

McGILL UNIVERSITY

A HISTORY OF THE JOHN HOWARD SOCIETY OF QUEBEC,
1892-1955

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by

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PREFACE

The writer wishes to express her thanks to the Board of Directors of the John Howard Society of Quebec for its permission in allowing the writer to use the records of the society, and to Mrs. Kathleen Campbell, Executive Director, for her kind co-operation in the preparation of the study.

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis studies the growth of the John Howard Society of Quebec from its inception as a voluntary Anglican prisoners' aid association in 1892 to its present position in the community as a professional casework agency and member of Welfare Federation of Montreal.

The examination of the structure and functions of three main periods, each denoted by a change in the association's name, is based on primary source material ² composed of the minutes and records kept by the society throughout its history. *including*

It was found that there was a growth in the strength of the relationship between the John Howard Society and the community of Montreal in which it operated. The gradual adoption by the society of aims and methods in line with current trends in penology was observed. And, finally, there emerged a differentiation between the role of the leaders and that of the caseworkers within the society as it became able to accommodate the views and efforts of two specialized groups to further its work.

LIST OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
A. Methodology	
B. Current Trends in Criminology and Penal Reform in England, United States, and Canada	
C. A Background of the Community of Montreal	
SECTION I. THE PRISONERS' AID ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL, 1892-1931	21
SECTION II. THE PRISONERS' AID AND WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL INCORPORATED, 1931-1947	51
SECTION III. THE JOHN HOWARD SOCIETY OF QUEBEC INCOR- PORATED, 1947-1955	93
CONCLUSION	130
BIBLIOGRAPHY	142

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I	Population of the City of Montreal, by Specified Religious Denominations, 1891-1951	18
II	Total Income and Expenditures for Salaries, by Years, Prisoners' Aid Association of Montreal . . .	26
III	Total Income and Expenditures for Salaries and Relief, by Years, Prisoners' Aid & Welfare Association of Montreal	56
IV	Number of French-Canadian Cases Aided, by Penal Institution, Prisoners' Aid & Welfare Association of Montreal, January to March Inclusive, 1932 . . .	81
V	Total Income and Expenditures for Salaries and Relief, by Years, John Howard Society of Quebec, 1948-1955	100
VI	Cases Opened, by Age Groups and Convictions, John Howard Society of Quebec, 1948 and 1949	111

INTRODUCTION

Part A

Methodology

This thesis will be a study of one aspect of the field of corrections and penal reform in Canada. One specific social welfare organization working within this broad field has been selected for study. An attempt will be made to trace the historical development of an institution which has been very active in prisoner rehabilitation work for more than sixty years, in fact, which has the longest continuous history of any prisoners' aid association in Canada. One other in the country had been formed earlier but subsequently disbanded for a number of years.

The study originated at this time because the society has recently adopted great changes in its methods and approach; it became a fully-fledged casework agency with professional status in the community. It is felt that it would be an appropriate time now to attempt to describe and evaluate this change which has begun to take full effect in the last few years. Furthermore, this is a time when the leaders of the society in Montreal are interested in having an historical background to the work they are presently doing, and they have shown considerable willingness to co-operate to have a history written. It appears that the availability of such a study would be of value to those in the community who are directly participating in the work. It also appears that it could be useful in creating other public interest to support the contributions which have come from throughout the whole community to further prisoner rehabilitation work generally. Coincidentally, this study parallels an interest in the development of

prisoner rehabilitation societies all across Canada, as indicated by the very recent appointment, for the first time, of an official historian in the national corrections association. The writer's interest in the general field of corrections and brief service with the society suggested that such a study would be valuable.

The writer's bias is stated as follows: First, the writer is a member of the same minority group in which the organization functioned, and is aware that this cultural bias wants a real familiarity with those contributions made by the majority group in the community. Second, the writer has a further bias as a professional social worker, and this has been reflected in the selection and treatment of material. The writer realizes that as a social worker the main interest has been to find signs of growth in the development of the organization and to overlook details of controversies and set-backs. This bias assumes an interest in the development and integration of community welfare programs.

The scope of this thesis is to study the growth of the John Howard Society of Quebec Incorporated in Montreal, Canada, from its inception as a voluntary Anglican prisoners' aid association in 1892 to its present position in the community as a professional casework agency and a member of Welfare Federation of Montreal². The history as treated in this study falls into three main periods, each being denoted by a change in the name of the association. It should be noted that during the first period of its existence there sprang up after the First World War two other prisoners' aid and penal reform

¹Hereafter referred to as J.H.S.Q., the society, or the association.

²Hereafter referred to as Federation.

organizations in Montreal. These two had considerable backing in the community and provided strength and stimulation to the older association upon amalgamation. Their virtual exclusion from this study is a definite limitation arbitrarily drawn by the writer who preferred to follow changes in the organization which was first founded.

The main approach to this study will be a three-fold analysis of each of the three historical periods, as follows:

(1) Structure: This is the apparatus which holds the concept and is the means of bringing it into action to serve the community. An examination will be made of the composition of the executive and general membership of the society as laid down by its constitution and by-laws. This will denote changing structure over the years.

(2) Functions: This will deal with the role of J.H.S.Q. in the community at various stages of its development, and the activities of some of its members in relation to this development. It should be noted here that the society's functions involved rehabilitation work with prisoners in institutions under two completely separate jurisdictions. In Canada the provincial government has jurisdiction over jails, and in these are imprisoned persons serving any sentence less than two years. The federal government controls the penitentiaries where terms of two years and over are served.

The following assumptions will be tested out: (i) There may be a growth in the strength of the relationship between J.H.S.Q. and the non-Catholic community within the larger community of Montreal. In order to better understand this setting of Montreal, in which there is drawn a sharp cultural distinction between the two main segments of the population, a portion of the introduction is devoted to a brief

explanation. Although prisoner rehabilitation work across Canada has, by and large, been confronted with a similar lack of public interest and like problems resulting from divided jurisdiction of provincial and federal institutions, it is valid to suggest that no society engaged in this work in Canada has been forced to make its way through such a complicated cultural and philosophical milieu as has the John Howard Society of Quebec and its predecessors in Montreal. (ii) The second assumption to be tested is that the society may have been successful in keeping abreast of current trends in criminology and penology. In order to test this assumption a brief analysis of current trends in thinking in this field in England, the United States, and Canada is presented in the introduction. The first two countries mentioned were the main sources of the ideas of Canadian leaders. (iii) A third assumption to be tested is that over a period of time there may begin to emerge a differentiation within the society of the role of the leaders or policy makers and the role of the functionaries or caseworkers. The ability of an institution to gradually accommodate the views and efforts of two different specialized groups is thought to indicate a measure of flexibility essential for its development.

(3) Assessment: The functions of the society within its constitutional structure will be assessed insofar as they correspond to contemporary thinking inside Montreal and elsewhere concerning penology and the rehabilitation of prisoners.

The materials used to trace this history are exclusively the unpublished records of the society. They provide the basic primary source material. They include with few exceptions the minutes of 'board' meetings from 1896 to 1947 and most of the annual reports

from 1897 to 1955. There are no written records available for the first four years of the society's existence from 1892 to 1896 inclusive. Minutes of board meetings from 1947 to 1955 were made available to the writer, subject to their use being approved by the society. Some briefs and recommendations to provincial and federal governments in Canada in support of prison reform provide useful benchmarks in the society's formulation of goals. In addition, some use has been made of volumes of newspaper clippings which have been collected by members of the association from local Montreal, and some United States' and English newspapers. These indicate the society's public relations activity, and also public interest in and reaction to prisoner rehabilitation and penal reform in Montreal and the other countries mentioned. Other secondary material has been derived from books and current periodicals.

