly English custom is that of reserving the right to play the game badly. Countless worthy men turn out Saturday upon Saturday for an Extra 'B' XV, play in appalling conditions, usually two men short on a waterlogged pitch so far from the changing rooms that the last of the hot water has been taken by more eminent colleagues in Senior XV's by the time they return. Such men deserve nothing but praise. When they maintain that they enjoy this, one is prepared to believe that in the case of one or two eccentrics this may possibly be true. Unfortunately from here it is a short step to the dangerous

conclusion that skill really doesn't matter and that the all important thing is 'having a go'. This is not only false logic but self-deception of the most serious kind. Consider first the question of enjoyment. Most people find that in thinking of the past the pleasurable obscures the less pleasurable, the hot bath after the game obscures the rushed lunch, the cold wait for the referee to arrive, the first heavy fall on the cold wet mud. Just so, do many mistake for the enjoyments of the game itself what are in reality concomitants of it. Do away with the club bar, the cosy companionship after the match, the beery songs, and most Extra 'B' XV's vanish overnight. To people in our own establishments these congenial accompaniments to the game are denied and therefore the inadequacy of a poor standard of play as providing enjoyment is more plainly evident. But there is a more pressing reason for the necessity of skill. If there is to be any character training in physical activity then there must be satisfaction gained from that activity—and there can be little lasting satisfaction without skill. Few enjoy beating their way round a golf course in 127, each stroke a functional failure. To teach men, particularly young men, to do one thing well should surely be a first principle in physical education. Does this mean the cultivation of 'star' performers? Indeed it does, but star performance by everyone—in something. Since men are no more stereotyped than methods this is the overwhelming reason for the widest possible range of activities in any training programme. It is an important reason also for the inclusion where possible of those activities which we know as 'Outward Bound' and which include climbing, sailing, canoeing, track walking, orienteering, and camping. The growth of 'Outward Bound' activities is probably the most significant as well as the most valuable development in post-war physical education.

Any reader who has reached this point can scarcely be in need of character training—he might do worse than consider cross country running which calls for similar qualities of self discipline. He will, however, be considering the relevance or irrelevance of the opening pages of this article. A description of what must have been in many schools pre-war the physical training programme is included here because, though limited in some respects, it nevertheless contains many of the factors on which any attempts at character training must be based. These are as valid today as they were in Sergeant Major Battersby's time.

Consider first the activities for which the Sergeant Major was responsible: gymnastics, boxing, fencing, shooting, swimming. These are all pursuits at which individual skill is at a premium; at which a measurable improvement can readily be seen; in which youngsters can satisfy those natural instincts to fight, to struggle, to win; in which individual as well as group teaching is required; in which because of this a closer and more effective instructor/pupil relationship is necessary; at one of which boys of all ranges of physique, of stamina, of co-ordination can do well; where in the teaching of each activity there are assessable means of progress and definite objectives at which to aim.

Consider the atmosphere in which these activities were taught.

It might well be termed restrictive —even antiseptic — in the light of modern teaching method, but there were standards of efficiency, turn-out, punctuality, hard work, cleanliness, alertness, appearance and personal ability which all understood. These were entirely consistent with the overall aims of the physical training programme and never varied.

Consider the results. Certainly there were those who arrived at the school hating the very sight of the gymnasium, and left it with much the same feeling. This is inevitable. But they were few, and even these carried away at any rate an idea of what was worthwhile and what was worthless, of what was poor work and what was first rate—and it is perhaps worth remembering that delinquency may sometimes be due less to defects of character than to lack of an ideal at which to aim. The majority, however, achieved some measure of success in at least one of their activities.

In the last resort any permanent effect upon character depends upon the conviction that certain standards of behaviour are right, and because of this desirable and worthwhile. This is as much a question of emotion as of logic, and because this is so the man matters more than the subject he teaches. For this reason also personality is more important than technique, and no single subject, no particular form of training can possibly claim a 'corner' in the building of character.

Contributions

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OF

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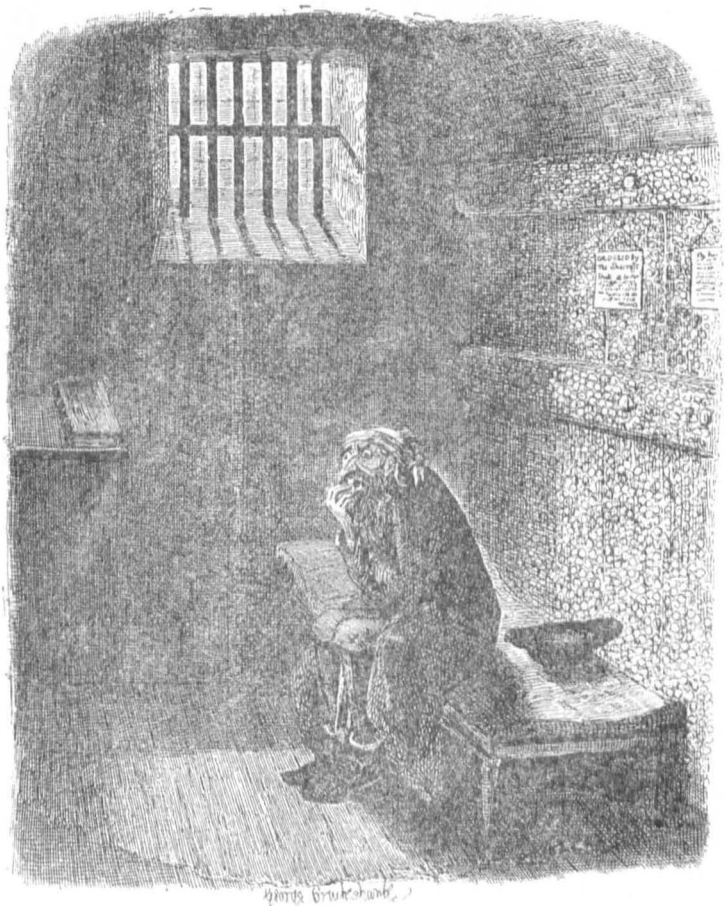
as early as possible

Dickens and Prisons (I)

THE ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS from the works of Charles Dickens, reproduced here by permission of the Oxford University Press, exemplify what the great American Dickens scholar, Professor Edgar Johnson, calls "Dickens's lifelong preoccupation with prisons". It was said of Sir Alexander Paterson that, "one may well ask whether any one man has had a knowledge at once so deep and so wide of the condition of man in captivity". In his own time much the same might have been said of Dickens. "Everywhere" says Johnson, "in London, in the cities of the United States, and on the Continent, he had been an assiduous visitor of every kind of prison". And he remarks that



FROM OLIVER TWIST.
Cruikshank's Fagin in the Condemned Cell (Newgate).

"From the early 'Visit to Newgate' in *Sketches by Boz*, through Mr. Pickwick's detention in the Fleet, the frightful description of Fagin in the condemned cell, and Mr. Micawber's incarceration in the King's Bench, to the unwritten ending of *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, in which the murderer was to gasp out his confession in another prison cell, the sombre theme runs like a dark thread through all Dickens's work". Mr. Micawber's incarceration in the King's Bench prison, in *David Copperfield* is in fact a fictional version of the author's father John Dickens' imprisonment in the Marshalsea; and the portrait of William Dorritt confined in the Marshalsea was drawn from his memories of his father's behaviour there. It is unquestionable that this experience was extremely painful and humiliating for young Charles; and the prison is a dominating and pervasive image in many of his novels.

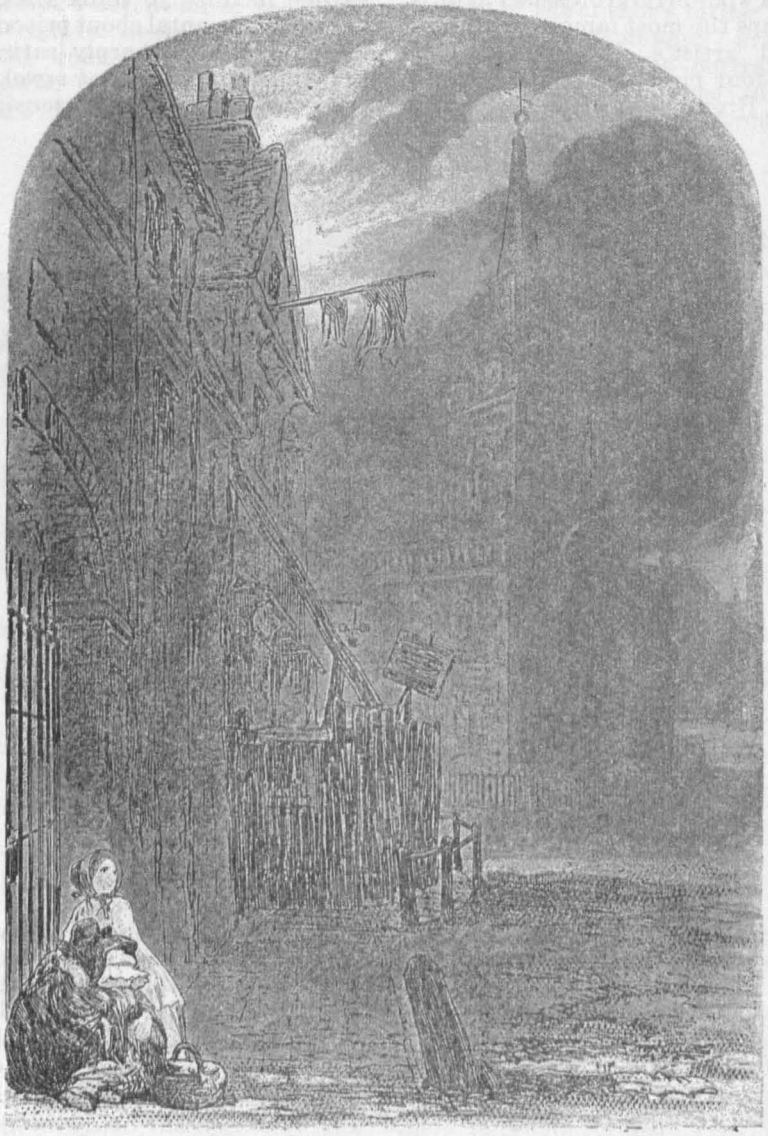
FROM BARNABY RUDGE.
Phiz's Barnaby in his Cell (Newgate).

