

Notes

1 Introduction

1. E. Carrabine (2005) 'Prison Riots, Social Order and the Problem of Legitimacy', *British Journal of Criminology* 45: 896.
2. E. Carrabine (2004) *Power, Discourse and Resistance: A Genealogy of the Strangeways Prison Riot* (Aldershot: Ashgate), p. 182.
3. C. Emsley (1996) 'Albion's Felonious Attractions: Reflections upon the History of Crime in England', in C. Emsley and L.A. Knafla (eds), *Crime and Histories of Crime: Studies in the Historiography of Crime and Criminal Justice* (London: Greenwood Press), p. 78. However, recent work has begun to fill the gap in twentieth-century crime history, for example, J. Carter Wood (2010) 'The Third Degree: Reporting, Crime Fiction and Police Powers in 1920s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History* 21 (3): 464–85; C. Emsley (2008) 'Violent Crime in England in 1919: Post-war Anxieties and Press Narratives', *Continuity and Change* 23: 173–95.
4. See, for example, R. Sanderson (1970) *The Prison on the Moor: The Astonishing Story of Dartmoor Prison* (Plymouth: Westway Publications).
5. R. Joy (2002) *Dartmoor Prison: A Complete Illustrated History, Vol. 2: The Convict Prison 1850–Present Day* (Tiverton: Halsgrave); S. Dell (2006) *Mutiny on the Moor: The Story of the Dartmoor Prison Riot of 1932* (Newton Abbot: Forest Publishing).
6. C. Harding, B. Hines, R. Ireland and P. Rawlings (1985) *Imprisonment in England and Wales: A Concise History* (London: Croom Helm), p. 223. Another example of a rather limited approach to analysis of the Dartmoor riot can be found in M. Fitzgerald (1977) *Prisoners in Revolt* (London: Penguin), pp. 121–9.
7. See, for example, U.R.Q. Henriques (1972) 'The Rise and Decline of the Separate System of Prison Discipline', *Past and Present* 54: 61–93; M. DeLacy (1986) *Prison Reform in Lancashire 1700–1850: A Study in Local Administration* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
8. A. Brown (2003) 'Legitimacy in the Evolution of the Prison: The Chatham Convict Prison Outbreak, 1861', *Criminal Justice History* 18: 107–19.
9. For an excellent early consideration of this, see U.R.Q. 'Rise and Decline of the Separate System'. Also see M. DeLacy, *Prison Reform in Lancashire*.
10. R. Adams (1994) *Prison Riots in Britain and the USA*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 115.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
12. P. Priestly (1989) *Jail Journeys: The English Prison Experience since 1918* (London: Routledge), p. 180.
13. Dr Guy Richmond (1975) *Prison Doctor: A Dramatic Insight into Our Penal System and the Critical Need to Seek Reform* (British Columbia: Antonson Publishing), p. 22.

14. J.E. Thomas (1972) *The English Prison Officer since 1850: A Study in Conflict* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 159.
15. Carrabine, 'Prison Riots', p. 896.
16. V. Bailey (July 1997) 'English Prisons, Penal Culture, and the Abatement of Imprisonment, 1895–1922', *Journal of British Studies* 36: 321.
17. *Prison Officers' Magazine*, March 1929, XVIII (3): 69.
18. *Ibid.*, April 1932, XXI (4): 104.
19. Richmond, *Prison Doctor*, p. 14.
20. For an analysis of prison disturbances in England between 1850 and 1920, see A. Brown (2003) *English Society and the Prison: Time, Culture and Politics in the Development of the Modern Prison, 1850–1920* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
21. W.J. Forsythe (1991) *Penal Discipline, Reformatory Projects and the English Prison Commission 1895–1939* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), pp. 189–90.
22. *Prison Officers' Magazine*, February 1932 XXI (2): 35 and March 1932 XXI (3): 75.
23. NA HO144/20647/71A letter from the editor of the *Prison Officers' Magazine* to Sir Herbert Samuel, Home Secretary, dated 1 February 1932.
24. G. Rose (1970) 'Penal Reform as History', *British Journal of Criminology* 10 (4): 348–71.
25. For more on Camp Hill Prison, see Forsythe, *Penal Discipline*, Chapter 6.
26. Major B.D. Grew, Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.) (1958) *Prison Governor* (London: Herbert Jenkins), p. 66.
27. G. Rose (1961) *The Struggle for Penal Reform* (London: Stevens & Sons Limited), p. 110.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Grew, *Prison Governor*, p. 60. Grew suggests that as new grey uniforms were issued at other prisons, the discarded ones were sent to Dartmoor to 'wear out their service'.
30. Rose, *Struggle for Penal Reform*, p. 116.
31. Parliamentary Papers (PP), *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Prisons, 1931–32*, Cmd 4151, xii, pp. 804–5.
32. G. Rose, *Struggle for Penal Reform*, p. 114.
33. PP, *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons, 1922–23*, Cmd. 2000, p. 395.
34. See J. Curran and J. Seaton (2010) *Power without Responsibility: Press, Broadcasting and the Internet in Britain* (London: Routledge), Chapter 5.

2 The Dartmoor Convict Prison Riot 1932: Wild Happenings on the Moor

1. Dr Guy Richmond (1975) *Prison Doctor: A Dramatic Insight into Our Penal System and the Critical Need to Seek Reform* (British Columbia: Antonson Publishing), p. 22.
2. Rev. B.P.H. Ball (1956) *Prison Was My Parish* (London: William Heinemann Ltd), p. 123.
3. National Archives (hereafter NA), ASSI 24/18/4, pp. 296–7. CID investigation in preparation for the prosecution of Dartmoor convicts.

4. NA ASSI 24/18/4, pp. 298–9, 300–1.
5. *Manchester Guardian*, 28 April 1932.
6. *The Times*, 14 May 1932.
7. *Manchester Guardian*, 14 May 1932, p. 11. Preliminary hearings were conducted, however, in order to get fullest possible picture while avoiding repetition it is largely the evidence relating to the main trial which resulted in convictions and sentencing which is discussed here.
8. *Report by Mr Du Parcq on the Circumstances Connected with the Recent Disorder at Dartmoor Convict Prison* PP 1932 Cmd.4010, VII, 23 (hereafter *Du Parcq Report*).
9. Major B.D. Grew (1958) *Prison Governor* (London: Herbert Jenkins), p. 72.
10. *Ibid.*
11. NA, HO144/19791/20.
12. NA DPP2/72, trial transcript *R v Beadles* (hereafter *R v Beadles*), 19–20.
13. *The Times*, 27 November 1934.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Grew, *Prison Governor*, p. 72.
16. Rev. B.P.H. Ball, *Prison Was My Parish*, p. 124.
17. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Major Roberts to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
18. NA PCom 9/254 evidence to the Du Parcq Inquiry. Morris also commented that he had also heard rumours through the police of possible trouble, although also observed that there were always rumours.
19. NA PCom 9/254 evidence to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
20. *Ibid.*
21. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Officer Udy to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
22. *Morning Post*, 29 January 1932.
23. *R v Beadles*, pp. 843, 855.
24. NA PCom 9/254.
25. *The Times*, 7 May 1932.
26. *The Times* and *Manchester Guardian*, 14 March 1932.
27. NA MEPOL 2/4959/15a.
28. A.J. Rhodes (1933) *Dartmoor Prison: A Record of 126 Years of Prisoner of War and Convict Life, 1806–1932* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Limited), p. 167.
29. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Colonel Turner to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
30. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Major Morris to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
31. *Du Parcq Report*, pp. 14, 21.
32. See, for example, Rufus Endle (1979), *Dartmoor Prison* (Bodmin: Bossiney Books).
33. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Officer Dowse to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
34. *R v Beadles*, p. 488.
35. *Du Parcq Report*, p. 23.
36. W. Macartney (1936) *Walls Have Mouths: A Record of Ten Years' Penal Servitude* (London: Gollancz), p. 111.
37. *R v Beadles*, pp. 167, 219.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 95–6.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 438.

41. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Chief Officer Smale to the Du Parcq Inquiry. These guns were described in the *Du Parcq Report*, 7 as of an 'old pattern'.
42. *R v Beadles*, pp. 547–8.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 259. A previous Deputy Governor at the prison had criticised these guns as being 'little more than a glorified blunderbuss, for its cartridges, filled with buckshot, sprayed red-hot pellets over a wide area, but its range was less than forty yards'. See Grew, *Prison Governor*, p. 68. For the use of guns in Dartmoor Prison also see A.W.B. Simpson (2005) 'Shooting Felons: Law, Practice, Official Culture and Perceptions of Morality', *Journal of Law and Society* 32 (2): 241–66.
44. Grew, *Prison Governor*, pp. 68–9.
45. NA PCom 0/254 evidence of Deputy Governor, Alfred Roberts, to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
46. NA PCom 0/254 evidence of Chief Officer Smale and Officer Dowse to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
47. *R v Beadles*, pp. 703–4, 679–81.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 758–9, 763.
49. M. Cozart Riggio (ed.) (2004) *Carnival: Culture in Action* (London: Routledge).
50. *R v Beadles*, pp. 652–4, 722–3, 974, 977.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 622, 897, 977 & 619–20.
52. *Du Parcq Report*, 30 and NA PCOM 0/254 evidence of Dr Battiscombe's to the Du Parcq Inquiry. However, in a well-known prison autobiography, it was suggested that Dr Battiscombe, 'had a Bad Name Among Lags, who recounted blood-curdling stories of the things he had done to the suffragettes', J. Phelan (1940) *Jail Journey* (London: Secker & Warburg), p. 113.
53. A.J. Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, pp. 224–7.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
55. *R v Beadles*, p. 234.
56. NA MEPOL 2/4959/15a.
57. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Deputy Governor Richards to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
58. NA PCOM 9/254 evidence of Donovan to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
59. A.J. Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, p. 187.
60. E.H. Sutherland (1934) 'The Decreasing Prison Population of England', *Journal of Law and Criminology* 24: 882. Although Sutherland also noted that in the few years before 1934, the severity of sentences seemed to be increasing, p. 887. Also see, S.K. Ruck (1932) 'The Increase of Crime in England: An Analysis and Criticism', *Political Quarterly* 3: 215.
61. *R v Beadles*, pp. 123, 161.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 995.
63. NA PCOM 0/254 evidence of Prison Officer, Rowland Kelly, to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
64. *R v Beadles*, p. 1000.
65. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Edward O'Connell to the Du Parcq Inquiry. Also see evidence of Slade, Weston and Bardsley.
66. NA PCom 9/254.
67. NA PCom 9/256.

