

The Professionalization of Canadian Correctional Officers:
1920s-1960s

by

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Abstract

Prison guards play a key role in prisons as they are situated directly between prisoners and prison administration. This project examines the early history of the professionalization of Canadian prison guards. It looks at early discussions amongst prison and government officials, efforts that were taken to create training programs and the implementation of those programs. The discussions of prison guard training began to increase in the 1920s in Canada, but it was not until the 1930s that we begin to see efforts to try to gather information to produce training programs. These efforts came at a time when prison conditions were at an all-time low across the country resulting in multiple riots and disturbances. Due to major media coverage and multiple government investigations, over the next few decades, different programs were developed. By the 1950s Canada saw its very first prison guard training school.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Penitentiary officers play an essential role in prisons around the world, as they are the first point of contact for prisoners and are situated directly between prisoners and administration. Just as the police are the law enforcers of society, prison guards play a similar role in prisons. In academic research prison guards were historically overlooked until recent decades.¹ Much of the literature was and remains prisoner focused.² In the latter part of the 20th century and beyond, there was a shift of focus towards prison guards.³ Although prison guard-related research is becoming more prevalent, the research focuses on topics such as prison guard characteristics and attitudes (towards administration and prisoners),⁴ role conflict,⁵ and gender differences in prisons,⁶ for example. With more attention being paid to prison guards, what remains lacking is a focus on their training and on the professionalization of the prison guard occupation. This is not to say there is no research available at all on the training of prison guards,⁷ but that it is

¹ James B. Jacobs and Harold G. Retsky, "Prison Guard," *Urban Life* 4, no. 1 (1975): 5.

² Completing a search between the years 1900 and 2018, when looking for data regarding prison guards/correctional officers and Canada, this produced over 308 thousand hits. This is substantially different from the results obtained when searching prisoners/inmates and Canada, which produced over 1, 241 thousand hits.

³ See Hatam notes 6 and 8. With the exception of the work of C. W. Topping, citations available in both notes demonstrate the point that most of the available prison guard literature is from the latter part of the 20th century.

⁴ Eric G. Lambert et al., "Satisfied Correctional Staff: A Review of the Literature on the Correlates of Correctional Staff Job Satisfaction," *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 22, no. 2 (2002): 115.

⁵ John R. Hepburn and Celesta Albonetti, "Role Conflict in Correctional Institutions: An Empirical Examination of the Treatment-Custody Dilemma among Correctional Staff," *Criminology* 17, no. 4 (1980): 447.

⁶ Linda L. Zupan, "Gender-Related Differences in Correctional Officers' Perception and Attitudes," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 14, no. 4 (1986): 349-361.

⁷ C. W. Topping, "The Report of the Royal Commission on the Penal System of Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science/ Revue canadienne d'Economique et de Science politique* 4, no. 3 (1938): 551-559; Merritt Gilman, "Problems and Progress in Staff Training," *Crime and Delinquency* 12, no. 2 (1966): 254-260; James B. Jacobs, and Harold G. Retsky, "Prison Guard," *Urban Life* 4, no. 1 (1975): 5-29; Jay Cohen, "The Correction Academy: The Emergence of a New Institution System," *Crime and Delinquency* 25, no. 2 (1979): 177-199; Kathleen M. Dennehy, and Kelly A. Nantel, "Improving Prison Safety: Breaking the Code of Silence," *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy* 22, no. 1 (2006): 175-185.

severely lacking in comparison to other topics of discussion.⁸ This is especially true in the Canadian context, as there is more material available from other countries, such as the United States.⁹ My intention is to fill this gap in the literature regarding the Canadian context by focusing on the professionalization of the prison guard occupation, and by examining the training they received from post-World War I to the end of the 1960s.

Throughout this work, I will be referring to guards as penitentiary officers, prison guards, and correctional officers. The occupational title began as ‘penitentiary officer,’ and sometimes was referred to as ‘prison guard.’ However, overtime their title evolved to ‘correctional officer.’ In Canada, the title ‘correctional officer’ first appeared in 1952 upon the opening of the first formal prison officer training school. The term takes officers away from a role that was exclusively custodial to a more corrective and rehabilitative role, hence the term “correctional officer.” This term remains in use today and is considered to be the proper title of this position.

The terms convict, prisoner, and inmate are also used interchangeably throughout this work, as well as penitentiary and prison. Prisons or penitentiaries are custodial institutions where convicted offenders are detained, if they have been sentenced to at least two years in custody. This research is heavily focused on a historical context in Canadian history, and therefore, the language used is a reflection of the language used during the context examined.

⁸ Helen Arnold, “The Experience of Prison Officer Training,” in *Understanding Prison Staff*, ed. Jamie Bennett, Ben Crewe, and Azrin Wahidin (New York: Routledge, 2012) p. 400.

⁹ Benjamin Frank, “The Emerging Professionalism of the Correctional Officer,” *Crime and Delinquency* 12, no. 3 (1966): 272-276; Merritt Gilman, “Problems and Progress in Staff Training,” *Crime and Delinquency* 12, no. 2 (1966): 254-260; James B. Jacobs, and Harold G. Retsky, “Prison Guard,” *Urban Life* 4, no. 1 (1975): 5-29; Robert R. Smith et al., “The Correctional Officer as a Behavioral Technician,” *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 3, no. 4 (1976): 345-360; Jay Cohen, “The Correction Academy: The Emergence of a New Institution System,” *Crime and Delinquency* 25, no. 2 (1979): 177-199; Kathleen M. Dennehy, and Kelly A. Nantel, “Improving Prison Safety: Breaking the Code of Silence,” *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy* 22, no. 1 (2006): 175-185.

History of Penitentiaries

Before examining the post-World War I era of Canada's penal history, it is important to establish what Canada's penitentiary system looked like before this time. The penitentiary system came into existence upon confederation, through the enactment of the *British North America Act* of 1867.¹⁰

Prior to Confederation, each province which had a penitentiary, governed it on its own. However, upon Confederation, a federal penitentiary system emerged. The main provinces that came together included "Upper Canada/Ontario, Lower Canada/Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia."¹¹ The following year, in 1868, the first *Penitentiary Act* was passed which brought together three penitentiaries (Kingston, Halifax and Saint John) under the federal penitentiary system of Canada.¹² However, by 1880, Halifax and Saint John penitentiaries were returned to their respective provinces, and were no longer federal penitentiaries.¹³ Therefore, this left Kingston penitentiary (called Portsmouth penitentiary prior to Confederation)¹⁴ as Canada's sole federal penitentiary. Soon after, other provinces joined Canada and more penitentiaries were built. By the 1930s, there were seven main penitentiaries in Canada. These penitentiaries include: St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary in Quebec (est. 1873); Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba (est. 1876); British Columbia Penitentiary in New Westminster (1878); Dorchester Penitentiary in New Brunswick (1880); Saskatchewan Penitentiary in Prince Albert

¹⁰ "Origin of the Canadian Penitentiary Service", November 1969, Public Safety Canada, 1, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbr/archives/hv%209308%20m37%201969-eng.pdf>.

¹¹ Denis C. Bracken, "Correctional Officer Training in Canada," in *Understanding Penal Practices*, ed. Ioan Furrescu and Fergus McNeill (New York: Routledge, 2014), 32.

¹² "Origin of the Canadian Penitentiary Service", November 1969, Public Safety Canada, 1, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbr/archives/hv%209308%20m37%201969-eng.pdf>.

¹³ , "The Canadian Pen Service," *Canadian Journal of Corrections* 7, no. 3 (1964) 254.

¹⁴ Peter H. Hennessy, *Canada's Big House: The Dark History of the Kingston Penitentiary* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1999), 50.

(1911), and Collins Bay Penitentiary in Ontario (1930).¹⁵ Other penitentiaries also existed, such as Alberta Penitentiary in Edmonton, which was built in 1906 and closed in 1920. H. M. Penitentiary existed at the time, however it did not become part of the federal system until the province of Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949.¹⁶ By the end of the 1960s, the Canadian Penitentiary Service had established thirty-five different institutions.¹⁷

Penitentiary Administration

With the enactment of the *British North America Act*, came the Department of Justice, as the overarching head of Canada's penitentiaries.¹⁸ In 1868, an Act of the First Parliament formally established the Department of Justice, which empowered the Minister of Justice to "have superintendence of all matters connected with the administration of justice in Canada, not within jurisdiction of the Government of the Provinces composing the same."¹⁹ In 1875, the Penitentiary Branch of the Department of Justice was established.²⁰ In 1901, another *Penitentiary Act* (1 Edw VII, c 43, 1901) increased the number of Inspectors of Penitentiaries from one to two.²¹ This was followed by yet another administrative change, when the *Penitentiary Act* was amended in 1918, creating the position of Superintendent of Penitentiaries, and increasing the number of Inspectors of Penitentiaries to three.²² With respect to the duties of the Superintendent, the Act stated that the Superintendent, "shall, under the Minister, direct and superintend the administration and business of the penitentiaries, and perform such other duties

¹⁵ "Origin of the Canadian Penitentiary Service", November 1969, Public Safety Canada, 3, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/hv%209308%20m37%201969-eng.pdf>

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 2.

¹⁸ C. W. Topping, *Canadian Penal Institutions* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1929 revised 1943), 23.

¹⁹ "The Canadian Pen Service," *Canadian Journal of Corrections* 7, no. 3 (1964) 255.

²⁰ "Origin of the Canadian Penitentiary Service", November 1969, Public Safety Canada, 1, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/hv%209308%20m37%201969-eng.pdf>

²¹ Ibid., 2.

²² Ibid.

as may from time to time be assigned to him by the Minister.”²³ With the creation of the Superintendent of Penitentiaries, the Minister of Justice was able to leave the penitentiary branch in the hands of the Superintendent, provided he remained within the guidelines of the power given to him by the Act.²⁴

The administration would remain unchanged until the 1947 amendment to the *Penitentiary Act*, which established the Commissioner of Penitentiaries, and his two Deputy Commissioners.²⁵ With respect to duties, the “Commissioner of Penitentiaries, under the direction of the Minister of Justice, had the control and management of the Service and all matters connected therewith.”²⁶ A final administrative change under the *Penitentiary Act* of 1961, where the Commissioner now had one “Deputy Commissioner and such a number of Directors of Divisions and Regional Directors as prescribed by Treasury Board.”²⁷

Legislation

In addition to the *Penitentiary Act*, the *Penitentiary Rules and Regulations* enacted in 1870 allowed for the Government of Penitentiaries, however this act was followed by numerous acts and amendments.²⁸ The first amendment occurred in 1875, this was followed by ten different amendments and Acts, until the enactment of the *Penitentiary Act* of 1961.²⁹

²³ C. W. Topping, *Canadian Penal Institutions* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1929 revised 1943), 23.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ “Origin of the Canadian Penitentiary Service”, November 1969, Public Safety Canada, 2, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/hv%209308%20m37%201969-eng.pdf>.

²⁶ , “The Canadian Pen Service,” *Canadian Journal of Corrections* 7, no. 3 (1964), 257.

²⁷ “Origin of the Canadian Penitentiary Service”, November 1969, Public Safety Canada, 2, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/hv%209308%20m37%201969-eng.pdf>.

²⁸ , “The Canadian Penitentiary Service,” *Canadian Journal of Corrections* 7, no. 3 (1964): 255.

²⁹ Ibid., 255.

Investigations of Penitentiaries

The history of Canada's penitentiaries is not one without its problems. The Penitentiary Service has had several investigations over the decades, many of which were focused on Kingston penitentiary. Although there have been many investigations, the most notable ones included the Brown Commission of 1848-1849, the Royal Commission of 1913-1914, and the Royal Commission of 1936-1938. The first two investigations were exclusive to Kingston penitentiary; however, the third investigation was of Canada's complete penal system.

The Brown Commission was the first of its kind, and investigated Kingston after reports of cruelty and mismanagement emerged.³⁰ The report resulted in the dismissal of Kingston's first warden, Henry Smith. The Commission of 1913-1914 was also instructed to investigate the same penitentiary. The Commissioners found significant corruption, staff dissension, and poor morale.³¹ The third Commission, arguably the most influential of its kind, found numerous problems within Canada's penal system, made 88 recommendations, including the removal of the Superintendent of Penitentiaries, General D. M. Ormond.

Both investigations (1849 and 1938) found the main cause for administrative breakdown to be centralized power.³² The two main individuals within Canada's penal system, that caused this chaos and administrative breakdown are Kingston Warden Henry Smith (served from 1835-1849) and Superintendent of Penitentiaries, General Ormond (served 1929-1938).³³ It is important to note that while Kingston penitentiary was the central focus of many investigations,

³⁰ Christopher R. Adamson, "The Breakdown of Canadian Prison Administration: Evidence from Three Commissions of Inquiry," *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 25, no. 4 (1983): 443.

³¹ Peter H. Hennessy, *Canada's Big House: The Dark History of the Kingston Penitentiary* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1999), 78.

³² Christopher R. Adamson, "The Breakdown of Canadian Prison Administration: Evidence from Three Commissions of Inquiry," *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 25, no. 4 (1983): 438.

³³ Ibid., 437.

other penitentiaries were also under investigation over the years, including St. Vincent de Paul and Stony Mountain.³⁴

Literature Review

The discussion of training prison guards was taking place amongst prison and government officials prior to the 1930s, however, it was not until this time that we began to see a significant effort in training and education attempts. The reason the 1930s were so influential and sparked the need for change was twofold. One was that the conditions across all Canadian penitentiaries were perceived to be at an all-time low. This particular decade was plagued with riots and disturbances of all levels. The Superintendent of Penitentiaries, General Ormond, was exercising sole power over the Penitentiary Service, leaving wardens and other important officials out of any prison-related discussions. Wardens and guards alike were trying to keep up with the demands that came from Superintendent Ormond with respect to enforcing new regulations. This created much tension, stress, and pressure on wardens and guards, undoubtedly trickling down on the prisoners. The second reason the 1930s saw a spark of interest in training guards was due to the idea of rehabilitating and reforming the offender. As Curt Griffiths points out, the idea of reformation and rehabilitation of the offender reached Canada at this time, and in order to implement this change the “right” staff was required to make it happen.³⁵

This idea of reforming the offender initially reached Canada from England. England had a system, the Borstal System, in place which was perceived as a great success in reforming those individuals within their custody. Although the Borstal System catered to young offenders, the results of success were significant. John Warder and Reg Wilson stated that during the 1930s,

³⁴ Roger Neufeld, “Cabals, Quarrels, Strikes, and Impudence: Kingston Penitentiary, 1890-1914,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 31, no. 61 (1998):116.

³⁵ Curt Taylor Griffiths, “Canadian Corrections: Policy and Practice North of 49°,” *The Prison Journal* 68, no. 1 (1988): 53.

the “Borstal appeared to have enjoyed outstanding success, rehabilitating a claimed 70% of trainees.”³⁶

To achieve this, they also had well educated and trained officers working within their institutions. According to the *Archambault Report*, the individuals working in England’s prisons were “of real intellectual attainment, many of whom had extensive university training.”³⁷ This level of education, coupled with training they would have received at Wakefield training school, produced the type of personnel required to help reform the offender.

The *Archambault Report* shed much light on what was taking place internationally and what needed to be done to produce the same results in Canada. In order to adopt that idea in Canada, the professionalization of prison guards had to take place, thus sparking an almost century long endeavor.

The role of the prison guard, prior to the idea of professionalization, was a simple one which did not have many requirements other than being old enough, tall enough, and having good vision. The role of the prison guard, in the simplest sense, has been described as one “who locked and unlocked cell doors and ‘guarded’ the prisoners.”³⁸ This definition would not hold once guards were being put through training. With the introduction of the idea of professionalization, we see the prison guards becoming something more—they are becoming correctional officers (COs).

The introduction of training courses and training schools empowered the guards with tools of knowledge. Tools such as the study of penology, criminology, psychology, psychiatry,

³⁶ John Warder and Reg Wilson, “The British Borstal Training System,” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 64, no. 1 (1973): 118.

³⁷ Joseph Archambault and Canada. *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I. S. O., printer to the King, 1938, p. 354, <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.699906/publication.html>.

³⁸ Denis C. Bracken, “Correctional Officer Training in Canada,” in *Understanding Penal Practices*, ed. Ioan Furescu and Fergus McNeill (New York: Routledge, 2014), 30.

as well as duties of a CO.³⁹ COs were also provided with methods of rehabilitation, criminal law and court procedures, study of social background of crime and delinquency, and of course, physical training and weapons training.⁴⁰ These tools transformed the ‘prison guard’ into a ‘correctional officer.’ In Canada, this change in title was first mentioned in 1952 by Commissioner of Penitentiaries, R. B. Gibson with the opening of Canada’s first prison guard training school.⁴¹ According to Barbara H. Zaitzow, the role of the CO has transformed into many roles, including “security, discipline, treatment, supervision (of housing, work, etc.), transportation, and management.”⁴² We can conclude that the guard is no longer merely a guard, but a tool used by the Penitentiary Service, to try to rehabilitate the offender.

This development of the role has caused many problematic effects on correctional officers. Since the late 1980s, and more prevalent today, the literature focuses on job stress, burnout, and high turnover rates of guards.⁴³ This new look at COs and the effects they feel from their job, as counsellors and rehabilitators, paints an image of individuals trying to cope with their changed role, and not adapting very well.⁴⁴ Therefore, we see a shift with respect to prison guard focused literature. It became much more prevalent in the 1980s and continued to increase well into the 21st century. More literature is dedicated to prison guards, what they go through, what they feel, and how they are coping within their institutions.

Previous research on prison guards is very scarce, but what has been written about them, or at least mentioned them when studying a different aspect of prisons, is that they are sadistic

³⁹ Press Release, 30 January 1948, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 5, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “Education in Penitentiaries”, *The Winnipeg Free Press*, 28 July 1952, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 10, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

⁴² Barbara H. Zaitzow, “Doing Time: Everybody’s Doing It,” *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 9, no. 1 (1998): 18.

⁴³ Thomas A. Wright, “Correctional Employee Turnover: A Longitudinal Study,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 21, no. 2 (1993): 131-142.

⁴⁴ Hayley Crichton and Rose Ricciardelli, “Shifting Grounds: Experiences of Canadian Correctional Officers,” *Criminal Justice Review* 41, no. 4 (2016): 428.

and uneducated.⁴⁵ Robert R. Ross describes this literature best, when saying, “much of the material that is available presents a stereotypical picture of the guard as a harsh (if not sadistic), power-hungry illiterate – an ignorant, rigid, authoritarian individual who is vigorous only when demanding inmate compliance, when opposing inmate’s rights, when criticizing management policies or when scuttling rehabilitation programs.”⁴⁶

Perhaps the reason for this line of literature is that prison guards have long been viewed unfavourably, as we have mainly learned about what negative actions they have taken. Most of our initial knowledge of prison guard misconduct in Canada came from government appointed investigations into penal institutions and from the media. As previously mentioned, the most influential investigations came from the Brown Report, the Royal Commissions of 1913-1914 and 1936-1938. These investigations clearly explained the problems of the prison guard. Early literature examined these reports and demonstrated in detail the issues that the Canadian Penitentiary Service had with prison guards, with a majority of the work focusing on Kingston penitentiary.⁴⁷ Therefore, due to the publicity of cases of guard misconduct, we are left with a stereotypical view of prison guards.

The main problems that stemmed from prison guards were lack of discipline,⁴⁸ deteriorating morale,⁴⁹ poor communication,⁵⁰ and generally being untrained and unqualified.⁵¹ A further problem that stemmed from guards was the introduction and exchange of contraband

⁴⁵ James B. Jacobs and Harold G. Retsky, “Prison Guard,” *Urban Life* 4, no. 1 (1975): 5.

⁴⁶ Robert R. Ross, *Prison Guards/Correctional Officers: The Use and Abuse of the Human Resource of Prisons* (Toronto: Butterworth & Co., 1981), 3.

⁴⁷ A few examples to demonstrate this point include the works of C. W. Topping (1929/1943, and 1938), Christopher R. Adamson (1983), Roger Neufeld (1998), Sydney Shoom (1998) and Denis Curtis et al. (1985).

⁴⁸ C. W. Topping, *Canadian Penal Institutions* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943), 3.

⁴⁹ Christopher R. Adamson, “The Breakdown of Canadian Prison Administration: Evidence from Three Commissions of Inquiry,” *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 25, no. 4 (1983): 441.

⁵⁰ Roger Neufeld, “Cabals, Quarrels, Strikes, and Impudence: Kingston Penitentiary, 1890-1914,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 31, no. 61 (1998): 113.

⁵¹ D. Owen Carrigan, *Crime and Punishment in Canada, A History* (Toronto: McClelland & Steward Inc., 1991), 348.

within prisons.⁵² All these problems have been identified in all three major Royal Commission inquiries, as well as by the media. Not only were government officials aware of the issues within Canada's institutions, but so were the public and advocacy groups. These allegations sparked an outcry from Canadians across the country, and by the 1930s, it was obvious that substantive change had to take place. As will be discussed in greater detail in the coming sections, this change came slowly and was not truly established until the 1950s and 1960s.

The idea of professionalization was and is used to elevate a group to a professional level that is recognized and accepted by the public. For Canada's Penitentiary Service, professionalizing their officers served as a way to improve the Service in which they offered the rehabilitation, reformation, and correction of prisoners, and improved their overall image. According to Merritt Gilman, in order for prisoners to be truly rehabilitated and to improve the service that the Penitentiary Service offers, staff development must take place "through orientation and in-service training."⁵³ The logic here is that the improvement of staff can lead to the improvement of the Service. There was also a belief that unless guards were educated and trained, that the criminal justice system itself would never succeed. To demonstrate this point, Jay Cohen points to one of the Declarations of Principle of the 1930 American Prison Congress. The Declaration stated: "special training, as well as high qualities of head and heart, is required to make a good prison or reformatory officer. Then only will the administration of public punishment become scientific, uniform and successful, when raised to the dignity of a profession, and men are especially trained for it, as they are for other pursuits."⁵⁴ Although

⁵² Roger Neufeld, "Cabals, Quarrels, Strikes, and Impudence: Kingston Penitentiary, 1890-1914," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 31, no. 61 (1998): 119.

⁵³ Merritt Gilman, "Problems and Progress in Staff Training," *Crime and Delinquency* 12, no. 3 (1966): 254.

⁵⁴ Jay Cohen, "The Correction Academy: The Emergence of a New Institution in the Criminal Justice System," *Crime and Delinquency* 25, no. 2 (1979): 178.

Cohen's work focused on the American system, it is applicable to Canada as both prison systems contain very similar, if not exact traits.

In addition to elevating the Service, another reason to professionalize the prison guard was to control and perfect the image of prisons and the penitentiary system as a whole. Jurik and her colleagues, based on a study in the United States, explain this by stating that "professionalization has been mandated by those at the top of the criminal justice bureaucracies in order to improve the public image of their agencies and ultimately the power of these administrators in the governmental process."⁵⁵ As will be demonstrated in Chapter Four, prisons and their problems were heavily publicized, which ignited a need for action to change and better this image. Jurik and her colleagues state that, in the United States, professionalization was very much focused on the front-line workers, the prison guards.⁵⁶ There was no professionalization for the service as a whole, but only for their front-line workers, which would appeal to the public and present a narrative that things were getting back on track.

In addition to using the tool of professionalization to amend an image and to protect from external threats, professionalization was also used for internal stability. Jurik and colleagues express that there has been a discussion over professionalization and its use to "counteract staff conflict between treatment and security personnel in modern, more rehabilitation-oriented departments of corrections."⁵⁷ Therefore, it is a tool to control internal and external problems.

Taking into consideration the literature reviewed here, my research aims to fill the gap in Canada's prison guard history. As we have observed, the literature on the development of prison guards is lacking, especially within the Canadian context. Jurik and her colleagues touch on the

⁵⁵ Nancy C. Jurik et al., "Educational Attainment, Job Satisfaction and the Professionalization of Correctional Officers," *Work and Occupations* 14, no. 1 (1987): 107.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 111.

professionalization of prison guards, however it is exclusive to the United States. My research aims to explore the professionalization of Canadian prison guards. It attempts to provide an understanding of when the idea of professionalization emerged, how it was implemented and how it transformed over the decades.

The research here will demonstrate the Penitentiary Service's understanding that obedient prison guards were required. The Service wanted to reach a higher level of efficiency. In this context, efficiency meant having employees that were capable of performing required tasks and reducing guard misconduct. Over the years, in an attempt to acquire the "ideal" employees, the Service implemented different requirements such as height, age, and education restrictions. To the Service, the "best employees" were guards who were, as Foucault would describe, docile bodies. They wanted guards who were capable of carrying out specific actions, they wanted docile bodies. Government and the media worked in tandem to problematize prisons and make them governable spaces. Issues such as riots and corruption became an even larger problem for the Service when media coverage began to really paint a very unpleasant image of the penitentiaries and their personnel. Issues became so well reported on and sparked much discussion which ultimately resulted in different investigations, with the most influential one being the *Archambault Report* (1936-1938). The compilation of prison riots, bad publicity and investigations led the Service to put an effort into conducting research and implement different training methods for prison guards. Prison guards were problematized in the media and by the government through Royal Commission reports, which made them the target for prison reform. Over the decades, the Service implemented different training courses and eventually developed and opened prison guard training schools.

Thesis Outline

Chapter Two provides the methodological and theoretical concepts that are used in this thesis. With respect to theoretical concepts, I explore Michel Foucault's work on discipline and governmentality. His ideas on governing bodies through discipline are applied to the evolving Canadian penitentiary system, and how it used discipline of prison guards to obtain a sought-after goal. With respect to methodological concepts, this thesis heavily relies on primary research. Historical sociology is used here to examine the past, in order to understand our present. I reviewed material obtained through Library and Archives Canada, specifically from the Correctional Service Canada fonds. In Chapter Two, I explain what actions I took, what kind of material I reviewed and the challenges that I faced.

