Vol. IV No. 15 APRIL 1965

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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

CONTENTS

As prison services throughout the world debate the virtues and problems of In-Service Training, the Editorial Board commends this Canadian viewpoint as provocative and appropriate comment.

What are the Staff Training Problems for Canadian Prisons?

Paper read at the fourth biennial Canadian Congress of Corrections held in the Fort Garry Hotel, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 1963, and published in *The Canadian Journal of Corrections*, October 1963.

J. V. FORNATARO

Assistant Professor, School of Social Work,
University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

STAFF TRAINING is not a new thing to Canadian penal institutions. Sometimes, in conferences such as this, people have talked about staff training as though it were a new discovery, whose properties were so valuable that any "have not" wardens were to be pitied—if not thoroughly distrusted.

And so, in recent years increasing numbers of penal administrators have announced their adoption of staff training, together with classification, group counselling and other assorted insignia of penal enlightenment. In the interests of historical accuracy however, let us acknowledge that there has always been staff training in our prisons.

It might consist simply of this: The new recruit is assigned to a tier housing an assortment of prison-wise inmates, given a set of keys and told "you're on your own, Mac." This is his orientation. From then on he learns the culture of the institution, including the unofficial rules for survival, from other officers and from well-institutionalised inmates. Ordinarily, the most knowledgeable authorities are the inmates. This might be described as a "sink-or-swim" approach, and for years it has constituted what many Canadian prison officers have relied upon as training for their daily work.

My purpose in recalling the venerable character of staff train-

ing in our penal institutions is to make as vivid as possible the fact that the personnel of every institution *is* involved in staff training whether the institution head wants it or not. This is simply not a matter of choice. Therefore the subject of this paper may be thought redundant for some prisons (i.e., the training of personnel may seem to involve no problems). The model of inexorable staff training, in which nature takes its course, may appear to suit the institutional requirements perfectly well. Limited expectations require limited effort, and although the results may be unimpressive the problems also are slight—or at least they may seem so.

But prison officials to-day are perhaps less able to settle for small, ad hoc expectations such as simply holding prisoners under secure and trouble-free conditions until they are officially released. The final product of our institutions has become too often a more serious menace to the wider community than when he was first sentenced. Periodically the institution itself suffers first-hand experience of the inmate's deterioration before he is released. Sometimes legislators have perceived a possible connection between their own institution creations and the degeneration of their inmates, whose subsequent careers are so costly in both economic and social terms. It is when there is uneasiness or downright dissatisfaction about what prisons accomplish that authorities become faced with problems including those concerned with the training of personnel.

In my view the important questions involved in staff training are essentially administrative rather than simply technical or professional. Usually the problems calling for technical solutions may be resolved with relative simplicity once the critical administrative judgments have been made.

Amongst the several questions which may be posed, there is one which I believe requires the highest priority. It is this. What is the purpose of the activity in which these officers are engaged? What kind of result is required, and what means are consistent with its attainment?

There may be some who will regard these as academic problems —as aspects of questions whose answer has already been given and placed beyond debate. If this is true, what *is* that answer? In Canadian penal affairs there are palpable differences in the objectives not only of various jurisdictions and agencies: but even within single organizations there may exist quite conflicting goals. Until the institution's authorized objectives have been expressed in clear, unequivocal terms no one can decide with certainty what its staff training curriculum should include.

This is clearly a top level administrative task for the obvious

reason that it is here that the necessary authority resides. The choices which are made reflect policy judgments. Any institution head or director of a correctional system who develops goals for his organization, without official sanction of the responsible minister, puts himself in a most vulnerable, if not irresponsible, position. He may enjoy commendation for his stated intentions and perhaps for some early triumphs, only to have his efforts unsupported and even condemned at the first sign of crisis. It is a proper cabinet or ministerial duty to decide what the objectives are to be.

In case these observations may be misunderstood, I hasten to explain that I do not subscribe to the notion that every official below the cabinet minister level should regard his position as a sinecure whose tenure depends upon his freedom from ideas. On the contrary, it ought to be taken for granted that the executive officers of a penal system will be persons capable of creative thought as well as of action. Among other things they should be responsible for making the political head—i.e., the policy-making authority—aware of the critical issues to be weighed; for bringing to his attention the important concepts and ideas and developments which are pertinent to the work of the department. A director of corrections and his institution heads have no authority to decide the objectives of the department or of its institutions. They do have the proper task of assisting the political head to be intelligently aware of the best possible choices and of their probable outcome.

I do hope that, in defining goals for Canadian penal organizations, the policy makers and their advisers will soon replace the vague platitudes about rehabilitation with firm statements of social policy. An older policy position had the virtue of clarity—"make the offender suffer." It seems apparent that one can no longer openly champion a penal system whose main object is the humiliation and the brutalizing of convicted persons. But it is not so clear just what objectives and methods *are, in fact, prescribed*. Under the so-called new dispensations in penal practice, much of what has been considered futile and irrational in the past has been continued under a change of name and rationale. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that prison officers are confused about their roles.

Scarcely any system seems willing to commit itself to a distinct position, even experimentally. Instead we adopt a nebulous "middle of the road" position which seems to say, in effect, "we can't condone obvious neglect or brutality and we can't take the chance of fostering self-direction in inmates".

Whether this situation flows from the absence of a philosophical frame of reference, from the reluctance of cabinet ministers to

enlarge the opportunities or to take chances on behalf of politically unimportant people, or whether non-elected officials are equally unwilling to advocate such a choice —or a combination of them—the result is an unclear formulation of organizational purpose.

One corollary is that the members of the organization are given no clear perception of their functions. If this is the case it becomes futile for anyone to propose the content or method of a system of staff training. The most admirable content communicated with the greatest competence will almost assuredly add to staff frustration rather than efficiency, until the goals are established with authority, and training and goals are conspicuously consistent. That is to say, more harm than good can result from "training" in a vacuum—from content not clearly related to purpose.

The introduction of a purposeful programme of staff training gives rise to a number of problematic implications. There are implications for personnel practices, for example.

Consider some possible recruitment issues. There are some penal administrations whose minimum qualifications for personnel are not specified. This deficiency, in turn, proceeds from an absence of job definition. In other words, there is no statement of what the job consists of nor what qualities make for a good officer. No wonder recruitment may become a casual affair which makes a continuous contribution to the poor morale and the high turnover it is expected to remedy.

If every officer is expected to participate in an education for his work, he must have the capacity and background to come to grips with the factual and the conceptual material of his courses. Otherwise everyone involved is wasting time, effort and money. This consideration affects not only the minimum qualifications for admission to the service, but it may well require changes in recruitment procedures. What needs to be done in order to screen out doubtful candidates and, positively, to secure an adequate supply of persons with better than just minimum equipment? Ministerial recommendations and membership in approved organizations may have to be dropped as criteria and methods of selection.

Promotion is a function of recruitment; it involves the filling of key or senior positions. Some services observe rather stereotyped lines of advancement. The merit of these patterns will need to be reviewed in the light of administrative expectations of staff training. What, if any, loss results if you abandon the idea that senior positions serve as proper rewards—and incentives—for loyal and long service?

Or think of those positions which have come into existence within recent years. They include

titles such as a variety of counsellors and classification personnel. The functions generally assigned to these positions are essentially professional in character. In fact, it is such a rationale which is put forward to secure better than minimum salaries for these positions. For a variety of reasons these positions are frequently filled by persons without specific professional qualifications of any sort. I am not expressing an evaluation nor a judgment here; I simply draw attention to the fact.

What effect should staff training have upon this situation? It is expected to make up the difference between the prevailing levels of competence and those expected of graduates of professional education? (i.e., is it to be a bootleg source of professional education?) If this is not the purpose what is to happen to these functions; will they be performed *only* by professionally equipped practitioners, or will an in-service trained officer be regarded as a satisfactory alternative? I admit to being concerned about this question since I believe that the opportunity to explore more than one promising method has been scuttled by the discredit of substitutes bearing the same name but not the substance of the real thing. In this connection it is worth repeating that the most critical decision to be made has to do with organization objectives. If the goal is simply to keep up appearances, while at the same time keeping the system pretty well the same as before, it would be a mistake to depart from what exists already. This way one at least keeps the system safe for mediocrity.

What is at issue here, briefly, are the requisites for a professionalised service. Does it enhance the professional status of prison officers if, in their institutions, educational, social work, psychological and related services do not need as high a standard of professional proficiency as any other organization would expect? Can the staff training activity so equip the officer with a body of knowledge, mastery of methods and an ethical frame of reference so uniquely and appropriately suited to his tasks that he can feel secure in his own distinctive professional competence?

A further question begs to be asked at this point; namely, can penal or correctional objectives be framed with sufficient objectivity and consensus that they may be reflected in professional officer education approaching universal application?

Aside from these aspects of personnel administration there is the inescapable question about salary levels and the effect of staff training upon them. This is, perhaps, a self-answering question, but it must be anticipated from the outset. If the educational experience is believed to have any merit in making the personnel more knowledgeable and effective in its

performance, will this necessitate a major upgrading of salary scales?

Aside from its possible implications for personnel management, a programme of staff training will arouse other questions directly bearing upon matters of internal management and administration. Some of the problems may be neutralized or mitigated in anticipation, but they will force a decision sooner or later. A prison system which claims to have been immune to these problems has almost certainly been free from the contagion of staff training.

Education engages people with ideas, and ideas have the power to affect behaviour in turn. It is precisely because ideas are contagious and dynamic in quality that they make persistent inroads upon previously existing institutional values and arrangements. The training content may stimulate ways of perceiving the offender which causes the officer to question both his private behaviour and the corporate institutional behaviour, in view of the declared purposes of the institution. It may be a short step from this position to a lack of sympathy wth some of the things he and his colleagues are expected to do. On the other hand, there may be considerable resistance to change and to the idea underlying institutional changes. At either extreme one is faced with the prospect of poor morale, at the least, and with sabotage, at the worst.

Prisons, on the whole, have adhered to rather rigid hierarchical models and have tended to require unquestioning compliance rather than an exchange of opinions between senior and junior ranks. Is it possible to engage people in a genuinely educational enterprise—especially in matters relating to human relationships—if they are not free to explore and question the ideas to which they are exposed? Surely in this field we cannot claim to possess such well-established answers that the training content should be considered indisputable. How safe is it to engage in an activity which, by its very nature, must undermine the traditions of unquestioning compliance? What limits to dialogue and debate ought to be imposed? Should classes be comprised of members of the same rank in order to minimise this problem; if so, are problems of communication and interpretation between ranks simply exaggerated and made less soluble? And by no means least of these dilemmas. what effects are these reactions among staff likely to have upon the inmate population? And how capable will the officers be in keeping inmates under reasonable control, while they themselves are undergoing a degree of conflict about their work?

The key administrative officers, it will be noted, must cope with problems of implementation. That is, they have the job of making the theoretical and conceptual content

of training come to life in the behaviour of the organization. But although senior officers will have to make decisions about regulations, procedures and methods governing the work of the institution, it is the front line officer who, in the final analysis, decides what is technologically correct behaviour for him. There is nothing new about this, of course, but the effectiveness of the training programme will rest in considerable measure upon the wisdom with which these questions, bearing upon the application of learning to practice, are answered.