68. Red Collar Man (1937) *Chokey* (London: Victor Gollancz), pp. 100–4.
69. See *The Times*, 31 July and 31 July 1928.
70. NA PCom 9/255 minute to Governor Pannall, 21 May 1932.
71. NA PCom 9/255, memo 29 March 1932.
72. Most of the evidence regarding the sketch and what happened to Officer Traske has been handed down within the family, although some information has been corroborated in the *Prison Officers' Magazine*. The sketch itself is not referred to in any of the surviving records about the riot, but the provenance is good.
73. NA DP2/72 Prts 5–9, *R v Beadles*, 072.
74. This information was received from Officer Traske's grandson.
75. See entry on Finlay in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by G. Rubin.
76. *R v Beadles*, pp. 13, 236, 778 & 494.
77. A.J. Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, p. 197.
78. *R v Beadles*, pp. 898, 906, 496, 499 & 887.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 854.
80. NA PCOM9/254, evidence of Major Morris to Du Parc Inquiry.
81. *R v Beadles*, pp. 264, 317, 845.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
83. *Ibid.*
84. PCOM 9/254.
85. *R v Beadles*, p. 414.
86. Preliminary hearing and Grand Jury deliberations were also held at Princetown.
87. NA HO595645/94/192 Letter from Prison Commission 13 November 1936. H. Scott to Under Sec of State.
88. *Ibid.* Also see, NA PCOM 9/254 Letter to Under S of S, 13 November 1936 from Prison Commission regarding remission for Dartmoor convicts brought to trial after the riot remaining in prison.
89. NA HO45/24535, minutes 29 September 1933.
90. V. Bailey (2000) 'The Shadow of the Gallows: The Death Penalty and the British Labour Government, 1945–51', *Law and History Review* 18 (2): 5.
91. NA HO45/24535 Letter from Maxwell, 30 September 1931.
92. NA HO45/24535 Report on Prison Governor's Conference June 1932.
93. For examples, see G. Rose (1961) *The Struggle for Penal Reform: The Howard League and its Predecessors* (London: Stevens & Sons Limited); E.H. Sutherland (1934) 'The Decreasing Prison Population of England', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 24: 898.
94. NA HO546730/29.
95. *Hansards* 1931–32, 5th series, Vol. 263, col. 1149.
96. NA PCom 9/255.
97. The other six men were Conning, Del Mar, Ibbesson, Mason, Moore and Smith.
98. See, for example, *The Times*, 27 April 1932.
99. NA PCom 9/255.
100. NA PCom 9/255, memo of 3 March 1932 from Governor Pannall (Major J C Pannall D.S.O M.C) indicates that Pannall was Alexander Paterson's

- Sergeant-major when Paterson was a private in The Queen's (The Old Vith Volunteers Battalion of the Royal West Surrey Regiment).
101. NA PCom 9/255.
 102. *Ibid.*
 103. *R v Beadles*, summing up 7–14.
 104. *Howard Journal* III (3) 1932, editorial, 9.
 105. NA PCom 9/255.
 106. NA PCom 9/256, memo from Battiscombe, 30 May 1932.
 107. NA MEPOL 2/4959 /15a, Report of CID investigation into the Mutiny at Dartmoor Prison; *Hansards*, Vol. 262, 3 March 1932, col. 1258. Also see NA HO595645/94/169.
 108. NA HO595645/80 & 94.
 109. NA HO595645/94 & 113.
 110. NA PCom 9/255, memo 2 March 1932.
 111. NA PCom 9/255.
 112. NA HO595645/169 letter from Superintendent Hambrook of CID, 8 June 1932.
 113. NA PCom 9/255, memo 2 March 1932.
 114. *R v Beadles*, pp. 14, 35.
 115. *Ibid.*, pp. 690–1, 643–4.
 116. *Ibid.*, pp. 662–3, 852; A. Smithe (19 March 1932) 'Prison', *New Statesman and Nation* III (56): 355.
 117. *R v Beadles*, pp. 878, 60–1.
 118. *Ibid.*, pp. 643–4, 655–7.
 119. NA PCom9/254, evidence of prison visitors, Bryan and Perry to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 120. Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, p. 169.
 121. NA PCom9/254, evidence to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
 122. *R v Beadles*, pp. 757–8.
 123. PCom 9/256. Also see, Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, pp. 230–1. The prisons to which defendants were dispersed were given as Parkhurst (Davis), Pentonville, Winchester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Durham (Jackson), Lincoln (Kendall), Wandsworth, Liverpool (Sparks), Manchester, Swansea, Birmingham (James), Bristol, Dorchester and Leicester.
 124. Locations for this dispersal included prisons at Shrewsbury, Norwich, Leicester and Bedford, NA PCom 9/256.
 125. NA PCom 9/256.
 126. *Ibid.*
 127. For example, see G. Rose (1961) *The Struggle for Penal Reform: The Howard League and its Predecessors* (London: Stevens & Sons Limited), p. 115.
 128. Grew, *Prison Governor*, p. 58.
 129. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–9.
 130. J. Phelan (1940) *Jail Journey* (London: Secker & Warburg), p. 16.
 131. NA PCom 9/254, Evidence of Edward O'Connell to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 132. See Rose, *Struggle for Penal Reform*, pp. 115, 168. Also see, R. Calvert (13 February 1932) 'The Lesson of Dartmoor', *The New Statesman and Nation* III (51): 191.

133. Grew, *Prison Governor*, pp. 59–60.
134. Except with regard to the arrow traced in hobnails on the soles of the boots issued to those who worked on farms, on reclaiming bogland or quarries outside of prison walls.
135. Grew, *Prison Governor*, pp. 60, 65, 74.
136. J. Phelan, *Jail Journey*, pp. 99, 121.
137. ONLOOKER, 'Suggestions in Prison Reform', *Prison Officers' Magazine* XVIII (3): 69.
138. Howard League Minutes MSS1613/1/1/1 of 117th Meeting of the Executive Committee held 5 February 1932.
139. Smithe, 'Prison'.
140. *Saturday Review* 153 (3981): 175.
141. Ruby Sparks (1961) *Burglar to the Nobility* (London: Arthur Barker), pp. 84–5. Also see, Howard League Minutes MSS1613/1/1/1 of 117th Meeting of the Executive Committee held 5 February 1932.
142. Howard League Minutes MSS1613/1/1/1 of 117th Meeting of the Executive Committee held 5 February 1932.
143. ONLOOKER, 'Suggestions in Prison Reform'.
144. Fenner Brockway (1928) *A New Way With Crime* (London: Williams and Norgate), p. vi.
145. G.F. Clayton (1958) *The Wall Is Strong* (London: John Long), p. 126.
146. G. Dendrickson and F. Thomas (1954) *The Truth about Dartmoor* (London: Gollanz), p. 209.
147. Clayton, *The Wall Is Strong*, pp. 182–3.
148. S.K. Ruck (1951) *Paterson on Prisons* (London: Frederick Muller), p. 68.
149. 29 January 1932. Ruck was assistant director of the Borstal Association, friend of Paterson and later Secretary of the New Survey of London life and Labour.
150. J.E. Thomas (1972) *The English Prison Officer since 1850* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), pp. 157, 164.
151. See, for example, *Prison Officers' Magazine*, XVIII (3) March 1929; XVIII (10) October 1929 and XVIII (12) December 1929.
152. *Du Parcq Report*, p. 8.
153. NA PCOM9/254, evidence of Major Morris to Du Parcq Inquiry. Prison Officer Lamb, representative.
154. *Hansards* 1931–32, Vol. 262, 25 February 1932, col. 537 and Vol. 261, 8 February 1932, col. 500.
155. Chelmsford has been described at this time as 'a model prison, dealing with the "violent and adventurous" type of young criminal', see M. Benney (1936) *Low Company* (Horsham: Caliban Books), p. 320.
156. BPP, *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Prisons 1931–32* Cmd. 4151 xii: 804–5.
157. *Times*, 31 December 1931.
158. Interestingly, it has also been suggested that cuts which were adversely affecting the overtime of prison officers at Hull Prison in the mid-1970s were one of the underlying causes of the riot there in 1976. See J.E. Thomas and R. Pooley (1980) *The Exploding Prison, Prison Riots and the Case of Hull* (London: Junction Books), p. 81.

159. NA HO595645/94 & 169, letter from Superintendent Hambrook of the CID, 8 June 1932.
160. R. Sparks, A. Bottoms and W. Hay (1996) *Prisons and the Problem of Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 37.
161. Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, pp. 227–8.

3 A Man Seeking Closure: Alexander Paterson, Du Parcq and Inter-war Penal Policy

1. N. Hancock and A. Liebling (2004), 'Truth, Independence and Effectiveness in Prison Inquiries', in G. Gilligan and J. Pratt (eds), *Crime, Truth and Justice: Official Inquiry, Discourse, Knowledge* (Cullumpton: Willan Publishing), p. 91. The authors are referring here directly to investigations into suicides in twenty-first century prisons.
2. Although formally reported as the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, they were one body which now administered both convict and local prisons.
3. J. Pratt (2004), 'The Acceptable Prisons: Official Discourse, Truth and Legitimacy in the Nineteenth Century', in G. Gilligan and J. Pratt (eds), *Crime, Truth and Justice*, p. 86.
4. Report by Mr Du Parcq on the *Circumstances Connected with the Recent Disorder at Dartmoor Convict Prison*, PP 1932 Cmd. 4010, VII (hereafter Du Parcq Report).
5. Also see his obituaries in *The Times* and *Manchester Guardian*, 28 April 1949, which suggest that he became widely known to the public as a result of the Du Parcq Inquiry and Du Parcq's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by G.R. Rubin.
6. PP Report of the *Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders*, 1931–32, XII.
7. Du Parcq had, for example, completed a four volume biography of David Lloyd George, *Life of David Lloyd George*. The *Daily Mail*, 26 January 1932 stated 'He is a Liberal.' Some years later in 1945, Du Parcq again demonstrated that he could be a trusted and pragmatic hand when he presided over the investigation into the actions of the Channel Island government regarding German occupation. Rubin comments that with regard to the issue of collaboration, Du Parcq may have 'sought to avoid the dire legal consequences, for members of the establishment, of his initial inquiries after the liberation'. See G.R. Rubin's contribution on Du Parcq to the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
8. NA PCom9/254.
9. The Du Parcq Inquiry papers, recently (2008) opened to the public, reveal a great deal about the conduct of the investigation, see PCom 9/254 and PCom 9/255. See Du Parcq Report.
10. See NA PCom 9/254 for the testimonies collected as part of the Du Parcq Inquiry.
11. *Hansards*, Vol. 263, 23 March 1932, cols 1149–50, 1170.
12. See, for example, the *Manchester Guardian*, 26 January and 28 January 1932.

13. F. Burton and P. Carlen (1979) *Official Discourse: On Discourse Analysis, Government Publications, Ideology and the State* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 48.
14. Lieut. Col. C.E.F. Rich (1932) *Recollections of a Prison Governor* (London: Hurst & Blackett Ltd), pp. 46–7. Also see, A. Brown (March 2011) ‘Class, Discipline and Philosophy: Contested Visions in the Early Twentieth Century’, *Prison Service Journal* 194: 3–5.
15. See, for example, H. Scott (1959) *Your Obedient Servant* (London: Deutsch, pp. 178–9 stated that Paterson died ‘in harness, at the age of sixty-three, having worn himself out in the service of his fellow man’. *The Times*, 11 January 1947, MR ALEXANDER PATERSON’S RETIREMENT; Barclay Baron January 1948) ‘Across the Bridges: In memory of Alexander Paterson’, *Toc H Journal* XXVI: 1–11.
16. Atlee (1920) also wrote a later and less successful, less personal book on social work, *The Social Worker* (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd). Basil Henriques worked with boys clubs in the East End and became a magistrate in the juvenile courts. Stephen Hobhouse was a pacifist and prison reformer. Alexander Paterson did not leave an autobiography although after his death a personal friend (S.K. Ruck) of Paterson who had also been connected with the Borstal Association collected and published some of his writings. This was later published as, S.K. Ruck (1951) *Paterson on Prisons: Being the Collected Papers of Sir Alexander Paterson M.C., M.A.*, with a forward by Clement Atlee (London: Frederick Muller Ltd). For information on the gestation of this book see NA PCom9/1309.
17. Baron, *The Doctor*, p. 164. By 1920, Atlee was able to utilise the phrase ‘Across the Bridges’ without having to explain its meaning to an audience interested in social work, see *The Social Worker*, p. 188. In his autobiography, Stephen Hobhouse (1951) referred to the book as ‘Deeply Moving’, *Forty Years and an Epilogue* (London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd), p. 133.
18. Baron, *The Doctor*, p. 164.
19. In 1953, a park in Bermondsey was named in his memory at an opening ceremony by Clement Atlee, and it retained his name after it was re-landscaped in 2007. R.S. Wright (1951) *Great Men* (Books for Libraries Press: New York), p. 29 also refers to a Paterson Square named after him in Bermondsey.
20. For example, see Hobhouse, *Forty Years*, pp. 133–4.
21. Hawkins, *Alec Paterson*, pp. 5–8. Wright, *Great Men*, pp. 30–1, claimed that Paterson added 30 amendments to the Bill. B. Baron, ‘Across the Bridges’, p. 6 states Paterson proposed over 30 amendments.
22. Hobhouse, *Forty Years*, p. 134.
23. Hawkins, *Alec Paterson*, p. 17.
24. Baron, *The Doctor*, p. 165.
25. See, for example, *The Times*, 5 June 1935; 27 September 1938 and 20 November 1947.
26. S. Hobhouse, *Forty Years*, pp. 174–6. Included on the Committee were, Sir Sydney Olivier (Chair), Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, Laurence Housemann, Margery Fry, T. Edmund Harvey, Lily Dougall, and an ex-prison chaplain. Sir William Clarke Hall was a private advisor. In Autumn 1918, Hobhouse became secretary and an editor of the report.