Chapter Three is heavily focused on the press publicity related to Canada's penal system, with an emphasis on Canadian penitentiaries. The term 'Press Publicity' is used as this was the term which was used by the Penitentiary Service administration. The Service witnessed news stories from across Canada of terrible conditions, corrupt prison officers, cruel punishment, and much more. Publicity was especially unflattering to the Service in the 1930s and the former part of the 1940s. With the introduction of training courses in 1948, and the opening of a prison officer training school in 1952, the Penitentiary Service began to see more positive publicity. Stories were published on the training that officers were receiving, the vocational training the prisoners were receiving (after the officers had received vocational training), and general improvement of conditions in penitentiaries across the country.

Chapter Four examines the reactions of Penitentiary Service officials to the publicity they received. There was frustration and anger expressed by many wardens and their staff. Higher administration officials did not react directly to the publicity received, as it was policy not to interact with the press. However, they did react through their actions, by attempting to

implement change that would ultimately remedy the problems within their penitentiaries. Some of the actions included the introduction of training courses and training schools. The relationship between the press and the Penitentiary Service also saw an evolution from no communication to friendly interactions, and even welcoming the press into the penitentiaries to conduct their interviews and research.

Chapter Five explores the historical timeline of prison officer training over four decades in Canada's history. We see an evolution from post WWI to the 1930s, where a real effort of gathering knowledge on a national and an international level was made. The training of prison guards finally took off after WWII and evolved into a very structured program composed of different courses and training at formal training facilities. I also examine the evolution of the recruitment, examination and hiring process, as well as job qualifications over the years.

It is important to point out that the research conducted contains exclusively primary sources, obtained from Library and Archives Canada. Sources include correspondence, memoranda, meeting minutes, Royal Commission reports, as well as other documentation. Due to the nature of this research, there are gaps within the research simply because either information is missing from the Archives, or documents are illegible, or under restricted access.

Chapter Two: Methodology and Theoretical Underpinnings

Theoretical Underpinnings

This chapter will be examining the theoretical underpinnings that will be relied upon, as well as the methodological approach taken. I will be relying on the work of Michel Foucault, more specially, his work on governmentality and discipline. The reason Foucault's work on governmentality and discipline is used here, is because it captures the logic and actions used by the Penitentiary Service of Canada when producing and professionalizing their prison guards. With respect to the methodological approach, due to the lack of knowledge on the development of prison guards in Canada, this project relies heavily on primary material in order to understand what the professionalization of prison guards looked like and how it came to be. I will begin by examining Foucault's work on governmentality and discipline, which will then be applied to my study, and I will conclude by discussing the methodological portion of this work.

Foucault: Governmentality and Disciplinary Power

In his lecture on governmentality, Foucault explains that while examining issues related to population, he begins to shift his focus to problems relating to government, as according to him, they are closely connected.⁵⁸ When examining government, Foucault is concerned with questions of how.⁵⁹ How are individuals governed, by whom, and how does one govern individuals or a group?

As Foucault suggests, in order to govern a group or a population, problematizing of that group or population must first take place, only then can a power govern the problematized

⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 87.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 88.

group.⁶⁰ A power can govern a group, but it must be a response to an ostensible problem. Foucault viewed government as a way to control the actions of individuals. In other words, he viewed government as a form of conduct that exercised power on the conduct of individuals. Therefore, as Tania Murry Li explains when discussing Foucault's definition of governmentality, that it is the 'conduct of conduct.'⁶¹ She goes on to explain further that government attempts to shape human conduct by calculated means.⁶² Thus, 'conduct of conduct' can be viewed as the actions of a governing body on the actions of the governed body.

Mitchell Dean explains that for Foucault, these discussions can generate a "set of standards or norms of conduct by which actual behaviour can be judged and acts as an idea towards which actual behaviour can be judged."⁶³ He further says that from this discussion, we can also presume that "it is possible to regulate and control that behaviour rationally, or at least deliberately, and that there are agents whose responsibility it is to ensure that regulation occurs."⁶⁴ Interpreting Foucault's work, Dean states the following: "government involves a sort of attempt to deliberate on and to direct human conduct. From the perspective of those who seek to govern human conduct is conceived as something that can be regulated, controlled, shaped and framed into specific ends."⁶⁵ For Foucault, government is having the power to control a population by controlling their actions, which shape them into the desired product, whatever that may be.

Another form of control or power that Foucault addresses is discipline and disciplinary power. In order to control a population, Foucault believes that discipline (side by side with

⁶⁰ Ibid., 99.

⁶¹ Tina Murray Li, "Governmentality," *Canadian Anthropology Society* 49, no. 2 (2007): 275.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1999), 10.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 11.

governmentality) plays a critical role.⁶⁶ In his lecture on *Governmentality*, and his work in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault addresses disciplinary power. When discussing discipline, Foucault talks about creating and controlling docile bodies,⁶⁷ and the success of creating docile bodies rests on three elements: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination.⁶⁸ Foucault is concerned with examining and creating groups within a population, taking it a step further and creating individuals within those groups. He is concerned with the nature and function of these individuals, normalizing their actions to further be able to separate individuals based on their behaviour. Those with behaviour that could be concluded as normal would be superior to their counter parts, the abnormal.⁶⁹ Foucault describes the conduct that would be exercised over the individual whose actions deviated from the norm. If the behaviour deviated from the norm, it is then problematized and must be corrected.

The correction of abnormal behaviour is thus done through discipline.⁷⁰ Disciplinary power would be exercised over the individual to control his/her actions. Discipline operates by maintaining a gaze over the subject it wishes to correct, by placing them into categories, and finally, by also examining the subject.⁷¹ To be most specific, the surveillance of subjects generates new norms, standards, and mechanisms of discipline. This is then incorporated in the examination portion. The examination portion of discipline is most important to Foucault. He states that this is a mechanism for transferring knowledge.⁷² Examinations allow for the

⁶⁶ Michel Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 103.

⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 138.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 170.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 183.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 138.

⁷¹ Ibid., 170.

⁷² Ibid., 187.

disciplinary power to extract knowledge of the subject which it can store, and use to further exercise power over the subject.⁷³

Another important subject for Foucault, which is linked to discipline, is labour. For Foucault, there are three functions of labour: the productive, the symbolic, and dressage.⁷⁴ For the purpose of this work, the focus will be on labour as dressage. Norman Jackson and Pippa Carter define dressage as both discipline and taming.⁷⁵ Expanding on this definition, they explain that dressage can mean both “to make straight, bring into proper order, manage and to direct.”⁷⁶ A second definition of dressage is “the training of a horse in deportment and response to control, its mastering.”⁷⁷ Therefore, since dressage is also concerned with training and managing, it can be viewed as a form of governance, and thus part of governmentality.

Foucault sees disciplinary power and governmentality used together to examine a population, create specific groups with their own sets of norms, and further create individuals with certain sets of behaviours. By doing so, a governing power can then attempt to train its subjects in a specific way, to establish a desired goal.

The work of Foucault can be applied well to the world of prisons, and to the creation and organization of prison guards. The problems with prison guards paint an image of a body of employees that was out of control and needed to be controlled by their superiors. This was perhaps because, during this time, prisons were ungovernable spaces. Due to them not being subject to adequate monitoring and regulation, Canada’s prisons were problematized because they were objectively chaotic places. This allowed for problematization of their prison

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Norman Jackson and Pippa Carter, “Labour as Dressage,” in *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory*, ed. Alan McKinlay and Ken Starkey (London: SAGE Publication Ltd, 1998), 49.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 53.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 53-54.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 54.

personnel. Prison guards were problematized on both fronts: internally (by wardens and the Penitentiary Service of Canada) and externally (by the press and Canadian State). They were accused of behaving unjustly, abusing prisoners, and participating in illegal acts such as trafficking contraband and gambling. They were accused of carrying out illegal activities, that would make them no different than the prisoners within their custody. According to Foucault, problematization of a group is the necessary step first required in order for a group to be governed by a superior power. This created the perfect platform for the Penitentiary Service to establish a more professional occupation for their prison guards. In order to professionalize their prison guards, the Penitentiary Service needed to create them into docile bodies, separate them into their own group, with certain behaviours and norms specific to their role, and differentiate them from the prisoners they were meant to watch over. It is important to note that manipulating the actions of a group is not all that discipline encompasses. The voluntary actions of a group to follow the norms and standards set before them is equally as important and part of discipline.

As we have observed in Foucault's work, in order to create the desired docile bodies, the Penitentiary Service needed to exercise disciplinary power over them, which also included using labour as dressage. When looking at labour as dressage, there are three key parts: discipline, taming, and performance. When an organization, in this case the Penitentiary Service, requires discipline, it essentially means that disorder exists to some extent, but has been suppressed.⁷⁸ Jackson and Carter argue that discipline allows for the control of employees, which is viewed as a good within the organization.⁷⁹ Regarding prison guards, prior to professionalization, discipline was almost non-existent, with wardens having little real control over their guards, which is demonstrated in Chapter Three.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 56.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

With respect to the taming portion of dressage, this has been broken down further into three sections. The first being the issue of “accepting the requirement of submission to discipline.”⁸⁰ When training courses became available in Canada in 1948, attending the courses was on a voluntary basis. Prison guards willingly accepted the courses, which would allow for discipline. When it became mandatory to take the courses, individuals did not stop applying for the position of prison guard. They were accepting of the required disciplinary actions taken in the courses. They were educated and trained based on the principles that the Penitentiary Service deemed appropriate and necessary.

The second section is the “modification and manipulation of behaviour in ways desired by those in control.”⁸¹ The focus here was on the selection and moulding of applicants into desired employees.⁸² This aspect of labour as dressage can be perfectly applied to the Penitentiary Service. With certain requirements, the Service was able to obtain a pool of individuals they deemed partly qualified, but with training could be moulded into the desired employees.

The third section is “work has intrinsic value.”⁸³ The work of the Penitentiary Service and prison guards is not only to house those convicted of crime, but to rehabilitate, reform, and correct these individuals. The work the Service does is then seen as an incredibly valuable part of society. The discipline and training of employees is extremely important in accomplishing this.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 57.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

The final part of labour as dressage is the performance. As Jackson and Carter explain, “dressage in its equestrian context is that it is a spectator sport.”⁸⁴ It is not enough that guards are educated and trained, they have to also perform using the knowledge and skills they have obtained to produce the results that are sought after. These results being the rehabilitation and reformation of the offender. The guards must be able to take what they have learned and to implement it in the way they were taught. Professionalization is not just a matter of establishing norms of conduct, but also a matter of presenting a palatable image of the profession to the spectators. In this case, the spectators of this spectator sport are the press and the public.

Jackson and Carter state that the point of labour as dressage is to perform a task in a particular way, not simply just to do it.⁸⁵ The establishment of a national training school had this objective, to train all officers in the same matter in order to achieve a more uniform service, which would then increase the success rate of the organization, the Penitentiary Service. This performance, if done correctly, would be greatly accepted and appreciated by its audience, the Canadian public, who greatly pushed for the re-organization of their prisons and how they operated.

Jackson and Carter have pointed out that “dressage is those aspects of work which escape the imperatives of production. Dressage functions to suppress deviance and, successfully performed, dressage is taken as a visible indicator of the absence of deviance.”⁸⁶ In the 1960s, with the professionalization of prison guards in full force, having a uniformed training program, results were increasingly favourable. Wardens reported improvement in prison personnel, which can be connected to labour as dressage, as the absence of deviance suggests that it has been corrected.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 58.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 59.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 60.

In the following sections, the discussed concepts of Michel Foucault will be applied throughout this work. More specifically, Foucault's work will be applied when demonstrating how the Penitentiary Service separated the actions of prison guards and prisoners, how they changed how the role of the prison guard should be, what behaviours would be specific and made normal to that role. Foucault's concepts will also be applied when discussing training courses and training behaviours of prison guards, specifically what material they would be taught and what physical training they would undergo. The development of prison guards and their changing role will be analysed through a Foucauldian lens.

Methodological Approach

This research project heavily relies on primary sources obtained from Library and Archives Canada. As Philip Abrams states, when discussing sociology, to understand our present we need to examine our past.⁸⁷ Abrams indicated that sociology, the study of society, helps us understand our world. More specifically, he points to historical sociology and indicates that it is the essence of the discipline of sociology.⁸⁸ Richard Lachmann points out that sociology was created by founding fathers, Marx, Webber, and Durkheim, to explain historical changes taking place.⁸⁹ He states that these individuals saw "sociology as historical."⁹⁰ Therefore, as Abrams states, "historical sociology is not a specific kind of sociology, it's the essence of the discipline."⁹¹

Abrams states that the question the founding fathers were looking to answer was "how is it possible that human activity should produce a world of things?"⁹² In his work, he indicates that sociologists have come to the conclusion that in order to answer this question, they need to

⁸⁷ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 1.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 2.

⁸⁹ Richard Lachmann, *What is Historical Sociology?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 1.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 2.

⁹² Ibid.

look at history. Abrams explains that society is two-sided. By this, he means that ‘actions become institutions and institutions are in turn changed by action.’⁹³ He further makes clear that the link between action and structure is the process.⁹⁴ By process, he means the activity taking place, in the production of something. Studying the steps of how something happened, will then answer our questions on how that something came to be. He further states that when history and sociology merge, this is when all of our questions can be answered.⁹⁵

Similar to Abrams’ statement, Lachmann states that historical sociology helps us “to understand both the origins of our contemporary world and the scope of consequences of current transformations.”⁹⁶ The explanations both men have demonstrated in their work is perfectly linked with the work of this project. My objective is to gain an understanding of how prison guards reached the level of professionalization they have today. In order to do this, I examine the past to gain an understanding of the present.

The research question which I am seeking to address is what the development of correctional officer training looked like, within the Canadian context. Canadian prisons and correctional officer training are presently well established, but how did we get to where we are today? When did training of correctional officers begin in Canada and what did it look like? How has it evolved over the decades and what influenced its evolution?

In order to answer these questions, I relied heavily on archival material, searching through the Correctional Service of Canada fonds (RG73), which were maintained by the Service and its predecessors. Searching through the fonds, I ordered anything that was prison guard related. This resulted in ordering files under the titles ‘Prison Guards – Generally,’ ‘Training of

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Richard Lachmann, *What is Historical Sociology?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 4.

Prison Guards – Generally,’ and ‘Wardens’ Conference.’ A ‘Press-Publicity’ file was ordered, which upon examining, demonstrated how much media attention the Penitentiary Service received in the 1930s. Upon realizing the amount of attention prisons received in the media, and conversing with my supervisor, it was clear that the media may have played a key role with prison reform. Additional Press Publicity files were ordered, which covered the years of 1935 to 1958.

Collectively, the four groups of materials contained correspondence, memoranda, circular letters, newspaper and magazine articles, press release documents, as well as meeting minutes. The material also included training documents such as addresses and course syllabi from the United States, which were obtained and reviewed by Canadian officials.

Examining the materials of the four groups mentioned, a bigger picture began to form of when training of correctional officers really became a topic of discussion for the Canadian Penitentiary Service and when that discussion transitioned into reality. I indicated a ‘bigger picture’ appeared, and that is because there are still pieces missing from the puzzle that is the history of correctional officers. It is still unclear when correctional officers first appeared in Canada, what their jobs entailed, and what kind of training they received. Research of secondary sources produced some knowledge of Kingston penitentiary prison guards, however, it is extremely limited and does not include a detailed picture.

From review of the archival material, it became clear that the real spark for prison reform, and therefore training of officers, came in the 1930s. Over the decades, the Penitentiary Service had different attempts to implement officer training and was finally able to open a training school in 1952. They were then able to open more schools in the 1960s, and that seems to be when the training of correctional officers was perfected and resembles the training that we

know today. For this reason, I have chosen the focus of this research project to be of the five main decades (1920s-1960s) where training of Canadian correctional officers transitioned from just discussions at Wardens' Conferences to a fully developed training program in designated Prison Officer Training schools.

Reviewing correspondence and other material lead me to a better understanding of the legislation and other important documents that were relied upon during this time-period. Documents such as the *Royal Commission Report* of 1936-1938; *The Prison Officer's Handbook, 1952*; and the different amended versions of the *Penitentiary Act*, as well as the *Penitentiary Rules and Regulations*. To obtain this material, I consulted with different employees at Library and Archives Canada, including the Reference Librarian, Reference Technician, Reference services, and an Archivist. They provided me with some of the material and provided me with website links to obtain further material.

With respect to the way the project was organized, consisting of three main chapters: press publicity, reaction to press publicity, and professionalization of prison guards was the way in which I was able to make sense of how history developed and what influenced that development. I chose to begin with the press publicity chapter because it painted a picture of the problems that were faced by the prison guards and the Penitentiary Service. In doing so, the following two chapters would be simpler to understand. This chapter is followed by the reaction of prison and government officials to the material in the publicity chapter. The next chapter examines the professionalization of prison guards. The chapters are presented in the order mentioned, however, they could also be presented in a linear method.

When conducting the research, I came across certain challenges. Certain officer training material was not made available to me right away, which resulted in an *Access to Information*

and Privacy (ATIP) submission. After a three month wait, most of the material requested was made available to me, however not all materials were released. Another challenge with the research is that the material itself is missing information. This of course does not allow me to present a complete history, as I do not have access to the information.



Figure 1. This figure demonstrates the cyclical nature in which the Canadian Penitentiary Service had to operate in.

Chapter Three: Press Publicity

The representation of prisons in the media, especially in the news is not generally favourable. As Joe Levenson points out, it is “extreme events within prisons that tend to receive media, especially news, coverage.”⁹⁷ Levenson points to prison riots as an example of an extreme event that attracts news coverage. He explains that it is these events that “accord with the news values.”⁹⁸ The representation of prisons in the Canadian press throughout history has been no different. The prison system in Canada, just as it is elsewhere, is a secretive institution, meaning that the workings of a prison, the daily routine, the rules and regulations, the discipline, and so on, are not public knowledge. What the public is aware of is that when an individual is convicted of a crime, he or she is sent to a prison to serve their time. They know the prisoners are housed, fed, and hopefully, become better citizens upon their release. Outside of that knowledge, during the time-period examined here, the prison was a black box.

As with today’s media audience, throughout Canada’s history there was always interest in prison stories. This provided a platform for journalists and other story tellers. In 1955, journalist Maureen Bailey wrote to the Commissioner of Penitentiaries, requesting to write a story for the *Globe and Mail*, since prison stories always have an audience.⁹⁹ For as long as prisons have existed in Canada, there have been public discourses surrounding them. Whether it is a story about riots, escapes, misconduct, or anything else related to prisons, it seems the

⁹⁷ Joe Levenson, “Inside Information: Prisons and the Media,” *Criminal Justice Matters* 43, no. 1 (2001): 15.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Correspondence from Maureen Bailey to Commissioner of Penitentiaries R. B. Gibson, 28 November 1955, 1-11-2, Box 12, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

audience was and remains intrigued. To put it simply, the public is familiar with what prisons symbolize (punishment), but are unfamiliar with the detailed day-to-day routines of prisons.¹⁰⁰

This public interest can provide a problem for the Penitentiary Service, as the public will likely know of anything controversial that may go on in their prisons, provided there is an information leak or a released prisoner who shares his or her experience(s). This can also be a positive platform for the Service, if the publicity produced is favourable to their agenda or policies. Unfortunately for the Service, however, the press coverage was more so of a negative nature. Although the government did not release information about the Service and their prisons through the media, they did release information in the form of Royal Commission Reports (1938). Since Royal Commissions are government-appointed, these were government officials producing the content. Therefore, knowledge of prisons was released in two ways; through the press and through the government. Interestingly, both produced information which problematized the behaviours of wardens and prison guards alike; this is important context to keep in mind throughout this chapter. This chapter will now discuss press coverage of Canadian penitentiaries from the 1930s to the 1950s.¹⁰¹

It is important to note that the media coverage was done by newspapers, as well as magazines. Some of the material included in this chapter are of well-known newspapers such as *The Globe* (later becoming *The Globe and Mail* in 1936) or the *Toronto Daily Star* (becoming *The Toronto Star* in 1971),¹⁰² amongst others. Among the stories that will be discussed, both in this chapter and in the following chapter, are stories from “*Hush*” or “*Hush Free Press*”

¹⁰⁰ Joe Levenson, “Inside Information: Prisons and the Media,” *Criminal Justice Matters* 43, no. 1 (2001): 14.

¹⁰¹ Although this thesis covers the years 1920-1969, the publicity material that was present at the Archives only covered 1930s-1950s. The stories will appear as they did in their original form, and there will be no examination of their accuracy.

¹⁰² “History of the Toronto Star: A Century of a Paper for the People.” The Star, <https://www.thestar.com/about/history-of-the-toronto-star.html>.

Magazine. According to penitentiary officials the magazine seemed to have caused them significant stress—especially because they published untrue stories. The sources of this magazine, when it came to prison news, were usually through the ‘grapevine telegraph,’ which basically meant someone from inside the prison somehow could get word to a journalist in some way. It is important to keep in mind that not all news published may have been accurate, but nevertheless, it was published and consumed by the public.

In the 1930s, press coverage was harsh and damaging to the Penitentiary Service. The media published stories that accentuated the prevalence of riots in prisons. This decade saw many disturbances (from small incidents to full-on riots) across the country¹⁰³, with unsatisfied prisoners willing to risk their lives to bring attention to the conditions of the prisons in which they were housed. It is important to note that the Great Depression began in 1929 and continued throughout the 1930s, resulting in an increase in crime and a higher prison population.¹⁰⁴ Unsatisfactory conditions, coupled with overcrowding, led to high tensions and eventually disturbances and riots.

The negative publicity regarding overcrowding was not focused on each individual penitentiary, but rather on higher officials and the penitentiary branch as a whole. One article stated the following: “the conditions which provoke the outbreaks of the last two years namely gross overcrowding in the penitentiaries and in the attitude of smug satisfaction and immovable conservatism through the entire organization, are continuing exactly as they were; and the official attitude has become more irritating than ever.”¹⁰⁵ In the same article, it was reported that

¹⁰³ Joseph Archambault and Canada. *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I. S. O., printer to the King, 1938, p. 69-73, http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9_699906/publication.html

¹⁰⁴ “1920s-1930s: Through Adversity.” Correctional Service Canada, <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/about-us/006-2002-eng.shtml>.

¹⁰⁵ Newspaper Article, “Penitentiary Problems,” 30 March 1935, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

a book was written by a Dr. Withrow on Portsmouth Penitentiary (later called Kingston penitentiary), which was reviewed by *The Times Literary Supplement of London*. As the article reported, in their review, they stated “it is equally clear that neither the intellect nor the character of many of the wardens and higher officials reached a minimum level of efficiency for the difficult tasks they were called upon to perform.”¹⁰⁶ These statements were available for the public to read and used to form opinions regarding the officials in office who were making the decisions that affected the prisons and their prisoners.

Other articles in the same year also reported overcrowding and comparing Canadian prisons to those of England. The press reported on an individual by the name of Captain Arthur Casey, Secretary of the Church Army of Anglican Church, in Canada. Captain Casey seemed to have worked at one of the penitentiaries and was able to see issues first-hand, and therefore was a source of information for the press. He reported that overcrowding in Canadian prisons had risen by 200% in comparison to the British prison population which had been cut by 2/3 by 1935.¹⁰⁷ In his opinion, this was the reason for the prison riots. Too many prisoners with nothing to do with their time, allowed them to plan and execute riots. Captain Casey also provided his opinion on other issues such as the lack of segregation (the prison population was a mix of ‘old timers’ and youth or first-time offenders), as well as the punishment and the treatment of prisoners. The press reported that Captain Casey had spoken with a prisoner while he was working at one of the penitentiaries, and was informed that the attitude within the penitentiary is of the “we’ll break you”¹⁰⁸ nature.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Newspaper Article, “Too much strap is used in penitentiaries, states Church Army Secretary,” 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

The press painted a picture of a disorganized, overcrowded, riot-prone prison system with leaders and higher officials that were unable to perform their duties. This undoubtedly caused feelings of anger, frustration, and disappointment from the public. Pressure from the press and the public resulted in an announcement of a Royal Commission to investigate all Canadian penitentiaries. Around the same time, a disturbance occurred at a Guelph Reformatory (a youth facility), which resulted in a very extensive Royal Commission investigation.¹⁰⁹ Although the reformatory was not a penitentiary, the disturbances and negative publicity came when emotions were already running high in Canada. The penal system, as it appeared on every level, seemed to be a disorganized chaos to any outsider looking in.

The following years saw very detailed reporting from the press on both Royal Commission investigations. Ignited by the coverage of the two investigations, the 1930s closed with high tensions in Canada and a demand for prison reform from both prisoners and the public. The media coverage of the reformatory investigation included detailed accounts of the hearings, including prisoner testimony. What was revealed to Justice James Ernest Madden (who was head of the Royal Commission) and to the public, was that the reformatory was led by a very harsh superintendent, and that the institution was controlled by sadistic, out of control prison guards, and that inmates were poorly fed.¹¹⁰ The hearings revealed very troubling information with respect to the institution and its staff.¹¹¹ What was also troubling, was that guards were threatening prisoners in an attempt to keep them from testifying. This led to guards being

¹⁰⁹ This Royal Commission was different and much smaller in size than the Royal Commission that was to investigate Canada's Penal System. From Archival observation, this Royal Commission was led by a Justice Madden and was exclusive to the Guelph Reformatory.

¹¹⁰ "Guards got too much 'kick' using strap, probe told," *Toronto Star*, 15 February 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 2, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

charged with intimidating prisoners before they took the stand.¹¹² Not only was the information revealed through prisoner testimony disturbing but the actions of prison guards during the investigation (guards threatening prisoners before taking the stand) was also disturbing.

