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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

FEATURES

REVIEWS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Photographs of Village Lock-ups formerly appeared in *"The Countryman"*

Petersham page 16
Copyright. Bruce Winstone, A.I.B.P., A.R.P.S., F.R.S.A.

Lingfield page 17
Copyright. Miss Gwyneth Pennethorne

Swanage page 18
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Editorial

Sixpence is a small price for any magazine of over forty pages.

In 1960 the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL was started at that price, in answer to requests from within the Prison Service for an In-Service magazine which would be easily available to everyone.

Costs continue to rise and it is necessary to raise the price by another sixpence.

Formerly twice-yearly publication has meant distribution problems for both Her Majesty's Stationery Office and the newsagents, but the new quarterly issues will enable the Journal to be sold more easily, through the trade, to members of the public interested in penal matters, and we look forward to welcoming more of these readers.

Each January, April, July and October, we aim to offer a Journal twice as popular as before and costing only three shillings for four issues—still a small price for the varied reading offered.

The Journal is read by over two-thirds of the staff, and many more copies are sold to schools, universities, and readers in related fields of work. We do not aim to sell thousands more, but we do want the Service and its friends to have this magazine as cheaply as we can afford to produce it.

In wishing our readers a happy New Year in 1963, we would hope to maintain the standard of the first five issues and, as the new numbers come to you, to encourage every reader to take a personal interest in the journal of the Service in which they are professionaly involved and interested.

The Editorial Board will be heartened as much by your comments as by your continued support.

Staff Problems in a Maximum Security Prison

PAULINE MORRIS

So we have sought through these years to build up a diversified staff of sufficient numbers and good quality. The late Sir Lionel Fox, this Journal, No. 1 July, 1960.

Whilst a wonderful sense of companionship existed amongst the officers, the "Couldn't care less" and "Bang 'em up" attitude was noticeable in some cases. Officer N. Smith, this Journal No. 5 July, 1962.

"It's the prisoners who run this Prison." *Title of article by Terrence Morris, Pauline Morris and Barbara Biely,* this Journal, No. 2 January, 1961, *and now Mrs. Morris makes a further comment, based on a lecture given as part of the educational activities of the Howard League for Penal Reform.*

IN A MOST recent issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL (January 1962) the Chairman of the Prison Commission suggests that they are today faced with a three-fold problem to which there are three keys. The existing organisation of our penal system must be as effective as we can make it, it must be flexible and every means must be sought to increase our knowledge and understanding of the problems which face us today and in the future. Mr. Peterson goes on to suggest that the most important key to this problem is the training and effective use of staff.

Staff problems and industrial relations are never very easy to resolve, and one difficulty facing the Commission today is that this is a problem which appears to be simple, whereas in reality it is extremely complex. It is commonly supposed by many of those working in the service that the essential problems are overcrowding and under-staffing; but whilst it is true that the present flood of prisoners presents grave difficulties, and equally true that there is a shortage of officers (particulary in some prisons), it is in fact most unlikely that the character of the prison would undergo a fundamental change if numbers were reduced and the staff increased overnight. Some of the staff are perceptive enough to regard adminstration, teamwork and leadership as being

major problem areas, rather than overcrowding and staff shortages *per se*.

This is a situation which can in many ways be compared with an industrial organisation in which the traditional sources of unskilled labour are rapidly drying up and economic rationalisation by means of mechanisation, time and motion study, improved methods of accounting and stock control and so forth, have not yet come into operation. The prison officer, perhaps without knowing it, is sharing the problems of the industrial worker in a society undergoing rapid technological and social change.

If the *Prison Officer's Magazine* is an accurate barometer of the feelings of the ordinary prison officer, then there is reason to believe that the staff feel uncertain, or even hostile, towards current trends in prison administration. Month after month letters and articles appear, which range from cynicism and criticism to outright vilification of every aspect of penal adminstration. The prize article in April, 1961 starts: "After many years in the prison service I can honestly say I have never known morale amongst staff to be at so low an ebb". . . And a letter in the same issue refers to the staff situation as "desperate". The pages of each issue seem to suggest that the basis of these troubles lie in low pay, long hours and endless grievances of a material nature. These may well be contributory factors, but they are not, I think, the fundamental issues underlying staff problems in prisons today.

Unfortunately these are the kinds of problem which tend to be extremely difficult to investigate because, although the staff feel very deeply about their status and morale within the service, they are very reluctant to speak frankly to outsiders about it, because they see prison as a secret world which only those in the service can really understand, and because outsiders might *mis*understand, they must not be allowed to know about it.

From what I have read of prison officers' writing and from what I have gathered from them in conversation, the uniformed staff seem, for the most part, perpetually discontented (even allowing for the possibility that complaining is in itself part of the job satisfaction). As in many large organisations there is a good deal of grumbling in the Gatehouse, the Officers Mess, or in P.O.A. branch meetings. In fact, the opportunity to vent one's discontent upon senior officials particularly, for example, the Prison Commissioners (whose identity blurs into the haze of an impersonal bureaucracy) probably constitutes one of the major aspects of the prison officer's emotional security. Provided he is relatively discreet, he may complain to his heart's content about the prison, its administration, his pay, the policy of the Commissioners, or anything else, and remain immune from the sanctions of reprimand or dismissal.

The subjects of discontent are

legion—hours of work and overtime form the focus of general discontent, though closer probing frequently reveals that these are connected with pay. Shortage of quarters is regarded as indicating lack of concern by the Commissioners, who are generally believed to be more concerned about prisoners than about staff. Uniforms are another focus of complaint, though as in the case of quarters it is the administrative aspect of their supply rather than their actual quality which is the cause of discontent.

I am sure it is unnecessary to continue this catalogue of complaints—the monthly issues of the *Prison Officers Magazine* contain little else. Nor perhaps is it surprising that officers complain in these ways. For them the pinpricks which stem from the inadequacies of the bureaucratic machine are very real, and the underlying causes of dissatisfaction are far more difficult to recognise or to understand.

In the main it would seem that fundamental problems originate from the ambiguities of the prison system itself, and the emotive and intellectual conflicts that they impose on the prison staff. There is not only the apparent dichotomy of containment and reform, but a further divergence between the ideal of "social service" (which occupies a significant place in the recruiting literature) and the requirements of the discipline code for officers. In one context the officer is expected to use his initiative positively, to do his job well, and to expedite the process of reform, while in another he is required to adhere to a complex system of rules devised for the day to day administration of the prison. This conflicting situation seems to arise partly because Rules and Standing Orders have never been fundamentally altered to keep in line with modern policy, and partly because of the hierarchical structure of the staff which inhibits those in the lower echelons (and often more senior staff too) from taking initiative and accepting responsibility. The majority of officers *prefer* a simple system of clear and unambiguous objectives and they are reluctant to accept new ideas because of the increased flexibility of the regime which frequently accompanies them. On the other hand there is a large minority of officers who languish under the rigidity and 'dependency' which many of the senior uniformed staff impose upon them, and would prefer a greater degree of autonomy which would, incidentally, accelerate the move of prison officers towards professional status.

The Discipline Code to which the prison officer is subject is as comprehensive in its details as that part of the Prison Rules which governs the conduct of prisoners. To take but one example, trafficking is considered one of the most serious offences against the Discipline Code, but there is no differentiation made between the officer who systemat-

ically supplies goods for financial gain and the officer who gives a cigarette spontaneously as part of a genuinely warm relationship with a prisoner. Similarly, whilst officers are encouraged to take an interest in the personal problems of men whilst they are in prison, and to work to the ideal of Rule 6, which states that "the purposes of training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge and to fit them to do so", at the same time they are expressly forbidden to have any communication whatever with a man after discharge.

Undoubtedly the problems associated with the system of promotion contribute in no small part to staff discontent. Because of the slowness of promotion, and the virtual impossibility of dismissal, there are few incentives, if any, for the discipline officer to improve his efficiency. The problem is complicated by the fact that there are specialists in the prison service such as trade assistants, whose promotion is regarded in a different way and for whom advancement comes, on the whole, more rapidly. This in itself does not contribute to good inter-departmental staff relations.

It is possible for the uniformed staff to be promoted to the Assistant Governor grade, but here in rests a major source of discontent. The prison officer is usually at an educational disadvantage when compared with outside applicants who frequently have university qualifications; but it is in the so-called 'Country House Test' that the disadvantage is most apparent. Although this test applies only to those already in the service, uniformed officers feel they may lack the social adaptability and confidence which, they believe, the test is designed to assess, and their failure rate is comparatively high. Although serving officers are never actually in direct competition with 'outsiders', many of them *believe* that they are, and although the facts are known by the P.O.A. officially, it is a belief which dies very hard. Furthermore the number of officers who have managed to get on to the A.G.'s course has recently been steadily increasing, but because 'civilians' do better, there is a great deal of bitterness against entry into the higher ranks "via the back door". They resent the fact that A.G.'s newly recruited from civilian life have to be trained by the uniformed staff, and the strength of their feelings is reflected in the P.O.'s magazine for July 1961 where the leading article on the front page reads: "The Prison Commissioners have now advertised an open competition for some 22 more men Assistant Governors and it can safely be assumed that at least twenty of these will be appointed from outside the Service. They will come in and be taught the job by the senior uniformed officers whose promotions they have filched". Or more recently from the issue of January 1962 we can

read an excerpt by the Assistant General Secretary of the Prison Officers Association from a talk he gave to the Social Service Organisation of Cambridge University: "If he (the prison officer) sees outsiders coming into the service to take up posts as A.G.'s with no more knowledge of prisons or prisoners than they have been able to glean from books and lectures at University—plus a few activities such as helping Outward Bound Schemes and Youth Clubs—he must be forgiven for thinking that his hopes of promotion are considerably and unjustifiably lessened. A pill which is all the more difficult to swallow because he knows that, as a senior officer, he will have to take these 'new boys' by the hand and teach them their job". It is paradoxical that despite these views, the majority of officers to whom I have spoken in prison want outsiders as Governors.

It has been my experience that officers feel strongly that ability and merit, rather than sheer seniority, should dominate the promotion system as a whole. It is difficult to reconcile this view with the expressed views of the P.O.A. executive, who still insist on promotion by seniority. Those officers who agree with the principle of seniority do so, at least partly, because they think that promotion by ability produced the "blue-eyed boy". Certainly no one seriously interested in promotion believes that it is wise to get on the wrong side of a senior officer.

There are also problems for the staff which stem from their social lives. Although time will not permit more than a brief mention of this area of difficulty, it is one which certainly deserves more consideration than it has hitherto been given. It is perhaps significant that welfare facilities for prison officers have only been in existence for three or four years and that even now the Commissioners have a staff of only two welfare officers, who normally visit each prison once a year. It seems perhaps optimistic to hope that the staff will be able to make extensive use of a man who is here today and gone tomorrow. There are about 6,000 prison officers (male and female) scattered over about 80 establishments and it would be unrealistic to suppose that two welfare officers—or even three—could deal with more than a tiny fraction of the staff problems. To be really effective, welfare officers need to be able to spend a considerable time in each prison getting to know the staff and improving relationships within the prison community generally, rather than dealing only with emergency domestic problems, though I am sure that this is an important part of their function and one welcomed by the staff.