- About 50 prison staff completed questionnaires – governors, chaplains, doctors and warders.
27. Hobhouse, *Forty Years*, p. 179.
 28. S. Hobhouse and A. Fenner Brockway (1922) *English Prisons Today* (New York: Longman, Green & Co). This assessment of the contemporary prison system was the product of an inquiry by the Labour Research Department and was in part a consequence of the imprisonment of conscientious objectors, including the two authors, during the First World War.
 29. See articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, 20 October, 3 November 1921 and 16 February 1922. The extent to which Paterson's reputation has already been established is evident from the last of these articles which reports Paterson's appointment to the Prison Commission.
 30. In addition, Paterson contended that what was required for the changing ethos in the borstals was 'men strong enough in character and patient enough in their ways' to be schoolmasters, the aim being to 'teach wayward lads to be self-contained'. Major B.D. Grew (1958) O.B.E., *Prison Governor* (London: Herbert Jenkins), pp. 13–14. Inspiration for the celebrated marches to open Borstals at Lowdham Grange and North Sea Camp may well have derived from the pilgrimages undertaken in Toc H, see B. Baron (1946) *The Birth of a Movement* (London: Toc H), pp. 41–5.
 31. V. Bailey (1987) *Delinquency and Citizenship: Reclaiming the Young Offender 1914–1948* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), Chapter 8: I. Brown (2007), 'A Commissioner Calls: Alexander Paterson and Colonial Burma's Prisons', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 38 (2): 294. Also, labelled the 'Paterson Regime' by Cross, *Punishment, Prison and the Public*, p. 29.
 32. Captain G.F. Clayton (1958) *The Wall Is Strong: The Life of a Prison Governor* (London: John Long), pp. 18–20. Also see Paterson's obituary in *The Times*, 10 November 1947.
 33. H. Mannheim (1939) *The Dilemma of Penal Reform* (London: George Allen & Unwin), p. 16. Also see, I. Brown, 'A Commissioner', p. 293. Thomas, *English Prison Officer*, p. 152, describes Paterson as 'one of the giants of prison reform'.
 34. H. Scott (1959) *Your Obedient Servant* (London: Andre Deutsh, p. 67. Forsythe has noted: 'contemporary accounts, whether eulogistic or hostile, describe Paterson as the major influence on the direction of the [prison] commission during the inter war years', W.J. Forsythe (1991) *Penal Discipline, Reformatory Projects and the English Prison Commission 1895–1939* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), p. 175.
 35. See Brown, 'A Commissioner Calls', pp. 293–308 in which it is suggested Paterson's achieved 'relatively little' in Burma. A. Paterson (1934) *The Prison Problem of America* (Maidstone Prison).
 36. Hawkins, *Alec Paterson*, pp. 23–4; Hayes and Penn, 'Alexander Paterson', p. 63.
 37. Hawkins, *Alec Paterson*, p. 15.
 38. Grew, *Prison Governor*, p. 13.
 39. Wright, *Great Men*. Wright was Minister at the Canongate (Church of Holyroodhouse) and Edinburgh Castle.
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

41. Paraphrasing of a 1908 quotation from H. Bompas Smith, headmaster of King Edward VII School, Lytham, cited in M. Rosenthal (1986) *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (London: Collins), p. 91.
42. Rosenthal, *Character Factory*, pp. 92–5.
43. V. Bailey, *Delinquency and Citizenship*, Chapter 8.
44. Paterson (13 April 1932) 'Youth and Crime', *The Listener* (170): 7.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *The Principles of the Borstal System* (London: Prison Commission, 1932, pp. 5–6). The substance of the initial sections of this book was also published in articles written by Alexander Paterson in *The Times* on 4 August 1925.
47. See J. Harris (May 1992) 'Political Thought and the Welfare State 1870–1940: An Intellectual Framework for British Social Policy', *Past & Present* 135: 116–41.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 128.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
50. W.J. Forsythe (1989) 'Reformation and Relaxation in English Prisons 1895–1939', *Social Policy & Administration* 23 (2): 162.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
52. K. Downing and B. Forsythe (2003) 'The Reform of Offenders in England, 1830–1995: A Circular Debate', *Criminal Justice History* 18: 152.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
54. V. Bailey (1997) 'English Prisons, Penal Culture, and the Abatement of Imprisonment 1895–1922', *Journal of British Studies* 36: 311.
55. Thomas, *English Prison Officer*, p. 157.
56. *Hansards*, 8 February, Vol. 261, cols 500–1.
57. Du Parcq Report, p. 3.
58. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Admiral Bryan and Captain Perry to Du Parcq Inquiry.
59. Rev. B.P.H. Ball (1956) *Prison Was My Parish* (London: William Heinemann Ltd), p. 118.
60. Dr Guy Richmond (1975) *Prison Doctor: A Dramatic Insight into Our Penal System and the Critical Need to Seek Reform* (British Columbia: Antonson Publishing), p. 26.
61. By this is meant governors, chaplains, medical officers. The Prison Commission appointed 'subordinate' prison officers. See M. Benney (March 1938) *The Truth About English Prisons* (London: Fact), pp. 47–64.
62. 23 February 1932.
63. Evidence of Morris to Du Parcq.
64. This perspective was also given in a renowned autobiography of ex-convict and convicted spy, Wilfred Macartney (1936), *Walls have Mouths: A Record of Ten Years' Penal Servitude* (London: Gollancz), p. 239.
65. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Colonel Turner to Du Parcq Inquiry. Turner noted one area of concern – hours of work were eight per day in local prisons but only five and a half at Dartmoor.
66. Evidence of Major Morris to Du Parcq Inquiry.
67. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Major Morris to Du Parcq Inquiry, Evidence certainly suggests that prior recent appointments to Governor at Dartmoor

- had convict experience, for example Major Morris. Also, in 1926 Major Grew was transferred from Borstal Rochester to Dartmoor as Deputy Governor under Captain Morgan, 'At first some of them [convicts] regarded with suspicion my Borstal methods of approach in trying to know them and to understand something of their problems, for it was new to them, and an attitude which they mistook for soft-heartedness'. Major B.D. Grew, O.B.E., *Prison Governor*, pp. 40–1.
68. See the evidence of Chief Officer Smale and Principal Officer Bax to the Du Parcq Inquiry NA PCom9/254.
 69. R. Sparks (1961) *Burglar to the Nobility* (London: Arthur Barker Limited), pp. 84–5. Also see NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Donovan to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 70. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Major Morris, Officer Lamb and Governor Roberts to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 71. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Captain Perry to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 72. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Chief Officer Smale to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 73. PCom 9/254 evidence of Officer Lamb to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 74. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Governor Roberts to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 75. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Officer William Watley to Du Parcq Inquiry. Also see evidence of Dr Guy Eaton Richmond, Deputy Medical Officer, Chief Officer Smale, Officer Lamb and Chief Constable Wilson.
 76. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Edward O'Donnell to Du Parcq Inquiry, PCom9.254. Also see evidence of Deputy Governor Richards, Chief Officer Smale, Officer Kelly, Officer Udy and Officer Bax.
 77. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Governor Roberts to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 78. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Dr Battiscombe to Du Parcq Inquiry, PCom9/254. Also see evidence of Rev Ball and also Chief Officer Smale who suggested that Roberts was particularly unpopular with 'the bad characters'.
 79. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Principal Officer Rowland Kelly and Deputy Governor Richards to Du Parcq Inquiry,
 80. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Donovan to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 81. Major B.D. Grew, O.B.E., *Prison Governor*, p. 75. Also see, G.F. Clayton (1958) *The Wall is Strong: The Life of a Prison Governor* (London: John Long), p. 108.
 82. G.F. Clayton, *The Wall is Strong*, p. 109.
 83. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Major Morris and Governor Roberts to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 84. See references to changing governors in *The Prison Officers' Magazine*, April 1929 XVIII (4): 106; October 1930 XIX (1): 303 and March 1931 XX (3): 67. For ex-convict's opinions on Morgan and Clayton, see J. Phelan (1940) *Jail Journey* (London: Secker & Warburg), p. 84; Macartney, p. 107.
 85. Intermediate or Ordinary convicts were those who were neither 'Star' class convict prisoners, those 'not previously convicted or not previously convicted of serious offences and are not of criminal or corrupt habits' nor 'Special' class convict prisoners, 'men under the age of 30 who are serving a first sentence of Penal Servitude, have previous convictions or records which show that they are not suitable for the "Star" class and are not of poor physique or mentality'. pp. 1932–33 [Cmd. 4295] *Report of the*

- Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons for 1931 (Annual Report)*, pp. 435–6.
86. NA PCom 9/254 questions and answers during interview with Major Morris to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 87. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Chief Officer Smale and Principal Officers Marsh and Bax to Du Parcq Inquiry. Marsh and Bax also suggested that Jackson has been in touch with friends outside the prison.
 88. The CID investigations began on the 30 January 1932 and were headed up by Chief Inspector Hambrook, see Ex-Detective Superintendent Walter Hambrook C.I.D (1937) *Hambrook of the Yard* (London: Robert Hale & Company).
 89. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Governor Roberts and Principal Officer Kelly to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 90. *Hansards Parliamentary Debates*, 8 February 1932, 1931–32, Vol. 261, col. 500. Samuel went on to say that he proposed to ‘consider the best arrangements for meeting this situation’.
 91. NA PCom 9/254 interview of Officer Lamb in Du Parcq Inquiry.
 92. A.J. Rhodes (1933) *Dartmoor Prison: A Record of 126 Years of Prisoner of War and Convict Life, 1806–1932* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Limited), p. 179.
 93. Du Parcq Report, p. 23.
 94. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
 95. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Colonel Turner to Du Parcq Inquiry. This view of the character difference between Turner and Du Parcq was further confirmed in the Du Parcq Report, 25 which stated that ‘the reputation which Colonel Turner has earned for his ability to handle men was such as to justify this confidence [that he could quell the riot]’.
 96. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Governor Roberts to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 97. Du Parcq Report, p. 6.
 98. Thomas, *English Prison Officer*, pp. 158–9.
 99. Du Parcq Report, p. 33. Interestingly, *The Prison Officers’ Magazine*, March 1932 offered a different perspective, ‘Personality does not count where communists and bandits are concerned. The only “personality” they respect is lead or cols steel’.
 100. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Officer Kelly to Du Parcq Inquiry.
 101. Du Parcq Report, p. 8.
 102. *Hansards*, Vol. 263, 23 March 1932, cols 1149–50.
 103. *Ibid.*, col. 1170.
 104. G. Rose (1961) *The Struggle for Penal Reform: The Howard League and Its Predecessors* (London: Stevens and Sons Limited), p. 173.
 105. E. Cadogan (1937) *The Roots of Evil: Being a Treatise on the Methods of Dealing with Crime and the Criminal during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Relation to Those of a More Enlightened Age* (London: John Murray), p. 289.
 106. PP, *Report of the Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders* Cmd. 4090 XII. 553. Appointed April 1931. Herbert du Parcq was already a member of this Committee when he was appointed to investigate the Dartmoor riot. Alexander Maxwell (Chairman of the Prison Commission)