Prisoners who took the stand reported a superintendent who did not listen to their concerns or their version of events.¹¹³ When a prisoner would be brought before the superintendent for allegedly breaking a rule or misbehaving in some way, they were met with cold and cruel treatment. The *Toronto Daily Star* reported “if they complain, the young inmates told the inquiry, they were paddled and put in the hole, and if they didn’t speak, they were punished anyhow for ‘silent contempt’.”¹¹⁴ Another prisoner shared, “the Superintendent doesn’t seem to want to listen to nobody … he seems to want to introduce the silent system. He and certain guards show their authority too much and never speak civilly to anybody.”¹¹⁵ Others reported that the Superintendent of the Guelph reformatory was very fond of punishment and more specifically of the strap. A 15-year old prisoner indicated that although his record showed he had received six straps, he had received nine.¹¹⁶ Another prisoner testified that sometimes some prisoners would make noise or yell, and the guards would pick one prisoner they did not like and/or someone with a record of punishment as the cause of the problem. When they placed this prisoner in front of the Superintendent, they told him that “he had a record of quite a few

¹¹² “Guards are warned to stop ‘influencing’ prisoners at probe,” *The Globe & Mail*, 15 February 1936, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹¹³ Federal Penitentiaries are run by a warden, while provincial facilities are run by a Superintendent. The Superintendent of the Guelph Reformatory is different than the Superintendent of Penitentiaries, who is employed under the Minister of Justice.

¹¹⁴ “‘Thank you, I can take it’ Guard Said When Hit in Riot”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 February 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ “Guard got too much ‘kick’ using strap, probe told”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 15 February 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

punishments,”¹¹⁷ the Superintendent responded with “a few straps will do him good.”¹¹⁸ All of this painted a very negative image of the Superintendent, the leader of the reformatory.

As has been reported, this behaviour was not exclusive to the Superintendent, but more importantly, the prison guards were just as appalling as their supervisor. Judge Madden heard of terrible guard behaviour, such as intimidation. One prisoner reported that one guard was very sadistic and would tell inmates “how he was exercising each night at home to get ready to take the skin off them … I don't think he should get such a kick out of it.”¹¹⁹ It was a general feeling from the prisoners that some guards liked to talk ‘tough’ and be ‘smart guys.’¹²⁰ This treatment of prisoners was one of many forms of abuse they experienced.

Another prisoner reported that he was in the yard during the riot and a guard told him to climb over the barbed wire fence. Fearing that he would be charged with escape, he returned to his cell and did not communicate with this guard until the riot came to an end.¹²¹ He testified that when he saw the guard again, he asked him if he would be charged, and it was indicated that the guard responded: “I'd do anything to press a charge against you.”¹²² It can be argued that this behaviour was a form of mental abuse. Although the press did not indicate whether this was considered a form of abuse, the news articles were very blunt in their coverage of what was shared through testimonials with Judge Madden.

The negative reporting on prison guards did not stop with the reporting of abuse. Other testimony demonstrated that corruption was prevalent as well. Judge Madden and his Royal Commission counsel heard of instances where some guards traded “tooth paste and razor blades

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

to inmates at a profit for tobacco rations issued by the institution.”¹²³ Once the riot occurred, the supply of tobacco to prisoners was stopped, however, certain individuals still had access to tobacco. Evidently, some guards provided tobacco to their friends or favourite prisoners.¹²⁴ This painted a further disturbing picture of prison guards. Whether in a reformatory or a prison, the corrupt image of a prison guard had been portrayed to the Canadian public.

In addition to the evidence that was heard from prisoners during the inquiry, further unsettling information also came to light. The purpose of the investigation by the Royal Commission was to discover the cause of the January 17th, 1937 riot, but also to further investigate the conditions of the reformatory. In order to obtain this information, prisoners themselves were questioned by Judge Madden and his counsel. No charges or punishment of any kind were to be administered to the prisoners for participation in the riot, therefore, creating a safe environment to share what they knew and what they had experienced in this institution. Prisoners were cooperative at first, but a few days into the inquiry, they refused to speak. It was made clear to Judge Madden that guards had been threatening prisoners before they would take the stand.¹²⁵ This revelation, of course, was also heavily reported by the press.

According to *The Globe and Mail*, this behaviour led the Commission to “reprimand one guard and, in effect, to issue a general warning that prisoners must be free to give their own opinions of the Reformatory.”¹²⁶ One guard had admitted he had spoken to a prisoner prior to his questioning, and in response, Judge Madden stated “the idea is that this is not a trial. We cannot have them coming here timid and fearful of what might happen. . . Even the slightest

¹²³ “Found fail of home brew 21 days added to term”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 10 February 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹²⁴ “Charge guards supply tobacco for ‘favourites’: Inmates get it in cells, contrary to Rules, Prisoner declares”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 15 February 1936, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹²⁵ “Guards are warned to stop ‘influencing’ prisoners at probe”, *The Globe and Mail*, 15 February 1936, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

suggestion from a guard or an official might influence the testimony of the boys.”¹²⁷ Not only were guards being accused of doing all kinds of terrible things to the prisoners, but it was discovered and confirmed that guards were also threatening prisoners before they took the witness stand. This can be viewed as evidence of unqualified and undisciplined guards. The image of the penal system was painted in the darkest shades based on the inquiry of this investigation alone.

Other issues were cited at the inquiry such as lack of sanitation, unappetizing meals, and the lack of meals in general. When Judge Madden asked a prisoner if he was treated alright, the prisoner responded, “if you call starving to death alright. . . We don’t get enough to eat.”¹²⁸ Reports were made of bad food quality (such as meals only containing fat), as well as unsanitary meals (hair found on the meat).¹²⁹ The *Toronto Daily Star* also reported that hunger was very common amongst prisoners, and although guards had testified that prisoners were always welcome to a second serving, this claim was denied by the prisoners. One prisoner stated, “nearly every time I went through, I’d hold out my plate for more, because I was hungry working on the bull gang. . . But they’d shake their heads and say ‘no’.”¹³⁰

This information, as with all other stories that had been reported during this inquiry, depicted prisons as violent and chaotic spaces. It is important to be critical here and make note of what was being reported on and in what manner. The press demonstrated to the public the realities of prison life. However, it is unknown if what was reported truly captured the realities of prisons at the time. Perhaps what was published resembled a portion of prison reality, but we are unable to know for certain. It is difficult for us to know what was really taking place behind

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ “‘Thank you, I can take it’ guard said when hit in riot”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 February 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

the scenes, if the reality of prisons portrayed in the press was the truth or it was a small portion of the truth. We are unable to verify the information that was presented by the press due to prisons being a black box.

Although reformatories are not penitentiaries, as mentioned earlier, the information shared and reported on them was consumed by the public. The fears and public views are transferable to penitentiaries. It can be argued that most readers do not differentiate between prisons, jails, and reformatories. Just as today, not everyone is aware of the differences between all the different facilities that exist. Therefore, any outrage from the public can be easily applied to penitentiaries.

As already mentioned, the two Royal Commission investigations took place at relatively the same time (1936-1938). While the investigation into the Guelph Reformatory was an isolated one, the investigation into Canada's penal system was not. This Royal Commission was led by Justice Joseph Archambault, and thoroughly examined Canada's penal system, as well as the penal systems of other countries such as England and the United States. In September 1936, Justice Archambault announced that the Commission would investigate topics such as: treatment of convicts, construction of penal institutions, appointment of staff, administration, management and discipline.¹³¹ Upon announcement of the Royal Commission, Justice Archambault made the following statement regarding Canada's penal system: "Canada has handled this problem by neglecting it. The Commission, accordingly, has to make up for many years of lost opportunity. The importance of its task must not be underestimated."¹³² The press followed the Commission,

¹³¹ "Important Work Started", *The Globe*, 23 September 1936, "Thank you, I can take it" guard said when hit in riot", *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 February 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹³² Ibid.

and updated the public regarding its next steps and expected date of completion, which was January 1938.

With the announcement of the Royal Commission and the investigation into the Guelph Reformatory, the public and the press called for complete transparency with respect to the investigations, findings, and reports. The press, during the latter years of the decade, after many riots and disturbances, claimed that any and all investigations must be open to the public, that secrecy would not be tolerated, as it was the reason conditions had reached a point so low that Royal Commissions had been appointed. The *Globe and Mail* stated: “the Department of Justice, through the Commission, is dealing with a public attitude created by the operations which have endured because of secrecy and bureaucrat self-satisfaction. The public ought not to be ignored.”¹³³ The press, along with churches and other groups belonging to the public demanded an open investigation. The *Ottawa Citizen*, as reported in *The Globe*, stated that if nothing immoral or wrong had been conducted by the officials, then there is no need to conceal any information.¹³⁴ The statement from the *Ottawa Citizen* was a response to the *Ottawa Journal*, which called for secrecy, in hopes that “the evidence of officials, guards, convicts, and ex-convicts will be taken at session closed to the public.”¹³⁵

Considering all of the events during this decade, the opinion that was repeatedly expressed was that there should continue to be discipline of prisoners, however, it ought to be done humanely. For example, an opinion was expressed by *The Globe*, “all through the penitentiaries discussion, The Globe has maintained that there must be strict discipline in penal

¹³³ “Secrecy will not do”, *The Globe*, 19 September 1936, “Thank you, I can take it’ guard said when hit in riot”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 February 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹³⁴ “Obfuscation Not Wanted”, *The Globe*, 26 September 1936, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

institutions; that there shall be no ‘coddling’ of convicts, but that at the same time, this discipline be administered humanely and with a view to reformation of the prisoner.”¹³⁶ Another similar opinion came from the German Minister of Justice at the Eleventh International Penal and Penitentiary Congress. The Minister, on the topic of the treatment of convicts stated, “they should be treated fairly, they should be decently fed, decently clothed, decently lodged. They should not be pampered, and they should have hard work.”¹³⁷ Similar views were also expressed by Canadian politicians. For example, Senator Lewis indicated that “full publicity should be given to prison discipline. … That the aim of discipline should be reform as well as punishment.”¹³⁸ A Liberal candidate, J. C. McRuer for High Park said that the penal system was in need of a complete reconstruction, and that the public’s confidence in it must be restored.¹³⁹ He went on to say that “there is no place in the present-day civilization for the ruthless cruelty that has characterised the present administration. It is a stern condemnation of the methods employed that men should be driven to rioting and bloodshed in order that their reasonable demands should be met and that inhumane treatment should be in a measure corrected.”¹⁴⁰ It seemed that, at least from the reporting of the press at the time, everyone shared the similar view that cruelty in prisons must be addressed and done away with.

The coverage of the views of politicians, interestingly, called for better prison guards, both of a more healing/rehabilitative nature or of a more aggressive strong nature. In a senate debate, Senator Meighen indicated that it is criminals that are housed in these institutions and

¹³⁶ “Reform, not repression”, *The Globe*, 9 May 1936, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹³⁷ “Penitentiary Trouble”, *The Ottawa Journal*, 4 December 1936, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹³⁸ “Some Views of Penitentiaries”, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹³⁹ “Rioting Engendered Under Present Control, Says Liberal Nominee”, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

therefore prison guards should be very strong, or else they risk being taken advantage of.¹⁴¹ To counter this argument, Senator Lewis believed that guards should be the first in line to rehabilitate prisoners. During the same debate, Senator Lewis was quoted saying, “guards should be enthusiasts for prison reform. … They should be recruited from ‘ministers of the gospel and teachers’.”¹⁴² Although these two senators disagreed on what kind of prison guards were required, they did agree on one thing when it came to prison reform, that prison guards are an essential piece of this penal system puzzle. The role of the prison guard, although had already been in the press a great deal, remained in the eye of the press and therefore the public.

As negative stories circulated about prison guards, especially with the extensive coverage of the Guelph reformatory inquiry, it became even more clear that this role was key in the problematization of the Canadian Penal System. The Royal Commission and Justice Archambault traveled across Canada, as well as the United States and Europe (with particular attention given to England and its Borstal system). During the same time frame as this was taking place, an individual by the name of Reverend Dr. Runnels of Renfrew, was also travelling to England and studying the Borstal system in detail, over a six-week visit¹⁴³. Reverend Dr. Runnels was the former president of the Dominion Prison Welfare Association.

After examination by both the Royal Commission and Reverend Dr. Runnels, both parties heavily discussed the need for trained prison guards. Although there were other benefits to the British system that were recommended to be implemented into the Canadian system, for the purposes of this work, the focus will only be on prison guards. Reverend Dr. Runnels reported on the impressive men who were the heads of institutions, noting their intelligence. He

¹⁴¹ “Some Views of Penitentiaries”, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ “Renfrew Pastor Studies British Prison System”, *Ottawa Citizen*, 9 January 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

stated that “the underlying idea in treatment seems to be not penal but redemptive.”¹⁴⁴ This form of treatment is closely linked to prison guards of the British policy of “appointing trained and qualified officers as superiors of prison inmates.”¹⁴⁵ This was believed to remedy the perceived problem with Canadian prison guards, which Reverend Dr. Runnels pointed out, is the lack of training. He was quoted by the *Ottawa Journal*, “Canadian prison officials … few have training for their important task. Most of them enter upon a career of guard or similar office determined to be just and humane. But because of the lack of proper study they often fail, and some degenerate into ere task-masters.”¹⁴⁶ Reverend Dr. Runnels demonstrated to the public through the press that humane officers are hired, but their lack of education and training had resulted in them losing this humane factor. Subsequently, this caused many problems and eventually led to riots, which were then covered by the press. By adopting the British system, not only would humane individuals be selected for the position of prison guard, but they would also be able to remain humane throughout their careers.

In addition to the recommendations above, the Royal Commission also recommended that the Canadian penal system be centralized under the Canadian Federal government,¹⁴⁷ that a training school for prison guards should be established, modeled after the school in Wakefield, England,¹⁴⁸ and that courses should be designed with the help of Canadian universities.¹⁴⁹ A parallel could be drawn here between this recommendation by the Royal Commission and Foucault’s ideas on means of correct training. As outlined in Chapter Two, the means of correct training are comprised of three categories: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ “Prison Lessons from Britain”, *Ottawa Journal*, 9 January 1937, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph Archambault and Canada. *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I. S. O., printer to the King, 1938, p. 354, <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.699906/publication.html>

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

the examination.¹⁵⁰ These three categories, when achieved, allow for the maintenance of disciplinary power. The Royal Commission is outlining a way in which the Federal authorities could exercise disciplinary power over prison guards by creating training courses, which would include the three components of correct training. It was clearly believed by both parties that prison guards were an essential part of the penal system and their training should be a priority.

Through a Foucauldian lens, this would be the ideal place to begin the transformation of Canada's penal system. Since both parties had emphasized that the British system worked well due to its highly trained and educated staff, this would be the place to begin. In their report, the Royal Commission suggested that the Federal government should begin training with prison guards to cultivate the docile bodies that Foucault spoke of. Through discipline, examinations, and creating and shaping specific guard actions and norms, the Federal government could form guards into the desired docile bodies. This was the act of correct training Foucault heavily described in *Discipline and Punish*.

Although the talk of prison reform and penal system reorganization was on center stage in the late 1930s, stories of prison problems naturally continued to be printed, as change was not yet in any way close to taking place. At the close of the decade, stories of corrupt prison guards and terrible conditions continued.¹⁵¹ Stories of "immoral" prison guards and poor discipline of prison staff also surfaced.¹⁵² It was reported that an inquiry into Prince Albert penitentiary was conducted, and the report was quoted to have said "the whole institution was 'seething with distrust and intrigue due to the use of inmate informers and a general system of espionage.'

¹⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 170.

¹⁵¹ "Riot planned at penitentiary inmate warns", 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁵² "Tom Hayes slated for new post", *The Leader-Post*, 24 June 1939, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Trafficking is prevalent and the morale of the staff is extremely low. Strong action will have to be taken to restore discipline and respect.”¹⁵³

Curt Griffiths tells us that “for Canadians of the time, crime and morality were closely intertwined, and the penitentiary was to be the primary defence against crime and social disorder.”¹⁵⁴ Prisons were meant to rebuild the morale of criminals, to return them to society as reformed and rehabilitated individuals. In his report, Justice Archambault indicated that “the reformable criminal, … will not be reformed if, during his term in prison, his spirit has been broken, his habit of industry … suppressed, and his morals corrupted by prison association.”¹⁵⁵ This statement described the opposite of what was found in both Royal Commission investigations. Prison guards treated prisoners with little respect, punished them, and one could argue that they broke the spirit of those in their custody. From testimonies from the Guelph reformatory inquiry, which revealed instances of trafficking of contraband, gambling and smuggling by prison guards, prisoners were corrupted. Morality was incredibly central to the problematization of prison guards. Guards were the main point of contact for prisoners, their actions/inactions had an effect on prisoners. When they engaged in corrupt behaviour, they were no different than the prisoners they were watching over. In the eyes of the public, the prisoners, and the penal system, guards needed to be moral individuals, in the hopes that their behaviour and characteristics would have a positive effect on prisoners. The decade closed with many issues, as discussed above, and these issues carried through into the next decade.

The 1940s brought for Canada’s penitentiaries just as much negative coverage as it had the decade before, however, by the end of the decade, things had seemed to slightly quiet down.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Curt Taylor Griffiths, “Canadian Corrections: Policy and Practice North of 49°,” *The Prison Journal* 68, no. 1 (1988): 52.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph Archambault and Canada. *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I. S. O., printer to the King, 1938, p. 10, <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.699906/publication.html>.

It is important to note, World War II began in the fall of 1939 and concluded in the fall of 1945. This is important to keep in mind, as any penal reform was placed on hold in order for the nation to focus all efforts on the war in Europe. Therefore, the recommendations by the Royal Commission would go untouched for the duration of the war. Stories emerged of chaos in the penal system: prisoners being punished while guards watched at St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary in Quebec; a guard being put in a mail bag by prisoners at Stony Mountain penitentiary in Manitoba; a story of a ‘Nazi Warden’ in Kingston penitentiary; and a story of filthy conditions at Oakalla prison in British Columbia. Each one of these stories painted pictures of the dysfunctionality of different aspects of different parts of the penal system. This is important to note, as these examples demonstrate the opposite of what prisons were believed to be - a place that would take criminals and change them into civilized members of society. Prisons were seen as places of ‘good’ and as places meant to fix problems, however, it was stories such as these that emphasized that perhaps prisons were not fulfilling their objectives.

The *National Tattler* newspaper published a story regarding St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary, and told of prisoners being lashed as a form of punishment while the entire staff is “paraded and have to be present throughout the punishment.”¹⁵⁶ The newspaper goes on to explain that this practice urged feelings of revenge by the prisoners. “This practice, which is not far removed from sadism, intensifies the prisoners desire to revenge, and this may be further quickened when officers who are cruel and brutal enjoy the spectacle and afterwards deride an inmate who has been unable to maintain stoicism under the punishment.”¹⁵⁷ This is one example of how guards were portrayed.

¹⁵⁶ “Unrest at St. Vincent de Paul: Released Convicts say Conditions Deplorable”, *The National Tattler*, 15 February 1940, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. The news article spoke of the punishment of prisoners; however, it did not indicate whether the punishment was unjust.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

The article on Stony Mountain penitentiary indicated that the penitentiary was short-staffed, due to the men (both those who were already employed as prison guards and those that were not) enlisting in the military.¹⁵⁸ According to the news article, not only was the penitentiary short staffed, but “the few replacements, it is reported, were men over military age who had little experience in penitentiary work.”¹⁵⁹ As mentioned above, an incident took place of a guard being placed in a mail bag by the prisoners, however the warden denied any such incident happened.¹⁶⁰ This article portrayed prisoners and what could happen when a penitentiary is not supported by the appropriate number of prison guards.

The article regarding the Kingston penitentiary warden was published by the “Hush Free Press,” which was a magazine. They published a story telling of terrible and inhumane conditions in Canada’s ‘Big House.’ The magazine used harsh words to describe the warden such as ‘Nazi’, ‘Canadian Hitler’, and that he was running a ‘dictatorship’.¹⁶¹ It went on to mention that “officialdom down there is a state of desperation, fuming over recent exposures and criticisms, and fearful that something more will leak out – and something more is leaking out right now, and there will be more exposure until the whole dirty mess is cleaned up.”¹⁶² This story contributed to the image of the Canadian penal system by focusing on a leader of a penitentiary, which could easily represent characteristics of other wardens.

The story regarding Oakalla prison in British Columbia told of filthy conditions, unfair punishment and vile food.¹⁶³ It was reported that this had caused a disturbance in the provincial

¹⁵⁸ “Penitentiary Guard Locked in Mail Bag”, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ “Warden Nazi Tactics in Kingston ‘Big House’ Man Hunt”, *Hush Free Press*, 9 January 1946, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ “Smuggled Letter Tells of ‘Filthy Conditions’” *Calgary Herald Alta.*, 28 February 1948, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 6, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

prison farm. It was reported that a six-page letter was smuggled out which documented the conditions in the prison. The newspaper reported: “charges of filthy conditions and unfair paddling of prisoners at the Oakalla prison farm will be presented to Attorney-General Gordon S. Wismer by Harold E. Winch, C.C.F. opposition leader in the British Columbia legislature. Mr. Winch Friday made public a letter, smuggled out of the prison, in which it was charged conditions under which the men live culminated in a ‘riot’ in January.”¹⁶⁴ The article went on to express more of what the letter included, it stated that “prisoners complained of bad food, ‘slopped into trays like it being fed to a bunch of pigs,’ and of unsanitary conditions in the prison.”¹⁶⁵ Although this work focuses on federal penitentiaries, it is important to point out that other facilities that were in the press, such as the Guelph reformatory, align with the discussions at the time with the penal system in general. The Oakalla farm prison was a provincial facility, however, the coverage it received was very much in-line with the issues at the times. As discussed previously, the public does not always make the distinction between the different kinds of facilities, but rather views the penal system as one system.

These instances can be related to the work of Alan Hunt on governing morals. For Hunt, moral regulation is a “form of politics in which some people act to problematize the conduct, value, or culture of others and seek to impose regulations upon them.”¹⁶⁶ As Hunt demonstrates in his work, moral regulation can occur within many different levels. He states that “moral regulation can be generated from a variety of different social positions.”¹⁶⁷ He goes on to explain that moral regulation can be designated “from above, ‘the middle’ and from below.”¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

What Hunt is discussing is relevant to these news stories, as they see prison guards and wardens come under attack for their behaviour, one which the press portrays as bad or evil. Moral regulation of prison staff is being designated from ‘the middle’ as the media has no higher authority over prison personnel. They could be classified as ‘the middle’ as the press is meant to educate the public and, in a way, represent the public. The press operated at the middle to depict and hence problematize prisons as immoral places. By bringing attention and problematizing the behaviour of prison personnel they find troubling, the press is then placing the pressure on these individuals to change, by exposing them. Here, morality is the linchpin for problematization.

Hunt also notes that “governing is not necessarily successful or completed action, but always involves attempts that are more or less successful, and more or less failures.”¹⁶⁹ This speaks true to prisons and regulation over Canada’s history. Moral regulation was happening at all levels, whether it was by the Penitentiary Service (by creating rules and regulations, and attempting to assemble examinations and training of their officers), by wardens (who selected and ‘trained’ their officers, and ordered them to participate in prisoner punishment, etc.), by prison guards (who exercise their authority onto prisoners and other prison guards, and dictated their actions), as well as by the press (by publishing stories of cruel punishment of prisoners, unethical behaviour of guards such as trafficking or gambling). To Hunt, any person can govern another, and that is what we have seen in Canadian prisons.

A very important point that Hunt makes is that “the ‘moral’ element involves any normative judgement that some conduct is intrinsically bad, wrong or immoral.”¹⁷⁰ The actions mentioned above, have all been linked to wrong or immoral behaviour on the part of the prisons and their staff. Therefore, by reporting on and shedding light on the immoral behaviour taking

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 7.

place in prisons, the press is attempting to govern the actions of prison officials. Although it is unknown if the actions of the press were able to improve conditions or to simply shed light on the dark world of prisons, their actions resulted in the general public being more aware of what was happening. This led the Penitentiary Service to take action to correct immoral behaviour.

In 1946, the *Montreal Gazette* published ten stories on penal institutions, both provincial and federal that were not well received by prison officials. Four of the ten stories were on federal institutions, more specifically, St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary. The *Montreal Gazette* published a story on how two youth, despite their age, were incarcerated in the penitentiary,¹⁷¹ and a few stories regarding the unchanged conditions in the penitentiary despite the release of the Royal Commission report in 1938.¹⁷² As already stated, the negative publicity of Canada's penal system did not stop when the report of the Royal Commission was released.

Further negative publicity came in the form of a comparison between Canada's penal system and that of England's system. As multiple studies of the British system took place in the 1930s, there was an abundance of information released to the public on how the British system was superior to that of Canada. From archival study of correspondence and memoranda, it appears that the press usually spoke in a positive manner when discussing the British system, all the while only speaking of the negatives of the Canadian system.¹⁷³ This undoubtedly caused much frustration with prison officials, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Similarly, an article also discussed how Canada's penal system was outdated and unaware of what to actually do with prisoners once they were in custody. Ralph Allen, a journalist, wrote "with a prison system that is 50 years out of date physically, 100 years out of

¹⁷¹ Memorandum from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to Minister of Justice, 14 January 1947, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 5, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Memorandum from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to Deputy Minister of Justice, 11 January 1945, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

date morally, and still lies under the official indictment of one of the most damning reports any public institution has inspired since the days of Dickens.”¹⁷⁴ He went on to write, “the nation knows how to catch criminals and how to get convictions against them in the courts, but it doesn't know what to do with them after that.”¹⁷⁵ This portrays an outdated system with no tools or knowledge of what to do with the prisoners once they are in custody.

In some ways, these articles paint a picture that although the penal system went through very dark times, enough to trigger a Royal Commission investigation and many recommendations, nothing came of it. It appeared that all the effort, funds, and time spent, ended up producing nothing. This was emphasized by reports of prisoners threatening more riots if conditions were not changed, reports of newly released prisoners warning of terrible conditions and a potential for more unrest.

With all the negative press that the penal system received during the closing years of the 1940s, some positive came, although it was in the form of a Press Release by the government. On January 30th, 1948, it was announced that Canada's first training course for penitentiary officers would take place in Ottawa beginning February 8th, 1948.¹⁷⁶ This training course was produced as a response to recommendations made by the Royal Commission in 1938.¹⁷⁷ Details of this training course will be discussed in Chapter Five. This news, although seemingly the only good news to come out for the penitentiaries, did lead the way to more positive coverage, which continued into the next decade.