It must be pointed out that one of the limitations imposed on this study has been the nature of the primary material used, insofar as it has given little expression of the opinions and attitudes towards the activity of the society from those outside of it.

The presentation of material has been organized as follows: An introduction sets forth in parts A, B, and C, respectively, the writer's methodology; current trends in criminology and penology in England, the United States, and Canada; and a description of the background of the community of Montreal.

This is followed by Section I dealing with the Prisoners' Aid Association of Montreal¹, 1892 to 1931. This historical period will

¹Hereafter referred to as P.A.A. or the association.

be analyzed in the three sub-sections of structure, functions, and assessment.

Then in Section II the same analytical treatment will be given to the period from 1931 to 1947 when the organization was named the Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal Incorporated¹.

Section III will continue the analysis in the same three sub-sections and apply it to the last period as the John Howard Society of Quebec Incorporated from 1947 to 1955.

The final part of the thesis, the conclusions, will consider collectively the assessments of each of the above three periods, and will attempt to show the trend of development throughout the entire history.

¹Hereafter referred to as P.A. & W.A. or the association.

Part B

Current Trends in Criminology and Penal Reform
in England, United States, and Canada

As a nation Canada has never been a pioneer in penology. The thinking in this field here has been derived mainly from England and the United States. In studying the development of one prisoner rehabilitation society in Canada, it is, therefore, essential to consider at least very briefly the main trends in thinking in the two main source countries. At the outset it might be pointed out here that only a very small group of Canadians have been receptive to these ideas, and that the general public in this country has been extremely slow to accept even some of them.

The prison reform movement through the western world, which began in 1870, demanded the enunciation of the principle that moral regeneration of the prisoner should be the primary aim of prisoner rehabilitation. Of all reformatory influences, religion was seen first in importance because of its powerful action on the human heart and life. It is noteworthy that during these early years the emphasis was on the individual approach, and that it has continually been reaffirmed over the years.

In the United States the reform movement began with the first American National Prison Congress held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1870. The "Declaration of Principles" of that Congress came as an historic climax to a long process of thinking about crime and punishment. These principles were in large part adopted throughout the western world and were the beginning of the reform movement. They incorporated ideas of 'reformatory discipline' and 'progressive stages' which

earlier had developed in England, were transmitted to Ireland, and had also aroused great interest and fertile experiment in several continental systems. In the flush of social reconstruction after its civil war, the United States made them the basis of their stated principles of 1870. This penal reform congress, further, had the novel idea of the reformatory as a type of institution to provide for the purely reformatory treatment of young persons between the ages of sixteen and thirty years on the basis of the indeterminate sentence. The first reformatory in the United States was opened in Elmira, New York, in 1877 under one of the founders of the American movement, Mr. Z. R. Brockway.

As the torch of penal reform had passed to America from England, so it was to pass from Elmira, New York, back to the British Isles again, for it was there that Sir E. Ruggles-Brise learned much that encouraged him to found his Borstal system in England which was established by the Prevention of Crime Act of 1908.

Turning now to penal reform developments in England, one finds thinking which is comparable with the Cincinnati Principles in America. The report of the Gladstone Committee of 1895 on the treatment of prisoners remained the foundation stone of the contemporary prison system in England. "The fundamental conclusion of the Gladstone Report was that the prisoners have been treated too much as a hopeless and worthless element of the community and the moral as well as the legal responsibility of the prison authorities has been held to cease when they pass outside the prison gates"¹. The report condemned the

¹Lionel W. Fox, The English Prison and Borstal Systems (London, 1952), p. 54.

one unquestionable achievement of the prison administration, namely, the uniformity of treatment. "The system should be made more elastic, more capable of being adapted to the special cases of individual prisoners...to develop their moral instincts, to train them in orderly industrial habits and, whenever possible, to turn them out of prison better men and women, physically and morally, than when they came in." The Gladstone Committee believed that this emphasis on reclamation was not incompatible with maintenance of the deterrent aspect of imprisonment. Mr. Fox comments on this report as follows:

Within the classical line of thought running from Beccaria through Howard, Bentham and Elizabeth Fry, [it] leaves little more to be said as to principles and ends. Though its principles may call for re-interpretation, its methods for re-adaptation...much that has been done in the last twenty-five years [up to 1952] is no more than a late working out of suggestions in this report. Indeed to the task of making 'better men and women' there can be no finality and the story of the next fifty years will be one of means rather than ends.¹

Toward the close of the nineteenth century the original reform program of 1870 in the United States degenerated into one of repressive discipline and lock psychosis² because of administrative practices³. The principle was to place the prisoner, who must be taught that he has sinned against society and owes reparation, in a position of stern adversity from which he must work his way out by his own exertions. However, it was recognized that to attain reformation, hope for the

¹Ibid., p. 56.

²This expression meant that prison officials were excessively preoccupied with the use of locks in the institutions.

³H.E. Barnes and N.K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology (2d ed.; New York, 1951), p. 530.

prisoner must be more powerful than fear. Therefore, a system of rewards for good conduct and industry were established. And so, by 1910 in the United States certain good features had slowly developed out of the failure of the recent reform movement. These were indeterminate sentences¹ and the beginning of the individualized treatment of prisoners which led towards probation and obligatory supervision for all prisoners released conditionally. The assumption was that the offender should be kept until he was reformed, but no one knew how long reformation would take and, therefore, indeterminate sentences were advocated. The International Penal and Penitentiary Congress of 1910 endorsed this principle while resolving that prevailing conceptions of guilt and punishment were compatible with it².

By way of contrast to the above thinking, it is interesting to note here the developments in 1913 in the new Bordeaux jail in Montreal. It was reported in a local newspaper³ that a system of military rule was to be set up in that institution. "The guards will be whipped into line, submitted to drill and their whole strength placed under military discipline...the guards in turn will be called upon to establish military discipline among the men under their charge and drilling and marching and physical exercises will become a daily feature". This suggests that the penal reform philosophy which then was emerging in United States and England was having little noticeable influence upon the administration of Bordeaux provincial jail.

¹By which the length of the sentence served was determined by the individual's ability to reform.

²Negley K. Teeters, Deliberations of the International Penal and Penitentiary Congresses, 1872-1935 (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 141.

³"Military Law to Govern New Jail", The Gazette (Montreal), July 29, 1913.

In both England and the United States, individual treatment of prisoners was beginning by the mid 1920's to be based on advances in the new science of sociology, and scientific methods of study were introduced inside the prisons to determine the biological and sociological causes of criminality. The system of classification, which had always existed in some crude form, was defined as being based on the prisoner's character and ability to be reformed.

In Montreal, Canada, in 1923 a local newspaper¹ headlined an article on the parole of two 'lifers' as follows: "Murderers Obtain Complete Freedom - Aldermen shocked to hear lifers are out on Ticket-of-Leave - Parole System a Danger". It went on to report exclamations of surprise that were heard around the table at a meeting of the police committee of aldermen when the chief of police made the declaration about the two 'lifers' on parole.