- and Dr Norwood East (Prison Medical Commissioner) were also on the Committee.
107. W.J. Forsythe, *Penal Discipline*, p. 184.
 108. E. Cadogan, *The Roots of Evil*, p. 267.
 109. And, of course, relatively inexpensive compared to standard convict imprisonment. See R. Hood and A. Roddam (1999) 'Crime, Sentencing and Punishment', in A.H. Halsey and J. Webb (eds), *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 675.
 110. G. Rose (1970) 'Penal Reform as History', *British Journal of Criminology* 10 (4): 348–71. In some publication, the factors that should determine such groupings were quite vague. For example, 'individual character, experience and need', see E. Roy Calvert and T. Calvert (1933) *The Lawbreaker: A Critical Study of the Modern Treatment of Crime* (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd), p. 149.
 111. E. Calvert and T. Calvert, *The Lawbreaker*, pp. 15, 18, 20.
 112. PP Report of the *Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders*, p. 553.
 113. *Ibid.*, p. 553. Also see J.C. Spencer (1953–54) 'Some Recent Developments in the English Prison System', *British Journal of Delinquency* 4 (1): 40–1. These recommendations were included in the Criminal Justice Act 1948.
 114. Fenner Brockway (1928) *A New Way With Crime* (London: Williams & Norgate), p. 151.
 115. PP *Departmental Committee on Prisons*, 1895 (C. 7702), LVI. 1.
 116. W.J. Forsythe, 'Reformation and Relaxation', p. 167. In L.W. Fox (1934) *The Modern English Prison* (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd), p. 174, it is noted that between 'the date when the Act came into operation in August 1909, and 31st December, 1928, 901 sentences of Preventive Detention have been passed, of which 735 were for the minimum period of five years and 34 for the maximum period of 10 years ... in recent years the average number of sentences has been for men 31, for women 0.6 each year'. Also see, V. Bailey (March 1985) 'Churchill as Home Secretary: Prison Reform', *History Today* 35: 10–13; A. Brown (2003) *English Society and the Prison* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press), pp. 119–20.
 117. W.J. Forsythe, *Penal Discipline*, p. 78.
 118. Fenner Brockway (1928) *A New Way with Crime* (London: Williams & Norgate), p. 153.
 119. H. Mannheim (1939) *The Dilemma of Penal Reform* (London: George Allen & Unwin), p. 28.
 120. M. Hamblin Smith (1934) *Prisons and a Changing Civilisation* (London: John Lane), p. 143. Also see, Margery Fry (1951) *Arms of the Law* (London: for Howard League for Penal Reform by Gollancz), p. 207; A. Fenner Brockway, *A New Way with Crime*, p. 151; L. Page (1937) *Crime and the Community* (London: Faber & Faber Limited), pp. 74, 203, 245–5; Calvert & Calvert, *The Lawbreaker*, pp. 146, 163; H. Scott (1959) *Your Obedient Servant* (London: Andre Deutsch), pp. 99–100.
 121. Hon Edward Cadogan, *The Root of Evil*, p. 289.
 122. L. Page, *Crime and the Community*, p. 203.
 123. Alexander Paterson (13 April 1932) 'Youth and Crime', *The Listener*, issue 170.
 124. Calvert & Calvert, *The Lawbreaker*, p. 48.

125. C. Valier (1995), 'Psychoanalysis and crime in Britain during the inter-war years', The British Criminology Conference: Selected Proceedings. Vol. 1: Emerging Themes in Criminology. Papers from the British Criminology Conference, online), <http://www.britisoccrim.org/volume1/012.pdf> (accessed 3 October 2011).
126. See W. Norwood East and W.H. de B. Hubert (1939) *The Psychological Treatment of Crime* (London: HMSO); J.J. Landers (November 1939) 'Observations on Two Hundred Dartmoor Convicts', *Journal of Mental Science* 84: 960-79; H. Mannheim (1940) *Social Aspects of Crime in England Between the Wars* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD).
127. MSS1613/1/1/1 Minutes of Executive Meeting of Howard League 18 March 1932 and 27 May 1932. Dingle Foot was the brother of Labour politician Michael Foot.
128. NA HO595645/94/167 Letter from Howard League to Sir Herbert Samuel and response. Also see discussion in NA HO45/24955.
129. L. Page, *Crime and the Community*, pp. 99-101. Page also described this kind of offender as practical, callous and selfish.
130. L. Page, *Crime and the Community*, p. 89.
131. Major B.D. Grew, O.B.E, *Prison Governor*, p. 66.
132. *Ibid.*
133. Thomas, *English Prison Officer*, p. 160.
134. J. Pratt and G. Gilligan, 'Introduction: Crime, Truth and Justice - Official Inquiry and the Production of Knowledge', in G. Gilligan and J. Pratt (eds), *Crime, Truth and Justice*, p. 7.
135. Du Parcq Report, p. 34.
136. Thomas, *English Prison Officer*, p. 162. The appointment of Paterson also forms part of a common practice of insiders being prominent in prison inquiries, as Thomas and Pooley note: 'Those conducting prison inquiries frequently have a vested interest in the outcome and are, therefore, judging the behaviour of their colleagues in a system of which they are a part'. J.E. Thomas and R. Pooley (1980) *The Exploding Prison, Prison Riots and the Case of Hull* (London: Junction Books), p. 15.

4 Dartmoor Gaol Battle: The Dartmoor Riot as a National Media Event

1. The clock tower was described as 'somewhat picturesque, not beautiful but traditional' by the chaplain Rev. B.P.H. Ball (1956) *Prison Was My Parish* (London: William Heinemann Ltd), p. 136.
2. For example, *The Times*, *Daily Mirror*, *News Chronicle*. The *Manchester Guardian* published a pre-mutiny photograph. The *Illustrated London News* coverage appeared on 30 January.
3. 25 January, The *Daily Mirror* was known for its pioneering photo-journalism.
4. 25 January 1932.
5. *Daily Mail*, 25 January 1932.
6. The *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January, referred to the 'mutiny' as 'without parallel in the history of English prison life'. See A. Brown (2003) 'Legitimacy in the

- Evolution of the Prison: The Chatham Convict Prison Outbreak, 1861', in L.A. Knafla (ed.), *Criminal Justice History*, p. 18 and A. Brown (2008) 'Challenging Discipline and Control: A Comparative Analysis of Prison Riots at Chatham (1861) and Dartmoor (1932)', in H. Johnston (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Of course, the seriousness and violence of the Dartmoor riot was overtaken by other disturbances post war.
7. *Manchester Guardian*, 26 January.
 8. In an article in the *Daily Herald*, 26 January, J.R. Clynes, former Home Secretary, observed that 'the Press has treated this revolt as something in the nature of a national event'.
 9. The *Manchester Guardian*, 28 January, claimed hundreds of people, whereas *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 January, stated 'thousands of people were attracted to Princetown during the day'. Dartmoor had a history of attracting day-trippers, a report on this problem in 1925 explained that 'parties of day trippers have long been a nuisance at this prison in the summer, and in recent years the multiplication of motor char-a-bancs has made it worse. They do not leave the roads, but the public roads run by or through the prison estate, and it is impossible to prevent the convicts from being seen from the cars'. See NA HO45/20083.
 10. 25 January 1932.
 11. For more on this, see A. Barton and A. Brown (2011) 'Dartmoor: Penal and Cultural Icon', *The Howard Journal* 50 (5): 478–91.
 12. 10 September 1930 (87): 394; Kingsley Martin, 'What is News?' offered a journalists view on what constituted 'human interest'.
 13. See J. Curran and J. Seaton (2010) *Power without Responsibility: Press, Broadcasting and the Internet in Britain* (London: Routledge), Chapter 5.
 14. C. Emsley (2011) *Crime and Society in Twentieth-Century England* (Harlow: Pearson Education), p. 109.
 15. S. Chibnall (1977) *Law-and-order News: An Analysis of Crime Reporting in the British Press* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited), p. ix.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. *Ibid.*, p. x.
 18. P. Scraton, J. Sim and P. Skidmore (1991) *Prisons under Protest* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press), p. 118.
 19. Davies (1994) 'Cinema and Broadcasting', in P. Johnson (ed.), *20th Century Britain* (London: Longman), pp. 265–9.
 20. Bingham (2004) *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 13.
 21. For an examination of this, see J. Carter Wood (2009) '“Those Who Have Had Trouble Can Sympathise with You”: Press Writing, Reader Response and a Murder Trial in Interwar Britain', *Journal of Social History*, Winter: 439–62.
 22. Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press*, pp. 3–4.
 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 3.
 24. *Daily Mail*, 25 January and *Daily Herald*, 25 January.
 25. HO144/595645/10. Letter from Sir Clive Wigram dated 26 January. *Prison Officers' Magazine*, January 1931 XX (1): 8 – 'the various Press stunts cause us some amusements, and save us the need of having a weekly comic paper'.