In any discussion of quarters and accommodation it is difficult to generalise because although I am speaking now of the maximum security local prisons, as far as amenities are concerned, the

areas in which such prisons are situated vary widely. There are certain difficulties, however, which I suspect apply to almost all such establishments, the most important being the tendency for prison officers and their families who live in quarters to remain socially, as well as physically isolated from the surrounding neighbourhood. This in itself presents problems, but in addition, prison officers are by no means integrated amongst themselves.

For almost all workers in industry and commerce the physical separation of home and work enables the individual to live a private life uninfluenced by his job except in the broadest social and economic terms. For the prison officer no such separation exists, and even if he lives away from the prison, his journey to work in uniform emphasises his connection with it. Whether the prison officer likes it or not, the prison dominates his life. Work problems spill over into his leisure time and private problems may be accentuated by his work experience and spill over into working hours, thus placing a great strain on marriages. It is constantly asserted by officers with long service, that an understanding and tolerant wife is perhaps the best asset a man can have in this job. I am not suggesting that this problem is unique to the prison service, nor even that it is worse in the prison service that in other walks of life, but it may well be that conditions prevailing in the service—living in quarters, sense of isolation, long working hours, lack of welfare facilities for staff —all tend to perpetuate and intensify family difficulties of this kind.

There is too, the question of personality; the requirements of the prison in terms of containment and control make it necessary for officers to act in an authoritarian way, for theoretically it is their job to *direct* the prisoner rather than to reason with him. Some men lack the flexibility of personality required to change from an authority figure in the prison, whose orders should go unchallenged, to a figurehead in a family, the norms of which are democratic.

Even if he wants to have a social relationships with ordinary people outside, the prison officer is under a special kind of constraint. His work has a strong, macabre fascination for the ordinary citizen, yet the officer, bound by the Official Secrets Act, cannot talk as freely about his job to his friends as can the busman, foreman or office worker. One of the striking things about the staff community is that whether it is in a city prison or in an isolated country district, socially it is just as remote from the outside world. The reference groups tend to be the staff and families of other institutions, thus coachloads of officers and their wives travel between the social clubs at Pentonville, Wandsworth, Brixton and Wormwood Scrubs.

But of all the areas of conflict

and confusion the most outstanding is undoubtedly that of the dichotomy of containment—or custody—and reform. The confusion exists equally, I suspect, in the minds of the administrators who are concerned with implementing new policies, but it is emphasised for the ordinary prison officer because (a) he is the person in daily contact with the prisoner and he has little time to theorise about his words and actions, (b) the hierarchical organisation of the prison system results in very serious blockages and distortions in communication.

If we look at the words used to describe what is going on in prison I think we get a glimmering of how the confusion arises. The administrators talk of "training" and "rehabilitation", but the officer on the landing talks of "reform". By "reform", officers mean that a man ceases to come back to prison and this patently is not the experience of the majority of officers who have served fairly long periods in our large urban prisons. They see men coming back just as frequently whether they have been in "reform" wings, had the benefits of group counselling, or any other experiments. The word "reform" has tended to become a term of contempt amongst prison officers: prison has become 'soft', it has no deterrent value, it does not punish, and it undermines the authority of the staff. Above all, it doesn't work. This attitude on the part of officers arises partly, I believe, from a failure on the part of the training they receive to make explicit the theory behind modern ideas of rehabilitation. The discipline officer is aware that men are now sent to prison *as* punishment not *for* punishment, but at the same time they review the recidivist population as contemptible and unhelpable. The prize article in a recent issue of the P.O. Magazine claims that 90 per cent of crime is caused through the greed of people deliberately acquiring easy money, and speaking of modern penological theory says "Prison officers cannot fully comprehend or accept idealistic theory because they are in daily contact *not* with decent human behaviour, but mainly with those who have rejected good social conduct". In the last issue the demand is to "bring back the bedboards, dispense with bacon and trimmings, and let's have the porridge back and true discipline . . . cut classes, apart from compulsory training for the illiterate and backward. This I submit will send them out better than when they came in".

It is difficult, admittedly, for the average prison officer to see in what way prison is punitive these days. In fact the pains of imprisonment are very considerable, though the deprivations and frustrations which the prisoner suffers today are likely to be of a psychological nature, rather than a physical one. The attack on a man's self-image, or sense of personal worth may have more funda-

mental effects on his post-release attitudes than does the use of physical punishments. His rejection by society is reinforced by his prison situation; a uniform and a number—he is no longer trusted —he is asumed to be a liar. He is a man deprived of all material possession, yet he came from an environment where such possessions are the utmost importance to his sense of personal adequacy and to add to these, he is deprived of heterosexual relationships, thus reinforcing his doubts about his own maleness. He is degraded not only in the eyes of the outside world, but much worse, he is degraded in his own eyes.

The most that can be expected of the newer policies of relaxed discipline, increased opportunity for group discussion, encouraging a sense of responsibility and similar "reformative" measures, is that they should restore the balance and help to avoid destroying the man's own sense of personal worth whilst he is in prison. It is a mistake to think that in our present state of penological theory we know of any way of "reforming" prisoners, but if we are able to avoid some of the staff/inmate conflicts and make prison life more reasonable and civilised for both, then something, at least, has been achieved.

Unfortunately, however, staff, particularly those in our overcrowded urban gaols, rarely understand what lies behind new policies and it is difficult to blame them when they point out that they do not "reform" anyone.

Confusion for the prison officer exists at all stages of his career. The new recruit posted to a large recidivist establishment after eight weeks training at Wakefield is likely to be told by senior officers "forget it all". Reform, and what is commonly known as the "Wakefield Line", may be fine for 'star' and 'open' prisons, but it has no relevance to the needs of a recidivist gaol. For officers with some years of experience, refresher courses at Wakefield are often regarded cynically as a "five-day brainwash". Officers in such prisons soon become set in their ways and they fear ridicule by other officers if they express new ideas. Discussions with discipline staff revealed a great wish for further education in English, mathematics and G.C.E. subjects, but very few wanted further training in prison matters. Even more significant was the number who wanted "information about the Commissioners' policy".

Nevertheless the failure on the part of the Commissioners to succeed in training officers for their new roles is not the whole story. It is exceedingly difficult to break through the formidable barrier which exists within the service against accepting that modern ideas at least for the recidivist population—are worth considering.

For some officers the idea of helping prisoners is not only im-

practicable but illogical because, as they see it, it would mean an end to punishment. The overall atmosphere of pessimism is reflected in the widespread opinion "Reform is a good thing, but it can't work here".

The discipline officer is rarely well informed. Because the concept of rationality is inherent in the structure of bureaucracy, the "ideal" officer has no anxiety about the wisdom or practicability of decisions which are communicated to him. Still less should he question statements of policy which come from the Governor's Office, or from Horseferry House. But we have seen that this ideal is a long way from reality, and in practice, the contingent decisions which are at the heart of the day to day running of the prison, require all staff members, in varying degrees, to act flexibly. They can seldom do so if they are not in possession of *reasons* as well as instructions. In fact what happens is that instructions flow downwards in the hierarchy, but explanations tend to be filtered out at each level. In quite small matters increased information would make for greater efficiency. I remember standing on the centre of a prison one day whilst prisoners were being unlocked for a lecture. The senior officer did not know what the lecture was about, so his juniors could not answer the prisoners' questions when they asked. Delay and indecision resulted whilst men made up their minds whether to attend and hope they wouldn't be bored, or risk missing something really interesting. More importantly, such deprivation of elementary information tends to reduce the status of the officer to an automatic turnkey-cum-sheepdog.

Failure of communication and lack of information, especially about policy matters, are constant subjects of discussion in the prison service generally. Sometimes this takes the form of always wanting orders *in writing*. The desire to have things in writing is consistent with the inability to tolerate ambiguity and the general inertia which pervades establishments of the kind we are discussing. The reasons for this inertia are likely to be found in a situation where subordinate officers are most reluctant to express criticism, or indeed to question anything for fear that to do so might have repercussions upon them and their chances of promotion. Subordinate officers often see their superiors as either excessively rigid, or alternatively so frightened of their own shadows that they avoid any decision or action which might be controversial. This is, of course, how subordinate officers see the situation, and as in so many cases, it is what people *believe* to be true rather than what is actually the case, which is important. Timidity, inertia, and anxiety about promotion and official reports colours, too, another dimension of staff relations, namely those between older and younger officers—younger, that is, in terms

of recruitment rather than age.

The discussion so far has been concerned with the problems affecting the staff in a generalised way. But there are additional complications because, except in times of crisis, there is no overriding community of interest which binds all the staff together. Rather there is a range of interest groups whose relationships may as often be characterised by conflict as by co-operation. Viewed in an organisational context the problems of the maximum security prison are the problems of the staff, just as the problems of the mental hospital are not intrinsically related to the disorders of the patients, but to the tasks of the nursing staff in the provision of therapy and continuing care.

Leaving aside the clerical staff, the uniformed staff of the prison are divided three ways—discipline, works, medical. The tasks of the discipline staff are primarily containment and control, for although there are expectations that an officer should also act as a counsellor, or therapeutic agent, rather than purely as a custodian, there is no such formal element in his role, and any attempt to act in this way in overcrowded and under-staffed prisons may result in extreme frustration. The discipline officer tends to be suspicious of his superiors and because the bureaucratic machine does not always give him the security he needs, he tends to perceive himself as misunderstood, despised, and socially undervalued.

The discipline staff contrast their job with that of the Trade Assistants whom they see as a favoured group. But the works staff themselves experience some degree of role conflict. In the event of serious trouble they inevitably become at one with the discipline staff, but for the most part their working day is spent with small groups of prisoners on a foreman-workman or craftsman-labourer basis. Primarily they see themselves as craftsmen; their normal tasks are constructive and positive, in contrast to those of the discipline staff which are repetitive and often have no tangible end product, save physical cleanliness and order.

Any overt structural conflict which exists between the discipline and works staff is observable only at the lower levels of the hierarchy. This situation is much less apparent among the lower ranks of the hospital staff and the discipline staff. In the first place the hospital officer's role is formally defined as therapeutic and he is located in a part of the prison where all prisoners are regarded as *sick*. Secondly, the tasks of the hospital officer are essentially contingent and bear no relation to the long-term penal objectives of the prison. Thirdly, their custodial activities—the imposition of physical restraints and the keeping of patients locked in—are readily interpreted as quasi-therapeutic in that they are directed towards the prisoner's good. Such conflict between medical and custodial treat-

ment as exists in prisons, tends to take place at the top levels of the hierarchy and is not our concern here.

Whilst these sorts of conflicts do not by themselves constitute a grave problem, taken in conjunction with the other staff problems which I have been discussing, they tend to swell the waves of discontent and to hinder the staff co-operation which is so essential to the smooth running of any organisation, and in particular a bureaucratic organisation such as the prison.

What means then are open to the prison officer to resolve these problems and conflicts? Officially he has two channels available, the P.O.A. through his local branch, and the staff consultative committee.

So far as the P.O.A. meetings are concerned, one of the most difficult problems to overcome is that of apathy; the P.O. magazine is full of exhortations to members to support their branches. Meetings tend to be used in the same way as the magazine, in order to air endless grievances regarding conditions of pay and service generally. In this way the branch meeting acts as a safety valve for complaints and feelings of anger and frustration. But unfortunately, largely because so few members attend, it does not act as a democratic setting for constructive debate which might be subsequently channeled to reach a national level.