¹⁷⁴ Newspaper article written by Ralph Allen, name of newspaper and date is unknown, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Press Release, 30 January 1948, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 5, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Multiple news outlets covered this announcement and referred to it as a ‘new deal’ by the government. This ‘new deal’ was a focus on rehabilitation, rather than punishment.¹⁷⁸ It was reported that students (prison guards) would study “psychiatry, psychology, the nature of crime and the reasons for the criminal.”¹⁷⁹ That they would be taught that “efficiency as officials does not depend on physical strength but on knowledge of what makes a criminal ‘tick’.”¹⁸⁰ It is interesting to see that the government decided that using prison guards was the way to reform the prison system. After many years of studying and inquiring about what other nations were doing, the realization for rehabilitation instead of punishment became the clear answer. Prison guards were targeted as the way to achieve that method that was sought after. As has been pointed out earlier, guards were very much problematized over the years, which was perhaps why discipline of guards was the way the Penitentiary Service decided to proceed. If we examine this through a Foucauldian lens, we can see that the discipline of officers is the perfect way for the Penitentiary Service to achieve its intended goals. This course was exactly what the federal government needed, not only to improve their staff and the general penal system, but to slowly gain the confidence of the public.

One article spoke of the benefits of this course and pointed out that the job of a prison guard is not an easy one, and that this course can prepare them for their roles as prison guards. The same article stated, “sometimes it has seemed to be that those responsible simply did not know enough about their difficult and, as it would seem unpleasant jobs.”¹⁸¹ It was clearly not lost on the public that the task of a prison officer was a difficult one, which needed much support

¹⁷⁸ “Penitentiary officials go to school to study new prison deal”, *Moose Jaw Times Herald*, 25 February 1948, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 6, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ “Education for prison inmates”, *The Daily Cleaner Prediction*, 26 February 1948, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 6, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁸¹ “More light in the Penitentiaries”, *Montreal Daily Star*, 3 February 1948, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 5, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

from officials and departments within the federal government. Keeping this information in mind regarding the difficult work that prison guards do, the same article mentioned something very interesting. The article stated that to improve the prison system, the right individuals need to be hired, however, “to get the right men for these positions, it is essential that the pay they receive may be sufficient to attract and keep them in work which would not appeal to most people.”¹⁸² This is an interesting point, as there was an article published in July 1939 by the *Toronto Evening Telegram* which discussed the very issue of underpayment of prison officers. The newspaper had obtained information from a newly released prisoner who shared information regarding terrible conditions at Kingston penitentiary. The newspaper reported that the former prisoner “blames underpayment of guards for most of the trouble . . .”¹⁸³ The prisoner went on to state “the guards . . . had to stoop to smuggling dope and liquor into the inmates to make a living wage. He claimed that it was easier to get dope than it was to have an interview with the warden.”¹⁸⁴ From these stories, it was clear that there was trouble and it was associated with the prison guards themselves.

As previously indicated, the publicity from the press began to take a turn for the better with the announcement of a training course in 1948. This positivity carried through into the 1950s, especially with an announcement of a training school in 1952 by the Commissioner of Penitentiaries. Although critical publicity of the prison system never truly went away, as it was still present in the 1950s, the public began to see more positive reporting with new and better education being offered to prison officers.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ “Riot is planned at Penitentiary inmate warns”, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

Canada saw its first centralized training school (Calderwood Staff College) in March 1952 in Kingston, Ontario.¹⁸⁵ The *Winnipeg Free Press* reported on an annual report written by the Commissioner of Penitentiaries, R. B. Gibson, which cited all the positive changes that had been witnessed in recent years, especially with the opening of the new staff college.¹⁸⁶ The Commissioner was quoted stating “there has been a great improvement in this matter of education within the pens and the attitudes of the staff. . . . all members of the penitentiary staff are realizing, they are not merely guards but rather correctional officers.”¹⁸⁷ Another newspaper reported “taking the whole picture Commissioner Gibson concludes, that development during the past year have demonstrated that the program of individualized treatment now being undertaken in the penitentiaries has resulted in more efficient administration and improved morale on the part of the staff and inmates.”¹⁸⁸ This is the type of press coverage that was present in the 1950s regarding the new methods taken by the federal government to improve Canada’s prison system.

Of course, as indicated before, the positive news of the training school did not stop negative publicity. In 1954, there was information provided to a news outlet from a newly released prisoner from Stony Mountain penitentiary in Manitoba. An investigation was conducted by Stephen Juba, Independent MLA for the Winnipeg Centre, and the press was authorized entry as well.¹⁸⁹ There was unfavourable coverage of this investigation. It seemed that, after a four-hour tour of Stony Mountain, Mr. Juba and the press were not authorized to

¹⁸⁵ “Gen. Gibson Discusses Prison Reform”, *The Kingston Whig Standard*, 21 August 1952, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 10, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁸⁶ “Education in Penitentiaries”, *The Winnipeg Free Press*, 28 July 1952, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 10, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ “Program impresses inmates”, *The Leader Post*, 4 August 1952, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 10, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁸⁹ “Juba Expressed Disappointment in Prison Tour”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 8 September 1954, 1-11-2, Box 13, Vol. 12, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

speak with any prisoners, but rather only allowed to speak with the warden of the penitentiary.¹⁹⁰

The *Winnipeg Tribune* reported that “Tuesday’s tour, said Juba, was of little or no value because penitentiary inmates were refused permission to tell me or the reporters whether they were satisfied with conditions and with their treatment by guards.”¹⁹¹ Mr. Juba expressed his anger and announced he would be seeking permission from the Minister of Justice for another chance at a real investigation.¹⁹²

Discussion

The press and Canada’s prison system have had a complex relationship. As we are aware, rarely does the media report when things are going well. The news is usually, for the majority of the time, reserved for negative stories, stories of abuse, of chaos, and of inhumane treatment. This is something I have observed here when looking at the publicity of prisons in Canada. Although, as reported, there was some positive prison publicity, that was as a follow up to issues that crippled the prison system: issues such as riots, corrupt guards, and inhumane treatment of prisoners. These were issues central to the reason for the introduction of training courses and a training college for prison guards. As observed above, there was a high volume of stories published in the 1930s, as that decade witnessed the worst prison conditions within the timeframe under observation. During the following decade, the stories were of a mixed nature, of the good, the bad, and the still in progress. There was, arguably, a little pressure taken off the prison system as World War II dominated the attention of the public for many years. Soon however, more positive media stories embraced the efforts of the Commissioner and the

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ “Guided ‘Sealed Lip’ Penitentiary Tour Irks MLA”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, 8 September 1954, 1-11-2, Box 13, Vol. 12, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁹² “Juba Expressed Disappointment in Prison Tour”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 8 September 1954, 1-11-2, Box 13, Vol. 12, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

penitentiaries in attempting to improve conditions that the public had read about for decades prior.

What is interesting to note here is the relationship between the Canadian prison system, the press, and the government. It could be argued that the Canadian prison system, in a way, was under the control of both the government and the press. The prison system was governed by both parties. It can also be argued that the press was in a position to exert pressure on the government to make changes to the prison system. Through their publications, the press was in a position to invest a sense of moral standards with respect to the treatment of prisoners among the public, and prison personnel. By examining this point, it is then clear that the press had much power over the government and the prison system.

The press published many different stories which problematized not only the prison guards, but the prison system as a whole. The information that was produced was widely distributed to the public. This arguably caused the public to lose confidence in their prison system. This distribution of knowledge caught the attention of prison officials and caused them to find ways to change the narrative that was being produced. These changes included not only the way in which they responded to the press, but also to the way they responded to changes within the prisons. The implementation of workshops and training for officers and prisoners in prison is one example, and welcoming the press into their prisons is another example. Overall, the prison system took steps to study other countries and try to implement their ideas into the Canadian system. In a way, the press indirectly governed the prison system, providing negative coverage which led to the prison system officials to take action for improvement.

With respect to government, they too governed the prison system in a partially similar way of the press. The government heavily problematized different aspects of the prison system,

which allowed them to appoint a Royal Commission. The Royal Commission then pin-pointed the blame, which rested on the prison guards and individuals in authority. The government then governed the prison system by making the information known to the public, through the formal reports produced, which were also covered by the press. The Royal Commission made recommendations on how to improve the prison system, one of which was the training of prison guards. This lead the Penitentiary Service to implement a set of courses, designed to educate and train their guards. The discipline of guards was identified as the method that was required to reform the prison system.

The role of the Canadian press was an essential tool to enlighten the public of issues they were unable to see for themselves, and to make them aware of any injustices that may have been occurring in their country. As we will see in Chapter Four, the news was not always accurate and the sources of the information were not always reliable. This allowed the penitentiary officials and the federal government to take steps not only to address issues in the press, but also to attempt to make improvements to their penitentiaries, since now the public was aware and was watching. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the press, through their reporting, triggered reactions and actions from the federal government.

Chapter Four: Reaction to Press Publicity

This chapter will encompass the responses of different prison officials and federal penitentiary officials to the press and public opinions, demands, and criticisms over the decades. The Penitentiary Service had reacted to the critical and negative publicity in different ways, and the reactions will be examined in the following order. First, by looking at international influences, with a specific focus on the United States and England, followed by the investigation and report by Justice Archambault and his Royal Commission, and the change this report brought. International influences and the Royal Commission report are tightly intertwined, as the goal here was to adopt methods into the Canadian penal system that were used in other countries, to achieve results similar to the countries studied. Next, a look at the reactions of wardens and their staff is examined in relation to negative or inaccurate stories that were published about them and/or their penitentiaries. As well as how the Penitentiary Service officials handled the reactions from the wardens. Following that, there will be an examination of what actions were taken, as a form of reaction, such as developing training courses, a staff training college, as well as material such as the *Penitentiary Officer's Handbook 1952*. Finally, an examination of the evolution of the relationship between the press and the Penitentiary Service will be conducted.

International Influence

As indicated in the previous chapter, there was ample evaluation into other countries' penal systems in the second half of the 1930s, both by the Royal Commission and Reverend Dr. Runnels. However, there were some explorations which also took place in the former part of the decade. As already mentioned, topics of riots and disturbances in the 1930s made for critical and

negative publicity. With most of the riots taking place in the former part of the 1930s, it is no surprise that efforts were being conducted to try to improve the penitentiary system at that time, with a focus on training officers. In a memorandum produced for the Royal Commission by the then Superintendent of Penitentiaries, Mr. Ormond, it was indicated that he began to reach out to organizations in the United States, after an investigation into the disturbances at Kingston penitentiary in 1932.¹⁹³ Through the investigation, Ormond learned that no training of officers was conducted. Further investigations concluded that out of all the Canadian penitentiaries, only one had made an effort to train their staff (which at the time, was in the form of lectures by the warden). According to the same memorandum, Ormond had contacted the New Jersey Prison Officer Training School, Sing Sing Prison Officer Training School, the American Prison Association, and the New York Prison Guard School, located at Clinton, New York.¹⁹⁴

The Superintendent received multiple lectures which were produced in 1931,¹⁹⁵ a detailed syllabus, as well as a course schedule. The lectures covered topics related to prisoners and prison staff, as will be described in Chapter Five. More importantly, Superintendent Ormond received a detailed syllabus entitled *Course of Study Officer Training School*, which appeared to be from the New Jersey Reformatory.¹⁹⁶ This syllabus included the following headings: Individual Training of Officers (broken down into several sub-headings such as physical, technical, first aid, hygiene, school discipline and recreational), Professional Orientation (including historical and institutions, public opinion and the prison problem, and the extent and cost of crime), Institutional Problems of the Officer (including personal discipline, institutional

¹⁹³ Memorandum from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to Royal Commission Investigating the Penal System of Canada, 7 December 1937, page 2, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ These lectures were addresses that were presented at Sing Sing Prison, and they were dated 1931.

¹⁹⁶ Course of Study: Officer Training School of the Department of Institutions and Agencies in cooperation with Civil Service Commission, revised September 1931, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 1, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

routine, techniques of supervision in institutions, interviews and their supervision, prison slang, methods of social control of the individual, discipline, institutional emergencies), Principles of Judicial and Legal Practices in Relation to Penal Administration, Organization and Administration of Penal Institutions, Field trips, and finally, Practical Institutional work under supervision.

As will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, Superintendent Ormond produced ten brochures which were distributed to wardens across Canada. This was the first attempt at trying to introduce knowledge with respect to training of officers into Canada. The second attempt came with the Royal Commission investigation and the report it produced in 1938. Part of the response to the public pressure and bad publicity covering the penal institutions, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1936 to investigate not only Canada's penitentiaries, but the entire penal system.

Royal Commission

According to the report of the Royal Commission, the Commissioners were entrusted to "investigate operations of Canadian penitentiaries; and to make thorough study of the problems."¹⁹⁷ Royal Commissions are intended to intervene on perceived social problems and produce knowledge on those problems. In other words, certain aspects of the penitentiary system were problematized, and once the problems were defined as such, Royal Commissions then produced knowledge about them and proposed various solutions. It is not enough to indicate that a Royal Commission was appointed, examined local and international penal systems, and produced nearly 100 recommendations for the Department of Justice to improve the Canadian

¹⁹⁷ Joseph Archambault and Canada. *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I. S. O., printer to the King, 1938, p. 2, <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.699906/publication.html>.

Penal System. It is important to discuss the Commission's report, and its findings because that would allow us to understand why conditions were as bad as they were in the 1930s and earlier, which called for an investigation of this magnitude.

To understand the issues facing Canada's penal system and how to improve it, the Commission observed national and international penal systems. They visited all federal penitentiaries across Canada, observing daily routines, buildings, and so on.¹⁹⁸ Outside of the penitentiaries, they held both private and public hearings, where evidence was given under oath by individuals such as former prisoners, former officers, judges, police officers, etc.¹⁹⁹ Evidence was also heard from government officials, including the Superintendent of Penitentiaries.²⁰⁰ The evidence of 1840 prisoners and 200 officers was heard.²⁰¹ The Commission also visited Western Europe and the United States. In total, 119 institutions were visited and analyzed in nine countries worldwide.²⁰²

In England, there was an emphasis placed on visitation of the Borstal system. Nineteen institutions were visited in England alone, and numerous meetings were conducted. These meetings produced information which, in comparison to Canada, was extremely impressive. The Commissioners discovered that all officers that were employed in penal systems were of "real intellectual attainment, many of whom had extensive university training. Their attitude towards the prisoners distinctly indicated a sincere desire to be corrective rather than merely custodial."²⁰³ It was obvious to the Commission that "great importance was placed on the human approach to the prisoners and that in order to make this effective a superior type of personnel had

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 3.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 4.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid., 345.

been engaged for prison service.”²⁰⁴ This was a real contrast to what they had witnessed in Canada, when the Commissioners indicated that some officers were hired with “little regard for their ability to perform other than custodial duties. … They are ‘guards’ and nothing more.”²⁰⁵

In the report, there was not only mention of some guards not being qualified for their position, but included a short story that spoke volumes for the Commissioners. In the report, Justice Archambault explained that one of the secretaries working for the Commissioners was passing through prison grounds at Kingston penitentiary, when he was approached by a senior officer and greeted with the following: “where the hell do you think you are going.”²⁰⁶ Justice Archambault continued, “It requires no imagination to realize the influence that the arrogant stupidity of this officer would have on the prisoners with whom he comes in contact.”²⁰⁷ This interaction, as can be imagined, spoke volumes to the Commission, and provided knowledge on Canada’s prison personnel. What the Commission discovered with respect to the officers, would only be one of many issues that faced Canada’s penal system. A second of many problems came from the Superintendent of Penitentiaries, General D. M. Ormond.

The Commissioners came to discover that the Superintendent, who took over the office on August 1st, 1932, had ruled with what the authors of the Commission report described as a dictatorship. From the time the Superintendent took office, to November 30th, 1937, he had dismissed 303 of the 767 penitentiary officers.²⁰⁸ Many issues in the report were discussed with respect to the dismissal of the officers, issues such as notice for dismissal. The officers that were dismissed were not spoken to, nor given an explanation for their dismissal.²⁰⁹ One instance

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 34.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 36.

when this was conducted came directly after a riot which took place at Kingston penitentiary in 1932. The Superintendent held an investigation, conducted short interviews with officers, and recommended the dismissal of 36 officers to the Minister of Justice. The reason cited for the dismissal of the officers was “to promote the efficiency of the service.”²¹⁰

Prior to Ormond taking office, the penitentiary system was run with open communication between wardens, the office of the Superintendent, office of the Inspectors, and other offices under the umbrella of the Department of Justice. One method of this open communication came in the form of an annual Wardens’ Conference.²¹¹ Along with wardens, all other staff mentioned here were also present. These conferences were invaluable with respect to the information they produced. Wardens discussed any issues they had at their penitentiary leading to an open conversation between the parties. The administration was able to determine if these problems were exclusive to one penitentiary or present as a common issue in multiple institutions. By making problems come to light, efforts began to be made to solve them. Some examples will be discussed in Chapter Five with respect to height, age, and educational requirements. However, during his service, Superintendent Ormond failed to hold any conferences of this nature. Justice Archambault reported “the Superintendent, who was without experience, has since made no effort to call the wardens into consultation or to hold annual wardens’ conferences, such as had been the custom under previous administrations.”²¹² Without communication between experienced wardens, who were living everyday within their penitentiary, and an inexperienced Superintendent, trouble began to emerge within the penitentiary branch.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ The earliest recordings of a Wardens’ Conference I was able to find at Library and Archives Canada was 1897 (File 1-18-5 vol. 30).

²¹² Joseph Archambault and Canada. *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I. S. O., printer to the King, 1938, p. 44, <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.699906/publication.html>.

Along with the dismissal of officers and closed communications with his wardens, Superintendent Ormond went on to introduce a “drastic policy of militaristic control,”²¹³ with no input from anyone involved in the process nor those educated in the area, and demanded changes take place immediately. The *Archambault Report* indicated that “the actions taken to divest experienced wardens of authority, even in the most trivial and inconsequential matters, and to subject them to a minute direction in detail, and the profuse issue from day to day of new regulations and lengthy circulars, explaining, countermanding, and amending previous ones, soon threw the whole penitentiary system into a state of confusion.”²¹⁴ An example of drastic changes included revisions to the *Rules and Regulations*. In 1934, Superintendent Ormond compiled revisions to the *Rules and Regulations*, which according to Justice Archambault, had been “hastily compiled and ill-considered.”²¹⁵ The report went on to explain that the number of regulations “was increased from 194 to 724; they were drafted without assistance or advice of experienced officers, and … they were issued with peremptory instructions to put them into force.”²¹⁶ This was one of the reasons the penitentiary branch was put in immediate confusion and chaos. The regulations were to be enforced immediately, with no time to read and make sense of them. When one warden requested some time to review the regulations before putting them into force, “he was immediately threatened with dismissal.”²¹⁷ The steps Ormond took here were a response to a problem of discipline. From a Foucauldian perspective, discipline is achieved when individuals internalize norms and standards. When they follow norms and standards without coercion, when it is done voluntarily. The actions of Ormond lead us to

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

believe that there was a failure of discipline, otherwise his coercive actions may not have been required.

This approach by Superintendent Ormond resulted in chaos, confusion, and frustration throughout the Penitentiary Branch. Not only were wardens not consulted about any decisions or updates to penitentiary regulations, they were additionally left in the dark and ordered to enforce regulations they had not had a chance to read and fully understand. They were essentially left to their own devices to enforce the new regulations. This chaos was a direct result of Superintendent Ormond's attempt to govern his wardens. This was a direct attempt for Ormond to exercise power and govern his wardens by controlling their actions. They were ordered to follow blindly and were unable to stop and gain understanding of what they were meant to do.²¹⁸ Governance is a continuous process and failures are only incitements to further attempts. Ormond's actions were a direct exercise of power and wardens were forced to comply and give into the demands of the Superintendent.

This caused tension within the branch, which surely trickled down to the penitentiary staff, and soon the prisoners. The tension was not exclusive to wardens and their staff, the report also stated that "within a year of his appointment, such frictions developed that it resulted in the retirement of two of the three inspectors."²¹⁹ The tension implemented within the branch went on to affect prisoners, ultimately resulting in prison unrest. According to Justice Archambault, in the eleven years prior to the release of the report, in 1938, there had been a total of twenty disturbances, sixteen of which had taken place since Superintendent Ormond took office.²²⁰ This was a major concern for the Commission, as these riots were very costly, both with respect to

²¹⁸ Ibid., 44.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid., 69.

lost lives and damages that the penitentiaries sustained.²²¹ The Commissioners believed that the Superintendent had lost the confidence of all penitentiary staff, and without confidence, no administration could succeed.²²² With respect to Superintendent Ormond directly, the Commissioners believed “it is necessary to the good management of the penitentiaries service that the Superintendent should immediately be retired.”²²³ This was not the only recommendation made by the Commissioners.

To conclude this section of the chapter, the recommendations of the Commissioners will be outlined. There were almost 100 recommendations made, however, only nine will be mentioned as they are directly related to this work. Aside from the retirement of the Superintendent, the Commissioners called for a complete reorganization of the headquarters of the administration of Canada’s Penitentiary Service,²²⁴ as well as a reorganization of the personnel of penitentiary staff nationwide.²²⁵ A further recommendation was to centralize the Canadian penal system under “the control of the Government of Canada, with the federal authorities taking charge of all the prisons in Canada.”²²⁶ This is a very clear example of Foucault’s point on governmentality: this was the governmentality of prisons. If the federal authorities have full control of prison, the uniformity of standards could be enhanced and applied across the board. By having standards that apply to all Canadian prisons, this would then leave little room for disorganization and the emergence of problems. This is a means of discipline which was used by the federal authorities when they judged and assessed prison guards.

²²¹ Ibid., 51.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid., 354.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

Along with centralized control, they recommended a Prison Commission of three members should be appointed, “with full authority over the management of penitentiaries, empowered to appoint staff, and to act as a central parole board.”²²⁷ They further recommended that authority should be restored to each warden to manage their penitentiaries.²²⁸ With respect to penitentiary officers, they recommended that “after careful study of the penitentiary staffs by the Commission, all hopeless incapable officers should be retired.”²²⁹ A further recommendation was made regarding pay of officers, that it should be “brought up to a reasonable standard, having regard to the type of service performed.”²³⁰ Finally, two recommendations were made with respect to training courses for penitentiary officers. First, “there should be co-operation with the universities of Canada in establishing suitable officers, or parole officers.”²³¹ Secondly, “a training school for penitentiary officers should be established on the lines of the courses at Wakefield, England.”²³²

Wardens

On many occasions with the release of negative publicity targeting issues at penitentiaries, the wardens expressed their frustrations and worries to their superiors. This was done through correspondence, with the newspaper article attached. At times the wardens expressed their frustration but also sought advice on what should be done or demand that something should be done regarding inaccurate reporting. Frustration brewed over the credibility of sources, false reporting derived from a single statement by someone from the Department of Justice, as well as untrue reporting on prison staff.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

The expression of frustration by wardens is an important contribution to the state of the Penitentiary Service at the time. An expression of frustration, such as that by the wardens (who also expressed frustration on behalf of their staff), sows discontent and adds to the chaos at the time. By expressing discontent, wardens and guards are then deviating away from the state of discipline the Service was trying to achieve. This is then a failure of discipline, and thus, a failure of governance on the part of the Service.

In 1939, a story was published in “*Hush*” magazine, which the magazine claimed was sourced from the ‘grapevine telegraph’, a prisoner supposedly known to the public at Kingston penitentiary. The Kingston warden expressed an opinion that the Department of Justice should be “justified in taking some form of action in an endeavour to ascertain the source of the information.”²³³ He went on to indicate that the Department should contact the magazine, that information should come from a credible source, and that source being from the Department.²³⁴ Other causes of frustration came when a newspaper published a story, that appeared as if the journalist simply used their imagination. For example, in 1945 a story was published, in which, according to the Kingston warden, the journalist must have “used his imagination to a large extent, and submitted it as appearing to come from the Deputy Warden.”²³⁵ In this instance, according to a letter from the warden, news journalists had contacted him and the penitentiary several times in order to inquire about a specific new prisoner, which resulted in the deputy warden giving a statement where he indicated the prisoner in question would receive the same treatment as any other prisoners.²³⁶

²³³ Correspondence from Kingston Penitentiary Warden to Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries G. L. Sauvant, 11 August 1939, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Correspondence from Kingston Penitentiary Warden R. M. Allan to Superintendent of Penitentiaries, 21 January 1945, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²³⁶ Ibid.

A third example of warden and staff frustration occurred in British Columbia when the *Vancouver Daily Province* published a story in 1946 which painted a very unflattering image of the prison guards. The story targeted both British Columbia penitentiary staff, as well as Oakalla provincial prison farm staff. The British Columbia warden expressed that staff in both facilities were extremely upset and demanded the newspaper retract the story.²³⁷ The warden wanted the Department of Justice to act and help them achieve their goal. In a letter to the office of the Superintendent, he indicated that staff followed regulations closely and therefore the article is completely inaccurate.²³⁸ He also shared that the staff at the Oakalla prison had hired a lawyer to help with their case.²³⁹ More importantly, the warden pointed out that, “not only do these irresponsible statements cost unfair and unwarranted reflections upon our officers, I am sure they must cause the relatives of the convicts themselves some anxiety.”²⁴⁰

These are just three examples among many instances demonstrating the frustration, anger, and feelings of hopelessness that were felt by wardens and their staff. They experienced feelings of hopelessness because it was the policy of the Department of Justice to not enter into a dialog with the press about stories that had been published. Time and time again, wardens expressed their frustration, and were told by the office of the Superintendent to ignore the stories and continue to follow the *Rules and Regulations* that were made available to them. A few examples to demonstrate this point appeared in early to mid-1940s.