During the 1930's the trend of penal reform thinking developed into a theory of multiple causation of crime, and new stress was laid on education to develop moral and intellectual powers. Prisoners were classified into groups according to the influence exerted on them by education.

In the United States this period was marked by a revolt between those who thought criminals were 'mad dogs' and the penologists who thought that the philosophy of punishment was not effective in protecting society. This has been referred to as the feud between the 'mad dog approach' and the 'cream puff penologists'².

¹The Gazette (Montreal), 12 December, 1923.

²Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p. 451.

At the 1930 International Prison and Penal Congress, held in Prague, it was pointed out that in comparison with other countries represented there, the federal penitentiaries and the large provincial jails of Canada were up to par in fabric and administration. But in the general administration of justice Canada was lacking many of the facilities found in Britain, Germany, and Switzerland. Among these deficiencies were the following: adult probation system, prison visitation system, payment of prison labour, recreational and educational facilities, and time for the payment of fines so as to enable a working man to avoid a prison term and so continue to support himself and family. The classification and segregation systems used in Canada were not found as satisfactory as those developed in Europe, mainly because more government expenditure was needed to make improvements¹.

Meanwhile, some advances were made in the next five years in Canada. Canadian delegates to the Sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations in 1935, which dealt with penal and penitentiary conditions, reported at that time as follows: "The Canadian penitentiary system was in accordance with the spirit of Standard Minimum Rules. A system of remuneration for convict labour had been put in force in January, 1935. A scheme of segregation was being tested"². It is interesting to note that this report to the League of Nations in 1935 referred only to the seven federal penitentiaries in Canada and it did not speak for more than one hundred local and county jails in the country.

¹Reported in The Gazette (Montreal) by the P.A. & W.A. delegate, Mr. John Kidman, 1930, n.d.

²Submission by P.A. & W.A. to the Royal Commission on Penitentiaries and Penal System of Canada, September 1936.

The current trend in treatment is based on the broadening understanding of the multiple causation theory, and the principle that crime cannot be dealt with in the abstract. The present era in penology is one of caution in experimentation which raises the question for the future as to whether the concept of punishment can be eliminated. If the philosophy of penal treatment has been formed in relation to the advances made by social and medical sciences during the past quarter century, then the concept of punishment will be completely dissipated. The question, however, is not one of complete freedom in lieu of punishment, but one of treatment involving redirection of personal attitudes and habits.

The prisoners' aid societies in the various countries have attempted to address themselves to meet these changing trends in treatment. England was the forerunner in recognizing their contribution. In 1862 the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Act set out that:

Whereas divers societies have been formed in divers parts of England by persons subscribing voluntarily for the purpose of finding employment for discharged prisoners and enabling them by loans and grants of money to live by honest labour, these Societies might be recognized as the medium through which the Justices might assist prisoners, provided the Society had been certified by the Justices as an approved Society, and any sum which the Justices might have paid to the prisoner they were authorized to pay to the Society for the prisoner's benefit....[Justices] were also given power to pay grants to these Societies for the benefit of each discharged prisoner.¹

In 1884 government grants were made to the prisons for aid to discharged prisoners with this proviso:

That an equal amount shall be provided by private subscriptions as a guarantee of that local and private interest in the work without which it cannot prosper....In short, the State goes into partnership with bodies of charitable and benevolent persons, duly certified under the Act, in order to secure a double object: (a) the

¹Fox, op. cit., p. 257.

State object, that steps shall be taken at least to lessen the chances of a man's relapse into crime, (b) the private and charitable object of relieving misfortune and distress.¹

Progressive steps were later taken in England to organize the rehabilitation societies and secure greater uniformity of action. In 1918 a Central Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society was instituted in London to secure co-ordination of efforts and ideas. In 1936 it was re-constituted as the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and all certified societies were affiliated by 1952 or earlier.

After the 1870's it was generally felt that the best means of securing rehabilitation of discharged prisoners was by using a dual approach. This meant morally, by giving religious instruction in prison; and legally, by considering the man equal to other citizens when discharged. It was felt that the work of the rehabilitation societies should begin in prison and that it should continue upon discharge and should consist of moral and material assistance culminating in finding a job.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the greatest interest of after-care agencies was directed towards stimulating the creation of employment bureaux and working in co-operation with them to enable the discharged prisoner to find work to support himself and his family. This was putting into practice the theory that the creation of good habits of industry was fundamental to rehabilitation.

During the depression of the 1930's the opportunities in ordinary employment for discharged prisoners were very limited. Although work was still thought to be the best means of rehabilitation, when it

¹Ibid., p. 258.

was not available special workshops and small homes for discharged prisoners were advocated.

In the last quarter century the prisoners' aid societies have accepted gradually the multiple causation theory of crime, and they are directing their efforts through casework therapy towards personality adjustment and prevention of crime by means of social orientation of the discharged men and women. The problems on release are two-fold: emotional or psychological, and economic; and they vary with the individual prisoners. The societies still concentrate their attentions first on the economic aspect because they know that it is of the greatest importance to the discharged prisoner, both economically and psychologically, that he get into work as soon as possible after his release.

Part C

A Background of the Community of Montreal

The history of J.H.S.Q. relates the development of an organization by a minority group of the population of Montreal. Throughout its history this social welfare body for the rehabilitation of prisoners functioned within a unique and complicated community organization of social welfare. A brief examination of this setting reveals an unusual and fascinating picture.

When the provinces of Canada entered into Confederation in 1867 they were given constitutional responsibility for welfare, along with health and education. Furthermore, the religion, language and civil laws of the province of Quebec received special recognition. As a result, Quebec continued to meet its welfare responsibility through the Roman Catholic church, as had been the practice since the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Quebec this work was carried on by the many highly organized religious orders, although in other provinces welfare responsibilities were delegated to the municipalities.

The practice which was retained in Quebec was in accordance with the philosophy of the Roman Catholic church. Charity, the alleviation of suffering of one's fellowman, was held to be a fundamental duty of every church member. The Roman Catholic church was the accepted means through which this charity was given. As a result, the state's participation in welfare legislatively, financially and administratively has developed slowly.

Whereas the rural areas of Quebec still are overwhelmingly

French-speaking Roman Catholic¹; the city of Montreal, although predominantly Roman Catholic, also has significant segments of the population which are Jewish, Protestant, and English-speaking Roman Catholics mostly of Irish origin. Each of these groups tended to care for its own sick and needy along its particular ethnic and religious lines.

Table I, which follows, shows the religious distribution of the population of Montreal during the past sixty years. The most significant information revealed is that Roman Catholics have consistently represented a high percentage of the total population, and this has been increasing. At the same time the relatively small percentage of the population which is Protestant has tended to decline.

During the economic recessions of the 1870's and 1890's many small welfare institutions of all denominations sprang up in Montreal in an attempt to help people through these hard times. This was the beginning of the social services as we know them today. A survey of 1919² reported that the city contained countless agencies, each a separate entity, self-governing, self-financing and for the most part working in a little world of its own. The survey added:

It would be impossible to get the working co-operation of several hundred agencies, as should be the case if the Montreal Council were to include all Roman Catholic, Hebrew, and non-sectarian

¹Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ninth Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. I (Ottawa, 1953), pp.33-35. In the province of Quebec in 1951, out of the total population of 4,055,681, the rural population was 1,358,363.

