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Delinquency as a Sign of Hope

Dr. D. W. WINNICOTT

*(A report from the Borstal Assistant Governors' Conference,
Winchester, 1967)*

ALTHOUGH THE TITLE of my talk has been put in the programme in the following form: "Delinquency as a Sign of Hope", I would prefer to talk about The Antisocial Tendency. The reason is that this term can be applied to tendencies that appear at the normal end of the scale from time to time in your own children or in children living in good homes of their own, and it is here that one can best see the connection that I believe exists between the tendency and hope. By the time the boy or girl has become hardened because of the failure of the communication, the antisocial act not being recognised as something that contains an S.O.S., and when secondary gains have become important and great skill has been achieved in some antisocial activity, then it is much more difficult to see (what is still there, nevertheless) the S.O.S. that is a signal of hope in the boy or girl who is antisocial.

The second thing that I want to make clear is that I know I could not do your job. By temperament I am not fitted for the work that you do; and in any case I am not tall

enough or big enough. I have certain skills and a certain kind of experience, and it remains to be seen whether there can be some pathway found between the things that I know something about and the work that you are doing. It might happen that nothing that I say will have any effect at all on what you do when you go back to your work. Nevertheless there might be some effect of an *indirect* kind because it must sometimes seem to you to be an insult to human nature that most of the boys and girls you have to deal with have this tendency to be a nuisance. You try to relate the delinquency you see in front of you to general matters like poverty, poor housing, broken homes, parental delinquency, and a breakdown of the social provision. I would like to feel that as a result of what I have to say you may be able to see a little more clearly that *in every case that comes your way there was a beginning* and at the beginning there was an illness, and the boy or girl *became a deprived child*. In other words there is sense in what once happened, although by

the time that each individual comes into your care the sense has usually become lost.

A third thing that I want to make clear has to do with the fact that I am a psycho-analyst. I am not putting forward a strong claim that psycho-analysis has a direct contribution to make to your subject. If it has, this belongs to recent work, and I have taken some part personally in trying to formulate a theory, which is valuable because true and which derives to some extent from the general body of understanding that has come through psycho-analysis.

I now come to the main statement that I want to make which is really not at all complex. According to my view, which is based on experience (but as I freely admit on experience of younger children who are near the beginning of their trouble and who are not from the worst social conditions), *the antisocial tendency is linked inherently with deprivation*. In other words, it is not the general social failure that is responsible so much as a specific failure. For the child that we are studying it can be said that *things went well enough and then they did not go well enough*. A change occurred which altered the whole life of the child and this change in the environment happened when the child was old enough to know about things. It is not that the child could come here and give a lecture on himself or herself but, given suitable conditions, the child is able to reproduce what happened because of having been far enough developed at the time to have been aware. In other

words, in special conditions of psychotherapy the child is able to remember in terms of the material produced, in playing or in dreaming or in talking, the essential features of the original deprivation. I want to contrast this with environmental disturbances at an earlier stage of emotional development. A baby deprived of oxygen does not go around hoping to convince someone that if there had been enough oxygen things would have been all right. Environmental disturbances distorting the emotional development of a baby do not produce the antisocial tendency; they produce distortions of the personality which result in illness of psychotic type so that the boy or girl is liable to mental hospital disorder or else he or she goes through life with certain distortions of reality testing and so on, perhaps of the kind that are accepted. The antisocial tendency relates not to privation, but to a deprivation.

The characteristic of the antisocial tendency is the drive that it gives the boy or girl to get back behind the deprivation moment or condition. A child who has been deprived in this way has first suffered unthinkable anxiety and then has gradually reorganised into someone who is in a fairly neutral state, complying because there is nothing else that the child is strong enough to do. This state may be fairly satisfactory from the point of view of those who are in care. Then for some reason or other hope begins to appear, and this means

that the child, without being conscious of what is going on, begins to have the urge to get back behind the moment of deprivation and so to undo the fear of the *unthinkable anxiety or confusion that resulted before the neutral state became organised*. This is the very deceptive thing that those in care of antisocial children need to know if they are to see sense in what is going on around them. Whenever conditions give a child a certain degree of new hope, *then the antisocial tendency becomes a clinical feature and the child becomes difficult*.

At this point it is necessary to see that we are talking about two aspects of this one thing, the antisocial tendency. I would like to relate one of these to the relationship between the small child and the mother and the other to the later development which is the child's relation to the father. The first one has to do with all children and the second one is more especially the concern of boys. The first one has to do with the fact that the mother in her adaptation to the small child's needs enables the child creatively to find objects. She initiates the creative use of the world. When this fails the child has lost contact with objects, has lost the capacity creatively to find anything. At the moment of hope the child reaches out and steals an object. This is a compulsive act and the child does not know why he or she does it. Often the child feels mad because of having a compulsion to do something without knowing why. Naturally the fountain pen

stolen from Woolworths is not satisfactory; it is not the object that was being sought, and in any case the child is looking for the capacity to find, not for an object. Nevertheless there may be some satisfaction belonging to what is done in a moment of hope. The apple stolen from the orchard is more on the borderline. It can be ripe and can taste nice and it can be fun to be chased by the farmer. On the other hand the apple may be green and if eaten may give the boy a stomach-ache, and it may be that already the boy is not eating what he has stolen but is giving the apples away, or perhaps he organises the theft without running the risk of climbing the wall himself. In this sequence we see the transition from the normal prank to the antisocial act.

And so if we examine this first kind of expression of the antisocial tendency we can arrive at something so common as to be normal. Your own child claims the right to go into the larder and take a bun, or your little child of two years explores your wife's handbag and takes out a penny. If we examine all degrees we find at one extreme something which is hardening into a compulsive act without meaning and without producing direct satisfaction but blossoming into a skill; while at the other extreme is something which happens over and over again in every family, a child reacting to some kind of relative deprivation by an antisocial act and the parents responding by a temporary period of indulgence which may very well

see the child through a difficult phase.

Alongside this I want to examine deprivation in terms of the child and the father, but the principle is the same. The child, and this time I will say the boy, because if it is a girl I am still talking about the boy in the girl, finds that it is safe to have aggressive feelings and to be aggressive, because of the framework of the family representing society in a localised form. The mother's confidence in her husband or in the support that she will get, if she calls out, from local society, perhaps from the policeman, makes it possible for the child to explore crudely destructive activities which relate to movement in general, and also more specifically destruction that has to do with the fantasy that accumulates round the hate. In this way (because of the environmental security, mother supported by father, etc.) the child becomes able to do a very complex thing, that is to say, to integrate all his destructive impulses in with the loving ones, and the result when things go well is that the child recognises the reality of the destructive *ideas* that are inherent in life and living and loving, and finds ways and means of protecting valued people and objects from himself. In fact he organises his life constructively in order not to feel too bad about the very real destructiveness that goes on in his mind. In order to achieve this in his development the child *absolutely requires an environment that is indestructible in essential respects*; certainly carpets get

dirtied and the walls have to be repapered and an occasional window gets broken but somehow the home sticks together, and behind all this is the confidence that the child has in the relationship between the parents; the family is a going concern. When a deprivation occurs in terms of a breakup of the home, especially an estrangement between the parents, a very severe thing happens in the child's mental organisation. Suddenly his aggressive ideas and impulses become unsafe. I think that what happens immediately is that the child takes over the control that has been lost and becomes identified with the framework, the result being that he loses his own impulsiveness and spontaneity. There is much too much anxiety now for experimentation which could result in his coming to terms with his own aggression. There follows a period which again (as in the first type of deprivation) can be fairly satisfactory from the point of view of those in charge, in which the boy is more identified with those in charge than with his own immature self.

The antisocial tendency in this kind of case leads the boy whenever he feels some sort of hope of a return of security to rediscover himself, and this means a *rediscovery of his own aggressiveness*. He does not know of course what is going on but he simply finds that he has hurt someone or has broken a window. In this case, therefore, instead of hope leading to an S.O.S. signal in terms of stealing, it leads to an S.O.S. signal in terms of *an*

outburst of aggression. The aggression is liable to be senseless and quite divorced from logic and it is no good asking the child who is aggressive in this way why he has broken the window any more than it is useful to ask a child who has stolen why he took money.

These two clinical types of manifestation of the antisocial tendency are really related to each other. It is simply that on the whole the stealing relates to a deprivation that is earlier in terms of the child's emotional growth than is the aggressive outburst. There is something common to society's reaction to both types of antisocial behaviour at this moment of hope. When the child steals or is aggressive, society is liable not only to fail to get the message but (more than likely) it will feel stimulated to respond moralistically. The natural mass reaction is in the direction of the punishment for stealing and for the maniacal outburst, and every effort is made to force the young criminal to give an explanation in logical terms which in fact does not apply. At the end of a few hours of persistent questioning, fingerprint evidence, etc., antisocial children will come up with some kind of confession and explanation simply to bring to an end an interminable and intolerable enquiry. This confession has no value, however, because even though it may contain true facts it nevertheless cannot get to the true cause or to the *aetiology* of the disturbance. In fact time which is spent in extortion of

confessions and on fact-finding commissions is wasted time.

Although what has been stated here, if correct, may have no bearing on the day-to-day management of a group of boys or girls, it is necessary to examine the situation to see whether under certain circumstances there might possibly be a practical application of theory. Would it be possible, for instance, for someone who is in charge of a group of delinquent boys to arrange for personal contact of a therapeutic kind? In a sense all communities are therapeutic in so far as they work. Children have nothing to gain from living in a chaotic group, and sooner or later, if there is no strong management, a dictator arises among the children. Nevertheless there is another meaning to the word therapeutic and this has to do with putting oneself in a position in which one can be communicated with from a deep level.

I think that it may be impossible in most cases for those who are in charge day and night to make the necessary adjustment in themselves which would enable them to allow a boy a period of psychotherapy or personal contact. I would certainly not lightly advise anyone to attempt to use the two methods. At the same time, however, I would think that these matters can be managed by some and that the boys (or girls) can make very good use of such specialised therapeutic sessions. What must be emphasized, however, is *the absolute difference that there is in your attitude when you are responsible for general management*

and when you are in a personal relationship with a child. To start with, the attitude towards the antisocial manifestation is quite different in the two cases. For someone who is in charge of a group the antisocial activity is just not acceptable. In the therapeutic session, by contrast, there is no question of morality except that which may turn up in the child. The therapeutic session is not a fact-finding commission and whoever is doing this therapeutic work is not concerned with objective truth but is very definitely concerned with what feels real to the patient.

There is something here that can be carried right over from psycho-analysis, since psycho-analysts know very well that in some of the sessions with their patients they are accused, for instance, of something of which they are innocent. Patients may accuse them of deliberately changing the place of an object in the room in order to trick them; or they may feel quite certain that the analyst has another patient as a favourite, etc. I am referring to what is called the "delusional transference". It would be very natural for an analyst who does not know to defend himself; to say, for instance, that the object is in the same place as it was yesterday or that a simple mistake has been made; or that he does his very best not to favour one person more than another. In doing so the analyst would *fail to use the material that the patient presents*. The patient is experiencing in the present something which had reality at some

point in his past, and if the analyst will allow himself to be put in the role allotted there will be an outcome in the sense that the patient will recover from the delusion. Because of the therapist's need to accept the role allotted at the moment by the patient, it must be very difficult to switch over from the role of group management to one of individual acceptance, but if this can be done there can be rich rewards. Anyone who wishes to try this must be reminded, however, that this work cannot be lightly undertaken. If a boy is to be seen on Thursdays at three o'clock, then *this is a sacred date* and nothing must get in the way. Unless the appointment becomes predictable by being reliable the individual boy will not be able to make use of it, and of course one of the first ways in which he will make use of it if he begins to feel that it is reliable is to waste it. These things have to be accepted and tolerated. There is no need for anyone in this role of psycho-therapist to be clever. All that is necessary is to be willing in the specialised time set aside to become involved with whatever is there in the child at the time or with whatever turns up through the patient's unconscious co-operation which soon develops and which produces a powerful process. It is this process in the child that makes the sessions valuable.