In early 1940s, both Dorchester and Kingston penitentiary wardens submitted newspaper clippings of articles written about their penitentiaries. The Acting Superintendent at the time notified them both to not pay attention to the newspapers, and more importantly, not to write to

²³⁷ Correspondence from British Columbia Penitentiary Warden to Superintendent of Penitentiaries, March 1946, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

them in an effort to correct their inaccurate stories.²⁴¹ The story that was written about Kingston penitentiary was published in “*Hush*” magazine, which prompted the Acting Superintendent to respond stating that his assumption was that the magazine was without any foundation for their stories, given the type of magazine they are.²⁴²

Although it seems that “*Hush*” magazine had a reputation of not being a valid source of accurate news, this did not stop wardens from not ignoring the stories that were written about them and their institutions. For example, in 1946, “*Hush*” magazine produced a story comparing the Kingston penitentiary warden to Hitler (as explained in Chapter Three). In response to a letter from the warden, the Acting Superintendent wrote “as an official of the government, a clear conscious and adherence to the Rules and Regulations and the provisions of the Rules and Regulations are the best guide.”²⁴³

When stories were published regarding penitentiary officers, such as the case in British Columbia, the office of the Superintendent, yet again, provided the same advice. In a letter to the British Columbia warden, in 1943, the Acting Superintendent wrote, “silence is the best answer. … The department policy has been to leave such remarks unanswered as it would be unwise to start a conversation with the Press.”²⁴⁴ He went on to write, “penitentiary officers should derive their satisfaction in performing their duties to the best of their ability leaving aside criticism which might be cast on them by ignorant people.”²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Correspondence from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to Dorchester Penitentiary Warden, 16 July 1942, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁴² Correspondence from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to Kingston Penitentiary Warden, 17 July 1942, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁴³ Correspondence from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to Kingston Penitentiary Warden, 18 January 1946, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁴⁴ Correspondence from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to British Columbia Warden, 13 January 1943, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

These responses, as one could only imagine, would not settle a person's frustration or give the confidence to carry on in their line of work. If the stories that were published were in fact true, and penitentiary officers were indeed not doing their job to the standard that was expected of them, it would look bad on themselves, their warden, and the Department of Justice as a whole. However, if the stories were inaccurate, and the penitentiary officers followed the *Rules and Regulations*, and conducted their job to the highest standard, they were still faced with stories that painted a very inhumane and unprofessional image of them. Newspaper articles are read by the general public, as well as their friends and families, one could imagine the humiliation they might have endured. Either way, the stories about the penitentiaries during much of the time post-World War I era in Canada were not friendly, and this was arguably made worse when there was no communication between the press and the Department of Justice.

Action as a form of Reaction

Aside from much of the reactions that have already been discussed, some concrete actions came during the 1940s and beyond. The Penitentiary Service took the recommendations made and the criticisms that haunted the Service for many years, and began to make decisions that would impact real change; change that would alter the way that they would be portrayed by the press.

One of the key recommendations made by the *Archambault Report* was that penitentiary officers needed to be trained properly. In 1939, the year following the release of the Commissioners' report, a program was assembled which sent penitentiary officers to Wakefield, England. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the officers were to be trained at Wakefield, and bring back to Canada the knowledge they had acquired. Of course, with the announcement of World War II, the program was suspended. In addition to the suspension of this program, any

discussions pertaining to training of officers were placed on hold until 1947, when a reorganization of the Penitentiary Branch occurred under the Commissioner of Penitentiaries.

After this point, Canada began to see these concrete actions that have been long sought after. Training courses were created for penitentiary officers in 1948. In the following year more courses were introduced, and by 1952 a Penitentiary Staff College opened in Kingston, Ontario. During this time, an “In-Service Training” program was carried out in penitentiaries across Canada. Also during this time, a book was introduced for penitentiary officers, entitled *Penitentiary Officers’ Handbook 1952*. Each penitentiary officer was to have a copy of the book to refer to as needed. This was a 68-page book which included everything pertaining to prisoners and officers within the penitentiary. It covered everything from attacks (of officer by prisoners or officers’ conduct in case of attack) to contraband, escape, force, injury, prisoner related topics, what to do during a revolt, to salary, and uniforms.²⁴⁶

The Penitentiary Staff College continued to operate until further developments occurred in 1964, at which time a new training school was established. The Correctional Staff College opened at this time, with three locations across Canada. Many courses were developed for officers, including vocational training courses. Officers used the skills learned in these courses to teach and supervise prisoners with their own vocational training inside the penitentiaries. Although vocational training was introduced in the late 1940s, this form of training was not developed and expanded upon until the 1960s. These developments will be covered in the next chapter in detail. All these changes led to a shift within the Penitentiary Branch towards a friendlier tone, especially with the Canadian press and the public.

²⁴⁶ Canada. *Penitentiary Officers’ Handbook*. Edmond Cloutier, C. M. G., O. A., D. S. P., Queen’s Printer and Controller of Stationery Ottawa, 1952, p. 47-67,
<https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/hv%209506%20p43%201952-eng.pdf>.

Development of Reaction

The relationship between the Canadian press and the Penitentiary Branch has been a rocky one, with tensions running high throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. However, there was a gradual evolution in the relationship, from no communication between the two parties to welcoming the press with open arms toward the end of the 1940s and well into the next decade. As it has been pointed out, the 1930s were an especially difficult time for the Penitentiary Branch with the chaos, confusion, and frustration that consumed the Branch during Superintendent Ormond's time in office. This era led to many disturbances and riots, closing the turmoil decade with an extensive investigation by the Royal Commission. During this time, the press was not friendly to the Branch.

With all that was revealed and all the publicity received, the Branch wanted to stay out of the public eye as much as possible in the years immediately following the release of the *Royal Commission Report*, in 1938. Since the Commissioners called for a complete re-organization of the Branch, the focus was to stay out of the public eye and to implement the changes recommended by the Commissioners. The Branch repeatedly declined requests from journalists to publish stories on different penitentiaries in Canada.

The reasons cited for the decline of requests could be broken down into two streams. One, they were trying to stay out of the public eye and wanted to avoid any form of publicity in the event that it did not work out in their favour. To demonstrate this point, the Inspector in a memorandum wrote the following: "the fewer visitors we have to our penitentiaries the better. We have received sufficient criticism and sufficient constrictive suggestions to take valuable steps in reorganization of the service, but until such reorganization has been placed it would seem advisable not to permit newspapermen and others to report on our method, which has been

strongly criticized by the Royal Commission.”²⁴⁷ As we can see from this comment, prison officials were trying to maintain control of the prisons. They actively sought to keep prisons out of the public eye while attempting to reorganize the system. Essentially, they were creating governable space and manufacturing a black box at the same time. This black box, the prisons, were being taken apart and reconstructed in a way that allowed the Penitentiary Service to govern their staff in a way they saw fit.

The second stream had to do with the prisoners themselves. Officials were trying to avoid prisoners being featured in news stories for multiple reasons. In a memorandum to the Deputy Minister of Justice, the Acting Superintendent cited the following reasons: “convicts who gained notoriety before their incarceration might again be brought into the limelight, further humiliating their relatives.”²⁴⁸ He further stated “convicts who regret their crimes would feel humiliated by being so exposed to publicity, whereas the hardened criminals would try to seek further notoriety by this publicity.”²⁴⁹ He further indicated the discipline and security of the prison might be put in jeopardy.²⁵⁰

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the audience was readily available when it came to prison news. Although the Branch avoided the press, soon enough, in the late 1940s and well into the 1950s, they were ready to claim the stage and ready to feed the hunger of their audience, the public. They provided stories and approved stories and images before they were released to the public. They were fully in control of what was published, at least from those journalists who sought permission to visit the penitentiaries, obtain photographs and write a story. Any story or

²⁴⁷ Memorandum from Inspector G. E. Shortt to Superintendent of Penitentiaries, 26 May 1939, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁴⁸ Memorandum from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to Deputy Minister of Justice, 21 February 1943, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

photograph that was not approved, had to be re-created. This procedure was not exclusive to newspapers; but was for any person or company that would produce materials that would be published. For example, in 1944, photographs were taken of a barn at St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary, for a book that would be published by Beatty Bros. Limited.²⁵¹ The images that were taken were not approved by the Acting Superintendent because the barn did not look very clean, and according to him, required some painting. In a letter to the warden, he indicated that the photographs should be redone once the “interior portions to be photographed had been decorated and the exterior grounds cleaned up.”²⁵² This is one example of the control that was exercised over what was released. This image control was necessary for the Penitentiary Service to win back the confidence of the public. We see this in a memorandum where a list of photogenic places at different penitentiaries was drafted at the request of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries. A detailed list of different locations at Collin’s Bay, Kingston, and St. Vincent de Paul penitentiaries was created.²⁵³ One can only assume this was created to be ready at hand when journalists requested to take photographs to accompany their work. If this assumption is correct, then it can be linked to the performance part of labour as dressage, as discussed in Chapter Two. Portraying the desired image is then a type of performance the Penitentiary Service was putting forward.

When the journalists were inside the penitentiaries, after acquiring permission to enter, the procedure to deal with them also changed over time. When journalists were first given permission to enter the penitentiaries in the mid-1940s, they were given very strict boundaries

²⁵¹ Beatty Bros. Limited was a farm equipment manufacturing company in Montreal. <http://archives.mcmaster.ca/index.php/beatty-brothers-limited-fonds>.

²⁵² Correspondence from Acting Superintendent to St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary Warden, 8 May 1944, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁵³ Memorandum from Assistant Commissioner J. A. McLaughlin to Commissioner of Penitentiaries, 5 May 1948, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 6, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

and instructions. For example, a letter to a journalist from the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, who was granted permission to visit Kingston penitentiary, but also made very aware of his boundaries once inside the prison. The letter indicated that he may visit different parts of the penitentiary, but only if they are approved by the warden, and more importantly, he must be in the presence of the warden at all times.²⁵⁴ He was also made aware that he was unable to speak with “either officials or convicts except through or with the direct permission of the Warden.”²⁵⁵ He was further notified that “no matters concerning discipline or clemency should be discussed nor any other matter which the Warden considers inadvisable from the administrative point of view.”²⁵⁶ It is important to point out that visitors were strictly accompanied by wardens because there was a fear that if junior officers conducted these duties, that they “may be subject to cross examination and maybe quoted”²⁵⁷ in newspaper articles. For this reason, only wardens or their deputy wardens could escort visitors.

Nonetheless, by the end of the 1940s, the tone of the Penitentiary Branch had evolved to a friendlier one. By 1948, wardens were asked to make sure that journalists were welcomed and the best impression was made. The Dorchester warden was made aware that a journalist from the Canadian press would be visiting, and was instructed by the Deputy Commissioner to extend “every courtesy … to him so that he may get the best possible impression.”²⁵⁸ Not only did the Deputy Commissioner ask that the journalist receive the best impression, but he also advised the warden to allow him to speak with senior officers and the chief keeper with respect to training

²⁵⁴ Correspondence to Ralph Allen, 15 February 1946, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Memorandum from Acting Superintendent W. S. Lawson to Deputy Minister of Justice, 16 January 1945, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 4, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁵⁸ Correspondence from Deputy Minister of Justice to Dorchester Penitentiary Warden, 2 July 1948, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 6, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

courses and training of officers.²⁵⁹ Therefore, we see an apparent 180 degree turn in terms of what a journalist could do or whom they were permitted to speak with. Of course, it is not lost here that the subject matter that was being encouraged for discussion was about officer training and training courses for prisoners.

It is wise to explore, briefly, what kind of requests Canadian journalists were seeking from the Penitentiary Service. During World War II, some requests included stories and photographs of the kind of work that prisoners were doing in the different prison shops to help with the war.²⁶⁰ The contribution from prisoners to the war are in keeping with the welfare state model, where individuals worked towards a common goal, the goal being the well-being of all citizens. During this time, prisoners were put to work to produce products that were to be used toward the war efforts. At this point, they were no longer simply prisoners serving their time in custody, but rather prisoners who were working and contributing to society.

Requests to write stories on the work prisoners were doing came throughout the war, not just at one specific time. In 1948 and the years to follow, many requests were made to write stories and take photographs of the vocational training program that was installed.²⁶¹ By the 1950s, requests continued over vocational training, its benefits, and rehabilitation improvements that resulted from the program. Of course, these requests were granted and welcomed.²⁶² The requests seemed to be reasonable, but considering what the Branch went through throughout the

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Memorandum from Inspector G. E. Shortt to Superintendent of Penitentiaries, 26 May 1939, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.; Memorandum from Acting Superintendent G. L. Sauvant to Deputy Minister of Justice, 21 February 1942, 1-11-2, Box 11, Vol. 3, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁶¹ Correspondence from Deputy Commissioner J. McCulley to Collin's Bay Warden, 3 July 1948, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 6, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.; Correspondence from Prince Albert Warden to Commissioner of Penitentiaries, 7 February 1950, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 7, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

²⁶² Correspondence from C. A. Devlin, City Editor, Whig-Standard to Commissioner of Penitentiaries, 6 June 1951, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 9, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

1930s, it made sense to deny any journalist access until they were able to reorganize the penitentiary system and implement some concrete programs and changes that were recommended in the *Archambault Report*.

As has already been touched upon, the officials within the Penitentiary Branch soon changed their attitudes and policies against journalists entering their penitentiaries because positive changes were implemented and they wanted to shine a light on their progress. For many years, the public processed almost nothing positive about any penitentiary that found itself in the press. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the stories that were published allowed the public to lose confidence in their penal system, in every aspect. The press had painted a negative image of wardens, officers, and higher officials, that the system, as a whole, seemed like an unfixable mess. Once the Penitentiary Branch was able to take some time and implement real changes that were resulting in positive outcomes, it was time to allow the press in and try to regain the confidence of the public that was lost during the 1930s. Given this, they had years of material to combat, and millions of people to win over. This would set the stage for the Penitentiary Branch to exercise control and power over the press. As Foucault indicates, in order to govern a body or a group, a problem must be constructed. The governing power requires something to be problematized, in order to govern it and correct it. Here, the Penitentiary Branch, in a sense, had years of material to correct. This would justify their right to rule and govern bodies, more precisely, the press. The Penitentiary Branch was then disciplining the press, not by denying them access but by welcoming them.

The press was welcomed with open arms by all officials of each level. For example, in a letter to the Commissioner, the warden of St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary was pleased to find out a journalist would be visiting his institution. He indicated that this was a good idea, and that

it would “counteract the poor impression which no doubt lingers in some people’s mind, following either inaccurate or exaggerated publicity which has been given to penal institutions in the past.”²⁶³ The press was not only welcomed when they submitted a request, some wardens even sought after them to combat a negative story after one had been published. It is unknown if this was done, however, there are correspondence of wardens requesting from the Commissioner to allow the press to visit their institution to combat a story that was, in their opinion, untrue. For example, in 1950 there was a news article, *My Five Years of Living Hell*, written by an ex-convict, and subsequently published.²⁶⁴ The article detailed the conditions and staff behaviour of Dorchester penitentiary. The warden believed that representatives from the Canadian press should be asked to visit the institution, and “publish their views regarding conditions existing here; … and get first-hand information of actual conditions at the ‘Big House’.”²⁶⁵ Although some stories were still being published when a disturbance occurred, or some prisoners or former prisoners shared information, overall, there was a shift in the relationship between the press and the Penitentiary Branch. This shift led to the legitimacy of the prisons. As Joao Pedro Costa states, “legitimacy means authority used rightfully”²⁶⁶ This relationship shift could have been a way in which the wardens were able to demonstrate to the press and public that they were operating their prisons in accordance with the *Rules and Regulations* in place.

²⁶³ Correspondence from St. Vincent de Paul Warden to Commissioner of Penitentiaries, 14 April 1948, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 6, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁶⁴ Correspondence from Dorchester Penitentiary Warden to Commissioner of Penitentiaries, 4 February 1950, 1-11-2, Box 12, Vol. 7, Press Publicity, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Joao Pedro Costa, “A Matter of Degree: A Justice Framework for Penal Legitimacy,” *Punishment & Society* 18, no. 4 (2016): 390.

Chapter Five: Professionalization of Prison Guards

It appears that although the idea of penitentiaries was imported into the Dominion of Canada from Great Britain, the organization and operation of such institutions were not, at least not nearly to the same degree as other countries. Canada was placed in a position where it had the physical institutions and the prisoners that occupied them, however, it lacked the trained personnel to operate the penitentiaries and to oversee the prisoners.

The history of the penitentiary officer (also referred to as prison guard, and later as correctional officer in 1952), is a complex and disorganized one. Wardens, Superintendents of Penitentiaries, Commissioners of the Civil Service Commission of Canada, the Commissioner of Penitentiaries and Ministers of Justice, throughout the history of Canada experimented with different ideas, different procedures, and methods in an effort to create a more professional penitentiary officer. It seemed that since the opening of Kingston penitentiary in June of 1835, there were constant attempts to improve staff efficiency, however, these attempts were not always successful and not always productive. Canada saw efforts throughout the twentieth century, however, archival research demonstrates that the major spark to professionalize penitentiary officers really occurred in the years following World War I.

The 1920s saw some efforts to recruit more efficient men. Although the material researched did not outline what qualified a man to be labelled efficient, observations of the Oral Examination Report could shed some light on this term. From this examination report, we can make an educated guess as to what characterized an efficient penitentiary officer. An efficient guard would be a man who was sober, well dressed, able to read and write, have the skills to produce reports, as well as read and understand penitentiary regulations. Men were graded on

these points during their oral examinations. Therefore, we can conclude that any man who scored well on this exam was then considered to be efficient.

The 1930s was the decade that truly saw a great deal of attempts by the Superintendent of Penitentiaries (from here on referred to as Superintendent), the Civil Service Commissioner, and the wardens of the different penitentiaries to professionalize penitentiary officers. These officials used different methods and it was a trial and error process. Everything from advertisement of “Prison Guard” positions, the application, interviewing, examination, and hiring process was impacted by the attempt at professionalization. The Office of the Superintendent of Penitentiaries and the Civil Service Commission of Canada led the process by being the main controlling heads. While wardens were the first contact for applicants, it was the Superintendent who had the final say with respect to hiring.

As Anders Bruhn and his colleagues point out, prison guards are the largest group working in prisons and they “transform prison policy and regulations into everyday practice in interaction with prisoners.”²⁶⁷ Since it is they who transform rules and regulations, it is then incredibly important that they understand what it is that they are transforming into practice. As has been noted, the Penitentiary Service tried to improve itself and the service they were meant to provide (rehabilitation of prisoners) by training their prison officers. This method has been noted by Merritt Gilman who states, “the aim of staff development, through orientation and in-service training, is to improve services by improving staff performance.”²⁶⁸ In their efforts to provide fully qualified and efficient prison guards, the Penitentiary Service attempted to put different steps in the process of finding and training these individuals. Since prison guards had

²⁶⁷ Anders Bruhn, Per Ake Nylander, and Berit Johnsen, “From Prison Guards to ...what? Occupational Development of Prison Officers in Sweden and Norway,” *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 18, no. 1, 2017: 69.

²⁶⁸ Merritt Gilman, “Problems and Progress in Staff Training,” *Crime and Delinquency*, 12, no. 3, 1966: 254.

to be responsible supervisors and leaders, aside from their direct duties, they also had to “have an understanding and knowledge of methods for handling attitudes which are in conflict with the law.”²⁶⁹ In this chapter, I will demonstrate the steps that were put into place by the Service to obtain and train these men. These steps include recruitment and application process, examinations, requirements, eligibility list, and finally training.

Recruitment and Applications

Recruitment processes for penitentiary officer vacancies were simple. The advertisement of vacancies was the duty of the wardens. When recruitment of new officers was required, they distributed posters in the area covered by their respective penitentiaries. Although advertisement was the duty of each warden, they were only able to advertise once they received permission from the office of the Civil Service Commission of Canada. Posters were created by the office of the Civil Service Commission and were distributed to wardens. Therefore, when vacancies occurred, wardens would request permission from the Commissioner prior to the advertisement. Although, in May 1927, it was decided that the Civil Service Commission was to take responsibility for the advertisement of vacancies in order to relieve wardens of clerical duties.²⁷⁰

In the 1920s, the posters were simple in nature, and included the job title, “Prison Guard”, the salary, and the qualifications. The qualifications included the following: primary school education, ability to understand and manage prisoners, honesty and sobriety, ability to understand and follow directions, strength and agility, a minimum height of 5 foot 8 inches, and

²⁶⁹ A. A. Evans, “Correctional Institution Personnel – Amateurs or Professionals?,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 293, Prisons in Transformation, 1954, p.70.

²⁷⁰ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries to all Wardens, 7 May 1927, 1-2-8, Box 3 Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

between the ages of 21 and 35. One exception was made for individuals who served in the military, where height and age requirements did not apply to them.²⁷¹

These posters were advertised in areas surrounding the penitentiaries, some locations included places such as the post office, Army and Navy Veterans and the Canadian Legion of the B.E.S.L Headquarters.²⁷² These locations did not prove to be sufficient in recruiting enough men, and more importantly, qualified men that were required by each penitentiary. The Superintendent at the time stated that “guards being employed at various penitentiaries were being enlisted in a very limited area with the result that it was not found possible to obtain anything like 100% efficiency because of the fact that wardens were forced to take the local men who applied.”²⁷³ This problem led to a discussion of expanding the advertisement locations. In 1926, the Superintendent stated that expansion was necessary, as some applicants, especially those from the Eastern part of Canada, did not meet the height requirements. In expanding their search, the Superintendent stated, “we would not only get a much larger but much better type of men.”²⁷⁴

Expansion of advertisement began to show results as applications were received from places outside the immediate location of each penitentiary. For example, the warden of Kingston penitentiary, located in Kingston, Ontario began to receive applications from men as far as

²⁷¹ “Prison Guards Kingston Penitentiary” poster, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁷² Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries to all Wardens, 7 May 1927, 1-2-8, Box 3 Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁷³ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries Sgd. W.S. Hughes to Prince Albert Penitentiary Warden, 8 September 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁷⁴ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries W.S. Hughes to unidentified recipient, 1 December 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Toronto, Ontario.²⁷⁵ Further discussion of search expansion also allowed certain wardens to advertise outside the province in which they were located. Two examples include Saskatchewan penitentiary and Dorchester penitentiary. On February 9, 1926, the Deputy Minister of Justice wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Civil Service Commission expressing his views on these two penitentiaries. With respect to Saskatchewan penitentiary, he stated that the “warden should have authority to advertise in Alberta. Likewise, in the case of Dorchester, vacant positions should be advertised in all the Maritime Provinces.”²⁷⁶ The rationale behind this proposal was that Dorchester penitentiary, which is located in New Brunswick, accepted prisoners from all the Maritime provinces. Similarly, Saskatchewan penitentiary also accepted prisoners from the province of Alberta. From my research, it is my impression that no further advertisement issues resurfaced, at least not in a matter that required great attention by government officials.

The recruitment process essentially allowed wardens to select the most qualified individuals for the role of prison guard. It can be argued that this is a form of examination, in order to locate and employ the desired candidates, this can be a very important part of the hiring process. The advertisement portion of the recruitment process is then the preliminary step in gathering qualified individuals.

Examination was very essential for Foucault, within his discussion on discipline. As has been outlined in Chapter Two, Foucault saw examination as a method of extracting knowledge from the subject, which can then be applied back on the subject to exercise disciplinary power. To the Penitentiary Service, recruitment was the first step in the examination of candidates.

²⁷⁵ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries Sgd. W.S. Hughes to Prince Albert Penitentiary Warden, 8 September 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁷⁶ Correspondence from Deputy Minister to The Secretary, The Civil Service Commission, 9 February, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Examinations would allow them to place individuals into different categories that could then be used to construct desired employees.

Applying for a “Prison Guard” Position

Once advertisement posters were displayed, the next step was to await the applications of interested men. Interested applicants were to apply directly to the warden of the penitentiary in which they wished to be employed. The warden would then conduct some examinations, the results of those examinations would then enable the warden to either recommend or not recommend the applicant for employment. The application, the examination reports, and the recommendation of the warden would then be mailed to the office of the Superintendent. Upon the recommendation of the warden, the Superintendent would then either approve or deny employment of the applicant.

Much like the overall picture of professionalization of penitentiary officers and setting up a system of obtaining these men, the process of applying for a position came with confusion. Prior to the 1920s, individuals would apply directly to the warden of the desired penitentiary. In some instances, it seemed that confusion was something that could not be avoided. For example, in 1926, there was confusion on the part of one warden as to what to do with an application once received. In a letter to the Superintendent, the warden of St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary wrote “there seems to be a misunderstanding as to what we are really supposed to do when a man makes an application for a position of prison guard.”²⁷⁷ Another instance of confusion was when an individual submitted his application to the Civil Service Commission, rather than applying

²⁷⁷ Correspondence from St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary Acting Warden to Superintendent of Penitentiaries, 2 November 1926 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

directly to the warden of his preferred penitentiary.²⁷⁸ This confusion and disorganization was not exclusive to applications. We see further disorganization with respect to examinations and qualifications as will be discussed in the following section.

Examinations

Examinations of applicants were conducted by the warden upon receipt of an application. Examinations consisted of three categories: medical, oral, and written. The applicant received a score for each examination, and all corresponding documents were sent to the Office of the Superintendent along with the recommendations of the warden. This process sounds simple enough, however in reality, this process and the order of the examinations to be completed were complex and puzzling to the individuals involved, namely the wardens.

Over the years, there were many changes to the order in which the examinations took place. Prior to 1926, the order of the examinations was conducted as follows: medical and physical examinations, written examination, and finally the oral examination.²⁷⁹ The medical and physical exams were conducted by the surgeon of the penitentiary. This exam needed to be passed by the candidate, before they were eligible to take the written exam. Here we have the perfect example to demonstrate Foucault's concept on examination. As Foucault explains, examinations are used to extract knowledge by the disciplinary power,²⁸⁰ which can then use the knowledge and apply it to the subject it wishes to exercise its power over. With respect to the examinations, if an individual was found unqualified based on the physical and medical examination, the examination stage was then put to an end. The information gathered from the

²⁷⁸ Correspondence from Secretary W. Foran to Mr. Edmond Serge Raynault, 25 October, 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁷⁹ Correspondence from Secretary to all Wardens, 1 September 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁸⁰ Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 187.

physical and medical examination allowed officials to make a decision on what the next step would be for the candidate.