²Montreal Council of Social Agencies, A Social and Financial Survey of Protestant and Non-Sectarian Social Agencies of an Undenominational Character in the City of Montreal...(Montreal, 1919), p. 38.

TABLE I

POPULATION OF THE CITY OF MONTREAL, BY
SPECIFIED RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS, 1891-1951^a

Religious Denomination	Year							
	1891		1911		1931		1951	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
Grand Total	182,695	100.0	225,141	100.0	818,577	100.0	1,021,520	100.0
Roman Catholic	134,142	73.5	157,354	69.9	624,209	76.3	802,917	78.6
Total Protestant	43,353	23.8	40,002	17.7	132,535	16.2	139,513	13.7
Baptist	1,525	...	1,452	...	3,604	...	4,427	...
Church of England	19,684	...	19,227	...	60,913	...	57,783	...
Lutheran	488	...	645	...	4,543	...	4,929	...
Presbyterian	14,853	...	13,087	...	28,892	...	23,097	...
United Church ^b	...	...	...	...	28,166	...	40,224	...
Methodist	6,803	...	4,717	...	...	...	...	...
Greek Orthodox	...	...	874	...	6,417	...	9,053	...
Jewish	2,457	1.3	22,154	9.9	48,486	5.9	65,918	6.4
Others	2,743	1.4	5,631	2.5	13,347	1.6	13,172	1.3

^aSource: Department of Agriculture and Statistics, Census of Canada, 1890-91, Vol. I (Ottawa, 1893), p. 312; Department of Agriculture and Statistics, Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. I (Ottawa, 1913), p. 116; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Population: Summary, Vol. I (Ottawa, 1936, p. 125; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ninth Census of Canada, 1951, Population, Vol. I (Ottawa, 1953), p. 43.

^bThe United Church of Canada was founded in 1925 by Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists.

agencies. Therefore,...efforts should be put forth to promote three distinct councils, one for each group; each council to appoint five delegates to a central standing Committee on Co-operation, whose sole function would be to attempt to secure simultaneous action in dealing with any social problem.¹

Although this recommendation for distinct councils was made in 1919, only since 1933 have all these separate councils been established. Moreover, co-operation among them has tended to be held back because each has been in a different stage of its progress and development.

In 1917 the Jewish population formed the first federation in Montreal to co-ordinate the welfare services for its people. In 1919 the Protestant and non-sectarian bodies united under the Montreal Council of Social Agencies² for social welfare planning. Two years later this council organized the Financial Federation³ to take care of the finances for its work. It was not until the very severe depression of the 1930's that the Roman Catholic segments of the city's population began to overcome their traditional resistance to charity organized by lay people. In 1930 the English-speaking Catholics formed the Federation of Catholic Charities. In 1933 the French-speaking Catholics formed a federation for financial planning, and the following year they organized Conseil des Oeuvres for social welfare planning. These two bodies were established as French counterparts of M.C.S.A. and Financial Federation.

At the beginning of this study, the welfare needs of the

¹Ibid., p. 35.

²Hereafter referred to as M.C.S.A. or the Council.

³Hereafter referred to as Federation. The name was changed to Welfare Federation in 1944.

Montreal community were met predominantly through the churches and philanthropic associations. As time went on and welfare services increased, the financial burden on church and laymen became too great for them to carry alone. It was 1921 when the government of the province passed the Quebec Public Charities Act¹ through which some financial assistance was provided for certain recognized institutions on a per diem or per capita basis. This Act was restricted to the provision of monetary assistance to the traditional private welfare services. There was no establishment of state institutions, nor other direct participation by the provincial government in social welfare. However, the city of Montreal has been one of the few large cities in North America that has had to handle basic relief which in many other cities has been done by government departments.

In this setting the English Protestant population has, due to cultural and political circumstances, organized its own welfare institutions. Furthermore, it has become increasingly dependent on the support of the French Catholic population, and on municipal and provincial governments for financial aid to meet expanding services. This study is a history of one of its institutions in Montreal as it developed in this milieu.

¹Hereafter referred to as Q.P.C.A.

SECTION I

THE PRISONERS' AID ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

1892-1931

Introduction.--This section describes the beginnings of the association as the result of the personal interest of a few Anglican churchmen, and traces its work through forty years of religious orientation. It might be mentioned that the records of meetings in this period, although quite complete, frequently omit meaningful material of interest to the present day reader. For example, it would appear that up to the end of the period this association was connected only with the local provincial jails. These were Bordeaux Jail for male prisoners, and the Protestant Female Jail for female prisoners. The records do not noticeably differentiate between work in provincial jails and the federal penitentiary at St. Vincent de Paul, if there was any connection with the latter institution.

This period will be dealt with in the following three subsections: (1) Structure of the Prisoners' Aid Association deals with the Anglican, then interdenominational and Protestant, organization. It also discusses personnel and finances. (2) Functions of P.A.A. deal with the activities of the organization to meet its objectives. They are discussed in the order in which the association chose to state them in its constitution, as follows: (a) religious services in jails and visitation of prisoners, (b) aid to discharged prisoners, (c) publicity, (d) crime prevention and prison reform work, (e) contacts with other community agencies in Montreal and (f) in other centres, (g) case-work methods of the period, and (h) continuity of membership in the

association. In order to explain the transition to the second period (i) brief mention is made of two parallel organizations in Montreal, the Honor League and the National Criminal Reform Association. (3) The assessment of the first period attempts to relate contemporary criminological thinking to the work of this association within Montreal.

1. Structure

The Prisoners' Aid Association of Montreal was organized within the Anglican Church in 1892. The aims of the association were "the reformation of offenders, their welfare when discharged, to watch the Law Courts in the interest of offenders under arrest, the prevention of crime, and prison reform"¹. It originated in St. George's Parish Church where some members of the young men's association were in the habit of going to the old Montreal jail to help in religious services and take books to inmates. The idea of forming an association was conceived in order to consolidate these activities and enlist public sympathy for prisoners in the aggregate as well. A public meeting was held in the Synod Hall of the Anglican Diocese of Montreal on December 6, 1892, presided over by Rt. Rev. William Bennett Bond, Lord Bishop of Montreal. Mr. J. S. Hetherington was elected president, Mr. W. S. Stocker was secretary, and Rev. E. McManus was first official visitor to the jail. Records of the association which begin in 1896 and the first printed constitution, apparently of the same year, leave a gap of the first four years in the association's activities. The association was incorporated in 1911.

The organization, according to the constitution of the P.A.A., consisted of four annually elected officers, president, vice-president,

¹Prisoners' Aid Association of Montreal, "Constitution", 1896, art. 2.

secretary, and treasurer; and a chaplain. The Bishop of the Diocese was ex-officio honorary president of the association. The officers had to be members of the Church of England, and the chaplain appointed by the working committee held office during their pleasure subject to the approval of the Bishop¹.

The working committee consisted of these five officers plus fifteen clerical and lay members of various Anglican churches². Under the constitution all members of the Church of England whether clerical or lay, and all Christian workers, whether male or female, interested in the objects of the association were eligible for election as members of the association on payment of the sum of one dollar annually³.

This was the formal structure of the association as an Anglican Church activity until 1908. At this juncture the association became interdenominational and amended its constitution accordingly. General membership became open to "all Christian workers", all reference to Church of England membership being deleted. "All Clergymen who signify their willingness to co-operate in the work shall be ex-officio members of the Association"⁴.

