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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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

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Dr. Wardrop's article appears by permission of the Secretariat of the Fourth International Criminological Congress (held at the Hague in 1960).

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Editorial

NEWS OF Russian prisons, or work with young offenders in Scotland, of a new institution in Suffolk, sermons given to prisoners in Germany ... these give something of an international air to our third issue, and for them to reach you has meant correspondence with New York, The Hague, London and elsewhere.

Dr. Ilse Bry, Chairman of the Mental Health Book Review Index, writing from New York says "Our old assumption that it takes less time to travel a shorter distance than a long one no longer holds good. It has become most deceptive with respect to mail. Actually, air mail from England is now faster than the mails between the boroughs of New York", and one's imagination is intrigued by the implication of this fact of modern communications.

Words can fly across the world at astonishing speed — at a price; there may be delays and there may be distortion. Valuable as face to face contact must be, distance still makes this hard to establish and difficulties of a technical nature make even the personal contact of telephone conversation a costly and sometimes distorted business. Print, therefore, has many advantages over the more immediate urgency of verbal communication. Admittedly there may be long delays. It takes time for contributors to write articles, time for the Editorial Board to consider them, time to set up the type and there are necessary waiting periods for correction and revision before words become print. But for every written word there is some likelihood of permanence and with care (and a bit of luck) what you read to-day may be available in 2061 so that just as you now read what happened in Brixton in 1862 so someone in the future may well see, with perhaps some antiquarian interest, what happened at Blundeston in 1961.

Communication is the essence of prison work. The lawmakers communicate the wishes of the public to the workers in the prison, who in turn must communicate with the lawbreakers. How often do we hear the cry "Nobody tells me anything". Prison administrators complain that legislators do not make clear their full intention, prison officers say new policies are introduced and nobody told them, prisoners say that the very purpose of their sentence was not fully explained to them. The public also complain.

A lot of this may be true, but communication should be a two-way process and quite often we are not told about something because we have not shown much anxiety about hearing it.

In the outside world, where public relations is a relatively new profession, we are assaulted by a barrage of missiles of communication through television, radio, film and Press (perhaps in that order of strength) but this can be a one way affair if we so wish. We can look, listen or linger over the words, and though we may be interested, even intrigued, we are not necessarily converted. But the prison world is one of potentially closer relationships — some private and some public where the written or spoken word is the only instrument.

This issue attempts to give you carefully prepared words for future talk.

EDITOR

Correctional Services in the U.S.S.R.

JOHN CONRAD

THE INTERNATIONAL SURVEY of Corrections which made my Soviet sojourn possible is a cross-cultural (to use a fashionable and not quite definable adjective) study of the great issues in the correctional field. Elsewhere I have described it as an enquiry into what the doers think and what the thinkers do in this parade ground of dilemmas which is the correctional field. If we define the issues for corrections in the west *and* for the east, we may possibly have some assurance that our generalisations will be enduring. After all, the basic elements of human existence we share in common on both sides of this inflamed world. Our question, then, was whether different methods of arranging these elements produced different results from which we might learn something to our advantage.

Now this is a good question. It is important to answer it, important enough to warrant the attention of a first-rate team of investigators for a considerable period of time. I spent three weeks in the Soviet Union, endowed with only a marginal knowledge of the language and the general knowledge of the country and its institutions which is possessed by any literate Westerner. Neither in time nor in language nor in specialised knowledge was I adequately equipped for the large-scale study which needs to be done. My limitations were apparent before I left and became more apparent as I found myself confronted with the intractable enigmas of Communist society. I saw my job as a reconnaissance, a hasty survey in which at least the appearances would be recorded. With this limited aim I was, I think, successful. But in what I have to tell you there are enormous gaps which someone should fill. Perhaps the most important finding I have to offer you is the indication that it can be done, given good-will and mutual confidence between the principal parties concerned.

I was in Moscow in September 1960, and I had gone with some apprehension. I was an enquirer into what, for Russians, is a very touchy subject, the persistence of crime in an evolving Utopia. The expulsion of Americans for various improprieties was so frequent that I could easily imagine myself in the headlines as the unintentional subject of an international incident. While I confess that I breathed

more easily when, the sojourn over, I touched down on Finnish soil, I must also add that I encountered neither hostility nor resistance in the pursuit of my mission. People whom I wanted to see made themselves available, sometimes at obvious inconvenience. Usually, there was an attempt to entertain me, culminating in toasts to Soviet-American amity—at least in the correctional field. The dire predictions of some of my friends that my luggage would be ransacked and my movements trailed did not materialise—unless the Russians are subtle beyond belief in their methods of surveillance. I left Russia with the strong impression that I had actually made some friends and that my return for further enquiries would not be unwelcome. Let it be clearly understood at this point that I am not volunteering for another mission to Moscow—though I sincerely believe that some colleague of ours should do so—and could with profit to all of us.

Enough of the background; let's proceed with the specifics. It seems to me that the best way of introducing you to the correctional scene in Moscow is to describe for you the foundations on which the Soviet correctional system rests. These are, first, the principles governing criminal responsibility, and, second, the principles governing the correction of responsible criminals. I must say a little about each because, to be understood, the account of what I saw must be linked to the foundations of the system.

A Western conference on criminology can hardly occur without incredibly intricate arguments on criminal responsibility. At least the Soviet solution to this problem has the simplicity of settled doctrine. I can dispose of it in a couple of surprisingly clear paragraphs. One morning in Moscow I visited the Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in the company of one, Gallina, a glum young woman from the Intourist Service. At the Institute I was faced with not one, but five of Moscow's most eminent psychiatrists, all eager to tell me, through my sulky little companion, about the subtleties of Soviet psychiatric achievements. Unhappily, neither the English, nor, I suspect, the Russian of my guide included such terms as "psychopath," "character disorder," "paranoid," or "hysterical," and conversation had a tendency to flag whilst one party or another cudgelled his or their brains to think of language for concepts which Gallina could handle.

But evidently the issue was simple. All persons who commit offences in the Soviet Union are responsible, with the exception of two categories. These are, first, the psychotic; and second, the brain damaged or epileptic. All other criminals must be held to full account and must suffer the full consequences required by the law. It is the forensic psychiatrist's task to determine whether the offender is responsible or not within the meaning of the two possible exclusions. He has no other task. He does not treat the responsible offender because there is no illness to treat. I was unwaveringly told that the Soviet psychiatrist holds that if

there is such a disease entity as psychopathy, it can only do harm for the psychiatrist to intervene. The psychopaths recover only if they are firmly given to understand that they are not sick. The interference of a doctor convinces the psychopath of his illness without offering a method of recovery.

I challenged this position as best a layman could. I presented such cases as the crime committed to obtain punishment for some unexpiated psychological guilt; the middle-aged shoplifter whose offences are occasioned by a need for attention from an indifferent world; the arsonist acting out deviated sexual drives. The response was invariably that all such persons are criminally responsible, and that there is no medical treatment which is in any way appropriate. For good measure I was told that some of my case analyses rested on Freudian theory. Soviet psychiatry completely rejects the theoretical position of Freud and his disciples. If Marx and Freud are thought by some to be the prophets of the new age, at least in the Soviet Union no other prophets are tolerated at the side of Marx. I gave up in my vain effort to unsettle the structure of Soviet forensic psychiatry. Pretty soon the chief psychiatrist's secretary came in with caviare sandwiches and tea from the Institute's samovar.

If the social restoration of the responsible offender is not the responsibility of the psychiatrist, in whose province does it fall? Continuing my enquiries, I discovered that a whole new science has been founded to provide for the rehabilitation of the convicted criminal. This is Corrective Labour Science, and at this point I must recapitulate a lecture delivered to me by Nikolai Alexeyevich Struchkov, a teacher of the new discipline at the Moscow Institute of Juridical Sciences.

Like a good many other Soviet phenomena, Corrective Labour Science rests on the work of one Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In a little known document published in 1917, Lenin set forth the principles which Corrective Labour Science is expected to put into practical application. The little known document is entitled with characteristically elephantine precision: "Summary of the Essence of the Section concerning Punishments in the Judicial Point of the Party Programme of 1917." The Summary of the Essence may be reduced to five main points:

(1) The principle of conditional discharge should be exercised to the fullest possible extent.

(2) Court action against the criminal should, so far as possible, consist of social reprimand.

(3) Insofar as it can be safely permitted, punishment should be obligatory labour without deprivation of liberty.

(4) Penitentiaries must become places where the criminal is not merely isolated but, rather, where he is educated.

(5) Institutions must strengthen the educational aspects of their work with the support of the neighbouring community. This principle is interpreted to convey the importance of the

community's interest in and supervision of the institution.

In considering these points, it is worth while to reflect on the time that they were pronounced. Here was Lenin insisting on probation and after-care, on educational programmes, on the maintenance of the prisoner's self-respect, and on the integration of the prison community's life with the life of the community outside. He was insisting upon these reforms in 1917, when none of them had been more than suggested in the West. Some of these notions have not yet captured the attention of our correctional *avant-garde*. It is also fair to say that in the Soviet Union, despite the work of Corrective Labour Scientists, this aspect of Leninism has not been fully applied.

Well, these are the abstractions. Let us see how they are translated into systems. I shall limit myself to a discussion of institutions for the correction of adult offenders. These are of two general kinds. First there is the prison, now used for offenders awaiting trial and for the confinement of a very few extremely serious offenders. About ten per cent of all those confined at any one time are locked up in a prison. I was neither encouraged nor invited to visit such an institution and cannot report to you on the alleged rigours of the Lubianka. I had written to suggest an interest in visiting the famous Tagansky Prison. This proposal occasioned much innocent merriment amongst my colleagues. The place had been torn down. I could, if I liked, visit the site on which it had stood, there to see apartment houses rising, but it was not supposed that such an expedition would increase my understanding of Soviet Corrections. Second, there are the Corrective Labour Colonies, the fruit of the labours of the Corrective Labour Scientists. These come in three varieties; the strict, the general, and the mild. Most new colonists are placed in the general regime. If their conduct requires it, they may be transferred to colonies of the strict regime in which privileges are fewer and the work more arduous. I was told that there were no such colonies located at a convenient distance from Moscow. After successfully serving one-third of sentence on the general regime, a colonist may be transferred to the mild regime. Privileges are more abundant and include opportunities to live with one's family outside the purlieus of the colony whilst working in the colony shops. Fortunate prisoners with sentences of less than three years are placed directly in colonies of the mild regime. I was told that unfortunately I could not visit a colony of the mild regime because none were situated near Moscow for the obvious reason that it would not be appropriate to locate such an establishment near the capital of the Soviet Union. Obvious or not, my simple mind could not follow this apparent non-sequitur, and I was not much the wiser when told that the presence of such an institution in the vicinity of Moscow might vitiate the deterrent effect of punishment as defined in the Soviet penal code. I shall leave the explication of this proposition to

minds more accustomed to the convolutions of Russian thought than I have been able to become.

I was, however, after some hesitation, apparently to arrange clearances, allowed to visit Kryukovo, a colony of the general regime. Kryukovo is located about fifty kilometres from Moscow, and one bright morning I was whisked off in an immense Intourist limousine in the company of a young English-speaking lawyer and the Regional Supervisor of Corrective Labour colonies for the Moscow region, one Christov. On the way I asked Mr. Christov how many corrective labour colonies there were in the Moscow region. I was told that in 1960 there were four less colonies than there were in 1959. When I asked how many colonies there were in 1959, there was a moment's thought and then the reply, "malo, malo" . . ." (Very few). I was to find that all enquiries into the true statistical situation received the same elusive kind of response.

On down a muddy road, due for early surfacing, I was told, and presently we were at Kryukovo. The governor, Major Artamanov and his deputy were waiting at the gate for a ceremonial greeting, after which we were conducted to the Major's office in the brand new administration buildings, entirely constructed, it was explained, by inmate labour. The Institution itself was drably painted in dirty green, much of it in great need of the attentions of a painters' collective. Most of the buildings were rather like two storey nissen huts; the whole appearance was haphazard, not to say dilapidated. Along the walks were bright red placards on which were painted slogans and sayings by Lenin, Kalinin, Gorky, Krushchev, mostly extolling the virtues of study and the joys of socialist labour. Here and there were hoardings on which were displayed satirical cartoons deprecating sloth and slovenliness.

And so my day at Kryukovo began. In his chilly office, Major Artamanov submitted graciously to my interrogation about his programme and organisation. The basic facts about Kryukovo were quickly rehearsed. It is a Corrective Labour Colony of the general regime, housing a class of criminal described as "dangerous recidivists". Typical crimes were robbery, housebreaking, persistent hooliganism, and various crimes of violence. The Major could not give me a statistical breakdown of the population in respect to commitment offence, and in general shied away from questions which were too statistical. The average term in the colony was between three and five years; the range was from one to ten years.

As had been pointed out to me, the declining rate of delinquency in the U.S.S.R. had brought about the closing of four corrective labour colonies in the last year, in the Moscow region alone. This trend was having its effect on Kryukovo, too. Though the capacity of the place was 1,000, there were only about eight hundred inmates confined on the day of my visit. I essayed the witticism that the

Major and his staff were not achieving their work norms with so low a number of offenders to reform. The Major laughed genially and replied that he was one Soviet citizen who was trying to get out of work. Indeed, the happiest day of his life would be when Kryukovo could be closed entirely and he could return to his normal occupation as a machinist.

The staff of the institution, excluding teachers and factory foremen, was about seventy. This seems an austere inmate-staff ratio by any standards of comparison in the West. Major Artamanov was quite unfamiliar with our patterns of prison organisation and could not point to any features of the colony which would distinguish it so sharply from Western establishments serving the same purpose. But a discussion of the actual organisational forms readily made the reasons for the difference apparent.

Kryukovo is divided into four detachments, each of about two hundred inmates and each controlled by a commander, whose functions seemed to be like those of the English Assistant Governor, and a complement of between five and ten disciplinary officers. The detachments are further divided into workers' collectives, varying in size according to the number of inmates assigned to a particular shop. Members of collectives tend to work, eat, and sleep together, though of course some have special activities like school or committees which take them away from the collective.

But the special control features operating in this colony were peculiarly Soviet in form. The major relies especially on a *Section of Labour Correction*. This is an inmate committee taking active responsibility for the accomplishment of work assigned to the colony. Each collective is required to elect a member of the section on labour correction. It is the section's duty to keep the management of the colony informed of all situations which might be interfering with the productivity of the shops. This might be anything from an insanitary condition in the bath house to the obstructive behaviour of an un-co-operative comrade. While the section has no disciplinary powers, they can call an inmate before them for reprimand and may even go so far as to display cartoons in a wall newspaper ridiculing the conduct of a non-productive worker. The results, if the Major is to be believed, are remarkable. There are not more than two or three rule violations per week, and these are for such offences as spitting on the walks or smoking in prohibited places. It had been six months since there had been a fight amongst inmates, and that had ended in mutual apologies. The section on corrective labour may or may not be responsible for the good order and discipline of Kryukovo, but it must be allowed some of the credit for the control of an institution which would seem to be seriously understaffed to most of our disciplinary colleagues. Whether we could adapt this device to a Western institution is another matter; one can imagine the response of an American inmate

population to what would immediately seem an inmate elected committee of stool-pigeons.

Not only are inmates allowed an active role in the discipline of the institution, but also they are expected to play a part in classification. There is also an inmate elected Section of Professional and Vocational Education. This section is to keep management informed of the progress of training of inmates, of particular inmates whose training might be effectively changed, or inmates who are not responding to training as they should.

If these two sections seem to reflect radical differences between the prison cultures of the two sides of the iron curtain, I suppose their acceptability to Russian inmates may be attributed to special cultural differences which are developing in the whole Russian society. For the Russian worker belongs to a special primary group of considerable impact on his personal security and life-space. This is his workers' collective, which rewards good work and punishes bad work, which can discipline him for unbecoming conduct off the job, and which has a great deal of current importance in deciding when and where he shall live. One has an over-all impression of the Soviet culture as a nation of busybodies, a country in which it is a national duty to mind other people's business. I was not in the Soviet Union long enough to work out the details of this situation, but it seems quite clear that in the process of the state's withering away, the social control functions are to be taken over by workers' units. What happens to the cherished life-features of privacy and self-determination is another matter. Perhaps to the Russian these are not as essential values as they may be to us. After all, as one Russian artisan told me in another connection, what makes men different from each other is what makes them unhappy; one of the goals of communism is to make people more alike.

But let's return to Kryukovo. I asked the good Major about escapes. How many per year? The answer was forthright. We have never had an escape from Kryukovo. What, never? I enquired in the manner of the late Sir William Gilbert. No, never, replied the Major. He went on to enquire rhetorically—why should anyone want to escape from Kryukovo? Here a man has good food, good living quarters, good work at good pay, educational opportunities, good comrades, and regular visits from wife and family. Besides, there was a double barbed wire fence and an armed perimeter patrol with orders to shoot anyone attempting to approach the fence.

I was invited to tour the Institution, to go anywhere I liked and to see whatever interested me. Ordinarily I try to cut such tours as short as possible; after all one shoe repair shop is much like another; prison kitchens differ mostly as to smell, and inmate housing usually varies most significantly as to the quantity and nudity of the pin-ups permitted. But pretty clearly Kryukovo was another matter, an institution which really had some significant differences which had to be seen to be appreciated.

We began with the shops. These are poorly housed, rather dark, rather cold, and magnificently equipped with machinery which

was complicated, modern in design and highly productive, as I could see for myself from the crates of finished products. In each shop the inmates manning the machines were so busy that they scarcely looked up to look at the man from Mars who was being escorted around their work places. I asked if they always worked so hard, and was told that perhaps this was a day when they were working harder than usual because it was the last day of the month. They were trying to achieve or surpass work-norms assigned to them. I was shown the bulletin boards on which was diagrammed the achievement of the shop in respect to norms and the achievement of workers with regard to individual norms. Some, I noted, had surpassed their assigned norms by such figures as two hundred per cent.

Each man is paid in accordance with the standard paid for his trade outside the institution — I had almost said in free society — with deductions for room, board and services. They are free to do what they like with their earnings; they may send them home or not as they choose. Most inmates should leave Kryukovo with some savings, perhaps a good deal. Work is allocated by the various organisations of production; the corrective labour colony administration contracts with, for example, the trust which manufactures kitchen utensils for the manufacture of spoons, and a lot of them were being made at Kryukovo. Work is in two eight hour shifts, soon to be reduced to seven hours in accordance with the national lowering of the standard hours of work. There is absolutely no idleness at Kryukovo, and indeed the problem of late has been to get done all the work which has to be turned out.