(In the discussion a member asked the question: how, among a lot of boys, would one recognise one that could be chosen out of all the

rest for this kind of special treatment; and my answer, which had to be brief, was that probably one would choose a boy who has just boiled up into being especially difficult. This special clinical problem must either result in punishment and further hardening or else it can be used as a communication indicating a new hope.)

The question is, what is this hope? What does the child hope to do? It is difficult to answer this question. The child, without knowing it, hopes to be able to take someone who will listen back to the moment of deprivation or to the phase in which deprivation became consolidated into an inescapable reality. The hope is that the boy or girl will be able to re-experience in relation to the person who is acting as psychotherapist the intense suffering that followed immediately the reaction to deprivation. The moment that the child has used the support that the therapist can give to reach back to the intense suffering of that fateful moment or period of time, there follows a memory of *the time before the deprivation*. In this way the child has reached back either to the lost capacity to find objects or to the lost security of the framework. The child has reached back to a creative relationship to external reality or to the period in which spontaneity was safe even if it involved aggressive impulses. This time the reaching back has been done without stealing and without aggression because it is something that happens automatically as a result of the child's

arrival at what had previously been intolerable, the suffering reactive to the deprivation. By suffering I mean acute confusion, disintegration of the personality, falling for ever, a loss of contact with the body, complete disorientation and other states of this nature. Once one has taken a child to this area and the child has come through to remember it and what went before, then one has no difficulty whatever in understanding why it is that anti-social children must spend their lives looking for help of this kind. They cannot get on with their own lives until someone has gone back with them and enabled them to remember by reliving the immediate result of the deprivation.

(Dr. Winnicott attempted to make his point more clear by giving as an example the beginning of an interview with a boy who was brought to him for stealing. This boy was lolling back in the chair set aside in his room for a parent. His father was behaving very well, as if doing it for the child, while the child was exploiting the situation and taking charge. Any attempt to make this boy behave himself would have put out of court the possibility that the hour might be used productively. Gradually the boy settled down to some kind of game. The father was able to go to the waiting-room and then there followed a communication between the boy and the therapist of a deepening kind. At the end of an hour the boy had been able to remember and to describe with fullness of feeling the difficult moment which he had not

been able to cope with years ago when he felt abandoned in a hospital. This description was given in illustration of the way in which for the time being the person doing the psychotherapy must abandon everything that has to be used in the management of a group, although of course after the end of the allotted time there must be a return to the general attitude which makes

the running of the group possible. Dr. Winnicott repeated that he was not sure that in the borstal groups it would be possible to combine general management with personal work even with one or two of the individual boys at a time. Nevertheless he felt that some interest might be got from an attempt to describe the inherent difficulties and also the possible rewards.)

There is a constant demand for articles dealing with all aspects of the Prison Service and this demand can only be met by those with the experience and knowledge gained from service in this field.

Comment upon previous articles is constructive and has also helped to illuminate problems in which theory could previously only grope. These articles have shown the way, but more are required on all subjects.

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An "Amateur" . . . in penal reform

A book review by
D. O'C. GRUBB

WHEN MARGERY FRY died in 1958 at the age of 84, Lord Templewood, who knew her well, wrote: "an entrancing figure has passed from the world of philanthropists and social reformers. Throughout her long life good looks and good works were combined in a delightful harmony, expert knowledge and human sympathy never parted company".

Now, almost 10 years after her death, she will be remembered by many as a broadcaster, penal reformer or college principal but to others she will be a name only; confused, perhaps with her distantly connected Quaker kinswoman, Elizabeth Fry.

This biography by Enid Huws Jones, who had known Margery Fry since 1930, introduces the reader to a delightful and remarkable person of whom it was said by a schoolgirl visitor: "We did not even know that she was a penal reformer but she seemed to know how to live". It was a life rich in

experience and the book is written with great perception and warmth. I like illustrations in a biography and the photographs of Margery Fry are happily chosen. As a girl her face was described by a governess, quoting Browning:

"Like a Catherine-pear

The side that's next the sun".

In later life, someone recalls "her dark greying hair brushed back, a few strands escaping not untidily, a dress of some soft material with lace at the neck, the colour warm and pleasant neither garish, nor dull".

Margery Fry was born in 1874, one of the nine children of Edward Fry and his wife Mariabella Hodgkin. Her father "had travelled in half a lifetime from an unpretentious house in Bristol, where the cocoa business, still precarious, was carried on in a shed at the end of a backyard, to a position of eminence at the Bar". He became a judge and on retirement was Britain's representative at the Hague. Her mother lived to be 94 and throughout her long life extended a strong influence over her children. Her brother, Roger, was the eminent

Margery Fry—The Essential Amateur by ENID HUWS JONES, Oxford University Press, 42s.

painter and art critic. None of the sisters married and throughout the book we get fascinating glimpses of them. At 89 Agnes, writing to her only remaining sister said of Margery: "And I want all these admirers to know she was wonderful as a sister as well as a penal reformer".

Brought up within the framework of a Quaker family of substance in Highgate and Bayswater, Margery went to the school which was later to become Roedean and then to Somerville College, Oxford where she read mathematics. She remained at Somerville as librarian and produced a play written by her cousin by marriage, Robert Bridges, to celebrate the opening of the library. In 1926 she returned to Somerville as principal but her energies were not confined to academic life. She was warden of a hostel for women students in Birmingham (in 1904 the salary was £60 a year), a member of the Staffordshire County Education Committee, one of the first woman magistrates, an original member of the University Grants Committee and a governor of the B.B.C. In the first world war she served with the Friends War Victims Relief Committee in France (her sister Ruth Fry was secretary of the organisation).

In 1919 she became secretary of the Penal Reform League and soon united it with the Howard Association thus creating the Howard League for Penal Reform and remained its secretary until 1926. "Penal reform", it has been said,

"was her life work—or rather, the one among her innumerable interests to which she devoted most of her public time". She travelled widely and visited prisons wherever she went. She collected facts, she wrote articles and made speeches, she had penal reform included in the agenda of the League of Nations, she was appointed to the Home Secretary's Advisory Committee on the Treatment of Offenders. All this was very valuable and important but above all she was "a person of almost infinite compassion and understanding".

As an old lady she was attacked in the street and had her handbag snatched. She declared she had never said "criminals were nice people". In her very last years she undertook all the research to support her proposal to give financial compensation to the victims of crimes of violence. She cared not only about prisoners but about prison staffs. Of a party at her London house in the 1930s she wrote: "They stayed late, they ate lots, and they asked to come again. Holloway Prison stayed to the end and took off the 'floral decorations' to grace the gaol".

Roger Fry spoke of his sister's "great ingenuity and practical wisdom". In her time as a school governor she concerned herself with the drains and encouraged needlework classes to mend clothes. She had a flair for figures and illustrated many of her talks with graphs which she made herself having "discovered that graphs embroidered in bright wools on checked

glass-cloths were more conveniently stored than crisp paper rolls in an untidy cupboard or a bulging handbag".

The book is enriched by quotations from her own writing. Her one book *Arms of the Law* was published in 1951 but throughout her life she wrote many articles and speeches and above all letters. From a lecture tour in China she wrote: "The beds are like tombstones and the pillows are stony griefs. The Chinese politeness is absolutely invulnerable. It's unthinkable that they should give one the criticism that one's longing to get". And in August 1940 she described London as "tired and stale, much more autumnal than the country, a region of petrol smells and sparrows and white cabbage butterflies".

She had a magnificent voice and was a public speaker for many causes. In the last years of her life she was known to millions as a member of the B.B.C. Brains Trust. She made frequent broadcasts and appeared on television. "There's comforting that Margery Fry is" said a woman viewer in South Wales.

Margery Fry was a person of abounding energy and fun. In her 80s she was taken by two boys for

a sail in their boat off the coast of Essex. She painted (she had wanted to become an artist like her brother, Roger), played the flute and took delight in birds. Two of her ambitions were to achieve the abolition of capital punishment and see a bearded tit.

"I think the whole human being is such an unknown thing that we've got to attack our ignorance from every possible side", she wrote, and in the field of penal reform she was active in promoting the educational programme and professional social workers in prisons, campaigning for the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Offenders and encouraging research. Of Maurice Waller, chairman of the Prison Commission she had said "he has kept the unofficial mind, the sense of what might be, unblunted by dealing with what is".

By upbringing a Quaker, Margery Fry eventually resigned from the Society of Friends and died an agnostic. Her influence was enormous, she was a public figure and a personal friend and as the writer of her obituary notice in *The Times* said: "she cared passionately about prisons because prisoners were people and she loved her fellow men and all their works".

Hearing, Speaking, Reading

B. L. NEEDLE

THE ILLITERATE DELINQUENT is probably the most tragic casualty of mankind's ability to blind itself with science.

In a world increasingly preoccupied with complicating the simple, and measuring intelligence by the capacity to acquire pieces of paper indicating a good memory for academic information, he finds himself labelled "stupid". Those who would normally have formed his own kind draw away from him with ridicule and thinly disguised contempt.

All too easily in the modern "streaming" system, he finds a new pack with which to run.

But for all the companionship of his fellows, he is never very far away from grim reminders of his subnormality. His ego is constantly subjected to depression. He cannot escape the print around him and before him at every turn. Every child who passes him carrying the week's current comic is a torment. Every shop window that takes his eye bears mute witness to his ignorance. Unless he recognises a

box by its colour scheme and size it could contain chocolates or cheeses for all he knows.

Small wonder he seeks to redress the balance of his self-esteem by proving greater guts and physical prowess, particularly against those patterns of behaviour most highly valued by his natural enemies—the normal.

Only those who have engaged in remedial work within the family group can grasp the true extent of the welter of misery suffered by parents and children when reading is essayed, or discussed.

The root of the emotional conflict is the insane conviction in *homo sapiens* that anyone who cannot do that which he personally finds easy—is stupid. This unshakeable belief in man that the store of knowledge in his mind reflects his intelligence rather than a long, grinding acquisition of know-how, is productive of more friction than any six other less-lovely facets of human nature.

The parents, then, feel angry and hurt that they should have produced

a numbskull. The child is bewildered and hurt because no matter how hard he tries he cannot for the life of him make top nor tail of what they place before him.

According to his *milieu* he will suffer every type of exhortation from kindly encouragement based on advancement that he well knows he has not made, to ranting, roaring vituperation and blows from the figure he would most yearn to please—his dad.

Oddly enough, only if he has a fair amount of native intelligence will the desire to swing the pendulum as far as he knows how towards flaunting his ignorance as a badge of "difference", occur to him. The genuinely mentally-handicapped lad will supinely accept a lesser status and go along with it. But not so your border-line and above case; he will burn for revenge.

Before moving on to study the causes of and cures for illiteracy, let it be said that the teacher who cannot generate compassion for the unlovely lout before him should not come within a hundred miles of remedial work. My experience suggests that teaching methods diametrically opposed to the boy's capacity to profit from them certainly contributed to his eventual psyche.