Another array of questions are possible around the consideration of priorities. Choices will have to be made in this respect whether the administrator adopts a haphazard "play it by ear" approach or one arising out of methodical planning.

Any worthwhile educational programme for personnel will cost money and other resources. It will compete with other demands for these resources. Where do the requirements for staff education rank in relation to other requirements? This question is far from academic and the answer may well determine just how far training can succeed.

Assuming that all personnel are required to take part in training, there is bound to be some drain on the man hours available for the supervision of inmates. The argument may arise that officers can't be spared from the cell block or the farm; the hobby or recreational activities will be short staffed if any staff are withdrawn. What are the feasible answers?

Here are considerations of security which cannot be dismissed lightly. There are other matters at issue also. If you reduce or cut out some of the inmate programmes; if you increase lock-up time so as to free some staff time it may leave inmates with less than they now have in the way of constructive occupation. Should inmate services and morale be sacrificed for staff training? In the face of possible deterioration in inmate behaviour and welfare it may seem both humane and expedient to postpone staff training. I wonder how many hopeful training plans are put off indefinitely, from year to year, under the illusion that typical prison conditions and demands will somehow go away by themselves eventually.

A further matter for priority decisions will be that of the utilization of supervisory and professional personnel. I am not aware of any Canadian prison with enough qualified educators, social workers, medical practitioners and psychologists to accomplish what they believe is professionally possible. Yet I am reasonably sure that these are among the people who would be expected to devote substantial time and effort to any staff training activity. The automatic result would be a further dilution of professional services to

inmates. What kinds of service reductions would be most feasible? Is it possible, in good conscience, to neglect deliberately what appear to be the most clamouring and apparent inmate needs? On the other hand, how far can one segment of the staff hope to succeed in its work, if its best efforts are not understood and sustained by all other colleagues . . . if employees group themselves into competing forces whose lack of intelligent mutual understanding cancels out everyone's efforts?

The priority questions raised so far are facets of one problem; that is, what sacrifices in inmate supervision and services ought to be made in favour of training personnel? There may be other kinds of competing demands.

One of the most troublesome chronic complaints in our prisons has to do with overcrowding. A closely related difficulty is the scant opportunity to segregate grossly different types of offenders among facilities having different functions and resources. Consequently legislatures across the country have need under pressure to enlarge existing institutions and to establish new ones. In spite of all that has been said on the subject in the past, the idea still appears to prevail in some quarters that Canada is short of maximum security institutions. Capital projects of this kind are tremendously expensive, but they are only the down payment on new acquisitions for which governments will continue to pay additional substantial operating costs yearly. Then, with the inflexibiltiy of Parkinson's Law, the new prisons soon become filled to capacity leaving the old ones just as full as before. And we know very well that the majority of those who are committed once become committed again. Should new facilities be established, with the designs of the past and the kind of staff which find comfort in such designs, or should expansion receive a lower priority than the training of present personnel. Or can we afford to sacrifice either at the expense of the other?

Competitive interests may exist at other than institutional levels. One argument that can almost certainly be guaranteed is the one which pleads for "more emphasis on prevention." Its rationale is that if child welfare services were "beefed up" fewer people would become offenders; if more probation officers were appointed fewer people would go to prison; if educational and employment opportunities were enlarged prisons could be contracted. These arguments have a certain obvious appeal to logic which may be more apparent than real.

Do we, in fact, know whether there is any correlation between these community resources and the problems associated with institutionalised men and women? Is the additional investment in

community personnel able to neutralize the effect of the father who returns home after a typical prison experience? Moreover, must we always view these enterprises as mutually exclusive? Why should it be a question of either . . . or? I am inclined to think that the seduction of the "prevention is better" argument has clouded more than one issue and has prevented nothing quite so much as action.

The resolution of these questions of priority calls for a high degree of administrative perspective. To visualize the potential result of training prison staff requires a capacity for long-range planning, and for perceiving the relationship between means and ends.

Let us assume that most of the foregoing questions have been examined and that there remains no doubt about necessity for a thorough programme of staff training.

What are the most appropriate sources of instruction? This might easily be treated as a simple technical or methodological question to be resolved by arranging for the most accessible and convenient educational sources.

It seems to me, however, that within this question are a number of closely related problems which have crucial significance for the outcome of the training activity. Perhaps the crux of the problem is made more precise by putting the question in another form; how can we deal with content bias?

The question calls for decisions at several important points. An outline of curriculum has to be determined. By whom? Who should expand the outline with the detailed meat of separate courses? Who should communicate this material to the officer trainees? And who will evaluate how satisfactorily each officer has been equipped by his education? At each of these levels some degree of bias is virtually inevitable; it is just as well to recognise this at the outset. In other words, whatever judgments are made will reflect valuable judgments and not simply technical ones. One possible conscious judgment may be to promote a definite bias; or it may be to subject biases to as critical an examination as possible.

Since the latter sounds more liberal and respectable the appropriate course of action may seem to be the securing of educational services from sources outside the organization. This might involve arranging for people like psychiatrists, lawyers, university professors and others to prepare and deliver lectures on subjects which they consider important or which have been suggested to them. Or university departments of extension may be asked to arrange for one or more series of evening courses in which several professional schools and academic departments may participate.

Several features of this arrangment seem attractive. It solves, in one stroke, those troublesome

questions about the disposition of institutional personnel performing key technical or professional functions. It places the burden of course preparation and instruction on someone else. The organization may enhance its public image by being associated with persons of such prestige, whose statements will be presumed to be as advanced and as scientifically correct as possible. Best of all, if the staff are going to take issue and argue with anyone's point of view, it is comforting to think that they will be in dispute with people outside the hierarchy. From the instructor's point of view there is the satisfaction of being able to give full expression to his ideas without having to take responsibility for putting them into practical effect within the prison.

But this points to a dilemma. If the training programme is goal-oriented; if it is conceived as the necessary means of equipping officers to produce results specified in policy, can the administrative authority be free of responsibility for the content of instruction from beginning to end? If the instruction is intended to reflect itself in practice how can it be the product of people who are in no way accountable for policy fulfilment? How are officers to cope with the possible conflict between course implications and the working instructions of their superior officers?

Consider this issue from another perspective. A profession carries within it an ethical obligation concerning the use to which it is put. Many eminent physicists have expressed remorse that their findings have become a potential source of human annihilation. Is there a professional obligation to avoid the communication of technical, "how to do it" information unless there is significant participation in determining the use to which it is to be put? Lest this be considered extreme it is well to recall that the brain washing techniques of totalitarian authorities are instances of applied behavioural sciences.

On the other hand, there is the distinct probability that institutional authorities, if they provide for their own staff training, will make it the formal means of rationalizing and confirming prevailing institutional standards. It is likely to become a mechanism for making organization men, they "adjust" comfortably to existing conditions, learn to use acceptable clichés, and become less rather than more capable of questioning current assumptions and of examining problems with appropriate perspective. This is possibly the kind of bias which is most prevalent at present. How can it be corrected? The problem seems to bring us again to the matter of organization purposes and objectives. No matter what you and I may think about the particular bias of certain courses of instruction presumably it reflects administrative intentions and policy.

I began by referring to the crucial policy questions whose

answers will determine the character and effect of any staff education. It may now be more apparent that almost all of the succeeding problems can be undertaken properly only when the primary policy questions are answered. There are some dangers in attempting to work out ways and means without first making sure that the policy makers have a policy about objectives. The empire builders, inside and outside the public service, should beware lest they find that their prefabricated castles have no legitimate foundation on which they can rest.

It seems highly appropriate to me that this conference should be concerned simultaneously with staff training and research in the field of Canadian penal administration. It may be pertinent to suggest that some of the steps essential to promotion of a high quality career service in our prisons might become more evident if an examination of salient administrative processes were made the subject of research. I almost hesitate to suggest this for fear of pointing out a further alternative to direct action. But research needs to be employed to facilitate —not to avert—decision making.

There is no intrinsic reason why public penal administration should not engage in solving its organizational problems with as much efficiency as other administrative enterprises do.

Drunk ! Who Cares ?

A. J. MARSHALL

M. L. HUGGETT

WITH ALMOST regular monotony sociologists, whether through their research or through a committee selected by Parliament, set out to show the public what ought to be done to and for the country's inadequate citizens. They are set the formidable task of finding out amongst other things, why people get drunk so often, and as the sociologists are of the highest intellectual standard it is expected to be well within their capabilities to find the answers.

We find also numerous organizations doing the actual caring for delinquents and inadequate people. They decide what help the person ought to have on being released from prison or any other institution, and by controlling their own homes and hostels they say to what extent their clients will conform to a code they choose to impose on them.

One may argue that even in the best hotels, one has to conform to a code of living whether it be displayed in notices or merely accepted as "the thing to do." This surely does not alter the fact that if one does not like the particular establishments' "do's and dont's" one can complain to the manager whose sole aim is to please, and as a last resort, one can soon go elsewhere to be pampered.

How very different to the lot of those who have nothing, have no choice and whose sole crime is often that they cannot cope with the speed of the twentieth century. The choice for them is Hobson's—either conform to a rigid set of rules or they walk the streets. I wonder how many hotel guests would queue for a room knowing that failure to acquire one by 8 p.m. would leave them walking the streets on what might be a winter's night.

So it goes on—their lives, already made miserable by their own tragedies are being made even more so by those professing to know what they ought to do and want. Why should (in fact, how can) a person who has never known rejection and repression

tell a person who has lived with it for years, what to do?

Where then lies the answer to this increasing problem of social decline? Who can provide an answer to the many causes of crime and drunkenness, and who can best start to re-build these broken lives (accepting of course that thousands could never be helped simply because they don't want or expect it)?

There must be some truth in the saying that one has to live with a person before really knowing him. If this is accepted to any degree at all then I am afraid that all these intellectuals are seemingly on the wrong track, having never really mixed with the men in question.

Such thoughts brought a group of Pentonville prison officers to an effort to get to know the vagrant drunks who are habitually in our care—and to find out what could be done to help them. During 1963, Pentonville alone had an average of almost one hundred drunks per month, serving sentences which ranged from five days to four months. These comprise men between the ages of 30 and 75, with a noticeably high content of men between 40 and 50; it was also clear that a very high percentage of them had no families.

Our aims were far from revolutionary. They were in fact based on the personal interest of who the drunks were and what made them "tick." Forty of them were brought together one evening on a purely voluntary basis and were told quite plainly that whilst they were to be given no material help from us, someone was interested in them and wanted to learn about them. They were to be the teachers, we were to be the pupils. Response was almost negative. "Why?" they asked did we suddenly show an interest in them when for so long they had been treated like "cast offs?" What were our motives, and why did we pick on them? Our answer was simple. Lots of people had told us about drunks, but there had never been anyone who could tell us so well as a drunk himself.