The working committee was renamed the general committee in 1908. It was expanded to include thirty-nine members as follows: four

¹Ibid., art. 5.

²Ibid., art. 6 reads: "Thereafter the working committee shall consist of two members, one clerical and one lay, nominated by the Bishop of the Diocese, and of two or more members appointed by each of the Rectors or Incumbents of such of the city churches as have not any 'Young Men's Association' connected with their Church, and where such Association exists, by the members of such Association".

³Ibid., art. 4. It added: "The payment of \$25.00 by any person at one time shall constitute a life membership".

⁴Ibid. (Revised 1908), art. 4.

officers, twelve members of the Anglican Church (in addition, the two Anglican chaplains were ex-officio members), eight Presbyterians, eight Methodists, three Baptists, and two Unitarians.

The general committee, previously called the working committee, had "the general oversight and direction of all the work of the association, the hiring and discharging of officers, agents, and servants of the association, and the management of all its affairs and property"¹.

This amended structure was the formal organization of the Prisoners' Aid Association for the next quarter century until 1931. When the Women's Auxiliary to P.A.A. was inaugurated in 1899 to care for Protestant female prisoners in jail and after release, it was given a separate constitution practically identical to that of P.A.A. proper. The Women's Auxiliary operated on the same structural lines as the parent group until it dissolved in 1920.

The practice of the association was to hold monthly meetings, in addition to the annual meeting prescribed by the constitution². All meetings were invariably held in the Synod Office of the Anglican Diocese, even after it became an interdenominational association, and were opened and closed with prayers. The association had no formal offices. For a long period of time the home of the vice-president was used for carrying out one of the association's functions, that of giving material aid to discharged prisoners. Then for a few years this type of help was given by a minister at his church, until the Salvation Army took over the work in 1919.

¹Ibid., art. 8.

²Ibid., art. 9.

The funds of the association were obtained mainly by subscriptions from friends and well-wishers. Membership fees of one dollar per annum did not represent much income at any time. The association's finances were always limited and curtailed the work it desired to do¹. Government financial assistance was granted, after several requests from P.A.A., by the Province of Quebec in 1909 amounting to three hundred dollars² and continued at this same rate up to 1931, the end of this period. A request to the federal government for a grant was written by President A. M. Crombie and the following warm reply was received, dated February 23, 1906, from Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick, Minister of Justice: "It is not at present and never has been the policy of the Dominion Government to grant financial assistance to associations engaged in works of charity and benevolence. If it had been, you may be sure your association would not have been overlooked in the past".

It was the responsibility of all members to collect public subscriptions, and it was a continual problem to avoid asking too much from regular subscribers, and to find new contributors³. Some consideration was given to paying a fee to a member who would devote his time to collecting subscriptions regularly⁴. The chaplain's stipend had been increased to one hundred and fifty dollars per annum to cover this work⁵.

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings". The years 1906 and 1907 were critical years.

²P.A.A., "Annual Report 1909".

³In 1906 letters requesting the 'usual subscription' of \$2 or \$5 were sent to: Philips Electrical Co., Canada Paint Co., Amyot & Lariviere (samplers), Albert Soaps, Lang Manufacturers (biscuits), McCready Shoe Co., Sherwin Williams Paints; and to the Prime Minister of Quebec, Hon. Lomer Gouin.

⁴P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", March 20, 1906.

⁵Ibid., January 14, 1902.

The association publicized itself as a voluntary organization in which its work was done gratuitously, with the chief exception of the chaplain's services as official jail visitor. Subscriptions were solicited on the grounds that with the exception of the chaplain's stipend of \$100.00, later increased to \$150.00, all funds went directly into assistance for discharged prisoners. An examination of available treasurers' reports does not give a clear picture, but leaves the impression that this policy was not strictly maintained. This is illustrated by Table II which gives total income and expenditures for salaries for specified years when financial statements were available.

TABLE II

TOTAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FOR SALARIES,
BY YEARS, PRISONERS' AID ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL^a

Year	Total Income	Expenditures for Salaries
1896	\$ 234.03	\$ 100.00 ^b
1898	541.65	201.20 ^c
1899	979.75	306.66 ^d
1900	1,341.02	540.00 ^d
1915	1,031.89	100.00 ^e
1930	2,379.55	150.00 ^f

^aSource: P.A.A., "Annual Reports".

^bChaplain's salary.

^cChaplain's salary and donations.

^dSalaries.

^eExpenses of jail visitors.

^fExpenses of chaplains, caretaker, and
secretary-treasurer.

There is some indication that expenditures for salaries did include various amounts of financial assistance to the Women's Auxiliary for that purpose. Small donations were given in later years

to visiting speakers at jail services¹. The vice-president, Mr. James Elliott, also received a salary for his work with the discharged men. At first he refused this repeatedly on the grounds that "acceptance of it would weaken his influence with the men"². By 1906 he was accepting a small salary of \$50.00³ and by 1912 his salary was \$250.00⁴. The question of salaries was examined and found to be within the constitution of the association⁵.

Despite the chronic problem of inadequate finances for yearly operations, the association had made good investments in early years with the help of their president, Mr. Crombie, who was manager of the Bank of Commerce; and it maintained them. After amalgamation in 1931 it was in a surprisingly strong financial situation⁶. When the association became interdenominational in 1908 there were no new financial arrangements made immediately. In 1912 it was decided to ask each denomination to contribute a lump quota annually and to collect as it saw fit from its own churches⁷.

¹Ibid., June, 1920.

²Ibid., December 13, 1898.

³Ibid., December 11, 1906.

⁴Ibid., March 5, 1912.

⁵Ibid., June 11, 1907.

⁶At a special trustees meeting, January 13, 1944, it was stated that P.A.A. owned securities to the value of \$4,500.00 and had a bank balance of \$294.08.

⁷P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", December 3, 1912. The sum of \$500.00 each from the Presbyterian, Anglican, and Methodist churches, and of \$500.00 combined from the other denominations, was discussed.

2. Functions

a) Religious services in jails and visitation of prisoners.--

Among the functions of the Prisoners' Aid Association were the holding of religious services in jails and the personal visitation of prisoners. The weekly services conducted by the chaplain contributed to this end. These services and visiting prisoners in jail made up the major part of the chaplain's work which was, of course, in addition to his regular parish duties. When the association became interdenominational a monthly rotation scheme was formed to include clergy from the participating churches to conduct religious services in the jail. The association had always provided books, bibles, and portions of scripture for use by the men in prison. It is interesting to note the statement that "magazines and journals containing wholesome stories and articles that are of an educational character would be valued by the more intelligent men"¹. This work of providing reading material perhaps had a value far exceeding measurable results.

b) Aid to discharged prisoners.--Another important means whereby the association sought to obtain its objectives was giving pecuniary and material aid to discharged prisoners. Food and shelter paid by P.A.A. was provided through the Salvation Army Hostel and the Old Brewery Mission². For a few months in the beginning the association itself rented a room for the men but it was unable to keep this up for various reasons, mainly financial. During the first seven years, an urgent concern of the association was to establish a home for discharged

¹P.A.A., "Annual Report 1920".