The written exam was conducted by the Civil Service Commission. Once a candidate passed the written examination, the oral examination was then traditionally conducted by the warden. The failure of the first portion of examinations would eliminate the candidate. On the written portion, 60% was required to pass, and finally a rating of 75% was required on both the written and oral portions in order to succeed to the eligibility list.²⁸¹

The above examination scheme proved to be unsatisfactory, as it failed to truly eliminate those who were unqualified for the position of penitentiary officer. It was noted that during this time, there was a high turnover rate for this position.²⁸² In order to combat the turnover rate and to filter through applicants better, a new examination scheme was drafted by the Office of the Civil Service Commission in January of 1926. The new scheme was conducted as follows: a medical and physical examination, a written examination, followed by an intelligence and memory test, a duties test (to test general capacity of the work of a prison guard), and finally an oral examination.²⁸³ It is unclear how successful this scheme was, especially considering a different order of examinations was introduced in the following year. This process of forming different examination scheme is an example of how disciplinary power could work. The observation of prison guards would create knowledge about the kinds of qualifications the examination ought to be screening for. Therefore, the observation of prison guards' performance is a key step for disciplinary power.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Correspondence from Civil Service Commission Secretary to W. Stuart Edwards, Deputy Minister of Justice, 16 January 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²⁸³ Ibid.

It appears that what they were trying to do was put into place an examination scheme that by the end of the process, whomever was successful, would be the ideal qualified candidate for the position. This was a large challenge for the Service, and an even bigger challenge came when they faced high turnover rates. In a letter from the Civil Service Commission Secretary, it appears that the Secretary believed that the high turnover rates were based on the failure of the examination schemes to eliminate unqualified men.²⁸⁴ The Secretary believed that if a proper examination scheme was in place, all successful candidates would then not terminate their employment upon being in the field. They saw the examinations as a failure for allowing these individuals to pass. It can be assumed that this shuffling of examinations would go on until a scheme was successful in securing desired candidates, candidates that would remain employed within their prisons and not terminate their employment.

In 1927, a circular letter sent out by the Superintendent to all wardens outlined a different order of examinations. He stated that applicants were to undergo an oral examination, followed by a medical examination, with a written examination to be arranged later on, by the Civil Service Commission, provided applicants achieved successful scores on their first two examinations.²⁸⁵ It is unclear if this examination scheme was more successful than the previous layout, as archival research is lacking documentation. It also does not appear as though the content of the exams changed very much over time, simply the order in which they were administered. Although this is not confirmed by any material that was researched, there was no mention in any correspondence or conferences of the content of the examinations.

Perhaps the oral examination was changed to first place because more information could be gathered at this stage. A medical examination would only inform the warden if the applicant

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries to all Wardens, 22 June 1927, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

met the physical requirements of the position and gives no additional knowledge on the skills and capabilities of the applicant. A second reason as to why oral examinations were changed to first place could potentially have to do with the confessional nature of the examination. From the three examinations, the oral examination would be the only one where applicants are given a platform to share things about themselves and their history.

An oral examination would provide the warden with information on the applicant's appearance, stature, and sobriety. This allowed the warden to see clearly if the applicant was able to answer questions and if he understood the regulations. This is a great deal of knowledge for the warden to have and to decide whether an applicant should proceed to the next examination or not. This reason is precisely why Foucault found examinations to be so important. An individual in power is able to gather information and use that knowledge to make decisions that will affect the person whose information was collected, the applicant. As indicated above, examinations were used to eliminate unqualified applicants, and changing the order of the examinations was meant to help improve this process.

While it is important to demonstrate what the oral and written exams consisted of, unfortunately, only a copy of the Oral Examination Report was found. The report is broken down into three categories, A, B, and C. The warden was to mark in each category whether the applicant was "ideal" which was rated 100%, "barely satisfactory" which was rated at 60%, or "unsatisfactory" which was any score below 60%.²⁸⁶ The back of the form simply asked if the applicant was qualified or not, if not, to list the reasons as to why he was not. The factors to be considered in each category were as follows:

- A) "Having checked over the career of the candidate with him briefly, what value would you attach to it as fitting him for employment as a Prison Guard? Consider his training, his

²⁸⁶ Oral Examination Report, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

experience, and his record of employment, including, so far as you can judge, his record of integrity and sobriety. Where would you rank him...”²⁸⁷

- B) “Consider the intelligence and mental alertness of the candidate. How does he react to questioning? Is he quick to grasp the trend of your questions and able to express himself intelligently and readily? Can he understand and follow directions? (read a regulation to the applicant and question him as to his understanding of it.) Can he read and write? Can he keep count? (make an actual test.) Can he make simple reports? (Have the applicant write down in your presence a short statement of his career and attach it to this form.)”²⁸⁸
- C) “Make a careful observation of the candidate. Notice his personal appearance and his neatness in dress. How do his personality and manners impress you? Do you consider him the right type for a Prison Guard?”²⁸⁹

The Oral Examination Report left much discretion to the warden himself, which was intended by the Civil Service Commission, as the warden is responsible for his own penitentiary and therefore must ensure the staff is as efficient and qualified as possible. What we are seeing here is that much of the data collection portion of the recruitment process heavily relied on the examinations, and more importantly, on the oral examination. Considering the data above, so much was covered by the oral examination. This step not only allowed wardens to judge applicants on different skills, but also on the behaviour of the applicant and his sense of civility.

When examining portions A and C of the oral exam, we can see that applicants were judged on things related to civility. For example, they were judged on the way they dressed and their sobriety. This is fascinating in that it demonstrated higher qualities, qualities related to civility that were sought after by the Penitentiary Service. Although it is unknown if dress and sobriety were examined before this time, however at some point they became important and marked a change in making prisons a more civilized environment.

In examining ‘civilization’ we can look to the work of Norbert Elias. Elias describes the civilizing process as “a change of human conduct and sentiment in a quite specific direction.”²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

Interpreting Elias' work on the civilizing process, John Pratt explains that for Elias, “‘civilizing’ was one element in a triad of controls whereby individuals exercised self-control.”²⁹¹ When did this idea of exercising self-control form? Elias explains that this civilizing process was not an intentional change by people, but rather that they “gradually realize it by conscious, ‘rational’.”²⁹² This process and changing of views then translated into everyday society, which also included prisons. If society was becoming more civilized, so then should the prisons, if these institutions were meant to reintegrate prisoners back to the community upon completion of their sentence.

In order to make sense of the requirements on the oral examination, we can come to the conclusion that perhaps having ‘civilized’ guards would give the prison a sense a ‘civility’. Pratt discusses this very topic in his work when he explains, “to make prison ‘civilized’: that is to say, to give it a visibility and form that brings it into line with the penal sensitivities of a society that likes to think of itself as civilized: out of the concerns to construct a penal institution to suit these values has come the uncivilized prison.”²⁹³ Pratt states that there was/is an effort to make prison more civilized in order to meet the standards of society.

Requirements/Qualifications

Individuals in power and institutional heads faced many issues with respect to penitentiary officers’ qualifications. Some qualifications were simple in nature and did not cause any form of concern or objection from wardens for the majority of the time. One qualification to becoming a penitentiary officer was to be a natural born citizen. According to regulation number

²⁹⁰ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1982), 299.

²⁹¹ John Pratt, “Norbert Elias and the Civilized Prison,” *British Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 2 (1999): 272.

²⁹² Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1982), 299.

²⁹³ John Pratt, “Norbert Elias and the Civilized Prison,” *British Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 2 (1999): 271.

485 of the 1933 *Penitentiary Regulations*, “no person shall be appointed to a position in a penitentiary unless he is a natural born or naturalized British subject and also has been a resident of Canada for at least five years immediately preceding date of application.”²⁹⁴ Applicants were also required to produce a birth certificate or any document that would prove their age, that would be acceptable by a court of law.²⁹⁵ These essential requirements were not challenged by wardens or any individual of power. This could have perhaps been an attempt by the Service to only employ Canadian citizens, thus meaning Caucasian Anglo-Saxon males. This would have provided the Service with a very specific group of individuals to govern. Further, since part of a penitentiary officer’s role is to be the ideal model citizen, this would then be portrayed to prisoners. That an Anglo-Saxon man is the ideal model and occupied the ideal characteristics of Canada’s society, and therefore this would be portrayed onto the prisoners.

A further qualification was extended to returned soldiers. These individuals were not subject to the height, age, or educational requirements as their fellow applicants.²⁹⁶ In fact, preference was given to individuals who had served in the military or naval force. Regulation 499(c) of the 1933 *Penitentiary Regulations* read: “In the selection of applicants for appointment, preference shall be given to persons who have been on active service overseas in the military, or who have served on the high seas on a ship of war in the naval forces of His Majesty, or of any of the allies of His Majesty during the war 1914-1921, and who left such service with an honourable record or have been honourably discharged.”²⁹⁷ In 1946, World War II was also

²⁹⁴ *Penitentiary Regulations*, 1933, s. 485,
<https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/ke%2097%20p452%201946-eng.pdf>

²⁹⁵ Ibid., s. 494.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., s. 491(b).

²⁹⁷ Ibid., s. 499(c).

included in the regulations, where any returning soldiers were exempt from height requirements.²⁹⁸

The preference given to returned soldiers did not create problems or concerns for many years, and this was perhaps due to the skills that soldiers would have possessed. It can be argued that individuals who served in the military would have undergone disciplinary, physical and weapons training. As we will see in the training portion of this chapter, prison guards were put through physical military-style training and were required to participate in military drills. It could be argued that this was a method in which guards were taught discipline. It could have also been a method of physical exercise, to ensure all guards were physically fit for the demands of corrections. Later on in the chapter, we also learn that guards had to go through weapons training, as weapons were used in Canadian prisons. Taking this information into consideration, we can then conclude that under these requirements, soldiers were then very suitable for corrections, as they had already obtained the required training. Considering the nature of the job of a prison guard – watching over prisoners, stopping fights, and preventing escape – it is understandable to ensure guards were physically fit and possessed the skills necessary to operate the weapons required. However, an important point to keep in mind is that returned soldiers may not have possessed the rehabilitation knowledge necessary for this position.

The preference given to returned soldiers was not challenged until the 1950s when one warden indicated preference should not be given to these individuals, when others may be more qualified. This specific subject will be discussed further in the ‘eligibility list’ portion of this chapter. Other essential requirements such as height, age and education, these categories caused much more discussion and amendments to regulations. These requirements were set out in the

²⁹⁸ Correspondence from G. L. Sauvant, Inspector, Acting Superintendent to Dorchester Penitentiary Warden, 12 November 1946, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Penitentiary Regulations, but were amended time and time again, depending on the needs and concerns of wardens and their penitentiaries.

Height

Prior to 1920, the minimum height requirement for a penitentiary officer was 5 feet 9 inches, as set out in regulation number 4 of the 1899 *Penitentiary Regulations*. This requirement was changed on February 28th, 1920 when the Minister of Justice authorized the amendment, which reduced the minimum height requirement to 5 feet 8 inches.²⁹⁹ The height requirement remained unchanged for many years, however, certain views were expressed either to increase the height or allow it to remain at 5 feet 8 inches. The subject was revisited at the 1924 Wardens' Conference, with a majority vote for keeping the requirement unchanged.³⁰⁰ The subject was again revisited in 1932, when the warden of British Columbia penitentiary recommended that the height requirement be changed to 5 feet 9 inches, in order to obtain larger guards, as he believed that the guards he had in his penitentiary were not large enough.³⁰¹ This concern was brought up again in 1951 during the Wardens' Conference, when some wardens wanted to increase the height while others wanted to maintain it. The reasoning mentioned at the conference was that guards who were 5 feet 9 inches would be better able to reach the locking devices.³⁰² After much discussion, it was decided that the height would remain 5 feet 8 inches. The decision to maintain the same height, was most likely linked to the known knowledge at the time that eastern men tend to be a little smaller. Therefore, if the height was to be increased, even by an inch, it would prevent men from being qualified and there might be a shortage of

²⁹⁹ Memorandum from Superintendent of Penitentiaries W.S. Hughes to Minister of Justice, 26 January 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁰⁰ Meeting Minutes, Wardens' Convention 1924-1925, 1-18-8, vol. 30, Wardens' Convention, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁰¹ Memorandum from Superintendent of Penitentiaries to Minister of Justice, 31 August 1932, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁰² Second Session, Wardens' Conference, 18 June 1951, 1-18-13, Box 31, vol. 1, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

recruits. Although there was much discussion over the years, and concerns expressed by wardens, the height requirement remained unchanged for decades. The same could not be said with respect to the minimum and maximum age requirements.

Age

The requirements of minimum and maximum age were more complex than the requirements of height or education, as individuals can show more maturity, knowledge, and work ethic at different ages. Over the decades, we see the minimum age requirements at different levels such as 21, 23, 24, 25 and back again.

Prior to World War I, the minimum age requirement for becoming a penitentiary officer was 21 with the maximum being 35.³⁰³ In 1924, the requirement was increased to a minimum of 25 years,³⁰⁴ upon the Civil Service Commission taking over the appointments of custodial officers.³⁰⁵ This increase to a 25 years minimum, placed a great deal of hardship on the wardens and their penitentiaries. Upon expressing their concern to the Superintendent, it was recommended to the Minister of Justice that the minimum age be returned to 21.³⁰⁶ With the approval of the Minister of Justice, on the 17th of March 1926, the minimum age was returned to 21 years of age once again.³⁰⁷

The minimum age was set at 21 years old, although the 1933 *Penitentiary Regulations* do not indicate why this was the limit, a calculated assumption could be made. Based on meeting minutes of a 1957 Wardens' Conference, a conclusion of maturity level and life experience could

³⁰³ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries W. S. Hughes to Minister of Justice, 12 March 1926, 1-2-8, 3 File Part 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁰⁴ Meeting Minutes, Wardens' Convention 1924-1925, page 61, 1-18-8, vol. 30, Wardens' Convention, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁰⁵ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries W. S. Hughes to Minister of Justice, 12 March 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Correspondence from Civil Service Commission Secretary to W.S. Edwards Deputy Minister of Justice, 22 March 1926, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

be gathered regarding this issue. From the meeting minutes of this conference, one could gather that wardens preferred applicants who not only met the minimum requirements, but also had some sort of life or work experience that they could contribute to the penitentiary. For example, during the same conference, the Saskatchewan penitentiary warden indicated that he had issues with young men coming to him at 21 years old, who had a grade eight education, and had only worked at the family farm until they were old enough to become prison guards. He indicated that they met the minimum age and education, but “they haven’t learned or done anything since then.”³⁰⁸ He went on to say that he usually turns these individuals away and informs them to come back in a few years “when they have something that they can offer the Service than their age and Gr. 8 education.”³⁰⁹ From this, it appears that applicants needed more than to meet the minimum requirements, but to have some form of life experience as well. This could be the reason the minimum age was set to 21, to allow individuals to earn work and life experience before applying to be a prison guard.

During the same conference, many wardens wished to increase the minimum age to 23, to allow for men to acquire the experience needed. Another issue that was discussed at the 1957 Wardens’ Conference was related to maturity, and the problem with some men being more mature than others at 21 years old. Also for this reason, the age was raised to 23. Perhaps the issues of experience and maturity are linked, and wardens believed 23 was a more realistic age to meet what they were looking for in applicants.

The age requirement would go unchanged for over a decade, until the second World War began to place a strain on the penitentiaries. Young men were sent off to war, thus affecting the recruitment of penitentiary officers. In 1941, it was recommended by the Inspector of

³⁰⁸ Second Session, Wardens’ Conference, 30 May 1957, 1-18-17, Box 33, Vol. 2, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

Penitentiaries to the Superintendent that the maximum age requirements ought to be relaxed, at least for the duration of the war.³¹⁰ The Inspector referenced the maximum age for military service is 40 and that should also be good enough for penitentiary officers, at least for the time being. Increasing the maximum age to 40 years was then suggested by the Superintendent to the wardens. He suggested that they ought to accept any applicant over the age of 35, this would allow them to obtain guards while allowing younger men to give their time to military service.

This temporary solution to the problem at the time was just that, temporary. This adjustment, although a solution, came with concern. The Superintendent explained to the wardens that any man who was 35 years of age or older must be informed that his employment was simply for the duration of the war, and that he would be replaced with a younger man once the war had concluded.³¹¹ The concern with this suggestion was that any person hired, who was informed that he would be terminated after the war was over might not take his position very seriously, which could cause problems within the Penitentiary Service.³¹² If these men believed they would be employed permanently, they would put greater effort and interest in their work.

Such change in qualifications would require an amendment to regulation number 491 of the *Penitentiary Act*. The Superintendent suggested that a sub-section would need to be included, reading “Applicants appointed since the war 1939 and who had passed their thirty-fifth birthday on date of appointment will cease to be employed after the war.”³¹³ It is important to note that the relaxation of the age requirement during World War II was a suggestion that was

³¹⁰ Correspondence from Inspector to Superintendent of Penitentiaries, 4 June 1941, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³¹¹ Correspondence from Acting Superintendent of Penitentiaries to all Wardens, 6 June 1941, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ *Ibid.*

made to the wardens, however it is unknown if this change occurred, as archival research has not demonstrated this point.

Based on my research, there does not seem to be another change to age requirements until the 1957 Warden's Conference when both the minimum and maximum requirements were amended. With respect to the minimum age of 21, wardens expressed opinions that some men were not as mature as others at the same age. This posed an issue when they had two men who were both 21 years of age, but only one was found mature enough for the Service and was then hired. One warden indicated that there was more than physical age that ought to be considered, such as intellectual age, emotional age, and maturity.³¹⁴ This was a view that many wardens shared, and after a vote was held, it was agreed to raise the minimum age to 23 years old.

At the same conference, the maximum age was also debated, and it was encouraged to increase it past the age of 35. One warden expressed his reasoning by stating the following, "we are refusing some pretty solid types on this question of age and we are competing with man power due to the low birth rate in the depression thirties."³¹⁵ He further stated that an applicant who is hired at 45 years of age, is still able to produce 15 years of service. In addition to this point, the Kingston penitentiary warden indicated that a survey in the United States was completed by the Department of Labour where they found that men between the ages of 40 and 45 were less likely to be absent from work and less accident prone.³¹⁶ All the wardens, with the exception of the St. Vincent de Paul warden (who wanted it to remain at 35), requested to increase the age to 45 years. As a compromise, the maximum age was set to 40 years old.

³¹⁴ Second Session, Wardens' Conference, 30 May 1957, 1-18-17, Box 33, Vol. 2, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

This could be related to the same discussion that was had with respect to the minimum age change. If wardens were looking for individuals who had life and work experience, who were educated and mature (whatever that maturity level might look like to the Penitentiary Service), then increasing the maximum age would allow the recruitment of men that would meet the requirements of the Service. Since these men would be older, they would have presumably gathered the experience and skills throughout their adult life that could be offered to the Penitentiary Service.

Throughout the decades, we see the Penitentiary Service struggle with the age requirements in an attempt to deal with issues of being understaffed, of applicants who lack maturity, and of denying men who otherwise would be well suited for the role of a prison guard. It seems that they had created a specific category, an image of who the ideal prison guard was. Someone who was in his mid-20s to mid-30s, someone who was in good physical shape, who was educated, sober, and well dressed. Perhaps they were trying to produce someone who was an ideal citizen, as an example for the prisoners. Or someone who may not be limited by an older age and therefore an older body, someone who may not have a family which would allow them to dedicate themselves to the Service, and perform their job with seriousness. Someone who can fully dedicate themselves to the work and be the docile body that Foucault spoke of. Perhaps the Service believed that this specific age range would provide them with the perfect recruits that could be molded and transformed into the ideal prison guards.

Another struggle with respect to minimum requirements was education level. Although minimum education requirements did not undergo multiple changes as the issue of age did, there were issues within this category as well.

Education

The 1933 *Penitentiary Regulations* stated that the minimum educational level required was the “graduation from an elementary grade school of one of the provinces of Canada.”³¹⁷ Graduation from elementary grade school was grade six in the province of Quebec, and grade eight in the remaining provinces of Canada. Applicants were required to provide a certificate of elementary school education, issued by the Department of Education from a Canadian province.³¹⁸ By reviewing the 1920s “Prison Guard” advertisement, we can conclude that the educational requirements were also a minimum of grade eight education.³¹⁹ The reason for the minimum grade eight education level, according to the meeting minutes of the 1957 Wardens’ Conference, was due to the fact that most men at the time did not have an education level higher than grade eight.³²⁰ According to discussions at the conference, a higher education was rare. From this, we can conclude that grade eight was the minimum requirement to allow for a larger pool of applicants. Although further reasoning for this education requirement was not found, we can presume that by the time an individual had completed grade eight, they would possess the skills of reading, writing, and simple mathematics, which were all required of a prison guard. These skills would allow them to engage in record keeping and report production as part of their occupation.

For the time-period we are examining, the minimum educational requirements did not change, however in the 1950s different discussions occurred with respect to education. For example, during the 1955 Wardens’ Conference, one warden indicated his concerns with the education of the officers. He suggested, that although a grade eight level education was required

³¹⁷ *Penitentiary Regulations*, 1933, s. 490,
<https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/ke%2097%20p452%201946-eng.pdf>.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Portsmouth Penitentiary “Prison Guard” poster, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³²⁰ Second Session, Wardens’ Conference, 30 May 1957, 1-18-17, Box 33, Vol. 2, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

to be employed as an officer, the officers should undergo written examination prior to any increase to salary or promotion.³²¹

This discussion returned once again at the Wardens' Conference in 1957 where some wardens expressed their views on the education requirement. Some wardens believed that while applicants possessed a grade eight education, they were very much lacking knowledge, maturity, and something to offer the Service. These wardens wanted to see the minimum increased to grade ten.³²² This would allow for better educated men working in the Service.

The counter-argument here was that some wardens believed that increasing the grade level to ten would be a very troubling decision with heavy repercussions. Two main reasons were established for maintaining the grade eight requirement. First, it was pointed out that if the grade was increased, that 95% of the men on the eligibility list would have to be removed, as they did not have more than grade eight education.³²³ A second point was that some men may have not had a choice with respect to continuing their education, due to an illness or death of the father, or both parents. Perhaps the individual was forced to leave his education, in order to work and provide for his family, therefore obtaining other knowledge, outside the school system.³²⁴ For these two main reasons, it was decided to allow the education requirement to remain the same.

In the 1960s, with the expansion of penitentiaries across Canada, there was the development of different level security prisons. The minimum-security penitentiaries were very different with respect to their prisoners and their staff. Although a minimum-security

³²¹ Correspondence from J. B. Martineau, Director of Federal Training Centre to Commissioner of Penitentiaries, Wardens' Conference, 7 April 1955, File 1-18-15, Box 33, Vol. 3, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³²² Second Session, Wardens' Conference, 30 May 1957, 1-18-17, Box 33, Vol. 2, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

penitentiary was still a place of custody, the prisoners that presided within it were believed to be less dangerous. These prisoners were believed to require minimum security and were very capable of rehabilitation and re-integration into the community. The penitentiary officers who were employed in these institutions required more education, maturity, and a genuine interest in their work. In 1962, it was noted that minimum-security penitentiary officers, also known as Camp Officers required a grade twelve education.³²⁵

Although there was no detailed reason found as to why Camp Officers required a higher level of education, an educated guess could be made here. As has been stated, prisoners found in minimum-security prisons are prime candidates for rehabilitation, therefore, they require a better understanding from their prison guards. Frank Ferdik tells us that in order to successfully rehabilitate prisoners, prison guards should be understanding of their circumstance, and be willing to help with any problem a prisoner may have, while also acting as a counselor.³²⁶ He also states that when officers adopt a more positive attitude towards prisoners, rehabilitation is more likely.³²⁷

For this reason, it could be argued that in order to ensure rehabilitation of these prime candidates, that officers with higher education and maturity were required, as they would be skilled enough and possess the right attitude to work with these prisoners. Better educated officers might also have the knowledge of the theories behind criminality, and can therefore understand their prisoners better. It could also be argued that a higher level of education could be linked to a higher level of civility, which could assist with rehabilitation. The other requirement for the position of Camp Officer was to have a genuine interest in the work. If an

³²⁵ Memorandum from G. C. Koz to D.I.T. 22 August 1962, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³²⁶ Frank Valentino Ferdik, “Correctional Officer Risk Perceptions and Professional Orientations: Examining Linkage Between the Two,” *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 45, no. 2 (2018): 265.

³²⁷ Ibid.

officer had a genuine interest in his work, he would then presumably have a more positive attitude towards the prisoners, which as Ferdik tells us, would lead to a better chance at rehabilitation.

Education requirement is another area where we can see that there was a struggle for improvement and the obtaining of more educated men, however the population present at the time did not allow for the changes that were sought after. In keeping with Foucauldian thought, we can see that through educational requirements, the Penitentiary Service was able to target a specific population and attempt to make specific groups from that population. The Service did not employ just any applicant, they had to possess a certain level of education, which was grade eight. As has been discussed, this was perhaps because by this time individuals would have obtained the required skills of reading, writing, and basic mathematics. Possessing these skills would make them capable of learning and understanding the instructions pertaining to their role as penitentiary officers. Therefore, through disciplinary power and control, as Foucault explains, they could be turned into the desired workers.

What is interesting to note here is that perhaps disciplinary training did not fully function as it was meant to, since wardens were looking to increase the minimum level of education by the 1950s. Some wardens, as has been observed, were unsuccessful in obtaining that goal due to circumstances beyond their control. They came to the realization that to have better and more efficient officers, they needed to be better educated. Perhaps a better educated group would allow for better discipline.

Although wardens did not receive their wish of increasing the educational level, thereby increasing officer efficiency, this did however work out for minimum-security facilities. As we have seen, the minimum education level for these minimum-security prisons was grade 12,

which was an obtainable goal as there were fewer positions available in comparison to regular prisons. Therefore, any applicant who had a grade 12 education was then qualified (based on educational level) to be a Camp Officer, which demanded a higher level of efficiency.

Eligibility List

Along with the examination process and recommending applicants for employment, wardens were also required to maintain a wait-list which was referred to as an “eligibility list” or a “qualified list”. When wardens conducted a cycle of examinations for new recruits, they would compile a list of qualified men, in the order of best to least qualified. After a list had been established, any person interviewed and found qualified, no matter their level of qualification, were placed at the bottom of the list. Wardens were instructed to hire candidates in the order in which they appeared on the list. This posed problems for wardens, as sometimes other more qualified men would be added to the list, however, because they were further down on the list, wardens were forced to take a less qualified person, simply because their name appeared first.