The ensuing meetings were completely unguided and informal. It was soon apparent that there was a different explanation for each man's drinking habits. Behind the smell of meths, wine and spirits (very little beer), there lay individual personalities. The things they had in common were in fact few—the need of shelter and company and quite frequently a wish for oblivion from reality. Their friends were fellow drunks, their homes were poor hostels, bombed sites or prisons and their outlook on later years was fear. A few would accept that the river would end all pain and suffering—the majority didn't want to look far ahead—"After all, I will be drunk when it happens" were the words of one man.

"All we want is somewhere to live where they don't want us out,

not knowing whether we will be able to get back." "You have to be drunk to be able to stick it in some of the hostels." "You are kicked around like animals." "People leave us alone on the bombed sites." These are a few of the hundreds of comments made—some are so scathing that the speakers themselves winced.

Could they work and would they work? "Anyone can earn two quid a day in casual work and with nowhere to live that is all we can get." Jobs are easy enough to find—it's keeping them when you have nowhere to go afterwards."

What about the Welfare organizations—could they not help with accommodation? "I went there when I left here last week—I wanted to make an effort, but all he said was 'here is ten bob, go and have a drink with it, you will feel better then,' and now I am back with you." "I went for a job one day and was told to come back the next day—To hell with them! I'm not going to run about like that." "They just want us in and out as fast as possible—and they think you are mad if you ask for anything."

All discussion finally seemed to lead to the accommodation problem. Drinking was not even a habit—but merely a means to an end, and they would not want to give it up, but they could certainly moderate it if they wanted.

One of the amazing things to come out of the scheme was the reaction of people outside the prison. At our request several organizations had had their members attending our meetings, and similarly, we visited numerous hostels, associations and "dens of iniquity." We found that whilst there was little known of the drunk fraternity in prison, far less was known outside. A few selected alcoholics were known but the masses were not even known to exist. Long established hostel wardens except two or three shuddered at the numbers we quoted, and quaked to think today's drunks were, in some cases professional men and men with distinguished war records. However, they afforded us their support and assured us that even more help would be forthcoming. It was evident that the biggest shock they suffered was from our being Prison Officers. The welcome that they extended to us was, at times, overwhelming.

Armed with the knowledge we gained outside, we went back to the meetings to really throw out the challenge. We accused our charges of being full of self pity and said that even given a chance, they would not accept it. No one would agree to this although it was true of many. We had in fact been told by one of them that they thrived on self pity but would

never accept this. (This was one aspect that we found interesting. While they would argue and explain at great lengths that no one was really interested in helping them or giving them a hand, their own repeated failure contradicted this.) A large majority of them had at some time received treatment for their drinking habits. Many of them had been given chances of employment and accommodation, but drink had always been the victor. Then again would come the excuse—"All I need is a chance."

At one meeting, we discussed accommodation only. Having so often heard that this was their crying need, we asked their suggestions on what form it should take. Their dream hostel turned out to be what we thought was rather mundane. In it they wanted comfortable beds, a lounge with television, and substantial meals. This, coupled with relative freedom was all they needed; for which they were prepared to pay about £4 per week. But when asked how many would be prepared to support such a place only five out of 30 showed interest in it. The remainder while agreeing that such a place would be a useful stepping stone, said that they would rather live a alone, independent, and free to do as they pleased. For this they would choose one room, simply furnished, with cooking facilities. To this we pointed out two suggestions—one, that they would not have the company they apparently yearned for, and two—that there are unlimited single rooms to be had in London. They could overcome the problem of loneliness they said, by going out drinking in the evening, and if this led to drunkenness they could at least sleep it off in a decent bed. Landladies, they said would have to be tolerant. They said they could not get rooms because they would have to pay in advance and they could not live. Despite these comments, not one had tried it.

As a compromise, we offered to help with accommodation if they found work. Others said that they needed work as well. Our refusal to "carry them" brought forth unmentionable comments, but at heart their feelings, I think, were of relief that they would not be interfered with. They could go back to their bomb sites and the shops that would sell them drink at any time of the day and night. (They were quite disturbed when a familiar face returned one day with the news that one of the sites had been cleared. Without it they were again thrown at the mercy of the police.)

For some we found private rooms, others found their own rooms, but others did not want or intend to leave drink alone. They said they would when they were older, but at the moment they enjoyed it. For half a dozen we found hostel accommodation of

a high standard and the results were noted. Of these six, one arrived at his place too drunk to be admitted—this by lunch-time on his day of discharge. Another to the best of our knowledge, has pulled himself out of his old habits and is now living normally. He eventually left his hostel and has never returned to Pentonville. I quote from a letter he wrote us some time after his release—"It's wonderful to hear the birds sing and see the trees and flowers all coming into bloom. I don't know when this happened before, I was usually full of drink or suffering from the effects and couldn't care less. I can see now as I have a sober mind and it's wonderful." We realize that by now he may well be in prison elsewhere, but we like to think not.

Almost 12 months have elapsed since the firts venture into the world of the drunk, and at this stage we have at least got to know something about them. When they come in they are often still drunk (they are not quite sober for three days after reception) and in those first few days don't want to know anything unless it's wet and in a bottle. After a few weeks, they unfold and become responsive again, only to await their return to the fold.

It is our opinion that a lot of them are more "alcoholic" than is accepted, in fact, that there are only a few recurrent drunks amongst them. They are true and mainly recidivist prisoners—the highest known number of convictions being 236 in under two years for one man. But prison as it is today is certainly not the answer, nor in fact will it ever be. We don't profess to know the answers any more than the men themselves, but self supporting camps run by the Prison Department would, without doubt be a help in easing the accommodation problem in some prisons and would save thousands of pounds in the cost incurred in the vicious circle we have at present, i.e. arrest, court committal, imprisonment, discharge and National Assistance.

The 'drunks' are not security risks and need not be treated as such. Given a longer sentence, (seven days is hardly long enough to attain complete sobriety,) and useful work, either gardening or repairing furniture for charitable organizations, then a higher success rate than ours could be achieved.

We formed many other conclusions and opinions of various organizations and services connected with the "drinking business" which we have not discussed. From them we learnt a lot and we are grateful to them. This report, however, bears no prejudice whatsoever to these sources. It is simply a report of pupil-teacher activities in a weird, but interesting field.

Perhaps the most vital and ebullient period in the history of penology in Britain were the years 1835-1865, when almost every issue concerning the treatment of criminals became subject of public controversy. Never before, and never since, have so many persons argued so passionately and violently, with or without grounds for their strongly held opinions, on major and minor topics related to crime and criminals, many of them unresolved to this day. In the space of a short article it is not possible to do more than list these issues.

1. Construction of prisons
2. Type of confinement: Separate, solitary, silent or free association
3. The use or abolition of prison hulks
4. The treatment of Juvenile Offenders
5. The function of a prison inspectorate
6. Establishment of a prison service
7. Restriction of the death penalty
8. The ending of transportation
9. Penal-Servitude and hard labour
10. Progressive stages and the marks system
11. Military discipline
12. Employment of prisoners: No labour, treadwheel and crankshaft—public works
13. Moral and secular education of prisoners
14. The rights of prisoners: Diets, letter-writing, etc.
15. Tickets of leave and after-care
16. English and Irish convict systems. Last but certainly not least, the uses of: Imprisonment, punishment, deterrence, reform.

All of these were topical issues of the time and each one had its proposers and opposers, but only one man had to deal with all of them, had to adjudicate every conflict, resolve diverging opinions and translate verbal strife into administrative action.

That man was Joshua Jebb, the first Surveyor-General of Prisons, the first Chairman of Directors of Convict Prisons, the man who built or supervised the building of most of the prisons in use today, not only in England but in many parts of the world. The man who abolished the infamous prison hulks and laid the foundations of a prison service and administration on which our present system is based. Jebb is not forgotten but neither have his great achievements ever been fully assessed. This paper is an attempt to rectify this omission.

[*Courtesy: Institute of Royal Engineers*

Joshua Jebb

Major-General Sir Joshua Jebb, K.C.B.

1793-1863

JULIUS CARLEBACH

Emmanuel College, Cambridge

JOSHUA JEBB was a true Victorian, God-fearing, upright, dignified, a little vain, conscious of personal advantage, loyal, dedicated and just. He obeyed his superiors implicitly and demanded absolute compliance from subordinates. He felt at home and at ease with fellow soldiers, but was irritated by the fierce and emotional opposition from "civilian" social reformers. His outstanding quality was his realism, his experimental approach to all penal problems of the day which were so hotly debated all around him. He sided neither with one side nor with another, but only asked "Does it work?" All his opinions were based on the answer to that question. "Whatever is found to be practically right is not theoretically wrong." That was his dogma and his creed.

When he first began his prison work the controversy over the "separate" system was in full swing and was to continue for many years. Jebb was bound by the Act of 1839 to enforce separate confinement, which he did, with all the rigour required in law. But he also observed its effects and, without making an issue of the principle, quietly set out to adapt it. In Pentonville it was changed from 18 months separate confinement to 12 months, to nine months. In Parkhurst it was reduced to four months for boys over 14 and abolished altogether for boys below that age.

It was inevitable that the absolute pragmatism of Jebb should involve him in constant conflict with the volatile personalities of his time. He would not subscribe to untested theoretically or religiously orientated views, like those of Mary Carpenter and Mathew Davenport Hill, his most violent critics. Yet he never attacked them publicly (as they certainly attacked him) and never reciprocated personal attacks. He always addressed himself to the problem in issue and only once showed his considerable irritation by referring to those ". . . who expect that it ought to

be an easy task to reform, or that the application of some favourite theory would do so".

Although Jebb was keenly interested in the "Marks System" of Capt. Maconochie, he lost interest, characteristically, in both man and system after the short fiasco of Maconochie's governorship of Birmingham Gaol. Maconochie had failed—and to Jebb that was the end of the matter. It was this same pragmatism which led to the final battle over the "Irish convict system".

The only description of Jebb that I am aware of was written by a member of his family shortly after his death;

"There was something very remarkable in the extreme sensitiveness and gentleness of his nature, blended with the greatest firmness and decison of character. Perhaps in these characteristics lay the secret of his power over others. Never was one more fitted for command—his orders were clear and spoken to your common sense—everything had been thought out and the closer you kept to his directions, the surer and simpler was your work—but he never hampered you with insignificant orders—*the result* was what he looked for. And what spirit and life did he give to his work . . ."

Biographical Data

Jebb was a professional soldier whose association with prisons did not begin until he had reached middle-age. He was born on the 8th May, 1793, the son of Josiah Jebb, a magistrate of Walton in the county of Derby. His mother, Dorothy, was a daughter of General Henry Gladwin. His family was well-known in England and included many outstanding individuals. An uncle, John Jebb, was a noted physician and oriental scholar (1736-1786). Samuel and Sir Richard Jebb, well-known physicians of the 18th century, the painter Thomas Stothard and James Northcote were other famous members of the family.

Jebb joined the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where he was commissioned Second-Lieutenant in 1812. He was promoted to First-Lieutenant in 1813 and embarked for service in Canada the same year. There he served under General De Rottenberg. In 1814 he joined the army of Sir George Prevost in the United States. He took part in the Battle of Plattsburg (11th September, 1814). His services in that battle are mentioned in General Orders. He returned to England in 1820 and was stationed ot Woolwich and Hull until 1827, when he went to serve in the West Indies.