This in part stems from a remark I made earlier—namely that the majority of prison officers do not understand the true nature of the problems they are facing and they tend to get bogged down in discussions about day to day matters which, if resolved, may act as a palliative, but which do not in fact touch the basic problems of morale and status.

The other authorised channel for complaints is the staff consultative committee which in theory represents a considerable modification to the hierarchical authority structure of the prison, though much must depend upon the personality of the Governor who acts as Chairman. From the point of view of the day to day running of the prison these committees may bring slight improvements, but it can also work the other way if senior officers feel threatened by their subordinates who are members of the committee.

In general the committee is felt by the rank and file of the staff to be pretty remote. Delegacy is in fact an inadequate substitute for participation and the size of the committee precludes any genuine feeling that the junior staff *as a whole* is given a share in the discussion of the formulation of policy. Furthermore the senior staff tend to over-balance the committee and officers are by and large reticent to participate on a basis of equality with those who in all other structural contexts have to be treated with the deference due to superiors. It might also be added that the functions of the

committee tend to become confused for many who do not distinguish between the function of the staff consultative committee and the meetings which take place between the Governor and the representatives of the local P.O.A. branch.

Obviously I have only touched the fringe of this difficult topic. I hope that more research will be carried out in this area; it is perhaps unfortunate that so much time (relatively speaking) is spent studying the captives and virtually none is spent studying the captors. On the other hand they themselves do not make this an easy task. Most prison officers interpret research as negative criticism. I have invariably been described as carrying out an "enquiry" or an "investigation" and both words carry unpleasant connotations—enquiries or investigations take place when things have gone wrong; sanctions are seen as an inevitable result. It is difficult to carry out research in an atmosphere of suspicion and some hostility, and it is limiting to the research if people do not feel able to discuss matters freely with the research worker. Nevertheless it is my belief that unless further studies are made of penal institutions as communities, and of staff morale, few worthwhile changes will take place.

Meanwhile I will end by making four brief suggestions for improving matters, based on such limited research as it has been my good fortune to carry out.

(1) The prison administration needs to take a second look at the training programme, particularly at the relationship between the three phases of training: the initial period in prison, the Wakefield course, and the impact for the officer on returning to the prison and the first year on probation. It might at the same time review the aim and content of the five day refresher course for officers with six years or more experience.

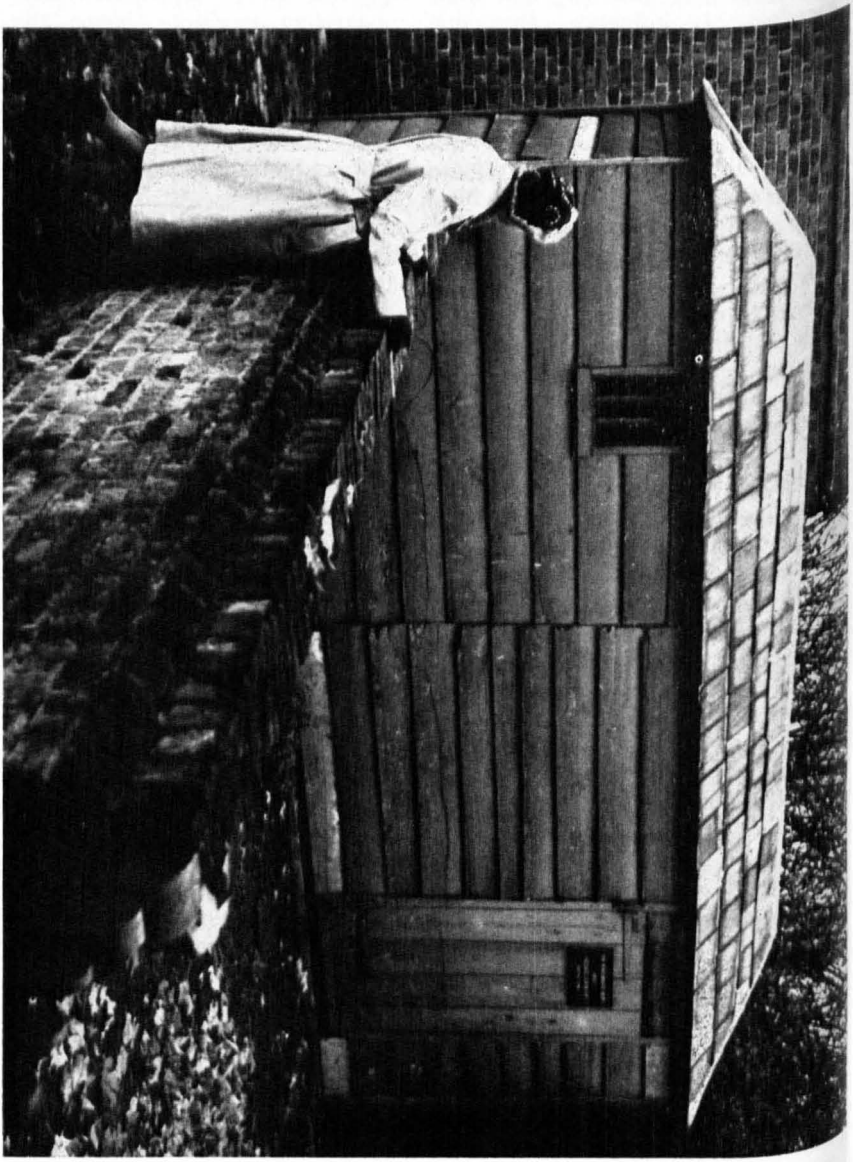
(2) Prison staff need to be aware that the conflict between custody and treatment is not nearly as great as would at first appear. The new, more relaxed methods of treatment *can* mean that the process of custody is made simpler and the officer allowed to be more concerned with positive aspects of training. It is largely a matter of how the officer sees these problems: if he simply finds it more difficult and confusing to have custody of a group of men on association than he did in the past when he merely locked them up and unlocked them, then obviously he will not be very happy about new penal methods and will see them as a tiresome extension of his duties. But if he can be shown that his influence for good can be far greater on this group of men on association than it could be on the man locked away silently in his cell, then it should be possible to see the job as more worthwhile and with more status. Just as schoolmasters have to combine teaching with punishing, so too can prison officers: but there is a need

to readjust the balance between the exercise of authority and the exercise of influence through treatment. And treatment need not only mean the use of professional staff—for example treatment, in its widest sense, can take place through the day to day relationships of a good T/A with his small group of workmen, or by the interest an officer shows in the individual problems of a small group of men on his landing, problems outside as well as inside the prison.

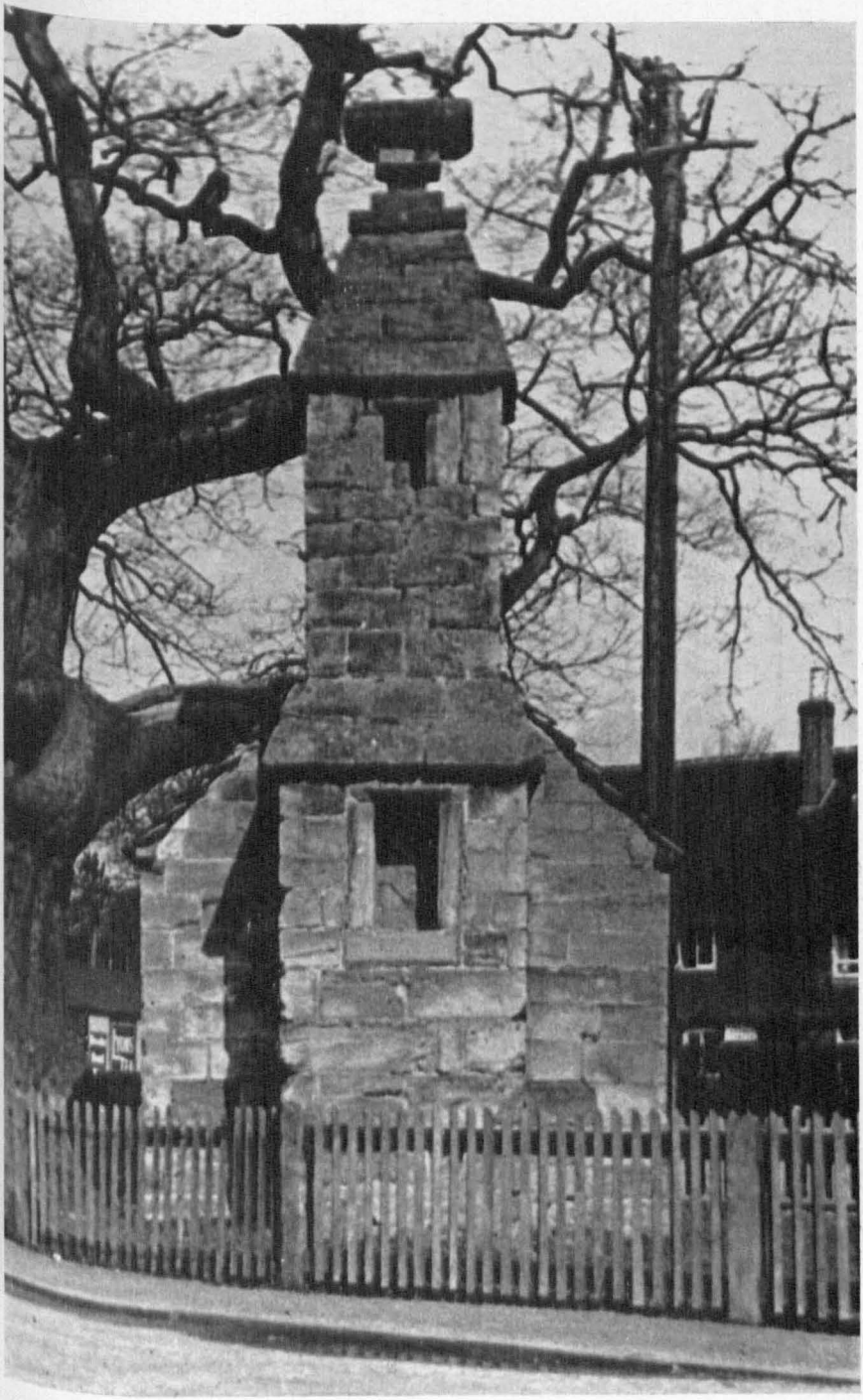
(3) My third suggestion is in many ways the most far-reaching and idealistic, but at the same time I regard it as the one requiring most urgent attention. It seems of the utmost importance to restructure the prison service in such a way that the social gap between the governor grades and the uniformed grades become much less apparent. This cannot be done simply by amending the promotion structure—such action would only result in more frequent reshuffles within the hierarchy. What is essential is that the status distinctions of the hierarchy should be much less precise. This cannot happen whilst all the 'sir-ing', 'saluting', buttons and peak caps and other relics of para-militarism persist. This breaking down of status distinctions cannot be done overnight and indeed it has taken more than a decade to break down the rigid social structure of the mental hospital where the situation mirrors in many ways the world of prison. Nevertheless it is being, and in many cases has been achieved — perhaps the most outstanding example being the Henderson Hospital where doctors, nurses, and therapists really share equality in the treatment of patients, and where white coats and starched uniforms are no longer seen. Staff meetings really get to grips with the problems of individuals as well as those of the community, and staff morale is improved since all share a common purpose, and all are genuinely free to speak their minds without fear of sanction, or loss of approval or promotion. In prisons the problem is admittedly more difficult because the world at large sees prisoners as not only dangerous but wicked. The progressive mental hospital has merely to reassure the public that mental patients are rarely dangerous, it has not got to grapple with the vulgar aspects of the philosophy of crime and punishment.