If, alternatively, mother nature dispenses a package deal personality at birth, then remedial work is a criminal waste of public money.

Since reading is a facet of our natural system of communication which employs sound or light waves

to evoke apparent noises in the mind (tip some matches on the table and try to count them without "hearing" yourself utter each figure), let us first examine what the boy CAN do in this direction.

Although unlikely to employ a wide spoken vocabulary himself he will respond to a much wider one aurally. The chances are that his speech will be even less clearly enunciated than the bulk of the people in his home neighbourhood. Indeed, he is likely to have difficulty with specific sounds. But nonetheless, speedwise both his oral and auditory circuits will approximate to normal.

Thus far he will enjoy the same psycho-physical equipment as the rest of us. And since speech is transmitted or received without a break between words at something like 20 sounds per second of different wave length and magnitude, clearly, with regard to the physiological mechanics of communication, his brain is as efficient as our own.

Reverting to the subject of his vocabulary and bearing in mind it will be stunted both by lack of reading and the pattern of speech favoured by his cronies, he nonetheless has a distinctly measurable repertory of words sufficient for his limited needs.

And since, with one or two exceptions, each word requires a multiplicity of sounds to utter it, then his brain is well able to record each pattern of individual signals that evoke a given word in his mind. Conversely, when thinking

these words and desiring to utter them, his brain will readily transmit the necessary motor signals in the correct order to the diaphragm and other speech organs.

It is not generally realised how wonderfully complicated are the mechanics involved in speaking and hearing. Particularly speaking. Elsewhere I have said that it is more difficult to teach a baby to talk than it is to teach a normally articulate child to read. Few, if any, real clues can be given a baby who understands almost no English at all.

Explaining reading to the articulate illiterate is an immeasurably easier task.

To accept that as a true (if somewhat astonishing) statement of the situation confronting us it is first necessary to reject one of the greatest fallacies of all time. "Of course, English is one of the most difficult languages in the world to read". The fact is, it is one of the easier phonetic languages once the pattern has been laid bare. When I first said this it was held on all sides to be screamingly funny. I fancy it is given a more sober reception now.

If three out of four children around the ages of seven and eight are well on the way to fluent reading of a moderately high level WITHOUT the aid of a teaching method that reduces written English to the level of a simple code, then manifestly English must be an easy language to learn given a mental quirk that is shared by the lucky three, but lacking in the fourth.

This was my initial thought when puzzled by the fluency of my son and the illiteracy of his playmate in 1952. The maze I entered was long and tortuous but the solution was unutterably simple.

The answer was an extremely poor pictorial memory in the illiterate lad. He was the complete antithesis to the custodian of a "rogues gallery" who, given a fair description of an unnamed suspect, will produce a sheaf of pictures that might well contain a photograph of the wanted man. Our illiterate delinquent and our hypothetical policeman represent two extremes in more ways than one.

To revert to my opening paragraph: the point here is that where those of us who are highly literate went wrong in our approach to teaching was the assumption that for all practical purposes the word was the unit of speech and writing. We became so used to exchanging torrents of speech that APPEARED to be separate words instead of, remember, an unbroken stream of individual sounds, we fell into the natural trap once the eye had attained the same skill as the ear, of thinking we read whole words.

This led us to the "eye-span" theory. But if you choose a word of not less than 11 letters and look at the middle one you cannot clearly see the first and last letters even although you know perfectly well what they are. It is the speed with which the eye sweeps the word that suggests we can see it in its entirety. We became, after infancy, so slick

at dealing in this form of communication we completely forgot the long, dreary road that led to our expertise.

This led to the sincerely held belief that if you put enough words in front of a pupil often enough, he would remember your verbal equivalents and become a reader. It was argued that a wide knowledge of phonetics was too involved for the infant to cope with. For some peculiar reason infancy was taken to square with near-imbecility.

Happily, a wind of change is fast blowing this fallacious premise into limbo.

But the child with a good memory for collections of letters and the spoken word they represented supported the first thesis. He became a reader. The child who took much longer to make the grade was "dull of intellect". The child who became an illiterate young man who could jack up a car and pinch the wheels before a racecourse mechanic could say "chequered flag", had a "psychological barrier".

It was all so, pat—and so wrong. A tilted glass of wine will spill its contents; the earth is surrounded by water; therefore, the earth is flat. So reasoned the ancients.

Both the dull, slow learner and the illiterate have one physical imperfection in common. That area whose job it is to remember and associate pictures and words runs at a very low ebb. It is important to dwell on the words "pictures and words" to avoid getting entangled with the ability to remember words

associated with ideas and things—vocabulary.

I have met many illiterates who defeated themselves by a keen analytical eye for detail in printed words that indicated only confusion and anomalies. Lacking the memory to acquire hundreds of words they were precluded from converting apparent anomalies into facets of a regular pattern from an abundance of available evidence. We were luckier. It is as simple as that.

Thus, our potential illiterate was inexorably forced towards abysmal failure by the application of the most inapposite instruction. He was, in effect, invited to continually walk around an art gallery where all the canvasses were blanked out and commit the pictures to memory by the shapes of the frames.

Since three out of four children master the art of reading, the method is not quite as silly as I would make it appear. Nonetheless, as a means of introducing children to the delights of a simple extension of speaking and hearing it leaves much to be desired. The vast numbers of fluent readers who are very ifsy-butsy spellers bear mute witness to the fact that they have no trained eye for detail.

In the field of reading, teaching methods have been unique in that they started with the complicated, thereafter working back to the simple. This came about through a twin preoccupation with the roman alphabet and its phonetic equivalent, and words like "tough" and "bough". Thus phonetics became

understood as those three and four-letter words wherein the number of the letters clearly reflected the multiplicity of sounds needed to utter them.

From here it was but a short step to the mistaken idea that phonetics as an aid to reading were limited in their application and tended to hinder the tyro.

The astonishing thing is that Shaw, that master of language with a compulsive urge to do something about English orthography, never ever began to see the simple and beautiful phonetic pattern devised by Middle English scholars to overcome the need to write 36 sounds with a 26-letter alphabet.

It is the more astonishing when you reflect, as I have indicated, that he had to pass through the stage of reacting to this pattern to attain really fluent reading of any new matter placed before him.

In fact, medieval scholars augmented the roman alphabet with digraphs and three and four-letter groups that obey very rigid rules. True, the precise sound ascribed to these various elements will vary from district to district but in the main, only the 20 laryngeal sounds needed to speak English will reveal this variation.

But in the classroom where we need to vocally illustrate the function of consonants, the number of sounds needed to speak English can be taken as 36.

Now let us look afresh at our illiterate or woefully backward pupil who is convinced that reading is not for him. How do we overcome his

genuine psychological barrier—a dejected conviction of continuing failure?

In a class strung out like cross-country runners with discharge dates occurring here and there in every week, this is comparatively easy. The new boy will see other chaps reading with apparent ease various messages on the blackboard as they appear from the teacher's chalk. He will see these same fellows enthusiastically racing each other against a stop-watch around sheets bearing the alphabet or two, three, or four-letter groups, uttering apparent gibberish.

Over and over again he will hear: "Well, now you can see what I mean, Harry. I keep telling you that reading is dead simple—when you know the trick. And the tricks you have been punching into your tape are beginning to pay off".

His certain knowledge that only a few short weeks before, these same cocky scholars ("Here, Sir, want to hear me read me last letter?") were in the same boat as himself has a marked effect on his failure-conviction. It does not melt away just like that, but its reduction does permit him to lower his defences and have another go. He is helped, too, by being with his own kind in a comparatively relaxed atmosphere where "Sir" seems to be very easy-going if you don't "sass" him too much.

The most difficult job is establishing a friendly relationship without losing command. Any teacher whose spiritual eyes stare constantly at a reflection of a superior and

dignified Being clothed in a majestic cloak will ill serve his class.

The lads before him lack practice in the art of polite conversation delivered in a respectful tone. They also have the conviction that all adults are a miserable, griping lot. Again, any teacher who fails to recognise the completely friendly rapport established when one of these reprobates enters the classroom and smilingly delivers himself thus: "Hello, you little old fat Sir", will, if he gives a sharp retort, miss a possible chance of altering the whole life of the seemingly impudent pupil.

In the extremely earthy currency of his kind the apparent insult delivered in a kindly tone is the nearest he will permit himself to go towards indicating a shade of friendship tinged with affection. The inflexion of the voice and the play of the facial muscles mark the difference between an insult and a friendly greeting whatever the turn of phrase.

This is, of course, yet another widely enjoyed form of humour that falls flat on its back when engaged in by persons over whom the recipient feels compelled to maintain an aloof, dignified role.

In the illiterate classroom we have a collection of brains who lost the urge to study for intellectual advancement very early in life, if indeed, it was ever awakened at all in classroom conditions. While avoiding an anarchistic free-for-all, the lucky teacher will steer a profitable course between entertainment and disciplined instruction.

How often have I heard variations on the theme: "We likes coming in your class, Sir; we gits a laff 'ere". To which I often reply with grossly hammed-up vituperation: "It may be a laugh to you, John, but you brainless, idle, unenlightened layabouts make me want to cry at times. How much practice have you put in since my last visit, you addle-pated nit?" Hardly normal classroom exchanges. But then, we are not dealing with normal scholars.

From a position that enabled him, if need be, to swiftly change his proffered friendly hand to a mailed fist he has established from my tone that I, for one, do not consider him a stupid oaf to be insulted and pushed around like some lower form of animal.

This rapport is indescribably vital in detention centre conditions where the total time available for instruction even in the favourable circumstances of complete loss of remission cannot exceed 36 hours. In a fresh attack on what reading is all about, the pupil must be induced to control the auditory shutter that automatically drops when someone is trying to "improve" him.

Genuine pleasure on my part as he surmounts successive hurdles I place before him coupled with his own surprised delight as he passes from a study of the multiplicity of sounds needed to utter each word to a moderately swift recognition of those same sounds in printed form, raises his down-trodden ego and makes of it a powerful ally.

The more intelligent respond to

my repeated exhortation: "Get this stuff on your 'tape-recorders' now. In a few weeks' time we shall part, never to meet again. You could go home from here blessing the magistrate who sent you down. Your mother will probably cry when she sees the change in you. But this time, you'll both enjoy it". They achieve a standard of reading where they call for more and more "long" words on the blackboard, and would hog my time at the expense of the new boy struggling with the mysteries of "gr", "spr", and so on.

A swift word here on "intelligence" in the context of reading instruction. It should be taken as a marriage between the capacity to form memories and the ability to freely permute them at speed. The more a fellow inclines towards measurable mental handicap, the less will the latter be seen to operate even although the former has been coaxed to a fair operation level.

An educational psychologist who sat through a series of four lectures I gave at Caerleon in 1959 said I had reduced the teaching of reading to a narrow science based on the implantation of conditioned reflexes. I think that was a very fair judgement.

For instance, what does "slautary" mean? You don't know? Then mentally remove the "l" and place it between the "a" and "u". It should have a very salutary effect on any belief you may have that you read words by "knowing" them. You surely said: slaughtery?

So the instructional approach is a contemptuous dismissal of the study of reading matter as a waste of time.

Our "whole-word" reading-failure will certainly go along with that. The emphasis must be placed on recognising that sounds can be written down and that the code we use is not so complex as he at first thought. This latter suggestion is a form of hypno-suggestive lying in that he had never thought of reading matter as a code-form, anyway. But it shapes their approach in the desired manner.