The first picture, George Cruikshank's powerful grotesque Fagin, is perhaps the most famous of all that gifted artist's illustrations. The next four pictures are the work of H. K. Browne or Phiz as he usually signed himself. Those of Barnaby Rudge and Mr. Dennis the hangman may recall the vivid scenes in which Dickens "imagined with mingled emotions of horror and exultation a violent uprising battering down the gates and firing the walls of Newgate". The picture of Little Dorrit outside the Marshalsea reminds us that here Dickens' interest in prisons was born. The next picture, from *David Copperfield*, presents Uriah Heep in the role of a model prisoner in the new model prison at Pentonville. Anyone inclined to think Dickens merely sentimental about prisoners should read the sharply satirical fifty-first chapter in that novel.

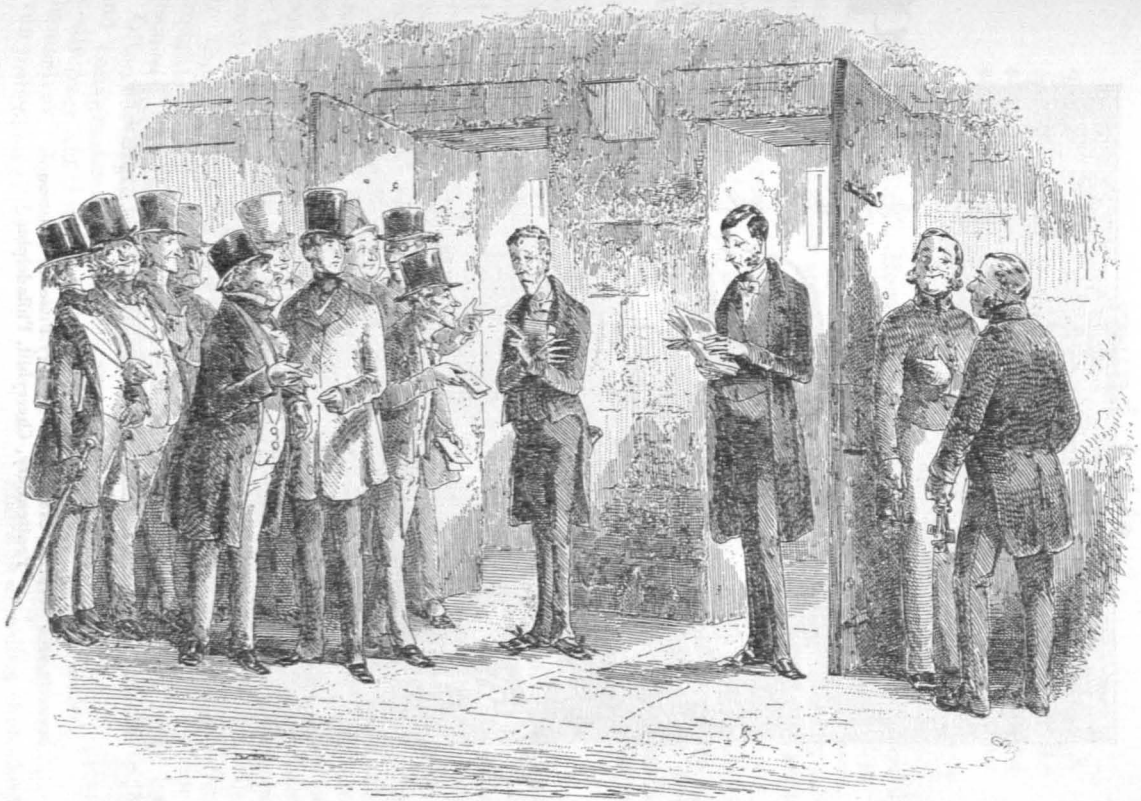
Yet he was extremely sensitive to abuse. Almost alone of the many distinguished visitors (including de Tocqueville, Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Fry's brother J. T. Gurney) to the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania at Cherry Hill, Philadelphia, Dickens was critical of the Solitary system in operation there. And in his *American Notes*, from which the last picture, by Marcus Stone, is taken, he denounced it as "cruel and wrong".

G.H.

FROM BARNABY RUDGE.
Phiz's Mr. Dennis the Hangman before the Condemned Cells (Newgate).



FROM LITTLE DORRIT.
Phiz's Little Dorrit outside the Prison Gates (Marshalsea).



FROM DAVID COPPERFIELD.
Phiz's David meets Uriah Heep in the Model Prison (Pentonville).

FROM AMERICAN NOTES.
Marcus Stone's The Solitary Prisoner (Eastern Penitentiary, Cherryhill, Philadelphia.)

A further selection of Dickens pictures will be included in our next issue.

Borstal boys talk out problems round table

The article which follows is reprinted from the Daily Telegraph *and* Morning Post *for 4th January,* 1960. *It deals, from the viewpoint of an outside observer, with the use of Group Counselling at H.M. Borstal, Pollington. This is described as one of the most radical experiments in British penal history.*

POLLINGTON Borstal is a nissen-hutted camp set among the bleak ploughlands of South-east Yorkshire. At first sight it does not look a promising place for humane experiments in correctional training, but it is here that one of the most radical in the history of British prisons has been tried out during the past two years.

Three times a fortnight during the eight months or so he is there each boy sits down with eight or nine of his fellows and a member of the staff round a table. Then begins a process which to those who think of borstals in terms of iron bars and bread and water must seem revolutionary to the point of foolhardiness.

For 90 minutes borstal officer and inmates, most of whom are between 17 and 20, are on the same footing. In this discussion nothing is barred. Sometimes the deepest problems of youths perplexed both by themselves and society are brought to the surface and discussed.

Often nothing of the sort happens and conversation ranges determinedly over anything but the boys themselves. Sometimes there is even unbroken silence.

U.S. Gaol 'Curriculum'

Group Counselling

Group counselling, as the method is called, originated in the United States, more particularly California, where it is part of the "curriculum" of many prisons. At its most probing it comes close to psychotherapy of the sort practised in many mental hospitals; at its mildest, to an Army Bureau of Current Affairs.

Simultaneously with its introduction to Pollington two years ago, it was started at Wakefield Prison. But, where, at the latter participation is voluntary, at Pollington it is compulsory.

There are signs that, having passed its first trials, the method is spreading more widely. Though welcomed by its champions this has led to some fears that it may be misused and fall into disrepute.

Before visiting Pollington I talked with Dr. Howard Jones, of Leicester University's department of social studies. The department and the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations were responsible for a course in group dynamics in which the Governor of Pollington and the Deputy Governor of Wakefield both took part before introducing the method to their establishments.

Control Needed

Evaluate Effectiveness

"There is a feeling that the time has come to pause and evaluate what has been done and its effectiveness," said Dr. Jones. "I think it is very important that there should now be some sort of control."

The prison service is mainly a lay service. However willing its members, comparatively few are equipped to deal with the delicate psychological problems which can crop up in the emotional atmosphere of a group. The staff I spoke to at Pollington gave me the impression they would have welcomed a psychologist's advice and guidance. This they never had throughout the time the method has been on trial.

Ideally, group counselling should lead the individual on the first steps to mental control following what the text-books call "the shock of recognition." This is achieved through the interchange of ideas, advice and candid opinions among people who are all in the same predicament.

Apart from its therapeutic value and the new standards and values it may be fostering, the method has had at Pollington the possibly even more important effect of developing a remarkably confident relationship between the staff and the inmates.

Staff View

'Best thing ever happened'

"It is the best thing that has ever happened in the prison service," said two members of the staff quite independently. "Before I came here," one of them said, "I was at a preventive detention prison. I saw more discipline here in my first 10 minutes than I'd seen in 10 years at the P.D. prison."

In the group sessions, it is important that the officer who acts as counsellor, or group leader of a sort, should never step back into his official role. However much he is insulted, abused as a "screw," or even ignored, he must never lose his temper or close the session.

One young officer told me that boys had even dared one another to flick his tie out. "But once you show discipline in there you might as well give up."

On the staff, whose usual wear is a schoolmasterly tweed jacket and grey slacks, is heaped much of the hostility which, in the outside world, might have fallen on the police or that nebulous middle-class entity, "them."

Though what goes on in the sessions is strictly confidential, I gathered that things can go badly awry. To sort out problems of that sort and also ease the tensions which the strain of group counselling can cause among the staff themselves, the staff hold a group counsel of their own once a week. "We have found them absolutely essential," said a housemaster.

Civilising Mission

Governor's Comment

Mr. N. A. Bishop, the Governor, is frank about the problems of group counselling, not least the virtual impossibility of measuring its success.