Housing was odd. I was shown large dormitories containing as many as forty inmates. They slept in double bunkbeds, two units together with a locker between each four beds. All very neat and tidy, but why so close? Perhaps a little too close by Western standards? The Major was defensive; Soviet law prescribed that there should be a minimum of two cubic meters of air space per man in a dormitory and this certainly satisfied that requirement. Besides, the men only slept there; work, study, and recreation took place elsewhere.

The school building was austere and indifferently equipped. Most inmates attended, mostly with the objective of completing the ten-year school programme that is basic to Soviet education. Some had completed this requirement and had even gone to Moscow University to study engineering or other difficult subjects. The school was staffed by personnel from the local school district; I noted that the instructors on duty when I was there included several women.

We came next to the visiting building, where inmates could entertain their guests. This was a long pre-fabricated structure, perhaps sixty feet long by twenty wide. It was divided longitudinally. On one side was a table extending for most of the length of the building with chairs on either side so that the conventional prison visit could take place under conventional supervision. On the other side was a row of private rooms for the purpose of conjugal visits. The Major took me into one unoccupied room, a cubicle, really, containing

a bed, a chair and a dresser. There was a tea-pot and cups, and the Major explained that wives were expected to provide their own food when they visited. This was quite evident from the lingering cooking odours. We passed on, and as we were about to leave, the Major observed that one room was occupied. He knocked and opened, to reveal a disconcerted young man frantically getting into his clothes while his wife clutched the blankets around her and glared balefully at us. I could imagine the words with which the young lady expressed her discomfiture to her husband as soon as the door was closed. Whether this incident typified the sensitivity of the Major toward the feelings of his inmates I cannot say, but certainly it demonstrates one of the hazards—to the inmate—of conjugal visiting.

Finally we went on to the recreation building, a large gymnasium and theatre converted from a barracks type structure. The Major opened the door to the theatre section and paused indecisively, then invited me to follow with the whispered explanation that a comrades' court was in session. He had forgotten, perhaps in the excitement of having a visitor from America, that this was scheduled. I looked about and beheld about a hundred inmates, all looking fixedly at me with what we in American prisons refer to as the "dog-eye". I don't know what the British equivalent is, but I've seen it. On the stage were three members of the comrades' court, all looking very fierce and very much as though they didn't propose to allow their legs to be pulled. In front of them was one of the saddest looking specimens of humanity I have ever seen, a terrified young man whose knees were visibly shaking and whose teeth were chattering beyond control. The Major explained that this lad was about to be released, or was at least under consideration, and it was for the comrades' court to decide whether he was ready. This was done, ordinarily, in a public meeting of this kind with the applicants' comrades in attendance for his support and their edification. I felt that my intrusion in this critical scene was possibly even more inhumane than at the guest house, and left with silent wishes of good luck for the wretch who was undergoing this ordeal.

Release depends on the completion of training. No one leaves Kryukovo until he has finished an apprenticeship and taken an examination for journeyman status in his trade. If one already has a trade, so much the better; the chances of release in advance of the average of four years time served becomes reasonably good. But without a trade, the Soviet corrective labour scientist reasons, a criminal can scarcely experience the "joy of labour", to use a phrase which incessantly came through the interpreters to me. Other considerations matter, too, in particular the good opinion of staff and fellow inmates, but the completion of training is the *sine qua non*. Major Artamanov told me that formerly he had had the responsibility of determining release, but now, to his relief, this task had been transferred to the comrades' court.

After-care depends on the workers' collective which the releasee joins. Reports are sent to the colony by the secretariat of the collective and by the police so that if a revocation of the conditional

release is in order the luckless man can be sent for. But actually, the Major insisted, this happens in only two per cent of the cases. The more I challenged this improbable figure, the more certain he was that it was correct. Something of a point was made of the interest of the staff in the progress of individual releases. Since most of the inmates were released to Moscow or vicinity it was possible for the Major's staff to visit them after they left the institution and lend such friendly support as might be needed.

Another formidable support lay in the hands of the system. This was the requirement imposed by law on the local soviet of the district in which a man was to be released, that upon two weeks' notice the labour exchange had to find suitable employment for a releasee in his profession. I enquired about the consequences of a violation of this law and received a sort of incomprehension in reply, as though to say that administrative laws of this kind simply aren't violated in the Soviet Union.

What do we learn from what I saw? Without any way of evaluating what we saw and were told, nothing definite can be propounded. On several occasions I told various of my informants that I was perfectly prepared to believe all I was told if only I could see the kind of statistical analysis to which I am accustomed, the kind which Western social scientists take for granted. The best answer I received was to the effect that such statistics undoubtedly existed, but that the government in its wisdom did not see fit to publish them – therefore we must be satisfied with the government's assurances. Privately I doubt very strongly that anything like adequate statistics of crime and corrections are in existence, simply because a system of criminal statistics is an immensely difficult thing to administer and organise and the whole subject is not of major interest in the country.

I do think, however, that qualified students will be allowed to observe and discuss problems with these authorities. I think also that a picture which is internally consistent emerges from my observations. An institution is established which duplicates and parallels so far as possible the conditions, requirements, obligations and privileges of outside life for the inmate. It is assumed that the inmate is mentally responsible and not in need of treatment. It is further assumed that like all of us, he needs further education to assist in regaining self-respect and to make possible his restoration to a society which has rejected him. As few unnecessary burdens are imposed upon him as possible – over and above the immense burden of loss of liberty. Everything possible is done to mobilise inmate opinion and the inmate culture behind the administration. Everything possible is done to effect an orderly transition of the inmate from the colony to the community at large.

I submit that the system as conceived and described to me by the corrective labour scientists of Moscow is a rational one and appropriate for the present Russian culture. I only wish that we in the West were clever enough and concerned enough to develop a correctional system which would be equally appropriate for our cultures.

The Woman Prison Officer 100 years ago

MOYA WOODSIDE

IN THE YEAR 1862, there were three female prisons in London: Millbank, Brixton, and Fulham Refuge. Millbank, a convict prison, received women who had committed serious crime, women whose behaviour was refractory, and the chronic recidivists; Brixton received the ordinary class and the elderly; while Fulham, for selected 'good-conduct' prisoners, provided industrial training before discharge. The daily average population was considerable: 470 at Millbank, 620 at Brixton, 174 at Fulham, a total of 1,264. At the two main institutions, the discipline staff, known in those days as Prison Matrons, numbered only 78. Their work was hard, their hours were long, their remuneration miserly.

Moved by compassion and indignation, a public-spirited gentleman named F. W. Robinson wrote an account of prison life, based on the reminiscences of a retired prison matron. His book, published in 1863*, depicts vividly the conditions under which prison staff worked, and pleads for recognition and improvement. From his pages, we glimpse something of the life led by these long-suffering prison matrons in their difficult and disagreeable task, caring for women in custody 100 years ago.

Recruitment and Salaries

In 1862, employment open to women was confined to a narrow range, largely domestic in character. Those with some education who had to fend for themselves could only hope to become governesses, teachers, or ladies' companions: it seems that a few found their way into the prison service. 'The matrons', says Mr. Robinson, 'as a body are intelligent well-educated earnest young women, chiefly from that class which has seen better days and known happier times. Most of them had some sad story to tell of early orphanage, of improvident speculations that brought a family from affluence to beggary, of widowed mothers or sick sisters to support, of husbands who died early and left them with little children to work for'. For a few, a prison appointment meant improvement in social status. 'Now and then a lady's-maid, recommended by a mistress who had a friend on the Direction, or in the lady superintendent, used to pass muster, become one of the staff, and made as good a Government servant as the rest'.

A probationary period was required, but the author gives no information how long it lasted, nor any detail on the sort of training provided for candidates. He hints at favouritism in selection, and wants the standard of qualification raised ('even an illiterate being' he says, 'would occasionally work her way in'). The starting salary for an assistant prison matron was £35 a year, from which 3s. 4d. a month was deducted for uniform dress. The annual increment was £1. When promoted to matron, her

salary was £40 a year; and if she should rise to the heights of principal matron (equivalent to Chief Officer today) she earned £50 a year, with annual increment of 30s. 0d.

The Government, then as now, regarded themselves as model employers. 'Encouragement to persevere in their duties is freely offered to these Government servants' the author records, 'and a life pension awaits them at the end of ten years'. The work, however, was so trying, that few prison matrons appear to have had sufficient physical or nervous strength to stay the course even for that period. We are told of one who died, a very young woman, 'worn out with toil and anxiety for the reformation of her fallen sisterhood' and of others 'who depart from the service in a few years, aged and anxious looking, with no strength left for any new employment'.

Hours and Duties

The prison matrons were on duty for fifteen hours a day, from 6 a.m. till 9 or 10 p.m.: on alternate days they worked from 6 a.m. till 6 p.m., after which they were free. They had leave of absence every third Sunday, from early morning till 10 p.m.; if they returned even five minutes late, graduated deductions from salary were made. They had fourteen days holiday in the year—but (cruel provision) any previous days of sick leave were deducted from this brief respite. Such days of sick leave, the author notes, 'are unfortunately not few and far between—the hours being long and the service arduous'.

At Millbank, the day's routine began at 6 a.m. with unbolting the inner cell doors (cells in this prison had two doors, the outer one formed of an iron grating). Cleaners were let out for early work, the rest of the women tidied and cleaned their cells. Breakfast, a pint of cocoa and a 4 oz. loaf of bread, was brought round at 7.30 a.m. by carriers. Work then started (coir picking, bag and shirt-making). This was carried on by each woman in her separate cell, with all conversation forbidden. At 9.15 a.m. the chapel bell rang for morning service at 9.45, each matron escorting her complement of prisoners there and back. Work continued till 12.45, when dinner was served. This consisted of 4 ozs. of boiled meat, ½ lb. potatoes, and a 6 oz. loaf. After dinner work proceeded as before, 'only the voices of the matrons breaking the stillness of the prison'.

One hour each day was allowed for exercise in the airing yards, where the silent system was still enforced. Prisoners walked in Indian file round and round the yard, 'the matron keeping a careful watch on her flock of black sheep'. After the 'airing', the women worked again till 5.30 p.m. when they received a pint of gruel. Prayers were then read by a matron standing in the centre of each ward, so that her voice could be heard by the prisoners standing at their doors.

Work went on till 7.45 p.m. when scissors were collected; reading was allowed till 8.30 p.m., and at 8.45 p.m. the gas was turned out in the cells by the matron from outside. At 9 p.m., the matron on night duty appeared, and 'paced the prison for slow weary hours'.

Shortage of staff and frequent illness imposed extra duties on an already arduous day. One matron is recorded as locking and unlocking *six hundred times* a day, that is,

on her ward of fifty prisoners, she locked and unlocked each one twelve times. Another tedious duty was that of lighting the gas. Prisoners were given seven gas-papers at the beginning of each week. Every evening, the matron going down the ward, called out 'gas paper'. One was then passed out through the inspection hole in the door, lighted by the matron's candle, and drawn in again by the prisoner who was supposed to light her gas with it, the matron meanwhile having turned it on. (Needless to say, 'gas papers' were much in demand for writing messages to other prisoners, and many were the ruses to obtain an extra supply).

A particularly distressing duty was the haircutting of all new prisoners. This inexorable rule, enforced in the interests of cleanliness, provoked frequent scenes and struggles in Receptions (long tresses, in Victorian days, were esteemed as a 'woman's crowning glory'). The author recounts how women 'whose hearts had not quailed, perhaps, at the murder of their infants or the poisoning of their husbands, clasped their hands in horror at this sacrifice of their natural adornment—wept, begged, prayed, occasionally assumed a defiant attitude, resisted to the last, and were finally overcome only by force'. Sometimes the male guards had to be summoned from the gate to handcuff and hold down a violent cursing woman till the hair-cutting operation was complete. Such scenes must have been degrading to all concerned.

Escort, Discharge, and Visiting Duties

Escort work appears to have been limited to the transfer of Millbank women to Brixton, or Brixton 'good-conduct' women to Fulham Refuge. The matron sat near the door of the omnibus, with a male guard stationed on the step outside. She was 'expected to watch the prisoners closely and restrain any excitability' while 'the equipage rattled away over Vauxhall Bridge and down the South Lambeth Road' on its way to Brixton. The author gives a touching picture of the whispered comments among the prisoners on glimpsing the outside world again, and commends the matrons for their humanity in pretending not to notice such breaches of the silence rule.

Humanity was also shown in that women who were sick or ill were not sent home unattended on discharge. A matron would escort them to their own door, even if a long railway journey were involved. Women discharged to homes outside London were escorted as routine to the appropriate railway station and put on the train. Although the matrons were glad to be witness of a woman's happiness when the long-awaited day arrived, this particular discharge duty, says the author, 'was not sought for in the least'. 'To rise an hour or an hour and a half before the usual early time for rising, and set forth in the raw morning, often the dense dark morning in the winter time, in a hired fly to the railway station, was not an enviable task; more particularly as the matron was expected to return by breakfast time and was put on full duty for the remainder of the day'.

Prison matrons were occasionally called upon to escort mad prisoners ('those whose minds had given way beneath the monotony of their position') to Fisherton Lunatic

Asylum near Salisbury. Although this escort employment was not the most agreeable, the rail journey to Salisbury '*was* a change, valued as a set-off against the dark side of the expedition'.

Visits of prisoners' relatives were less frequent than to-day. After six months at Millbank, the women were allowed to see their friends for twenty minutes once in three months, prisoner and visitor standing opposite each other behind wire-work screens, while the vigilant matron sat in the space between. Embarrassment, grief, jealousy, recrimination, attempts to communicate forbidden information—all these human reactions were familiar to matrons 'taking visits' 100 years ago. Of distressed relatives the author, a sensitive observer, remarks: 'The tears and sobs which they are unable to restrain affect the watcher more than is generally imagined. It is very difficult to become accustomed to this portion of a principal matron's duty—the office is unenviable'.

Troublesome Prisoners

Prison life 100 years ago was one of almost unendurable monotony. Dull deadening work, such as picking oakum, carried on in the individual cells; no 'association'; no conversation; no evening classes or other distractions; no prison libraries. A quarter of the entire population in Millbank in 1862 were illiterate, another quarter 'can read only', and the remainder had but imperfect schooling. There was no segregation of prisoners suspected to be mad; murderous attacks and suicidal attempts on the part of crazed women were yet another hazard of the prison matron's post. It is hardly surprising that in circumstances of such repression and boredom, 'breakings out' were a daily occurrence. Refractory women indulged in 'smash-ups', tearing everything in sight, banging, shouting and swearing for hours on end.

These wild half-demented prisoners were punished for their outbreaks by confinement in the 'dark' cells. Disturbing scenes must have ensued: the author observes 'the strength of some of these women, during their fits of frenzy, is greatly in excess of the men's'. It always required two, and very often three, of the male guards to 'force one fighting plunging woman from her cell to the 'dark', tables and bedsteads snapping under their hands like splinters of firewood'. Millbank Prison possessed six 'dark' cells, windowless, with perforated gratings for air. They were firmly secured with 'formidable doors' and an outer sliding pad which was supposed to stifle the uproarious sounds. The furniture consisted of 'a slanting series of boards by way of a bedstead, with an uncomfortable wooden block for a pillow'. At night the woman was given a pair of blankets and a rug (often found torn to shreds in the morning). The diet was bread and water. Three days of such confinement was usually sufficient to exhaust even the strongest of prisoners, but some were so confined for several weeks. Even canvas jackets and handcuffs were used to restrain the most refractory.

The author deplores what he calls 'this remnant of the barbarous style of coercion peculiar to the Middle Ages'. 'I cannot say', he observes, 'that these 'darks' have ever produced in any single instance a salutary effect upon the prisoners'. The matrons suffered

too, since 'with an ingenious perversion of common humanity' some of the 'dark' cells were placed either above, below or beside the Matron's quarters. At Millbank one such cell was immediately below; and the tired officer was often kept awake all night by the incessant shrieking, hammering, kicking, or by 'the defiant song of the caged tigress', which welled up from below.

Very little medical help appears to have been given to the prison matrons in managing these violent refractory prisoners, and there was great reluctance to pronounce anyone insane. The author criticises the prison surgeons and physicians for this attitude which, he says, 'leads occasionally to horrible scenes in our prisons' and indeed may endanger the life of the officers. Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, opened the following year in 1863, at last provided a suitable institution for the mentally deranged in custody.

Conditions and Complaints

What could the prison matrons do to improve their lot? Very little, it seems. In common with other women workers of that period, they were unorganised, had no associations to protect their interest, and—should they fall ill or unemployed—no means of support other than recourse to charity or Poor Law out-door relief. Few dared to complain. Not only was their labour exploited, but bad food ('decidedly and disgracefully bad') was provided in the matrons' messrooms. At times protests were made, but these were brushed aside by the steward saying *he* saw nothing wrong with the meat ('oily beef and goatish mutton'). The ladies were being too fastidious. On another occasion, the surgeon was solicited for his verdict and he 'fell into raptures over a plateful of mutton which had made half the matrons sick'.

Prison matrons, 'were always considered in the wrong, and complaints of this nature were regarded in a light almost impertinent'. Attempts were made, the author records, 'to memorialise the authorities' on this and other grievances, but 'the nervousness with which strong measures are generally regarded has always interfered with the project, some refusing to sign because of fear of dismissal'. In many instances 'there are mothers, sisters, little children to support' and the matrons must endure all evils rather than run any risk.

Some efforts to provide change or recreation for the matrons' off-duty hours are mentioned, but met with small response. 'Reading rooms have been thought of, and abandoned' the author reports. At Brixton the experiment was tried of a little music, in a room across the yard. But (deplorable development) 'the music led to a quadrille now and then, and it was thought advisable to send the piano back to the maker, and rescind the privilege'. Then, as now, the staff preferred to spend their free time outside the walls—'their craving, when health and strength permit, to pass beyond the gates and shake the prison dust from their feet'.