(4) Finally, it must be recognised that the staff in a prison have very special problems indeed since they spend their lives dealing with exceptionally difficult people (and I would stress here the use of the word *difficult*, not necessarily dangerously aggressive as the picture is so often painted). Furthermore the home life of prison officers is inextricably bound up with everything that goes on inside the prison. There is a very great need for much improved welfare facilities for staff —and exclusively for them.

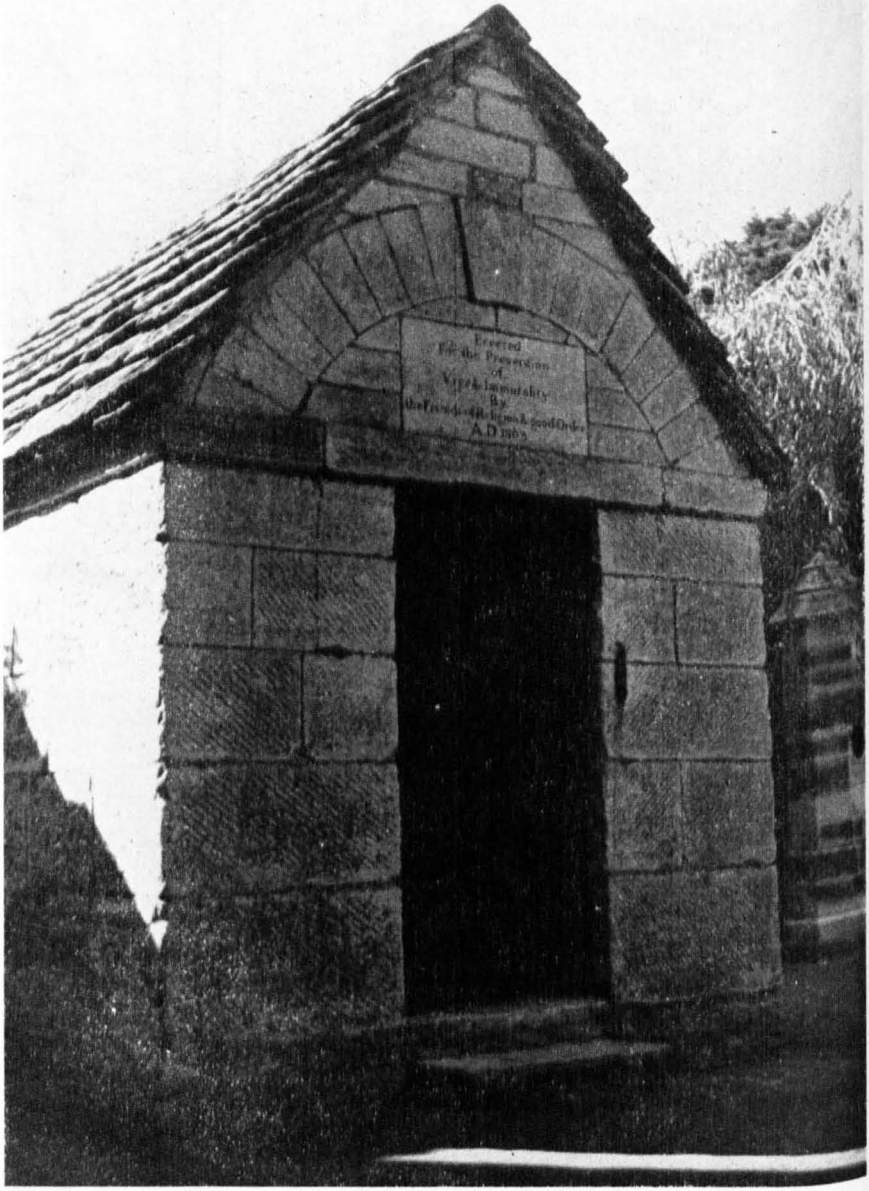
. . . . .



Georgian Watch-box and Lock-up — 1782 — Petersham, Surrey



Rural Prison *Lingfield, Sussex.*



"Erected for the Prevention of Vice and Immorality by the Friends of Religion and good order."

A.D. 1803 Swanage, Dorset.

A Countryman in Prison

COOMBE RICHARDS
(Reprinted by permission of the Editor of *"The Countryman"*)

IN OVER TWENTY years' experience of grim, high-walled prisons, mostly situated in large industrial cities, I have often come across things of interest to nature lovers, free or incarcerated. From the window of my office in an old prison and one of the largest, at Liverpool, I could see and hear a pair of kestrels; for three years they have nested and reared their young in the bomb-battered roof of a derelict wing, which once housed women prisoners. Fraternising with these kestrels are large numbers of pigeons—semi-tame 'dockers', as they are called in the port. Their nests are built almost side by side, and often the adult birds can be seen perched within a foot of one another. Opposite the prison is a large and sparsely occupied cemetery where, at almost any time of day, the hawks are to be seen hovering in search of prey. The pigeons are a nuisance, because they breed all the year round and constantly foul the buildings, so that labour must be employed to reduce their numbers and clean up after them. Their droppings, which are inches deep in some of the ruins, are collected and used as manure in the gardens.

Sometimes a prisoner captures a young pigeon and tames it, so that it will visit his cell and feed on the ledge outside the sliding panes of his window, and even come inside to be fondled. Jackdaws, too, are not uncommon in some prisons —Dartmoor contained hundreds, known to the prisoners as the ghosts of dead 'screws' (their term for prison officers).

At Liverpool, wild geese can be seen flying over sometimes, and the call of the curlew is often heard at night. Seagulls visit the vegetable gardens and sports field in considerable numbers, though they seldom settle on the prison roofs as they do on those of the surrounding houses. In the grounds I have found nests of blue tits, blackbirds, sparrows and thrushes; starlings, too, make their homes in the cavities surrounding overflow pipes. Cabbage white, tortoiseshell, red admiral, peacock and other butterflies are common, and a host of moths. I have known prisoners keep caterpillars in tooth-powder

cartons. Once, at a prison in the Midlands, I saw a great spotted wood-pecker, and had a nuthatch make its nest in an old earthenware pot.

When a swarm of bees lodged in a great dark mass on the wall of an exercise yard, some stupid man threw a stone in their midst. It did not take long for order and discipline to go by the board, but I do not know whether the culprit suffered. We collected what remained of the swarm and built a hive where they did well, until the prison gardener suffocated them. He was due for release the following day, and I have never been able to make up my mind if he did it on purpose.

I had an ornamental pond made at another Midland prison and stocked it with water plants and fish. I even introduced trout which survived for almost exactly a year; then the half-dozen little fingerlings all died within twenty-four hours, after growing to almost five inches. I and many others enjoyed watching them rise to a fly. Later I caught some rudd and put them in the pond; they, or their descendants, thrive there I believe to this day.

At Oxford, within a few hundred yards of Carfax, I put a cock pheasant out of my garden only just on the 'free' side of the grey prison wall. I assume it found its way there from Wytham Park, two miles distant, where they had been shooting the coverts on the previous day. The bird was obviously 'pricked'.

In the heart of the industrial area, at Birmingham prison, we erected static water tanks at the beginning of the war and filled them from the Corporation mains. Within weeks there were water scorpions, boatmen and beetles swimming around; before long frogs appeared from seemingly nowhere, and, of course, myriads of mosquitoes, which had to be dealt with promptly. At Dartmoor, when the water tanks in the main prison roof were being overhauled and new pipes fitted to replace those corroded with long use, a black, blind, lean trout about nine inches in length was found in one of them. How long it had been there, how it got there and what it lived upon, no-one could say. The tanks were fed from a small reservoir (containing trout) on the hill opposite the main gates, and the unfortunate creature may have passed through the pipes in its infancy.

When I was stationed at Dartmoor, my daughter was a tot in her pram and a prisoner employed in the garden spent more time gathering flowers and catching frogs for her than on his legitimate work. As she grew up, she assumed a tyranny no Governor would ever dare to adopt; she marshalled the men with the mower and made them race to her bidding. 'Blue Eyes' they called her, and they were all her slaves.

In our prisons great interest is taken in horticultural work and in making the flower gardens beautiful and gay. Many prisoners show an extraordinary interest in the soil and what it can produce, and this is fostered by the National Gardens Guild, who supply teachers to take evening classes, and by friends who give books and send plants and flowers. This is not pandering to the criminal, but plays a very real part in preparing him for rehabilitation and a more balanced outlook on his return to the world outside. Such interests do more than is generally believed. If they could be extended there might come a time when I, and those like me, would find ourselves out of a job.

. . . . . .

FOOTNOTE

The reference to my daughter and her Dartmoor convicts had, oddly enough, a sequel nearly a quarter of a century later, on Christmas Day, 1956—my last to be spent in the Prison Service.

Whilst going my rounds of the dining halls during the dinner hour —always the most festive and relaxed occasion of the prison year —an elderly prisoner rose to his feet and asked respectfully if he might speak to me 'privately'. Normally I never took requests or applications casually but only at the proper time and place; this day however I made an exception and beckoned him aside from the others.

"I should like to know, Sir" he said, "how now is little Blue Eyes?".

For the moment non-plussed I looked at him in astonishment, wondering if this was some new form of impertinence (my own eyes being blue) or just what he was driving at!

"I see you don't remember me" he explained. "I was at the Moor in your time, Sir: my name was then . . . . . and I often used to skip work for a game with your little daughter. Blue Eyes we always called her".

The memory came flooding back across the years; of a tiny tot bossing the lags and their sudden exaggerated industry upon my appearance!

I was of course glad to give the man news of her and her happy marriage. That he, maybe others too, should remember that child that day struck, I thought, a remarkably warming and human note.

Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. Liverpool, 1962

The Education of Monica and Vincent

L. J. BARNSDALE

MONICA IS A young girl of eleven, a bright, pleasant personality who captivates on sight; Vincent at fourteen is slightly older, he is a boy of above average intelligence with a ready wit, a good sense of humour and a capacity for learning that does him credit. They are alike in another way, they are two of the thousands of blind children that we have in this country, they are also pioneers in an educational experiment which could have far reaching effect on blind children everywhere.

The story behind this experiment and the part played by six prisoners at Walton Prison, Liverpool, is interesting and is something of which they can feel justly proud.

It started when Sister Clare, who is a tutor at St. Vincents school for blind children, decided to go to America to find new ideas in this field. She found that they had tried sending blind children to the higher schools with sighted children and despite the difficulties it had been successful. On return to this country she arranged with the local Education Authority to try this experiment with Vincent, a young boy at the school for the blind where she worked; they agreed to him attending a grammar school near the home and the project was under way.