As they pass through the successive stages of phonetic alphabet, blended consonants, two, three and four-letter groups plus a few rules it becomes clear to them that reading is something they could have achieved long since, but for one thing: initially they had not the memory for sufficient words for the code-pattern to emerge and lead them forward.

In the context of ascribing this lack to a small physical imperfection in the brain their need to defend themselves against the charge of stupidity ceases to be an over-alert fundamental of their psyche.

How far this change can overcome the habit of the tart retort bred through years of unhappy duncehood is a matter for conjecture. Those less naturally inclined to violence stand a fair chance of a complete metamorphosis where a job and the chance to slip quietly into the company of literate people offers immediately, or soon after discharge.

Several times pupils almost ready to dispense with me have volunteered a great truth that has suddenly occurred to them.

"Y'know, Mr. Needle, I don't reckon I would have had my record of violence if I had had this as a kid. But when littler kids pokes fun at you and calls you 'dunce', what else can you do, but thump 'em?"

This, surely, is the nub of hooliganism? Nobody likes a contemporary who is cleverer than he should be. But the gorge really rises when inferiors abundantly clearly reveal their mental superiority. It evokes an urge to rend and destroy.

It is a malaise that occurs in every walk of life and explains, among other things, why so many British inventions are lost to foreign competitors. It is all, as has been said before, a question of injured vanity.

At Haslar we try to implant in the minds of our illiterate intake a new, uplifting vanity born of achieving a measure of normality in a remarkably short time. The occasional letter that arrives sometimes months after a pupil's discharge suggests that here and there we succeed.

CONTRIBUTORS

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The Prison Chaplain

W. J. ABBOTT

ANY EXAMINATION of "role" is fraught with difficulty—in a period of change and in certain respects of uncertainty people are suspicious of the researcher who asks what, to them, are a series of pointless and irksome questions. The prison chaplain is no exception, although those I have interviewed have received me kindly and been of help. Material on the role prescribed and/or chosen is sparse and scattered. It is a subject deserving a much fuller treatment than we have attempted. The published study of Pentonville by Morris makes only a passing mention of the chaplain which some students of penology might see as, in itself, a judgement on his present-day position and importance in the eyes of the sociologist.

I want to examine the ascribed role of the chaplain as laid down by authority and the work as he himself has seen it (i.e. the statements of various prison chaplains); I want to attempt to see this historically and, therefore, I will divide the paper up into three sections arbitrarily demarcated as the 19th century and the development of the role in the 20th century and finally, I want to enter the more controversial field of

the present-day and to a lesser degree the future.

Writing in the 1770s, Howard records: "I had pleasure to find a chaplain appointed to most of the county gaols". An Act of 1774 stated that the chaplain shall read morning and evening prayers each Sunday, Good Friday and Christmas, he was also commanded to preach two sermons each Sunday. "And all offenders confined shall attend." The chaplain was also, with the leave of the governor, to visit "any of the offenders, either sick or in health, that may desire or stand in need of his spiritual advice and attendance". He was not, however, allowed to interfere with their work hours. These basically were his duties and over the years were added to—in the 19th century his role and authority was often second only to the governor—he was able to claim respect because he was the expert and his authority rested on his expertise and knowledge.

The 19th century has been seen by historians of one persuasion as Britain's greatest—the century of empire and power. Other historians and critics have condemned it as a century of inhumanity. The Empire

was built on the sufferings of the working classes of Britain. It was essentially a century of *laissez-faire* idealism—the individual was solely responsible for his position. A man shall not eat if he will not work. The Marxist dictum: “From each according to his ability to each according to his need”, was not understood as intended and was essentially anathema to 19th century England. The theory of less eligibility influenced the harshness of social provision if such it can be called. The motives for chaplain’s entering the Prison Service were several, their attitudes also were several and hence they saw their role as different ways. Some chaplains presented to the prisoner the aloofness and judgemental *milieu* of their age, others tempered it with a concern, be it a concern originated in class conscience or a genuine altruistic interpretation of their gospel. Samuel Butler’s *Clergyman* was for some a true image. The Church of England in the 19th century drew its clergy from the upper classes; more heavily than even today the gulf between the prisoner and the priest was wide. (Methodism had, and still did, reveal the depth of the division within England as a whole.) The Church’s clergy presented the maternal or paternal aspect of love to their flocks.

At the close of the 18th century the prison hulks were established—each of them had attached a chaplain but they interpreted their duties widely. The chaplain of the *Gannymede* and *Leven* stated before

a select committee that he merely conducted services weekly—no other instruction was given the prisoners. He was chaplain of the *Leven* but never went on board! The only education of convicts was by convicts acting as schoolmaster. Quarterman only visited the prisoners if asked to do so by the hulk manager. Branch Johnson, in his work on prison hulks, refers to a clergyman who refused to bury prisoners who had died from cholera until there were several bodies—he remained on ship and officers took the bodies ashore; the chaplain dropped a handkerchief when he reached the words of commitment and the officers, almost a mile away, lowered the body. These are not merely isolated examples as some might accuse—they represent a school and reflect an attitude of the 19th century Church.

Certain of the hulk chaplains spent up to 12 hours a day on board—preaching, teaching, admonishing. For some, life was hard and they were conscientious. Some prisoners were taught to read and to write, for some it was too high an ideal. To learn by rote was a favourite method of teaching. The Catechism was learned by many as were the Articles of Religion. Of what use the latter were is difficult to ascertain and a learned mind alone could attempt an understanding. To use the Church’s own Collect: “to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest”, might have been before the chaplains’ mind. The prisoner might learn but as for the

other aspects I retain a sceptical mind.

During the first half of the 19th century the Reverend Daniel Nihil served at Millbank Prison as chaplain-governor. The regime was geared to the mission of the chaplain. The secular and the sacred were combined in one person but the tension of role remained. The experiment was a failure and collapsed after 30 years—a failure not to be placed solely at the feet of the governor. In one sense it was an attempt to return to the medieval concept of the secular being confined and controlled by the sacred and it was doomed to failure as was the medieval conception of a theocracy. Once he had been freed from a sacral culture, man would not again be dominated by it even if that culture was a Christian sacral culture. Further, the aims of the 19th century state penology were not Christian in respect of the Church as the accepting mother. The 19th century was the age of reason and a patriarchal, rather than a maternal love, is the dominating ethics of Church and State and the patriarchal love is a mirror of the Old Testament rather than the New Testament. In as much as Christianity is not essentially rational, the rational approach was naive in essence if not in sincerity.

By the middle of the 19th century the duties of the chaplain had increased. The Prison Rules had laid greater burden upon him. Let us attempt to summarise: he shall perform morning and evening

prayer each Sunday, public fast days and thanksgiving days; he shall read prayers daily together with portions of scripture, he shall celebrate holy communion at least four times a year; he shall instruct prisoners in religious instruction in classes; "he shall, at stated times, see every prisoner in private, in order to be able to direct his advice and instruction, with reference to the particular character and state of mind of each prisoner, and that under circumstances in which the prisoner is likely to be least reserved, and most open to good influence". He shall visit the sick daily, he shall attend the condemned, he shall see and admonish every prisoner on admission and discharge, he shall pay attention to every prisoner's state of mind; he shall keep a character book, he shall keep a journal of events, he shall distribute books and other educational materials, he shall superintend the schools, he may inspect prisoners' letters and he must make an annual report at this time to the justices at Michaelmas Quarter Sessions "as to the religious and moral instruction of the prisoners with his observations thereon".

The demands laid upon the chaplain were many: "The Rules for Convict Prisons, Parkhurst" lay the same obligations on the chaplain. The governor, deputy governor and officers are commanded to communicate information concerning the moral state of the prisoners. "The chaplain shall hold no other preferment with care of souls, nor

will he be permitted to take pupils. He shall reside in the house provided for him." He is certainly aligned with the Prison Service hierarchy and he was subject only to the control of the Secretary of State for matters in his department. With the governor seen as an administrator he was alone with the doctor in having any professional expertise.

The Church of England in the last century saw its clergy as "ministers" rather than as priests; it was more Protestant than Catholic. This is certainly reflected in its order of priorities of service—H.C. four times a year, morning and evening prayer weekly. Raymond Raines once described Protestantism as a moral teaching and Catholicism as a religion. I do not want to labour the point too far but it does explain to a large degree the emphasis on a teaching ministry rather than a sacramental priesthood. The chaplain in the Prison Service in the 18th century is, in terms of popular sociology, the personification of the gold dust theory. His influence is seen to be for the good—his sermons, his private visits, his guidance within the educational sphere. In terms of "treatment" his role is unique—supplemented later by the visiting ladies and prison visitors and D.P.A.s who are essentially under his control.

Chaplains differed in their allocation of time to their various tasks. To read merely their annual reports gives some insight into their work. Their character books give some insight into their attempts at offering help, they showed concern for the

lack of after-care. They do tend to press for the good of the prisoner and we might today condemn their thesis of separation of prisoners, etc., but their sincerity should not be condemned. They report on the chapels, on services held, on schooling and the moral state of the men. The reports are often similar in content to those of other chaplains and vary very little from year to year. Some show greater initiative than others. Reverend J. W. Horsley stated: "The terms of the Prison Act, in speaking of the scope of the report of the chaplain, are so wide, that it is not actually, though apparently, outside his province to draw attention to the sanitary differences between cells in which there is no such provision. The chaplain, in the course of his duties, spends more of his time and more at a stretch in the cells than other prison officers and, therefore, is in a position to know which kind of cells is most or least malodorous. There is rarely any unpleasantness in the old type of cells furnished with W.C.s but in the newer type in which gutta-percha utensils are provided the contrary is frequently the case. This is a bit of practical experience which would no doubt be opposed to *a priori* theory; but so it is." Horsley was a critic of the prison authorities and his reports made for interesting reading—interesting also is his willingness to criticise and stand up to authority. He was not the only chaplain in this role.

Without dissent chaplains report on the edifying nature of their services. They equate orderliness

with edification and improvement and with reform. They comment on the larger congregations than local parishes! They comment on behaviour. The chapel building for them is a vital part in the redemptive work. Wherein religion is emotional one can perhaps accept their stand, but I see difficulty in the emotional appeal of morning and evening prayer. Father Graham in the *Mirfield Essays* has written deeper on this point and the implications for conversion. He sees a need to involve the whole personality, not merely the intellect. The chaplains also lay great stress on the cellular visits they made. Given the separate system it is not difficult to understand the warmth with which they were greeted. Reverend John Clay provides us with as good an insight into this as any other chaplain. "In his cell he has no temptations from without, and many salutary monitions from within." "Few can conceive the nature of those feelings which bring daily tears from eyes that never wept since childhood. . . ." Active memory collects and brings before him everything that ever happened to him since he was a child; reflection traces painful consequences back to their sinful causes; the sense of sin and sorrow for it succeed; he is directed to Him who bore our sorrows and atoned for sin; then rises up prayer for pardon and *that* is followed by the consolation which answers prayer, and when about to leave the scene of his probation and try the stability of his new impressions he says in a voice which does permit a doubt of

sincerity: "By God's help I'll be a different man for the future". Casework? "But the most valuable fruits of a chaplain's labours are those which spring from his private conversations with the prisoners when no third person is present. He has then the most favourable opportunity of bringing the sins of the offender home to his conscience. The advice, exhortation, plain healing and particular application which he feels himself at liberty to use on these occasions would not be well received in the presence of a third party and would not produce the same effect . . . when no one else is present the chaplain is always attended to with patience and respect, and generally with thanks for his advice, even if that advice implies atrocious guilt or directly charges the admonished offender with it. It is in these interviews, if anywhere, that a moral influence is acquired over the mind of the prisoner."