²The Salvation Army came to Montreal in 1884; the Old Brewery Mission was established in 1890.

prisoners, and a fund was set up for this purpose. However, by 1899 the plan was dropped as it was thought undesirable to set these men apart from society again after discharge, and as it was considered dangerous for the men to continue to associate after discharge. This decision was reached on the basis of advice obtained in 1899 from experienced agencies in England¹. The question was revived in 1915 in connection with the Honor League².

Clothing was given to the men from collections of used clothing obtained from supporters of the association. In some cases railway fares were paid to help men return to their homes or to a centre where work was available. For example, in 1900 the treasurer reported that \$43.00 were spent on railway fares out of a total budget of \$1,341.00³. While this sum is strikingly small, it must be remembered that today it would be worth four or five times its equivalent in fares. The following examples were given in one report: "sent to friends in Burlington"; "paid fare to relatives in New York"; "enabled another to go to Scotland with cattle"; "paid railway ticket to Victoria, B.C., for a man whose home was in Bechuanaland"; "paid fare to friends in England"⁴.

c) Publicity.--A third function of P.A.A., as stated in its constitution, was "the dissemination of information likely to promote the objects of the Association", and was aimed at enlisting and maintaining

¹Letters. The secretary of P.A.A. wrote to the following: Howard Association, London; St. Giles Christian Mission for Discharged Prisoners, Holborn, London; and the Reformatory and Refuge Union, London, England.

²An association founded in Montreal in 1915 for the rehabilitation of prisoners. *Infra.*, p. 43 ff.

³P.A.A., "Annual Report 1900".

⁴*Ibid.*, 1899.

public support. To this end the annual report was printed and circulated largely amongst the churches participating in the work of the association. Some human interest stories were included, apparently an attempt to show subscribers some dividends received from their investments. The number of printed copies of the annual report varied from 500 in the year 1897, 2000 in 1904 and 1905, to 1000 in 1906. This reflected partly the financial liabilities of the year and partly the public interest. During the period as an Anglican organization, the annual report was also published with the Synod Report¹.

The annual meeting of the association was reported regularly in Montreal newspapers, such as The Gazette, The Montreal Star, The Herald, and The Daily Witness. These reports were brief and factual with only a sentence or two of interpretation of the objects of the association. In addition, occasional readers' letters to the editor reflected interest in the work. However, during this period public interest and support was, on the whole, not reflected widely by the press. The association did at times use the press as a means of maintaining its position when need arose to defend its work², and to appeal for used clothing³.

As early as 1904 the members felt the need for greater publicity and considered holding a public annual meeting⁴, but they decided that the necessary expense for speakers and advertising would be beyond their financial capacity. No record of a public meeting is found until

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", March 12, 1907.

²Ibid., October, 1904. The association sought publicity in The Montreal Star and The Herald in its controversy with the Salvation Army over prison work.

³Ibid., November 1902, and November 1913.

⁴Ibid., December 13, 1904.

that of 1922. On that occasion the association celebrated its thirtieth anniversary at the Central Young Men's Christian Association on Drummond Street¹.

d) Crime prevention and prison reform work.--The association's work in this area was confined almost completely to the local scene during this forty-year period. Its prison reform platform was published in the sixth annual report in 1898 and included four main points, as follows: framing of some measure similar to the 'First Offenders Act' in England, adoption of the English ticket-of-leave system, adoption of Bertillion or some other system for the identification of confirmed criminals, and drawing attention to recent legislation in England in connection with confirmed inebriates.

In its work the association made several contacts with provincial government authorities. In 1904 it presented to the government of Quebec a resolution in favour of compulsory education, at least in cities and towns, for all children between seven and fourteen years². This resolution was also submitted that year to the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and received the enthusiastic support of that body.

Provincial government authorities were approached particularly with petitions for reforms at the local women's jail. The association co-operated with the Local Council of Women in strenuous efforts to obtain reforms at the Protestant Female Jail which was under the supervision of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd who looked after a jail for both Roman Catholic and Protestant prisoners, with Roman Catholics

¹The Gazette (Montreal), October 31, 1922.

²P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", May 10, 1904. This resolution was based on recent legislation on education in Ontario.

greatly predominating in numbers. On behalf of Protestant female prisoners in Quebec Province, the association supported a two-fold platform, namely, reform of existing conditions at the Protestant Female Jail, and the establishment of a women's reformatory. From 1900 on through to 1931 these grievances were repeatedly exposed and laid before the provincial government in co-operation with the Montreal Council of Women, the National Council of Women, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Christian Association, and the Salvation Army. The main achievements apparently were improvements in hygienic conditions at the Female Jail.

The association also approached city authorities for reforms. In 1912 it sent delegates to wait on the mayor and controllers to complain about unsanitary conditions in the city hall cell. In 1901 it passed on to the mayor, for forwarding to the police committee, a strong protest against the proposed regulation of houses of prostitution which the association considered a public recognition of vice. The association tried on one or two occasions to enlist the co-operation of the city sheriff and magistrates. In 1901 the secretary wrote to several magistrates of Montreal asking their opinion concerning classification of prisoners and proposed changes at the Protestant Female Jail, and the replies were incorporated into the annual report. In 1913 the association passed a resolution asking the magistrates to promote its criminal reform work¹. That same year it also approached the magistrates to request support for new legislation for habitual drunkards. The president of the association in 1917 accepted an invitation to represent P.A.A. at

¹The resolution submitted in 1913 recommended (1) suspended sentence for first offenders, especially for drinking, (2) discovery of the religion of an offender before sentence was passed and commitment to a jail of the same religion.

a meeting of the aldermanic legislative committee to request for the City of Montreal an increased proportion of the provincial government amusement tax, which the city wanted to use for various charitable institutions.

e) Contacts with other community agencies in Montreal.--In early years the P.A.A. co-operated with community agencies in child welfare work. In 1899 it worked with the Society for the Protection of Women and Children¹ on problems concerning children of prisoners and child prisoners. It supported a petition initiated by S.P.W.C. requesting that legislation be passed in Quebec permitting by law the separation of children from "vicious parents". Such proposed legislation was similar to that in Ontario. "On the principle that prevention is better than cure, we are glad to co-operate with the Charity Organization Society² and other bodies in the work of child-saving, and we believe that by the establishment of industrial schools, suitable grounds for recreation, and other means, much good may be accomplished"³.

In 1907 the association was one of twenty-five societies represented at a charity organization meeting to discuss the co-ordination and furtherance of the work of child saving. The meeting included all religious denominations as well as the student body of McGill University and of the Royal Victoria College of Women⁴. P.A.A. participated in the great Child Welfare Exhibition of 1912 which was a co-operative movement

¹Hereafter referred to as S.P.W.C. It was founded in 1882.

²This body was founded in 1894, formally adopting its name in 1900, for the purpose of organizing charity relief work in Montreal.

³P.A.A., "Ninth Annual Report 1901".

⁴The Montreal Star, December 10, 1907.

to combat infantile delinquency in Montreal. The Charity Organization Society wrote to P.A.A. inviting it to co-operate in setting up a special employment registry of available jobs for unemployed persons¹. The association's co-operation with the Charity Organization Society continued until the latter's demise in 1919.

The association's affiliation with the Montreal Council of Social Agencies² was brief. It joined in the spring of 1920 but withdrew in January, 1922, because of differences of opinion inside the association as to the benefits derived from membership in the council. At the end of this historical period, 1931, the association automatically became a member of both M.C.S.A. and Financial Federation when it amalgamated in that year with another stronger, although younger, prisoners' aid society whose membership in these co-ordinating bodies was already well established.