It was here that the idea was born that prisoners could help in this work. It will be appreciated that the ordinary text books are of no value to a blind child and copies had to be made in braille so that he could follow the lessons properly. This transcribing into braille is a long job and it is work that is usually done by voluntary help and in view of the urgency it was doubtful if the books would be ready in time. The Governor at Liverpool Prison, Mr. S. G. Clarke was approached about this and a plan was formulated. Father Harris the priest at Liverpool Prison agreed to act as Liaison

Officer between the Prison and the School. There were various factors to consider in selecting the prisoners for this work and it was decided to call for volunteers from prisoners who had at least twelve months to do and who considered that they were reasonably educated and capable of learning braille. Six men were eventually selected, issued with braille machines and paper and started work. Two tutors from the school came to give the initial instruction and have continued to coach and check the work.

Braille is a system of six raised dots formed into various patterns which in turn become letters of the alphabet and to transcribe the first essential is a knowledge of braille. To learn anything quickly one must be interested and keen and it is pleasing to note, therefore, that within a month one man was proficient enough to start a text book and two others allowed to start on fairy stories.

The minimum period of a year was advised because it was thought that it would take a year for each man to transcribe one text book but in view of the enthusiasm and earnestness of the men it may well be that they can complete much more than this. As this is still something of an experiment we will have to wait and see but there is no doubt whatever that whether they do one, two or even more books the service is one that cannot be over estimated.

The men work in their leisure time (dinner period, evening and at week ends) and this is I think, one of the reasons they find the work so satisfying, they feel that they are indeed helping these blind children in their own time when they could be doing something for themselves. As one of them said to me "this is one of the most self satisfying things that I have ever done in my life, I cannot remember doing anything that has afforded me greater pleasure knowing as I do that I am helping in some small way these young blind children." The man was so sincere and obviously thankful for the opportunity to do this service that I realised the good it must be doing him and I wondered as a Prison Officer what good it would do him on his release. Would this have any effect on his own well being?

I think as far as the prisoners themselves are concerned this project does allow them in some measure to regain their self respect. They feel that they are again a useful and necessary part of the community.

With the work being voluntary and carried out in their own time, it does encourage a spirit of selflessness. This is something that would be lost if the work was taken on a full time basis, nevertheless it is something that could be seriously thought about as full time employment in prisons. The field would be somewhat limited

because of the educational requirements and the degree of intelligence required but I do not think this would be any real drawback, indeed a small section of our prison population which is now wasted, would be doing a job of work more in keeping with their capabilities.

It is not generally realised that there are only two grammar schools for blind children in this country, one for boys and one for girls, but knowing this, it will be readily understood how important this experiment is and how necessary it is that it should be a success.

I spoke to Sister Clare about the progress of the scheme and the possibility of extending it and we spoke for the first time about Monica. She said "Without the help of the six men from Walton we could not possibly have sent Monica to grammar school. They had a very real part in our decision to extend the scheme and they have not let us down. One of the prisoners concerned has even worked out a system of symbols to help with mathematics." She was impressed with the speed at which the men had picked up the braille and with their enthusiasm. She told me that two of the men had already passed the examination of proficiency in braille and the others were well on the way, really amazing progress considering the work was only started in June, 1962. The six prisoners were allowed to visit the school to see the children at work and play. To anybody who has not seen the children at these schools for the blind it is indeed an eye-opening experience. The dedicated people who work at these schools spare no effort to improve on their work and new devices and ideas are always forthcoming.

On entering the school one immediately notices the bright colour scheme, the children dress smartly and again colour plays an important part. I asked why the need for so much colour when the effect was lost on the children. I was told very quickly that the brightness and colour reflected from the staff to the children and it was very obvious that considerable thought went into everything that was done at this school. The experiment of sending two pupils to a sighted grammar school typified the general feeling of progress that one felt right through the school.

Many chapters could be written about the work of these schools for blind children but as this short article concerns mainly the project of braille transcribing in prison, I will say only this : these six prisoners at Liverpool have started something so worthwhile, so important to young people like Monica and Vincent, that it must be encouraged and extended so that more and more young children who are handicapped can be given the benefit of a higher education.

Communications

by G. EMERSON

A NUMBER OF YEARS ago it used to be said that communications were the life blood of industry. In that context and at that time it was generally understood that "communications" meant transport—ships, railways and so on. If, however, an up-to-date industrialist, in touch with all the latest thought, uses the term, he is more likely to mean something quite different—instructions, reports, training, consultation, all the means whereby information necessary to the efficient functioning of the organisation is passed to the appropriate people.

If communications in this sense are important in a factory, it is surely self-evident that they are even more important in the Prison Service, which is concerned with the complex and difficult task of handling a large number of human beings—and not the most co-operative set of people at that. In order to discharge our statutory responsibilities and the Home Secretary's directions, we have to house prisoners securely, feed them, clothe them, look after their health, organize work for them, carry out programmes of training and treatment, maintain the fabric of our prisons, build new establishments, and so on and so forth. What is necessary for one purpose is liable to interfere with another. Without a high degree of co-operation there would be chaos. And for the best possible co-operation we need the best possible communications.

We need to communicate upwards as well as downwards, and sideways, too. Clear instructions must obviously be given from the Commissioners downwards. But the Commissioners cannot do their job properly unless they are provided with all the information that they need for the formulation of policy in accordance with the Home Secretary's directions. The policy cannot be a sound one unless it is based on the practical experience of the men and women on the ground.

Horizontal communications are of no less importance. For communications include consultation, and different departments, whether in an establishment or at Head Office, must keep one another informed of relevant developments and must consult together before taking decisions of common interest. Consultation must involve a real effort to understand the different points of view and the special problems of the various departments.

These are simple, practical matters of communication. There are others, less obvious. Is it sufficient that a prison officer, say, or an instructor in a workshop, has been told how to do his

job, to whom to report and whom he should consult? It could be argued that maximum efficiency requires that he should also have an understanding of the general aims of the penal system and of the particular function of his own establishment. Writing in the January, 1961, issue of the Journal, Mr. Gordon B. Hardey suggested that the Government's aims in penal reform lacked clarity and did not come alive sufficiently for the prison officer to feel compelled to think about the basic purpose of his work. This also is a matter of communication.

Only a little thought is necessary to estimate the importance, and identify the objects, of good communications, but it is much more difficult to decide how to improve communications if this is found necessary. First there is the question of the content of the communication—communicate what and to whom ? Then there are the many different methods to consider. In the exchange of information between the Commissioners and their establishments—to take only one part of the whole system of communications in the Prison Service—there are the standing instructions embodied in the Prison Rules, Standing Orders, and Rules, Standing Orders, and Circular Instructions; written and oral instructions issued about particular circumstances arising from time to time; visits to establishments by Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners; annual reports by governors; conferences on particular subjects at Head Office; central conferences of governors, stewards and other grades; and informal discussions of different kinds. Which of these methods is most suitable for what purposes? How far could the content and the form adopted in each case be improved? Is it the system or the human element that is mainly to blame where communications are poor? If it is the human element, can people be instructed or trained to communicate better?

Few will doubt that there is scope for improving communications in the Prison Service—if only because it is natural for each of us to feel that he himself is not told or consulted enough. At any rate, so important a matter clearly deserves investigation and this is being undertaken by a working party under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the Prison Commission. The other members are drawn from various grades of the Service and the writer is the Secretary.

The Working Party's first task will be to collect the views of the Service on communications. Consultative Committees at the various establishments are being asked to consider the matter. The Working Party will also be glad to receive suggestions from any individual member of the Service. These should be sent to the writer at the Head Office of the Prison Commission as soon as possible.

Miss Molly Mellanby, C.B.E.

by J.J.

"O LORD GOD, when thou givest to thy servants to endeavour any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning, but the continuing of the same unto the end" . . . . These words of prayer at the Thanksgiving Service at St. Martins-In-The-Fields for the life of Molly Mellanby had a special significance for those of us in that crowded congregation who were connected with East Sutton Park Open Borstal.

The Park, as its inhabitants call it and remember it all over the world, was her smallest child among the many institutions under her care, but we always knew that she had a special affection for it. The story began in a Kentish orchard during the Battle of Britain, when she walked through the trees to see a camp where girls were doing fruit picking as war work. Miss Hooker, who was running the camp, had asked if she might have a few girls from a Borstal Institution to complete the numbers, and Miss Mellanby had gone to see it. The success of the venture fired her imagination and from that time she began to plan for an open institution where girls could be trained in both outdoor and indoor work and trusted to take responsibility. In 1946 her dream became a reality. Miss Hooker as Governor, and a handful of Borstal girls were installed in a Kentish country house, beautiful but dilapidated and war damaged. Later she sponsored and watched over the development of the market garden, the farm, the building up of the herd, the new pig styes, and the gradual transformation of the Riding School into a centre for many activities. As one of the many letters said about her "She felt that the Park was hers—that it had become all she had hoped".

Miss Mellanby's visits to the Park were Red Letter Days for all of us. The Board of Visitors Meeting became a happy occasion. She made us feel that we mattered. She listened to our questions with the very marked concentration which was so characteristic, with her 'glacial blue eyes' as one of her former pupils put it, upon us. and we knew that if our suggestions were good she would try to further them and if not, she would give us a reasoned answer. She

had the highest standards, and the spit and polish which went on before her visit was done with cheerful expectancy. She had a wonderful memory for the members of the staff, their work, and their problems. She called the girls by their names, (no mean feat) and her ready interest in piglets, calves, cooking, potato setting and plays brought a quick response from the shyest girl. We know too, how much the Governor relied on her encouragement in this pioneer work and how her understanding and gaiety lightened the heavy responsibility which every Governor must shoulder.

Today, East Sutton Park, the house, the gardens, the farm, the training, the high percentage of successes amongst the girls who leave, all this is a fitting tribute to the spirit and imagination which brought a dream to life. Early this month 'old girls' came back to the Park, bringing husbands and babies, for the Birthday celebrations of the House. This week a former East Sutton girl has saved up enough to fly over from Canada because she wants to see again the place where she was happy and learnt so much. These are some of the rewards which would give Miss Mellanby much happiness.

Molly Mellanby, a friend and inspiration we shall remember with affection and gratitude. We honour the trust she has left us in the care of this child of her courage and vision.

"Men and Walls" by Tomas Salvador (Putnam & Co.) is a strong, dramatic account, set in fictional form, of Spanish prison life in the 1800's.

. . . . . .

"The Fraternal Society" by Richard and Hephzibah Hauser (The Bodley Head) contains an account of work done in Wandsworth Prison in 1959.

. . . . . .

The Howard Journal reproduces the Prison Commissioners' instructions on the use and gradual extension of group counselling in prisons and borstals.

Over 500 research projects are listed in *"Current Projects in the Prevention, Control and Treatment of Crime and Delinquency"* published in New York by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 44, East 23 Street.