- Prison Officers' Magazine*, May 1931 XX (5): 130 – believed prison service winning public confidence, unlike in the United States where Paterson currently touring, occasional ‘fly in the ointment’, ‘the gutter press’. *Prison Officers' Magazine*, August 1931 XX (3): 225 – ‘It seems that the Prison Administration of this country is getting quite into the good books of the Press and the Public. It is all to the good’. MSS1613/1/1/1 Howard League Minutes Executive Committee 28 October 1932, agreed to add para to annual report on reactionary character of the letters published by the press.
26. HO144/595645/10, letter from Sir Clive Wigram 28 January 1932. Interestingly, some 36 years later in 1968 Lady Paterson returned to the Prison Commission photos taken of the prison after the Dartmoor mutiny which she had obtained when ‘drafting the Radzinowicz Committee report’. She comments that ‘[o]ne shudders to think what would now happen in the days of television’.
 27. G. Rose (1961) *The Struggle for Penal Reform* (London: Stevens & Sons Ltd), p. 174.
 28. NA PCom 9/255, memo dated 8 March 1932.
 29. Scraton, Sim and Skidmore, *Prisons under Protest*, pp. 108–26.
 30. *The Times*, 25 January 1932. Hereafter all newspaper dates are for 1932.
 31. 26 January. There had been a wave of violent prison riots in the United States in 1929–30, see R. Adams (1994) *Prison Riots in Britain and the USA*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 63–5. Harold Scott (1959) *Your Obedient Servant* (London: Deutsch), p. 73, who took over as Chairman of the Prison Commission not long after the Dartmoor Riot affirmed that the outbreak ‘was soon quelled by the prison staff with the help of the police from Plymouth, without any of those pitched battles so frequently staged in American penitentiaries’. In 1930, *the Prison Officers' Magazine* XIX (1): 2, asserted: ‘We never have in this country mutinies and serious outbreaks such as in foreign countries’; refer to Auburn and Colorado: ‘No, these things do not occur in our Prisons and Institutions. It is due not so much to the adequate staffing, but due to a well-trained staff using common sense in dealing with difficult men’. *Howard Journal* III (3): 1932, Editorial, 5 – ‘The Dartmoor riot gave a rude awakening to those who regarded prison mutinies as a plague peculiar to the U.S.A., and one from which English prisons were immune’.
 32. *News of the World*, 31 February 1932.
 33. *Daily Mail*, 25 January 1932. Despite the well-publicised violence of the Dartmoor riot American films critical of their own penal system such as *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932) and *Each Dawn I Die* (1938) were required by the British Board of Film Censors to state in writing before the beginning that such penal systems did not exist in Britain, see J. Richards (1981) ‘The British Board of Film Censors and the Content Control in the 1930s: Images of Britain’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 1: 95–116.
 34. R. Adams (1992) *Prison Riots in Britain and the USA* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 60–5.
 35. *Daily Mail*, 25 January 1932; *Daily Mirror* Editorial, 25 January; *Daily Express*, 25 January; also see *Illustrated London News*, 30 January. See, A. Davies

- (2007) 'The Scottish Chicago? From "Hooligans" to "Gangsters" in Inter-war Glasgow', *Cultural & Social History* 4 (4): 545–58 and other papers in this edition for consideration of the extensive attention paid to the American gangster in the British press.
36. See, for example, *The Daily Telegraph*, 26 January 1932 and also NA PCom 9/254 memo 25 January 1932.
 37. As *The Times* (26 January) reported regarding the Home Office statement released that day: 'no explanation of the causes of the disorder is yet forthcoming'.
 38. M. Benney (1948) *Gaol Delivery for The Howard League for Penal Reform* (London: Longmans, Green and Co), p. 1.
 39. A.J. Rhodes (1933) *Dartmoor Prison: A Record of 126 Years of Prisoner of War and Convict Life, 1806–1932* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Limited), pp. 238–9.
 40. 26 January.
 41. Du Parcq notes that after 1923, the younger and less persistent offenders were held at Parkhurst. Du Parcq Report on the *Circumstances Connected with the Recent Disorder at Dartmoor Convict Prison*, BPP, Cmd. 4010, February, 5–6. At the time of the riot, therefore, Dartmoor was 'almost without exception a prison for "recidivists"'. Of course, emphasis upon the inmates did not only come from the press, Leo Page (1937), a barrister, noted in his book *Crime and the Community* (Faber & Faber), 'the prisoners who are sent to this prison are the most dangerous as well as the most persistent criminals who have been awarded sentences of penal servitude, and no fair judgement upon the system at Dartmoor is possible if we fail to bear in mind the type of man for who safeguard it is designed'. Leo Page described the prison system as 'designedly penal and deterrent' but cells warm and food good, no 'intentional or conscious brutality', pp. 194–6, 202.
 42. 7 February, p. 15. Almost word for word this sentence appears in the Du Parcq Report, p. 6.
 43. *Daily Mirror*, 1 February also 26 January. In fact, 56 of the 427 inmates for whom criminal records are available had convictions for what could be termed 'sexual offences'. For the purposes of this analysis, these include, attempted and actual: rape, sodomy, buggery, carnal knowledge, indecent assault as well as incest, brothel keeping, importuning, living on the earnings of a prostitute and one 'unnatural offence with a cow', see NA DPP2/72 Part 13.
 44. *The Times*, 27 January and 26 January.
 45. *The Times*, 27 January. *Evening News*, 8 January 1932, claimed that a gang was known to exist at Dartmoor.
 46. 27 January.
 47. *Daily Mail*, 8 February 1932.
 48. Memo 9 March 1932 regarding information required by the Home Secretary on this subject, see NA PCom 9/255.
 49. See *The Times*, 27 January and *Daily Mirror*, 25 January. Also, *Daily Herald*, 25 January noted that the mutiny was apparently 'carefully planned beforehand'.
 50. 26 and 27 January.

51. *Daily Mail*, 26 January 1932. The only major incident of this kind had occurred in December 1867 when Fenians had attempts to rescue fellow activists from Clerkenwell Prison. See, for example, *The Times*, 20 December 1867 and the *Era*, 22 December 1867.
52. 29 January 1932.
53. 26 and 27 January.
54. *The Times* special correspondent 25 January. The *Daily Mirror* (25 January) suggested that rumours of unrest had been circulating for about a fortnight.
55. *The Times*, 25 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January 'our correspondent'; *Daily Herald*, 25 January; *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January.
56. 25 January; also see *Manchester Guardian* 'our correspondent', 25 January and *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January, which reference an 'eye-witness'.
57. *The Times*, 27 January and *Daily Mirror*, 27 January; *Daily Herald*, 28 January and 1 February, also claimed that additional security measures were being taken at London prisons.
58. 26 January.
59. 27 January.
60. 27 January.
61. *Daily Mirror*, 27 January, Article by special correspondent, F.N. Byron. The *Daily Herald* claimed on the 26th January that the 'origin' of the mutiny had been traced to three ringleaders, 'one of whom it is alleged, is a Communist'.
62. For more on the *Daily Mail* and the popular press at this time, see M. Engel (1997) *Tickle the Public: One Hundred Years of the Popular Press* (London: Indigo), pp. 111–41.
63. *Daily Mail*, 26 January 1932.
64. NA PCom 9/254, memo from Chairman of the Prison Commission 26 January 1932. Also see, for example, *The Times*, 27 January 1932.
65. *The Times*, 25 and 27 January.
66. *Daily Mirror*, 25 January (Editorial); *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January. The article also claimed that 'the entire colony of felons arranged first to conceal weapons and then to smash the furniture in their cells and use the planks of their beds as battering rams'. Also see, *Daily Herald*, 25 January.
67. 25 January 1932.
68. *Daily Express*, 25 January; *The Times*, 27 January; *Daily Mirror*, 25 January; *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January.
69. The *Manchester Guardian* report (25 January) did also mention 'bars of iron'.
70. *The Times*, 26 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 26 January; *Daily Mail*, 26 January.
71. Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, p. 202.
72. *The Times*, 25 January; *Daily Mirror*, 25 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January; *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January; *Daily Herald*, 25 January.
73. *Daily Express*, 25 January.
74. 25 January.
75. 25 January.
76. *Daily Mirror*, 25 January; *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January.
77. 25 January. *The Daily Herald*, 25 January, suggested 85 convicts were taken to hospital.
78. 25 January 1932.

79. *Daily Mirror*, 25 January. Also see, *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January, which said some spectators had also claimed there was a prisoner standing on the clock tower when it collapsed.
80. Reported in *The Times*, 26 January and *Daily Herald*, 26 January.
81. *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January; *Daily Express*, 25 January. Also see, *Daily Mail*, 25 January 1932; *The Times*, 25 January; *Daily Mirror*, 25 January; *Daily Herald*, 25 January; *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January.
82. 25 January 1932.
83. 25 January. Also see, for example, *Daily Herald*, 25 January.
84. *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January. *Daily Herald*, 25 January. Also see, *Daily Herald*, 26 January for a short history of Donovan and that there were doubts about his conviction. He served in France, was awarded a Military Service Medal and reached rank of Sergeant Instructor during the war. This incident was confirmed in a Home Office Statement which noted that Colonel Turner had tried to address convicts and had to be protected by several other convicts, *The Times*, 26 January. Also in a report of 29 January in *The Times*, a 'time-expired' convict was reported as speaking about this incident and the help given to Colonel Turner by Donovan. According to the report, Donovan also put out the first fire lit in the administrative building but was then knocked unconscious, 'Officers took Donovan to hospital and kept him there, so there should be no risk of reprisal'. *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 January also published an article specifically on the alleged saving of Turner by Donovan.
85. *The Times*, 25 January; *Daily Mirror*, 25 January; *Daily Express*, 25 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January.
86. 25 January, this same phrase was also reported in *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 January.
87. 25 January 1932.
88. 25 January. The headline for the article was 'HAND-TO-HAND BATTLE'. Also see *Daily Express*, 25 January; *The Times*, 25 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January; *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January. The account by the omnibus driver appears in all but *The Times*.
89. 25 January.
90. 26 January 1932.
91. *Daily Express*, 25 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January; *The Times*, 26 January.
92. Hence, *The Times* (26 January) noted on the 26 that "The temper of the convicts is revealed in the fact that many of them, as they pass a policeman, hiss at him, saying, "Wait until you go" '.
93. 26 January.
94. *The Times*, 26 January; *Daily Mirror*, 26 January; *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 January.
95. 27 January. The figure of 200 cannot be verified but it certainly seems excessive.
96. 27 January also see *The Times*, 27 January.
97. *Daily Mirror*, 27 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January; *Daily Mirror*, 28 January, also see *The Times*, 28 January. *The Times* stated that there was no foundation for the rumour that a master key was missing: 'though it is

- not denied that several keys of minor importance were captured by convicts on Sunday’.
98. 30 January 1932.
 99. Locations for this dispersal included prisons at Shrewsbury, Norwich, Leicester and Bedford, NA PCom 9/256.
 100. 30 January.
 101. *Manchester Guardian*, 28 January; *Daily Mirror*, 28 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 30 January and *Daily Mirror*, 2 February.
 102. 3 February 1932.
 103. 4 February.
 104. *Daily Mail*, 4 February.
 105. *Manchester Guardian*, 4 January 1933; *The Times*, 5 January 1932. For similar references, re convicts see *Observer*, 12 March; *Daily Mirror*, 27 June 1933; *Manchester Guardian*, 30 August 1934; *Manchester Guardian*, 5 February 1935; *Manchester Guardian*, 14 March 1935; *The Times*, 8 May 1936; *The Times*, 14 July 1936. Also see, *Daily Mirror*, 17 November 1932; also see *The Times*, 23 October 1934; *The Times*, 25 January 1937; *The Times*, 10 February 1932; *Daily Mirror*, 2 January 1933; *Daily Mirror*, 15 June 1932.
 106. *The Times and Manchester Guardian*, 26 January.
 107. *Manchester Guardian*, 26 January. The report also commented that the Prison Commissioners had been trying to introduce such ideas for the last eight years.
 108. 1 February 1932.
 109. 1 February; 25 January (Editorial); 26 January and 27 January (Editorial). A letter asserting that prisons were too soft and that this led to violence and escapes was also published in *The Daily Mirror*, 26 January. An Editorial in *The Saturday Review* 3979, 30 January 1932 maintained: ‘convicts are desperate men, and must be treated as such. No doubt our sentimentalists will urge us to abolish prisons all together as the surest means of preventing a repetition of the mutiny, but in our opinion the lesson to be learned is that risks cannot be taken with impunity’. Indeed, the Dartmoor riot sparked a debate in the *Saturday Review*, January–March 1932 on prison reform.
 110. 27 January 1932.
 111. ‘Fog Over Dartmoor’, *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January: 8.
 112. 26 January.
 113. Rose, *The Struggle for Penal Reform*, p. 175.
 114. 27 January.
 115. *Daily Mirror*, 27 January. The esteemed contemporary referred to here is most likely J.R. Clynes, who wrote an article in the *Daily Herald*, 26 January and was also covered in *The Manchester Guardian*. Clynes was Home Secretary from June 1929 until August 1931 when Samuel replaced him. The *Daily Mirror*, Editorial 25 January, also asserted that the riot was a ‘foolish and fruitless endeavour’ that would serve only to tighten up prison regulations: ‘for the mutinous malefactor can never hope to win the sympathy of the general public’.
 116. *Daily Mirror*, 25 January and 27 January.
 117. *Manchester Guardian*, 29 January.
 118. 26 January and 29 January. Also see *Daily Mirror*, 27 January.