In 1828 he was promoted to Second-Captain but returned to England the following year because his health had broken down. Jebb married Mary Leigh Thomas at Chesterfield in January, 1830. He then served in Chatham and was appointed adjutant to the Royal Sappers and Miners at Chatham in 1831. He was promoted to First-Captain in 1837.

Jebb's first association with prisons appears to have been in 1837. He is mentioned in the Third Report of Prison Inspectors (1838) for having assisted them with prison construction. In 1839 he was seconded from the Royal Engineers to civil duties for the Treasury (Lord Elliscombe). In that year Jebb was appointed a visitor, by Sir John Russell, to the newly established Parkhurst Prison for Juveniles, together with the Earl of Yarborough, C. S. Lefevre, W. Crawford and Drs. Hawkins and Kay.

As yet problems of prison administration were occupying only part of his time. In 1838 he had been appointed by the Lord President of the Council to hold enquiries into the grants of Charters of Incorporation to Bolton and Sheffield. He was also a member of the Commission on the Municipal Boundaries of Birmingham, and in 1841 he received a brevet Majority for his civil services.

The English prisons were in a constant state of upheaval and had been since Howard first drew attention to their appalling conditions in the 1770's. In spite of much agitation and many progressive ideas, nothing really positive emerged since no one seemed to know how to translate the various ideas into administrative techniques. Corruption and incompetence reduced the most fruitful plans to the level of the all-pervasive chaos. As a result of the Lords Committee of 1835 inspectors were at last appointed and two in particular, William Crawford and the Rev. Whitworth Russell, who were responsible for the Home Counties, made a serious attempt to introduce some meaning into the disorder of convict management. To this end, Crawford visited the United States of America where great claims were being made for the success of the "separate" system, the detention of prisoners in single cells where they lived and worked without coming into contact with other prisoners who might contaminate them.

Crawford returned greatly impressed and persuaded the government to introduce the system in England. Jebb was chosen to build a model prison where the separate system could be introduced and demonstrated as the most effective means of punishing deterring and reforming criminals. As a result Pentonville prison was built and Jebb was appointed a Commissioner of that prison as soon as it was completed in 1842.

In 1843 Lord Harding and the Duke of Wellington decided to replace corporal punishment in the Army by a system of military imprisonment. Jebb was instructed to design and construct the necessary prisons and to organize a suitable discipline for them. He was appointed Inspector-General of Military Prisons in 1844.

The construction of Pentonville made a tremendous impression and was copied in Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany and

Belguim. Jebb was appointed Surveyor-General of Prisons (1844) and was now fully occupied with problems of prison management and administration.

In 1850, as a result of a recommendation of a Select Committee, the Government decided to establish a Board of Directors of Convict Prisons and although Jebb seemed to be an obvious person to head that Board, his appointment does not appear to have been a foregone conclusion. In February of that year he received a letter from Captain George Hall, then Governor of Parkhurst Prison, in which he wrote—"I am selfish enough to feel much mortified at the prospect of losing my official connection with you, which has been a mainstay and support to me through much which has been trying during the past three and a half years." However, Jebb was appointed Chairman of Directors of Convict Prisons. Following his appointment, he received an (undated) letter from the Rev. Whitworth Russell, who offered his congratulations and his co-operation. He writes that he dislikes the newly created post and fears that it will interfere with the Prison Inspectors. He adds that he is "heartily weary of all squabbles."

In the same year Jebb's wife died, leaving him with two girls and a son—Gladwin Jebb. In 1854 he married Lady Amelia Pelham (a sister of the Earl of Chichester, also a Commissioner of Pentonville Prison). After completing 10 years in civil employment, Jebb had to choose between a return to the Army or retirement. He chose to retire on full retirement pay in 1850 and was awarded the honorary rank of Colonel in 1854.

Like all the powerful civil servants of the 19th century, he was the subject of a great deal of jealousy, rivalry and public attack. A number of these attacks were published in the early '60s. Jebb, who had been made a K.C.B. in 1859 and had been awarded the rank of Major-General in 1860, was subjected to a series of bitter attacks in 1861, when the *Civil Service Gazette* carried a vicious campaign against the Directors of Convict Prisons, largely as a result of a riot at Chatham prison in February 1861, in which 1,000 armed soldiers had to be called in before it was subdued. In their issue of the 18th May, 1861, they accused Jebb of having turned the Directorate into a military organization which did no good at all. That same year a Mr. Thwaites published a pamphlet in which he attacks the whole prison administration, mainly because he had recently been dismissed from his post as schoolmaster on the prison hulk 'Stirling Castle,' *The Cornhill Magazine* published an attack on the "English Convict System" at about the same time.

The Social Science Association too, devoted one of its meetings in 1862 to a strong attack on Jebb, and when, in the winter of 1862/63, a large number of ticket of leave men rioted and became involved in the outbreaks of "garotting,"

public disquiet reached such a pitch that a Royal Commission was appointed early in 1863.

All this coupled with the long-standing and ferocious controversy over the English and Irish penal systems, played havoc with Jebb's health. The Royal Commission vindicated him, but he collapsed and died in the Strand (London) on the 26th June, 1863, whilst on his way to a meeting of that Commission.

It might be of interest to look briefly at some of the major issues in which Jebb was involved.

Treatment of Juveniles

Jebb always maintained that the problem of juvenile delinquency could not be divorced from the larger issues of child education and welfare in an industrial society. His main ideas on the subject are contained in a confidential memorandum to the government (1846) and in his brilliant Fifth Report as Surveyor General of Prisons, (1852) which might be regarded as the first text-book on criminology to be published in this country.

Prevention was more important than the punishment of crime and the government should concentrate expenditure on the provision of industrial and district schools for "pauper children." A juvenile offender should be treated according to age. ". . . mere children of 12 or 13 years old should not be held very seriously responsible for their acts." Jebb explains this further: "An older criminal knows the consequences of crime, and may deserve it; but, looking to the lamentable ignorance of criminal children, their neglected state. the circumstances in which they are generally placed and even the instruction they may have had in vice from abandoned parents, it is not just to hold them so severely and personally responsible for the acts they commit." Accordingly, for the first and second offences, Jebb recommended what we would now call "a short, sharp shock". He suggested seven days solitary confinement in a light cell and whipping with a birch on the first and last day. Confinement should be in "Houses of Detention" so as not to "brand the child with the title of convict." For older boys Jebb advocated two or three years discipline and instruction at Parkhurst prison, but after serving part of their sentence there, they should be transferred to an industrial school and from thence be found employment.

Reformatories like Redhill in England and Mettray in France were welcomed by Jebb, who saw them not as rivals to the penal system but rather "as a supplement."

All sentences and all planning depended however on the ultimate prospects of the convict. "As it stands at present there is no certain prospect on which the boys can rely with confidence, and there are no rewards beyond the consciousness of doing right, within their immediate reach. There is

the fear of punishment, and a distant prospect of release from the prison, but the accounts which have been received of the misery in which many of those who left it with the highest hopes are now existing . . . has removed the element of hope altogether and substituted merely the desire of change. Unless more definite prospects can be held out . . . it will be impossible to realise the vast advantages which are almost within reach . . . " Jebb consistently advocated the introduction of facilities for "visiting, improving and assisting" all discharged convicts.

Staff and Administration

Jebb was concerned only with convicts and military prisons but, as Surveyor General, had ample opportunity to observe the corruption, inefficiency and disparity in the local authority prisons and the hulks. For nearly ten years he observed the appalling mismanagement of men and money by Capper, the notorious controller of prison-hulks. Not surprisingly, most of his officers from Governor to Warder, were drawn from the ranks of the Army. This policy led to frequent attacks on him but it did enable him to create a prison service, which was second to none, on which he could rely absolutely and which had a ready-made system of communication and administration for the efficient execution of the constantly changing, complex rules of penal discipline. Above all, Jebb felt that his ex-soldiers, having a lifetime of experience of handling men and boys, could be relied upon to exercise authority with a minimum of abuse. He explained this policy in connection with Parkhurst with characteristic emphasis on practical considerations:

"It has been a question with some who are well qualified to form an opinion, whether a different class of officer would not secure a better result. Nearly half the present officers have been sergeants in the Army, who, in addition to the habits of regularity they never fail to acquire in the service, have been specially selected, as being particularly qualified for keeping boys in good order, without the necessity of resorting to punishment, a result which is generally considered a sure indication of good discipline . . . If it were possible, with due regard to economy, to obtain a much higher class of officers . . . there can be no doubt of the advantage which would accrue; but such men can not at present be found in sufficient numbers nor could . . . varied qualifications be commanded without giving a very high rate of salary . . ."

Construction of Prisons

Jebb's first task in this field was the conversion of the military hospital for children of soldiers in Parkhurst, into a prison for boys, which was completed in 1838. In the following year he began working on his plans for Pentonville model prison, in which

he made better use of the radial wing design than Haviland in America and which was copied all over the world. It is impossible to say how many prison constructions Jebb was involved in or associated with. But he himself has listed the following constructions and conversions carried out between 1842 and 1857. *Constructions:* Portland, Portsmouth, Chatham, Holloway, Wandsworth, Clerkenwell, Woking; *Conversions:* Dartmoor, Millbank, Brixton, Newgate.

Jebb was also responsible for the public works projects of convicts which included major structures like the breakwater and fortifications at Portland and the extension of Chatham dockyard, including the construction of the great basins.

The English and Irish Convict Systems

It is a remarkable fact that even such objective observers as Max Grunhut and Sir Lionel Fox still maintain the fiction of a superior Irish convict system in the crucial years before the disastrous Prison Act of 1865. It was this Irish system which was held to demonstrate the superiority of Sir Walter Crofton's ideas over those of Sir Joshua Jebb. It was Mary Carpenter and Mathew Davenport Hill who are in the main responsible for the creation of this fiction, which has been upheld by nearly all subsequent writers in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Since this conflict was the most important of the period, the most influential in deciding the subsequent development in English penology and the most damaging in terms of Sir Joshua Jebb's reputation, it may not be amiss to re-examine the issue, in the light of the information available to us.

The Penal Servitude Acts of 1853 and 1857 were designed to create an alternative system of convict management to transportation, and applied equally to England and Ireland. The system employed in both countries was the same for the main period of the sentence. The prisoner served about nine months in separate confinement and was then transferred to a public works prison were he underwent three stages, each subdivided into classes of progress. Promotion to a higher stage carried with it increased gratuities and privileges. This system was designed by Jebb and as Crofton himself stated in his first report (1855) "We have endeavoured to assimilate our prisons with the English system."

The chief differences between the systems were:

1. Gratuities paid to Irish convicts started later and were lower.
2. For the first four months of their separate confinement, Irish convicts received neither meat, fish, cheese nor eggs. Vegetables were restricted to four oz. per week. The main diet was milky porridge, and they were employed in picking oakum.