Chaplains also had charge of libraries but were under the visiting justices in this respect. In 1818 the Prison Rules stated: "a library shall be provided in every prison". A departmental report of 1911 stated: "We attach the greatest importance to the chaplain's systematic guidance of the prisoners in his charge in the matter of reading. The mass of prisoners cannot know, and no catalogue can inform them, what is the nature of a book's contents. We strongly recommend that all chaplains should do what we believe the majority do now and make it their

regular practice when visiting prisoners privately in their cells to enquire into and interest themselves in their reading and recommend the books which, from their knowledge of the individual, they believe to be most conducive to his improvement as well as to his recreation". The most popular writers—or those who had most books in prisons were Mrs. Henry Wood, Dickens, Henty, Haggard and Scott. One must make one's own judgements! Chaplains also attempted to assess the reasons for crime and the answers to the problems. They were in a sense criminologists. Today the criminologist, though drawing from many disciplines, does not look to the Church or the "queen of sciences" for help. The books, especially the work of Horsley and Morrison, do show a concern for the criminal and to a large degree an attempted understanding of him. They attempt to help rather than merely condemn.

A chaplain visitor was appointed in 1896. His first report is made in 1897–8. He visited each prison and interviewed each chaplain and schoolmaster. He was concerned with all aspects of the chaplain's work. He comments on the services: "The influences of a bright and orderly service are not infrequently seen in the quiet conduct of the prisoners during the remainder of the day. Reports for misconduct in chapels are in several prisons practically unknown". There had been the admission of part-time clergy and this was praised. When Reverend Horsley invited visiting clergy he received a reprimand

about which he was not slow to complain. There had also been several missions on prisons. He speaks of the schools in a praiseworthy fashion: "If they happen to be excluded from the class for any misconduct in the prison they regard it as a punishment". Adults are slow to learn, many "seem incapable of learning". "The libraries are one of the greatest privileges of the prisoner."

The number of lady visitors had increased and their work was much appreciated. The social work of the 19th century is so often based on association—good is catching and the middle class possesses all good. Such a belief still has prevalence today. British social work is today just freeing itself from "the amateur *par excellence*" beliefs of the 19th century. The Prison Service, one feels, is slower than other professional social work agencies although it is making a progress and it is a progress which is challenging the prison chaplain. It is interesting that the writing of Alexander Paterson on borstals is still one of the more lonely papers with official sanction on their work. We read in chaplains' reports: "The majority of D.P.A.S. have applied for the certificate of efficiency under the conditions of the new scheme which the Commissioners have drawn up and in a few exceptions where they have not been abreast of the requirements of that scheme have either reconstituted themselves or changed and extended their methods of dealing with the discharged prisoners of

whose interests they have taken the care".

The appointment of the chaplain visitor brings us to the close of the 19th century. Any division is in a sense arbitrary. Briefly, what of the prisoners' attitudes? Report after report refers to grateful letters of thanks from prisoners to the chaplain for the help given. It would be impossible to quote the numbers, impossible to judge the sincerity. The chaplain visitor's first report refers to the many letters: "The spontaneous character of the letters is an indication that the chaplain's labours are not always perfunctory, unfruitful or forgotten". Horsley, after reference to one letter of thanks states: "This is certainly different to the pervading idea that governors and doctors are necessities and valuable but chaplains merely concessions to popular prejudice and external ignorance". It is an extreme view but of interest that a chaplain should state it in his annual report. He no doubt had justification for his thoughts.

Oscar Wilde in *De Profundis* wrote: "The prison chaplains are entirely useless. They are in a class, well meaning but foolish, indeed silly men. They are of no help to any prisoner. Once every six weeks or so a key turns in the lock of one's cell door and the chaplain enters. One stands of course, at attention. He asks one whether one has been reading the Bible. One answers 'Yes' or 'No' as the case may be. He then quotes a few texts and goes out and locks the door. Sometimes he leaves a tract".

"All through the history of punishment runs the curious fact that practically the only people displaying a genuine interest in the criminal's lot are those driven by the spirit of a religious mission" (J. V. Bennet, Director, U.S. Bureau of Prisons). In English penal history the Gladstone Committee on Reform is an outstanding, if not the outstanding landmark. It comes at the end of a century which had been punitively minded. Reformation had been seen only in terms of deterrence which itself is an incomplete theory of punishment or reform. It deters only the captive and not necessarily him.

It is difficult to attribute to any one person praise for bringing into being the Gladstone Committee. The 1880s were a time relatively free from criticism but the following decade was one highly critical of the prison regime. Dr. Morrison, chaplain of Wandsworth played a leading role in the reform. Lord Maldone wrote to him saying: "You are the real instrument in bringing about a very great change for the better". Ruggles Brise was of the same opinion. Morrison wrote a series of articles relating to official statistics. Du Cane dismissed him for his action and the *Daily Chronicle* published a series of articles by him. The articles were an indictment of the state of the British prisons and their failure. Morrison had fought openly at the cost of his position for a more humane prison service—he, like others before, notably Clay, had attempted to bring compassion and acceptance to the prisoner. The

chaplains had represented to a degree a view of man which of itself was justification for their existence. This is not to say that within the service there were no chaplains who were other than mouthpieces of officialdom or that Wilde's uncompromising view is untrue.

What of the 20th century? The present-day situation is one of change for society in general as much as for its institutions. The Church is seriously considering its own role in society and individual clergy are considering their role within secular and sacred society. The Prison Service itself is undergoing change and reform. It is considering, to some degree, the roles of its members; it is fast incorporating specialists into its work which rule one of the service states (1964) as: "The purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life".

What of the chaplain's assigned role? We base this on the standing orders as issued in 1933. The chaplain shall attend the prison daily and conduct prescribed services; he shall interview all receptions and discharges; he shall daily visit the sick and those under punishment, he shall read the burial service at funerals. What has gone is his duty with reference to the state of mind of a prisoner. This is a big change worth expanding.

This is, I feel, important—the chaplain has lost the prescribed concern for an area that today many social workers of different skills are

trying for with their differing expertise. It has, I feel, implications for the chaplains' claim to be concerned with the "whole man" which I look at later.

Each Sunday a C. of E. service shall be held in the morning which is compulsory. The governor can grant a leave of absence. An afternoon service is voluntary for the prisoners. Concerts of sacred music can replace the afternoon service but not more than one per month! If a prisoner is ill-behaved in chapel the governor can bar him from chapel for one month. The chaplain is to be informed. During the week there is to be one service which is voluntary. "If the service is held during labour hours the shops will, unless there are special reasons against doing so, be closed during the service and prisoners not attending will return to or remain in their cells if they are not employed on urgent work" (rule 410 2 (a)). The Prison Service today is more economically motivated as chaplains would bear out.

The chaplain statutorily has to present a report annually to the Commissioners. They are allowed cell and pass keys. (If the number of the key signifies importance then it is interesting to note that the chaplain's key, once No. 3, is now often No. 12). The chaplain keeps a book of occurrences and holds classes for religious instruction as he decides.

Rule 418 states: "A prisoner who, on admission, declares himself to be of no religious persuasion may be visited for the purpose of moral assistance or guidance by some person of repute approved by the

Commissioners for that purpose". How far the humanist association has entered the moral field is answered by reference to official approvals. Morality in the Prison Service is still Christian.

Section XIII of the rules concerns itself with religious instruction, education, voluntary workers. The chaplain has oversight of these. A study of prison visitors would, I feel, reveal the predominance of regular church attenders. Over the century very little has in fact changed in his described role. He had free access to the man under sentence of death when capital punishment was on the statute books. The chaplain had to be in attendance at the execution. "A condemned prisoner will be specially informed by the governor that he will have the option of attending divine service in the chapel or not as he wishes."

The second world war forced Britain to consider her state and a coalition government offered the people in the guise of the Beveridge Report a more perfect society. In the post-war years a Labour government began an experiment in several provisions for the sick and unemployed. The Poor Law was abolished in statute. Social considerations became of prime importance and there developed a professionalism in the social services. Then Britain was hurried into an era of change as comparable with that of the years of reformation in the 16th and 17th centuries. She began to move in the direction of a nuclear society, her old values were changing and are changing. The values and ethics of

her political parties have changed. The Conservatives are changing from an agrarian party to a business party and changing is its paternal religious image. The Church itself is in a period of reformation for Rome Vatican II for the Anglican Communion the challenges of Woolwich and of greater impact such theologians as Paul Tillich with Protestantism have forced consideration of doctrine, of role and means of approaching the people.

It is against this change in society and in Church and in prisons that the chaplain now works. Bryan Wilson in *Religion and Secular Society* states: "The clergy most fully represent religion and of this they are themselves accurately aware. Some understanding of the religious profession is an essential to an understanding of religion itself and particularly so in the secular society where they are more than ever before perhaps its embodiment. In a society which is highly professionalised and which no longer expects to discover (amateur) saints any more than it believes in amateur clinicians the role of the clergy becomes more distinctive within religious institutions and becomes more specifically and more circumscribedly religious".

The Prison Service has increased its staff professionalism. There are welfare officers and there are assistant governors concerned with casework and who are trained for this work. The chaplain is not a caseworker professionally today. One chaplain in an interview stated: "The chaplain is now free to be

chaplain. He will be much happier as a sincere chaplain than a sham welfare officer". And yet to acknowledge this is very difficult for a chaplain. (His work within the religious sphere is very difficult and very intangible for him to see at times and perhaps for this reason he seeks the areas of work—official committees.) The Church of England's report on prison chaplains stated: "He will not be worried overmuch about his status or the degree of official recognition afforded him so long as he can have reasonable opportunity of being in personal contact with his men". If he starts off with a too clearly defined objective, whether it is the serving of a man's penitence, Church membership or his conversion—he might easily fail.

Throughout the 19th century, the chaplain was in actuality concerned with casework; it was his own department in particular so within the silent system. He led also in many instances the humanitarian movement. He was concerned in certain instances with MAN. In the present-day other specialists are concerned with casework with welfare with MAN. The chaplain is no longer alone, he is one among many. His religious sphere is difficult of definition at one extreme (one rarely mentioned by chaplains) prayer and at the other a concern with "the whole man". The latter is a difficult concept but one the Church is constantly speaking of—its vagueness gives the chaplain tremendous scope. Lady Taylor on 20/7 April speaking to the prison chaplaincies

council stated: "but I have never yet discovered what the spiritual things are. The chaplain of all people, perhaps uniquely so, is the person who is interested in the whole man and not in one department of him".

"Our concern is the whole man." The more one reads of chaplains' statements on their work and role the more one sees this statement. So often they reiterate the 19th century position, they state we are in a period of change and the challenge this is to them; and so often they see this as their opportunity to assert a professionalism and so often they assert a concern for the whole man. Perhaps this is to be their justification and work area for the future, but others must surely ask for definition and if the answer is of itself the Christian doctrine of man, further questions must still be asked. Claims to lead the professional team of social workers are bound to be denied to a clergy not trained in the social field. The Church, however, has much to contribute to the discipline of the social sciences. Father Biestik in his book *The Casework Relationship*, enumerates seven principles: individualisation, purposeful expression of feeling, controlled emotional involvement, acceptance, the non-judgemental attitude, self determination, confidentially. Of these I would put acceptance in the forefront and the Church has a great deal of use to say on this for its God has accepted of man the rejection of acceptance. Man is always the concern of the Church—his condition is its condition, his

life of concern but in Christ his salvation assured. To the priest the communion service (the Mass) is the displaying to the world the love of God the displaying of victory in the face of evil. How many chaplains today, given their beliefs, are content with a religious role. Are they afraid of its intangibility? Their acceptance of such a role would, I suggest, bring an understanding from others, a respect of their claims and a full role in the Prison Service; a role not merely priestly in a sacerdotal field but a role dealing with men in their humanity and human condition

which only a priest can do. Perhaps he needs a new faith in his gospel. A gospel that accepts when others cannot and surely his new role must be within the field of prayer, of acceptance, of patience, of pastoral ministry. How far his present hierarchical position is of value can at least be questioned. How far he needs a greater freedom from his prescribed role can be questioned. How far he can continue to discuss his problems in isolation of the Church without seeking discussion with other professional fields needs his urgent attention.