Official visitors to the prison often appear to have regarded the matrons on a par with domestic servants, and were 'awkward and embarrassed' when they found they could not leave a tip with the attendant who had shown them round. Acceptance of any such fee

was strictly forbidden. 'The offer of money to the officers of our Government prisons is an act which brings an indignant blush to their cheeks, and makes their fingers itch to box the ears of the would-be donor'. Nor was it unknown for prisoners' relatives on visiting days to 'make delicate hints that money will be forthcoming', *if required, in return for* the concessions of any little favour to the prisoner concerned. 'The more disreputable class of these visitors appear to consider this offer as a temptation which even a prison matron has not the power to withstand'. But withstand they did, thanks to their ladylike upbringing and their dedication to the prison service.

Their champion, Mr. Robinson, devotes his final chapter to a plea for better treatment for the downtrodden female staff, and links this with the improvement of prison discipline generally. 'The staff of matrons is *not* sufficient for the proper working of our female prisons' he roundly declares. It has never been sufficient, and the officers are worked too hard. Fifteen hours a day are too many. This even though 'the Direction acknowledges that the superintendence of female convicts forms the most trying feature of prison experience'.

'Female prisoners must be treated individually', he goes on. When more attention can be paid to each woman, instead of to each class, results more satisfactory will be arrived at. The whole principle of discipline is to lead, not to drive; therefore it is necessary that prison matrons should be carefully selected from 'thoughtful earnest women, possessed of discretion and judgment'. Among his other reformist ideas are a change of name for women prison officers. 'Officer' he says, is too masculine, 'matron' a misnomer; both names convey an impression of harshness and ugliness. He thinks that 'sisters', if this did not suggest the nunnery so strongly, would be the most appropriate designation—'sisters in their interest for those poor creatures who are confided to their care'.

Mr. Robinson wants lectures on divers subjects, 'calculated to interest and distract a prisoner's mind', to be delivered to the female convicts in prison. He wants the removal of 'the worst class of prisoner' to a separate establishment, and an observation ward for the segregation of the mentally unsound. His concluding request (which has a very contemporary ring) is for a Government grant to the Prisoners' Aid Society. If the good effects of the society's work could be rendered still more comprehensive, the number of 'returns' and re-convictions would, he is sure, continue to diminish.

Women prison officers today still have a difficult and demanding job; but their conditions (even though recommended for further improvement†) and the general atmosphere in which they work are incomparably different from those described in Mr. Robinson's book. Many changes must have followed its publication: gratitude is due to this unknown Victorian gentleman who so eloquently pleaded the cause of women prison staff (and women prisoners) 100 years ago.

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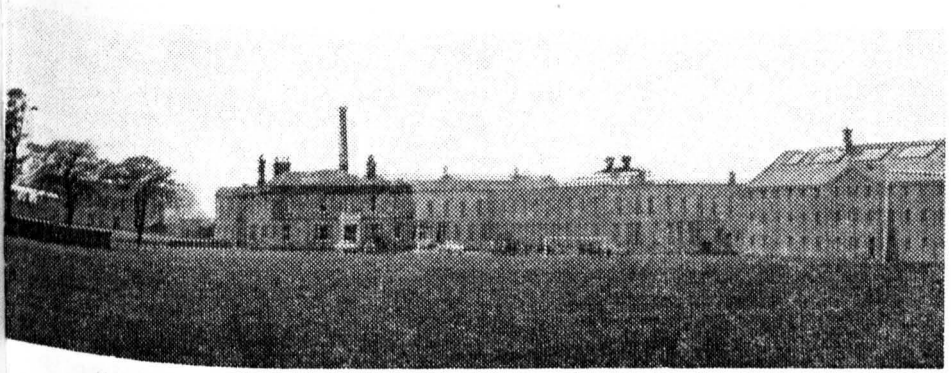
* *Female Life in Prison*. F. W. Robinson, London. Spencer Blackett, 1863.

† The Wynn Parry Report, 1958.



"Polmont" Borstal, the more well-known name of the Institution at Brightons.

Work of a Psychiatric Team in an Institution for Young Offenders

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THE USE OF psychiatry, and related sciences, in criminology, as regards assessment of offenders, and reporting to courts, is now generally accepted.

Psychiatric treatment of criminals however is not so widely used, the practice varying from one country to another. Often there is a gap between psychiatric treatment on one hand, and ordinary penal treatment on the other, seriously ill criminals being treated medically, others by penal measures alone, including some disturbed, though not defective or psychotic prisoners, who, while requiring reformative measures of treatment, could also benefit from psychiatric treatment.

The pressing task of psychiatry and penology is to find a means of bridging this gap, so that psychotherapeutic approaches can be integrated into the penal system.

In this country there has been a greater tendency in recent years for penal institutions, particularly those for young offenders, to make use of existing psychiatric services by referring inmates to psychiatric clinics for treatment. However, referring such cases as out-patients has been found to have many disadvantages, and a better arrangement, for all concerned, is for a psychiatrist to pay regular visits to the institution. The borstal system in Scotland since 1949 has considerably

developed this system by having psychiatric personnel working full time or part-time on the staff along with the other institution personnel.

In Scotland, the borstal system (ages 16-21) includes an institution with approximately 300 male inmates, which serves the dual function of being a classification and training centre. The institution is divided into four separate sections or "Houses", one of which is the allocation centre, the other three being training houses, each with a slightly different regime and catering for a different type of inmate. There are also three smaller institutions in different parts of the country, two open, one maximum security; also a separate small institution for girls. The psychiatric team is based at the main institution and are therefore involved both in the allocation procedure, and to some extent, in the training regime.

From the first appointment ten years ago of one P.S.W., the psychiatric unit has been gradually built up, and now consists of one consultant psychiatrist, one assistant psychiatrist, one clinical psychologist, and two P.S.Ws. The three former are all part-time at the institution, having other hospital attachments. The social workers are full time.

This team functions in more or less the same way as any other clinical team—the P.S.Ws. doing home visiting, and family case work; psychiatrists and psychologist interviewing and assessing inmates. There does however tend to be more overlapping of respective jobs than in the usual clinic set up.

The relationship of the team to the rest of the institution has had to be carefully considered and a satisfactory role worked out. Indeed it could be said that this process is still going on—i.e. the integrating of the psychiatric team and their approach, with the rehabilitation and re-educative programme as a whole.

Attitudes to psychiatric personnel on the part of the rest of the institution vary considerably. Some inmates are inclined to be suspicious, as, like so many delinquents, they resent nothing more than the suggestion that they are in any way mentally abnormal. Some genuinely feel they want, and will ask for, psychiatric help. Others, though this is less common, seek to make use of the psychiatric team to their own advantage.

Regarding the attitude of the custodial staff towards the psychiatric team, this varies from overt hostility, suspicion, resentment, through indifference, amused tolerance, etc., to real acceptance. The latter can only be achieved when the staff really understand the work of the psychiatric team, and what they are trying to do. It is essential, therefore, that the psychiatric team can make good enough contact with the rest of the staff so that this understanding of their work and hence its acceptance can become general. The problem is how best to do this.

Psychotherapy with selected inmates should be the primary function of the psychiatrist. Both individual and group psychotherapy are possible in a penal institution, though both raise their own particular difficulties in

that setting. Their value is limited however by the fact that relatively small numbers can be treated, even by group therapy, without many more therapists than are available. Also, to be successful, the co-operation, understanding, and sometimes active participation of other staff members is necessary.

These limitations emphasise the need for making the most economical and advantageous use of professionally trained workers so that psychiatric help, even indirectly, can be spread to as many inmates as possible. An indirect psycho-therapeutic approach through members of staff is therefore what should be aimed at.

In addition to much free and informal discussion between custodial and professionl staff, some of the former in this institution have on occasion requested formal talks and discussion groups. Such groups, after requests from staff, were held sporadically by the psychiatrist, but for various reasons did not continue. Latterly however regular discussion sessions with one particular group of staff, viz. the staff of the house which has the more disturbed cases have been continuing, and the rest of this paper will be devoted to describing these. The course that these groups have followed has been interesting and productive.

An appropriate beginning was when a boy, undergoing psychotherapy, whose relationship with his mother had been very bad, became hostile towards the matron (only woman member of the house staff)—obviously a displacement of affect. She was able to understand this—but the boy's violence to her made the male staff very anxious, and they felt disciplinary action should be taken.

The staff met with psychiatrist and P.S.W. to discuss the particular case, and when the home background, history, and motivating factors were made clear, the staff were able to understand the boy's reaction, and realize the importance of allowing it to continue. From this, other cases were talked about, and the staff requested that this should go on, although it meant giving up free time. Administrative difficulties prevented these groups being held more than every three to four weeks.

Not only actual cases but delinquency as a whole, and other general subjects with a bearing on the psychiatric aspects of delinquents were discussed; many psychological and case work principles were got over in the course of discussion, and the staff's own feelings about their work, the boys, etc., began to be expressed. The groups suffered, however, from lack of continuity, owing to difficulty of meeting often enough, then for a time they stopped altogether, because of a change of personnel in that house. The psychiatric team felt it advisable to wait till there was a further request from the staff to continue groups.

After a repeated request from the staff for a continuation of the group meetings, the position was reconsidered. Two years ago now, it was decided that to have real value these meetings should be frequent and regular, weekly if

possible, and finally it was agreed by the administration that attendance at this "study group" would be an accepted (though still voluntary) part of the staff duties in that particular house, and if in free time, overtime pay would be allowed. The groups are attended by all the house staff (housemaster, matron, principal and four other officers) and the complete psychiatric team. Housemaster takes the lead in the sense of suggesting cases, or other topics for discussion, but otherwise the discussion is democratic and free, and any member of the group says what he or she wants to say.

One of the initial difficulties encountered (met with in other settings, e.g. mental hospitals, as well), was that of confidentiality of professional reports. Staff felt they ought to have free access to all reports ("official" ruling is that such reports can only be seen by senior staff). While agreeing that the people who are in day to day relationship with the boys should have as much knowledge about them as possible, the psychiatric team felt they had to point out the intimate nature of some of the material in the reports, the responsibility that knowledge of such material carries, and the danger of misusing it. This could be accepted by the staff, and the compromise reached was that professional staff would read their full reports to the group, stressing any points where extreme confidence was necessary. Now the atmosphere of the group is that of a professional group, in which much confidential material can be freely aired. Nor has there ever been an instance of such knowledge being wrongly used by any member of staff.

Beginning from case conferences these meetings have become groups in the real sense of the word, with free exchange of thoughts and feelings between participants, free expression of emotion, interpretation of such, etc. Full notes have been kept, so that progress and development of the group could be followed, and this has gone through various phases, mood swings, calm periods interspersed with emotional crises and always if tension got too great falling back to the case discussion level.

Although there has always been a democratic conduct of the group, it was natural that the staff for some time maintained a deferential attitude to the "superior" knowledge of the professional staff, although the latter continued in efforts of helping non-professional staff to realise that each contribution was equally valuable. At this stage the latter, however, found it difficult to express any disapproval of what the professional staff did, let alone any resentment towards them. The first expressions of any resentment were indirect and took the form of a sporadic expression of rather exaggerated views, generally taken to be "anti-psychiatry". Only when such were accepted and given due attention could the underlying hostility towards the psychiatric staff themselves be to some extent freed and expressed. From then on phases of hostility and aggression towards the psychiatric staff, phases which usually indicated anxiety from environmental stresses on the part of the non-professional staff, have alternated with an increasingly positive attitude to the

psychiatric staff and a feeling of comradeship with them.

This change in attitude has been recently exemplified regarding group psychotherapy with inmates. Although this has been going on in that house for some time, the staff group always seemed reluctant to discuss it. Within the last few months, just after new groups had been started, the matter was brought up by one of the custodial staff and there was a definite outburst of hostility on their part regarding the groups. There was criticism of group therapists, about their selection of material, then about the results of groups, some of the staff members feeling that no progress was made and some of the boys seemed to get worse. Although in fact they could accept that while undergoing group psychotherapy disturbed behaviour might be anticipated, it became clear that underlying their hostility on the subject the custodial staff felt in some way threatened by the inmates' group psychotherapy sessions. They had the feeling that the boys were talking about them and that this was undermining their authority. Then they also felt that they should expect some direction from the psychiatric staff as to "what to do" in their work with the boys, and it became plain that not only did the custodial staff feel threatened, but they felt let down by their professional colleagues who did not seem to be giving them any assistance.

This is a very basic conflict in the relationship between professional and non-professional staff in an institution and the fact of its being uncovered in this way in our study groups was found to be helpful. Quite apart from the question of group therapy with the boys, the whole question of what sort of help the non-professional staff expected from the professionals, and what sort of help the latter are in fact able to give has been fully discussed, with a resultant clearer concept on both sides of the relative functions, and a tendency to work more closely together.

Apart from these general changes in atmosphere of the staff discussion group and expressions of group feeling, on many occasions individual feelings and attitudes have cropped up and been examined by the group. For example, an officer's dislike of a particular boy, when freely expressed in the group setting, has been related to personal problems, and even without going into details of interpretation of this, the very important factor of the individual's own emotional involvement with those under his care has been made clear.

Indeed, although there is careful avoidance of any suggestion that these groups are in any way therapeutic groups, there is no doubt that all taking part in them, professional or non-professional, have their own attitudes towards their work as a whole, and towards individuals, considerably clarified from time to time.

Study groups are still in the early and experimental stages, but

progress that has been made seems to indicate their value in a training institution. The participants in this particular group, from time to time, look back over the work done by the group and all feel that it has been helpful. At the simplest level, staff have been given more information about the boys they are dealing with and so can understand more of the boy's character and his behaviour. At a deeper level, all are now aware that their attitude to the work as a whole has been modified, that they get much more satisfaction from the work they are doing and are more able to tolerate the disappointments and frustrations that inevitably arise in this kind of work. This change in basic attitude to the work naturally has its effect in much improved individual personal relationships with the inmates. The psychiatric personnel are aware of such changes in individual attitudes and have observed modifying of characteristics on the part of the staff, bringing out their real potential in the work, and tending to overcome snags caused by emotional blind spots.

So far this rather intensive staff study group has been confined to one section of the institution, where it is particularly important as the more disturbed and maladjusted inmates are being treated there. The writer of this paper, however, is of the opinion that the same kind of work extended to other sections of the institution would be valuable. In fact for the past year a similar staff discussion group has been held at one of the smaller open institutions by the psychiatric personnel who make regular visits to that institution, and is proving very useful there.

For numerical reasons, the professional staff will always be inadequate to the task of extending the direct psychiatric work, and in any case in an institution of this kind the majority of inmates do not require, or are unlikely to benefit from, such treatment. On the other hand, even the most "normal" of delinquents has had some breakdown in his social relationships, and can only be logically treated by forming social relationships which are going to be therapeutic. As the enlightenment in penology advances, the role of custodial staff, particularly in institutions for young offenders is rapidly changing and becoming a much more important and demanding role. Indeed such staff are beginning to play a part which could be more accurately called that of "social therapists", and to do this adequately they certainly need the help of professionally trained colleagues. This paper describes one attempt at giving this kind of help, and at the same time, casting a role for the professional staff in an institution.

The writer is indebted to the Director of Prisons and Borstals Division of Scottish Home Department for permission to publish this paper on work done in the institution. Opinions expressed however are the writer's own and do not necessarily represent official Scottish Home Department views.

Mayhew on London Prisons

HENRY MAYHEW'S *London Labour and the London Poor* in which, it was said, "the respectable portion of the world were for the first time made acquainted with . . . the poorer world of London, of which the upper classes knew comparatively nothing" has achieved the status of a classic. First appearing just over a century ago, in the 1850's, it is still widely read to-day although usually in an abridged form. It was published in five volumes. The first three volumes dealt with "The London Street Folk . . . who daily earn an honest livelihood in the midst of destitution" and the fourth, "Those That Will not Work", dealt with the prostitutes, thieves, beggars and swindlers "who prey upon the health and the property of others". These volumes, or at least excerpts from them, are familiar both to students and the general reader. The fifth volume, completing the series, entitled "The Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life" is however much less well known, although no less fascinating. The first edition (1862) contains in addition to the text over a hundred illustrations, of which a number are reproduced here.

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In this volume Mayhew set out to provide "a complete account of the Criminal Prisons of London, compiled, like the preceding portions of the work, from actual investigations, mostly made within the walls, or supplied by the officers connected with them". He excluded from his survey both Political or State Prisons such as the Tower and the Strong-room of the House of Commons, and also Civil or Debtors' Prisons such as the Queen's Bench and Whitecross Street. This left him with, apart from the Lock-ups or Police Cells and the Hulks at Woolwich, ten establishments. These were, Pentonville, Millbank, Brixton, Holloway, Coldbath Fields, Tothill Fields, Wandsworth, Clerkenwell, Newgate and the Horsemonger Lane Jail. Our reproductions have been selected from the illustrations to the chapters dealing with prisons which are still in use to-day and the text refers to them in the main. At that time Pentonville was a Convict Prison "for transports and 'penal service' men" and Brixton was the Female Convict Prison. Holloway was the City House of Correction and Wandsworth the Surrey House of Correction, both handling short-term prisoners serving up to a maximum of two years. A century ago Wandsworth was a "pleasant and countrified spot" where "the stranger might fancy himself miles away from the Metropolis" because it was "so thoroughly primitive and half desolate", and at the back of Holloway prison lay "some beautiful green meadows and fields of arable land". Brixton on the other hand was set "in the peculiar suburban regions of London where the houses are excruciatingly

genteel" and the description of the "cold and gloomy streets" around Pentonville is not very remote from the reality of to-day.

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It is interesting to see that the pictures of hooded men and veiled women under the Separate system, of prisoners operating the crank and the tread wheel or picking oakum with which the book is so lavishly illustrated are presented as symbols of "modern philanthropy". "It is scarcely necessary" runs the preface "to point out the great contrast which the prisons of the present day present to those of the past century and the early part of the present". As a matter of fact although Mayhew thought the masks gave "a kind of tragic solemnity to the figures", he regarded them as "a piece of wretched frippery and as idle in use as they are theatrical in character"; but he was on the whole favourably impressed by what he saw. His main criticisms of the system—and they have a familiar ring to present day students—relate to recidivism and the work situation in prisons. He cites figures from the Fifth Report of the Inspectors of Prisons for the Home District in which he says that "the old-jail birds so far from being either reformed or deterred from future offences are here shown continually to return to the prisons throughout the country". A major factor he believed was that the system made labour a punishment to the criminal. So far from imprisonment with hard labour "serving to eradicate the antipathy of the criminal to industrious pursuits, it tends rather to confirm him in his prejudice against regular labour" said Mayhew. "'Well' says the pickpocket to himself on leaving prison, 'I always thought working for one's living was by no means pleasant; and after the dose I have just had, I'm blest if I an't *convinced* of it'". If we wished to inculcate habits of industry Mayhew thought this could not be done by making labour "a scourge" but rather by rendering it agreeable and also, by means of the 'mark' system, making it the means of liberation of the prisoner. He had little time for the view, very popular then, expressed by the Chaplain at Pentonville, that "God alone can give good principles and good motives by his Spirit". He didn't deny that supernatural conversions of men from wickedness to righteousness occasionally took place but he said by this approach "we produce a thousand canting hypocrites to one *real* convert".