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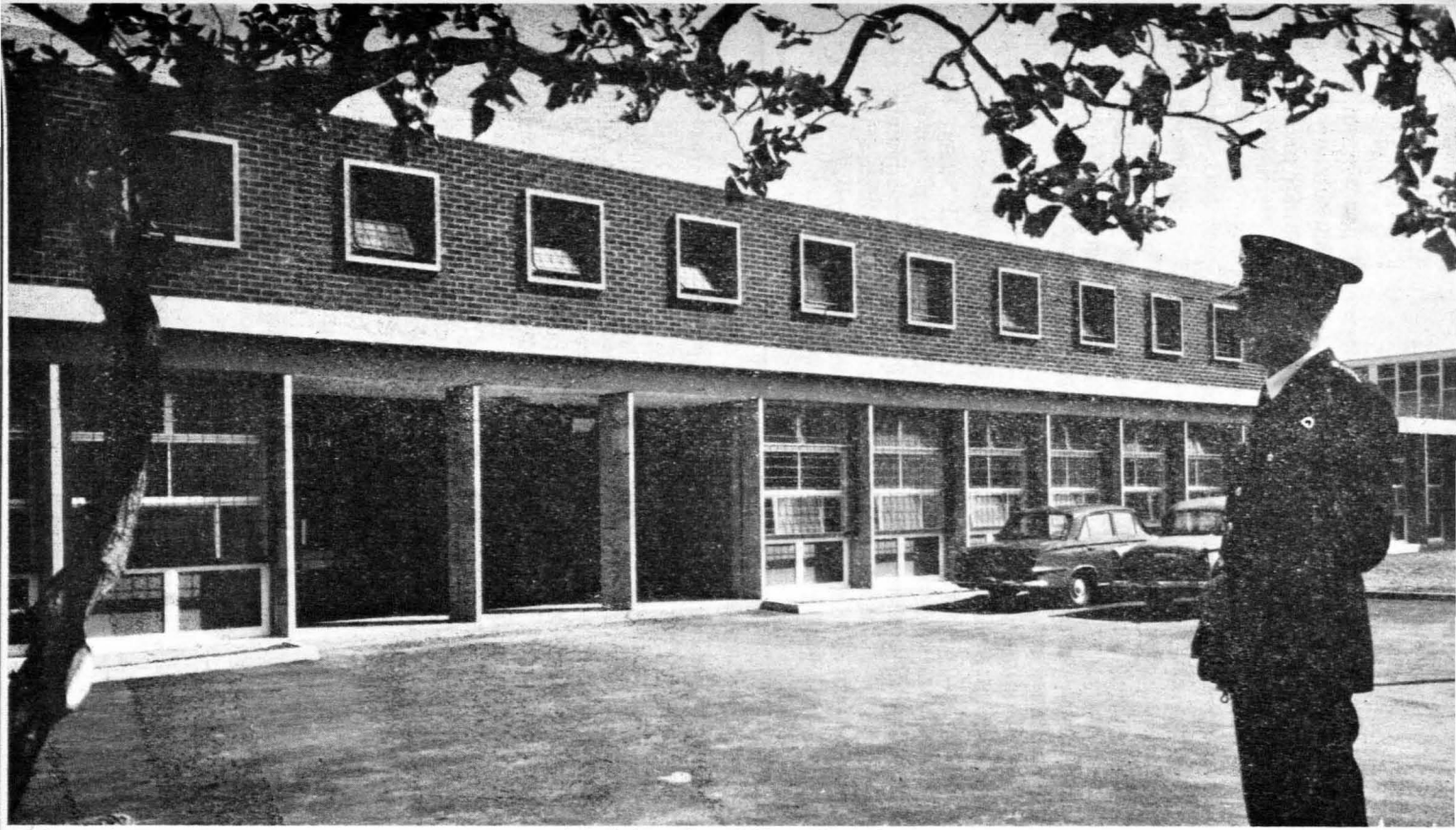
"The Changing Canadian Prison" was the title of an address given by Mr. A. J. MacLeod, Q.C., Commissioner of Penitentiaries, to the John Howard Society in Ontario.



Ministry of Works photograph.

Administration Offices, Grendon

Grendon Prison

The full official news story, with extra detail of special interest to Works Staff.

A NEW PRISON at Grendon Underwood, near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, for selected sentenced prisoners whose condition does not warrant detention in a mental hospital, but who require psychiatric treatment and management, came into use on 12th September, 1962. It has accommodation for 250 men, 50 boys and 25 women and girls.

The provision of psychiatric treatment in prison is nothing new; there are psychiatric clinics at Wormwood Scrubs and Wakefield Prisons for men, at Holloway Prison for women, and at Feltham Borstal for boys, and these will continue. What is new is the use of a whole prison entirely for mentally abnormal inmates.

Grendon will have three primary tasks. These are:

(1) The investigation and treatment of mental disorders generally recognised as responsive to treatment in suitable cases.

(2) The investigation of offenders whose offences in themselves suggest mental morbidity.

(3) An exploration of the problems of dealing with the psychopath.

Prisoners will not be committed direct to Grendon by the Courts, but will be selected after a period of observation in other prisons. No minimum period of stay has been laid down, but it appears probable that a period of at least six months will be necessary for effective treatment. Equally no maximum period has been specified, but a prisoner would not be kept at Grendon after it appeared that he would not benefit from any further treatment. Prisoners may therefore either be returned to ordinary prisons to complete their sentences or released from Grendon at the end of their sentences if treatment continues up to that time. These arrangements are not intended to replace in any way the existing arrangements under the Mental Health Act for the transfer of prisoners to mental hospitals.

Grendon will be a maximum security prison. Each prisoner will be accommodated in a separate cell, except for a few whose needs are best met by dormitory accommodation. None will sleep three to a cell.

The routine will be similar to that in a training prison. Only a part of a prisoner's time will be

spent in specific psychiatric treatment, and for the major part of each day he will be required to work. The type of work provided will be determined in the light of each prisoner's needs. It is not intended at present that prisoners should work outside the prison grounds. Association with other prisoners will be allowed in so far as it is considered desirable.

The prison will be in the immediate charge of a medical superintendent who has been chosen from among the senior prison medical staff with a wide experience in psychiatry. He will be assisted by psychiatrically trained medical officers together with psychologists and social workers. An experienced lay assistant governor will co-operate with the medical superintendent on those matters within his special sphere. The officer staff will be drawn partly from the hospital side of the prison service, many of whom are state registered nurses, and partly from the discipline side; all will be specially selected. The ratio of staff to inmate will be higher than in the ordinary prison. Specialists and technicians, probably on a part-time or sessional basis, will be required for radiology and electro-encephalography. In order to make all the usual forms of psychiatric investigation and treatment available it will be necessary to invoke many outside sources and it is hoped to achieve a close co-operation with the National Mental Health Services.

In the first stages only adult male prisoners will be received, and the prison population will be built up gradually in the light of experience gained.

Design

Grendon Psychiatric Prison has been designed to provide living quarters, work and class rooms, and full scale hospital facilities for some 325 inmates in security conditions. Separate units have been arranged for men, women and boys, although all will use the hospital, assembly hall and chapels.

The 13-acre site is enclosed by an 18 ft. high wall of reinforced concrete, of an average thickness of six to eight inches. The wall was constructed by means of a travelling steel framework designed especially for this job.

Grouped inside the main gate are the reception and visitors' block, the administration building, assembly hall and chapels, and the hospital and outpatients' buildings.

The single storey reception and visiting block provides accommodation for the reception of inmates, and visiting rooms for private visitors and legal advisers.

The two-storey administration building houses the Medical Superintendent's office and offices for his staff, as well as prisoners' classrooms, library, shop and hobbies rooms on the ground floor.

The adjacent assembly hall provides facilities for religious

services and for film and stage shows. To segregate female from male inmates, there is a gallery within the hall. A small Roman Catholic chapel has also been provided.

The two-storey hospital building has full facilities, including an air-conditioned operating theatre and ancillary departments, and wards for 16 male and six female patients. There are also special units for psychiatric treatment, physiology and physio-therapy. The outpatients' block accommodates medical consulting rooms, X-ray services, dental surgery, laboratories, and dispensary.

The women's section, to the right of the main entrance, consists of a two-storey block in its own compound, within the main security wall. It is completely self-contained, with its own dining room, kitchen, class rooms and exercise area, with facilities for games and sport, agriculture and horticulture. There is direct controlled access to the administration block, and assembly hall.

Two cell blocks each four storeys high, accommodate 120 and 130 male inmates respectively. Each block is a self-contained unit, with dining room, association and quiet rooms, stores and exercise area.

The boys' cell block is similar to the men's and is also self-contained. A central kitchen serves both the men's and boys' dining rooms; the food being taken by trolleys to serveries attached to each dining room.

All cell blocks, kitchen, administration building, assembly hall and hospital are connected by security corridors. There is a fully equipped laundry operated by the inmates, a central boiler house, and five single-storey buildings with a total floor area of 13,750 sq. ft. to house main stores, garage, and workshops.

The main buildings are constructed of load bearing brickwork, with reinforced concrete floors and flat roofs. Generally the windows have precast concrete surrounds, and the cell windows are made secure by incorporating manganese steel in the glazing bars.

Internal finishes were selected with a view to hard wear and minimum maintenance costs. Colours were chosen to create a feeling of lightness and cleanliness, and to avoid monotony.

The walls of the assembly hall are of buff-coloured facing brick, with natural hardwood for the stage proscenium opening. The ceiling is of deep yellow and the curtains to the high level windows, grey.

Floors vary according to their location and use. Coloured granolithic concrete is used in cells. The floors of corridors, offices, classrooms, dining rooms, association and quiet rooms are covered in linoleum. In the hospital and outpatients buildings the floors have vinyl tiles. Quarry tiles are used in the kitchen and ablution areas and hardwood strip flooring

Ministry of Works photograph.

The Male Wing, Grendon.

in the assembly hall and chapel.

All the cell blocks are designed on a corridor plan. Each cell is 70 sq. ft. in area and its furniture includes a built-in unit designed by the Supplies Division of the Ministry of Public Building and Works in collaboration with the Prison Commission. This unit combines a cupboard with drawers, a writing top and a backboard which can be used for displaying pictures or photographs.

Staff quarters comprising 112 three and four bedroom houses, and a hostel for 24 single officers have been built on an 18 acre site near the prison.

The layout has been designed to preserve the mature trees on the site. In addition, a belt of new trees has been planted to screen the estate from the main road.

All the houses are of traditional design in brick contrasting colour with tiled roofs, and the areas in front of the houses are left as open grassed forecourts.

The two-storey staff hostel is constructed of 11 in. cavity brick walling with a timber-trussed, pitched, felted roof. The concrete floors are covered in linoleum in the bedrooms and cork carpet in the corridors. The accommodation comprises 20 bed-sitting rooms for junior staff and four bedrooms with separate sitting rooms and bathrooms for senior staff. The single-storey flat roofed section accommodates the boiler house, kitchen, dining room, and lounge.

Engineering Services

A steam boiler house, containing two 8,000 lbs. per hour oil-fired, two pass, economic boilers provides steam for heating direct by means of coils and/or unit heaters, via steam/water calorifiers for low pressure hot water heating by radiators and convectors and via steam/water calorifiers for domestic hot water.

Domestic hot water is also provided in a few instances by steam/water thermostatically controlled mixing valves. In addition, steam is provided for the laundry, kitchen and disinfector. Distribution is by pipes in concealed trenches. The condensate is returned by gravity and by pumps to a collecting tank at low level in the boiler house.

The 3,500 seconds oil for the burners is stored in two 12,000 gallon tanks in a compound together with a 500 gallon tank containing 35 seconds oil for firing the large baking oven in the kitchen.