"NO EASY ROAD"

In the last issue of this Journal it was announced that a review of this book would appear in the next number. We regret this is not possible as the book is not yet published.

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QUOTATIONS

Results from last issues' competition will be published in the next issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL. Late entries will be welcomed.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Prison by Michael Woolf, published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, will be reviewed in a later issue.

* * * *

A Prison Governor's Journal

edited by Mrs. J. E. Kelley, Assistant Director, Women's Establishments

(From the journal now in possession of Mrs. Hagger, the Matron at Dover Borstal)

JOHN EDIS was the governor of Cambridge Town Gaol from 21st December 1839 to 31st January 1865.

His great grandniece, Mrs. Norah Hagger, is a borstal matron, and she inherited the governor's journal, which covers the period from 1st October 1843 to 31st January 1865.

It was a period of change in penal treatment. In 1839 a new Prisons Act had repealed most of the classifications provisions of the 1823 Act and substituted permission to adopt the system of solitary confinement. It was not, however, until 12th July 1851 that Mr. Edis reports taking 10 single cells into use.

In 1850 another Prisons Act introduced a three stage penal system, 12 months separate confinement, a period of labour in association and finally a ticket of leave to the colonies.

The Home Secretary was empowered to appoint a director of convict prisons and a central administrative body was introduced.

In 1853 an Act was passed substituting sentences of penal servitude for sentences of transportation in sentences of 14 years or less.

Transportation finally ceased in 1867, but the last transportee in Cambridge Gaol was in 1860.

A second Penal Servitude Act in 1857 allowed "release on licence".

In 1863 a committee of the House of Lords reviewed the situation and came down firmly on the side of deterrence—"hard labour, hard fare and a hard bed".

In 1865 a further Prisons Act was passed, and gaols and "houses of correction" were formally amalgamated into "local prisons"; eventually, in 1877, the Home Secretary took charge of all prisons and the Prison Commission was formed. Fifty-seven local prisons were closed, Cambridge among them; it was finally demolished in 1878. Although it was rather over full in the 1830s, by the 1860s its population had dwindled to about 20.

The first recorded prison in Cambridge was the Spinning House for women, opened in 1628. By 1688 this had also taken over the functions of the Bridewell and served to house both vagrants and felons. In 1788-90 a new gaol was built on an adjacent site, but this was soon derelict. After the Gaol

Act of 1823 (which placed the responsibility for local gaols on the justices and introduced reforms such as the abolition of gaoler's fees and irons and the introduction of inspection by justices) some gaols, among them Cambridge, were rebuilt.

In 1829 the new gaol opened, on Parker's Piece; it cost £25,000, held about 50 prisoners, and served to house vagrants, women, children, remands in custody, felons awaiting transportation, drunks, misdemeanours, etc.

The Spinning House, however, was still used for prostitutes and Mr. Edis records in his journal on 30th September 1854 that he housed 33 females in the gaol, committed by the vice-chancellor during the rebuilding of the Spinning House.

The governor's journal is written in a leather bound book on 412 foolscap pages. The governor did not make an entry every day, but generally two or three a week. He did not start keeping his journal until 1843, after the visit of an inspector of prisons who, one suspects, may have instigated it. The inspector visited about once a year after this date. (An Act passed in 1835 empowered the Home Secretary to appoint inspectors of prisons.)

A typical day in the journal reads:

22nd January 1844. Read morning prayers in chapel—had occasion to speak to the female prisoners who were, in my opinion, behaving themselves improperly on entering chapel. Visited

S. in solitary confinement. Called the attention of the surgeon to convict C. under sentence of transportation, who appears to me to be somewhat out of health.

In 1850 the governor started giving population figures and committal numbers on the last day of each month and for some years he also gave the daily average population monthly. He always recorded his own attendance at quarter sessions and assizes; also the number of prisoners, their sex, nature of offences, sentences or acquittals.

A DAY AT THE SESSIONS

For example, the general quarter sessions were held on 5th and 6th January in 1846. The governor records: "Absent the greater part of each day. The calendar contained the names of 15 prisoners for trial—the following is the result, viz.:

	Males Females	
Convicted and sentenced to transportation ...	3	1
Convicted and sentenced to one year's hard labour	3	—
Convicted and sentenced to six months' hard labour ...	1	—
No true bills (three in one case) ...	4	—
Acquitted at the bar	3	—
	—	—
	14	1
	—	—

"The female convict had been in this gaol six times during this past

year and was a most abandoned and wretched girl. One of the male transports was a soldier on furlough, but had been twice convicted before joining the Army. The other two were in the employ of the prosecutors and had been frequently in custody before. The number of commitments during the quarter amounted to 68, being an increase of six on the corresponding quarter last year."

He always recorded prisoners discharged on bail or fines, taxes, rates or debts that had been paid and the prisoner discharged. He had a good many deserters from the Army for whose keep he was given sixpence a day by the War Office.

The governor often had to prove pre-convictions in court, or to identify someone. On two occasions all the officials had to go to court: one of these was on 18th July 1851: "Myself with the turnkeys S. and G. were all obliged to attend Huntingdon Assizes consequent upon an action brought against the Corporation of Cambridge relative to their seizure of the property of the W.s who were convicted of arson at the last assize and transported for life. I procured the assistance of a policeman and of B., who assists at the gaol occasionally, and found all right on our return".

MORE DAYS OUT

In 1854 he mentions taking a prisoner to the new prison at Pentonville; he also takes one prisoner in this year to the House of

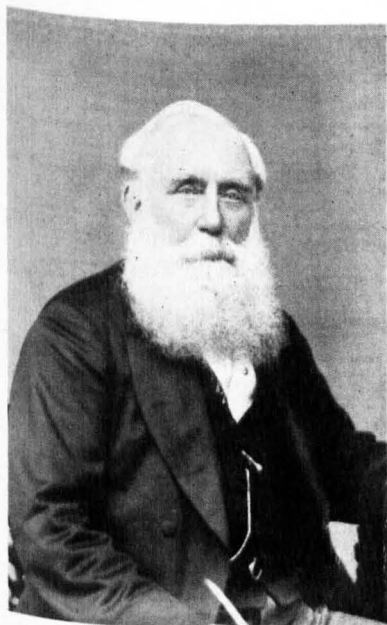
Correction at Wakefield, and Parkhurst and Dartmoor are once or twice mentioned. The rest of the long-sentence prisoners are taken, as before, to Millbank.

He personally always escorted prisoners to Millbank, or elsewhere, as directed, after sentence. If they were women he always took one of the two matrons with him.

An attempt was made in 1839 to institute a uniform dietary, but this failed and diets varied over the country from one pound of bread a day, to bread, meat, soup and gruel every day. In 1843 the Graham dietary was introduced, specifying three meals a day, two of which should be hot. Although this was not enforced, it seems to have been pretty generally carried out.

There were only three recorded cases of the Cambridge prisoners complaining about their diets, two in 1843 and one in 1851. In each case the governor and later the magistrates investigated.

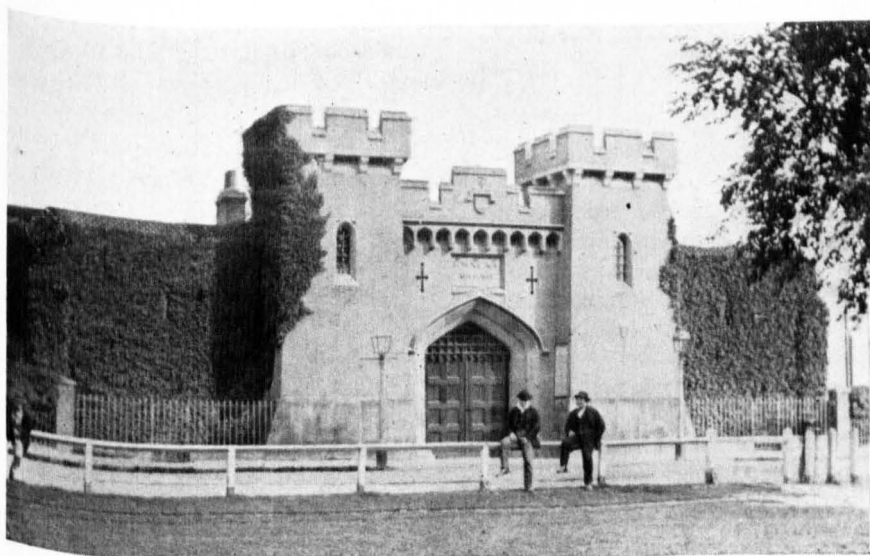
30th November 1843. J.R., E.B., B.J., sent their potatoes back to be weighed—found all of good weight. On R. receiving his back, he threw both meats and potatoes about the yard, and on my remonstrating with him, he made use of most abusive language. I now ordered him out of the day-room, when he refused to go, and afterwards assaulted and violently resisted myself and the under turnkey. He was subsequently removed and placed in the refractory



Mr. John Edis



Mrs. J. Edis



Cambridge Gaol

cell, there to be kept for three days.

1st December. The Mayor visited the gaol, and spoke to and admonished the convict R. (see yesterday). The chaplain also visited this prisoner and explained to him the gross impropriety of his conduct. R. having made a most ample apology this evening for his disgraceful conduct, I have been induced to allow him to return to his own cell.

IMPROVEMENTS . . . IN 19 YEARS

Christmas is only twice mentioned in the whole period, once, in 1845, when he says: "This being Christmas Day I gave all the prisoners one and a half pints of pea soup and potatoes for dinner. Class 5 chocolate twice and the remainder chocolate once during the day".

And in 1864: "Christmas Day. The prisoners were allowed an extra quantity of meats with half a pint ale each for dinner".

At first he always recorded which prisoners were absent from prayers or Sunday services and whether he or the chaplain took them. This became rarer as time went on and in the last years no mention was made of services other than burial services. There seems to have been three chaplains; the first was often absent and sometimes forgot to tell the governor, so that no service was held; if the governor knew, he took it himself. The second was greatly loved, and when he resigned on

21st November 1852, the entry was: "The Reverend — preached his farewell sermon this morning, to the regret of every officer and every prisoner within these walls".

The third is hardly mentioned, but the governor seldom had to take the service and he and the chaplain seemed to manage very well together over death beds and funerals, so presumably they got on well together.

He always recorded sickness in any prisoner or member of staff and it seems to have been his duty to call in the surgeon when he thought it necessary. From time to time he was sent for in the small hours of the morning, if a prisoner was ill, or a female prisoner was entering into labour. It is not clear if the surgeon changed, though once a surgeon is mentioned as not seeming to care and all other comments are that he was attentive, did everything possible, came with all speed, etc.; so it looks as if for a short time there was an unsatisfactory surgeon.