3. In England, a convict was assigned a block grant of remission of sentence and this was reduced for misbehaviour. In Ireland the convict accumulated remission as reward for good conduct.
4. The best behaved of the Irish convicts were transferred to an "intermediate prison" for the last part of their sentence, where they worked in conditions of "almost freedom" before proceeding on ticket of leave.
5. Whilst on ticket of leave they were supervised by the local police, except for convicts released in Dublin who were supervised by an officer of the intermediate prison.

It is the last two factors which were largely responsible for the uproar in England and which were said to be responsible for a steady decrease in re-convictions in Ireland whilst re-convictions in England were increasing. Why then did Sir Joshua Jebb refuse to introduce these factors into the English system? Taking police supervision first, the answer is very simple. There was no legal power to introduce such a step until the passing of the Prevention of Crimes Act in 1871, even if the police had been prepared to accept this duty on a voluntary basis.

As far as the introduction of intermediate prisons was concerned, Jebb proved to be the more realistic judge of the situation. The idea of such open institutions he had himself advocated, as we have seen, for juveniles, and he did experiment with one such prison, when he opend the Fulham Refuge (1856) where women from Brixton prison spent the last part of their penal servitude sentence. Jebb's rejection of the system for English male convicts was well justified for the following reasons: —

1. The sheer weight of numbers. In the period 1st July, 1857 (when the P.S. Act came into force) to the end of 1862, 14,618 persons were sentenced to penal servitude. The corresponding number in Ireland was 2,157. Up to 4,000 tickets of leave were granted in England in one year. Now the two Irish intermediate prisons had a capacity for 100 men each, although they were rarely full. To provide an equivalent service in England, Jebb would have had to build and staff nearly 400 "open" prisons, which would have meant the creation of a complete "secondary prison service." Neither the Treasury nor the public would have tolerated this, even if the necessary space, staff and extra work could have been found.

2. Jebb had always maintained that, if you wish to involve a prisoner in his own reformation, this can only be achieved if you have the right officer. Neither the type of system nor the type of building used are as relevant as the personality of the prison officer. He did not regard the Irish system to be successful so much

as Mr. J. P. Organ, the officer in charge of the intermediate prisons and the supervising agent for convicts released in Dublin.

Mr. Organ was certainly a remarkable man and might reasonably lay claim to be the first man to have introduced "group counselling" in prisons. Mathew Davenport Hill, who attended one of these meetings has left a delightful record. The meeting took place in Smithfield, the intermediate prison in Dublin where 50 men were confined at that time (2nd August, 1865).

"Mr. Organ arrived . . . and delivered his lecture. It was "On Strikes" and was given in a manner which fixed the hearer's attention. He was true to the principle on which he has always acted—that of directing the minds of his hearers to subjects which bear forcibly on the interests of working men, and especially of those who have to encounter the difficulties which beset the steps of a discharged convict . . . Then came the questions which the men put to each other. Two parties are formed, one on each side of the hall. Any man who desires to propose a question stands up, and on a sign from Mr. Organ he speaks. Anyone on the opposite side who wishes to answer him then stands up—often six or eight rise at once—Mr. Organ selecting the man who shall answer . . . The inquiries comprehended a great variety of subjects. Mr. Organ . . . discussed subjects with them with great animation, told them plainly when they were wrong, joked on an error where a joke was suitable but never lost his position as master and teacher . . . "

Organ ran his after-care on an "intensive case-work" basis and kept detailed records on his charges. He also photographed them prior to their release with a warning that "we'll know you next time!"

On the other hand, the Refuge for Protestant Women on ticket-of-leave which catered for between three and 13 women was run on very different lines. "The door is locked by day and (the women) are bolted into their rooms at night. This precaution, the Matron said, she insisted on, being unwilling otherwise to undertake the charge . . ."

3. Mr. Organ had no difficulty in finding employment for the few ex-convicts who remained in Ireland. M. D. Hill, who interviewed some of the employers of discharged prisoners, quotes some of their reasons for employing Organ's men. "The convicts do not join . . . in anything disagreeable to me"—"They never ask to have their wages raised"—"They are more humble and they know they have more to lose"—"There is one good thing about these men, they keep down strikes. They are reluctant to join in strikes . . ."

Jebb, on the other hand, knew that it would be difficult to find suitable posts for even a fraction of his ticket of leave men.

On balance then, Jebb was quite right in not attempting to introduce a procedure for which he would have had neither the accommodation nor the staff nor the necessary industrial outlets. There still remains the question why the Irish system should have produced such a drastic fall in the conviction rate (from 3,933 in 1854 to 1,314 in 1862) whilst in England it was increasing. This too can be explained.

1. Emigration. About 100,000 persons a year emigrated to England alone between 1855 and 1862. It is reasonable to suppose that that would include a large number of criminals who were only apprehended later in England and ticket of leave men and ex-convicts whose re-conviction would then swell the English crime figures. Others of course emigrated to America, etc.

2. That this is in fact the case can be shown by the heavy proportion of Irish in English prisons, for many years by far the largest proportion of convicts in relation to total population in the country.

3. It can further be shown that it was not the Irish system as such which reduced convictions because during the period under review the population of Irish county gaols (which did not use "the system") was also considerably reduced.

All in all then, the "battle of the systems" had very little substance and contributed but little to the advancement of penology. Crofton's undoubted contribution lay in his intelligent exploitation of a situation rather than of an idea or new principle.

Nevertheless it was fought fiercely and over many years and claimed Jebb as its greatest casualty.

The tragedy was that this conflict was much more a conflict of personalities than of systems. Two of the Directors of Irish convict prisons (Capt. Knight and Capt. Whitty) had been transferred from Jebb's service. Capt. Whitty (former Governor of Portland prison and Crofton's successor) remained a staunch friend of Jebb's. When the conflict first began he wrote to Jebb (2.5.1858) "I am very sorry to find . . . that there is almost a certainty of a clash between the English and Irish Convict systems . . . Mr. Hill and Co. are the aggressors."

Jebb never had the chance to summarize either his work or his views but this we can say in retrospect. Before he came on the scene English prisoners suffered the brutality of total chaos—after his death they were, for many years subjected to the brutality of total control.

In the Report for 1863 Lt. Col. E. Y. W. Henderson, Jebb's successor, wrote " . . . no one conversant with the state of the hulks and English prisons when he was called on by the Government to undertake their management can fail to acknowledge the debt of gratitude that is due to the late Sir Joshua Jebb."

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Dr. Terence Morris and the Librarian of the Library of Economics and Political Science for giving me access to the collection of Jebb's papers from which much of the material for this biographical sketch has been derived.

Bibliography

JEBB

Reports of the Prison Visitors on Parkhurst, 1839-1849
Reports of the Surveyor General of Prisons (especially the 5th Report, 1852)
Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons, 1850-1863
Memorandum on Different Questions relative to the Management and Disposal of Convicts, 1861

Apart from his official reports, which are extremely valuable source books on 19th century prison administration, architecture and policy, Jebb wrote a number of other books:

A Practical Treatise on Strengthening and Defending Outposts, Villages, Houses, Bridges, etc., (1836)
Modern Prisons, their Construction and Ventilation, (1844)
Notes on the Theory and Practice of Sinking Artesian Wells, (1844)
Manual for the Militia, or Fighting Made Easy, (1853)
Observations on the Defence of London, (1860)

OTHER

BRANCH-JOHNSON, W., *The English Prison Hulks*, London, 1957
CARPENTER, MARY, *Our Convicts*, Two Vols., London, 1864
FOX, SIR L., *English Prison and Borstal Systems*, London, 1952
GRIFFITHS, A., *Secrets of the Prison House*, Vol. II, Part 7, London, 1894
GRUNHUT, M., *Penal Reform*, Oxford, 1948
HILL, M. D., *Journal of a Third Visit to the Convict Gaols, etc. of Dublin*, Bristol, 1865
HOWARD, D. L., *The English Prisons*, London, 1960
MAYHEW, H. & BINNY, J., *The Criminal Prisons of London*, London, 1862
WEBB, S. & B., *English Prisons under Local Government*, London, 1963, (1922)

Dear Sir

I must say that I . . .

Do you feel strongly about something you read in this Journal or elsewhere about penal matters

If you do, why not write to The Editor P. S. J. H.M. Prison Service Staff College, Love Lane, Wakefield

Twelve Months, Mrs. Brown

THIS BOOK differs from others of its kind in that it is written by a former member of staff rather than by an ex-inmate and as such, more credence will be lent to it.

Apart from the interest taken in it by the general public, prison staffs will also find it readable, not only from the angle of what the writer has to say about women in prison, but because the style of writing reflects to a considerable degree the author's quality of incandescence which carries the reader with unerring skill through the gamut of emotions experienced by a woman finding herself in prison for the first time.

No one would attempt to deny the apprehension of anyone in such circumstances, or fear of the unknown in what lay before her. No mention is made however, of the fact that every woman is seen by a representative of the W.V.S. while still in Receptions and that this member has the authority to deal with any immediate problem as an emergency. This in itself is reassuring to a certain extent and alleviates anxiety about family and children, or any other urgent domestic problem.

Mrs. Brown's sufferings were mostly those of her own imagination played upon by the more unscrupulous, and it becomes obvious as the book unfolds that she learned not only what, but whom to avoid, and that people are not selected for prison but are there as a result of their own actions.

The disparity of her concise thought and speech (especially at the end of the book when she harangues the Governor in the discharge interview) are incompatible with the lack of intelligence and foresight which involved her in the financial debacle with which she was charged. Interesting too, to note that of all the characters, Mrs. Brown was the only one to be portrayed sympathetically. Does this infer that prisons are full of people less in need of sympathy and support, guidance and training, than the hire purchase defaulter?

Nothing could be further from the truth. While the old lag, the prostitute, psychopath and the congenital thief are there, the majority are ordinary people and inadequates who cannot face up to circumstances or their problems. The theories propounded in Chapter 16 are novel to say the very least. Whether they would be acceptable to an enlightened society—or provide further incentive to the "springers" with all the techniques of modern plastic surgery and other resources to hand is another matter entirely.

At this point in the book, there is the feeling of being left in mid-air, so to speak. The argument between the characters is not finally resolved. Could conviction in the "positive remedies" claimed be lacking?

What will concern prison staffs is the exaggerated description of conditions that the book will convey to the public and which do not now exist. For the purpose of the book, it is obvious that the author's experience as an officer at Winson Green and later as Assistant Governor at Holloway are combined. The former closed long ago for women and radical changes took place in Holloway almost simultaneously with the author's departure. Much that is written is therefore invalid.

The modern techniques of the Norwich Scheme and Group Counselling were introduced at Holloway and extended where possible throughout the prison, but these changes were nothing compared with what was to come. In 1962, a modern semi-secure prison based on the house system was opened at Styal in Cheshire. The training here is to impose upon the women more personal responsibility and to equip them to face society on discharge with confidence. The population of Holloway will also move in the not too distant future to a similar establishment in the south, and the plans for these were probably on the drawing board long before the idea of *Twelve Months Mrs. Brown* was conceived.