Pollington is an open borstal and the boys sent to it are As and Bs: those who, according to the prediction tables, are in the group which has the best chance of responding to correctional training. But even in this category the reconviction rate is about 25 per cent.

Mr. Bishop sees Pollington's mission as a civilising one. Whether group counselling combined with kindness, considerable freedom and a guided democracy, under which the boys themselves discipline minor offenders against camp rules will cut the reconviction rate, remains to be seen.

"Group counselling is trying to get people to see reality more clearly," he said. "Delinquents see things in black and white. If your training methods are valid, you can make a lad see shades of grey as

well. If we could estimate the extent to which that takes place, it could serve as a check on what we are doing."

Conflicting Opinions

Boys' Reactions

All the boys I spoke to were either entirely for group counselling or entirely against it. "A waste of time," said one boy. "Who wants to talk about yourself and what you've done? You want to forget all that. Anyway I decided before I came in I'd go straight."

Another boy, aged 19, said: "It's done me a lot of good. It's made me more thoughtful, more sincere. Even my mother said I was more sincere, when I went home for a week-end."

How did he mean "more thoughtful, more sincere?"

"Well," he said, "when my jacket got wet I hung it over the back of a chair instead of slinging it down any old how. I know that doesn't sound much, but it's something I wouldn't have done before."

Rather remarkably, no one, whatever his opinions, had anything to say against the staff.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ANATOMY OF PRISON.

Hugh J. Klare
Hutchinson, 1960. pp.160. 18s. 0d.

BECAUSE I find myself not always in sympathy with some of the suggestions put forward by the author of this book for the betterment of our prisons and the treatment of the inmates, I would not want it to be thought that I consider him to be in the wrong. Far from it. All that Mr. Klare has to say is well worth listening to, and pondering over. You realise, as you read him, that you are in the company of someone who is undoubtedly an idealist, but also full of common-sense; someone who has the rare quality of being compassionate without being sentimental. He sees, with disarming clarity, both sides of every question, and his approach to a problem is never made without regard to the opinion held by someone who, like myself, cannot whole-heartedly champion his cause. This reasonableness gives him an advantage over his opponents—too strong a word perhaps—that is almost persuasive in its effect. Indeed, I can think of no-one with whom it would be a greater pleasure to argue than Mr. Klare, or to whom one would less mind losing the argument.

That my criticism of the theories he expressed may be taken only for what they are worth, let me say at once that it is made from the standpoint of one who has never enthusiastically supported the tenets of the Howard League of Penal Reform, of which worthy body Mr. Klare was until recently the secretary. Once I earned the severe disapproval of certain interested persons by referring to it as the League of Penal Interference; though in fairness to myself I should add that others, equally interested, took my innocent jibe as being not entirely wide of the mark. To condemn a school of thought that may well be in advance of its time is both foolish and wrong-headed. Nevertheless, in the matter of penal reform time is an important factor, and as at the moment our prison system, or rather its administration, has numerous difficulties to overcome (owing partly to the tremendous increase in crime, and partly to the lack of sufficient staff) it would seem that the present is not the time to clamour for fresh reforms. Let the system *as it exists* be implemented to the entire satisfaction of those directly in control of it before pressing upon them—however sincerely—designs for the creation of a penal paradise that is unlikely to be realised for some years to come.

My personal view of the prison system, arrived at after an investigation during which I deliberately went out of my way to criticise the established order that I might learn what its supporters had to say in its defence, ended by convincing me that prisons could be more easily, and possibly more successfully, run if less attention were paid to the advice given by outsiders. I came across examples of reforms introduced for the good effect they were calculated to have upon prisoners that appeared to me to be, if anything, more harmful than otherwise. An instance was the freedom of association allowed prisoners during their leisure hours, the opportunity it afforded them of chattering in groups. Now Mr. Klare is a great

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

believer in group discussions, so that having read what he had to say in their favour, I put down his book and thought how much I would like to give him my view of the matter only to find on taking up the book again that in the very next paragraph he had generously expressed my view for me, and not found it worthless.

"Here we touch upon the crux of the matter", he writes. "The impact of prisoner on prisoner can be considerable, and although it may be useful and good, it may also be extremely harmful. A multitude of chance contacts, if they are of the wrong kind, may lead a man more deeply into crime. Moreover, such contacts, repeated again and again, gradually create a public opinion among prisoners. And public opinion is a very powerful thing, even though what is 'done' in the world outside may differ a lot from what is 'done' inside, and amongst prisoners. The system whereby large numbers of prisoners come together to some extent haphazardly for meals, recreation, and work, allows opinions and pressures to be built up which can be so strong, and so negative, that much rehabilitative effort may come to nothing."

In Mr. Klare's view, the rehabilitation of a prisoner while serving his sentence is of paramount importance. It is his belief that if properly treated by his enlightened superiors a man who goes to prison as the result of his anti-social behaviour can come out of it with the urge to lead an honest and industrious life. I have never been able to share that belief. Why, since it is next to impossible to change a man's character under normal conditions, should the transformation be thought easier to accomplish in the frustrating atmosphere of a prison? Two prison governors I met, each of whom spoke his mind in no uncertain terms (incidentally each of them has since become a Prison Commissioner) was of the opinion that to expect the average inmate to come out of prison a better man than he went in, was nonsense; for the reason that nobody is the better for leading an unnatural life—which is what existence in a prison must amount to. Besides, what so many so-called progressive reformers choose to ignore, is the fact that professional criminals, those the public is most urgently in need of protection from, have no desire whatever to be reformed. For them crime—to a greater extent than ever before—can be a paying proposition. Going to prison is an occupational risk they are prepared to face, and to accept as the penalty of bad luck, or of a 'job' mishandled. I know this to be the case. Mr. Klare knows it too; and being, as I have already said, an exceptionally honest person, he does not hesitate to draw attention to it.

"It is remarkable", he says, "how conservative many old lags and habitual criminals are. They want the old, well-known discipline and often dislike a modern approach... In this they are joined by some of the older prison officers, so that, occasionally, a prison may seem to be full of men who do not want to be rehabilitated, watched over by men who do not want to rehabilitate them. In such a situation, both sides know exactly where they are, everyone's behaviour is reasonably predictable, and each side's idea about the other is most satisfactorily confirmed."

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Those words of Mr. Klare's express, to a larger extent than possibly he realises, what many reasonably minded people still consider a prison should be: a place to which men are sent to be disciplined as a punishment for the crimes they have committed. They need not be the inhumanly harsh places they once were, but nor need they be quasi-mental institutions in which the inmates are made to feel that their crimes were unfortunate mistakes, the result perhaps of some unavoidable complexity in their make-up. To reduce a prison to the level of an advanced school for backward boys by opening the gates to a flood of psychologists, tutor-organisers and social workers, and allowing them gradually to get the upper hand, could be as dangerous in the result as to shut them out altogether and return to the bad old days of degradation and near-torture. No one with a grain of intelligence, unless he has a heart of stone or a streak of cruelty in him, would think of opposing reformers, or seek to undo the valuable work they have unselfishly performed over the years. But there does come a stage where the 'enlightened' treatment of criminals—whose crimes have not noticeably decreased in their violence—seems scarcely to make sense. A case in point—small but significant—is the confusion of mind I was thrown into by a remark addressed to me by a young Assistant Governor walking me round a maximum security prison. As we passed beneath the high wall, over which several prisoners had recently escaped, I mentioned that sometimes the walls of orchards were topped by spikes to prevent people climbing over them. The implication was obvious, since the top of the prison wall lacked any obstruction. The Assistant Governor came to standstill, regarding me with an expression in his young eyes of alarm and suspicion. "Spikes", he said, "can do a man climbing over them a serious injury, you know." I told him that I did know. Whereupon he exclaimed, politely, "I say, you're a bit of a barbarian, aren't you?" I began to think that I must be one, until, some time later, another escape was made from the same prison, in the same way, and I had no more qualms about being spike-minded, when an occasion seemed to demand it.

On the whole, I am in favour—who in his right mind wouldn't be?—of Mr. Klare's pattern for the future, including as it does smaller prisons, accommodating specially selected prisoners, and run by a highly trained staff of experts. But I am also convinced that a speedy effort to achieve this commendable objective could easily defeat its purpose. True, reforms in any direction usually advance at snail-pace: yet an instance comes to mind, with regard to the Probation Service, which illustrates the inadvisability of demanding too much, too soon. A scheme whereby only men and women carefully trained, over a considerable period, in the arts of social science, were accepted as probation officers, has recently been found not to fill the bill. So that now suitable applicants, after no more than a couple of interviews, are also enrolled, and trained while actually on the job. An excellent idea. Though it is doubtful if the trainees in either case are encouraged to pronounce the magic sentence that I have always longed to hear addressed by a probation

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

officer to the magistrate who has given him a new probationer: "With respect, sir, my case-load is already too heavy to enable me to give proper supervision to an additional client." I dare say some magistrates would look askance. But if the probation officer stuck to his guns, some real progress would have been made, by calling attention to the futility of trying to do the impossible in order to save one's face. The inability of a probation officer to give the concentrated, individual attention necessary to the boy whose character he is required to assess (say to aid a borstal report) is sometimes reflected in the boy himself, after he has arrived at an Allocation Centre. At two Allocation Centres I visited, I had pointed out to me by the officers in charge of workshops—each of them men of long experience—the various boys they instinctively recognised as unfit for borstal, because patently untrainable. All that was done about them—and I see no reason to consider them as isolated cases—was to make the best of a bad job. Not that the job had in the first place been badly handled by the probation officer. The poor man simply had not had the time any more than had the other contributors to his report, thoroughly to judge the boy's qualities—or lack of them.