During the early part of the journal there are a number of references to prisoners being isolated "because they have the itch".

On 25th May 1845 there was a case of smallpox in the prison and the governor wanted the surgeon to vaccinate the other prisoners, or at least the babies. The surgeon, however, thought this unnecessary, and since no more cases were reported, presumably he was right. Smallpox

vaccination was first introduced in 1798 and was adopted as a public health measure in the decades 1810 to 1830; it was made compulsory in 1853.

A certain number of prisoners died in prison over the years, not very many; a few tried to commit suicide. He told of a woman who tried to hang herself, but she had her two children with her and the little girl of eight called for help and so she was prevented. There is only one other mention of children other than babes in arms being in prison with their mothers, unless they were jointly charged.

The governor took a very Victorian view of death and indeed seemed to make it the occasion for taking a great deal of trouble and acting with considerable leniency as regards visiting.

8th December 1855. E.C., three months' imprisonment, is so dangerously ill that I have communicated with her parents in London and her husband at Bury St. Edmunds requesting some of them to come and see her immediately.

9th December. E.C. has had a very bad night. I therefore telegraphed to Bury as I had heard nothing from her friends.

10th December. E.C. is in the most imminent danger. I awaited the arrival of the train but, none of her friends making their appearance, I again telegraphed to Bury. Her husband came to the gaol at 11.30 a.m. having been in the town more than two hours. He saw his wife and returned

home promising to send the poor woman's sister.

11th December. Called up at 3 a.m., but before I could get into the room, E.C. was dead.

A special discharge was obtained for a man who was ill before admission and who was evidently dying away from wife and children. A turnkey accompanied him to his home.

A young soldier died in prison and his grandfather asked for his body, which the governor "of course had sent to his home".

FORGOT THE FLOGGING

The age of boys and girls convicted and sentenced is always recorded, between nine and fourteen years seemed usual. Very often the governor investigated their backgrounds, and commented on them as a cause of delinquency.

9th July 1849. J.H., aged 12, convicted of felony under Juvenile Act, was this day flogged with the birch in the presence of the surgeon and myself. He received what I thought a good smart flogging, but within a few minutes appeared to have forgotten all about it. He is a most hardened boy and has been most grossly neglected by his parents who are far from good. The father and brother have both been convicted of felony.

Before 1846 there is no record of whipping, flogging or birching. After that year juvenile boys are birched on first admission into prison, by order of the court. This went on until 1854, when the Reformatory Schools Act provided that

children of 14 and less should go to a school (after a period of 14 days in prison). They were sent for two to five years to these reformatories, the most usual being the one at Bow. In 1857 the Industrial Schools Act provided places for deprived children where they could be taught useful work.

31st August 1857. G.R.U. aet. nine years to the reformatory under sentence of five years' detention.

16th July 1847. (The governor had to punish a boy.) This has been one of the most distressing cases it has ever been my lot to meet with. This child, now only 10 years' old, had given himself up to every vice. He is destitute of fear and takes advantage of kindness. It is, and ever will be, a source of deep regret to me that he was not sent to the Parkhurst prison in pursuance of the sentence passed upon him.

Since the prisoners were not paid anything, and as there was no remission for good behaviour during this period, the punishments meted out by the governor were: solitary confinement; dietary punishment; and something he describes as "placed in the dark cell", this was for a certain number of hours only, nowhere is it recorded that it was for more than eight hours, except on 14th February 1846, where a man was kept there all night. One, two or four hours is more common. Solitary confinement was for one, two or three days, although in one case it was for seven.

Very often, however, the governor

noted at the end of a day that the prisoner had apologised and so was allowed to go back into associated labour. He always visited a person in solitary confinement every day. His most frequent award was to stop one meal, usually breakfast or dinner. There were only three occasions when a prisoner was put into irons, two for attempted escape and one for extreme violence.

3rd April 1844. C.G., a convict under sentence of transportation for life, was this afternoon detected by the under turnkey secreting a quantity of oakum about his person, and on the officer's attempting to take it from him, he most violently assaulted and resisted him. On my going to his assistance the prisoner most violently assaulted and strongly resisted me and it was with the greatest possible difficulty that we were able to remove him from the yard. I placed him in the refractory cell for the night, but from his continued violence was obliged to put him in irons. (In each case the magistrates were informed and confirmed the order next day.)

The chief offences committed in prison were: shouting, singing and banging in cells after lock-up time; refusing to go to work; breaking the panes of glass in the cell windows; using bad language; bad behaviour in chapel and occasionally fighting.

Only once was it recorded that a man was given strokes with the "small cat" on 30th September 1850, in the presence of the governor and the surgeon. During the first

seven years of the journal, prisoners were kept in solitary confinement for the first seven days of their sentences.

Although there was no pay, there were two mentions of the tobacco ration and once some tobacco was thrown over the wall and intercepted by a turnkey; deprivation of the tobacco ration was once used as a punishment by the Inspector of Prisons and the prisoner blamed the governor for this.

TURNKEYS . . . GOOD AND BAD

There appear to have been two turnkeys, two matrons and these with the chaplain, a surgeon on call, a cook, and a schoolmaster seem to have comprised the governor's staff.

He does not seem to have had many staff changes through the years. A matron resigned and he got permission to appoint his wife; an assistant matron resigned and he appointed the wife of a turnkey. One of the turnkeys became very ill and had to be retired, another was appointed in his place, but was not very satisfactory as he swore nearly as badly as the prisoners, was unable to maintain discipline, was suspected of taking too much to drink and so was allowed to resign and another was appointed in his place. Another turnkey retired and was replaced. He was given a pension and his wife, the assistant matron, a golden handshake, of £6 17s. 4d.

5th February 1864. T.S., who has been turnkey of this gaol for 32 years, having resigned in consequence of his serious affliction left the gaol this day, the three months' notice to resign under the

provision of the Act of Parliament having expired. At a meeting of the magistrates holden on the first instant it was unanimously resolved to grant S. a retiring pension of £45 being the half of his salary (22s. a week) and endowments, and to Mrs. S. the sum of £6 17s. 4d. which is the full sum fixed under the Act of Parliament in such cases. My junior warder to take his place; 18s. a week to start. (This is the first time the word warder is used.) A junior warder to take his place at 10s. a week for six months, 11s. for the next six months, 12s. after the first year. The usual allowances and rations. A new matron was appointed at 8s. a week with apartment, bed, light, washing, etc.

The junior warder was to have rations, washing and uniform coat trousers, cap, etc., at a cost not exceeding £4 p.a. "Should he marry, which he is about to do, he is allowed to be absent from the prison alternately with E.K. from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. the next morning."

The governor was only once absent for as long as a fortnight. He had been very unwell and the surgeon said he must have a change of air.

On about four occasions he took two or three days' absence, with permission, for "private business". On one occasion he mentions he was prevented from attending chapel from the "alarming illness of my child". Two days later he did not go to the Insolvents' Court as his child was so ill.

The next day: "My dear child died". A week later: "Absent from chapel attending the funeral of my dear child". This was in fact his only child.

For the greater part of the journal, the governor called his officers turnkeys, and occasionally officers. In 1863 he used the word officer and once or twice warder, but dropped turnkey.

The prison was, as has been said, the responsibility of the town borough of Cambridge, and the mayor was fairly often called in to help, advise and instruct; each year three magistrates are appointed as visitors. The staff selected by the governor were appointed by the mayor and J.P.s and their salaries determined by them. On 5th April 1847 the governor recorded: "The magistrates were pleased to order that from Xmas last I should be allowed £25 p.a. in lieu of all fees or perquisites for the removal of convicts".

In 1851 some of the dormitories or wards were converted into single cells. These are first used on 12th July 1851 and the governor reported that the prisoners in them got on much faster with their lessons. This, and a reference to the schoolmaster, were among the few references to education; once a prisoner was admonished for the misuse of his slate. (Each was provided with slate and chalk, even up to 1947, when I joined the prison service.)

In 1850 "it was agreed by the magistrates that some of the cells should be lighted and warmed (as

suggested by the Inspector of Prisons) as now in operation at Beverley. It was also agreed from the great increase in the number of prisoners, and from the impossibility of keeping up anything like an effective discipline with my present limited number of officers, that C.C. be appointed (on trial) as assistant turnkey and schoolmaster at 6s. a week with lodgings and rations. NOTE. C.C. is by trade a tailor and part of his duty will be to superintend work of that description".

In 1853 the governor recommended more separate cells, both for remands and for the women, and better ventilation for those that existed. This was agreed on 29th March, and the work completed by prison labour on 20th May, and the governor commented on how hard the prisoners had worked.

In 1857 a new workroom was built by prison labour in two months.

Before the cells were heated the governor kept a fire going in the main ward and in very cold weather he allowed association in it all day. In fact, in one place he records that a man who was behaving very badly could not be kept in solitary confinement as he deserved because the weather was too cold and he had to be kept in the room with a fire. On one occasion the prisoners wrote him a letter of thanks on a slate for allowing them this privilege in cold weather.

AFTER-CARE

On a number of occasions the governor paid the fare of a prisoner, sometimes by rail, sometimes by

carrier cart, to his or her home. If a woman seemed to need it, a matron went with her.

He also showed considerable concern that no one should be discharged without a lodging to go to. If a prisoner had no home, he arranged either with a hostel, refuge, or with the union, that they should be taken in.

Many things that are described in this journal shock one reading it today: the sentencing and imprisonment of children; the transportation of many men and women to the opposite side of the world; the birching and flogging of juveniles; the number of Army deserters imprisoned and; the poor fare that the allowance of sixpence a day must have afforded them, even in those times. The imprisonment and punishment of the destitute and starving seems even sadder. For example, on 15th May 1845 the governor records: "J.W., a poor emaciated youth of 17 years, was committed this day under the Vagrants' Act. He was in such a filthy state that I was obliged to direct the rags he had on be immediately destroyed".

It is curious to note how very few murder or manslaughter cases there were during this long period and no one was sentenced to death. There were quite a number of assaults, mostly dealt with by fines, and presumably mostly committed under the influence of alcohol.

It is interesting to see how often the governor gave financial help to prisoners on discharge, how often his compassion seems to have been aroused, and also the amount of

investigation of prisoners' circumstances he undertook.

The rapidity with which prisons were built, altered and demolished, arouses a pang of envy. For example, the Cambridge Gaol of Mr. Edis's time took four years to build; a new workroom took only two months. The previous prison had only been used for 35 years when it was demolished and rebuilt.

What, however, seems saddest is how many things are described that have remained unchanged. The insane, epileptics, the subnormal, the inadequate, the deprived, still all too often find themselves in prison. The locking in, the limited association, the dull food, the restricted visits, the punishment by periods of solitary confinement, the breaking of panes of glass, refusing to go to work, etc., all still obtain.

A governor of a closed prison in 1967 would at once feel at home in this prison regime of more than a hundred years ago, and might serve even in the same prison buildings. Cambridge Gaol may have been demolished, but many, many others of the same period are still in use. Of course there have been some improvements, such as the segregation of young offenders, the introduction of approved schools and borstals, open prisons with their greater slant towards rehabilitation, but one does wonder whether penal reform and the constructive treatment of offenders against the law could not have made greater strides in a century that has shown such progress and inventiveness in so many other ways.

*A Note on Authority Intervention and Enforcement

HERSCHEL PRINS

MOST DISCUSSIONS about "authority" tend to be all-embracing, with the result that lines get crossed and semantic arguments develop. In this short note I want to say something about "authority", "intervention" and "enforcement".