. . . . .

Nevertheless the chief attraction of the book lies not in the general discussions of penal policy nor the tables of statistics, which Mayhew admitted to be unreliable, but in the manifest veracity and the vividness of the reporting. In sharpness of observation and the selection of significant detail as well as skill in presentation few writers before or since have equalled Mayhew. He was a persistent and assiduous visitor. He turned out at 5 a.m. with "the cold March morning winds blowing so sharp in the face

as to fill the eyes with tears" to witness the departure of prisoners from Pentonville to Portsmouth and he was still at the prison at 10p.m. in the warders' mess "where we found another officer raking out the remains of the mess-room fire for the night". He talked with everyone from officials like the chief warder at Wandsworth ("a noble specimen of a prison officer. Though in mature life and his hair silvered he is a man of great energy and intelligence") to the countless prisoners whom he visited in their cells carefully recording their stories. It is notable that he didn't make the mistake not uncommon even amongst present day social scientists of romanticizing the prisoners whilst presenting the staff as a homogeneous mass of forbidding ciphers. Members of staff at all levels spoke quite freely to him and many were remarkably enlightened and compassionate in their attitudes. Thus the Lady Governor or Superintendent of Brixton speaking of the women on ticket-of-leave says, 'We have sent away altogether upwards of 200 women on ticket-of-leave and only four have come back and even with those four we can hardly believe them to be guilty: the police are so sharp with the poor things . . . The police are very severe with them I think; and I can't help feeling an interest in the wretched creatures, just as if they were children of my own."

. . . . .

To read a book like this is a useful corrective to those sentimental chronicles which make nonsense of the history of prisons by considering them in a vacuum without regard to their contemporary social context.

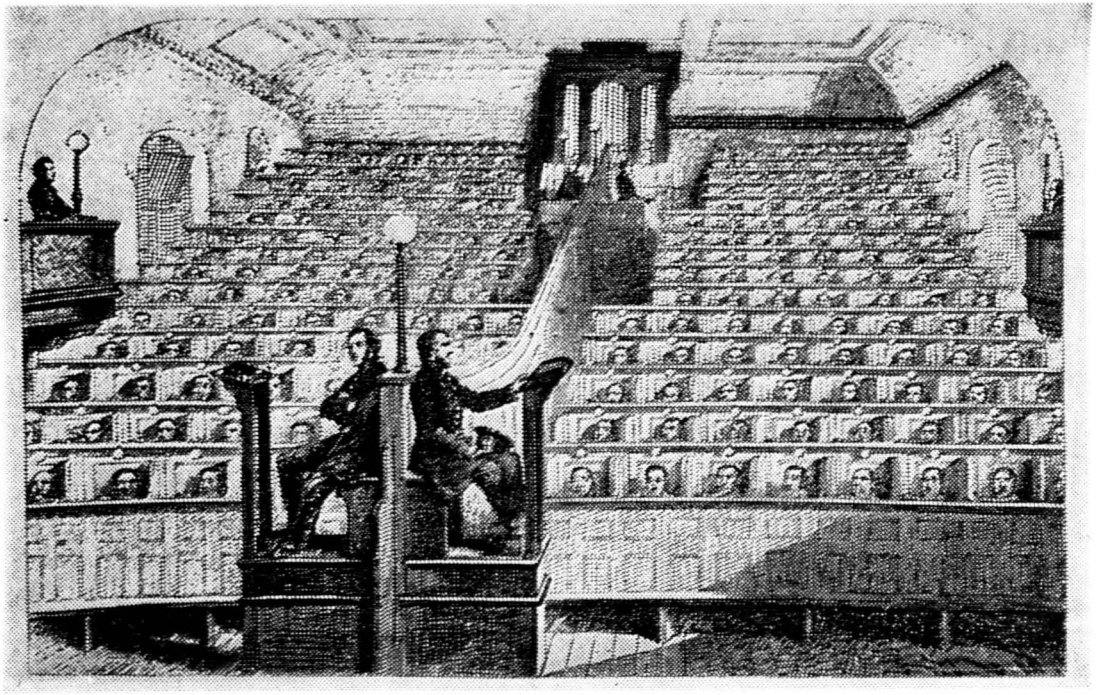
It is true that conditions were frequently harsh and Mayhew does not hide this. He was present at adjudications in most of the prisons he visited and always made a point of visiting the punishment or dark cells. In Wandsworth he found, in one of them "a little girl of twelve years of age . . . who had been singing in her cell against the prison rules . . . She was drumming in passionate mood at the door of her cell, with only one garment wrapt round her, and her blue prison clothes torn into a heap of rags by her side. After we left, she continued to beat the door in a violent manner . . . From her card we found she was under confinement for picking pockets." On the third day of his visit he returned to see the girl again, and found her "reading a book . . . quiet and subdued in her manner' She had been subjected to a punishment of bread and water for two days". It is notable that Mayhew who is clearly a man of warm human sympathies reports all this quite dispassionately with none of the sentiment or "tears stinging our eyes" which, by contrast, the Convict Nursery at Brixton had provoked in him. Yet if one reads the earlier volumes of *London Labour and the London Poor* with their detailed descriptions of the conditions under which the *honest* poor of London were living at the time it is not difficult to understand why the author found much to admire in the London prisons. It is not without significance that the most troublesome of the women convicts at Brixton (an establishment which Mayhew

goes out of his way to commend—"all at Brixton was done more gently and feelingly and yet no less effectually, than at other prisons") were those who had been sentenced to transportation just prior to the passing of the Act which substituted imprisonment in this country for expatriation. Some of them had pleaded guilty merely in order to get sent abroad. Their reaction when they became aware that they were not going to be transported is described in the report of the Directors of Convict Prisons as follows: "Disappointment rendered them thoroughly reckless; hope died within them; they actually courted punishment; and their delight and occupation consisted in doing as much mischief as they could. They constantly destroyed their clothes, tore up their bedding, smashed their windows and threatened the officers with violence . . ." Prison historians who regale their readers with stories of the horror and inhumanity of transportation usually neglect such details as this.

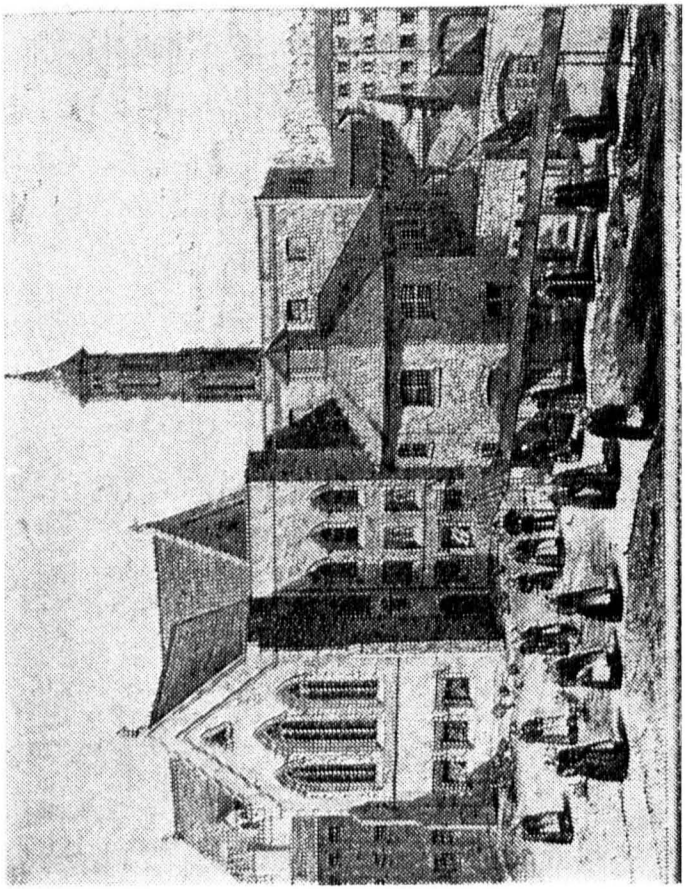
GORDON HAWKINS

Male Convict at Pentonville Prison.

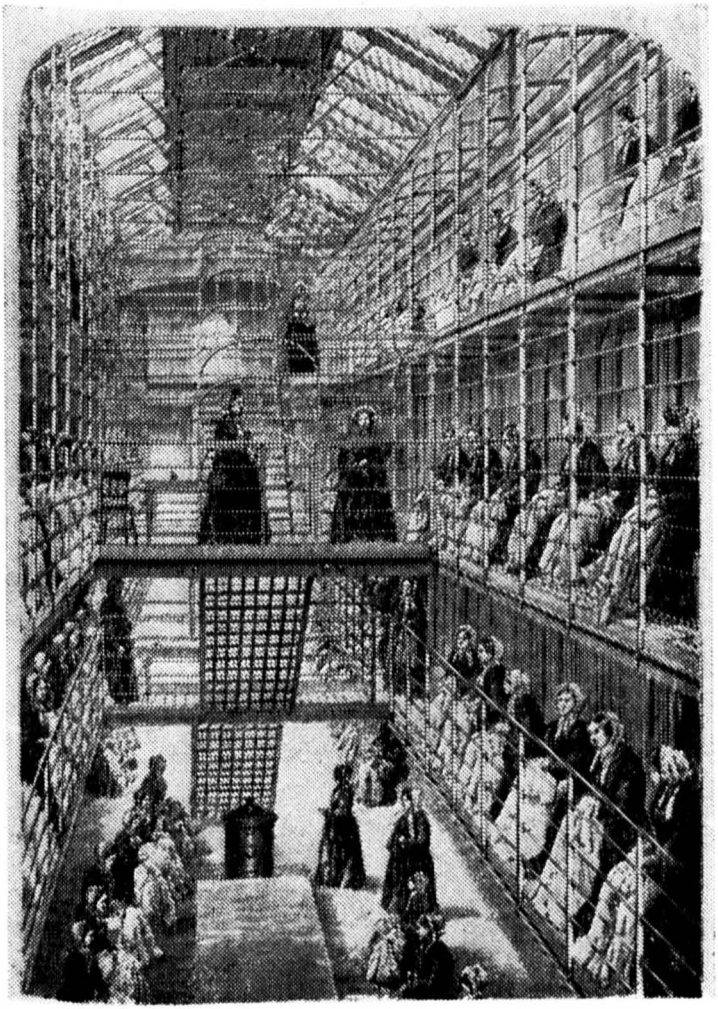
Chief Warder at the Pentonville Prison.



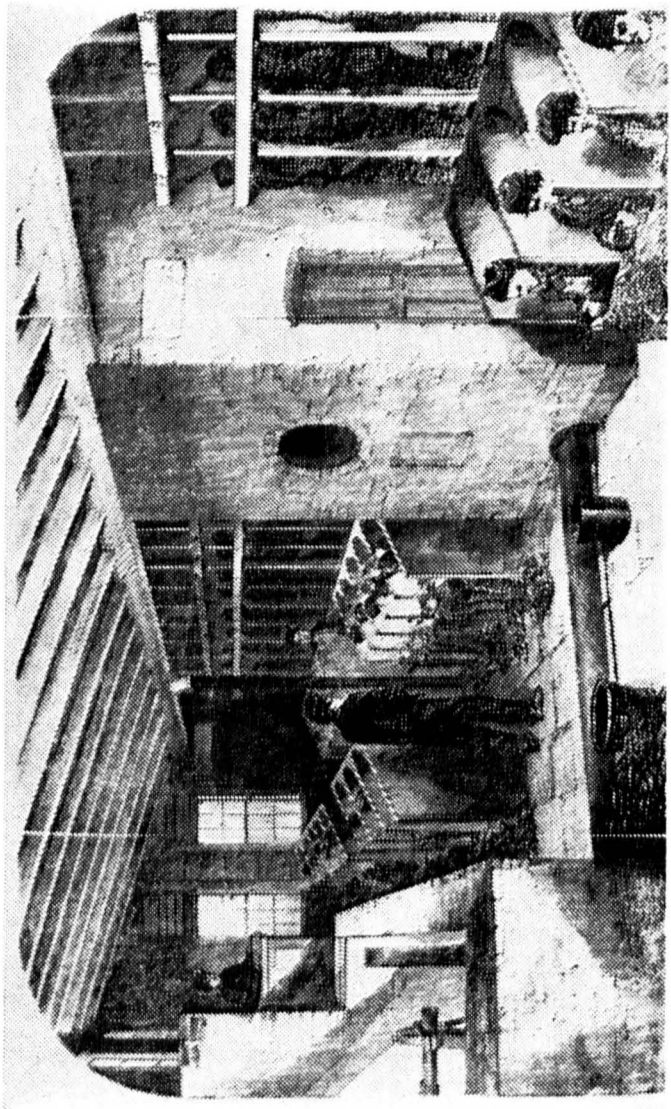
The Chapel, on the "separate system," in Pentonville Prison, during divine service



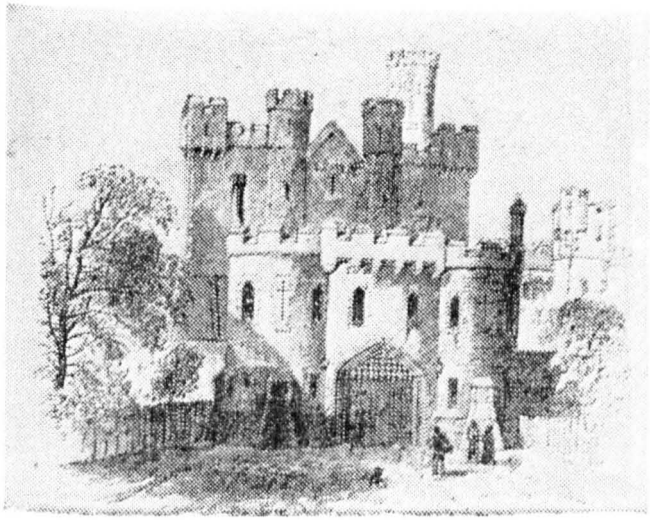
Female Convicts exercising in the airing yard at Brixton Prison.



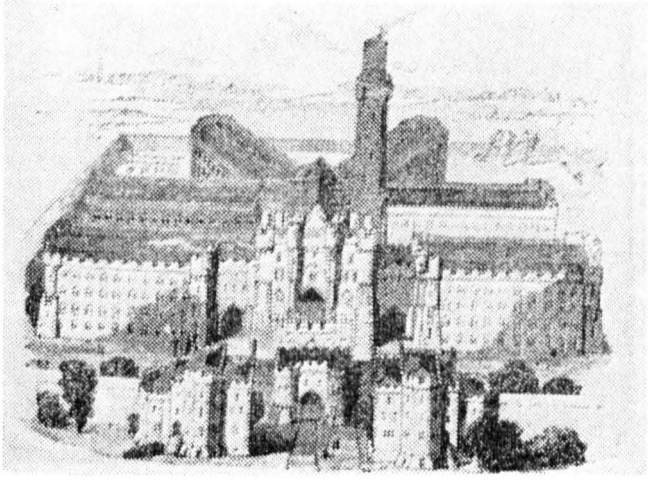
Female Convicts at work, during the silent hour, in Brixton Prison.



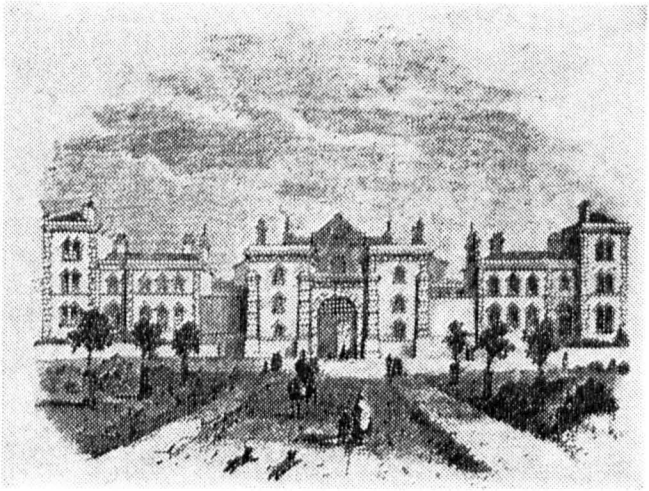
Tread-wheel and Oakum-shed at the City Prison, Holloway.



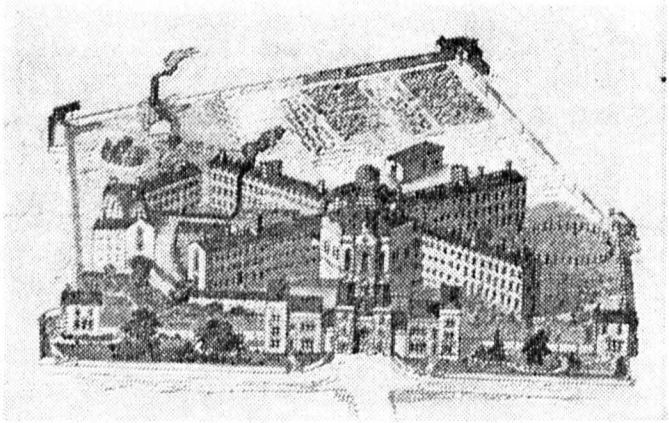
Outer gate at the City House of Correction, Holloway.