The above instance of confused endeavour is not as unrelated to the subject of this review as it may at first appear to be. The point I wish to make is this: that until a sufficiently numerous staff has been recruited to facilitate the proper working of the Prison and Probation systems as they exist, extravagant notions of what miracles a team of dedicated specialists—supposing you could find enough of the right sort—might work, are somewhat misplaced. And I am not at all sure that in this argument Mr. Klare doesn't find himself on my side. Eager reformer in spirit he may be, but the spirit is attached to a mind as balanced as it is penetrating. No one could more appreciate the difficulties which face the Prison Commissioners at the present time, nor is his understanding of the prison officers who serve them, at whatever level, any less acute. In no other book about prisons have I come across such sympathy for, and understanding of, the prison officer and his attitude towards his extremely demanding job. Mr. Klare has obviously studied the prison staff from every angle and has obviously gained their confidence in the course of his researches.

As a blue print for the future, to be put away (but not forgotten) until the time is ripe to act upon his constructive suggestions, his book is admirable. And no member of the general public who seriously wants to know what prison is about, can afford to miss it.

SEWELL STOKES

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CRIME AND THE PENAL SYSTEM.

Howard Jones, B.Sc., Ph.D.
University Tutorial Press Ltd. 1956
pp.269 16s. 0d.

"OCTOBER. This is one of the peculiarly dangerous months in which to speculate in stocks. The others are July, January, September, April, November, May, March, June, December, August and February."

Had Mark Twain's delightful character Pudd'nhead Wilson been

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

a creation of the mid-twentieth-century, he might well have made an equally pertinent observation about the dangers of speculating in the field of criminology as well as in the field of finance. The need for such a reminder was confirmed in 1950, by Dr. Scott's examination of opinions on crime expressed in the national press, and if it was appropriate in 1950, how much more so during the past four or five years when the rapidly increasing numbers of recorded crime and convicted offenders have provided such a fertile ground for the speculative. Within this context, Dr. Howard Jones' *Crime and the Penal System*, appearing as it did in 1956 as the first and much-needed English text-book on Criminology, came at a most opportune time. His first chapter on "Criminology as a Science", and the succeeding ones on methodology and the resultant theories of causation are an excellent antidote to the speculator. They stress, and give a valuable insight into, the complexity of "the jungle through which we have to find our way" and the as yet limited through roads made into the jungle.

Dr. Jones opens by indicating some of the basic problems besetting the claim of criminology to be a science. In the process, he intentionally or unintentionally trails his coat, thus making the book, for at least some readers, all the more stimulating. He, for example, deliberately and quite necessarily in a short text-book, side-steps the "age-old" dispute about "free-will" and "determinism", but not before he declares that to impute personal responsibility is to make the search for causal factors a waste of time. One would like to know whether Dr. Jones would accept the converse, namely that a search for causal factors implies a denial of personal responsibility. In this case, would not the position of the criminologist be that of a determinist rather than an ethical agnostic, which Dr. Jones suggests he should be? Whilst the criminologist *qua* scientist must obviously eschew "question-begging moral judgements" has the criminologist to accept only two alternatives, either aiming to explain the whole picture, or, failing that, to give up the search for enlightenment altogether?

In the ensuing chapter, Dr. Jones outlines critically some of the explanations of crime coming from the variety of disciplines which have so far contributed to this still ill-defined subject of criminology — the constitutional, the psychological including the psycho-analytical, and the sociological theories. To attempt to select from, and condense, such a vast complex range of material into a relatively few pages is obviously a herculean and unenviable task, but one which the author does with considerable skill. He does, however, tend to be somewhat uneven in his critical appraisal and his apparently ready acceptance, for example, of the findings and subsequent hypotheses of Bowlby's "Forty Four Juvenile Thieves" sounds perhaps a note of caution. This, particularly in view of his omission to record Bowlby's own warning that "the number of cases is small, the contribution of the sample doubtful, the recording of data unsystematic, the amount of data on different cases uneven. Conclusions drawn in such circumstances are clearly liable to all sorts of errors". One cannot keep feeling that Dr. Jones' heart lies in the psychological theories rather than

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in the social aspects, with an intensive study of the individual offender rather than the more extensive study of crime as a social phenomenon. His chapter on "Some Social Factors", a most depressing title, tends to read like a catalogue of features which couldn't very well be left out, although curiously enough that important institution, the school, is unfortunately neglected. It is a pity that in this and other chapters on the social aspects the reader could not have been given the incentive to try to see criminal behaviour within the wider context of a rapidly changing society. If the family is so important in the understanding of personality development, the study of the changing structure and functions of the family is fundamental to an understanding of the overall problem of contemporary maladjustment. If the school is significant, the wider implications of the developing educational system and social mobility cannot be ignored. If youth is over-represented in the ranks of criminal offenders, the peculiar problems of adolescence in contemporary society are of immediate relevance. Provided that criminology is not only a science but "a reformist study, seeking to effect changes either in individuals or in society itself", the emphasis should not be too heavily weighted on the individual offender, but balanced with an appraisal of the relevance of the social structure, in which more immediate causal factors and remedial methods can have some perspective. This in no way detracts from the importance of Dr. Jones' theme in probably the most challenging chapter in his book, "Seeing the Problem Whole". He restresses the need for integration, for a move from the study of a heterogeneous to a more homogeneous group of delinquents, and, at the same time, the need to operate on the basis not of a multiplicity of single causal factors, but on the basis of "constellations, in which . . . each member affects the operation of each other. Whether a factor is causal or not seems to depend on how, and with what other factors, it happens to be combined." Whether or not, however, we can say that "the future seems to rest for the time being with the case-study" is doubtful.

Dr. Jones devotes approximately half of his book to this overwhelming problem of criminal behaviour, the remainder to an extremely useful survey of the problems of punishment, the evolution of the penal system, including the process of selecting punishment and finally the possibilities of preventive work. It is at the end of the first section, that one begins to wonder whether the author was wise in throwing his reader into the jungle of causation, particularly since the inroads so far made are as yet limited and relatively unco-ordinated. In so far as the book was intended as an introductory work for the more academic student this has its merit. The comprehensive survey of causal theories, whilst of necessity restricted in respect of each theory, raises many of the important ideas and is well indexed. Although critical he avoids being so critical that there is no incentive to investigate original sources. There is an obvious logic about the progression from defining crime, through methodology and the study of causation, to the question of punishment and prevention. On the other hand, one suspects that for many people

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engaged professionally in the penal and judicial system, there is the danger that in starting with the subject of method and causation its very complexity and inconclusiveness will leave the reader either bewildered, if not confused, or cynical. This may seem a rather churlish point of criticism since, to the reviewer's knowledge, the book has been most valuable to many such readers. Obviously, too, no text-book can conceivably meet the particular needs of all individuals, and in any case it may be asked—what is to stop the reader choosing where to delve first? Indeed, this is not intended as a criticism at all, but rather a pretext for raising a problem which a first text-book should precipitate, the problem of how to encourage and develop the study of criminology among officials with a fund of practical experience in dealing with crime and criminals.

There is often, one feels, and Dr. Jones would seem to imply this if he does not state it explicitly, a degree of suspicion or even tension between the scientist and at least some of the practitioners in this, as in many other fields of learning. Tension need not imply an unhealthy situation, it may indeed be the very reverse, but it does, under certain circumstances, constitute a difficulty in the exchange and development of ideas. This may be due in part to the fact, as Dr. Jones put it, that "the criminologist cannot help but be a critic of the penal system so long as we continue to refine our understanding of the problems of treatment. He is, therefore, prone to fall victim to that occupational disease of the reformer: the tendency to lose one's sense of proportion and to see nothing good at all in the object of criticism". In addition, set against the emphasis that most criminologists lay upon the reformative functions of penal institutions, is the suggestion of Dr. Jones, in a rather sweeping generalisation which is however modified by the context, that "although both prisoners and officials pay lip service to the reformative function of the prisons, neither really accept it". Finally, there is perhaps a natural tension between the approach of common sense and the basic prerequisites of scientific method—exactitude and "an examination of the facts of the real world, free from any preconceived ethical notions."

If these points are valid — there may well be justifiable protests against the second—and if, for the benefit of both parties, the lines of communication between scientist and practitioner are to be improved, the initial approach to the subject is of real importance. There is an overwhelming temptation, to which the reviewer has himself yielded, to begin with those areas where tension is likely to be greatest—the defining of crime and its relationship to morals, the problem of personal responsibility, the scientific approach to causation, the concept of causation itself. Is this, however, the most useful approach, even if one of the basic aims of such a study is to expose prejudice and unwarranted generalisation? Perhaps for those who approach the subject of criminology for the first time through Dr. Jones' book, and with a practical outlook, the starting point should be with the outline of the evolution of the penal system. If the study of the history of the present penal system "immunises" the criminologist against being over critical, it may

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equally well heighten the consciousness of change on the part of the student and present a common ground of agreement from which to embark upon a more critical study. The drastic changes, which Dr. Jones clearly shows, immediately precipitate a need to enquire into the reasons and implications of such changes. But it is imperative that the changing institutions should be seen within the context of the society in which they exist. The concept of the interreaction of a "constellation" of factors is as relevant to development of institutions as to that of the individual personalities and may be more easily grasped. What better example could be found than the emergence of the prison system and the prison ethos? The word "change" has been used deliberately rather than Dr. Jones' word "progress", for the latter implies judgement and a set of values which can too readily be taken for granted. Indeed, one of the most important aspects of the historical approach is to expose the danger of passing judgement on the basis of concealed values. It is all too easy to evoke a feeling of abhorence for, and pour criticism upon, the penal institutions of the past, without making explicit the values that underly such feelings and judgements. If it is important for the student of criminology eventually to approach such problems as "natural crime", "responsibility", "causation" from the point of view of the ethical agnostic, perhaps this can be best achieved initially through the past rather than the present in which he is so acutely involved.