AUTHORITY

I have discussed some of the definitions of authority elsewhere¹. Suffice it to say that authority implies a power relationship, an influence derived from office, rank, character, age or experience. French and Raven (1959)², suggest that there are five types of power—as under:

- (a) Reward power.
- (b) Coercive power.
- (c) Legitimate power.
- (d) Referent power.
- (e) Expert power.

From our point of view their last classification is probably the most relevant since this is the element of authority seen by clients *in addition*

to that of the agency itself. It is necessary to remind ourselves of this from time to time, since this kind of authority exists in all agencies, and is *not*, as is sometimes supposed, peculiar to, for e.g., the probation setting. In the exercise of authority, Jacques (1952)³ has three important points to make. He suggests that the person exercising authority must:

- (a) be clear about what is required of him; something which we often too readily assume, and certainly students need a good deal of help in this area;
- (b) be competent to undertake the task; and
- (c) have resolved the ambivalence involved in the exercise of authority.

Points (b) and (c) have important implications in relation to selection and training.

INTERVENTION

Does intervention cut across the client's right to self-direction? It does in certain circumstances but,

* From a talk given to tutors and supervisors at the Department of Psychiatry, University of Leeds, November 1967.

for reasons which I shall be giving shortly, it seems right that it should. For the moment we should remind ourselves that there are three important areas of *casework* practice where intervention looms large, namely: probation; child care (in cases involving the compulsory removal of children) and; mental health (where caseworkers often have to inflict themselves on unwilling clients).

We should remember that the right to intervene is dictated by society (through the agency) and not by the whim of the caseworker. As Irvine (1964)⁴ suggests, in a democratic society there is a need to protect individuals from each other and to limit the rights of all for the mutual protection of each. Some people have advocated that the individual should always be allowed a free choice (if he is of sound mind), but this ignores the distress which may be caused to relatives and others. This problem, especially as it relates to the needs of the elderly, has been recently discussed by Travis and Neely (1967)⁵. Often the arguments get most heated in relation to the "rights" of parents over their children. The "non-interveners" seem to assume that all parents are equally mature, intelligent and responsible, and that whatever their characteristics their children are their property. However, as Irvine suggests, society does not take this view since, for example, it provides a school medical inspection service, employs health visitors, provides school attendance officers and, in certain cases, authorises the

N.S.P.C.C. to intervene. We could go on and quote other examples where intervention is held to be right. If we become too "high-minded" about the need for intervention we may, as has been suggested, involve ourselves in the inhumanity of withholding help which was needed but not asked for, and then punishing people for failing in tasks which they lack the ability to cope with unaided.

ENFORCEMENT

Hunt (1964)⁶ has indicated the value of enforced relationships for some delinquents. Enforced relationships have at least three distinct advantages:

(a) The power to "hold" a client in a relationship from which he cannot too easily withdraw if the situation becomes uncomfortable and this, in itself, may provide opportunities for growth and change.

(b) The acceptance of a caseworker in an enforced relationship may enable the client to begin to accept other figures in authority more readily (e.g. parents, teachers, employers).

(c) May enable the client to accept the fact that he has been classified as an offender.

There are also a number of delinquents who, by their behaviour, are seeking a measure of control. Winnicott (1958)⁷ goes so far as to suggest that the act of delinquency itself may "compel the environment to be important". Clare Winnicott (1962)⁸ suggests that some delinquents look for a benign but firm

person in authority, because this is what they have been deprived of in their earlier relationships, and certainly probation officers and staffs of penal establishments could attest to this. For the probation officer, Winnicott (1962 op. cit.) sums it up very nicely when she says: "the probation officer, for example, can humanise the machinery of the law, but he cannot side-step it, without missing the whole point of the symptom and needs of the client. If he does miss the point, the client either gives up hope, or commits another offence. . . ." John St. John (1961)⁹, gives an interesting example of control not being exercised when he quotes the probationer who complained that his probation officer was not strict enough: "if he'd given me a good telling off it might have been different. I'd have pulled myself together like. . . . Even, when I'd been up for a breach, he still gave me the old syrup . . . after that probation seemed a farce". Caseworkers have not always applied themselves well to the group of clients who need control. This may be, as Pollak (1961)¹⁰ has suggested because the principles of casework appropriate for the treatment of the *neurotic* (my italics), have become well entrenched in the casework profession, and that principles which were applicable in the 1930s when liberating techniques were useful are less relevant today, when there is too much feeling flowing into action, too little sense of guilt, too few inhibitions. The expression of the need for control may come

across in sometimes subtle, sometimes more obvious ways. Two short case extracts illustrate this:

Case I. "D" aged 20. On probation for causing grievous bodily harm with intent. (Attacking another youth with a piece of lead pipe.) Father had died many years earlier, mother, though still alive, was over anxious and ineffectual. There was a more successful younger brother. D had been exposed to long periods of hospitalisation for various illnesses, had few friends and had always been timid and uncertain of himself. During his interviews with his probation officer he talked of having met up with another boy who had told him that he would give him a good hiding himself if ever he got into the same trouble again. He also talked on another occasion about his anxiety if he should meet the youth he attacked again. In further interviews he referred to the ineffectiveness of probation in that the probation officer did not know where he went when he left his office and, on one occasion, when under serious stress, suggested that he might get involved in even more serious offences, like murder.

Case II. "J" aged 22. On probation for housebreaking. Previous offences included assault and stealing. Poor relationship with father for many years to the point of open feuding. Father

currently a very sick and ineffective man. During the course of probation supervision, J continually referred to his need for discipline and how he had got the better of most authority figures in his life. Expressed a great desire to be less impulsive. At various times when he felt the probation officer was not taking these things up, he would act provocatively and aggressively to get the officer to be more controlling. As probation continued it was possible to get J to see some of these

things for himself and to attempt to modify his conduct.

SUMMARY

I have looked very briefly at three aspects of authority—authority, intervention, and enforcement. All are very closely linked but have some different features. I considered enforcement at more length, because in casework with delinquents there will always be a number of clients who need consistent, firm, yet benign control to enable them to build up standards of more appropriate behaviour for themselves.

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Who Cares about A. C. T. O?

To the Editor,

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL
Sir—On discharge from prison the former inmate is immediately in need of shelter, either a home to go to, or to lodgings provided by friends, or by the Prison After-Care Service.

An address is necessary if employment has been found for him, and he indicates that he is at last going to try to keep outside prison walls.

A prospective employer requires proof of stability, and previous employment. Evidence of experience whatever the type of job being sought is very necessary. Service in H. M. Forces may have some weight, but many employers are dubious unless there is proof of service in a tradesman's corps or regiment.

For a previous white collar worker, clerical posts for men are usually filled from younger employees who have proved their worth. On the selling side of industry again, proof of ability and trust are required for posts with some degree of responsibility attached.

Whatever skills a man may have as a tradesman, technical training and practice in prison may not be up to the standard demanded in a world which over the past ten

years has gone over to automation and computerisation in a big way. Most production plants require evidence of training and performance, and recruit in the main from school leavers, technical schools and technical colleges.

Semi-skilled and non-skilled employment in engineering, manufacturing, wholesale and retail distribution, is dependant on the market from week to week, or even day by day fluctuation of supply and demand.

At present unskilled employment is hard to come by in view of the selective employment tax, while work of a casual nature depends on the person seeking it, being in the right place at the right time. In the building industry the casual or sub-contract worker is mainly of the Irish immigrant type.

The management of a business in manufacturing and distribution of the end product depends on the goodwill and reputation among its customers. The activities of a personnel manager in the engagement of labour is governed by the judgment of both directorate and the labour force employed.

The personnel manager has a first duty to his employer in selecting the best possible workers from the available labour market.

The atmosphere and temperament among the employees of the concern, and labour relations as a whole, rests on the selection of suitable employees.

Again the attitude of foremen and supervisors in industry is directed by both the people in their charge and the management. Output, economic working and harmony in the factory or workshop have to be considered when choosing potential employees.

Any person who takes a job in a modern production organisation must be ready to accept the disciplines of work study, quality control, time and motion, and such-like methods as adopted by the employer and accepted by the labour force.

Acceptance by workmates may be retarded by their knowledge of the previous history of a newcomer. It does not take long for this to become known. It may be magnified by any slight deviation or mistake and make for antagonism rather than acceptance.

Membership of a trade union is required in many trades. The question of membership fees or payment of arrears brought on by being out of touch may prove a barrier to acceptance. The union branch members hold the balance of power in this direction.

For the protection of a prospective employer the up-to-date health and employment card and Form P.45 is necessary to comply with the law. The absence of stamps to cover the period of imprisonment

may be assessed, and paid for by the employee at the end of a period fixed by the Insurance Commissioners, advice from the after-care officer may help in an arrangement with the person involved without subsequent loss of benefit.

Where there has been a break in employment by imprisonment, and the question of re-coding for P.A.Y.E. arrears, allowances, or rebate arises, a permanent address is vital for the passage of correspondence to bring records to date satisfactorily.

In the matter of housing, a place on a local housing list is allocated on completion of the council's questions. A term of imprisonment does not enhance the application although special circumstances *may* be considered by the appropriate housing committee where children are concerned. Most large towns and communities have applicants of good repute who have had their names on the waiting lists for five years or more.

It is a recognised practice when new employees are engaged for the first week's payment to be kept in hand. It may be that a person is without payment for two weeks, this matter can cause difficulty and lead to awkward situations arising which would require after-care attention.

When family responsibilities are in question the after-care officer needs a full picture from the department or organisation which has helped in the care or maintenance of the wife or children during the

rather's term of imprisonment. The matter of separation and maintenance depends very much on the after-care officer's success in the field of employment and housing.

When seeking lodgings for an ex-prisoner the essential truth has to be told, landlords are in the main, shrewd people who expect to make a living without being too much involved. The preference is for lodgers who have been recommended by her friends or by local firms who can vouch for her client. It may be that persuasion by the after-care officer will have success in placing an ex-inmate.

The hostel schemes have been operated at various prisons, whatever successes they may have had, cover only a limited period of residence. Hostels situated away from the prison atmosphere and regulated by the local authority with the supervision of the Probation Service would relieve or balance the work of the after-care officer inside the prison at the same time implementing the Mountbatten Report.

A discharged person with no fixed abode who requires assistance in finding employment is a problem for the employment exchange, the probation officer, the after-care officer, and local voluntary bodies. The area of employment is small in this type of case where the person is not entirely co-operative.

Redundancy in industry is a subject to which every worker is liable. No employer can give promise of long term employment

with certainty. The operation of the selective employment tax makes discrimination by employers keen and exacting. The problem where ex-prisoners are concerned is a matter for a review of this tax. Relief for employers from this tax would have some argument in their acceptance of employing men and women from prison.

The descent to the common lodging house level by the ex-inmate can be swift. For both the young, and the old, it is inevitably a return to crime or scrounging money for drink or drugs.

It may be that previous acquaintances of an ex-prisoner are only too ready to welcome him or her back, ready to continue past relationships in regard to crime and anti-social behaviour.

The use of leisure time depends on circumstances, the lure of entertainment in the evenings and week-ends, can alter the course of promises and resolutions. It demands the time of probation and after-care officers as much as that of securing daily employment.

The Probation Service would be relieved of some of the burden of the reporting of persons on licence, and the supervision of those not likely to respond to probation, if this duty was under the care and part of the duties of the local C.I.D. or Regional Crime Squad, or better still the crime prevention officer in each district.

Yours, etc.,

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Leicester.