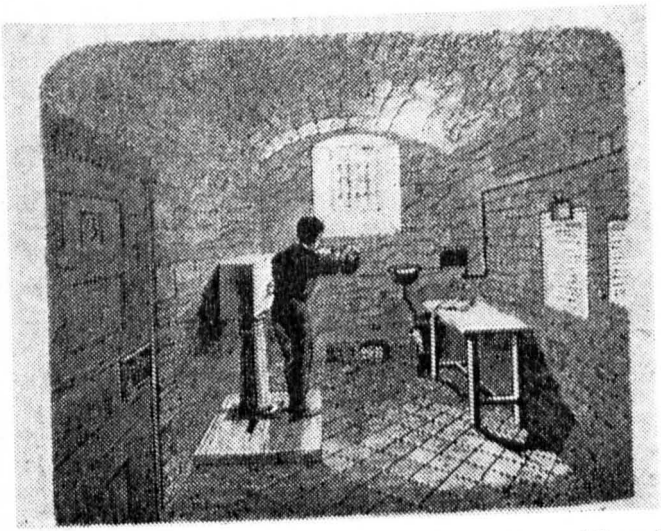
Bird's eye view of the House of Correction for the City of London, Holloway.



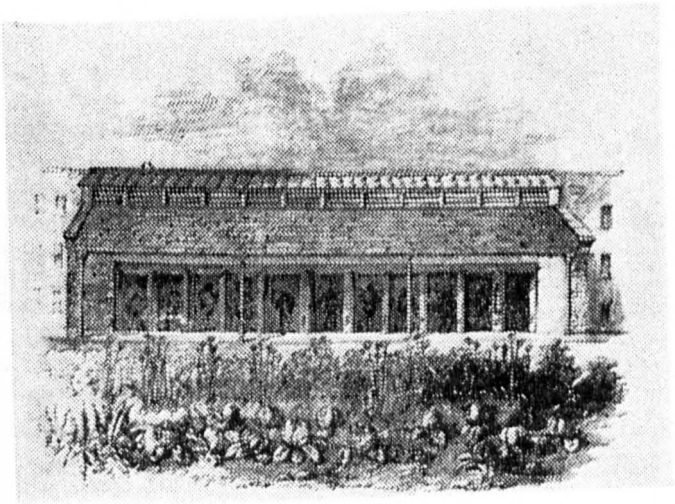
Exterior of the Surrey House of Correction at Wandsworth.



Bird's eye view of the Surrey House of Correction at Wandsworth



Cell, with prisoner at "crank-labour" in the Surrey House of Correction.



Pump-room at Wandsworth Prison.

The New Blundeston Prison

S. P. SARTAIN

THE NEW PRISON building programme gave rise to an urgent need for new thinking on the design of new penal establishments, and it was decided therefore that a Design and Development Group should be set up for the purposes of research and discussion into the requirements of modern penal planning which would combine matters of general principle and constructional policy, all to be considered within an economic framework of giving value for money expended.

In September 1958, the first meeting of this Group was held, consisting of representatives of the Prison Commission, Ministry of Works, and Treasury.

Resulting from the Group's discussions an entirely new design for a prison unit was evolved; the first new establishment to be wholly planned on this basis will be at Blundeston in Suffolk.

Blundeston Lodge, approximately three miles West of Lowestoft, was one of the many sites drawn to the Commissioners' attention during 1958. It is an attractive site of about 90 acres of meadows and woodland, with a large natural lake, and an old dilapidated mansion.

The site was ultimately considered suitable for the Commissioners' needs and after protracted planning meetings with the County and Local Authorities, the various objections put forward were overcome and completion of purchase was obtained in December 1959.

A good deal of thought has been given to the siting of this new security prison for 300 men, and due regard has been made to the contours and the natural features of the landscape. The County Planning Authorities were most anxious to keep the prison buildings screened as effectively as possible from the public highway and the village of Blundeston; the latter is reputed to have associations with Dickens, and the author made it the birthplace of David Copperfield though, in fact, he called it "Blunderstone". This was naturally one of the reasons why the parishoners of Blundeston were apprehensive about a prison being adjacent to their village and its possible effect on the tourist trade. Only time will tell whether their fears are justified, but it is to be hoped that the advent of a well-laid out architecturally designed prison, with its staff housing built in the form of a modern village unit, preserving many of the existing fine trees, will prove an asset to the village of Blundeston.

The prison buildings and exercise yards, enclosed by a security perimeter, will cover an area of about 8½ acres, and adjoining on the West side is a further enclosed compound area of about 5 acres planned for the inmates' recreation and market gardening activities.

A new tree belt is proposed to be planted around the North and West sides of this compound to form a screen for the staff housing area, which has been planned in the North-West corner of the site and giving direct access to the public road leading eastwards to the village and southwards to Lowestoft.

65 houses will be provided for staff; those for basic grade officers will include six quarters of four-bedroom type for officers with larger families.

A modern, well-designed hostel for eight bachelors, together with an Officers' Mess, will also be incorporated in the layout.

The prison itself will be sited in the North-East corner of the estate, conveniently situated in relation to the existing agricultural cottages, barn and walled garden, which will form the nucleus of a small farm unit necessary to work the remaining land outside the security area.

The large natural lake running from East to West on the southern side of the site drains out to the Oulton Broads, and it is visualised that a good deal of work for inmates can be found in cleaning the lake of weeds and silt, and opening up the inlet and outfall channels; this will not only improve the landscape, but will stabilise the flow and levels of the water.

Blundeston Prison will not have the traditional, high surrounding security wall, which is not only extremely costly to build, but is considered unnecessary for security during the day-time when prisoners are under adequate supervision. At night-time the security of the prison will be contained within the main prison block where the standards of physical security are designed to be much higher than in our existing prisons.

Consequently, in place of the security wall it has been decided to surround the 8½ acres of prison building area with a 12 ft. high security fence, constructed of reinforced concrete posts at 8 ft. centres with a "hockey-stick" overhang at the top. The 8 ft. bays will be covered with strong expanded steel mesh galvanised panels, securely fixed to the posts at the sides, and to a continuous concrete kerb at ground level. The "hockey-stick" overhang will be covered with stout chain link meshing, with an added inner security measure of Dannert barbed wire coils.

Running around the outside of this security fence will be left a 15 ft. wide walkway, round which an 8 ft. high opaque fence will be built to provide privacy for the inmates working or exercising in the yards or compound.

So much for the general layout of the site. I will now turn to the design and planning of the prison itself.

The security core of the prison has been designed from the point of view of providing good prison administration embodying efficient inmate control. To meet these conditions, all accommodation regularly used by prisoners outside working hours, such as classrooms, chapels, association, gymnasium, dining rooms etc., have been planned as a contiguous unit to the

four cell blocks, thus forming a secure group of buildings where all evening activities can be carried out under conditions of full security and supervision by the minimum number of staff.

This group of buildings is based on an "H" plan, as is clearly shown on the photograph of the model herein. The ground floor, which is entered from the exercise yards at the ends of the four legs of the "H", provides separate bathing facilities for each cell block unit of 76 men, together with association and quiet rooms for each unit. The linking corridors on the ground floor lead to the large combined assembly hall and gymnasium—common to all cell blocks—and the spine of the "H" block consists entirely of classrooms, hobbies rooms and the central library.

A single-storey annexe attached to the South side of the central security block provides the punishment cell accommodation, also the oil-fired boiler plant for the whole institution.

On the first floor, over the central classroom block and approached by a staircase at each end, is the main kitchen, with four separate dining rooms conveniently situated to serve the four cell blocks. The same staircases continuing up to the second floor provide access to the Church of England and Roman Catholic chapels.

In each of the four security cell blocks, sited at the four corners of the "H" unit, the sleeping accommodation on the first and upper floors is reached from the ground floor by a separate staircase.

The unique feature of these three-storey cell units is that the long, nave-like wings of our existing Victorian prisons, generally four or five storeys high, have been discarded in favour of small, self-contained floors, "T" shaped in plan, of which each arm has a maximum of ten cells only, arranged five each side of a central corridor which is closed at the end by a steel security gate.

The two top floors of each cell block have in one arm of the "T" a dormitory for eight men, plus one cell, instead of a unit composed entirely of cells. These dormitories are each provided with night sanitation.

At the junction of the arms of the "T" on each floor are the ablution rooms with a hot and cold water service and sanitary accommodation adjoining.

The benefits from such an arrangement are that by breaking the number of cells down into small units within their own wings, a more efficient control and supervision of the inmates is provided; also, central heating and ventilation of these short wings can be more effectively and satisfactorily provided than in the high open wings of our existing prisons, with their draughts, noises, smells and poor natural lighting. In fact, the new cell block has a "domestic" feeling, perhaps more like the atmosphere of a modern, small hospital wing, but with full security provided in an inconspicuous manner.

An added new feature designed to give even closer supervision is the proposal to experiment with closed circuit television, which will give screen vision of all movement taking place within the corridors of the cell blocks.

The cells themselves have been very carefully re-designed, based on experiments carried out in special "mock-up" cells set up near Horseferry House. The cells of our existing old prisons were designed for the occupant to work, eat and sleep in, and it was decided at Blundeston that, provided the size of the cell was adequate for sleeping and equipped for reading and writing during the relatively few hours between "locking up and lights out", a cell smaller than the traditional type would be sufficient.

After much consideration and experiment, the final cell size has been designed to the dimensions of 8 ft. 3 in. × 7 ft. 1½ in. × 7 ft. 6 in. in height. Special built-in cell furniture has been designed to fit snugly between the walls, thus giving a clear and unrestricted floor space in the centre of the cell; in fact, there is no "dead" or unusable floor space, and all that unoccupied by wall furniture is available for movement. The result is that even though we have a smaller cell than hitherto, the occupant's impression is one of increased spaciousness.

As a good percentage of the buildings in a prison is given over to cellular accommodation, the new cell design has resulted in a considerable saving in overall costs—not only without material loss of living space, but in fact, as will be seen from the following details, with improvements in the cell amenities.

To make the cell even more of a habitable room rather than a place of incarceration, not only will pastel shades of hard gloss paint be spattered on the walls, but the old small cell windows have been replaced with larger ones of more domestic appearance, and incorporating pivot-hung opening sections. Guard bars to the windows have also been eliminated, as the latter have now been designed with manganese steel strip insets welded to the mild steel frames and sash members, and are therefore virtually impossible to cut through without special tools and considerable labour.

A recessed steel-plated wall unit is mounted over the head of the cell bed and combines, on the corridor side, the "observation eye", cell bell indicator and the cell electric light switch, plus a holder for the inmate's record card.

It is worth mentioning that the new cell can accommodate one person only and cannot be used for three inmates, thus the present unfortunate but necessary measure the Commissioners are forced to resort to in some of our existing prisons will no longer be possible in this new establishment.

Cell doors will be flush metal-faced, and made as light as possible for handling by means of a hollow core constructed with special timber blocking pieces. Over each cell door a ventilator grille is provided, designed to provide adequate air changes and ventilation. Cell heating is by low pressure hot water pipes fed from the central oil-fired boiler plant.

The workshop accommodation has been planned outside the closed security section of the prison, but as prisoners will only be passing to and from the shops at times when the prison is fully staffed, it was considered that supervision would

be adequate and did not merit the additional expense of linking up with the main buildings.

The workshop wing consists of five main shops, one of which may be divided and used for painters vocational trade training, and the balance of shops will be for production work such as tailoring and woodworking.

There will also be a laundry, a Works' engineers' store and workshop, and a large central stores building for the Steward.

Sufficient space will be left for further development of workshop accommodation within the area, should this ever be required.

A separate, single-storey 16 bed hospital of modern design is also being provided inside the prison security area, and is sited near the main administration wing for the establishment. This again is designed to a "T" plan, and the stem of the "T" provides accommodation for the Medical Officer, typist and records, and for general daily "out-patients" services such as dental treatment, eye-testing, daily sick parades, minor dressings and dispensary. The other wing includes eight single cells, and an eight-bed general ward, with baths, lavatories, hospital stores and staff rooms. There is also a 28 ft. long, deep verandah for bed patients who can be wheeled out for fresh air and sunshine.

The final building to be described is the main administration and entrance block. It is worth noting that the forbidding entrance gate block, set in the high prison security wall of our existing prisons, is to be a thing of the past. Blundeston has been designed (as will future prisons) with a dignified two-storey entrance block built into the surrounding security boundary of the prison, and fronting the main entrance driveway.

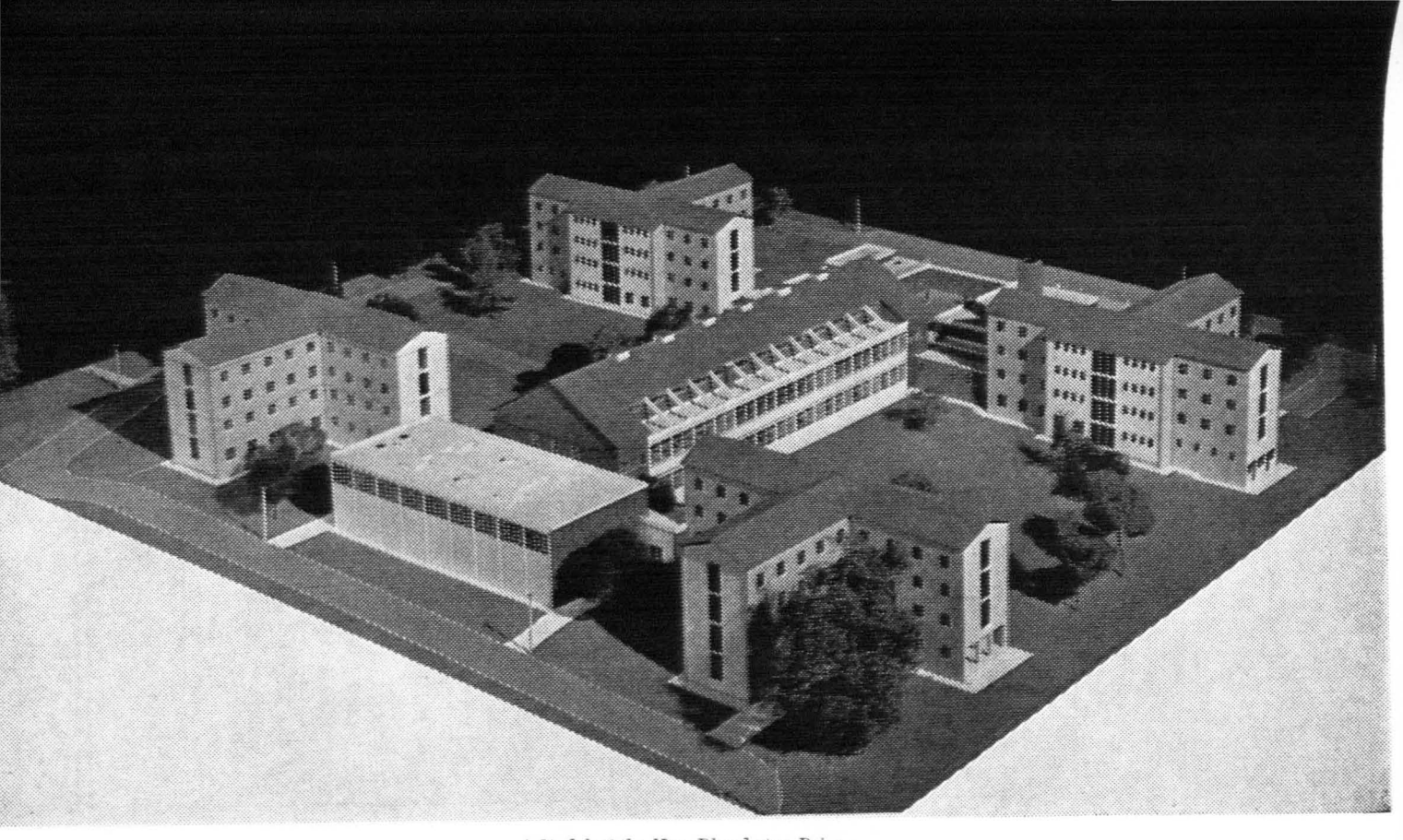
The gateway for vehicles passing in and out of the establishment will be discreetly situated in a splayed side wing at the end of the entrance block. Adjoining this gateway but set in the main facade of the entrance block will be the main entrance for the public visiting the prison, and for the visits of prisoners' relatives and friends. They will consequently not have to enter the actual security of the prison.

The public entrance is through an outer lobby where enquiries can be made of the Gate Officer, who will also control the side gate for vehicles. From here the visitor passes to a well-designed entrance hall off which, on the one side, is a large waiting room for those visiting prisoners, and on the other side is a smaller waiting room for those wishing to see the Governor or other officials.

Adjoining the waiting room is accommodation for open visits, at the end of which are the closed visiting boxes and two rooms for solicitors' consultations.

The remainder of the ground floor, to which no access is available except from inside the main prison, provides the prisoners' reception accommodation and photographic studio, planned to give an easy and logical flow through the various stages of the reception procedure.

An inner ground floor hall contains the main staircase leading up to the first floor, where the Governor's office and other administrative offices are situated. Also on this floor is the Visiting Committee room, staff rest room and senior staff meeting room.



A Model of the New Blundeston Prison.

It will be of interest to know that the Prison Commissioners are carrying out experiments in conjunction with the Ministry of Works and a firm of radar engineers on the possible use of a detector system, either around the security fence or at all external exits from the prison buildings; this would give warning in a central control room of the approach of anyone either seeking to enter the prison from outside, or trying to escape from inside.

In conclusion, it can be said that when Blundeston Prison has been completed, it will be the first English prison to be built in the 20th Century which embodies all the Commissioners' and Ministry of Works' most up-to-date thinking on the design and construction of penal buildings, where better planning and design, new security measures, modern heating and sanitation all play their part. This is intended to be the prototype of all new security establishments to be built in the foreseeable future, but if phasing of the programme permits, further improvements will be made in later new establishments if, in the light of experience at Blundeston, any chinks in the armour become apparent.

Certainly in Blundeston the Commissioners will have provided an establishment worthy of the maximum efforts of all staff who will work there, and where the concept of Rule 6 of Prison Rules, 1949, can be fully implemented and maintained.

A proper meal— at the proper time

Reproduced by kind permission of the Editor of The Guardian *and Miss Mannin.*

ETHEL MANNIN

THE PRISONER on remand had written me that, in reply to my kind inquiry as to what I might bring him when I visited him, the following were permitted: cigarettes, periodicals, books, food. But as to the food, he wrote, it had to be a complete meal; that is to say, sandwiches, for example, would not be permitted, but a roast chicken would—not, he hastened to add, that he was suggesting I should bring that; cigarettes and some good reading were what he really longed for, and if I could possibly manage a pair of socks . . . and a pound of sugar.