Thus, Holloway, Strangeways and Winson Green will have faded into obscurity and with them the inheritance of Victoriana—for which neither the former Prison Commission, Governor nor staffs were responsible but which was the substance of Miss Smith's *Cri de cœur*—breathtaking changes indeed within the span of officers' service today as compared with the centuries taken to achieve any appreciable reform.

A new Centre will open shortly in the north for remands, while Grendon Underwood will cater for those needing specialized treatment. Thus, we look to the future with hope and not for retrograde steps such as advocated in the book.

For the rest, it is a matter for regret that the staff were so caricatured and unkindly depicted, while the picture of the Governor was ludicrous! Prison service today is a social work of a high order, and all, from Governors down, do a difficult job cheerfully and there is certainly no time for poses such as were described. The basic grade officers are young women with a zest for life and an interest in their job—there is incidentally, a considerable marriage wastage—and there is always room for recruits. I.C.

Twelve Months, Mrs Brown by KATHLEEN J. SMITH
Duckworth 38s. 0d.

A Pretty Sort of Prison

MERFYN TURNER has had a long connection with prisons in this country, dating back to the period when he himself was committed to prison as a conscientious objector during the last war. In spite of his many other interests and commitments he has continued as a regular Prison Visitor at Pentonville. Much of the material for his new book is derived from these experiences.

A Pretty Sort of Prison is a slim, easily readable book, written with obvious sincerity by a man whose sympathies lie, in the main, with prisoners with whom he has come into contact rather than with the administration. Although some members of the staff come in for a certain amount of criticism, this is far less than in the usual book written about prisons and they are isolated incidents described without exaggeration or a sensational bent.

The whole emphasis throughout the book is for more individual attention, treatment and training "... they are all people, and it is as people that they need to be approached" he writes and those who have served in large local prisons will readily appreciate the difficulties involved in approaching this ideal. Nevertheless, even in a prison like Pentonville, there have been great changes in recent years and most important of these has been the change in attitude of the staff in their willingness and eagerness to play a more positive role than has been possible in the past.

Towards the end of his book, Merfyn Turner says "If the Home Secretary offered me a present, I should ask for a prison . . . If he gave me a free choice, I would ask for Pentonville." Not many people would envy him his choice.

Mr. Turner goes on to make suggestions as to how he would alter Pentonville within the five years supposedly at his disposal. Most of his suggestions will not be new to most members of the service who will have heard these or similar ideas expounded at conferences, on courses and in informal discussions.

Briefly, his plan is to brick up the ends of each wing at the centre thereby creating four separate prisons with an Assistant Governor in charge. This sounds a simple and sensible solution to a desperate problem but ignores the fact that each Assistant Governor would be responsible for up to 300 men, the bulk of them being short-term prisoners. Whilst there would certainly be more contact than under the present system, even the most hardworking and enthusiastic Assistant Governor could hardly cope with these large numbers with such a rapid turnover and expect to have any real effect upon them. Extensive alterations would also be required to make each wing self-contained for catering arrangements and workshop facilities.

To my mind the immediate answer to the problem of Pentonville is a drastic reduction in the numbers held there. Initially this would mean a reduction to a population of about 800, in other words a single cell for every prisoner. Once this was achieved many of the schemes suggested by the Pentonville staff could be put into operation. The staff are ready and willing to take a much greater part in the training and rehabilitation of prisoners but only a few of the proposed schemes can be started at present because of overcrowding.

The daily average population is now some 200 less than a year ago and this has been brought about largely by the transfer of certain prisoners to other prisons, both open and closed, which have become available. This is in spite of the fact that London prisoners are notoriously reluctant to be moved away from the Metropolitan area. There seems little likelihood of a further reduction until more new prisons are built in the South-East to relieve the over-crowding of, not only Pentonville, but the other local prisons as well.

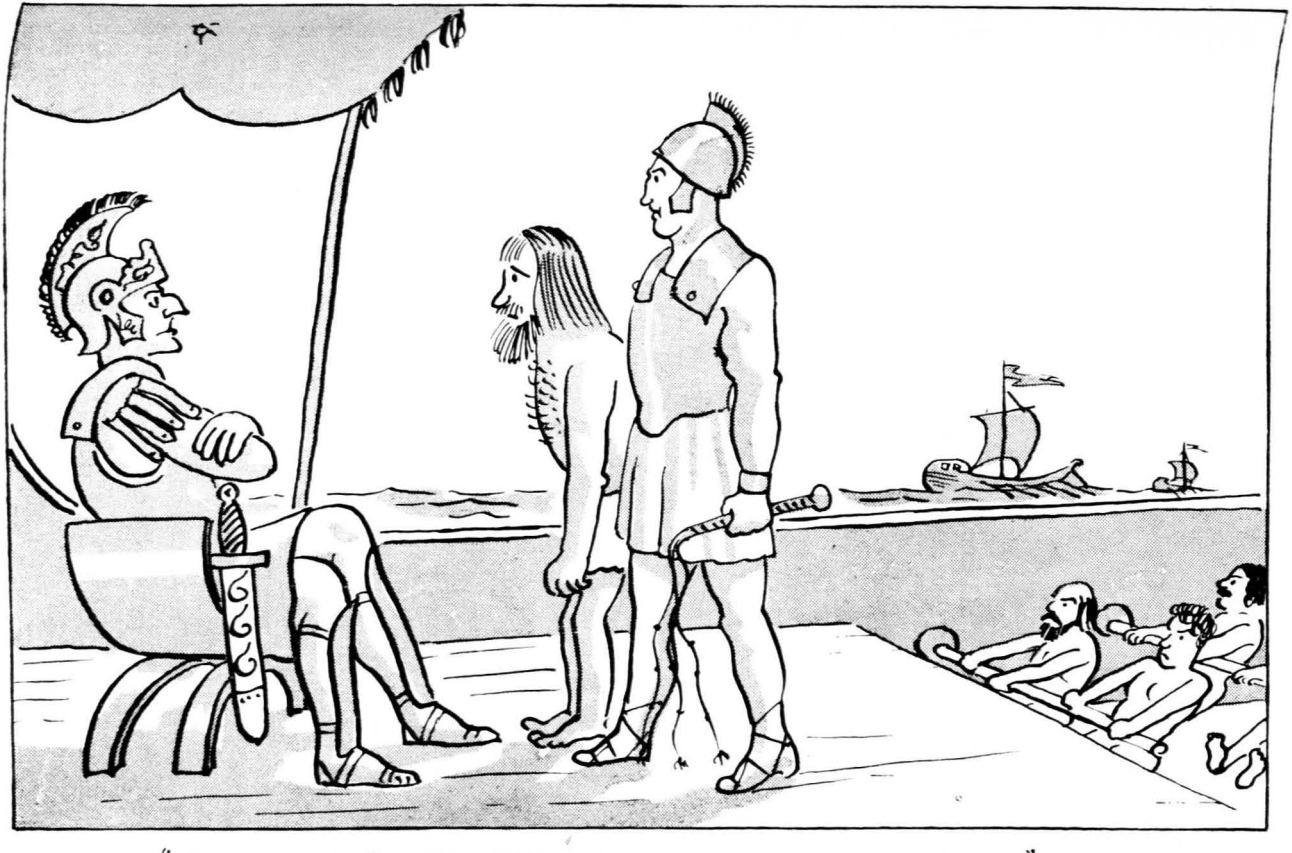
Looking far into the future, I should like to see only the very short sentence men, unsuitable for open conditions, retained in Pentonville, the remainder having been screened and allocated to other establishments best suited for their needs, where staff of all ranks could play a full part in their training in more suitable conditions. The present huge buildings could be demolished and, if necessary, the site used for a much smaller modern prison for those who have to be retained, for various reasons, in North London. I am sure that parties of prisoners would work with enthusiasm at the task of demolishing the existing buildings just as, it is reported that, prisoners of an earlier era showed when Newgate was torn down.

Mr. Turner also suggests the erection of a large number of huts in the grounds to act as extension to the present Hostel Scheme. Unfortunately, Pentonville is sadly handicapped by a lack of space between the perimeter wall and the main prison. Any encroachment on this small area is virtually impossible without interfering with the statutory exercise of the prisoners or the few facilities for games which now exist. Even the job of finding a site for a stack of bricks required for building purposes is an acute problem in the present circumstances. Whilst an extension of the Hostel Scheme, even on a modified system, is desirable, the answer may well be to use part of the existing prison, say H wing, for this purpose as a temporary measure.

Whether one agrees with Mr. Turner's suggestions or not, and I have only mentioned the two main ones, there is food for thought for all of us in this book.

M. OLDFIELD

A Pretty Sort of Prison by MERFYN TURNER
Pall Mall Press 25s. 0d.



"NUMBER 6052 SIR, SAYS HE WANTS A CHANGE OF LABOUR!"

Cops and Robbers

N. J. T.

THE POLICE SERVICE is often compared with the Prison Service and, like us, it is frequently the butt of public criticism. Two informative books on the police have recently appeared. BEN WHITAKER in *The Police*, Eyre and Spottiswood, (21s. 0d.) starts from the Sheffield Police Appeal Inquiry and the Royal Commission to examine relations between police and public. In a survey which could with advantage be paralleled in the Prison Service, he examines recruiting, training, manpower, efficiency and new developments such as the Juvenile Liaison Scheme. Are the Police a Force or a Service? (again echoes of Prisons!) And finally what sort of police will we have in future? He concludes that relations with the public have changed but not worsened, and that perhaps the public will always use its police—and presumably its prison staff—as a scapegoat for its neurotic attitude to crime.

MICHAEL BANTON in *The Policeman in the Community* (Tavistock, 30s. 0d.) looks at the police as a sociologist. In more depth than Whitaker, and comparing English and Scottish Police with several American forces, he examines police roles. Policemen can only be effective if there is no conflict between their private and their public roles. (What would you do if, as you were taking your son on an outing you saw a crime committed, and your son pleaded, "But, Daddy, you promised"?) The Police Force is only one of the agencies of social control, and it will only gain the co-operation of the public if the latter are well informed about it. These two books could assist in this process.

Another mention for the police comes from MRS. ZOE PROGL who dedicates *Woman of the Underworld* (Arthur Barker, 21s. 0d.) to them, describing them as her very charming enemies for 20 years. Her book is worth reading on several scores. She spares nothing to substantiate her claim to be Queen of the Underworld. The procession of bank robbers, prostitutes, pimps and ponces, and her catalogue of sexual activities with all sorts and conditions of men and women will ensure she captures all the readers she aims at.

Then she has the apparently unique distinction of climbing the wall of Holloway. It is thoughtful of her to leave an account of how

she accomplished it, though I don't suppose she's the first prisoner who has used the official 'phone for nefarious purposes.

But, in spite of her wish to escape, Holloway gets full marks. The atmosphere of despair, she notes, has changed to one of hope, and, in particular, members of the staff are singled out for praise. Like all good fairy stories, this one ends with the promise of Happily Ever After.