Many wardens, if not all, were very much against the idea of the eligibility list, and called for its abolishment, however, the list remained for decades. Over the years, wardens expressed their views very strongly at the annual Wardens’ Conferences and through correspondence. For example, in a letter to the Superintendent of Penitentiaries in 1924, the warden of Saskatchewan penitentiary stated the following: “there might be one or two men on our eligible list when a vacancy occurs, and at the same time, when a vacancy occurs, we may have a man looking for a position who would make much better guard, both physically and otherwise, and rate him much higher than any one of our list and we would not be able to employ him.”³²⁸

³²⁸ Correspondence from Saskatchewan Penitentiary Warden to Superintendent of Penitentiaries, 11 October 1924, 1-2-8, Box 3, Vol. 1, Prison Guards – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Issues were brought up again in 1929, with respect to returning soldiers and the given preference to these men. As mentioned before, the age and height requirements did not apply to service men in the military or navy. In addition to requirements not applying to this group, they were also given a preference and placed at the top of the eligibility list. Wardens had an issue with this process, and at the same conference, the warden of Kingston penitentiary stated, "... we must remember those who are now applying for positions are not always desirable. Take, for example, a returned soldier who comes to you seeking a position. You may mark him 60, but when his application gets to the Civil Service Commission they mark him 100 and his name is put at the head of the list and you are forced to take him."³²⁹ This was an issue for the wardens as they were forced to employ men that were less qualified than others, which would not be in the best interest of the penitentiary. It should be noted that wardens were meant to be in charge of their own penitentiaries and to know what was in the best interest for their prisons. In this instance however, they were forced to relinquish control of who was hired.

This policy forced wardens to employ a candidate whom they deemed less qualified, while knowing that there was a better suited candidate for the position. Protests from wardens for decades to remove the eligibility list were unsuccessful, however, in 1954 there was a solution that was put into place. On August 31st, 1954, the 1933 *Penitentiary Regulations* were amended to change the rules of the eligibility list. The regulation of interest is number 499(a)(b) which read: "appointment is made without regard for respective dates of applicants or the order in which names appear on the Qualified List; the Warden recommends for appointment the

³²⁹ Morning Session, Wardens' Conference, 1 October 1929, page 12, 1-18-4, Box 30, Wardens Convention, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

applicants who, in his judgement, is best qualified.”³³⁰ Although this change in rules may have brought relief to wardens, it is unclear if this amendment also applied to returned soldiers.³³¹

Training

Training of penitentiary officers has not always been part of the history of Canadian penitentiaries. The development of training during the time-period that this work covers is a slow one, directly affected by a financial lens. From examining correspondence, we can identify that part of the reason training was a slow development was due to finances. It seems that developing and building a training school was too costly. Officials took into consideration whether to pay for travel, room and board for employees across the country to attend one central training school, or whether to open multiple training schools across the country. Another issue, which will be discussed below, is whether provinces were willing to help financially to develop and open training schools. Costs seemed to be an obstacle that stood in the way of developing training schools.

As we will see through the decades, a push for an outlet to train penitentiary officers was discussed many times, however, the financial aspect of developing this outlet was an obstacle. Over the decades, the training of penitentiary officers transformed from being the responsibility of the warden to the responsibility of other officials within the Department of Justice. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the real spark to implement a form of training occurred in the 1930s, however, it is important to note how training, if any, was conducted prior to that time.

When it came to training, the *Penitentiary Regulations* of 1870 outlined both the role of the warden, as well as the role of the penitentiary officer. Regulation number nine outlined the

³³⁰ “Staff Selection and Training in the Canadian (Federal) Penitentiary Service”, Wardens’ Conference 1954-1955, page 3, 1-18-15, Box 32, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³³¹ Meeting with former correctional officer who pointed out that anyone with military service was given preference (1980s).

duties of the warden as follows, “he shall see that all officers under him are careful, vigilant and zealous, in the performance of their duties, and shall be responsible for the efficient administration of every department of the prison.”³³² The breakdown of this regulation provides us with the perfect example of governance, in relation to Foucault’s work. This regulation allows for the warden of a prison to have complete control over his guards, however, it is to be done in a specific way. Due to the specific direction of the regulations, the warden then is not the governing power in this situation, but rather a tool of the government. What we are seeing here is the governmentality that was expressed by Foucault, which Li defines as the ‘conduct of conduct’. The government is using the *Penitentiary Regulations* and wardens as tools in their governance of prison guards. Therefore, this calculated governance of the guards would then produce the efficient prison guard.

Regulation number 261 outlined the duties of the officers as follows, “It shall be the duty of every officer of the penitentiary to make himself acquainted with the provisions of the Penitentiary Act, also with the rules and regulations of the prison, and with orders and Order Book; to obey them readily himself in all points of his own duty, and to enforce a strict obedience of them upon others under him in the execution of theirs.”³³³ The responsibilities were both on the warden to make sure his staff was efficient, and on the officer to ensure he was informed as to what was expected of him.

In 1887 and 1889, we see a shift in the *Penitentiary Regulations* that more directly explained the wardens’ role when training penitentiary officers. Regulation number 45 read, “The Warden shall, on the first Tuesday of every month, order a muster of the officers in their

³³² Penitentiary Regulations 1870 cited in Memorandum from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to Royal Commission Investigating the Penal System of Canada, 7 December 1937, page 1, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³³³ Ibid.

hall, for the purpose of reading over and explaining to them the rules and regulations. At St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, the rules and regulations shall be read and explained in French and English.”³³⁴ Along similar lines with respect to the duties of the wardens, regulation number 19 of the *Penitentiary Regulations* of 1898 stated that the warden “shall be careful to report to the Inspector any officer whom he finds physically unfit, or immoral character, or otherwise incompetent; and shall frequently examine the members of the staff as to their knowledge of the regulations which apply to their duties, respectively.”³³⁵ The duty of the warden seemed to have been not only to provide knowledge and training, but also to recommend the removal of anyone he deemed unfit.

Wardens played an important role in Canada’s Penitentiary Service, as they were responsible for staffing, training, and ensuring efficiency of their staff, among other things. Based on their responsibilities, it can be argued that these individuals played the most important role in the Service. The role they took on was not simple by any means, and this could have had to do with why they were the first to really push for a system of training. At the Wardens’ Conference in 1924, there was a discussion of training penitentiary officers, and many wardens felt very strongly about officers receiving training before being able to handle prisoners. During that time, it was well known that many countries had implemented training for their penitentiary officers, and the results were very favourable.³³⁶ The wardens wanted Canada to join these nations in this decision, and in fact, a vote was cast in favour of establishing a training school.³³⁷

Aside from the obvious benefits of training staff before they are placed in their role, one of the main reasons that was cited for the decision to establish a training school was that this

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid., 2.

³³⁶ Meeting Minutes, Wardens Convention 1924, page 7, 1-18-8, Box 30, Wardens Convention, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

³³⁷ Ibid.

particular occupation was semi-military, and for that reason, training was essential.³³⁸ Despite a vote and much interest, a training school for penitentiary officers was never established. This led to a very similar chain of events at the 1929 Wardens' Conference, where wardens expressed their interest and once again voted on the establishment of a training school.³³⁹ There was no further movement on this topic for a few years.

Efforts were sparked in 1932 upon an investigation into Kingston penitentiary in October of the same year. The investigation found that efficiency of penitentiary officers was at an all-time low.³⁴⁰ This finding, combined with the interest of training officers finally created the push to improve officer efficiency. Although efficiency was not defined by Penitentiary Service officials, by reviewing the Oral Examination Report, we can speculate how they defined efficiency. They searched for men who were sober, well dressed, who possessed the skills to read and write, to produce reports and keep count, and can understand the *Penitentiary Regulations*. Based on the Oral Examination Report, we can presume that any penitentiary officer that satisfied the requirements listed, would then be an efficient prison guard. With this in mind, the Superintendent began to communicate with wardens, collect data with respect to training and attempt to compile different training and efficiency schemes.

In the same year, to combat poor efficiency within penitentiary officers, he proposed a scheme to the Minister of Justice. This plan recommended fixed requirements with respect to physical fitness and education, a probationary period of three months, followed by examinations. The examinations were to test the officers on “their knowledge of the care and handling of firearms, penitentiary guard duties and written examination on *Penitentiary Rules and Regulations*

³³⁸ Ibid., 115.

³³⁹ Meeting Minutes, Wardens Convention 1929, page 120, 1-18-4, Box 30, Wardens Convention, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁴⁰ Memorandum to Minister of Justice, 9 December 1932, page 1, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 1, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

required to be known by a guard.³⁴¹ With respect to training, he recommended it be done at once and through the least expensive method. The least expensive method that he proposed was to employ the services of the Department of National Defence, which would cover the training of: care and handling of firearms, elementary foot and arm drills, elementarily physical exercise, obey orders and conduct themselves in a smart and manly manner, and instructions in handling men.³⁴² He believed the military was best suited for this training as their training was most relevant to what was needed in the penitentiaries. The Superintendent further suggested that the training officers from the Department of National Defence should select a few officers each year to attend the Royal Military College. These officers, after undergoing physical training at the College would return to their respective penitentiaries and train fellow officers and oversee the exercise of the prisoners.³⁴³

What we see happening here, is the Superintendent attempting to put together a training program. More specifically, it was geared towards building the desired guards (educated on regulations and the use of firearms, and are able to look and act in a specific way). The point here was to establish a more structured image and behaviours of guards by relying on other government departments, such as the Department of National Defence. It can be speculated that the Department of National Defence was knowledgeable and skilled in their work, therefore, they would be an ideal influence on the Penitentiary Service and their guards. The training that the Superintendent spoke of was almost as though he was trying to create soldiers for prisons. If returned soldiers were viewed as ideal candidates for prison guard roles, then creating others like them would be a goal worth pursuing.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

With respect to collecting data, the Superintendent began communication with different sources in the United States. He aimed to obtain lectures and any training material he could. According to a memorandum he wrote to the Royal Commission Investigating the Penal System of Canada, he indicated that he had been in communication with the New Jersey Prison Officer Training School, Sing Sing Prison Officer Training School and the American Prison Association.³⁴⁴ In the following year, 1933, he was also able to obtain a syllabus from the New York Prison Guard School. These resources were used in an effort to produce training material for Canadian Penitentiaries. The brochures received from Sing Sing Prison Officer Training School, which are dated 1931, covered material such as fire prevention, supervision of visitation, censorship of mail and radio, physical fitness and physical examinations upon entrance, and prisoner training and education.³⁴⁵

In addition to seeking training material from other agencies, in 1934 the Superintendent conducted a competition, approved by the Minister of Justice, which awarded any penitentiary officer or penitentiary staff member ten dollars for submitting a thesis or lecture that could be used for training officers. Efforts were made to not only collect data which was already established but to also collect data from current Canadian officers and what they deem important enough for training. During this time, the Superintendent pointed out that “prior to 1933 there was no systemic training of officers in Canadian Penitentiaries, nor did the Penitentiary Branch or any Warden compile a series of lectures or cause to be delivered a series of lectures that could

³⁴⁴ Memorandum from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to Royal Commission Investigating the Penal System of Canada, 7 December 1937, page 2, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁴⁵ 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

be looked upon as a training office.”³⁴⁶ This data collection was done in an effort to produce brochures and lectures specific to Canadian penitentiaries.

In the spring of 1934, the Superintendent produced a memorandum for the Minister of Justice, with another proposal for training. Similar to the first scheme, a financial obstacle emerged. He indicated that, if the provinces were willing to share the cost, two training schools could be created, one to be located in Montreal, Quebec and one in Regina, Saskatchewan. The course would be four weeks in duration, and be conducted under arrangements of the Department of National Defence at the Armoury in Montreal. A similar program would run at the school in Regina, however, it could be at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Barracks or the Regina Armoury.³⁴⁷ However, at the time, nothing came of this plan.

By the summer months, according to a circular letter to all wardens, the brochures were being compiled. The Superintendent stated, “a higher standard of training is required by all penitentiary officers,”³⁴⁸ and his plan was to begin with senior officers. These senior officers were to improve their knowledge of “day to day perusal of reports, reading of books on penology, criminology, etc.”³⁴⁹ With respect to junior officers, he stated that all wardens must ensure that their staff attend any lectures and any training, such as drills.³⁵⁰ He further stated that wardens ought to “bring into effect a program of training,”³⁵¹ by “assembling the officers for 15 minutes at the close of prison, on no less than two days each week,”³⁵² which could include the presentation of the brochures that were being produced. These instructions lacked in detail with

³⁴⁶ Memorandum from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to Minister of Justice, 25 August 1934, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁴⁷ Memorandum from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to Minister of Justice, 24 March 1934, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 1, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁴⁸ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to all Wardens, 19 May 1934, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid

³⁵¹ Ibid

³⁵² Ibid.

respect to results and an end date, if one existed. We could conclude that perhaps this form of training would take place consistently until the warden believed that his penitentiary officers have reached a level of efficiency that is acceptable to the Service.

With all the effort that was put into creating brochures, by the fall of 1934, none were produced. By the fall, some wardens requested training brochures be made, with the warden of British Columbia penitentiary seeking one particularly on self-defence.³⁵³ In a response to this request, the Superintendent inquired about an “Anglo-Saxon teacher of jiu-jitsu resident in New Westminster of Vancouver, who may be employed to give instruction to penitentiary officers in both European and Japanese wrestling and arts of self-defence, other than boxing.”³⁵⁴ The beginning of the 1930s saw a true effort in data collection and the beginning of blueprints for training material.

The mid-1930s saw the release of ten training brochures, however, only eight of the ten were available in the archive material. The first seven were produced in 1934, with titles including: Training of Penitentiary Officers, Hearing of Prison Offences by Wardens, Training of Officers, Use of Force by Penitentiary Officers, and three brochures titled Guards.³⁵⁵ The tenth brochure was produced in 1935 and covered ‘locking devices’.³⁵⁶ These brochures were meant as a guiding aid for wardens, to help them conduct their training of prison officers.³⁵⁷ By this time, different ideas of training schools had been recommended and proposed, with many

³⁵³ Correspondence from British Columbia Penitentiary Warden to Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond, 6 September 1934, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁵⁴ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to British Columbia Penitentiary Warden, 13 September 1934, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁵⁵ 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 1, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁵⁶ “Standard Cell Locking Device”, Brochure No. 10, 1935, 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁵⁷ Memorandum by Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to Royal Commission Investigating the Penal System of Canada, 7 December 1937, page 1, 1-17-1, Box 32, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

individuals (most importantly wardens) believing that training should be completed prior to the entrance of a penitentiary. The Superintendent during this time strongly disagreed and argued that officers should be trained after completing six months in the Service, as a way to screen out unwanted/non-dedicated staff, in an effort to cut costs.³⁵⁸ The discussions on what kind of training, where and how it should be conducted relied heavily on cost. By training officers after six months, any funds that would be spent on training would not go to waste, as these officers were there to stay.

The Superintendent was an advocate for training senior staff first, and once all current staff had received training, a program of initial training for new officers could be implemented. The Superintendent cited a second reason, aside from cost, for the need to train senior officers first. He explained, “it has been observed that these newly employed officers in many cases receive and accept the advice, and sometimes the instructions, of senior subordinate custodial officers, and in many cases, lose their initiative and become duplicates of the older subordinate custodial officers, who may or may not be efficient.”³⁵⁹ This is an incredibly important argument by the Superintendent as to why senior staff must be trained prior to new comers. The argument here was that if new officers received initial training, prior to entering a penitentiary, and conducted different methods of operation, it would cause chaos. It is difficult to believe that senior officers would take notes from their new colleagues, even if they had received training that older colleagues did not receive. In any hierarchy, a new person to a position would not be the one providing instructions, nor would this behaviour be accepted.

³⁵⁸ Correspondence from Superintendent of Penitentiaries D. M. Ormond to Prince Albert Penitentiary Warden, 26 October 1936, page 1, 1-17-1, Box 32, Vol. 2, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 2.

As discussed in Chapter Two, training of officers was a form of discipline by the government. It is disciplinary training to create newly hired guards into desired employees who perform their duties exactly as they are instructed. What has been suggested here, to train new guards before the training of existing guards, would then breakdown the disciplinary system that the government attempted to put into place. If the newly trained guards enter a prison and work with existing untrained staff, then they would not be able to perform and carry out the knowledge they gathered from their training. This would be due to the reasons explained by the Superintendent, that new guards could encounter conflict with existing guards as to how to complete a task. Further, they may forget what they had learned and absorb the work ethic and attitudes of existing guards. This would cause the complete breakdown of the governance by the Service over prison guards. A breakdown in this system would then put a stop to any prison reform goal. Without the proper disciplinary training, the governing of guards would therefore be non-existent. The lack of the trained body would then make the attempt to govern the labour of guards a moot point. Labour as dressage, as described in Chapter Two, would then be non-existent.

During this time, the Superintendent provided yet another recommendation with respect to a training course which was similar to previous suggestions. This time, the recommendation was directed towards the material which could be taught. He indicated that ‘initial courses’ could be held at each penitentiary, which then could be followed by ‘intensive courses’ also at the penitentiaries.³⁶⁰ Lectures for said courses could be extracted from universities and law societies, drills could be adopted from the Department of National Defence and/or the R.C.M.P., and finally the penitentiary physician could produce lecture on hygiene.³⁶¹ All this information

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 1.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

could be taught to the officers by an Inspector employed by the Penitentiary Branch. Of course, this discussion and recommendations were, as mentioned before, blueprints. However, within a decade, these blueprints began to come to life.

In 1936 the Royal Commission, led by the Honourable Justice Joseph Archambault was created to investigate the Penal System of Canada. Archambault and his colleagues released their report in 1938 with many recommendations, one of which pertained to the training of penitentiary officers.³⁶² The report recommended that officers should be selected and sent to train at Wakefield Prison in England to learn their methods and import them into Canada, a recommendation that was acted upon.³⁶³

In the spring of 1939, nine officers from Canada's seven penitentiaries were selected and sent to Wakefield, England, where they participated in the prison training school.³⁶⁴ A second group was selected and scheduled to begin in October of the same year. Unfortunately, with the break of World War II, the second group was never sent to Wakefield. The program and any other training discussions and planning were placed on hold for the duration of the war.³⁶⁵ The subject of training officers was not revisited again until the late 1940s.

A re-organization of the Penitentiary Branch, under the Commissioner of Penitentiaries in 1947 re-ignited the focus on central training courses.³⁶⁶ In 1948, a six-week course took place at the R.C.M.P. Barracks in Rockcliffe, Ontario. This was co-ordinated with the cooperation of the Commissioner of the R.C.M.P., and led by two individuals from the original group that attended Wakefield Training School.³⁶⁷ The course included twenty-five students (from all Canadian

³⁶² "Staff Selection and Training in the Canadian (Federal) Penitentiary Service", Wardens' Conference 1954-1955, Page 5, 1-18-15 Box 32, Wardens' Conference, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 6.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

penitentiaries), and included the following instructors: “the R.C.M.P., senior members of the staff of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries and a professor of Toronto University’s School of Social Work.”³⁶⁸ The inclusion of the professor was presumably to bring expertise with respect to rehabilitation. The training courses seemed to be more focused and structured post World War II. The focus had been brought back to Canada and the needs of Canadian penitentiaries.

What these courses consisted of is worth observing. The topics included ‘Correctional History and Contemporary Practices,’ ‘Psychology and Psychiatry,’ ‘Modern Social Problems,’ ‘Duties and Responsibilities of Penitentiary Officers,’ ‘Remission and Ticket-of-Leave,’ ‘Physical Training,’ and ‘Small Arms and Tear Gas.’ With the exception of the last three topics, the courses included films, as well as a list of reading materials.

With respect to the history topic, what was studied included the 18th and 19th century prison experiments (examining the influence of the Auburn and Pennsylvanian prison systems on the Canadian and English penal development), examining prison reform contributions by John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, what Canadian penal system looked like pre-and-post Confederation, what the American and English penal systems look like, contemporary correctional practices, crime statistics, and public relations and press publicity – officer’s role in program interpretation. The film titles included “Penitentiary,” “After Prison, What?,” and “Children on Trial.”³⁶⁹ The sources studied for this topic included the *Archambault Report*, the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries*, *Annual Reports – State and Federal Prison Services*, U.S.A., *Federal Probation – Federal Prison Service*, U.S.A., and *Manual of Suggested Standards for a State Correctional System* – American Prison Association to name a few.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 2.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 3.

The Psychology and Psychiatry portion included ‘prison background,’ ‘early environmental influences on later behaviour,’ ‘major and minor mental disorders and their treatment,’ and ‘staff relations in the handling of mentally disturbed inmates’ to name a few.³⁷¹ Some of the film titles included “The Feeling of Rejection,” “The Feeling of Hostility,” “Psychiatry in Action,” and “The Quiet One.”³⁷² A snapshot of the bibliography for this section included dictated notes by Dr. L.P. Genreau, Deputy Commissioner of Penitentiaries, as well as work from Public Affairs, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, to name a few.³⁷³ With respect to governmentality, it was not simply that laws and regulations articulated by the federal government that were important. Sources of expertise with their own institutional standards were also imported into the process.

The Modern Social Problems section included ‘old and new patterns of living,’ ‘social urbanization problems,’ ‘problems of unemployment, housing, depression, etc.,’ and ‘the community setting for delinquency and crime,’ and may other subjects.³⁷⁴ Films included those that were produced by the National Film Board, Children’s Aid Society of New York, and a film from Scotland. Materials used for this study were produced by the Canadian Welfare Council, Public Affairs, Canadian Youth Commission, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and select issues from the Annual Report of the Toronto Family Court, as well as select issues of the Royal Bank of the Canada Monthly Letter.³⁷⁵

The Duties and Responsibilities of the Penitentiary Officer portion is lengthy and therefore I will not be including all the duties. Some of the duties included: ‘staff standards,’ ‘the role of the officer in understanding and supporting Departmental and institutional policies,’

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid., 4.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

‘human relations in inmate supervision,’ ‘public relations on and off duty,’ ‘institutional discipline, it’s meaning and application,’ ‘legal aspects of the use of force, searches of dwellings or vehicles,’ and ‘interpreting Penitentiary Rules and Regulations and Standing Orders.’³⁷⁶ The film used for this portion was entitled “The Arrest, handling and Transportation of Prisoners,” which was created by the R.C.M.P., and used for “observation tests.” Some of the reading material included *Penitentiary Officers’ Handbook, 1952*; the *Penitentiary Act*; and select sections of the *Criminal Code*. Other literature included American titles such as “Manual of Suggested Standards for a State Correctional System,” “Transportation of Prisoners,” and “prison Riots and Disturbances.”³⁷⁷

The next section is “Remission and Ticket-Of-Leave,” which included background knowledge on the *Ticket-of-Leave Act*, as well as “appeals,” “waivers and calculation of sentences,” “types of temporary release,” “ticket-of-eave conditions,” “the Coronation Amnesty, 1953,” and “forfeitures and remission.” Literature on this subject included the *Penitentiary Act*, *Ticket-of-Leave Act*, as well as “Circulars from the Commissioner of Penitentiaries.”³⁷⁸

With respect to Physical Training, this section included the following: “Drill and parade techniques – personal appearance, alertness – progressive setting-up exercises – games, their organization and rules – police or restraint holds for emergencies without danger of physical arm.”³⁷⁹ The Small Arms and Tear Gas training was comprised of “range safety – care of firearm – corrective revolver ad rifle practice – use of tear gas guns and grenades for emergencies.”³⁸⁰ When observing the material here, it is interesting to observe the introduction of films and how most, if not all, were produced in the United States. It demonstrates the impact

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 5.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 6.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

of the United States on Canadian corrections. It also demonstrates the steps that were taken by the government in order to try and develop/expand the training of prison officers.

Observing the physical and weapons training sections, they are in line with Foucauldian thought. The drills and parade techniques are part of the disciplinary training the Penitentiary Service put prison guards through. Additionally, the use and care of weapons became part of the routine of a prison guard's duties. Here, we see labour as dressage and disciplinary training taking place. By incorporating these techniques into a guard's routine, it allows the Service to control the actions of guards, turning them into the disciplined docile bodies.

In the following year, 1949, training courses were once again on the agenda of the annual Wardens' Conference. The discussion focused on the training courses already in place at the time, emphasizing that they were intended as orientation rather than screening out inefficient officers.³⁸¹ These courses were meant to provide officers with "some awareness in the science of penal behaviour and to relate that general knowledge to prison administration in such a way that they will (a) become more efficient in their own job; (b) that they will be more co-operative with regard to other aspects of the prison programme, and (c) that they will have a sufficient grasp of the basic principles that they will gradually develop a somewhat more professional attitude to their job."³⁸² These basic 'orientation' courses were provided not only to new officers, but also to any officers who were interested and/or willing to participate. It was reported by different wardens that there was much hesitation on the part of the officers, however, once they returned from the course, their attitudes were changed for the better and efficiency rates were improved.³⁸³

³⁸¹ Meeting Minutes, Wardens' Conference, 15 June 1949, page 2, 1-18-11, Box 32, Wardens' Conference, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁸² Ibid., 3.

³⁸³ Ibid., 3 & 6.

In interpreting this data, the goal was not only to train prison guards on what to do with prisoners, but to make them knowledgeable on the science behind penal behaviours. They wanted guards to know why and how certain behaviours occurred, which would then aid them in their duties when exercising different decision-making tasks.

Of course, with any change or implementation of a program, issues did arise. One issue that was reported was one that Superintendent Ormond warned against during his term of office. The issue was that new officers would attend training, return to or begin work at a penitentiary and inform existing officers how the prison should be run. This created a problem for wardens in some penitentiaries, however not all. A discussion was formed as to whether to send senior or junior officers to these courses. Interestingly, the decision was left up to each warden, as they were told “make your own decision as to how the use of the training course is going to be most helpful to your institution.”³⁸⁴ Unlike previous issues where a vote was cast and the decision was blanketed across Canada, with respect to these courses, the decision was on the warden and what is beneficial for his penitentiary. It was pointed out that the more senior staff that were sent to these courses, the better, which was the point Superintendent Ormond emphasized years prior.