Operating Theatre

The operating theatre is provided with an input and extract system of ducting with temperature and humidity control. It also contains a Scialytic lighting fitting over the operating table with automatic changeover to emergency lighting from its own trickle charged battery in the event of mains failure. A steel mesh is embedded in the floor finish to equalise potentials to eliminate possible static discharges.

Electrical

The East Midlands Electricity Board have provided a 500 kVA Sub-station adjacent to the site. Distribution is by two .2-4 core paper insulated lead covered underground cables, from a low voltage switchboard adjacent to the sub-station to an intake room in the visiting and reception block, and from thence a .3-4 core underground paper insulated lead covered main ring embraces the site. The individual buildings are served by spurs. Following the same route is an emergency AC/DC ring main, a multi-core cable for the watchman's patrol recording system and also a general alarm cable. An emergency battery will provide lighting for two hours at full load to give ample time to start a standby diesel generator which is also provided. The ring main spurs consist of either 2-or-4 core paper cable as may be required, terminating in an iron-clad fuse switch and busbar chamber from which feeds are taken to local distribution boards and final sub-circuits using V.R.I. cable in conduit. In the boiler house, kitchen, laundry and calorifier rooms galvanised conduit is used.

The scheme was designed in the Chief Architect's and the Chief Engineer's Divisions of the Ministry of Public Building and Works (Senior Architect, E. H. Brown, L.R.I.B.A., Engineer A. I. W. Holt, A.M.I.E.E.) in collaboration with the Prison Commission (Director of Works, Lt.-Col. S. P. Sartain, F.R.I.B.A.).

COMING FEATURES

European Prisons

Borstal Absconding

"Shop Lifting"

New Detention Centre Statistics

by permission of the Editor, *The Bulletin*", Sydney.

Dickens and Crime

J. F.

MOST PEOPLE would subscribe to Dickens' own estimate of himself as the novelist who, above all others, was "laying his hand upon the time." He is still seen, at home as well as abroad, as the recognised exponent of the English character as it showed itself in Victoria's reign. The expectations that one brings to a book entitled *Dickens and Crime* are that it should be a work of sociology as well as literary exegesis. Mr. Philip Collins, Warden of Vaughan College, University of Leicester, does not disappoint one. This is a book which shows much scholarship in both fields and one can only salute and admire.

In this work, clearly a labour of love, he studies Dickens' whole literary output and seeks to trace the relationship between Dickens the creative writer and Dickens the informed critic of penal ideas. He shows how both of these were the products of the experiences of Dickens the man. Henry James' famous dictum is appropriate; "Mr. Dickens is a great observer and a great humorist, but he is nothing of a philosopher. Some people may hereupon say, so much the better; we say, so much the worse. For a novelist very soon has need of a little philosophy." Dickens' interest in crime and penology was spasmodic and unsystematic. He lacked the requisite patience, the intellectual habits and capacity, to sustain any searching inquiry into the roots of crime or the principles of penal treatment. *Dickens and Crime* is the story of one man's struggles with his own feelings about a social problem and of how far he, who was able to externalise those feelings through the medium of creative writing, can be taken as representative of his day.

It is initially his rogues' gallery that comes to mind when we think of Dickens and crime. Fagin, Bill Sikes, the Artful Dodger, Dennis the Hangman, Abel Magwitch, are by now "archetypal" characters to the history of penology. Dickens espoused a literary tradition when he chose to write of rogues and villians, a tradition that stems from Defoe and Fielding and which, in the works of, for example, Mr. Alan Sillitoe and Mr. Frank Norman, is still very alive today. Crime and criminals not only made a readily acceptable subject for the young Dickens when he set

out to become a popular novelist, they also satisfied his own fondness for strong emotions. The unhappiness of his own boyhood gave him a sensitivity to, and a sympathy for, the social misfit and the socially deprived, that his psychological perception as an artist could utilise to the full. Sometimes the very sentiments aroused by his subject were too strong for the artist in him to control. His letters to Miss Coutts, when they were planning Urania Cottage, show greater insight and objectivity into the problems of the "fallen woman" than do his fictionalised characters of Little Em'ly and Martha.

Dickens, whose childhood security was shattered by the family misfortunes consequent upon his father's imprisonment for debt, was throughout his life haunted by the image of the prison. It originally inspired his journalist's interest in the state of the prisons of his day and thus led to his concern for the whole question of the treatment of crime and of criminals. In his creative activity we see it first as the sombre threads in *The Pickwick Papers* and from then onwards his novels abound in prisons, both in reality and as symbols. He is fascinated by the effects that confinement can have upon a man. We see this at its crudest in his study of Fagin in the condemned cell. Later, in *Little Dorrit* and *The Tale of Two Cities*, those novels about prisons within prisons in which he sought to resolve the dualism he felt for his father, he shows what "institutionalisation" can do to the human personality. In *Great Expectations* we have Magwitch, who became a criminal because of the deprivations of his childhood, was brutalised by his experiences within the Hulks and only prospered under transportation (Dickens was much interested in the ideas and methods of Captain Maconochie). Only in *David Copperfield* is the ambivalence of humour used of prisons; the farcical episode of the reformation of Heep and Littimer in prison is used to point the cruelties as well as the absurdities of the Separate System against which he campaigned.

Dickens' interest in crime sprang from the same basic fascination with morality that preoccupies us all. In him we see it heightened by that strain of hysteria that made more dramatic the mixed repulsion and attraction with which, in common with every man, he viewed the behaviour of the wrongdoer. Mr. Collins analyses Dickens' obsession with violence and the complexity with which he presents his villians and murderers. Three of them, Jonas Chuzzlewit, Bradley Headstone and John Jasper, are all images of the ostensibly respectable well-esteemed man who has a double side to his personality. In the depiction of Headstone, this is

worked out with an almost clinical, psychiatric insight that precourses the modern concepts of diminished responsibility. The others are cruder, more Jekyll-and-Hyde characters and suggest that the ambivalence with which Dickens pursued such causes as the abolition of capital punishment reflected a deeply fundamental split within his own nature.

As Mr. Collins says, "we are all floggers and hangers not far under the skin." Just how far under may depend upon our own needs for retributive punishment. In Dickens the compromise between the need for patience, intelligence and charity in dealing with social deviants and the need to satisfy the inner demands of wounded and outraged feeling was ever an uneasy one. Dickens became noticeably less radical as he grew older. Not only was this due to the normal tendencies to conservatism that age seems to bring, it was related to the satisfactions and frustrations that he experienced in his search for personal happiness and social success. Mr. Collins' account of the famous "Sikes and Nancy" readings that obsessed Dickens' later years illumines significantly the tortuous development that had taken place within the perceptive young author of the 1841 preface to *Oliver Twist*.

Dickens did not write of crime with any consistent or thought-out views on free-will and determinism, or moral responsibility, or such-like issues. He wrote of criminals because they appealed to the artist's imagination in him and because their problems appealed to the interested social thinker in him. But more than that, they afforded him a vehicle for a more fundamental and personally challenging issue—what is it that society demands from an individual in the pressures it puts upon him to conform? When Henry James himself came to write on this great theme he produced, in *The Princess Casamassima*, the most "Dickensian" of all his novels.

Dickens and Crime by Phillip Collins is published by Macmillan, (pp 371) at 35s. 0d.

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The Council of Europe's Committee on Crime Problems has published *"The Death Penalty in European Countries"*.

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"Twentieth Century" in its Winter 1962 issue has articles on 'What's wrong with Justice, Jails, Police and Crime' including *'Britain's New Criminals'* (Hugh Klare) *'In the Nick'* (Terence Morris) and *'The Borstal Boys'* by Alan Little.

The Idea of Punishment

THE BISHOP OF EXETER

The Idea of Punishment by Lord Longford, is a most readable little book, though somewhat rambling and disjointed. Indeed it is very reminiscent of those delightful conversations which develop sometimes in Oxford Common-Rooms after dinner. As I was reading it I almost felt that I was back at Christ Church, sitting at the bottom corner of the table listening to an argument. Lord Longford was presiding, on either side of him sat Lord Russell and Lady Wootton, and there were one or two clergymen present as well. Someone said, "What does a judge think that he is doing when he sentences a man to prison? What I mean is, what is the idea of punishment?" Someone replied that the judge's main purpose, of course, was to deter the offender from committing the offence again, and at the same time to deter other potential offenders. Someone else said, "No, the main idea was to subject the offender to such treatment as would result in his reform." Lord Longford suggested that you cannot really keep the idea of retribution out for long. "Oh yes you can, and should," said some of the others, and then the argument really got under way.

It soon became clear that however much you might wish to exclude the idea of retribution from the idea of punishment, you could not keep it out of the discussion. At the same time it became clear that retribution in this context does not include any idea of vengeance, or of anger, or of inflicting pain for pain's sake. Yet it seems clear that the idea of retribution is somehow necessary to the very idea of punishment. Because without it the connection of justice with punishment drops out.

At this point Lord Longford again intervened. During the earlier discussion the College butler had been sent across to the library, and had returned with an armful of books—chiefly the works of Pope Pius XII and Archbishop William Temple. Lord Longford pointed out that however much importance you attach to the findings of modern psycholo-

gists about the significant influence on criminal action of what may be called medical or other non-moral factors, it still remains true, in the words of the Pope, that "The average man has not only the moral capacity but also the positive possibility of making autonomous decisions and acting accordingly, thereby assuming obligations and responsibility." Therefore, when Lord Longford speaks of retaining the idea of retribution, he means, "retaining some connection between the supposed heinousness of the offence, the degree of moral failing on the part of the culprit on the one side, and the severity of the punishment on the other." But Lady Wootton would have none of this. She insisted that when punishing an offender the question of his criminal responsibility can be by-passed. The degree of his criminal responsibility involves a verdict on the past, whereas what really matters is the future. What really matters is deterring and reforming an offender. How far the offender is actually to be blamed for his offence and how far it is to be attributed to some mental sickness, are questions which Lady Wootton maintained, cannot be satisfactorily answered. It is therefore better not to ask them. Of course the offender must in some way deserve the treatment of punishment, but the degree to which he deserves it does not seem to her, apparently, to be very important. To all this Lord Longford retorted with the interesting argument that neither deterrence nor reform will, in fact, work without the introduction of the idea of retribution. He says that a community is never likely to support a sentencing policy which does not maintain some connection with the supposed wickedness of the crime and the severity of the sentence. In fact, therefore, it would be to discredit the law and diminish the sanctions which operate against crime if we tried to remove such a connection altogether. With the help of the clergy, who intervened extensively at this stage, he also showed that the idea of retribution is essential to reform. A prisoner is far more likely to be reformed, he says, if he can recognize the justice of the penalty, than if he cannot. As far as possible the penalty imposed should be one whose appropriateness even the delinquent can be brought to appreciate. A man cannot really be rehabilitated until he recognizes his own sin. Therefore retribution, the penalty adjusted to the heinousness of the offence, is a necessary element in the effective reform of prisoners. The conclusion of this stage of the argument is "retribution, in short, provides a justification for *some* punishment and sets a limit to the amount of punishment justifiable. But deterrence and reform are the main factors which society should take into account in deciding how

far society should exercise its right of punishment when passing sentence."