And throughout the story is the conflict between these two Zoe Progls. The would-be Queen of the Underworld who admits to being a coward, the lover of the Life of Luxury who looks enviously back to the "foster parents" on whom she was evacuated during the war. The "Longing to be Loved" which causes her to submit to Lesbians, and which defiantly, yet pathetically, captions the photograph of her recent wedding as "my first real move towards security and a new life."

Young and Sensitive (Hutchinson, 18s. 0d.) is an entirely different type of prison book. Written in Dartmoor by DON ROBSON, it won first prize in the 1963 Koestler Awards for original creative work produced in prisons.

This is styled as a novel, a story extraordinarily fragile and naive, of father, son and girl. It stands on its own merits. But the contrast between the delicacy of the writing and the sombre conditions in which it was written heightens the interest of the book. To the end, I wondered how far this was a novel, dreamed up in a cell; how far a thinly hidden autobiography. Certainly the girl seemed an unrealistic character—a compound of wishful thinking and the prisoner's stereotype of the College Girl. But the father is all too real; a widower affectionate towards his son, but whose only means of communication with him is through actions; and the son returns the affection but, stifled by it, resorts to violence. This ambivalent father-son relationship, culminating in the son waiting with a gun at the window for his father's return, this surely is autobiographical.

This novel raises two questions. How far is creative writing in itself of therapeutic value? And, if a work of such sensibility can emerge from a long-stay central prison, how far are we, as a staff, still failing to relate to the positive feelings of prisoners.

Penology, edited by CLAUDE VEDDER and BARBARA KAY (Charles C. Thomas, Illinois, 9.50 dollars) is a compendium of articles by an impressive list of authors, aimed at "the discerning public." Many questions are asked, few firm answers are offered, but the book is ideal for raising discussion points. Though the material is primarily American, the wide canvas of subjects, from inmate groups to parole and capital punishment, and ending with a blueprint for a progressive prison, would be of use to a study group of, for instance, staff preparing for vocational examinations.

Growth to Freedom

J. H. FITCH

THE BORSTAL SYSTEM really has been taking some hard knocks recently. Not only has it had to contend with the popular press's excessive concentration on the more melodramatic happenings in its institutions, the fights, the riots, the abscondings, the cliff-hanging episodes; it has also had to contend with the picture of itself as an anachronistic expression of middle-class guilt and anger emanating from such films as *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* and television programmes such as the recent (January, 1965) *Inside*. Then too the literate and verbally self-confident ex-inmate, often only literate and verbally self-confident because of the help he received from his period of training, has been afforded many popular platforms on which to depict himself as a casualty in a chronic battle between social classes and to condemn the institutional system as an arena wherein that battle is fought out. And now the social scientists, the social commentators and the social therapists add their views to this critical chorus. No wonder the borstal officer and the borstal housemaster today at times wonder what their job is and what society is asking them to do. Their confusion and doubt only reflects that of society as a whole.

It is doubtful whether they will receive much direct comfort from Dr. Miller's book, absorbing, engrossing and stimulating as it undoubtedly is. *Growth to Freedom* is an account of his work at an experimental hostel for homeless ex-borstal boys, for just a very few of the number of homeless boys in the system. Since the inauguration of Borstal Training as we know it, the After-Care authorities have been concerned with how best to help the homeless boy on his discharge from an institution. Many of these boys have had lengthy experience of many kinds of institutions and are very dependant on that type of sheltered life. Their experiences of such family life as they have had are often bitter and corroding. They seem to need some half-way house between the borstal institution, within which they feel secure but which they also resent, and the free society to which they yearn but within which they feel inadequate and unwanted. They need an

understanding shelter within which to learn about themselves and their feelings for society that is not associated with the dependence and control of the traditional institution.

The possibility of establishing some sort of hostel for homeless ex-borstal boys materialised when a charitable trust conveyed to the Director of Borstal-After-Care its willingness to support a project likely to make a positive contribution to the reclamation of offenders. The result was "Northways", a hostel set up to run as a sort of small therapeutic community and in which treatment could be combined with research. Dr. Miller, a psychiatrist who has been associated with the venture since its conception, has now written an account of its first two and a half years. As a book it is a delight to read; as a technical study it is a clear and helpful account of both social processes and therapeutic techniques. It also affords much insight and illumination into the personalities and needs of the boys that the hostel has tried to help.

What the hostel provided for these boys, who were all initially specially selected on well-defined criteria, was a social situation where they would learn about inter-personal relations and test out such learning. It had to be neither a too permissive nor too rigid environment but one wherein the boys could learn to handle freedom with responsibility. The boys had to be able, too, to identify with parental figures, stable and consistent ones, through their relations with members of the staff. Thus the Warden needed to be the mother-figure and the psychiatrist the father-figure and Dr. Miller devotes much time to discussing the role the staff played in this situation. In his position as consultant to the whole scheme, he had to give much support to the staff. They needed help in interpreting their therapeutic roles, understanding the meaning behind the boys' behaviour, coping with their own tensions and anxieties. Dr. Miller also points out the help and understanding he received from the staff. In this atmosphere of mutual support, personal and inter-personal relationships between staff and boys were built up that enabled the whole community to cope with its own inner tensions and to learn from them. Dr. Miller's account of the house meetings that were held weekly and which became in effect therapy groups, is especially illuminating in this direction.

Dr. Miller stresses also the importance of the physical aspect of this supportive environment as well as the social and the psychological ones. The hostel was a large family-type house and they furnished it with the sort of bulky, comfortable furniture that might give an association of warm homeliness to deprived boys. The boys ate together in a family group and access to food in the pantry and refrigerator was never denied them. It is well recognized that food is a

symbol of love and Dr. Miller draws some significant conclusions between the boy's disturbed feelings and behaviour and their intake of food and drink. Everything was done to try to make the boys feel they were cared about and wanted. This was what they had missed throughout their lives to date and what they had so signally failed to find in their institutional experiences. Their natural reaction at first was one of distrust and Dr. Miller analyses with some care the ways in which the boys tested-out the sincerity and tolerance of the staff in their intentions.

Dr. Miller follows other investigators in distinguishing between three types of delinquent behaviour. There is that delinquency which appears to be culturally engendered, with its roots in the situational social problem, the contagion from the bad social environment. There is that delinquency which appears to be intra-familial in its origin, the results of conflict within the family where the delinquent member is either acting-out the family problem or has been damaged as a result of internal family tensions. Finally there is that delinquency which is due to the disturbed personality itself, where the delinquency is the attempt to relieve internal tensions of anxiety or rage by attacking others. The hostel boys here described seemed to be predominantly personality delinquents, suffering from character disorders and schizophrenic reactions, but many could have been seen to be situational offenders also.

We have no clear-cut evidence to date to suggest how these three types of delinquents are distributed within the borstal system as a whole. It may be that about half the boys serving Borstal Training sentences could be assessed as predominantly situational offenders. Thus it seems likely that Dr. Miller's hostel group represents a minority, but a minority that nevertheless presents a major problem in terms of rehabilitation as it would seem that the needs of such boys are essentially different from those of the predominantly situational offender. The traditional borstal institutions with their insistence on the disciplined instilling of learned social behaviour, would seem more geared to the training of the situational group, than to the treatment of boys with major emotional and personality difficulties who need more skilled understanding. With which groups are they most successful? Further research is clearly needed here.

As a research document itself, Dr. Miller's book can only emphasize trends. The total number of boys concerned in the hostel experiment to date have been too small for firm conclusions to be drawn. The results are encouraging in that fewer of the hostel boys have been reconvicted compared to a similar group of homeless ex-borstal boys who did not go to the hostel and compared to a group of boys with homes of their own. Longer time periods and more

rigorous controls would be needed to provide statistical significance to the results but everything seems to suggest that these are in a positive direction.

In its way, Dr. Miller's book must, I think, be viewed as a critique of the borstal system as a whole. If borstal training is really to be training and not merely detention and punishment, what has been attempted in this hostel experiment should be attempted in all borstal institutions. It is not only homeless ex-borstal boys who need love and understanding as well as guidance and support. All boys who have found their way into borstal institutions share that need. Whether their delinquency was predominantly a reaction to social, family or personality difficulties, they share an injury in their relationship with society which needs a skilled examination of their personal and their interpersonal relationships to heal. This is particularly the case when this treatment has to be done in a context of ambivalent attitudes to authority such as an institutional life must provide. How critical are our institutions of their capacity to examine themselves in the way that the hostel had to examine itself? What do they see as their tasks today?

Borstal institutions as we know them obviously cannot provide the depth of understanding in interpersonal relations that this small hostel for highly selected boys could. Their task is too great, the diversity of their inmates too immense, their staff too few in number, their resources too small. Because of their size, they have to regiment their routine and thus lack flexibility in their approach to the individual. Because borstal training is part and parcel of an indeterminate penal sentence, they tend to be more concerned with making moral judgments about behaviour than understanding it. Because they are the agents of a society highly ambivalent in its attitudes and feelings towards its nonconforming members, they are too much associated with fantasies of guilt, punishment and revenge. Their philosophy still seems based upon ideas of charity, education and privilege that are out-moded for many of their inmates and staff. In short, they reinforce a picture of society as authoritarian, demanding, critical and judgemental while trying to aid the casualties of just those aspects of society.

The critic of the borstal system does not lack for targets these days. He can point to the diminishing success rate to begin with but if he is a fairer man he can begin to suggest some of the possible causes of this. He can point to the fact that for many, borstal training is still based on such popular adages as "A healthy mind in a healthy body" and "Hard work never killed anybody" rather than on a critical examination of the needs of the individual inmate for rehabilitation. He can observe the fact that the majority

of institutional staff still receive only rudimentary training in the social skills necessary to understand and handle disturbed and difficult adolescents. He can indicate that the greater number of borstal institutions are far too large for any experimentation in community living or for any meaningful staff/inmate interaction. And the inmates themselves will say, almost to a man, that as far as they can understand it, borstal training only requires from them a respect for impersonal authority, a willingness to stick at dull and monotonous work for little reward, a toleration of a communal way of life where personal comfort is at a minimum and an acceptance of an almost militaristic smartness in their personal appearance. In too many places does a resentful and suspicious population of inmates face an angry and disappointed group of staff in an atmosphere of mutual distrust. A more difficult environment within which interpersonal relations of a postitive and constructive kind might develop cannot be envisaged.

All this adds weight to the implicit argument in Dr. Miller's book that an institutional experience of this kind will damage further those personalities already severely damaged by early emotional deprivation and social rejection. A critic of the borstal system from the inside, Mr. T. R. Carnegie, writing in this journal recently outlined the essentials of social rehabilitation as he saw them presented to the borstal system: learning to live with oneself, learning to live with society, learning some supporting skills. These are, in basic requirements, in no real way different from the therapy that Dr. Miller was attempting to offer his homeless boys. Dr. Miller shows us how difficult he found the task. The borstal system has also to contend with all the obstacles outlined above, most of which, as Mr. Carnegie suggests, it may have made itself.