With the success of the training courses at Rockcliffe came an even better achievement, a formal Penitentiary Staff College in Kingston, Ontario in 1952.³⁸⁵ This college was built and designed with the sole purpose of training officers. The training became centralized in Kingston, and proved to be a step in the right direction. The program was much more organized and soon evolved over the years to not only train officers to be efficient prison guards, but also to be efficient instructors.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 11.

³⁸⁵ “Staff Selection and Training in the Canadian (Federal) Penitentiary Service”, Wardens’ Conference 1954-1955, Page 6, 1-18-15 Box 32, Wardens’ Conference, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

The program was designed to train twenty-five officers per course, as not all penitentiary officers in the Service could be trained at once. In order to reach all officers in the Service, it was established that trained returning officers would be provided with opportunities to pass along their knowledge to their fellow colleagues.³⁸⁶ With this decision and with the approval of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries, an ‘In-Service Training’ program was established in each penitentiary across Canada by wardens and their deputy wardens.³⁸⁷ With this program came a new position, an In-Service Training Officer.³⁸⁸ This individual worked directly under the deputy warden, who was directly under the warden of the penitentiary. Each penitentiary across Canada had an In-Service Training Office.

The following year, a conference was held at the Penitentiary Staff College with the purpose of training officers in the methods of educating others. Lessons that were covered included human relations, and teaching techniques and methods of instructions.³⁸⁹ An In-Service Training program was also established at the conference. The program would be broken down into three categories: orientation, basic training, and advanced training.³⁹⁰

The orientation part of the training was designed for new officers entering the Service, and it was one week in length. During this time, officers were introduced to key staff members, and provided with an opportunity to speak with each person and ask any questions that they may have had.³⁹¹ This allowed new officers to become not only acquainted with their physical environment, but also with the individuals they would be working with, which would allow them

³⁸⁶ It is unclear if it was their choice to teach their colleagues or if it was mandatory. The archival material does not specify, simply states that they were provided with an opportunity to teach.

³⁸⁷ “Staff Selection and Training in the Canadian (Federal) Penitentiary Service”, Wardens’ Conference 1954-1955, Page 6, 1-18-15 Box 32, Wardens’ Conference, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁸⁸ “Staff Selection and Training in the Canadian (Federal) Penitentiary Service”, Wardens’ Conference 1954-1955, Page 7, 1-18-15 Box 32, Wardens’ Conference, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

to feel comfortable and be able to seek help when it was necessary. This was viewed as a support system of sorts. This course was different than the advanced training, which was designed more so as a course to refresh experienced officers of their duties or to improve efficiency.³⁹²

The basic training portion of the program would only take place after a few months of the officers being in the Service.³⁹³ Once the officer had gained a few months' worth of experience, he was then ready for his training. Training was done in groups of 4-12 individuals in a full-time program that was designed for one to two weeks in duration.³⁹⁴ The syllabus for basic training included the following breakdown: "8 days, comprising of 56 periods of 45 minutes each. Written tests on the 9th day, consisting of two papers of 10 questions each. Marks also allotted to notebooks."³⁹⁵ For their time, these courses were well structured and attempted to cover material that would educate the officer on issues of crime and society.

According to the program curriculum, they covered subjects such as correctional history and contemporary practices, psychology and psychiatry, the duties and responsibilities of a penitentiary officer, small arms and tear gas, and finally physical training. These courses were conducted in a classroom setting, utilising the instructors' knowledge, educational films, and a compilation of literature from different countries as well as Government of Canada reports and Royal Commission reports.

Between the years 1948 and 1954, including both training schools (Rockcliffe and Penitentiary Staff College in Kingston), twenty-five custodial and administrative courses had

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ "Staff Selection and Training in the Canadian (Federal) Penitentiary Service", Wardens' Conference 1954-1955, Appendix II, 1-18-15 Box 32, Wardens' Conference, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

been provided, including six bilingual courses.³⁹⁶ It should be noted that in 1952, a youth facility (Federal Training Centre) was established at St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary, where training also took place in French.³⁹⁷

During these years, as we have observed, the planning and execution of training took place. Penitentiary officers went from ‘training’ for their occupation by seeking advice from existing staff and attending lectures if available,³⁹⁸ to undergoing training in a classroom setting and conducting military drills. The work that was achieved in the 1950s was carried through and built upon in the 1960s. Existing courses were improved (orientation and induction training, 1963), new and diverse courses were introduced (inmate training, hobbycraft, sheet metal, etc.), yet another reorganization of the Penitentiary Branch was conducted (1963), and a Correctional Staff College (with three locations) was formed in 1964.

With respect to courses, initial (orientation) training became mandatory for all officers, and as per the decade before, this form of training took place at each penitentiary. Once initial training was completed successfully by the officers, they were able to participate in the induction training which took place at the Correctional Staff College. Initial training was described as “a preamble to induce every newly-appointed officer to his duties and responsibilities, to channel his ambitions to a career in the Service, to integrate him into the overall organizational of the institution, and to stimulate his interests in the induction training which follows the initial orientation.”³⁹⁹ This description was very detailed and showcased the intention of the initial training by the Penitentiary Service.

³⁹⁶ “Staff Selection and Training in the Canadian (Federal) Penitentiary Service”, Wardens’ Conference 1954-1955, Page 8, 1-18-15 Box 32, Wardens’ Conference, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 10.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 5-6.

³⁹⁹ Course Document, from Director (Q&A), A.O.D. for Commissioner, to unknown, 18 January 1963, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

The initial training was similar to that of the decade before, however it was more structured and more specific. The ‘syllabus’ was not simply a paragraph stating that officers are to be introduced to their environment, but instead, a structured program was established. For example, the program was broken down into the following categories: Introduction (welcomed by the Assistant Warden and Staff Training & Safety Officer); Familiarization with Conditions of Employment (hours of work, pay, leave, probation period, efficiency ratings, other benefits); Physical Layout of Institution (explanations of photos or mock-ups, tour of institution & introduction to division and section heads, measuring and/or fitting of uniforms); History of Penitentiary Service (aims, origins, organization, types of institutions); Channels of Authority (headquarters organizational chart, institution chart); Legal Aspect of Correctional Work (introduction to Penitentiary Act, Penitentiary Service Regulations, Standing & Routine Orders); Characteristics of Good Service Officers (qualities – physical, moral, social; liaison – staff and inmate; public relations – dress uniform, contacts outside, attitudes, behaviours); Career Planning (flow chart, possibilities, standards).⁴⁰⁰

Keeping with the theoretical framework of this project in mind, we can make the connection between the ‘characteristics of good service officers’ and Foucault’s theoretical ideas. As described in Chapter Two, when it came to penitentiary officers, the main point was to normalize their behaviour by creating certain categories of behaviours specific to their group. This included the way officers dressed and behaved. The Service attempted to produce workers that embodied what the Canadian Penitentiary Service represented. This was done by shaping the way officers spoke, dressed and carried themselves.

Similar to the Initial Training, the Induction Training too was reorganized and made more structured. The program aim was to provide officers with basic skills of custodial work,

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

familiarize them with specific working knowledge related to their assignments, provide them with self-confidence to perform their assignments, and provide a basis for assessment at the end of their probationary period.⁴⁰¹ The training was divided into two portions: theoretical training (classroom instruction, group and individual discussion, specified reading, and various tests) and practical training (supervised post assignments where they could apply their theoretical training).⁴⁰²

Upon examining the Induction Training outline, it is lacking the specific detail of what this training looked like. However, in a memorandum to the Kingston warden by his assistant warden, we are able to gather what the Induction Training may have looked like. In his memorandum, the assistant warden outlined what the Induction Training could look like. It would be comprised of five phases, each at a different length. Phase one would be five weeks in duration and would include training in “Towers and related duties (parades, pick-ups).”⁴⁰³ The second phase would be two weeks in duration and would focus on the operations of the main gate, which would include the control of visitors and contraband.⁴⁰⁴ Phase three would also be two weeks in duration and would focus on “instruction in duties of Dome Officers and Shop Dome Cage.”⁴⁰⁵ The fourth phase would be four weeks in duration, focusing on wing and cells block/dormitory routines.⁴⁰⁶ Finally, the fifth phase would be six weeks in duration, which could

⁴⁰¹ Course Document, Divisional Interim Staff Instruction: Induction Training of Custodial Staff, 23 January 1963, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Memorandum from E. C. Atkins to Kingston Warden, Appendix 3, 12 February 1963, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

be performed during night or day shifts. This phase would include officers working as prison guards while being supervised by senior officers.⁴⁰⁷

With respect to physical training and weapons training, the Department of National Defence (DND) had played a role before, and there was no difference in the 1960s. The army had the facilities required to conduct the training, and naturally the Commissioner of Penitentiaries wished to keep that connection alive. The facilities that were owned by the DND possessed the equipment and space required for drills, weapon and gas training, unarmed combat, and general skills that would be required by custodial staff.⁴⁰⁸ This was the perfect facility to allow the Penitentiary Service to build their desired guards. More specifically, they were trying to build the bodies of disciplined guards, by duplicating the practices of soldiers.

As mentioned earlier, not only were existing courses improved, but new courses were introduced. The new courses included vocational and inmate training. Inmate training courses commenced in September 1962, and included the following breakdown: introduction to the course, education, religion, recreation, hobbycrafts, social and moral education,⁴⁰⁹ character training, inmate grading for Remuneration and Earned Remission, and tool control.⁴¹⁰ With

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Memorandum from Deputy Commissioner to unknown, 26 September 1963, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. The Office of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries requested from the DND a training manual/syllabus in November of 1963, however, it is unknown if such documents were ever received.

⁴⁰⁹ I was unable to find out what this lecture entailed, however, a brief statement was listed next to the name of the lecture. It stated, “explanation given in a simple (every-day) language on the essentials of education in social and moral values; practical guidance given on how the character can be trained and corrected”. Outline of Lectures: for Correctional Officers Course (Inmate Training area), September 1962, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

⁴¹⁰ Outline of Lectures: for Correctional Officers Course (Inmate Training area), September 1962, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

respect to inmate training, courses were also offered to officers on Reformation and Rehabilitation, and are taught the purpose and objectives of corrections.⁴¹¹

These courses were not included in the initial or induction training, however they were offered and any officer was able to participate, so long as he had obtained permission from the Commissioner of Penitentiaries. Vocational courses were provided, however in order to participate, an officer needed to notify his warden of his interest in the courses. The warden would then form a list of all officers interested, and indicate to the Commissioner who these officers were, what their background knowledge was, and why they were interested in a specific course. The Commissioner would then accept or deny applications. Archival research does not demonstrate why it was done in this manner, however, from previous decisions focused around finances, it is possible that this decision was also made with financial matters in mind.

A portion of training which was not discussed in detail prior to this time was officer training evaluations. It was understood that officers would undergo training and be examined at the end of their training, although in 1963 a form was administered which was used to rate officers while they were undergoing training. The form was composed of five categories: leadership skills, maturity, resourcefulness, appearance and bearings, and knowledge.⁴¹²

Officers were give a grade between A (outstanding) and E (poor) on the different categories. Each section came with a note for the assessor to indicate what to look for when delivering a grade. The description for leadership skills included “does he have the ability to create enthusiasm about an idea? Do others look to him with confidence? Do others follow his

⁴¹¹ Lecture on Educational Activities, September 1962, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

⁴¹² Assessment of Officers Undergoing Training, 3 June 1963, , 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

direction willingly? Is his self-confidence genuine or a pretence?”⁴¹³ Maturity included “good general emotional adjustment. Ability to withstand stress, to remain objective in difficult situations, to tolerate frustration. Ability to accept authority and supervision; To accept opinions of others. Good Personal relationships with equals and subordinates.”⁴¹⁴ Resourcefulness included “ability to deal adequately with a situation, taking all factors into consideration to make a decision accordingly. Constructive use of information and initiative. Self-reliance.”⁴¹⁵ Appearance and Bearings examined the following “does he create a favourable impression in the way he carries himself? Is he neat in appearance? Is he well-mannered?”⁴¹⁶ Finally, the knowledge factor stated “in assessing the officer’s knowledge, consider knowledge test results, answers to oral questioning, and ability to apply the knowledge to practical assignments.”⁴¹⁷

With all that had been improved in the early years of the 1960s, more changes were still to come. In 1963, the Penitentiary Service underwent another reorganization with respect to materials dealing with penology. In the spring of the same year, the administrative assistant to the warden of the State of Wisconsin Prison requested, from the Deputy Commissioner, a summary of the In-Service training courses. The Deputy Commissioner informed the administrative assistant that no material could be shared, as the department was undergoing a reorganization “as a result of a recent survey on what is needed in the light of the new concepts of penology”.⁴¹⁸ During this time, the Service conducted surveys and collected data in an effort to remain on top of their training and to ensure that training was uniform across the country.

⁴¹³ Ibid at Appendix “A”.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid at Appendix “B”.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid at Appendix “C”.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid at Appendix “D”.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid at Appendix “E”.

⁴¹⁸ Correspondence from Deputy Commissioner of Penitentiaries to State of Wisconsin Prison, April 1963, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

This exchange is particularly important in demonstrating two points. The first being, the active steps taken by the Service to educate themselves and ensure that the training of prison guards was up to date. The second point being that Canadian corrections was now at an international playing field. Canadian corrections had transitioned from the 1930s, when they sought the help of other nations to being participants on the world stage of corrections. They reached a point in the 1960s where an international office was seeking their assistance. Although the Service was still trying to improve itself, it is clear that their efforts did not go unnoticed.

In an effort to make training more uniform amongst all penitentiaries, the Office of the Commissioner began their collection of data in 1962. They requested, from all wardens, a detailed list of “a) all functions and posts of institutions, b) all duties that apply to every function listed in column A, c) list knowledge, skills or attitudes related to each specified duty listed in column B”.⁴¹⁹ This form of data collection was, according to the Commissioner, not only to standardize procedures, but also to have “better and more uniform training courses and to print training manuals, the above-mentioned job analysis is basically required.”⁴²⁰ The efforts by the Office of the Commissioner led to the opening of yet another staff training facility in 1964.

The fall of 1964 witnessed the formal opening of the Correctional Staff College (CSC), a training school with three locations: Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia.⁴²¹ CSC included Senior Officer Courses and Induction Training for Custodial Officers. The courses provided for senior members of the Service were six weeks in duration and were focused on providing better

⁴¹⁹ Correspondence from Commissioner of Penitentiaries to all Wardens, 20 July 1962, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Document by Department of Justice – Canadian Penitentiary Service, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

understanding of all aspects of institutional operations.⁴²² The Induction course on the other hand was three months in duration and focused on similar topics as previous Induction courses.

From archival research, it is unknown how successful this new Correctional Staff College was, however it was a step in the right direction, in order to train officers better for their role within the Penitentiary Service. From examining the evolution of officer training, it is clear that having trained penitentiary officers was a valuable sought after goal by heads of relevant offices, and more importantly, by wardens. Although it appears that financial matters really crippled the implementation and improvement of training over the decades, this obstacle was eventually overcome to allow training to take a more central role in Canadian corrections.

⁴²² Document by Department of Justice – Canadian Penitentiary Service, 1-17-5, Box 72, Vol. 15/16, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this research project is to pin-point the emergence of prison guard training and to examine how it developed into the modern training program we recognize today. More importantly, I have examined and observed the professionalization of Canadian prison guards and how they have transitioned into correctional officers. This project examined a very crucial time-period in the history of Canadian corrections: a time when the Canadian Penitentiary Service received much backlash from the press, the public, and the government. The Penitentiary Service seemed to have been an out-of-control beast that needed to be tamed. A beast that was plagued with riots, abuse, corruption and untrained prison guards. What was needed was an implementation of power, discipline and control.

As mentioned, the focus of this research is the professionalization of prison guards through the training they received. The time-period under observation was dominated by male prison staff, and therefore examining female staff during this time would be beyond the scope of this research. Although the Women's Prison opened in 1934 at Kingston penitentiary, and falls within the time frame, the process for the female prison guard equivalent is different, and would require its own research project. Prison officer discipline is also beyond the scope of this research, as I am very narrowly focused on the professionalization of this occupation.

This project heavily relied upon the theoretical frameworks of Michel Foucault and his ideas of governmentality and discipline. Foucault indicates that in order to govern a population, that population must first be problematized.⁴²³ There must be an issue that needs to be acknowledged, in order to be corrected. With respect to the Penitentiary Service, it was understood that the source of their issues, that resulted in negative media coverage, were the

⁴²³ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 87.

prison officers. Prison officers were problematized internally by the government (through Royal Commission investigations) and externally by the press. Both parties, government and press, heavily criticized and problematized the Service and its personnel. In response to the negative reaction received, the Penitentiary Service dubbed prison guards as the key to prison reform, which would then also result in the improvement of their image. They further problematized the prison officers. This step allowed them to develop forms of discipline to exercise over prison officers.

As we have observed, the Penitentiary Service took the steps to improve their officers by developing training programs, training schools, and setting specific behaviours and norms exclusive to prison guards. As guards were believed to be abusive and corrupt, participating in activities that would make them no different than the prisoners they were watching over, the Service outlined behaviour norms exclusive to officers, in an attempt to differentiate the two groups.

The Penitentiary Service implemented different requirements to aid in the recruitment process, to allow them to examine a specific group from a population. After candidates were selected by wardens, they implemented different examinations to further remove any unqualified men. Once candidates were hired, they were trained and were further put under observation and underwent performance examinations to ensure they were properly adhering to the specifications and requirements of the job as set out by the Service. These are all workings of Foucault's idea of discipline to form docile bodies. As outlined in Chapter Two, Foucault believed that in order to create docile bodies (which would allow the disciplinary power to achieve what it wishes) three elements are required: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination; all of which had been employed by the Service.

We can draw parallels between Foucault's theory of discipline and the problematization and training of officers through their daily work routines. Foucault's theories on labour as dressage can be applied here. Through their work/labour, prison officers underwent continuous discipline. With specific routines, behaviours and unceasing observation/training, dressage was used to acknowledge and eliminate any deviance⁴²⁴. A key point for the success of labour as dressage is the acceptance of submission by the population being disciplined. An acceptance of the discipline allows those individuals to be open to the modification of their behaviours. We saw this with the willingness of penitentiary officers signing up to training courses when they were voluntary, and we further saw this when training and professionalization methods did not deter applicants from expressing interest in the position of prison guard. Acceptance of the new routines was the affirmation of discipline by prison guards. Another important part of the discipline and taming that labour as dressage produces is the performance. This is a crucial step, as it is the performance of the subjects under disciplinary power and governance, which demonstrate the success of the process. The training of officers, and their work and behaviour demonstrates to the audience (press, public, and government) that labour as dressage had been successful. The actions of the Penitentiary Service over prison guards throughout the years could be characterized as the 'conduct of conduct', the calculated actions of the Service controlling the actions of the guards. Through calculated means, the Service governed prison guards through discipline and training.

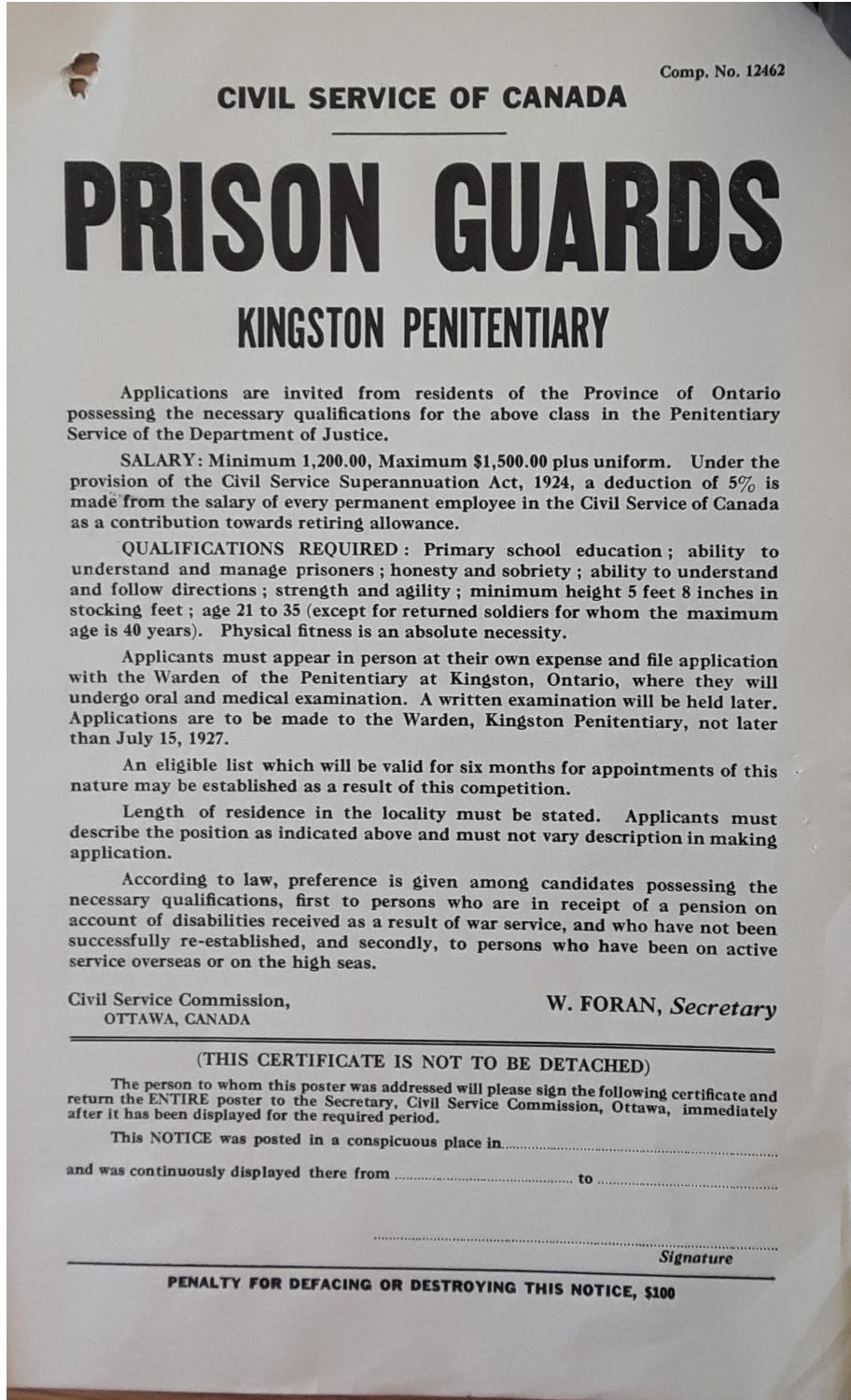
Taking into consideration all that has been said, it is important to look back on the issues discussed and ask if anything has really changed. Chapter Three outlined different news stories of corrupt and abusive guards and of guards that were not held accountable for their actions. For

⁴²⁴ Norman Jackson and Pippa Carter, "Labour as Dressage," in *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory*, ed. Alan McKinlay and Ken Starkey (London: SAGE Publication Ltd, 1998), 60.

a long time the prison was a black box, where the actions of those inside and daily routines were unfamiliar to the public. Although we have come a long way, it can be argued that today's prisons remain a black box. Today, we are still reading stories in the media of problems and incidents taking place in correctional facilities across Canada. These stories still tell of corrupt and abusive guards, and very rarely does the public hear of anyone being held accountable for injustice in prisons. Although the professionalization and training of prison guards has come a long way in Canada, with stories of present prison conditions, I am left wondering if anything has really changed since the 1930s. This project provides a starting point for others to build on the research. It also demonstrates that nothing has really changed over the decades, which leaves the question, what is the purpose of these institutions?

Appendices

Appendix A: Poster for advertisement of Prison Guard Position at Kingston Penitentiary, between 1922 and 1927. During this time, all Prison Guard posters look identical, with the exception of the name of the penitentiary. Source: File 1-2-8 vol. 1, Library and Archives Canada.



Appendix B: Oral Examination Report (front and back), used between 1922 and 1927 by wardens across Canada for Prison Guard applicants. Source: File 1-2-8 vol. 1, Library and Archives Canada.

ORAL EXAMINATION REPORT				
Examination for Prison Guards for		Penitentiary		
held at _____ on _____				
Name of Applicant		Age	O.A.S.	Yes, No.
FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED		RATING	VALUE	
A Having checked over the career of the candidate with him briefly, what value would you attach to it as fitting him for employment as a Prison Guard? Consider his training, his experience, and his record of employment, including, so far as you can judge, his record of integrity and sobriety. Where would you rank him in comparison with a 100% candidate "ideal" in these respects and a "barely satisfactory" 60%? In the column headed "Rating" express your judgment by writing in the percentage at which you would rate him. If your rating is less than 60, place a check mark after the word—unsatisfactory.		100 60 Unsatisfactory		
B Consider the intelligence and mental alertness of the candidate. How does he react to questioning? Is he quick to grasp the trend of your questions and able to express himself intelligently and readily? Can he understand and follow directions? (Read a regulation to the applicant and question him as to his understanding of it.) Can he read and write? Can he keep count? (Make an actual test.) Can he make a simple report? (Have the applicant write down in your presence a short statement of his career and attach it to this form.) Again indicate your judgment as in Factor A.		100 60 Unsatisfactory		
C Make a careful observation of the candidate. Notice his personal appearance and his neatness in dress. How do his personality and manner impress you? Do you consider him the right type for a Prison Guard? Express your judgment as in Factor A.		100 60 Unsatisfactory		
TOTAL				

(OVER)

Form C.R.C. 273-15C-9-37

Do you consider the applicant qualified to fill the position?

(Yes or No)

NOTE:—If for any reason the candidate is regarded as not qualified physically or in so far as character and integrity, industry, sobriety and trustworthiness are concerned, give reasons in writing below.
(Reasons for disqualification other than for physical fitness will be treated as "Confidential".)

I certify on my honour that I have conducted this oral examination strictly in accordance with the instructions, and that I have assigned the above ratings wholly on the basis of merit, and without any reference to personal or political considerations.

Date.....

Warden.

Appendix C: New Jersey Prison Officer Training School, daily schedule for December 1931.
Source: 1-17-1, Box 23, Vol. 1, Training of Officers – Generally, Library and Archives Canada.

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