119. 25 January. In addition, the *Daily Express* informed its readers that in the December before the riot 500 prisoners had been transferred to Portland Prison 'under a scheme for the better classification of prisoners'. Given this context, in the wake of the riot both the *Manchester Guardian* (29 January) and the *Daily Mirror* (27 January) conjectured 'on good authority' that 'the permanent closure of Dartmoor Prison was being considered'. The evidence of Major Morris, a previous Governor of the prison, to the Du Parcq Inquiry confirmed that 'All the young and intermediate class was transferred to Parkhurst. It was entirely the recidivists who were left behind'.
120. 25 January 1932.
121. Although *The Times*, 26 January, announced initially it would begin the following day, it corrected in a report of the 27 January saying that after his arrival at the prison Du Parcq decided to open his inquiry the same day. According to the *Daily Mirror*, 28 January, the inquiry was open on the 26 January after Paterson's arrival at the prison that morning and his beginning to interview prisoners in their cells. The *Manchester Guardian*, 26 January and 28 January gave a brief and very positive biography of Paterson and Colonel Turner and also reported that Paterson would be aided by another Assistant Commissioner, Colonel Rogers.
122. 28 January.
123. In the edition of 26 January, it was reported that Clynes, the previous Home Secretary, wanted the inquiry to be more open. Also see *Daily Mirror*, 27 January, for call for a public inquiry from Alfred Short, Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Home Office in the last Labour Government, he stated that there was a clear demand for a public inquiry and that 'Even convicts do not mutiny for the fun of it'.
124. Quotation is from a resolution of a joint meeting of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party (*The Times*, 28 January). Also see *Manchester Guardian*, 28 January; *Daily Mirror*, 27 January; *The Times*, 29 January. A full inquiry was called for 'in order that the causes of this outbreak may be thoroughly probed to the satisfaction of the country'.
125. 26 January. This call was also made in the form of an article by J.R. Clynes published in the *Daily Herald* on 26 January and in the edition of 28 January.
126. 9 February 1932.
127. *Daily Worker*, 26 January 1932; 28 January 1932; 9 February 1932.
128. 'Fog Over Dartmoor', *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January.
129. *The Times*, 30 January; *Daily Mirror*, 30 January.
130. NA HO144/595645/42.
131. Page 3.
132. 28 January 1932.
133. *Manchester Guardian*, 26 January; *Observer*, 7 February. The *Daily Mail*, 8 February 1932 picked up on criticism of Roberts made in the Du Parcq Report and a headline stated 'GOVERNOR'S ERROR OF JUDGEMENT'.
134. *The Times*, 29 January; *Daily Mirror*, 30 January; *Manchester Guardian*, 29 January.

135. *Observer*, 7 February. To cope with the new modern kind of criminal the prison itself should be 'in design and structure several things that Dartmoor is not'.
136. *The Times*, 8 February.
137. *Ibid.*
138. *Daily Mail*, 30 January 1932; 8 February.
139. *Ibid.*, 8 February 1932.
140. *Daily Mirror*, 30 January.
141. *Daily Mail*, 8 February.
142. *Ibid.*, 9 February.
143. *Manchester Guardian*, 8 February.
144. *Daily Herald*, 8 February.
145. NA MEPOL 2/4959. Also see *Daily Herald*, 13 February; 15 February.
146. *Manchester Guardian*, 8 February.
147. 8 February. Lieut. Col. Rich (1932) *Recollections of a Prison Governor* (London: Hurst & Blackett), pp. 275–6, also felt that the Du Parc Report was excellent but unsatisfying as it appeared to make no attempt to 'diagnose the root causes which led to the appalling happenings of that Sunday morning'. Wanted to know more about prior plans and how organised. Also not very satisfying to be told that reason for outbreak was that Dartmoor was unsuitable place for modern convicts. 'I should think it is perfectly correct to say that the modern leniency in treatment and the entertainments and so forth did not cause the Dartmoor mutiny. They did, however, give the opportunity of preparing it, which is equally important'.
148. *Daily Mirror*, 8 February.
149. Ex-Convict No-, *News of the World*, 31 January 1932.
150. Such accounts were later (post Princetown Assize) discounted, for example, in *The Howard Journal III* (3): 1932, Editorial which stated: 'We may discount the more sensational tales of desperate criminals within, taking concerted action with equally desperate colleagues outside, as well as the more lurid stories of official brutality told by ex-convicts', although suggests probably an elements of truth in both. This article also asserted that 'Dartmoor was an anachronism and that it was sheer hypocrisy to claim that any serious reformatory or educational work could be done there'.
151. *Morning Post*, 8 February 1932.
152. Rose, *The Struggle for Penal Reform*, p. 175.

5 The Elephant and Castle Gang and Criminal Careers of Dartmoor Prison Inmates

1. Rev B.P.H. Ball (1956) *Prison Was My Parish* (London: William Heinemann Ltd).
2. Ball, *Prison Was My Parish*, p. 122. The year given in this quotation is 1932 which is plainly an error since he is referring to the arrival of Sparks prior to the riot. He then goes on to refer to the assault on Officer Birch by Thomas Davis which he states happened shortly after the riot but which actually occurred on the Friday before the disturbance. For clarity of analysis, I have accepted that the intended date was 1931.

3. For example, Chelmsford Prison was set aside for younger penal servitude offenders. Chelmsford was described at this time as 'a model prison, dealing with the "violent and adventurous" type of young criminal', see M. Benney (1936) *Low Company* (Horsham: Caliban Books), p. 320.
4. BPP, *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Prisons, 1931–32*, Cmd. 4151, xii: 804–5.
5. S.K. Ruck (1932) 'The Increase of Crime in England: An Analysis and Criticism', *Political Quarterly* 3: 206–25. Also see C. Humphries and R.E. Dummett (1933) *The Menace in our Midst* (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd).
6. S.K. Ruck (1940) 'Developments in Crime and Punishment', in L. Radzinowicz, J.W. Cecil Turner and P.H. Winfield (eds), *Penal Reform in England: Introductory Essays on Some Aspects of English Criminal Policy* (London: P.S. King & Son Ltd), pp. 19, 24. Also see, E.H. Sutherland (1934) 'The Decreasing Prison Population of England', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 24: 898.
7. BPP, *Report by Mr Du Parcq On the Circumstances Connected with the Recent Disorder at Dartmoor Convict Prison* PP 1932, Cmd. 4010, VII: 6 (hereafter *Du Parcq Report*).
8. Hereafter, *Du Parcq Report*.
9. Major B.D. Grew O.B.E (1958), *Prison Governor* (London: Herbert Jenkins), pp. 74–5.
10. *Du Parcq Report*, p. 12.
11. NA HO144/595645/39 Confidential copy of *Du Parcq Report*.
12. NA DPP2/72 Part 13. Also see, *The Times*, 13 October 1930, 'Alleged Shots at Police'.
13. NA HO144/595645/39 Confidential copy of *Du Parcq Report*, p. 29.
14. Hambrook, *R v Beadles*, p. 170.
15. Ball, *Prison was my Parish*, pp. 192–3.
16. *Ibid.*, 194.
17. *Observer*, 3 July 2011, 'Criminal Confessions'.
18. R. Sparks (1961) *Burglar to the Nobility* (London: Arthur Barker Limited), pp. 79–85.
19. G.F. Clayton (1958) *The Wall is Strong: The Life of a Prison Governor* (London: John Long), pp. 168–9.
20. *Ibid.*
21. NA DPP2/72 Part 13.
22. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, pp. 75–9 and the *Daily Express*, 5 July 1930.
23. *Daily Express*, 5 July 1930.
24. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, pp. 75–6.
25. See, S. Duncombe and A. Mattson (2006) *The Bobbed Haired Bandit: A True Story of Crime and Celebrity in 1920s New York* (New York: New York University Press).
26. *Manchester Guardian*, 15 August 1927.
27. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, pp. 32–4; NA DPP2/72 Part 13; *Manchester Guardian*, 28 July and 15 August 1927.
28. NA DPP2/72 Part 9.
29. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9; *R v Beadles*, p. 209.
30. NA DPP2/72 Part 13 and the *Police Gazette* Supplement A, 11 March 1927, XIV (5). The *Police Gazette* was a weekly magazine produced by Scotland

- Yard giving details of crimes committed and criminal profiles (including mug shots) as well as information wanted by the police. It was sent to every police force in the United Kingdom.
31. NA DPP2/72 Part 13.
 32. NA HO595645/94/192/169 Letter from Superintendent Hambrook, 8 June 1932.
 33. A.J. Rhodes (1933) *Dartmoor Prison: A Record of 126 Years of Prisoner of War and Convict Life, 1806–1932* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Limited), pp. 282–3.
 34. *Police Gazette*, Supplement A, 11 March, XIV (5): 1927.
 35. NA DPP2/72 Part 9.
 36. The other inmate referred to in this context is Arthur Cox.
 37. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, p. 96.
 38. NA DPP2/72 Part 13.
 39. By Inspector Hambrook. NA DPP2/72 Part 9.
 40. *The Times*, 12 December 1924.
 41. NA DPP2/72 Part 13 and *Police Gazette*, 7 March, XVII (5): 1930. The sentence of preventive detention introduced under the 1908 Prevention of Crimes Act for the first time sanctioned a punishment which operated to anticipate future criminal behaviour. In actual fact, this legislation was not well used and in 1910 Churchill, the then Home Secretary threatened to repeal the act if were not properly restricted to those who were a danger to society. Until then the punishment had largely been used against lower level recidivists. See V. Bailey (1985) 'Churchill as Home Secretary: Prison Reform', *History Today* March 38 (3): 10–13. Gatrell has referred to this legislative action as 'part fantasy anyway' as 'professional criminals' were hard to find. The numbers designated as Habitual Criminals and sentences to preventive detention remain low until the legislation was supplanted in 1948. See V.A.C. Gatrell (1990) 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman-State', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950 Vol.3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
 42. *The Times*, 6 October 1930, p. 11 and 28 April 1932.
 43. NA HO144/20648.
 44. *Ibid.*, letter from Cicily Craven, Hon Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform 6 June 1932 to Sir Herbert Samuel, Secretary of State for Home Department.
 45. *The Times*, 6 October 1930, p. 11 and 28 April 1932.
 46. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, pp. 86–89. Also see Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, p. 288 for further description.
 47. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9; *R v Beadles*, evidence of officer winter, p. 234.
 48. *The Times*, 21 November 1930.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. M. Cavadino and J. Dignan (2002) *The Penal System: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (London: Sage), pp. 11, 17–18.
 52. *Liverpool Echo*, 19 June 1929.
 53. NA DPP2/72 Part 9 and Part 13. Also see the *Leeds Mercury*, 6 January 1927, 'WAR-TIME MURDER'.