So where do we go from here? It may be a long time before we can really feel that borstals are treatment-centred units for social rehabilitation rather than the amorphous, unwieldly institutions of ambiguous and conflicting social purpose that they appear to be. We may need to re-design their curricula if vocational and educational programmes are to be effective. We may need to site them nearer those areas of urban living from whence their inmates come. We will have to offer their staffs more effective training in social skills and more specialist support in carrying out treatment programmes. We should think about the necessity of providing some sort of trained inspectorate to make sure that they are really doing their jobs. We will essentially need a built-in programme of research and evaluation so as to provide the feedback and knowledge of results without which no dynamic system can survive. This cannot be brought about overnight but because the task seems so

immense and because the goal may appear so distant, there is the more reason to keep them clearly before us. And though at the beginning of this review I suggested that Dr. Miller's book brought nought for the comfort of those working in borstals today, it can in this way be seen as a most constructive commentary on the system and its working. For it shows us the goal very clearly and indicates some of the ways in which we might achieve it.

Growth of Freedom
DEREK MILLER
Tavistock Publications 1964
pp. 223. 30s. 0d.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN H. FITCH, Principal Pyschologist at Wormwood Scrubs since 1962, is engaged in the problems of allocation in the evolution of training within the borstal system. He has also been concerned with the teaching and use of group techniques in training methods.

MRS. IVY COLLINSON joined the Prison Service in 1947 at Holloway and became a Principal Officer in 1952. Since 1961 she has been an Assistant Governor.

The cartoon is by Officer C. K. ROBINSON of Hull. A Durham man, he worked for the National Coal Board before joining the Prison Service and designed the first "lodge" banner for the Colliery Mechanics Association. He was a frequent contributor to the magazine *Coal*.

A. J. MARSHALL is a Pentonville Officer who was previously a police officer for some six years with the City of London and Hertfordshire forces.

M. L. HUGGET, an officer at Wellingborough borstal, is a former Royal Marine who joined the Prison Service at Bedford in 1963.

B. A. MARCHANT, has been a housemaster at Prescoed Camp, Usk, since 1959.

M. OLDFIELD, M.C., presently Deputy Governor, Wakefield, was recently at Pentonville. He is well known in the Prison Service through his work at the Officers Training School.

JULIUS CARLEBACH studied sociology in London and criminology in Cambridge. He has worked mainly on the problems of children in England and in Africa, and is currently engaged in research on "reformatories" and approved schools for the Department of Education in the University of Cambridge.

What is a Mum? asks a famous advertisement

Our Contributor, seeking to describe what some people would say was a Father-figure, asks . . .

What is a Housemaster?

B. A. M.

A HOUSEMASTER—make no bones about it—is a mad saint, a father confessor and Aunt Sally all wrapped in one. You can see him blue with cold on the playing fields if not of Eton of equally celebrated institutions any week-end. If you should ask why he should be blue with cold, the answer must lie in the fact that Housemasters are sensitive people, and while they themselves would be content to be wrapped in sheepskin coats, mittens and woollen balaclavas, they are not unaware of the meaning of the ribald comments which would arise from their charges if they dared to be so attired. If the Housemaster himself should be playing he will have a black eye and sundry other bruises—but he will keep quiet about that too.

His role is a difficult one for he is everything and nothing. His progress is a study in itself. As a novice saint your new Housemaster will be hopeful and full of human warmth. He will advise his Governor concerning the correct approach to training and will be duly advised in turn what to do with his correct approach. In his early days he will find himself subject to numerous invitations to go on camping or canoeing courses, or to take charge of Youth Hostelling, and to be sure to make a good job of it at the Hostel.

Our novice will become frustrated dealing perpetually with difficult, not to say impossible people. His job is the care of souls, and no one will have told him how. He will turn to the literature and find that delinquents are mostly mesomorphic but less often ectomorphic* and from the sociologist learn of the norms of subcultural differentiation, and he will wonder how this learning can help him to deal with encopresis.

He will develop a voice capable in one breath of quelling a riot and in the next beguiling the most aristocratic of the Board of Visitors. His world will revolve round a small number of questions endlessly repeated—"When do you think I'll get out then?" "Do you think I'll get it this time?" or "When can I have a change of

*Apologies to SHELDON & ELEANOR GLUECK.

labour?" He will coax, cajole, scold, beguile and watch like a hawk. He will advise the Governor, and go round the parties in the morning, write abscond reports in the afternoon, be Jack of all trades in the evening, and then chase absconders into the early hours. He will hear so many lies that he will feel like a lie. He will learn to cope with any criticism, including that most devastating comment delivered *sotto voce* from one borstal boy to another on the Housemaster's approach "Look at the strength of this then?"

He will receive letters from lads long since left, and will feel like a God, but many times he will be so tired and dispirited he will feel like a whipped dog. He will be Father Christmas on Christmas Day, and grand inquisitor later. He will shrewdly assess visiting parents whilst chatting glibly to them about the weather, and watching for the ten shilling note he knows they are going to leave for their little Willie. He will learn to tell them when Willie is likely to be out without actually telling them, and he will watch the car that they intend to take him off in anyway.

He will learn to appear supremely composed under all circumstances and this will be difficult, because at the same time he will learn to suspect everybody of everything. Emotionally he will become very, very self-contained, and he will develop a frantic sense of humour because he must. In fact he will become just a little bit mad, and because he cares, just a little bit saintly, and because he is these things he will begin to enjoy this far-flung, impossible and wonderful job, and he will be glad he joined.

Mr. Bradley Remembers

Sir,

In the October Journal Mr. T. R. Carnegie contributed a very interesting article on *A New Look at Borstal Training*. I am tempted by your general invitation to submit a point of view. I do this with all the diffidence proper to a "has-been" but with a very lively recollection of and a sincere respect for Mr. Carnegie himself and with a lasting and still nostalgic interest in the progress of the Borstal System. I should add, of course, that what I say here is my own personal view not necessarily held by any of my old colleagues in the Service.

Mr. Carnegie's outline of an institution operating a "specific policy of social rehabilitation including diagnostic treatment and discharge evaluation" has behind it the advantage of much research and clinical experiment not available to those of us who were battling with borstal problems twenty, thirty or more years ago. Borstal policy must march with modern thought and techniques, not fearing experiment, adopting what is wise and practicable, eschewing what is doctrinaire, hypertheoretical or "patent," otherwise it will lose its vitality. But it must be remembered that borstal policy has always been governed, or perhaps the better word is "shackled" by circumstances largely outside the control of the powers that be. I mean of course such factors as excessive numbers, buildings used of necessity but often far from suitable, limited funds and many others, all of them acting as a brake on the efforts of that dedicated body of men and women whom I hold in such respect, the borstal staffs.

Borstal training in the early days, says Mr. Carnegie, was very paternalistic and emotionally loaded. All the clients were 'boys' irrespective of age or maturity. What's in a name? Probably, in its psychological implications, quite a lot. But I remember our puzzled discussions to find a better alternative; 'Lads?' Too emotionally paternalistic! 'Inmates?' Officially ordained but institutionally impersonal. 'Men?' *Pace* Inmate French, 16 3/12, 4ft.3ins. tall (or short), and a perpetual childish thorn in our too, too adult flesh! One of my housemasters with my

full concurrence, called his house "men," but it did not stick, even among the 'boys' themselves. So, *faute-de-mieux*, 'boys' they remained. But Mr. Carnegie's implication that they were treated as boys is wide of the mark. Portland in the twenties and Gringley Camp in the floods of the late forties—these were no day nurseries. And anyway, we did replace shorts by trousers!

I have always thought that there is much in Mr. Carnegie's suggestion that there should be what might be termed local borstals—Manchester boys, for instance being posted to a near Manchester borstal, and so on. In this way there would be "a greater degree of acceptance and integration between the locality and the institution." Distance from his home area is in many cases a drawback to a boy, precluding as it does the preservation of family contacts and failing to awaken in the various local communities a sense of responsibility for the rehabilitation of *their* boys. The idea of local borstals, however, overrides the principle of classification, for unless there were two or three such institutions around each big urban area, an obvious impracticability, there would be much undesirable mixing in the one borsal of the sheep with the goats, a consummation which the present system does a good deal to avoid. In any case it is well known that the Department has too often had but little choice in the siting or establishing of the borstals, being obliged to take what was going and to make the best of it. Moreover, security for the less reliable inmates has always been an inescapable necessity, and the creation of secure establishments is a long and expensive job. Thus, governed largely (as I said earlier) by practical considerations, the current system of allocation has been developed, but not without a good deal of careful thought, and I find it difficult to accept Mr. Carnegie's asseveration that it has been "a policy of the oubliettes." The individual having been sent to borstal, he can be forgotten—"something will be done to him by someone." This is indeed a severe condemnation, unjustified by much conscientious and often successful training over the years.

In his "New Look" Mr. Carnegie suggests that every agency which might contribute to more efficient and progressive training should be incorporated in the curriculum. He mentions as instances E.S.N. schools and Mental Health Day Clinics, he also refers to Case Work and Group Counselling (the capitals are his). Clearly he is right in pressing that nothing which will help the reformation of our misguided clientele should be left untried, provided that the risk is avoided of turning a boy into a "case," shuttlecocked from one agency to another. For when all is said and done the truth remains that adolescents are incorrigible

"follow-my-leaders," and it is incontestible that many a boy's awakening has been due not to the system, not to scientific instruments of training (though their important contribution must never be minimised) but to the fact that he grew to trust and to respect this or that member of the staff and to determine not to let him down. I find myself thinking of a borstal matron who by her simple, motherly care saved one boy particularly and to my knowledge many others from a wasted life of crime: of a civilian blacksmith instructor who would have won no laurels for literary or psychological know-how, but who refashioned many a potential tearaway on the anvil of his experience and knowledge of the ways of men: of an elderly prison officer who finished his service as a Principal Officer in borstal who alone could pacify young Mulligan when in one of his tempestuous moods. The list is endless. And I suspect that Mr. Carnegie himself has his honoured place in it, and that there are 'boys,' now men, going straight just because they found in him not only the trained approach but, fulfilling it, the personal leadership and care for them which they so desperately needed at a critical time in their development.

I hope that what I have said may not be taken in any sense as to decry the contribution to training due to the advance of social science, nor that I have fallen into the trap of the 'also-ran' by a blind belief in the practices of the past. It is very encouraging to read that "some staff have been given an initial social work training," and it is only too true that in the past the "creative talent of the staff" has not been invoked to its fullest extent. But improved self-knowledge derived from self-examination through group counselling and other instruments will not alone turn the scale. It must be accompanied by the recognition of this fact of personal attachment which, being outward-looking and not introspective, springing from the affections rather than from the intellect, in many cases may prove to be the stronger and more lasting influence on a 'boy's' development. Let it be said, moreover, that this personal attachment makes greater demands on the staff than the intelligent application of the techniques of scientific training. For respect and devotion by a younger person for an older person is a sound trust not lightly to be discharged. "For some reason or other, God knows why, this youngster looks up to me and I can't let him down." And in the process of not letting him down lies the measure of our dedication to our work.

R. L. BRADLEY

The Journal is very pleased to have this letter from Mr. R. L. Bradley, C.B.E., former Commissioner and Director of Borstal Administration.