These sentiments may well merely reflect the reviewer's own bias, in which case may he conclude by expressing his genuine appreciation for the bringing out of this most useful text-book.

NORMAN JEPSON.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Allen & Unwin. 1959. pp.376. 35s. 0d.
Barbara Wootton

Descriptive.

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL PATHOLOGY was published in 1959. Many favourable reviews have already been published. Social Pathology is used not in its direct sense, but its transferred sense. That is to say it refers to the abnormal conditions themselves. Lady Wootton chooses, (she gives her reasons for the choice in her introduction), to consider lawbreaking, illegitimacy, divorce, other marital separations, children, not offenders, committed to the case of fit persons, placed under supervision, sent to approved schools as in need of care and protection, beyond their parents' control, or failing to attend school, and persons without a settled way of life.

The book has three parts. The first part contains a review of the conditions of non-conformity just listed, and an examination of the way this non-conformity is spread over the population, and of the concept of poverty. There follows a review of twenty-one studies including the work of such familiar names as Healy, Burt, S. & E. T. Glueck, Carr-Saunders, Mannheim, Rose and Wilkins, and the evidence they offer as to the causes of delinquency. A remarkable chapter follows on Maternal Separation or Deprivation, a study of theories based on the age of the offender,

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and a most important and noteworthy survey of criminological prediction, especially of "Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal".

The second part, which has been the subject of much controversy and further pronouncements by Lady Wootton is concerned with mental health and illness, the difficult and exclusive nature of moral and criminal responsibility, and contemporary attitudes in social work. In this section the reader is given an exercise in definitions and straight thinking about responsibility and culpability, and critical reviews of the roles and functions of psychiatrists and social workers as seen by themselves and others. The infiltration of psychiatric ideas and its consequences are indicated.

Part three is on methodological and practical conclusions. No-one in an administrative capacity can afford to be unaware of the comments and suggestions in this part. Designs of research, the formation of policy in the light of advances made are suggested, and the impact of some kinds of development on public opinion and general good are discussed.

There are two appendices. The first, in a curiously lengthy way, shows the range of crime. The second by Rosalind Chambers, "Professionalism in Social Work", is a compact and useful little history. There is a rather overwhelming list of references, and there is a good index.

The book is well bound and attractively printed on good paper.

Subjective

"After all this, what can we be said to know?" So asks Lady Wootton in one section of her book, and so may we ask ourselves, having read, if not remembered, the whole book. She has accomplished the difficult feats of compressing into one volume the essential contents of much of other people's work, making a critical survey of it, and organising it into a coherent picture of one aspect of man's disapproval of man. To this she adds suggestions of how other people's work might better have been done and indicates further profitable lines of reasearch. The whole of her work shows erudition and wit, that appearance of originality which springs from the proper digestion of the work of others and a certain knock-about one-upmanship which it is a pleasure to observe at work on the position and defences of others, but acutely uncomfortable when the author turns her eye in one's own direction.

If any one were in any doubt about the wisdom of never being sure of anything, then this book will surely convince them. If authorities can be so easily brought down, then just where do we stand? It is trying enough to find that "experience", of which so many of us can claim so much, is often not experience at all but self-deception. But where do we go when the experts, or specialists, are themselves so much at fault, their work inconclusive, their cherished propositions not well enough examined, their statistics inadequate. It drives one back to the bland defence of the art lover or music lover, who says: "I know nothing about art (or music), but I do know what I like!" It seems we must either say we are moved to do certain things by forces we do not understand and with consequences

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which may or may not be what we intend, but we do think (by which we mean feel or believe) that what we do is right, or else have some irritating colleague ask: "But have you read Wootton?" The alternative that we should do absolutely nothing at all until Lady Wootton has collected all these footling experts together, co-ordinated their work, made them reconsider their conclusions, and formulated a policy for us is unfortunately not open to us. We have our work to do, and about it we must go, whether or not we know what we are doing.

But this is not to complain. If we are in a state of confusion, let us be glad to have that state revealed to us and no-one could complain that an effort to reveal the confusion in which we are, or into which the social sciences are leading us, has not been made. Indeed some effort is made to show us what is left after the muddle is tidied. These researches into researches, for that is what lies behind the book, represent work which all of those who, like ourselves, have opportunity for messing about with the lives other people should know well. If we have not Christian humility, or a natural respect for the views and feelings of others, or some other form of protection from arrogance and misdirection, then here we have cause to be thoughtful, for here lies in ruins a goodly number of propositions that had, to some of us at least, the air of authority, the appearance of integrity, but which turn out to be either "Not proven"; or "In conflict with the evidence", and this is good. We have too long tried to follow guides which are not guides. We have, or we should have, long since become suspicious of the world of assertions based on prejudices or inadequate samples. We still, however, have to work in this imperfect world. We need no longer be quite so blind to its imperfections.

Some reviews, whilst praising generously, have already protested at some of Lady Wootton's work, or suggested she was inadequately familiar with the literature of some topics. There are almost four hundred listed references, and much conscientious work has clearly preceded the presentation of views. Lady Wootton herself warns us that her "colleagues would, I think, dissent from some of my emphases and conclusions." There are, necessarily limitations to this kind of work which time and resources impose. An exhaustive examination of anything so uncertain and complex as human behaviour, be it for individuals or groups, is not possible. The theory on which Lady Wootton has acted, she says, is that, "There may be something to be said for trying to put scattered pieces of knowledge together inside one mind instead of leaving them distributed amongst many." She undertook this study, she says, in the belief that "Yet academic research, and particularly research in the field of human affairs, is likely to be all the better if we are not afraid, from time to time, to stop and ask ourselves where we are going and why". She generously warns us of the dangers of subjective judgements. Anybody at all who is concerned with the control and training of others, unless gifted with the most sublime self-confidence must have subscribed to Lady Wootton's theory and felt her belief. This is not to say we have no obligation to make our own subjective judgements, either about any of the

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original work with which we may be acquainted, or with Lady Wootton's appraisals of it. But it is to say that here is someone who understands the practical difficulties, and is making some attempt to see what sort of wood is obscured by so many trees.

Lady Wootton is gracious enough in her book to let her hair down a little. She does not hesitate to compare social workers with barmaids or barmen (on the grounds, one concludes, that they are all concerned to alleviate distress). She is amazed that they do not get their faces slapped, or suggests that a case worker might perhaps marry her client. Her quotations from the work of others are ably chosen for the purposes of debunking. The erotic quality of some of the passages quoted in the chapter "Contemporary Attitudes in Social Work" is curious to say the least of it. Age-old common sense is revealed beneath the fashionable trimmings of pseudo-scientific language. This freedom of speech, this courageous letting herself go makes her book enjoyable. It stirs the emotions and stimulates the mind. It suggests the possibility of reprisals. There is a heavy list of casualties amongst Royal Commissions, social scientists, psychiatrists, officials, and case workers. The reception of the book last year and since has produced the impression that everyone regards it as admirable, in general, but a little misguided in his own particular sphere.

Prediction Methods in Borstal Training.

Lady Wootton lends her considerable weight to debunking of the ability of "persons of 'informed judgement', such as magistrates, probation officers, or those who work in penal establishments", to make accurate forecasts. Mannheim and Wilkins apparently found it necessary to prove that their predictions were better than those of borstal governors, housemasters, and psychologists, despite the fact that these officers do not normally make that sort of prediction. It is not their function to do so. A curious device was used to make it appear that they did so. But this is old ground now and none of us would deny that we are soberer and wiser now about subjective judgements.

It is the function of prediction to make accurate forecasts, however. For the persons debunked prediction may be an amusing recreation, but their task is to accept the challenge however dismal the prospects. Release at some time must follow. The question of suitability has already been decided by the court, and if the court gives the sentence then presumably it also gives the result of the sentence if it is predictable. But is it predictable? What has the Mannheim-Wilkins study contributed which would give the answer to this question? In respect of any individual before the court at any particular time precisely nothing. In respect of a true random sample of a hundred individuals, and provided their scores are at the extremes of the scale, there is a clear indication that failure is more or less probable in specific percentages. If one relied on the experience tables for sentencing, then clearly after a sufficient time and number had elapsed the demonstration would become more and more convincing, or so it would at first have seemed.

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This would be, not because the individual judgement of any particular person were better or worse, but because the experience tables do not and cannot make individual judgements at all, and so cannot be used in that way. Of any individual all they can say is: "With people like him, borstal training is successful, say 67 times out of 100, or say not more than 15 times out of a 100, but as to whether this particular individual will be a success or failure we have nothing to say." For a time this looked convincing, but further work, particularly by Sir George Benson, makes it seem probable that this statement would be equally true of other kinds of treatment than borstal. "Prediction Methods and Young Prisoners." B.J.D. January, 1959. "This table is interesting in that it shows that borstal prediction discriminates, even for sentences of a fortnight." It was true of borstal simply because borstal happened to be the chosen area in the larger field. So it looks as though what the tables in fact do is bring us to a generalised statement about the value, not of one kind of training (i.e. borstal), but of a variety of penal actions. The tables therefore do not indicate after all whether borstal is suitable or not, but they are a measure of the difficulty of training, and reform, by any penal action at all; and for all we know yet for any other kind of action too.