Another contact which the association had in the community since its founding was with the Salvation Army. The association was dependent on the Salvation Army 'Beulah Home' and on its hostel for the provision of meals and rooms for discharged women and men. At only one brief period did P.A.A. ever have a room of its own for this purpose. There was some early controversy in 1904 because the Salvation Army then began prison work, claiming that it was the only organization engaged in it. P.A.A. publicly protested this claim, writing to local newspapers and to the Federal Minister of Justice to correct this false impression.

Nevertheless, it appears that by 1919 the Salvation Army was doing all the rehabilitation work on behalf of P.A.A. which was paying

¹Letter dated March 2, 1901.

²Supra., p. 19.

the Salvation Army one-half of the expenses involved in giving material assistance to discharged prisoners. There is no account of the definite arrangements being made with the Salvation Army. A brigadier and two ensigns of the Army attended regular monthly meetings and the brigadier read reports of his work; these were enthusiastically received by the association at its monthly and annual meetings¹. The Salvation Army also agreed to take Saturday services at Bordeaux jail, and thereby fitted into the interdenominational rotation scheme there. When the Women's Auxiliary of P.A.A. was discontinued in 1920, the Army agreed to take over its work with prisoners in the Protestant Female Jail on Fullum Street².

The Salvation Army was very active in court probation work. It was officially recognized by the Recorder's Court³ and its officers were admitted to cells to aid men before trial⁴. Apparently this area of work was never entered by P.A.A. Although the Salvation Army had taken over the association's rehabilitation work with discharged prisoners after 1919, the P.A.A. did not relinquish its religious work in the jails. It still had an official chaplain to visit the jail, who held regular weekly religious services there.

f) Contacts outside Montreal.--The Toronto prisoners' aid association was for many years the only contact which the Montreal P.A.A.

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", October 18, 1921. At this meeting, for example, the brigadier reported having interviewed 276 men and spent 416 hours in prison work.

²Ibid., May, 1920.

³W. H. Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914, Vol. II, Under British Rule 1760-1914 (Montreal, 1914), p. 420. The City Recordship is an office peculiar to the Province of Quebec, is attached to the City Hall, and deals with minor offences enforcing a part of criminal law.

⁴P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", September 16, 1919.

had with another prisoners' aid society in Canada. During its formative years the Montreal association requested advice and information from the older and more experienced Toronto association, and sent delegates to meetings there. In 1899 the vice-president, Mr. Elliott, went to Toronto to join with the aid association there in a meeting with Hon. David Mills, federal Minister of Justice, on prison reform matters. The main subjects discussed were the introduction of indeterminate sentences and a parole system, which both associations requested. This liaison had been instigated by the Toronto group. As a result of this meeting a federal ticket-of-leave bill was introduced by the Minister of Justice and instituted on November 24, 1899. This bill was a disappointment insofar as it applied only to those sentenced under the federal Criminal Code¹. Both the Montreal and Toronto associations wrote to Hon. David Mills expressing their dissatisfaction. Again in 1904 the P.A.A. passed a resolution to support the Toronto association in advocating a parole system for first offenders and indeterminate sentences for confirmed criminals².

In 1905 the association's interest in the treatment of inebriates brought it further into contact with the Toronto society. The secretary of the Toronto Prisoners' Aid Association, Dr. A. M. Rosebrugh, was at the same time secretary of the Ontario Society for the Reformation of Inebriates. There was a lively correspondence between the two associations concerning a cure. In 1915 Montreal sought Toronto's advice again concerning the establishment of a home for discharged men. On many matters the two societies exchanged literature, as well as

¹The Montreal Star, January 15, 1900.

²P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", June 14, 1904.

experiences, until the Toronto association temporarily disbanded in 1915 and was officially dissolved in 1927.

Contacts with the federal government were sparse and dealt with prison reform, special cases of men in jail, or requests for financial assistance. For example, the association procured a pension for an ex-fusilier on discharge from prison by writing to the Department of Militia and Defence in 1906.

From the very beginning the P.A.A. in Montreal looked to the Howard Association for the Prevention of Crime in London, England, for information and advice. Personal contacts were made when the association's members returned to the Old Country for personal or business visits. There was a steady exchange of annual reports, circulars, and other information over the forty-year period. But there were never any financial ties between these two organizations. In 1899 the vice-president wrote to the Howard Association acknowledging receipt of a book published by the latter entitled Penological and Preventive Principles, and thanking it for circulars "concerning subjects which we have recently been interviewing and corresponding with the Canadian Minister of Justice in reference thereto with a view to remedial legislation...We find our experiences are very similar to those you have at home"¹.

Upon the suggestion of Dr. Rosebrugh of Toronto P.A.A., the secretary of the Montreal association, Mr. J. S. Hetherington, paid a personal visit in 1899 to Mr. Tallack who for thirty years had been secretary of the Howard Association in London. They discussed the English system of segregation of youthful offenders. They also discussed the

¹Letter dated March 4, 1899.

prison reform platform of the Montreal association, which Mr. Tallack warmly endorsed. The report of this personal contact was very reassuring to the Montreal P.A.A., and the public was informed of it through at least two local newspaper write-ups¹.

It was through this contact in London that the P.A.A. became aware of the Habitual Inebriates Act put into force in England on January 1, 1899, under which any person sentenced more than four times for drunkenness might be sent to a reformatory for three or four years. Its interest in this Act developed closer contact with the Toronto P.A.A.

With regard to the United States, there is one record of an exchange of information in 1913 with the Prison Reform Association of New Orleans. This association had written requesting details of recent prison reform legislation in Canada². Also one reads occasional references to the Elmira, New York, reformatory³ which was the basis of the association's request for a Protestant women's reformatory for the province of Quebec.

g) Casework methods of the period.--An examination of what the association considered to be "the use of proper methods for the successful attainment of the objects of the Association", reveals that personal work was a strong feature in their efforts⁴. The end desired was the spiritual and moral reform of the fallen. It is interesting to note "the following maxims we use in dealing with prisoners although they are not

¹The Daily Witness and The Montreal Star, April 24, 1899.

²Letter dated November 4, 1913.

³Supra., p. 8.

⁴P.A.A., "Sixth Annual Report 1898".

always applicable":

Be cautious of the man with an extremely good appearance and who is a good talker. A man who has fought for his country or who has a pocketful of testimonials may be a frightful drunkard. Don't overlook the rough diamond because of poor clothing. Help the man who is really in need and ashamed to ask, as much as you can. The man who says he attended church three times last Sunday may never have been there at all. A man may have been twice in the penitentiary and yet become a good citizen, if on release he gets help and steady work and meets no old companions. There are some acts committed which the law does not reach, which are as bad or worse than drunkenness. The lad with a face like an angel may become worse than the oldest criminal. Don't be sentimental over the prisoners; treat them as ordinary human beings. Verify the stories of the 'injured innocents'. Act promptly and energetically in urgent cases, but in average cases go slowly.¹

Follow-up was considered essential both for the sake of the men, especially the habitual drunkards, and for the sake of the association which wished to be able to prove that its work directly prevented crime by reducing the number who fell back². It was felt rather dangerous to the discharged man to keep him under supervision. However, it was decided that follow-up was essential and to each promising case a committee member was allotted to endeavour to look after his spiritual needs and to encourage church attendance. The vice-president continued alone to look after all material assistance, until another member took over.