I went shopping for him on the way to the prison and got him 100 cigarettes, which I reckoned should last him up to the time of his trial, three Conrads in a uniform edition, very nice, a couple of pairs of socks, a pound of sugar, and half a roast chicken.

After being sent to the wrong part of the prison and then marched back again by an officer who seemed to think it was all my fault I was then taken by another officer to the right part. Here I waited for 20 minutes because there were apparently two remand prisoners of the same name and they'd gone first after the wrong one. I was asked if I was the prisoner's wife. I said no, just a friend. After all he did burgle my house seven years ago and we'd been in touch all through his preventive detention, and if that doesn't add up to friendship what does?

The prisoner, the right one, was finally produced, looking as spruce as he'd always been, even "inside," but this time slightly abashed at being in trouble again. It was a couple of housebreaking jobs again, it seemed, just like last time. He seemed depressed, both at his fall from grace after only a few months of freedom, and at the prospect of probably another long stretch. To cheer him a little I told him I'd brought him all the things he'd asked for, including the socks and sugar and half a roast chicken. He said it was good of me and I was inclined to agree. I was not allowed to give him the things in person but told to leave them at the office on my way out.

At the office by the enormous iron gates they sent me back across the yard and along a corridor to the food room. The officer in charge commanded me, brusquely, to "turn 'em out," and I handed him the three Conrads to start off with.

"He can't have those," he declared.

"He's on remand," I explained. "He's allowed books."

"Only paper-backs," he said, and picked up the sugar.

"What's this? Sugar?"

"He asked me to bring it."

"He can buy it for himself. Socks? Is he wearing his own clothes?"

"He's on remand," I repeated.

He looked doubtfully at the socks, dangling them, then pitched them into the basket along with the cigarettes and the two double-decker Sundays.

"That the lot?"

"There's half a roast chicken," I said, indicating it.

"He can't have that. It's not on a plate. It has to be a proper meal —on a plate."

I said, "I'm sorry, but I don't understand."

He looked at me, pityingly.

"Yer know what a proper meal is, don't yer? A bit of cold meat isn't a proper meal, is it? It 'as to 'ave things to go with it, don't it?"

The penny dropped. Meat and two veg., of course. Anything else, fish and chips, eggs and bacon, cold chicken and salad, was *im*proper. See Regulation XYZ, Form 1146(a).

"Yes, of course," I said. "I see what you mean. If I go out and buy a plate and some potato salad and tomatoes, would that do?"

He pushed the half-chicken in its greaseproof paper back to me across the counter.

"*Things to go with it, and on a plate*," he repeated, in the italicised tones of one dealing with an imbecile or a foreigner.

I put the chicken back into my bag and went back along the corridor and across the yard and waited at the office for the small gate, let into one of the two great gates, to be unlocked.

Then out again into the roaring street and an icy wind and a search in a strange district for a shop that would sell me a plate, a delicatessen at which to buy the potato salad, and a greengrocer's. I found all three eventually, after passing innumerable cheap-furniture shops, sweet shops, dress shops, hairdressers', every kind of shop except the kind I was looking for. The wind harassed and the traffic roared and everything seemed difficult and hostile. It all took quite a time, but in the end all was achieved, and in the road leading up to the prison I stopped by a wall and got out the plate, put the chicken on it, and a few of the tomatoes, emptied the carton of potato salad on to the other side of the plate, covered it all with the greaseproof paper in which the chicken had been wrapped, and then holding the plate pressed against my side in an effort to prevent the wind whipping off the paper, steered a difficult course for the main gates of the prison. A huge van was just entering and I followed in behind it. I was well on the way to the food room when I was called back. I explained that I had come back with a proper meal, on a plate, as instructed. For a prisoner on remand.

"You're too late," the officer said, harshly. "The time for bringing meals is ha'pass ten in the morning. Ha'pass ten to eleven. The food room is closed now. You must come *at the proper time*."

He whipped a leaflet off a table just inside the office.

"This'll explain to yer."

No. 1146(a) Relatives and Friends, Notes for the Guidance of. Untried prisoners, meals supplied to.

All the same it didn't say anything about a *plate*, though if I'd known I could have taken a bottle of stout as well, with the proper meal at the proper time.

. . . . .

In giving permission to reproduce the above, Miss Mannin writes:

"All the dialogue is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, but the ending of the article is fantasy for I didn't in fact go out and buy the plate and the things-to-go-with, though I had suggested to the officer in charge of the Food Room that I should do this: to which he replied that arpass ten was the Proper Time for handing in a Proper Meal. It is one thing, I feel to indulge in a little fantasy to round off a newspaper story, but another thing when the story is reproduced in a Journal probably read by the very officers concerned—both those at the office and the officer in charge of the Food Room would know that I didn't in fact come back, but just sighed and said it would be easier to take the chicken home and eat it myself—which I did . . . "

"At the time" (she adds) "I could have cried with frustration and exasperation, but afterwards I thought it really rather funny, especially the demand 'didn't I know what a Proper Meal was' so that I found myself thinking of the many *improper* meals I'd had . . . "

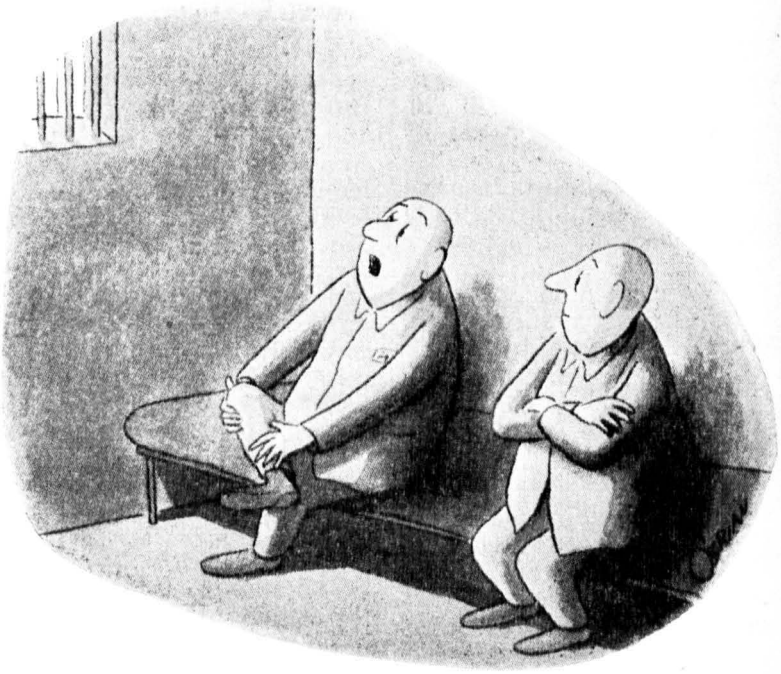
Incidentally, the prisoner in question had burgled Miss Mannin's home in 1953 and received 7 years P.D. for his pains. The late Mr. Reginald Reynolds (Miss Mannin's husband) kept in touch with the man and after his death Miss Mannin herself continued to take an interest in the burglar. When he was discharged she helped to get him a job and in April of this year, when he was again in trouble, she went to the Middlesex Sessions and spoke for him.

Earlier in the story, the burglar, when told he had burgled an author's home, was very distressed and told Mr. Reynolds that had he known he would have "refrained" being an author himself, having published a book before the war. One of the things he stole was a suit belonging to Mr. Reynolds which had been an Irish tweed given him by his wife. On hearing this the prisoner, then in Parkhurst and having received a little money from his mother's estate, sent Miss Mannin ten pounds to buy another length of tweed. When Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds visited the man, Mr. Reynolds wore the new suit and said, "If you ever go wrong again I won't want to wear it", to which the burglar replied "In that case you can wear it till it drops off you!" When Mr. Reynolds died, his wife had the suit remodelled into one for herself and she received the same assurance from the burglar—but "Alas",—says Miss Mannin.

The story ended in April when the burglar was placed on probation for three years (he had been expecting 14 years P.D.) and Miss Mannin found herself in the headlines—"Ethel Mannin and the Old Lag," "Novelist Pleads for Man who Robbed Her," etc. She concludes her letter with some caustic comment on the "trash press."

Mr. Reginald Reynolds, a Quaker, wrote a weekly satirical poem in the *New Statesman* and among his other works was the autobiographical *My Life and Crimes* wherein is the story of how he spent a week in Exeter Prison during the war, on principle, rather than pay a fine for riding a bicycle without a light on a bright moonlight winter's morning. A few weeks later the Governor was visiting Mr. Reynolds in hospital (outside). This time Mr. Reynolds had been riding a bicycle (with a light) and come a cropper. This story is also told by Miss Mannin in her autobiography *Brief Voices*.

Both Miss Mannin and Mr. Reynolds have maintained an interest in prison matters; he compiled an anthology of Prison Literature some years ago while she, who started her literary life on the old theatrical paper *The Pelican* in 1918, is probably as well known for *Common Sense and the Adolescent* (1931) as for her fiction, travel, memoirs and children's books. She has been a visitor at Aylesbury, Holloway, Brixton, Wandsworth, Parkhurst, Exeter.



" It was just a small branch bank. My wife and I have simple tastes."

Drawing by O'Brian.

" We've uncovered a whole mass of new evidence, Wilkins. Unfortunately, it proves conclusively that you're guilty."

Drawing by Whitney Darrow, Jr.

Book Reviews

THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY:

Edited by Sheldon Glueck.
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.)
London: Oxford University Press.
1959. pp.1183 60s. 0d net.

"THIS LARGE BOOK", as Professor Glueck rightly calls it, has for its subject matter "the causes of delinquency, its treatment and prevention . . . (and) . . . the legal problems inherent in society's efforts to cope with its maladjusted youngsters".

It consists mainly of articles which have appeared previously in a wide variety of American and other periodicals and of extracts from the books of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; together with five chapters under the heading 'Basic Legal Issues' in which are set out some fifty judicial decisions intended "to give a fair and varied sample of the practical legal problems that have arisen in the administration of juvenile court statutes".

Professsor Glueck's avowed aim in preparing this compilation was to provide a "teaching instrument" for use in law schools and other university departments. He therefore selected materials which he claims "lend themselves most readily to the art of pedagogy" whilst at the same time being "sound in content". He was also concerned that the text should include all relevant points of view" and be "eclectic and far-ranging".

Inevitably the attempt to satisfy these multiple criteria of selection fails and indeed the Editor anticipates "questions as to why some particular article was included or excluded". It is certainly difficult to understand in what sense such diverse items as, for example, Lombroso's introduction to his daughter's summary of his views in her "Criminal Man", the extract from "The Report of the Citizens' Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, Cincinnati, Ohio" and Slavson on "The Treatment of Aggression through Group Therapy" can all be said to be "sound in content". Professor Glueck's eclecticism, whilst it is infinitely preferable to the sectarianism too common in this field, appears to have led him astray. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that he should have included nothing which fell below the level of the Glueck's own contributions, but there is a great deal here which is totally undistinguished and of little more than parochial interest. A more vigorous exercise of the editorial function would both have improved the quality of the book and reduced it to more manageable proportions. Alternatively the editorial notes which preface the chapters might have gone a little further towards indicating the relative value of the various contributions. No doubt Professor Glueck repairs this omission in his seminars at the Harvard Law School where this material is used "to provide intellectual meat and drink for advanced law students". Bereft of such assistance, the common reader is liable to suffer from mental dyspepsia.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

It is only fair to say that despite these faults it is very convenient that so much important material not otherwise easily accessible is now made available in this one volume. It will be invaluable as a reference book even though as a "teaching instrument" it is blunted by the inclusion of too much mediocrity.

GORDON HAWKINS.

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"For this relief much thanks"

a critical notice of

GROUP COUNSELLING:

A preface to its use in Correctional and Welfare Agencies.

Norman Fenton, Ph. D.

Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, Sacramento, California. 1961. pp. 109.

First a personal note as a control on what follows:—

Norman Fenton's latest production aroused in me a welter of confused feelings, smugness and satisfaction mingled with frustrated aggression. Having struggled for years with Fenton's earlier writing, having chipped and chiselled at his earlier material to shape it into a form which satisfied me, but appeared to attract few other people, I am tempted to regard his latest efforts as evidence that since 1957 or so we have both been doing much the same thing in much the same way. It is reassuring to believe this but disappointing to have him get in first. No doubt certain of my American colleagues will try to comfort me by saying: "Well, that's the way the cookie crumbles".

The new handbook gives an account of how group counselling has progressed since 1954 in Californian correctional institutions. It is directed primarily towards people who are developing similar programmes in such related fields as probation, parole and social welfare agencies. It is of direct relevance to counselling work in our own institutions and deserves as wide a circulation as possible among all staff concerned in any way with this work.

Just how do the sections on prison counselling work out in relation to the earlier *Introduction to the Theory of Group Counselling* (1957)? A general impression will perhaps entitle us to force the pace a bit later.

The present handbook strikes one as the product of a more assured, more restrained and more sophisticated Fenton. Though it is much more concise than the "Introduction" it retains most of the essential material from Part I —whole passages are identical— and reinforces this with sections which are either new in content or different in emphasis. The shorter presentation has brought with it a tightness and economy of exposition which was lacking in the more diffuse, untidy discussions of the earlier volume. A certain repetitiveness remains but this is not too obtrusive. With much more material to draw on from the accumulated experience of Californian prison counselling, Fenton achieves greater definiteness and clarity. He is less obscure, less equivocal, more authoritative. He is still very much the idealist, the optimist, the salesman exploring new districts but, with a successful promotion behind it, the selling has a surer touch.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Brevity has brought with it other gains. Many of the important points made in the earlier *Introduction* (especially in the form of qualifications, limits, distinctions, cautions, provisos) tended to get lost or obscured. One's impression is that such points, by being preserved when much of the rest was cut, have got back into perspective and that the enthusiasm and the caution have somehow in the process been put into their proper proportions.

Certain positive features of the new handbook deserve special mention for they carry definite implications for our own practice.

The handling of the concept of treatment is much more sophisticated and satisfying. The notion of "a treatment continuum" will be endorsed by anyone who has tried to preserve intact the rigour of "pure treatment" and yet admit therapeutic components in varying amounts in a wide range of penal training activities. This approach enables one to preserve useful treatment distinctions without hair-splitting and few will quarrel with Fenton's location of group counselling on a fairly broad spread "from above the most superficial level to somewhere short of the point where highly technical, clinically-oriented group psychotherapy would begin".

Perhaps the most striking and significant feature of this condensed version of counselling procedures is the fact that, apart from one brief section which discusses the specific question of access to material in case files, the word "confidentiality" is not mentioned at all. This was essentially the position in Part I of the *Introduction* but Fenton now appears to tackle problems formerly approached in terms of confidentiality and privileged communication more in relation to the group atmosphere of "mutual acceptance", "mutually trustful understanding between the group leader and the client", "their liking and respect for each other", and so on. (The change of emphasis here and in several places mentioned below may be an illusion on the part of your reviewer, arising from his need to see Fenton going in the way he would like him to go.) Emphasis on such conditions as "prerequisite to the effective conduct of group counselling" is all of a piece with Fenton's view of counselling as a stage in the transformation of prisons into therapeutic communities.

The ring of authority is most evident in Fenton's handling of training and supervision, administration and organisation. His version of "a minimal pattern of desirable training" for counsellors is, to put it mildly, impressive. They should attend at least eight successive weekly sessions of a demonstration group, each followed immediately by discussion between the leader and the trainees and supplemented by the reading of an elementary text prepared for their use. They should participate in a few sessions being conducted regularly by a colleague experienced in group counselling, this too being followed by discussion. They should be supervised in their initial counselling sessions by an experienced case worker and given further regular training and support, preferably on a group basis and preferably drawing on

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

such additional specialists as might be available. A number of other desirable additions are also suggested. (All of which gets three hearty cheers from this reviewer.) Fenton however is an honest man and others may derive some comfort from his admissions that all this depends on adequate resources of personnel, that the absence of these is not a very good reason for not starting at all, that supervision in California was "make-shift at first" and could be improved even now.

A great deal of wisdom and shrewdness lies behind Fenton's various references to the introduction, direction and evaluation of counselling programmes. He points out that "the absence of genuine administrative support may be an insuperable obstacle". He admits unsolved problems of how to increase participation by middle-management, especially in a period which he tactfully refers to as "custodial management in transition". He advises that the counselling programme should be introduced slowly and carefully and "given sufficient time under patient and critical auspices before making any comprehensive evaluations as to its usefulness."

After all this, criticism may appear churlish and ungrateful but a few loose ends remain.

As we have noted, the almost complete omission of reference to "confidentiality" is in marked contrast to earlier injunctions stressing how counsellors should get this across to their groups. However one is not entitled to conclude from this that Fenton's theoretical position has changed very much. At no point in the present handbook is this advice withdrawn or the earlier emphasis directly amended. Indeed readers are referred in general terms to Parts II and III of the earlier work. And so the way remains open for continuing confusion of the kind that has arisen when others have tried to translate this notion into practice.

"Confidentiality" has, at least in this country, a doctrinal half-brother in the dogma of "no official action". Fenton comes closest to tackling the various issues which arise here in a brief discussion of whether counselling material of custodial significance should be reported to authority. His examination of this problem is focussed firstly on an illustration used in the earlier *Introduction* of how the edge can be taken off such tricky situations by persuasively involving everyone, from the inmate concerned up to the administration, in a treatment-type solution. Reference is then made to the privileged counselling situation in connection with a relatively minor lapse in propriety. Fenton's handling of this section still seems to suffer from the kind of uneasiness and evasiveness which characterised much of his earlier writing on this topic. On the other hand, ambiguity can be a virtue in some places and this may well be one of them.

In the ideal therapeutic community the doctrine of "no official action" would make no sense at all. It comes under considerable strain as soon as attempts are made to involve ordinary lay counselling staff in "democratic" fashion, in the decision-making processes of the institution, in relation, for example, to inmate training, control, discharge etc. The present handbook leaves one

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

with the impression that Fenton has not quite got round yet to this sort of thing. No doubt he will.

In this country, also, confidentiality, permissiveness and non-directiveness seem to have acquired the status of an unholy trinity, all complete. This was never the position adopted by Fenton, though he sometimes left himself open to such misinterpretations. The present handbook, as has already been suggested, is much less vulnerable in this respect. The limits of permissiveness, both in terms of discussion and behaviour, seem to stand out more clearly.