Suitability reports to court from the Prison Commission suffer from all the risks of individual subjective judgements, so do court decisions. They indicate not so much probable outcome, but the possibility of the individual's submission to the treatment whatever the outcome might be. The administrative consequence of this position has to be worked out. The far-reaching consequences of the Mannheim-Wilkins study cannot be denied. The fascination of any kind of measuring instrument for everyone in our field is bound to give it a revolutionary potential. But is the unexpected breadth of its applicability not forseeable?

The heavy reliance of the tables on previous treatments is also, but in other terms, a reliance on previous convictions. So we learn that previous convictions indicate future convictions. The table says in effect "once a thief always a thief," or "the leopard can't change his spots," or as Lady Wootton suggests herself capital punishment prevents recidivism (but does not add that it also prevents reform). It also says, with modifications as to drunkenness, living with parents, length of longest job, and location of home, that a disposition to reconviction indicates a disposition to reconviction. This is presumably an elaborate tautology. Tautologies can have uses in the practical field of course, and added to this the nature of the tautology is modified by specific weightings. The almost relieving nature of the experience tables is their independence of subjective factors.

But their tautological nature is more serious than already described. They rely, with the exception of the location points on non-conforming criteria as listed earlier. The tautology is highly organised, but the most that can be got out of it at present is some such proposition as that non-conformity predicts non-conformity for groups of people in such an order. Lady Wootton's summary of attempts by others to get some kind of subjective judgement prediction, or causal factors

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prediction is a wonderfully healthy performance, but her exaltation of the Mannheim-Wilkins, solution of this problem tends to overlook its tautological nature. This is surprising because as she justly says on page 188, referring to the validation sample: "In these cases, which composed the middle group whose prospects of success appeared to be neither very bright nor very dim, prediction was not found to be practicable, at any rate without additional information which was not generally available even in the original sample. The very high score of successful prediction, therefore, relates only to some 60 per cent of the whole group." Mannheim and Wilkins themselves say on page 164 of "Prediction Methods in Borstal Training": Since no prediction was envisaged for the centre group, the tables may be considered fully validated." So here it is; in the centre area where it is least possible to describe a person as either a conformer, or a non-conformer the prediction study does not work, which is but to say the nearer it fits a tautological indication, i.e. less conformity gives rise to less conformity or failure, and more conformity gives rise to more conformity, or success, the more accurate it is. In the middle where it is difficult to see whether there is conformity or not it is difficult to tell whether there will be conformity or not. Nevertheless, tautological as the tables are they do give clear indications as to probable results numerically. It is one thing to say "once a thief always a thief," it is quite another to say of this 1,000 young men 680 will avoid further conviction. Administration can work on this. Further scientific work can be done on it. Experimentation can be evaluated. Better or worse results than expectation can be identified. The individual's position as an individual would, however, remain uncertain unless experimentation produced narrower results.

On page 336 of her book, in Conclusions—Practical, Lady Wootton is concerned with consequences to the community. She writes: "Yet both psychiatric methods and predictive researches of the Mannheim and Wilkins type concentrate attention solely upon the future convicted person himself, as though no-one else in the world existed. Both are concerned only to make sure that the offender will mend his ways, no matter what happens to anybody else." By "mending his ways" one supposes she means "succeeds" or "conforms" or does no harm to anybody else. If, however, one does "make sure that the offender will mend his ways", what harm to anybody else is to be expected? But apart from the lack of logic in this sort of argument the proposition itself is false. Chapter IX, 12 "Decision and Theory" of Mannheim and Wilkins makes their concern for consequences to others abundantly clear. In this section they even discuss the propriety of administrative action which flies in the face of their work because "although we may suggest that if all cases were sent to 'open' borstals (no matter what their prognosis) the success rate might increase, we might be more interested in increasing successes amongst the better type of boys, but regard the risk of absconding and committing further crime as too great a price to pay for an overall increase in the success rate

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if the bad boys received similar treatment", and again later "In either case we should not merely minimise the number of wrong decisions but minimise the amount of harm that would be done by making a wrong decision."

Even, however, if the unfortunate allegation of the lack of concern were true, which it is not, the desperate fact is that Mannheim and Wilkins' type of research cannot concentrate attention solely upon the future of a convicted person, but only on the future of groups of convicted persons. The individual as such is deliberately sacrificed on the altar of objectivity. The reward, and it is a reward, is repeatability, a yardstick by which other work can be measured.

Who are the Lawbreakers?

It may be that objectivity and individuality are as impossible to relate meaningfully as it is to square a circle, or trisect an angle, by ruler-and-compass methods.

It may be also that in attempts to examine and predict non-conformity we fail to examine the whole state of affairs; overlooking the guilt of the community. Lady Wootton's ardent endeavour to pin the label of criminality on erring motorists overlooks the communities' disregard of elementary safety conditions for the roads generally and the long misappropriation of the Road Fund. This is not to say we should decry responsibility particularly on the part of motorists, but it seems inconsistent to indicate the blurring of the line between sickness and sin of one group of non-conformists, and etch it in more deeply for another. The curious thing about the whole investigation so far as crime is concerned is the recognition of the unsatisfactory nature of criminal statistics, but overlooking the impossibility of making reliable statements about the criminal population if all one's information is obtained only from those caught and convicted. In recent research reference has been made to admission of stealing by university students and school children. How can one hope to distinguish between the criminal and non-criminal population if there is no way of knowing which is which?

If less than half reported crime is followed by detection, how can we even know whether the non-criminal population is non-criminal? The conception of a criminal and non-criminal division of the population as valid description is quite probably nonsense anyway. As Lucian Bovet wrote (Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency—1951): "Certain personal or social factors, in themselves neither pathological nor specific, will by their degree of intensity cause an individual to be given the legal classification of delinquent, whilst psychologically there is little, if anything, to distinguish him from others who have escaped legal sanctions." It is doubtful if valid conclusions can be drawn from work on samples so clumsily selected. The range of available data is also painfully short.

Lady Wootton suggests overcoming this (page 322) by an extension of the "still exiguous literature of criminal and other anti-social biographies." She goes on to forsee the handling by electronic devices of far more variables, and the problems arising and then shies away from what is becoming the skeleton in the criminological cupboard—causation. Are we after

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all going to be left by the social scientists with the profound reflection that the law-breakers are those caught breaking the law?

Recommendation.

At least borrow this book for Lady Wootton has performed a great service for us all. Much of what she has written can be made the subject of contentious argument, but the essence of her work, the assessment of the work of scientists "for the interested layman", should be the subject of continuous study and report. The field concerned in individual reports need not be so wide as that covered by Lady Wootton, but being able to consult such reports, would put people like prison and borstal officers of all grades in the way of knowing what it is essential they should know. They often have neither the time nor skill to know it by the critical reading of the multitudinous out-pourings, some published, some not, of social scientists, not all of whose work it seems will withstand rigorous examination. In the meanwhile and probably for a long time to come, there is little doubt that "*Social Science and Social Pathology*" will be a standard reference book and guide.

A. GOULD.

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THE JURY IS STILL OUT

By Irwin D. Davidson and Richard Gehman Peter Davies. 1959. pp.303. 21s. 0d.

IN JULY 1957 a 15-year-old boy called Michael Farmer was beaten, kicked and stabbed to death by a gang of his contemporaries in New York. Most of the eighteen accused of attacking him were put up in the juvenile court; but seven of them were over fifteen and were tried by Judge Davidson of the Court of General Sessions, New York County, on a charge of first degree murder. This book is an account of the trial. The blurb claims that "told with outrage and compassion it is a story with a sobering lesson for all of us." What is this lesson?

The crime itself was a shocking one not only because of the youth of its victim, but also because of the youth of its perpetrators. Farmer, whether he himself belonged to a gang or not, was a fatal casualty in the incessant warfare of gangs like the Egyptian Kings, the Dragons, the Jesters, the St. John's Killers, the Boy Chaplains and the Baby Mau Maus, into which a considerable part of the youth of New York seems to be organised. The victim was caught alone and one at least of his assailants used a knife. The surprising thing is that such deaths do not occur more often; just as it is surprising that when gangs of boys fight in Britain, broken bones are not too frequent, Our *murderous* hooligans are older. It is indeed astonishing that among children such as those described in this book, who live according to queer rules of their own and regard law and the police with hatred, killing is very much less frequent than among adult and even normally law-abiding citizens in peace time.

To those who want to know what juvenile delinquents—or rather the particular sort of juvenile delinquents brought up in the near-slums of New York—are like, this book throws some light, but not much in proportion to its size. From juvenile witnesses we learn that these gangs are well organised. They are run by a Presi-

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dent, goaded and led into battle by a War Lord, recruited or pressed ('drafted') by a Prime Minister ("with or without portfolio ?" one of the more brilliant lawyers in the trial wittily flashed). They collect contributions from their members, try and punish them. Oddly, teachers are sometimes attached to them to help and guide; but the more essential aspects of the life of the gangs go on out of the teacher's sight and against his will: especially, one imagines, the corporal punishment—in which these boys seem to be strong believers—inflicted with common consent on errant members by gang leaders.