54. B. McDonald (2000) *Elephant Boys: Tales of London and Los Angeles Underworlds* (London: Mainstream Publishing), p. 142. Also see B. McDonald (2010) *Gangs of London: 100 Years of Mob Warfare* (Wrea Green, Lancashire: Milo Books); R. Samuel (1981) *East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).
55. NA DPP2/72 Part 9.
56. McDonald, *Elephant Boys*, p. 136.
57. NA DPP2/72 Part 9.
58. P. Jenkins and G.W. Potter (1998) 'Before the Krays: Organized Crime in London, 1920–1960', *Criminal Justice History* IX: 214. As Jenkins and Potter state the drugs trade at this time primarily concerned cocaine as in Britain addicts were prescribed opiates.
59. *The Times*, 3 April 1930.
60. See Mason (2006) cited in A. Barton and A. Brown (2011) 'Dartmoor: Penal and Cultural Icon', *The Howard Journal* 50 (5): 486.
61. S.K. Ruck (ed.) (1951) *Paterson on Prisons: Being the Collected Papers of Sir Alexander Paterson* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd), p. 11.
62. G. Dendrickson and F. Thomas (1954) *The Truth About Dartmoor* (London: Victor Gollanz), pp. 72–5.
63. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9, *R v Beadles*, pp. 24–25. In John Mullins's evidence at the Dartmoor trial, he observed that in the separate cells were men on dietary punishment and for those who had tried to escape. He described the existence of what he refers to as silent cells that were ill-lit and which had a door which was 'a kind of box inside a box, a kind of Chinese puzzle affair' which he surmised was 'to stop the other prisoners knowing what is happening in there while the officers are manhandling you'.
64. Mullins was recaptured after three days and the other convict, Gaskins, after five days. See *Prison Officers' Magazine*, March 1931 XX (3): 66.
65. *Manchester Evening News*, 15 August 1927.
66. MEPOL 2/4959 Report of the CID into the riot at Dartmoor.
67. NA MEPOL 2/4959/15a Report of the CID into the riot at Dartmoor.
68. *R v Beadles*, p. 996.
69. To CID investigation which began after Du Parcq.
70. MEPOL 2/4959/15a Report of the CID into the riot at Dartmoor.
71. S. Hobhouse and A. Fenner Brockway (1922) *English Prisons Today* (London: Longman, Green & Co).
72. E. Carrabine (2005) 'Prison riots, social order and the problem of legitimacy', *British Journal of Criminology* 45: 904–905.
73. Ball, *Prison was my Parish*, p. 98.
74. Ball, *Prison was my Parish*, p. 122.
75. W. Hambrook (1937) *Hambrook of the Yard: The Memoirs of Ex-Detective Superintendent Walter Hambrook CID* (London: Robert Hale & Company), p. 193. Also see Colonel Rich in *Observer* 30 October 1932, in which he refers to 'these young men who are running about in cars and holding up people at the point of the pistol!'. Also see, for example, *Daily Mirror*, 3 May 1932; 30 April 1930; 17 August 1932.
76. W. Macartney (1936) *Walls have Mouths: A Record of Ten Years' Penal Servitude* (London: Gollanz), p. 241.

77. C. Emsley (2011) *Crime and Society in Twentieth-Century England* (Harlow: Pearson Education), p. 99.
78. Rhodes, *Dartmoor Prison*, pp. 280, 279–282 for further detail.
79. S. Horler (1934) *London's Underworld: The Record of a Month's Sojourn in the Crime Centres of the Metropolis* (London: Hutchinson), p. 29.
80. Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth-Century England*, p. 87.
81. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, pp. 27–50. Also see, A. Brown (January 2011) 'The Smash-and-Grab Gangster', *BBC History* 12 (1).
82. Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth-Century England*, p. 99.
83. Clayton, *The Wall Is Strong*, p. 107.
84. J. White (1986) *The Worst Street in North London* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 186. White is referring specifically here to inter-war Campbell Bunk in North London, Also see R. Hood and K. Joyce (1999) 'Three Generations: Oral testimonies on Crime and Social Change in London's East End', *British Journal of Criminology* 39 (1): 136–60.
85. Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth-Century England*, p. 46.
86. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*.
87. M. Benney (1948) *Gaol Delivery: For the Howard League for Penal Reform* (London: Longmans, Green and Co), pp. 18–20.
88. Thanks go to the daughter and grandson of Officer Traske for this information.
89. P. Burke (2010) 'Interrogating the Eyewitness', *Cultural & Social History* 7 (4): 437.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 440.
91. Al Capone was well known by this time and had been imprisoned in 1931. In 1930, he made the cover of *Time Magazine*. See T. Doherty (1999) *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality and Insurrection in American Cinema 1930–1934* (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 139.
92. Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood*, p. 146.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
95. *Du Parcq Report*.
96. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, pp. 88–9.
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
99. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of George Thomas Donovan and Edward O'Connell to the Du Parcq inquiry.
100. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, p. 98.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
102. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9, *R v Beadles*, pp. 477–95.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 513–50. Also see reference to this petition as being signed by all five officers in the separate cells, NA PCOM 9/254.
104. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9, *R v Beadles*, pp. 727, 776.
105. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9, *R V Beadles* summing up, p. 73.
106. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9, *R v Beadles*, p. 230. Sparks who had been in the separate cells was on exercise when the riot broke out.
107. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Deputy Governor Richards to the Du Parcq Inquiry. Also see evidence of Chief Officer Smales.

108. NA HO144/20648, letter from Cicily Craven, Hon Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform 6 June 1932 to Sir Herbert Samuel, Secretary of State for Home Department.
109. The 'Dartmoor defendants' here includes Davis and Brown whose charges were heard separately. Also, before the main trial William Gardner pleaded guilty to a minor damages charge which was accepted. One individual was guilty of both Riotous Assembly and Malicious Damage and so is counted twice.
110. NA PCom 9/255, memo dated 21 May 1932. According to Prison Commission records, see NA PCom 9/256, before receiving their sentences for their role in the Dartmoor riot the earliest release date, including remission, would have been for John Jackson 17 May 1938, for Charles (Ruby) Sparks 14 July 1934, although he then had a sentence of five years preventive detention to serve, and for Edward James 3 November 1935.
111. NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9.
112. *Liverpool Echo* 14 April 1931; *News of the World* 10 July 1927; NA DP2/72 Parts 5–9, *R V Beadles* summing up.
113. NA DPP2/72 Part 13.
114. *Manchester Guardian*, 14 May 1932.
115. NA PCom 9/256, according to Prison Commission records, in batches of three the Dartmoor defendants were dispersed, for example, not only to Wandsworth, Parkhurst, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Leicester but also to Dartmoor. However, later memos suggest that there was some confusion about where some Dartmoor inmates were actually sent and efforts were made to tighten up the records in this regard.
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Manchester Guardian*, 14 May 1932.
118. *Ibid.*
119. NA PCom 9/256.
120. *Ibid.* Clayton felt that at this time Parkhurst was the most difficult convict prison to administer because of its mixed population including elderly convicts and convicts deemed to have some kind of mental weakness or disorder. See Clayton, *The Wall Is Strong*, pp. 143–4.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 148–9.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
123. NA PCom 9/256. Prison Commission memo.
124. NA PCom 9/256. Also see NA HO595645/94/192 Letter from H. Scott at the Prison Commission 13 November 1936 to the Under Secretary of State regarding remission.
125. Compton Mackenzie in Macartney, *Walls Have Mouths*, p. 97.
126. NA HO595645/94/192 Draft memo 12 October 1937.
127. NA HO144/22545 petition from Sparks under the name of Charles Watson, the name in which he was convicted on that occasion, written in his own hand dated 20 November 1940 and signed 'John Sparks'.
128. NA HO144/22545 Ruby Sparks file.
129. Letter from Superintendent Hambrook CID, dated 8 June 1932 NA HO595645/94/169.
130. NA DP2/72 Part 13.

131. Included in this figure are multiple three year sentences which ran concurrently, those which had any additional preventive detention sentences and those that had licenses forfeited.
132. BPP 1932–33 [Cmd. 4295] *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons for 1931 (Annual Report)*, p. 500.
133. Included in this figure are multiple three year sentences which ran concurrently, those which had any additional preventive detention sentences and those that had licenses forfeited.
134. *The Times*, 24 and 25 May 1927.
135. This includes instances, for example, where several sentences were given at the same trial ran concurrently or consecutively but were all three months or six months. Where, concurrent or consecutive sentences were of differing lengths the longest was taken as representing the seriousness of the offences dealt with at that trial. Please note that this includes all prison sentences and not various alternative sentences such as bound over, fines or institutions for juvenile offenders. Also excluded are sentences given at Courts Martial since they were not necessarily criminal. Also note that these statistics also include a small number of convictions under the Prevention of Crimes Acts which set conditions for convicts released on licence.
136. Horler, *London's Underworld*, p. 29.
137. BPP 1932–33 [Cmd.4295] *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons for 1931 (Annual Report)*, 425. Also see, A. Brown (2011) 'Crime, Criminal Mobility and Serial Offenders'.
138. Gatrell, 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman-State', p. 264.
139. 'OLD SOLDIER'S GRIEVANCE', *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 6 June 1931.
140. In four cases, Darlington is convicted for multiple offences and given penalties to run concurrently of one case consecutively, for the purposes of the point being made here it is the length of the sentence that has been emphasised and taken as one conviction and sentence.
141. NA DP2/72 Part 13.
142. Gatrell, 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman-State', p. 265. Also see, for example, an article by Commissioner Lamb of Salvation Army, in the *Listener* issue 210, 18 January, 97 which suggests it must be admitted rather vaguely that 'a close study of the recent outbreak in the convict prison at Dartmoor shows clearly that nearly all the mutineers grew up in an unhealthy social environment where, in their childhood, home arrangements were unsatisfactory'.
143. *Manchester Guardian*, 28 June 1932.
144. R. Samuel, *East End Underworld* cited in Gatrell, 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman-state', p. 301.
145. For example, see J. Sim (1994) 'Tougher than the Rest? Men in Prison', in T. Newburn and E.A. Stanko (eds), *Just Boys Doing Business? Men, Masculinities and Crime* (London: Taylor & Francis), pp. 100–17. Also see P. Scraton, J. Sim and P. Skidmore (1991) *Prisons under Protest* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press).
146. For example, see Sim, 'Tougher than the Rest?', pp. 100–17.
147. J. Young (1999) *The Exclusive Prison* (London: Sage), pp. 89–90 cited and discussed in K. Hayward and J. Young (2007) 'Cultural Criminology',

- in M. Maquire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 105–6.
148. For example, see Sim, 'Tougher than the Rest?', p. 112.
 149. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
 150. P. Scraton, J. Sim and P. Skidmore (1991) *Prisons under Protest* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press), pp. 77, 115. Also see Sim, 'Tougher than the Rest?' p. 103.
 151. Gatrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state', pp. 293–5.
 152. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
 153. *Ibid.*, pp. 306–7, 310.
 154. B.S. Godfrey, D.J. Cox and S.D. Farrall (2007) *Criminal Lives: Family Life, Employment, and Offending* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 40–1.
 155. E.R. Calvert and T. Calvert (1933) *The Lawbreaker: A Critical Study of the Modern Treatment of Crime* (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd), p. ix.