At this point Lord Russell showed signs of impatience. As a determinist, he does not believe in the freedom of moral choice nor, therefore, in moral guilt. Therefore all this talk about retribution is to him nonsense. But Lord Longford politely tells Lord Russell to shut-up. This is just as well, because otherwise the argument would have been totally bogged down in the age-old controversy about freedom and determinism, grace and freewill, predestination and so on. Lord Russell being thus silenced, Lady Wootton returned to the scene as a humanist sociologist. She stated her position thus, "I should not attempt to assess the wickedness of different offences or to relate the severity of treatment to this. To do so raises the, to me, unanswerable question whether the offender could or could not have acted otherwise, i.e., the question of responsibility. Within the limits of what the injury to society permits, one should try to choose the treatment which is most likely, whether by deterrence or reformation, to make similar actions unlikely to be repeated in the future . . . . This balance between the injury that a man has done, and the degree to which he should be restrained or otherwise interferred with, seems to me to be the essence of the principle of justice." In other words, punishment is a necessary evil, only justifiable when the nuisance to the community has become intolerable and the benefit to the community by inflicting punishment is greater than the damage done to the offender.

But Lord Longford insisted that it is not only the objective gravity of the offence which has to be taken into account when trying to arrive at a just punishment, but also the subjective culpability of the offender. Though he admitted that the findings of the psychologists make us more and more dubious about our power to arrive at any reliable judgement of the degree of culpability in another. All the same, he insisted that any sentence of punishment must include not only a moral condemnation of the action which is punished, but also a moral judgement of the guilt of the man who has performed the action. "The idea of a minimum level of moral guilt," he says, "involving some assessment at least of the convicted man's mentality, is inseparable from legal punishment."

At this point the argument was interrupted by three short tutorials from Lord Longford on some contemporary moral philosophers on humanism and on Christian Ethics. The argument was later resumed in an interesting and even moving conversation between Lord Longford and the clergy on the

value of accepted suffering, and especially of vicarious suffering, as an act of reparation and a weapon for the defeat of evil. In this respect the Cross of Christ is seen to have a special significance. Christ's acceptance of suffering and death on Calvary is "incomparably the most valuable act of suffering which has ever been performed in the history of the human race." All Christians are called to take their share in redemptive work by attempting both to accept their own sufferings and to offer them to God, and by attempting to share in the sufferings of others. The final words of the conversation are "when one meets a prisoner or ex-prisoner, it is not enough to say to oneself 'there but for the grace of God go I'. One should say rather 'there by the grace of God go I'. With Father Damien we should move to lie down beside him and to wash his feet as those of the Disciples were once washed by the hands of the Master."

I am in entire agreement with Lord Longford that you cannot exclude retribution from the idea of punishment without destroying the idea of punishment altogether. If you seek only to deter or to reform, you can deter by a system of reprisals which takes no account of the responsibility of the individuals who are its victims. But that is not punishment. You can reform by sending to school or to a mental hospital, as the case may be. But that also is not punishment. This is clearly seen by a comparison between sending a boy to school, sending him to a mental hospital and sending him to an approved school. All three subject him to compulsory treatment. All three seek to improve him. But the third, the approved school, is in addition a punishment. It would be thought monstrous, and even pointless, to send any boy to an approved school, unless he in some way deserved it. Unless it was, in fact, due to him because of his past actions. And this is the idea of retribution, which turns the sending to an approved school into a punishment.

Secondly, all men resent being regarded as an automata. However much we may make excuses for ourselves, they are excuses; that is, reasons why we chose to act as we did. In other words, we claim some degree of responsibility and indignantly deny that we had none. It is because of this consciousness of responsibility that punishment is recognised as being due or just.

Thirdly, a prisoner's reform begins when he agrees to co-operate with the authorities. So long as he regards his imprisonment as some kind of compulsory reformative treatment—an act of brain-washing—he is apt to resent it and work against it. No man likes to be improved against his will! It is when the imprisonment

is recognised as somehow being due to him, the consequences of his past actions, as being, in fact, a proper and deserved punishment, that he begins to accept it and to be willing to co-operate in his own reform. I entirely agree with Lord Longford that retribution is an important element in reform.

The fundamental idea of punishment is, therefore, that of paying back, of making reparation for wrong-doing. Its chief value lies in its acceptance by the wrong-doer himself; only so is it fully effective. But it also has value as a public social condemnation of evil, as a moral judgement.

I think that Lord Longford perhaps exaggerates the difficulty created by psychology in reaching reliable judgements of the guilt of another. So far as the administration of the criminal law is concerned, the first essential is to establish objective guilt, that is that the prisoner really did commit the offence with which he is charged without a shadow of doubt, and did it freely, that is, that he was not under either outward or inward compulsion. Society estimates the gravity of the offence by the tariff of punishments laid down by the legislature. The judge leans over backwards trying to find extenuating circumstances which reduce, but do not extinguish subjective moral culpability: do not extinguish, because, however extenuating the circumstances may have been, the prisoner, not being under compulsion, did, in some degree, will the offence. Some punishment is therefore due. What punishment, if any, should be exacted is a practical decision, in which the ideas of deterrence and reform are uppermost. But since the offender did commit the offence with some degree of advertence, any penalty prescribed by the law and proportionate to the objective gravity of the offence and mindful of extenuating circumstances, is just. Just, that is, in a human, approximate sense. Human finite knowledge cannot hope to equal the omniscient justice of God. But it remains a human duty to seek to impose a punishment which is as nearly as possible proportionate to the gravity of the offence, and the culpability of the offender. This is the foundation of the idea of punishment.

**The Idea of Punishment* by Lord Longford is published by Jeffery Chapman (pp 102) at 10/6d.

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"Capital Punishment and British Politics" (George Allen & Unwin) includes many references to Prison Officers and their views on this subject. Professor Christoph reveals in detail the workings of British politics and assesses the impact of the clash of ideas and interests on govermental policy.

Elizabeth Fry

S. E. LOWE

THE AUTHOR HAS divided his book into five chapters, "The making of a Quaker Minister", "The Problems of Prison Reform", "The Newgate Experiment", "A Public Figure", "The Rejected Reformer".

When one thinks of Elizabeth Fry, one pictures a quiet neatly dressed Quakeress, seated in a womens' prison cell at Newgate, reading to the prisoners; but we can also think of her as a successful reformer, bringing compassion and mercy into conditions which were often cruel and inhuman. Compassion and mercy were shown by her when she saw the moral and physical misery of the prisoners of her day. She not only wished to educate them but she was much concerned with their moral reformation. When she read the Bible to the Newgate women she did so because she believed that their characters could be radically changed by this simple method.

Born in Norwich in 1780, third daughter of an hereditary Quaker and successful merchant John Gurney, Elizabeth grew into a tall, flaxen-haired girl whose development was not very much impeded either by formal education or by the restrictive pietism of the Society of Friends. She married Joseph Fry in 1800. Making her first visit to Newgate in 1817, she was horrified by what she saw and from then on determined to change prison conditions. As a reformer she was confronted with such problems as the increase in crime, the inadequacies of prison buildings, and the savage treatment of prisoners who were chained, flogged and punished by solitary confinement in dark cells. In an essay by her brother-in-law, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Member of Parliament, one is given a vivid picture of a man arrested for the first time, and still unconvicted. As soon as his commitment is made out, he is handcuffed to a file of perhaps a dozen similar persons, marched through the streets, followed by a crowd of insulting boys and exposed to the gaze of every passerby. Once in prison irons are hammered on him, he is cast into a compound of all that is disgusting and depraved. At night he is locked in a narrow cell, with a dozen thieves, or

vagrants, their clothes alive with vermin : he may well find himself in bodily contact with men suffering from all kinds of diseases. He may spend his days deprived of fresh air and exercise. He may be half-starved, mixing with the vilest of men, and in self-defence forced to adopt their habits, their sentiments and their language. He may become a villian by actual compulsion.

Elizabeth interested herself in Transportation. Was this the solution to the problem of overcrowding and an answer to the question of what to do with those serving long sentences ? On capital punishment her opinions never varied ; they were born of her religious outlook and confirmed by her experiences as a prison visitor. The death sentence she looked upon as lamentable.

Mrs. Fry had her home problems when she determined to take up her public work. The children were sent to relatives and schools, her husband was left at home, and as the children grew up they rebelled against the sectarian limits of the Friends, and when the eldest daughter married a non-Quaker her mother was criticised for what was regarded as a failure in bringing up the family, and she was told to spend more time with them and less time in the public eye.

The financial failure of her husband in 1828, she regarded as inflicted by God. She wondered whether she ought to continue meeting with the Friends, whether she should give up her prison work. Her personal influence declined, she became more dependent on her brothers, lost some of her respect for her husband, had to abandon her charitable work.

You will find great interest in this book.

"Elizabeth Fry" by John Kent. (B. T. Batsford, Ltd.) 16s. 0d.

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WHY NOT WRITE TO THE EDITOR

A. IF YOU LIKE THE JOURNAL

B. IF YOU DON'T LIKE IT.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

L. J. BARNSDALE joined the Prison Service at Liverpool in 1948, served at Camp Hill until 1956 when he returned to Liverpool where he is now Branch Secretary of the Prison Officers Association.

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THE BISHOP OF EXETER is a member of the Home Office Advisory Council for the Treatment of Offenders.

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JOHN FITCH is now Principal Psychologist at Wormwood Scrubs. He joined the Prison Service in 1950 after graduating at Reading University and has been successively Psychologist and Senior Psychologist at Bristol Prison.

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PAULINE MORRIS is a Psychiatric Social Worker, currently a Research Officer in the Social Research Division of the London School of Economics. She is the author of the Fabian pamphlet *"Prison After-Care : charity or public responsibility"* (1960)

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ARCHDEACON S. E. LOWE was educated at King Edward's School, Queen's College and Birmingham University, and ordained in 1905. His ministry was in the North (he built a new church at Colne, Lancashire and became its first Vicar). On retirement in 1953 he was made Archdeacon Emeritus, and from his home in the Gower Peninsula he has maintained an interest in prison reform and the work of the Discharged Prisoners Aid Societies. He reviews many books for Church newspapers.

COOMBE RICHARDS spent twenty-nine years in the Prison Service, commencing as Deputy Governor (under training) at H. M. Prison Wandsworth, in March 1928. He then went as Deputy Governor to Wormwood Scrubs, then back as Deputy Governor at Wandsworth, then Deputy Governor at Dartmoor (holding that position at the time of the infamous mutiny there), thence, in 1931, to H. M. Prison, Oxford as Governor to later hold similar commands at Leicester, Birmingham, Liverpool and finally (pending premature retirement on medical grounds) at Horfield Prison, Bristol; where he ended his prison career in March 1957.

Prior to entering the prison Service he served in the Navy (in the first World War) and later in both the Army and the R.A.F.—in the latter as a pilot. In all his various appointments he never failed, by one means or another, in keeping alive his lifelong interest in natural history, the countryside, and its various sports. To-day, vastly improved in health, he lives in one of the remoter parts of Herefordshire where he is able to follow these pursuits literally from his own doorstep.

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G. EMERSON is a Principal seconded from the Home Office to the Secretatiat of the Prison Commission.

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MRS. JOAN JAMES is chairman of the Board of Visitors, H. M. Borstal, East Sutton Park.