The emphasis on non-directive techniques seems also to be toned down in two main ways; the first, a greater recognition of the possible value of more directive methods at least for certain types of counsellor personalities; the second, an assertion of the importance of appropriate feelings in the counsellor as opposed to mere technique. Fenton cites Carl Rogers in support of the view that procedures and techniques are secondary to warm and accepting attitudes. Rogers, however, has recently gone further than this and has said "Whatever is real in me is more important than playing a role of acceptance or empathy. I feel that to listen to oneself accurately and to be 'that which one truly is' in the relationship with the client, is one of the most difficult and demanding tasks I know." Perhaps it is not fair comment to drag this in; what is sauce for the therapist is not necessarily sauce for the counsellor. Yet this kind of realism from Rogers will perhaps take counsellors further in the long run than Fenton's idealism about human nature. Far-reaching issues lurk beneath the surface of the words here. Perhaps the best that any of us can do is to muster whatever reserves of warm feeling we may possess, learn to live with or control our other feelings and settle for that as a basis for helping others.

One final comment must be made: The expansion of counselling activities in California is clearly proceeding on a vigorous, healthy basis and one would look forward to these developments being accompanied by an even further maturing of Fenton's thinking on these matters. One could only see this as providing further stimulus and support for us in our own efforts.

R. L. MORRISON.

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DELIVERANCE TO THE CAPTIVES

Karl Barth
(Translated by Marguerite Wieser)
(S.C.M. Press Ltd. 1961. pp.160. 12s. 6d.)

ANYONE with knowledge of the countless volumes languishing on the shelves of second-hand bookshops realises that published sermons are no longer the favourite reading they were in earlier generations. The great sermons and the decisive utterances of the past are classics which will continue to be read and studied but a vast quantity of mediocre and inferior material died from exposure soon after appearing in print. Today the modern publisher has to be careful before issuing any book of sermons unless he is prepared to sustain financial loss. As a consequence we

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

are spared the mass of dreary stuff which confronted our forefathers and, if sermons appear in print nowadays, they are usually marked by some special excellence of diction, creative thought and power. Lucidity, relevance and interest are essential qualities.

Deliverance to the Captives is an outstanding example of this modern trend. Let no one be deterred from reading it by the thought that it is merely a collection of sermons. Its importance is that it contains the distillation of the profound thought, experience and faith of a devout Christian, an able Minister of the Word and a theological giant — Karl Barth. Here is a direct way of access to a great mind and the reader who seeks such an encounter will surely find lasting benefits.

For those who know nothing of Barth or of his massive contribution to Christian thought, the admirable preface to the volume by Dr. John Marsh will tell them all they need to know to 'place' the preacher.

A critique of Barthian theology is not called for in a review of this kind. Nor is it necessary because there is nothing in these sermons which really lies outside the main stream of historic Christianity. Here we find the great truths of the Faith proclaimed with simplicity, relevance, immense power and burning sincerity. Here we find the learned professor out of his study and lecture hall and among men speaking of the faith that is in him "to give light to them that sit in darkness . . . and to guide their feet into the way of peace."

With a few exceptions these sermons were preached in the Chapel of Basle Prison where "Barth has exercised a truly remarkable hidden ministry, visiting and preaching regularly." This should give the readers of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL a special interest in them. Leaving the University precincts this eminent thinker, scholar, lecturer and writer appears in the prison as a humble man of God and spiritual leader — a sinner with a message of hope, comfort, forgiveness and joy to his fellow-sinners. He proclaims the transcendence of God and the helplessness of man but, at the same time, he points the way to man's restoration and holds out a hope for all mankind. This is particularly relevant for men and women in prison. He preaches the everlasting Gospel which, on his lips, becomes a contemporary challenge and invitation. It is the ancient remedy which remains as potent and up-to-date as ever. He can stand side by side with the prisoner and share his finiteness and feebleness as he faces the God who is over all and in all — Sovereign yet "totally grace". Who can read these sermons — especially "Saved by grace", "The criminals with Him", "All" and "He stands by us" — without being profoundly moved and challenged?

In his approach to prisoners, Barth never strikes a wrong note. He is never smug or condescending. He never wields the big stick. He places himself with them and urges them to join him — by way of penitence, trust and thanksgiving — in the true worship of God which is bound to have effects on their character and conduct. Such is Barth's compassion and understanding that I imagine that no prisoner has ever been put off or discouraged from making a fresh start

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

in life by any word or action of this remarkable spiritual guide.

Deliverance to the Captives is a little book of immense value to any thoughtful reader, even if it is only regarded as evidence of what has been happening on one of the many battle-fronts against sin and crime.

To the doubter or the person on the fringe of belief, it will perhaps give a better appreciation of the Christian revelation and of the spiritual interpretation of man and the universe.

For the practising Christian, it will provide countless themes for devout meditation: and the prayers which are included might well be used as a basis for a renewed or enriched life of prayer.

For Chaplains and all who are called to minister to prisoners these sermons might serve as models, both in content and presentation, of what is needed. We are reminded once again that "The Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation". The Chaplain who substitutes pious exhortation 'without form, and void' or the 'pep talk' flavoured with racy anecdote and moral uplift is neglecting a wonderful opportunity and failing in his stewardship.

Readers in this country will be grateful to the publisher and the translator for making this work available to them. It seems churlish to add that there are one or two unfortunate misprints. As we read, it is difficult to realise that Karl Barth is not addressing us in our mother-tongue. No higher compliment can be paid to any translator.

It has often been remarked that "you cannot draw prisoners to Christ without, *ipso facto*, drawing them away from crime". If this be true — and there is little room for doubt — the preacher of these sermons can be regarded as a most powerful magnet. He sets forth the glory of God and sets forward the salvation of men — "in this world and the next."

HUGH SMITH.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR PENAL REFORM

(Library of Criminology No. 3)

Gordon Rose

Stevens & Sons Ltd. 1961. pp. 328

£2 10s. 0d.

PUBLISHED to coincide with the Rally organised by the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment in April, Dr. Rose's book outlines penal development over the last hundred years in all its aspects, from young offenders and the growth of probation to corporal and capital punishment. This is such a wide canvas that the treatment is necessarily diffuse, but the subject matter is interesting to penologists particularly because so little has previously been written about developments in the latter half of this period. The mass of detailed facts presented by Dr. Rose suggest that he has been painstaking in his research and goes some way towards justifying the high price of the book!

The Struggle for Penal Reform is a misleading title. It would have been more appropriate to call the book by its sub-title "The Howard League and its Predecessors." This is really the history of the voluntary penal reform societies, and the struggle is seen through their spectacles. Scant attention is paid

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

to reforming zeal from within. Commissioners are seen as people to be manoeuvred and cajoled. Sir Alexander Paterson is mentioned mainly because he supported hanging on the ground that lengthy imprisonment was more inhumane. Sir Lionel Fox merely gets commended for being "very willing to listen to suggestions from outside."

Though it is a rather biased view of penal reform, the history of the pressure groups is a fascinating one (though one of limited appeal). Most important of these groups were the Howard Association founded in 1866 to counter the policy of less eligibility and the repressive punitive measures being taken to deal with the crime wave of the 1860's (an age of parallel social unrest to our own), and the Penal Reform League which was formed in 1907 mainly by suffragettes to campaign against conditions in prison. These combined in 1921 to form the present Howard League.

The struggle of these Societies has by no means been consistent nor even always uphill. There have been periods of complacency and inaction, such as 1900-18. At times they have even eddied back and pulled against the current of penal reform as when the Howard Association went down fighting for the separate system with Du Cane against the Gladstone Committee in 1895. But mainly they have been at any time as forceful as their secretary. The Howard Association was William Tallack, the Penal Reform League was Arthur St. John, the Howard League, in its early years, Margery Fry. And the League's present influential position is primarily due to the wisdom and persuasive powers of Hugh Klare. Dr. Rose's normally prosaic style becomes almost lyrical in describing Klare's realisation of the need for better staff training and for "a fundamental change in the relationships between the different grades of staff and of the methods of prison administration."

Less carefully analysed is the measure of success in the campaigns for reform due to these Societies. The claim is made that the League has "played a considerable part in bringing these things (the abolition of flogging and many improvements in the penal system) about," and that "it has done much to influence the Prison Commissioners in the direction of creating more constructive relationships between staff and prisoners and between various ranks of staff". These are modest claims. Against them we must place the fact that the League's evidence to the Wynn Parry Committee in 1957 was consigned to the waste-paper basket with the curt remark that the Committee also considered evidence submitted by the Howard League for Penal Reform—a fact not mentioned by Dr. Rose. He admits that the League must keep in touch with prevailing thought and not get too far ahead of public opinion. How far then can we credit it with achieving reform? Clearly the reformer often has to wait for his dreams to materialise. The Anti-Capital Punishment Society founded in 1820 was very premature! While, referring to corporal punishment, Dr. Rose's remark that "Perhaps it (Parliament) will now allow this dead dog to lie down in peace" still seems unduly optimistic. The reformer must be prepared to slide back one step for every two he takes forward. And he can only go forward when the ground is suitably prepared.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

The pressure group, like yeast, has a fermenting effect on the whole. Surreptitiously but persistently it presents its case, not by ranting outside but by personal relationships with those within. Its *modus operandi* is more generally a letter to the paper or lunch with a Commissioner than a public meeting or a national campaign. And its *raison d'etre* that, while others are busy with administration, "it sits and thinks."

N. J. TYNDALL.

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PRISON AFTER CARE: CHARITY OR PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

Pauline Morris

Fabian Research Series 218.

The Pakenham-Thompson Committee report published as "Problems of the Ex-Prisoner".

National Council of Social Service 5s. 0d.

1960 MIGHT BE CALLED After-Care Year in the world of prisons. N.A.D.P.A.S. vigorously stepped up their number of Prison Welfare Officers, a radio programme, "Who Cares", criticized the whole system with unusual outspokenness, Christopher Mayhew devoted one of his four television programmes about Crime to it, the two Reports under review were published, and the Home Secretary promised that his Advisory Committee for the Treatment of Offenders would once more look specially into the matter. Will 1960, therefore, prove to have stirred progress in what Lord Pakenham calls "this most neglected corner of the Welfare State"?

Certainly these two Reports leave the reader in no doubt as to the need for drastic reforms. Pauline Morris's Fabian pamphlet gives an accurate picture of the present "dual system" tug-o'-war, analyses the position of the discharged prisoner in relation to all existing and not-yet existing possibilities of help, and suggests a clear plan of what should be done. She starts with Oscar Wilde on the discharged prisoner: "(Society) abandons him at the very moment when its highest duty towards him begins" and the ethics of public responsibility inspire three main requirements in action:—

"1. After-Care must be interpreted as the final phase in a process of social rehabilitation begun inside the prison at the time of conviction
2. Men on leaving prison must be accepted back into the community as human beings, not as criminals, and they must be made to feel that someone *cares* about their rehabilitation.
3. One single category of worker responsible for the rehabilitation of the offender must be established and the services of the Welfare State should be drawn on where necessary."

The Pakenham-Thompson Committee was set up as a result of Peter Thompson's investigating the circumstances of a man who stole from him, and discovering for himself that a discharged prisoner has employment difficulties. The Committee consisted mainly of people in business, not social work (although Pauline Morris and others in the sociological field served on it), and they intended to survey the *employment* prospects of men newly released from prison. But, of course, they learned that finding a job is only one of the many problems, and in a time of full employment many men find it harder to keep a job than to get one.

The Pakenham-Thompson Report is remarkable for the practical and

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

financial details of its recommendations and, though described as a "rapid survey" it gives the sources of its opinions in appendices, which the Fabian Pamphlet does not. It condemns much in the present After-Care system, but also has the fair-mindedness to publish a sensible and self-critical memorandum from the Secretary of N.A.D.P.A.S., and practitioners in the field of After-Care will be consoled to see how he seems to have a better grasp of facts than the Committee. For instance, the British Transport Commission told the Committee "a lapse on a man's part should not necessarily be regarded as debarring him from the opportunity to make good, but the utmost care and discretion needs to be exercised in dealing with individual cases". The Committee conclude that with a "Sponsor" a discharged prisoner might be employed, but Commander Hague has the truth: "Acceptance into British Railways is unlikely at any level".

After-Care workers certainly need consolation if they take these two Reports to heart, because they have little good to say of the present state of affairs—either organisation or personnel. The crucial proposition of both reports is that successful after-care work cannot begin without the appointment of case-work trained officers both inside and outside the prison, working together in a unified system like the Probation Service. Pauline Morris does not go into what should happen to the local D.P.A.'s, but the Pakenham-Thompson Committee offer them a formidable programme of helpfulness involving everything but what they have done till now. Unification is important, but if Pauline Morris attributes the inefficacy of the D.P.A. workers and Committees to their "paternalism", would professionalism be any more acceptable to the clients? The Pakenham-Thompson Committee draws an analogy between after-care work today and agriculture twenty years ago, both bristling with suspicion of the scientifically-trained worker. College-trained farmers are certainly welcome today and it may be that in twenty years' time all prison social workers will show Social Science diplomas as a matter of course, but recalcitrant sheep and recalcitrant men are far from the same and the prisoners' dislike of welfare officers goes deeper than contempt for a bungler and a do-gooder. I think it is a class reaction, a determination to look at all people in authority as part of the punishing "Them". Caseworkers are trained to bridge culture gaps and win confidence, but men in prison have plenty of time to work out what another man *is*. Their trust may be given, if at all, to a man who understands their way of life because he has lived it, or at least lived alongside it. He needs to be someone not too unlike themselves, and, most important, someone who visibly enjoys ordinary non-delinquent life. Until the social work profession attracts more of this type of men (the public still think of social workers as aristocrats and/or homosexuals) I think the After-Care authorities should consider the personality and experience of their workers more important than academic qualifications.

I hope that these Reports will be widely appreciated (and that the Home Office will do something when they have the money and

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

the courage) but I should like to record contrary opinions on three issues.

Firstly, the Pakenham-Thompson Committee's attempts to justify the existence of the present D.P.A. Committees are unrealistic. Most D.P.A. Committees consist of committee-type men and women who have no interest in, or aptitude for, the practical work now suggested to them. If the time has come to end flag-days for discharged prisoners and the running of the welfare work by local notabilities, the Government should face up to hurting these volunteers who in the past have borne all the burdens, just as it faced superseding the Friendly Societies with the 1946 National Insurance Act. It would be far kinder to tell the D.P.A.'s that they are irrelevant to the new meaning of "after-care" and not expect them, as now, to contract gracefully, or, as the Pakenham-Thompson Committee suggest, to alter their whole outlook. In fact, it is tragic but true that in the vast amount of voluntary work that will always need to be done the label "D.P.A." can only hinder.

Secondly, I think that both Reports are misguided in advocating short-term (one or two weeks) hostels for homeless discharged men. Certainly nowhere could be less rehabilitative than the large London hostels, but I see no advantage in introducing a man to a friendly landlord and good food for a fortnight, and then expecting him to transfer happily elsewhere. It is obviously not widely known that Norman House started as just such a short-term home ("Hostel" has a pejorative ring in the prison world and is guaranteed to put a man off), but very quickly it became obvious that chance did not make men homeless—the homelessness was really a problem, often a more important one than criminality. The Warden accepted men as "simple cases of no fixed abode", and then found they were unfit to be moved into ordinary lodgings straight away. Thus evolved of its own accord the therapeutic living-together that Norman House proved worthwhile. The only other similar home, in the United States, which has a qualified staff but the same "family" approach, has just decided that they must keep their men for longer than the six weeks' breathing-space originally intended. "Homeless" men, at least from a local prison, are not men with just an accommodation difficulty. A fortnight's comfortable digs would probably do more harm than good.

Finally, both Reports divide the recidivist population into those who intend to return to crime as their profession, and those who intend to go straight, but for lack of proper help do not manage it. They ignore the intractable bulk of recidivists who do not intend anything in particular. They are convicted from and return to an environment where most men work intermittently, and spend their free time in cafes or billiard halls where there is always the chance of "getting on to a good thing". All they want from after-care is cash. Both of these Reports dismiss the extension of *compulsory* after-care, but how else can the way of life of such men be altered? Pauline Morris particularly emphasises that rehabilitation must begin at the time of conviction and that "after-care and rehabilitation

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

should be an integral part of the whole penal process". If a man is compelled to submit to rehabilitative treatment inside the prison, surely he can be as justly compelled as part of his sentence to accept supervision when he is back among real temptations and difficulties. Compulsory after-care is hard both for workers and clients, but it has a logical place in the penal system and without it the problems of recidivism will not be touched.

SHIRLEY TURNER.

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GANGS OUTSIDE . . . and Groups (or gangs) Inside . . . might well be the omnibus sub-title for a collection of books which take as their subjects the kind of people, not necessarily always young people who 'gang up' in one way or another, often against authority, sometimes for perfectly good social purposes, sometimes in such a way as to attract and possibly deserve considerable criticism, but always in a group.

Delinquency and Opportunity by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin is published in Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul's series, The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, at 25s. 0d., and its 211 pages give the reader a pretty clear idea how delinquent gangs arise. The authors are members of the professorial staff of the New York School of Social Work at Columbia University, but their writing tells of a world far removed from the campus. It is about delinquent gangs, as typically found among adolescent males in lower-class areas or large urban centres, and tells how these subcultures arise, develop various law-violating ways of life, and persist or change. Three distinctive types of such gangs are described by the authors in their opening chapter. These are "the criminal gang" devoted to theft, extortion or other illegal means of securing an income; the "conflict gang" where joining in various kinds of violent behaviour becomes an important means of securing status; and the "retreatist gang" where addiction to drugs is prevalent. In the British Isles we have the "criminal gang" and we have the violent groups but the "retreatist" group is less well-known, perhaps less in actual numbers. One of the most useful ideas to be gleaned from this book is concerned with the way in which members of these gangs look upon other members of the community. The 'criminals', for example, are said to believe that the world is populated by "smart guys" or "suckers", members of the 'conflict' groups see their "turf" as surrounded by enemies, while the 'retreatist' regards the world about him as populated by "squares". Similarly, say the professors, each subculture is characterised by distinctive evaluations "the criminals value stealth, dexterity, wit, 'front' and the capacity to avoid detection: street warriors value "heart": the retreatists place a premium on "kicks". The fundamental difference between members of these groups and the other members of the community is clearly stated in a footnote to a description of the activities of the gangs. "It should be understood" says the note "that these terms characterise these delinquent modes of adaptation from

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

the reference position of conventional society: they do not necessarily reflect the attitudes of the 'cat'. Far from thinking himself as being in retreat he defines himself as among the elect". Although we may not have seen the drug side of the "cat" group, we can understand something about their other characteristics when we read that "the ideal cat's appearance, demeanour, and taste can best be characterised as 'cool'. The cat seeks to exhibit a highly developed and sophisticated taste for clothes. He develops a colourful, discriminating vocabulary. . ."