6 Microhistory and the Modern Prison

1. In terms of the 'fairness of outcomes in practice', V.A.C. Gatrell (1994) *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770–1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. vi.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 447–8, 422–4.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 448–9.
5. See, S. McConville (2005) 'Review of A. Brown, *English Society and the Prison* (2003)', *American Historical Review* 110 (1): 221; and also B. Godfrey, P. Lawrence and C.A. Williams (2008) *History and Crime* (London: Sage), pp. 150–1.
6. For example, A. Brown (2003) *English Society and the Prison: Time, Culture and Politics in the Development of the Modern Prison, 1850–1920* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press); R.W. Ireland (2007) *'A Want of Order and Good Discipline': Rules, Discretion and the Victorian Prison* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
7. And in social history generally, microhistory was recently referred to as 'the flagship of contemporary social historians', István Szijártó (2002) 'Four Arguments for Microhistory', *Rethinking History* 6 (2): 209.
8. Examples of this work include, A. Brown and E. Clare (2005) 'A History of Experience: Exploring Prisoners' Accounts of Incarceration', in C. Emsley (ed.), *The Persistent Prison: Problems, Images and Alternatives* (London: Francis and Taylor Publishers); S. Morgan (1999) 'Prison Lives: Critical Issues in Reading Prisoner Autobiography', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 38 (3): 328–40; J. Pratt (2002) *Punishment and Civilization* (London: Sage), Chapter 6.
9. C. Ginzburg (Autumn 1993) 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about it', *Critical Inquiry* 20: 23.
10. J. Brewer (March 2010) 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', *Cultural & Social History* 7 (1): 89.
11. Ginzburg, 'Microhistory', pp. 15, 33.
12. F. Egmond and P. Mason (1997) *The Mammoth and the Mouse* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 34. They are also referring here to the use of metanarratives.

13. D.A. Bell (2002) 'Total History and Microhistory: The French and Italian Paradigms', in L. Kramer and S. Maza (eds), *A Companion to Western Historical Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 263.
14. Brewer, 'Microhistory', p. 87.
15. Bonnell and Hunt (2003) in S.G. Magnússon (2003) 'The Singularization of History: Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge', *Journal of Social History* 36 (3): 707.
16. Ginzburg, 'Microhistory'. That is within a recognition that the research process itself is constructed, that is, the identification of the object, event or case, the use of categories of analysis, the chosen criteria of proof and the narrative forms by which the results are transmitted. Also see, E. Muir (1991) 'Introduction: Observing Trifles', in E. Muir and G. Ruggiero (eds), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press), pp. xiii–xiv. Also see, I. Szijátó (2002) 'Four Arguments for Microhistory', *Rethinking History* 6 (2): 209–15.
17. See S. Cerittu (2004) 'Microhistory: Social Relations Versus Cultural Models?', in A. Castren, M. Lonkila and M. Peltonen (eds), *Between Sociology and History: Essays on Microhistory, Collective Action and Nation-Building* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden seura), pp. 17–35.
18. Banti in Cerutti, *ibid.*, p. 17.
19. See, for example, S. Cohen and L. Taylor (1972) *Psychological Survival: The Experience of Long-Term Imprisonment* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
20. *R v Beadles*, p. 276.
21. BPP, *Report by Mr Du Parcq on the Circumstances Connected with the Recent Disorder at Dartmoor Convict Prison* PP 1932 Cmd. 4010, VII, 30 (hereafter *Du Parcq Report*) and NA PCom 9/254 Evidence of Dr Batiscombe to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
22. NA PCom 9/254 Evidence of Dr Batiscombe to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
23. R. Sparks (1961) *Burglar to the Nobility* (London: Arthur Barker), p. 41.
24. Concisely, Goffman sought 'explanation for action in its meaning for others rather than in its causal origins', see T. Burns (1992) *Erving Goffman* (London: Routledge), p. 3.
25. P. Scraton, J. Sim and P. Skidmore (1991) *Prisons under Protest* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press), p. 115.
26. E. Rose (Summer 1982) 'The Anatomy of Mutiny', *Armed Forces and Society* 8 (4): 563.
27. For a discussion of images of crime during the inter-war period, see H. Shore (2011) 'Criminality and Englishness in the Aftermath: The Racecourse Wars of the 1920s', *Twentieth Century British History* 22 (4); C. Emsley, *Hard Men: Violence in England Since 1750* (London: Hambledon), pp. 15–36.
28. *Ibid.*
29. R.W. Coye, P.J. Murphy and P.E. Spencer (2010) 'Using Historic Mutinies to Understand Defiance in Modern Organizations', *Journal of Management History* 16 (2): 278.
30. Rose, 'The Anatomy of Mutiny', p. 563.
31. See, for example, E.P. Thompson (1991) 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', in E.P. Thompson (ed.), *Customs in Common* (London: The Merlin Press); P. Bachrach and M. Baratz (2005) *Power and Poverty*, cited in E. Carrabine, 'Prison Riots, Social

- Order and the Problem of Legitimacy', *British Journal of Criminology* 45: 896–7.
32. Coye, Murphy and Spencer, 'Using Historic Mutinies', p. 271.
 33. *R v Beadles*, p. 34.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 778.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 494.
 38. Red Collar Man (1937) *Chokey* (London: Victor Gollancz), p. 104.
 39. G. Levi (1991) 'On Microhistory', in P. Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (London: Polity Press), p. 97.
 40. Ginzburg, 'Microhistory', p. 17. Of course this parallels the increasing strength of social history. However, the emphasis within academic history may be moving back towards macrohistory, partly in response to pressures to make the discipline more publicly relevant and politically influential, see lecture by J. Vernon (2011) 'Distant Strangers: How Britain Became Modern', Annual Social History Conference, University of Manchester.
 41. Sziájártó, 'Four Arguments for Microhistory', *Rethinking History* 6 (2): 209.
 42. Levi, 'On Microhistory', p. 97.
 43. P. Hudson (2010) 'Closeness and Distance: A Response to Brewer', *Cultural & Social History* 7 (3): 381.
 44. Brewer, 'Microhistory', p. 89.
 45. See, for example, article by Eustace discussed by S.G. Magnússon (2006) 'Social History as "Sites of Memory"? The Institutionalization of History: Microhistory and the Grand Narrative', *Journal of Social History* 39 (3): 902.
 46. D.A. Bell (2002) 'Total History and Microhistory: The French and Italian Paradigms', in L. Kramer and S. Maza (eds), *A Companion to Western Historical Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 109.
 47. G.M. Sykes (1958) *Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), p. 53.
 48. The obvious exception here is, of course, those historians working on the recent past.
 49. B.S. Gregory (1999) 'Is Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life', *History and Theory* 38 (1): 107.
 50. E. Muir (1991) 'Introduction: Observing Trifles', in E. Muir and G. Ruggiero (eds), *Selections from Quaderni Storici* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press), p. xiv.
 51. BPP 1932–33 [Cmd. 4295] *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons for 1931*, pp. 418–25.
 52. Muir, 'Introduction: Observing Trifles', p. xiv.
 53. Sparks, *Burglar to the Nobility*, p. 7.
 54. M. Benney (1981) *Low Company* (Horsham: Caliban Books), pp. 9–10. Also see, for example, R. Samuel (1981) *East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).
 55. Cited in F. Egmond and P. Mason (1997) *The Mammoth and the Mouse* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press), p. 38.
 56. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
 57. M. Peltonen (October 2001) 'Clues, Marshins and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research', *History and Theory* 40: 357.

58. J. Phelan (1941) *Jail Journey* (London: Secker & Warburg), p. 121.
59. Gregory, 'Is Small Beautiful?', p. 109.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

7 Conclusion

1. These proportions refer to the 427 offenders of the total of 442 for which conviction records survive. This includes where several sentences were given to run concurrently or consecutively but were all for three months or six months for example. Where such sentence lengths differed the longest was taken as indicative of seriousness. Excluded are sentences given at courts martial and alternative sentences such as fines, reformatories etc.
2. C.M. Craven (1932) 'The Report of the Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 3 (3): 69–72. Also see, *Report of the Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders 1931–32* Cmd. 4090, xii: 553, Chapter V.
3. Brown (2008) 'Challenging Discipline and Control: A Comparative Analysis of Prison Riots at Chatham (1861) and Dartmoor (1932)', in H. Johnston (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 199–214.
4. *Ibid.*
5. N. Jameson and E. Allison (1995) *Strangeways 1990: A Serious Disturbance* (London: Larking Publications), p. 11.
6. *Ibid.* Exemplary sentences were also handed down to inmates following the riot in Hull Prison in 1976. See J.E. Thomas and R. Pooley (1980) *Exploding Prison: Prison Riots and the Case of Hull* (London: Junction Books).
7. R. Adams (1994) *Prison Riots in Britain and the USA*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 165. Also see, W. Player and M. Jenkins (eds) (1994) *Prisons After Woolf: Reform Through Riot* (London: Routledge), p. 1, which describes the *Woolf Report* as the 'culmination of an unprecedentedly wide-ranging and open inquiry into the prison disturbances of April 1990' and a 'landmark' in penal history in England and Wales.
8. H. Woolf and S. Tumin (1991) *Prison Disturbances April 1990* (London: HMSO), Cm1456.1, 17 (1.148) [hereafter the *Woolf Report*].
9. *Ibid.* (1.149). Also see, S.L. Resodihardjo (December 2006) 'Wielding a Double-Edged Sword: The Use of Inquiries at Times of Crisis', *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 14 (4): 202.
10. Adams, *Prison Riots*, p. 169.
11. *Woolf Report*, pp. 16–27.
12. Most notably the major riot in Hull Prison in 1976 where interestingly the riot was preceded by a tightening up of the regime. See, for example, Thomas and Pooley, *Exploding Prison*.
13. Adams, *Prison Riots*, p. 115.
14. E. Carrabine (2004) *Power, Discourse and Resistance: A Genealogy of the Strangeways Prison Riot* (Aldershot: Ashgate), p. 152.
15. *Woolf Report*, p. 9 (1.72–1.74).
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–16.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 3 (1.18).

18. *Du Parcq Report on the Circumstances Connected with the Recent Disorder at Dartmoor Convict Prison*, BPP, Cmd. 4010 [hereafter *Du Parcq Report*], p. 14.
19. *Woolf Report*, p. 5 (1.30).
20. Carrabine, *Power, Discourse and Resistance*, provides an excellent analysis of the course and impact of the disturbances and the official report on the riot and associated disturbances.
21. The Press Council Report was later to comment that, the *Daily Mirror's* 'favourite words were "mob", "carnage" and "rampage"'. See, *Press at the Prison Gates: Report of the Inquiry by The Press Council into Press Coverage of the Strangeways Prison Riot and Related Matters* (London: The Press Council, 1990), p. 9.
22. See, *Press at the Prison Gates*.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–4.
24. Carrabine, *Power, Discourse and Resistance*, p. 158.
25. *Woolf Report*, p. 5 (1.38).
26. Carrabine, *Power, Discourse and Resistance*, pp. 161–7.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Woolf Report*, p. 7 (1.51). By 5 April probably not more than 25 prisoners still in the main prison.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 78 (3.250).
30. *Ibid.*, p. 6. Also see Carrabine, *Power, Discourse and Resistance*, pp. 161–7.
31. *Du Parcq Report*.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
33. Carrabine, *Power, Discourse and Resistance*, p. 165.
34. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Chief Constable Wilson to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
35. *Ibid.*
36. NA PCom 9/254 evidence of Major Morris to the Du Parcq Inquiry.
37. Carrabine, *Power, Discourse and Resistance*, p. 166.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
39. *Woolf Report*, p. 3 (1.21).

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