But the sobering lesson of this book is not to be found in these facts. What astonishes, horrifies, and possibly teaches is not the existence of such gangs and the violence, hatred and mendaciousness of their members: we probably knew about this already. It is rather the shock of encountering in detail the proceedings of a New York court. The trial took over three months. It reads not as an attempt to find out the truth about the defendants, but as an opportunity for a display of virtuosity, temperament, and even contempt for the legal process, on the part of the gaggle of twenty-odd lawyers involved. In the event two boys were found guilty of second degree murder, and two of manslaughter, while three were acquitted. This result provoked the victim's father to say: "These marauding savages have made a mockery of the law. I can just see the grins and ha-ha's in the neighbourhood where the Egyptian Dragons live". He was referring to the defendants, not the lawyers. If anything makes the law a laughing stock in this it is the long-drawn out succession of stupid interchanges and unjustified motions by counsel. From the beginning, they never missed a trick. Even the Vice-Presidential gimmick of parading a dog before the jury to arouse sympathy for the accused was resorted to early in the trial. The interchange recorded on pages 215-217 must be one of the most astonishing which could ever have disgraced an English-speaking court outside Ireland. When what the blurb describes as eminent lawyers behave like this in a public court, it is hardly surprising that deprived, undisciplined boys of very low intelligence who carry knives, sticks and chains should hurt somebody once in a while.

"Not one of those lawyers has anything to gain from this trial but his own self-respect and possibly the sense of doing a job as well as he can. Some publicity perhaps . . . Every last one of them is going to lose time. And money". Their behaviour, it would seem, arises from a desperate conscientiousness in defending their clients. "Every last one of them will be on the lookout for whatever capital he can make on behalf of his team and his defendant. Every last one will be watching me every second, waiting for me to make the slightest legal mis-step so that he can call foul, mistrial, and possibly get a break for his boy." The over-sensitive appeals system in the United States, which leads to cases like Chessman, must be in part responsible; but not entirely. The spectacle is at one with other scenes which strike the insular eye. Throughout the trial, the newspapers try the case over and over again; the judge is under constant

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

police protection; and he appears to regard a police inspector's statement "In twenty-two years on the force, I have never witnessed an act of police brutality" as clearly incredible. All this is sobering and it is natural that by the side of it the crime seems less outrageous.

Judge Davidson says "The trial is over—but as far as the question of juvenile delinquency is concerned, the jury is still out". Though this does not mean anything it is expressive of Judge Davidson's deep concern, which was aroused by his experience of the trial. In an appendix he puts forward a plan to deal with what he calls "incipient juvenile delinquents"—boys from broken, poverty-stricken homes, of low IQ, with a record of truancy. His plan, for self-governing boys' communities, is now being studied by the New York State Youth Commission. Judges are as a rule most unimpressive when they talk about what should happen to people convicted in their courts. Judge Davidson is an exception; he has given his mind to a plan—"not a panacea: a start"—which might possibly save some from ever appearing before him.

A. PHILLIPS GRIFFITHS.

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STREET WALKER

Anon

Bodley Head. 1959. pp.191. 12s. 6d.

"SCIENTIA non est individuorum". But the individual case can suggest scientific hypotheses. The author, we are told, is a young woman who for ten months was a prostitute in the West End of London; it seems that the book is essentially autobiographical, and that it is the lady's own work not the concoction of ghost-writers. Before considering its scientific interest, therefore, it seems appropriate to look at the book's artistic merit. This is quite considerable. There is a clarity of prose style, a skilful invocation of atmosphere and near-poetic powers of observation. Presumably there has been some arrangement of material, and the result is a well-structured story—a traumatic experience with a client of unusual tastes drives her into the arms of a ponce, in complete reversal of her previous policy. The ponce's ill-treatment of her is itself traumatic, leading her to give up the game altogether, and incidentally to write this book. How much, if anything, of veracity has been sacrificed in the interests of literary streamlining or psychological self-defence we cannot, of course, know, and in any case it probably does not matter very much. In a book of this kind we are generally interested primarily in authenticity of atmosphere, and as has already been said, the writer's powers of invocation seem unusually high. Also very high are her powers of describing the various sub-groups which make up her underworld.

The book's chief merit is, in fact, the picture it gives of a certain segment of life as seen contemporarily through the eyes of a prostitute of quite unusual literacy. It has little or no value as a study of the causes of, or even factors associated with, prostitution. It is not even particularly illuminating as to why this individual became a prostitute: "From childhood, I had been a renegade, turning deliberately and callously away from everything my parents wanted me to do, and yet paradoxically suffering from an over-whelming feeling of guilt for so doing".

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

It would almost do as a thumb-nail sketch of the childhood of pretty well any neurotic or delinquent. The writer has apparently achieved only a superficial insight into her own mechanisms, or has preferred not to reveal the most enlightening data — a decision which she is perfectly entitled to make since she has not set out to write her own case-history. (Incidentally, one may wonder how much of her conventional upbringing still clings to her. One of the few over-written and melodramatic passages of the book describes her revulsion at performing what I would have thought to be two fairly common perversions—at least I suppose that is what this passage is about. There is an almost Victorian reluctance to be specific).

Most of us are interested in how prostitutes view their clients. The answer seems to be that they are seen eventually as an undifferentiated mass: "... complexions, features, hair lose their individuality, and one face becomes all faces, one body all bodies . . . Occupation and class lost significance". I do not know if any will be shocked at this. The prostitute in this respect seems no better and no worse than all those people whose work is such as to bring them into contact with an endless succession of other people. One can also understand this: "Not, of course, that I stopped showing interest in clients as individuals — merely, I feign this interest now, and the imitation passes as genuine, so there is no loss on either side". This also will be familiar to those of us engaged in case and clinical work. Our work is undoubtedly made more interesting when we really are interested in the client, but this is simply a private matter of our own job satisfaction. The important thing is that we should be felt by the client to be interested in him. If we are only good actors we shall do quite well so far as he is concerned. It seems that the prostitute takes the same sort of line.

Perhaps the real horror of the book, and its chief interest for the social scientist, lies in its description of a sub-culture more or less devoid of a social conscience as between its own members. The theme runs right through the book and because she has chosen to live in such a culture the writer feels keenly the loneliness of her independence: "It is strange to wake with affection for the person beside me". There is a scene in a gambling den where her ponce bullies her for the money she has not got. Everybody knows she is going to be brutally assaulted. The owner orders them out knowing what is in store for her as soon as they are off his premises: "I might be a total stranger to him, for all the feeling there is in his expression". As for the other people present: "No one softens. No one shows a friendly face". This is a society where passing by on the other side is not only the done thing, it is the socially acceptable norm. A gang of toughs may come into a club, bully, beat up and razor-slash, apparently with not the slightest interference or even disapproval. It must be stressed that we are seeing here a lack of social responsibility not towards members of the "respectable" outgroup, which would be intelligible, but towards members of the same in-group. The present reviewer, in a recent research on convicted prisoners, has obtained results which seem to show that

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

the worse a criminal the more will he dislike other prisoners. Is this a manifestation of the same sort of thing? It has become fashionable to speak of the criminal sub-culture as though it were a group of psychiatrically normal individuals but with a different set of norms from the conventionally acceptable. But one may hypothesise from this book that these individuals *are* different quite apart from the norms they embrace, they are different in that the bonds of cohesion between them are much less strong than in the despised respectable society. It may be simply a matter of degree but where it comes to such qualities as heartlessness and selfishness matters of degree are important. At any rate, the writer suggests that prostitutes turn to ponces, and perhaps to lesbianism, precisely because they live in a society where there is a paucity of adequate human relationships. One may well think from this book that the explanatory value of the concept of criminal sub-culture is somewhat overdone. The book suggests a useful hypothesis of a more psychological nature.

Perhaps the most serious fault of the book is the rather conventionalised attack on the conventional — the "are you all that much better than us" kind of argument. But it is notably free both from self-pity and self-castigation, and because this is so, the author's determination to make a new life is the more impressive. The end of the book shows that her insights are still very limited, but we are moved because there are no facile and maudlin promises and because she shows such an intelligent awareness of the grim difficulties in re-orientating herself.

BERNARD MARCUS.

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THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG-DISTANCE RUNNER

Alan Sillitoe.
W. H. Allen. 1959. pp.176. 12s. 6d.

THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG-DISTANCE RUNNER is, according to the publishers, "a minor masterpiece". "An ambitious tale", runs the blurb, "about a boy in Borstal who, set to run in a race, seizes a magnificent and foolproof opportunity to show his defiance of authority. It is perhaps as profound a study of the rebel mind as has ever been written". It is to be hoped that this will not deter too many readers who may view the prospect of a profound study of the rebel mind somewhat dispiritedly. For the long title-story in this volume of short stories is worth more than most of the profound studies that have been written.

It does not matter that there is no such thing as the Borstal Blue Ribbon Prize Club for Long Distance Running (All England); nor that "the Borstal Boys Brass Band in blue uniforms" is a non-existent company of musicians. Borstals like Gunthorpe, Hucknall and Aylesham with their sports masters and different coloured blazers may belong to the future of course. But however that may be the nameless hero of Alan Sillitoe's story belongs very much to the present; and most of us pot-bellied, pop-eyed, chinless, stupid, tash-twitching characters—I borrow the epithets which the hero applies to his "doddering bastard of a governor"—most of us will recognise him. And although little that we are told about him will come to us with the force of a revelation it must

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

be admitted that the portrait is drawn with considerable insight and literary skill. The voice is caught authentically:

"And if I had the whip-hand . . . all the cops, governors, posh whores, penpushers, army officers, Members of Parliament . . . I'd stick them up against a wall and let them have it . . ."