From the initial description of these delinquent groups, the book passes on to the description of the 'opportunity' which gives the authors their title and at the same time their theory of "differential opportunity systems." They suggest that these behaviour patterns are usually, though not exclusively, associated with the male sex, that they tend to be concentrated in the lower class, and that they are most likely to be found in the urban areas. In another illuminating footnote they "do not wish to suggest that delinquent subcultures never arise in the middle class. Evidence is accumulating that they do exist but that they are organised principally for relatively petty delinquencies, such as the illicit consumption of alcohol or marijuana, sexual experiences, petty larceny and auto-theft for joy-riding. This behaviour seems to occur less frequently, to be more responsive to control and change, and to be less likely to continue in the form of adult criminal careers." The authors consider that the isolated offender—as the middle class offender more often is—is not likely to evoke serious concern on the part of the law-enforcement officials, who recognise that delinquent behaviour tends to be less stable when peer supports are weak or absent.

In examining some current theories about delinquency, the authors spend some time on "masculine" protest or "compulsive masculinity" and on the crisis of adolescence, but while they recognise the presence of these factors in any society, they are more concerned about success values in American life. Success-goals are not class-bounded, they say, but the potentially delinquent groups appear to look to goals which are not 'appropriate.' Certain almost universal types of youth are the 'college boy' primarily interested in social advancement and the 'corner boy' who is primarily interested in his local community, and the authors examine how these two groups approach the problem of attaining an appropriate success. There are barriers to legitimate opportunity, and these may be cultural or structural; and the alternative avenues to success may well lead the potentially delinquent youth into a position where he is the victim of a contradiction between the goal which he has been led to orient himself and socially structured means of striving for such a goal.

Half of this extremely well-written book has been devoted to the general consideration of delinquent subcultures, and allowing for certain easily identifiable differences between American and British areas of delinquency one does not feel inclined to quarrel with any of the views expressed, and in the last four chapters there is a wealth of instruction on the way in which

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

the subcultures develop, and how though legitimate and illegitimate opportunity is offered to everyone, it may be that in the social structure of the slum, the illegitimate opportunity may be more easily taken. Can one quarrel with this? "We believe," say Cloward and Ohlin, "that each individual occupies a position in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. This is a new way of defining the situation." Can one quarrel with this?

The examination of the slum climate is probably the most difficult part of the book to understand. It is, naturally, entirely American and deals with the criminal, the violent and the retreatist in terms which are not entirely familiar to us. Even the language is strange to us, though no doubt we have some ideas about the rackets, the 'busting' of gas stations and the behaviour of cool cats . . . but this is generally pretty strange reading, and we are not helped when American history is quoted, telling all about the Bowery Boys and the Little Dead Rabbits of the 1850's, though we may well be persuaded by the authors that "the immigrant has been the principal constituent of the American slum" and foresee that we may well have similar problems in the not too distant future. There is an interesting thought in the statement that "the 'welfare-state' — through its income-maintenance programmes, such as home-relief, aid to dependent children, old-age security — has taken over a function once performed more or less adequately by the political machine."

Nevertheless, despite the American idiom (and this makes for enjoyable and informative reading) it may still be possible to agree with the conclusion that the major effort of those who wish to eliminate delinquency should be directed to the reorganisation of slum communities. The authors believe that slum neighbourhoods seem to be undergoing progressive disintegration, where the old social structures which once gave social control and opened up avenues of social advancement are now breaking down. The plea is for proper working substitutes for these traditional structures if any progress is to be made in stopping the trend towards violence and retreatism.

Good though this is, as a text book of ideas, it is not likely to enjoy such a vogue among prison and other institutional personnel as **Reluctant Rebels** by Howard Jones, Tavistock Publications, 230 pp., 30s. 0d.

Dr. Jones, Lecturer in Social Studies at Leicester University, begins in a way which will appeal to the residential worker in any correctional establishment (provided this same worker can stand a little criticism) when he says "The lay visitor to the average correctional school is almost always very impressed by what he sees. He sees a hundred or more delinquent children, well-fed, and living in hygienic and sometimes attractive rural surroundings; and busy all day in well-equipped class rooms and workshops. It seems an ideal setting within to essay the task of reforming deprived and rebellious young children." But all is not gold . . . Results? In England, says Dr. Jones, one in every three of these children remains unreformed, returning after his stay of anything up to three years away from home to the sort of anti-social

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activity for which he was originally committed.

It is the hidden world of the school, (and it could well be a prison) below the tranquil order and discipline, that has its own heirarchies, its own conventions as to loyalty and moral behaviour, its own means of enforcing obedience to the social code. And, because this world is below the surface, it remains, sometimes, almost unaffected by the rehabilitative work of the correctional staff in a similar way to which the violent boys and drug-takers of the American slum operate in a world which may be virtually untouched by the neighbourhood worker or other law-enforcement officer from City Hall. Sometimes this hidden world comes roughly and noisily to the surface . . . names like Standon Park, or Carlton School, spring to mind and most correctional workers have bitter memories about the day when the hidden world came into view. It was never a pleasant sight.

Can this world, so tight and secure in its normal seclusion, be a self-governing place?

Dr. Jones describes various experiments, like Homer Lane's Little Commonwealth, and the work of A.S. Neill, G.A. Lyward, David Wills and other pioneers, and goes on to give the history of Group Therapy. Psychodrama, Sociometry, Activity Therapy and the Civil Resettlement Units for ex-P.O.W.'s are all described in a way which is clear and concise. There is also sympathetic reference to group work in the prisons. Then the book moves on to what is a highly interesting and important description of work in "Woodmarsh School" a residential community for forty disturbed boys aged ten to fourteen years whose difficulties had arisen mainly from unfavourable home circumstances. The book begins to live as it describes the various committees in which staff and boys work out some of the problems of the community (and perhaps some of their own) in language where words like 'jealousy' are used instead of 'sibling rivalry' in the language of psychoanalysis, though these terms are conveniently inserted for the more learned reader without too much talking down to the less sophisticated.

There is a chapter on Love and Authority where the need for adult love is stressed, against a background of such quotations as "A boy goes straight for a person and not for an ideal" (C. A. Joyce) and later the need for group acceptance is stressed, as secondary to adult love, but still a matter of vital importance to all except the very youngest children, and among older persons perhaps the psychopath. It is through the group that the delinquent must make his adjustment to the wider society outside the family.

The role of the adult (and the differences which arise in the ranks of the staff over their roles in any group process) is explained with great care, and it is stressed that it is of the greatest importance that the staff should be in agreement. The dissemination of understanding is in fact the important thing, says Jones, and the staff groups and the participation in therapy both help in different ways to achieve this. It seems to come as a surprise to the author that "even" custodial officers in as highly disciplined an institution as a closed prison can conduct therapy

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

groups successfully, if given an opportunity and suitable preparation.

Some of the later chapters of *Reluctant Rebels* are perhaps more for the directors of group work than the lay workers in this field, but the whole book repays careful reading by all correctional workers . . . "even" those of us who work in prisons.

For the advanced worker with groups, Dr. W. R. Bion's **Experiences in Groups** Tavistock Publications, 20s. 0d., produces in its 190 pages much useful atmosphere of the actual group situations, and discusses the role of the leader in various kinds of group. Anyone who has gone sufficiently into group work as to fancy that interpretation of the group mood is an easy thing would be well advised to study Dr. Bion's own technique, of which he tells us only a little (by actual recording) but quite a lot when one reads between the lines. It is nevertheless a book for the expert, and many lay workers fully recognise their need of a trained expert to advise and assist them in the more difficult areas of their work. For such experts, and for some long-term practitioners in group work, the Tavistock publications provide much useful material, and a book by Dr. Bion would serve as the basis of a staff study group . . . another "group" of people who are 'ganging up' . . .

Prison officers (or anyone who works with groups of people who regard 'villainy' as a word of real meaning) will be interested in the background of **Smiling Damned Villain** by Rupert Croft-Cooke, Secker & Warburg, 18s. 0d., which in its 246 pages tells the life story of Paul Axel Lund. From the gaol at Lucknow, and various "Army nicks" via Winson Green to Walton (and a riot) and thence to Reading, then truly a Gaol, with the usual "I had Oscar Wilde's old cell," and so to Dartmoor, moves our hero, and he is a figure of heroic proportions, if to quote Messrs. Cloward and Ohlin *once* again, one values "stealth, dexterity, wit and 'front'," But Lund's capacity to avoid detection, the other great "criminal" value, was surely a mere fifty per cent of his professional life. All the same he had a good run for other people's money, and now, more or less settled in his little bar in Tangiers, he tells his biographer "Villains are born, not made. Real villains I mean. They're natural phenomena. Like artists and poets. Villainy's not often hereditary, either. Villainy's something that's in you. You may not practise it any more, but you can't cut it out like an appendix."

Prison staff asked to talk to outside groups will find the Central Youth Executive's **Choice of Career booklet No. 76—The Prison Service** a useful nine pennyworth. Prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Central Office of Information, published by the Stationery Office, it would also be acceptable reading by all newcomers to prison work.

A book which might come out, sometime, might be a companion to **Elizabeth: Young Policewoman** in the Bodley Head Career Novels, and might describe how Mary, or Martha (all the other girls have become models, farmers, or surgeons, or something with so-called glamour) became a Prison Officer.

M. W.

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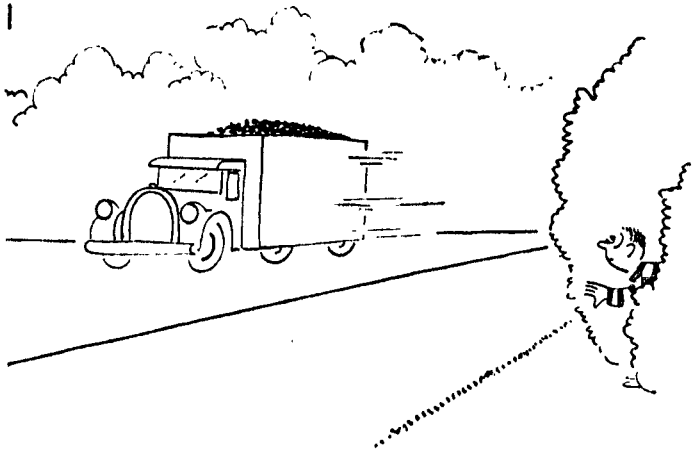

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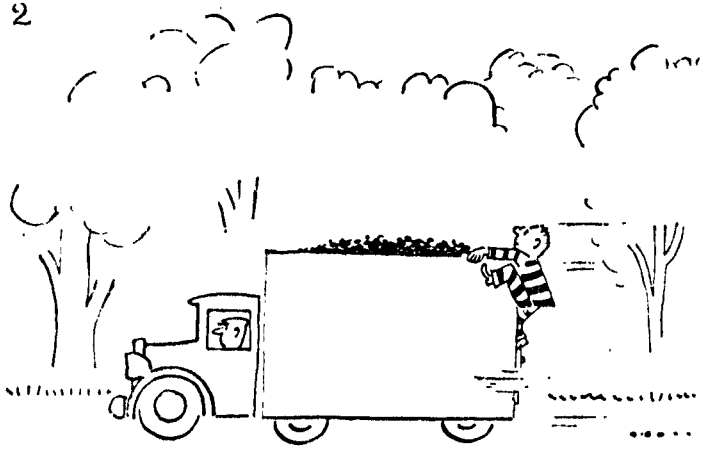

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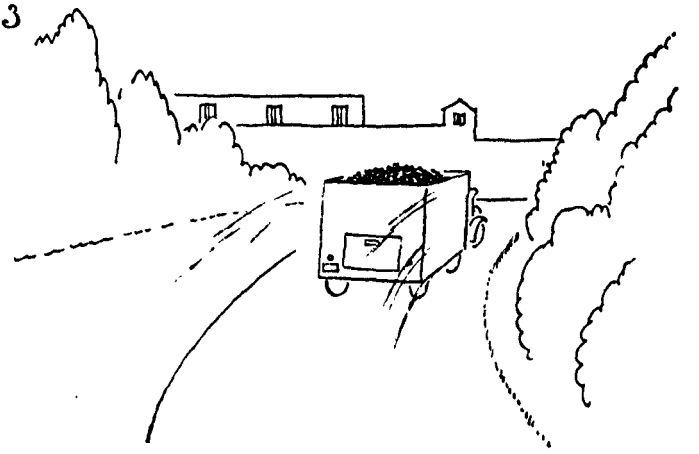

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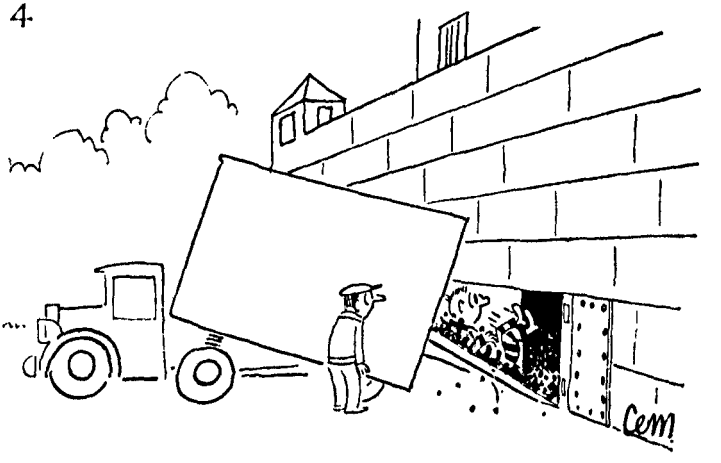

Post-graduate Course in Criminology in the University of Cambridge

The University of Cambridge has established a Post-graduate Course in Criminology, to be given by the Institute of Criminology. The first course will commence on October 1st, 1961. It will be held during the three terms of the academic year and will end in July 1962.

A Dilpoma in Criminology will be awarded by the University, to those who have diligently attended the course, and who, at its completion, have successfully passed a written examination in five papers covering the subjects prescribed for the course.

The Programme of Teaching will consist of lectures, seminars and practical work: 105 lectures and 90 seminars will be given, dealing with all the major aspects of criminology, with particular reference to the development of criminological and penological thought and practice; the methodology of criminological research; the psychological and pyschiatric context of criminal conduct; the sociology of crime; the principles of criminal law and procedure; the sentencing process, and the effectiveness of punishment and other methods of treatment; the non-institutional and institutional treatment of juvenile, young adult and adult offenders; and certain aspects of the prevention of crime.

Practical Work, during vacations as well as term time, will be undertaken by the students, at penal and psychiatric institutions, probation and after-care centres, and other agencies concerned with the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. Individual work will be required at the seminars; and the International Library of Criminology of the Institute will be available to those who attend the course.

Instruction will given by the Wolfson Professor of Criminology; by the Senior Staff and Visiting Fellows of the Institute; by other members of the teaching staff of the University of Cambridge; by visiting lecturers; by experts from the Home Office and the Home Office Research Unit, and by others with particular experience in the administration of criminal justice.

Admission to the course will be open to those who already hold a university degree in any subject, not necessarily in law. In very exceptional circumstances, candidates who do not hold a university degree may be considered for admission, if they have either made an important contribution to criminology by research or gained outstanding practical experience in administration. The number of admissions in any one year will be limited in order to maintain the highest possible standard. Those admitted to the course will be made members of the University, and will be expected to seek admission to a college.

Application Forms for Admission to the October 1962 post-graduate course are available from the Secretary, Institute of Criminology, 4 Scroope Terrace, Cambridge. Entry is now closed for the 1961 course.

New Books

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

THE JAPANESE JOURNAL OF THE PRISON SERVICE 6d.

In its 60th year of publication. Every issue contains "Head Office" circulars for distribution to the staff who buy the Journal. The Japanese Prison Service publishes a quarterly Journal of the Prison Service which is of a more academic blend.

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BURNING COALS OF FIRE

VIOLET WELTON

Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge 120pp. 5s. 0d.

An account of the Church's trying out new methods of communicating with young people growing up in Western Europe.

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DELINQUENCY AND PARENTAL PATHOLOGY

R. G. ANDRY 192pp. 21s. 0d.

Methuen

Examines the role played by the father as a possible cause of delinquency in children.

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THE STRUCTURE OF HUMAN PERSONALITY

H. J. EYSENCK 450pp. 50s. 0d.

Methuen.

A reprint after seven years of a classic text book now brought up-to-date with two new chapters added.

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THE PSYCHOTHERAPY RELATIONSHIP

WILLIAM U. SNYDER 52s. 6d.

Macmillan.

Analyses the output of psychological literature, is a four year research based on the relationship between a therapist and twenty of his clients; about half the book is a presentation of case material.

DELINQUENT AND NEUROTIC CHILDREN

IVY BENNETT 532pp. 45s. 0d.

Tavistock Publications Ltd.

Comprehensive study of the family background of delinquents.

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CRIMINAL CASES AND COMMENT *1960*

J. C. SMITH, M.A., LL.B., (Editor)

Sweet & Maxwell 175pp.

Subscribers 12s. 6d.

Non-Subscribers 17s. 6d.

Contains among usual reporting of cases and commenting thereon, reference to offences concerned with prison breaks.

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COLDITZ (THE GERMAN STORY)

REINHOLD EGGERS

Robert Hale Ltd. 184pp. 18s. 0d.

Hidden among the dramatic details of P. O. W. escapes are many interesting facets of life as a captive.

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THE CRUSADE AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

ELIZABETH TUTTLE

Stevens & Sons Ltd. 30s. 0d.

Historical account of the abolitionist cause containing many references to prison staff.

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THE CANADIAN JOURNAL OF CORRECTIONS

Canadian Corrections Association

1 dollar 25 cents

Articles on the Soviet Criminal Law, Problem Drinking as a factor in drinking-driving offences.

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THE MENTAL HEALTH BOOK INDEX

317, West 105th Street, New York.

3 dollars a year.

Lists references to signed book reviews appearing in three or more of 132 journals in the English language.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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