"I only want a bit of my own back on the in-laws and pot-bellies . . ."

"You should think about nobody and go your own way . . ."

The background too:

"Night after night we sat in front of the telly with a ham sandwich in one hand, a bar of chocolate in the other, and a bottle of lemonade between our boots, while mam was with some fancy-man upstairs on the new bed she'd ordered, and I'd never known a family as happy as ours was in that couple of months . . ."

And:

" . . . three of my cousins, all about the same age, who later went to different Borstals, and then to different regiments, from which they soon deserted, and then to different gaols where they still are as far as I know".

The prose, colloquial, easy and idiomatic, may not appeal to everyone but it cannot be denied that Sillitoe achieves some extraordinary effects with it; for example a rough elegiac passage on the death of the narrator's father which is the more moving for its brevity and the absence of conventional obituary sentiment. Thus if we are not presented with new information nor the results of profound researches we are made to look again at familiar facts in a new light, and provided with food for thought. Mr. Sillitoe prompts the reflection that in some cases we have to deal with aberration much more fundamental than loyalties which just happen to be misdirected standards which are slightly different from ours, values which, are socially unacceptable to-day. Consider for example that first quotation. It is not without significance that few, even amongst those least sympathetic to criminals, would urge such indiscriminate ruthlessness in dealing with *them*. Indeed in the passages quoted and others in the story, is expressed an anarchic amorality, a nihilism coupled with crude sophistication that no bluff appeals to "play ball with us" and "we'll play ball with you" are going to touch. ("Honest to God" says the hero, "you'd have thought it was going to be one long tennis match".) The same tough unregenerate spirit can be found in Frank Norman's *Bang to Rights*; another indispensable text for those who work in this field. In the first two decades of this century the new borstal institutions attempted to deal with this problem by means of regimes based on military conceptions of authority and discipline, with obedience enforced by close control and supervision And no doubt some acquired what Paterson called "those decorative habits which shine so conspicuously under a system of control". It is questionable whether much more was achieved. Mr. Sillitoe's work may make us question whether the public school model subsequently adopted was really very much more appropriate; although it can be said that it enabled us to break down the original paramilitary structures and made possible development and experiment which is still proceeding.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Mr. Sillitoe himself neither asks nor attempts to answer such questions as these. He merely draws his portrait without special pleading or any kind of tendentiousness; and leaves us to draw our own conclusions.

I should add that the title-story on which, for obvious reasons, I have concentrated here, constitutes but one third of a book which is consistently readable and contains eight other stories on more or less related themes.

G. HAWKINS.

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YOURS BY CHOICE

Jean Rowe
Mills & Boon Ltd. 1960. pp.148. 15s. 0d.

"A GUIDE for adoptive parents", is the sub-title of this book. If, like Josephine Baker, the famous coloured singer, you have just adopted your eleventh child you will not need to read it. If you are about to adopt a child or are just beginning to think about adoption, you should regard 15s. 0d. as part of the expenses; buy the book and read it. It is very readable. Miss Rowe writes in an easy, straightforward manner and does not generalise. She answers all the questions which adoptive parents should ask and she puts a number of very practical questions to prospective adopters: for example, "Have you taken the trouble to find out whether you really like having children about the house when they are naughty as well as when they are good?".

The legal adoption of children is still something rather new in our society, Miss Rowe reminds us. The first Adoption Law was passed in 1926. In some continental countries there is as yet no provision for legal adoption. In this country there are far more people wanting to adopt babies than there are babies for adoption. The process can be lengthy, difficult and disappointing. The author deals with the reasons why people want to adopt children, the alternatives to adoption, qualifications for adoption and the legal requirements very clearly. She tells you just how to set about the business and what to expect. Her chapter on questions of heredity is frank and helpful. There are practical hints on bringing your child home, the ways in which adopted children may require special handling and telling about adoption.

Without any touch of whimsy Miss Rowe describes most skilfully how babies, small children and adolescents feel about adoption. Dr. D. W. Winnicott has said: "Adoptive parents have a need to be aware of what child development is about, much more so than parents who are caring for their own children". Miss Rowe has contrived to put into her book a great deal of sound, practical advice and insight into a child's needs which will make it of value to parents of children, adopted or their own. The final chapter on adopted children in adolescence is full of understanding and should be of value to anyone working with young people.

This book fills a gap. It is not a text book for social workers but a guide book; well written and attractively produced. It will be of use to those who have to advise people about adoption as well as to those who are about to adopt or who, like the reviewer, are learning what it means to be an adoptive parent.

DERMOT GRUBB

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its subsequent review)

GHOST SQUAD JOHN GOSLING
W. H. Allen. 1959. pp.206. 16s. 0d.

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GIVEN IN EVIDENCE JOHN CAPSTICK
John Long. 1960. pp.203. 21s. 0d.

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POLICE (H.U.L. No.240)
JOHN COATMAN
Oxford University Press.
1959. pp.248. 8s. 6d.

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YOUR OBEDIENT SERVANT
SIR HAROLD SCOTT
Andre Deutsch. 1959. pp.192. 15s.0d.

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HARRIS'S CRIMINAL LAW
(20th Edition)
Ed. H.A. PALMER & HENRY PALMER
Sweet & Maxwell.
1960. pp.706. 45s. 0d.

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CRIMINAL CASE AND COMMENT
Ed. J. C. SMITH
Sweet & Maxwell.
1960. pp.194. 17s. 6d.

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TRIAL FOR TREASON
GEORGE W. KEETON
Macdonald. 1959. pp.256. 21s 0d.

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CAST THE FIRST STONE
JOHN MURTAGH and SARAH HARRIS
W. H. Allen. 1958. pp.255. 18s. 0d.

HYPNOTISM AND CRIME
HEINZ E. HAMMERSCHLAG
Rider & Company
1956. pp.148. 13s. 6d.

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SOCIOLOGY G. DUNCAN MITCHELL
University Tutorial Press.
1959. pp.174. 11s. 6d.

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THE ART OF LECTURING
G. KITSON CLARK and
E. BIDDER CLARK
W. Heffer & Sons. 1959. pp.41. 3s. 6d.

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MURDER INC.
BURTON TURKUS and SID FEDER
Landsborough Publications, Four Square Books. 1957. pp.320. 3s. 6d.

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BIRDMAN OF ALCATRAZ
THOMAS E. GADDIS
Landsborough Publications, Four Square Books. 1957. pp.240. 2s. 6d.

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CRIME IN AMERICA
ESTES KEFAUVER
Landsborough Publications, Four Square Books. 1958. pp.256. 2s. 6d.

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WHO LIE IN GAOL JOAN HENRY
Landsborough Publications, Four Square Books. 1958. pp.192. 2s. 6d.

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SAN QUENTIN CLINTON T. DUFFY
Landsborough Publications, Four Square Books. 1958. pp.190. 2s. 6d.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Sir Lionel Fox has been Chairman of the Prison Commission since 1942 and President of the U. N. European Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders since 1951. He was educated at Heath Grammar School and Hertford College, Oxford, and served in the infantry during the 1914-18 War (M.C., despatches, Belgian Croix de Guerre). He entered the Home Office in 1919; was Secretary of the Prison Commission 1929-34; Deputy and then Acting Receiver for the Metropolitan Police District 1934-42.

Author of *The Modern English Prison* (1934), and *The English Prison and Borstal System* (1952) as well as numerous articles.

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Harley Cronin has been the General Secretary of the Prison Officers' Association since its inception in 1938. He joined the Prison Service in 1927 serving first at Feltham and subsequently at Bristol, Wormwood Scrubs, Parkhurst and Holloway. He was appointed General Secretary to the Association in 1938 and performed the work in conjunction with his prison duties until October, 1943, when he left the Service and became a full-time officer of the Association.

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Hugh J. Klare is First Criminologist at the Council of Europe, Strasbourg. He studied Economics and Social Science at the University of London. War Service 1939-45; attained field rank. Secretary of the Howard League for Penal reform and editor of the Howard Journal since 1950. Author of *Anatomy of Prison*, reviewed in this issue, and various articles.

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John P. Conrad is Associate Director of The International Survey of Corrections. A graduate of the University of California, he took a Master of Arts degree at the University of Chicago in 1940. Since the war he has worked in the Californian Youth Authority and the Californian Department of Corrections in a variety of capacities, and most recently as Departmental Supervisor of Classification from 1955 to 1960. During 1958-9 he was a Senior Research Fellow at the London School of Economics, and during this period he was closely associated with the Staff College at Wakefield where he lectured and participated in many courses. An article by him on The Assistant Governor in the English Prison appeared in the April 1960 issue of the *British Journal of Delinquency*.

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Aidan Healey is the Physical Education Organiser for the Prison Commission. A graduate of Durham University, he holds Diplomas in Physical Education from both Carnegie College and Leeds University. After five years teaching, he joined Wakefield Prison as a Physical Education Specialist in 1955. He was also responsible for physical education in the Staff College and Officers' Training School. He took up his present post on April 1st, 1960.

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Sewell Stokes playwright, journalist and broadcaster, is the author of, amongst many other works, *Court Circular* and *Come to Prison*.

Dr. Norman Jepson is Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Leeds.

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Albert Gould is Governor of H. M. Borstal, Dover.

Bernard Marcus is Principal Psychologist at H. M. Prison, Wakefield.

Dermot Grubb and **Gordon Hawkins** are Assistant Principals at the Prison Staff College, Wakefield.