The association was always seeking a method whereby its members could distinguish the deserving from the undeserving cases, and it felt that it was ill-equipped to handle confirmed criminals who were constantly serving jail terms and then coming to the association on release. It is interesting, by way of contrast, to note the views of the Women's Auxiliary on this matter³, since they reflect this organization's

¹Ibid.

²P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", March 11, 1902.

³P.A.A., "Twelfth Annual Report 1904".

confidence in the work it was doing. "The shortness of the sentence is only an incentive to the repetition of the same offences and, therefore, the [Women's] Committee seriously considers that fines for guilt should cease and longer sentences be substituted, thus enabling the law to place them [women prisoners] under the Christian teaching and influence they will find in the jail".

With regard to the P.A.A. proper, for many years the vice-president's home was the only centre for giving material assistance. This gentleman frequently expressed concern that, not only discharged men, but also all sorts of destitutes who did not want to work, came for help and that he was in the position of having to screen out the undeserving cases at his home at all hours of the day and night. About 1910 a screening system was set up for his benefit. This involved referral by the chaplains who contacted the men in prison before discharge and gave them a dated identification card to present in order to obtain assistance after discharge. This was a satisfactory system and continued as long as the association members gave material assistance.

As acceptance by prison officials increased, the association felt emphatically that reform work within the prison was important¹. Meanwhile there was rare mention of re-evaluation of the association's work and discussion as to the best means of helping the men. Unfortunately, when on one occasion a committee was appointed and did present a plan, no record is available of its recommendations². Nevertheless, the association's decision against joining with the non-sectarian Honor League in 1918 was mainly based on its "fear that the distinctive evangelical work carried

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", May 4, 1915.

²Ibid., April 23, 1918.

on by our Association would be lost"¹.

h) Continuity of membership.--One of the striking features in the functioning of the association was the continuity of membership and the devotion of a core of faithful workers. As this core diminished there was a noticeable lack of leadership until eventually in 1919 the Salvation Army took over the material aid to discharged prisoners and was re-imbursed by P.A.A.

Mr. A. M. Crombie, manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, became president in 1894 and he continued in this office for fourteen years until 1908 when the association became interdenominational. Then he continued as honorary lay president until 1910. After his fourth year as president he felt that he should retire in favour of some other member and that a change of leadership would be stimulating for the association. He repeatedly made such statements at annual elections. However, the old close associates protested strongly until he accepted re-election each time. Mr. Crombie felt that others should consecrate themselves more fully to the work in hand. He had many other demands on his time from various societies to which he belonged.

Mr. James Elliott² was vice-president in 1894 and apparently held this office for fourteen years until 1908 when the interdenominational change was effected. Then he became secretary until his resignation in 1915 because of deafness. From his first connection with the association until 1912, a period of eighteen years, it appears that he was the sole giver of material assistance to discharged men. Mr. Elliott handed over this work to Rev. Almond of Trinity Church who agreed to see

¹Ibid., May 21, 1918.

²For many years he was an employee of Canada Sugar Refining Company which regularly aided P.A.A. financially.

the men at his church. The reason for this change was that Mr. Elliott moved his home to new premises which were distant from the jail, and where he thought his work would not again have a landlord's blessing as in the past. After he finally gave up direct work with the men, Mr. Elliott seems to have dropped out of the picture temporarily. But he renewed his interest in an active advisory capacity after the death of his son in the first world war. He was still auditing the association's accounts in 1931 when amalgamation took place. Mr. Elliott's wife and son also assisted by collecting subscriptions¹. His son became a member of the association in order to assist his father as secretary when deafness made it almost impossible for Mr. Elliott Sr. to hear and write minutes. It is strange that in two newspaper accounts of the thirtieth anniversary meeting of the association² no mention is made of him as a pioneer still active in the association.

Mr. J. S. Hetherington was a leading figure in the association for at least thirty years. He was its first president from 1892 to 1894 and was still active in 1922. He was secretary from 1894 to 1908 which office he resigned when the association became interdenominational. He was a leader in thought and action who pioneered to make the association interdenominational from the beginning. "It is a farce that the work amongst prisoners of all sects should be confined to the Church of England only, and that we should hold ourselves aloof from all other church bodies", he stated on one occasion³. His wife was a leader of the Women's

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", June 12, 1906; December 10, 1909.

²The Gazette (Montreal) and The Montreal Star, October 31, 1922.

³P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", March 12, 1907.

Auxiliary for many years.

Rev. E. McManus was appointed first chaplain to Bordeaux Jail at the organizational meeting of the association in 1892 and he performed this work for twenty years until another minister took it over.

Further illustration of the long continuity of membership in P.A.A. may be given. One quarter, six out of twenty-five, of the names proposed for the general committee in 1916¹ were the same names listed for the working committee of 1896², just twenty years before. Many of the remaining nineteen persons named had also had a very long association with P.A.A. Thus one finds that in the general pattern of activity of the association there was a great deal of uninterrupted participation by a small number of members.

i) Two parallel organizations in Montreal.--In order to assess the work of the association during this forty-year period, and to explain a transition, it is necessary to briefly mention two other organizations which were founded to carry on parallel work in prisoner rehabilitation. These were the Honor League and the Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association. Amalgamation of P.A.A. with these two bodies took place in 1931.

The Honor League was founded in Montreal on July 5, 1915, and incorporated twenty-nine months later. Its object was "to give the ex-convict a fighting chance regardless of creed, color, or nationality". Its founder was Mr. Thomas Woods, himself a discharged prisoner from New York State Prison. Its plan was to extend the parole system and to establish a home for discharged men as a reception centre, while the

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", March 7, 1916.

²P.A.A., "Constitution", 1896, art. 6.

League was helping the men find employment.

Early in the year 1915 the support of P.A.A. was first sought by Mr. Woods. However, the association was hesitant because it thought that it would be very difficult to get the co-operation of government officials to extend the use of parole, and similarly to get the Roman Catholic church to support the Honor League work on a non-sectarian basis¹. There was, nevertheless, lively interest in and investigation of the Honor League for a couple of years but P.A.A. was sceptical of the financial propositions of the Honor League, which it felt would require considerable backing by responsible business men who had the confidence of the general public². "While the Association appreciated the work of Mr. Woods, his record as a financier is such that the work and good name of our Association could not be jeopardized by the sole control of Mr. Woods"³. Furthermore, the association feared that it would lose its identity as a religious group and, although it entertained Mr. Wood's suggestions for amalgamation and had meetings with him, it deferred decisions from month to month.

The Honor League and the National Criminal Reform Association⁴ completed consolidation on October 29, 1918, and the new organization was known as the Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association⁵. Each of the constituent bodies of this new organization had been working along one

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", May 18, 1915.

²Ibid., April 11, 1916.

³Ibid., January 15, 1918.

⁴This association was founded in 1916 by Mr. Robert Bickerdike. Its main objects were to effect reforms in the laws relating to criminal law of the Dominion of Canada, and the more efficient administration of prisons.

⁵Hereafter referred to as C.P.W.A.

line of contemporary thought in penology. The National Criminal Reform Association was endeavouring to awaken public interest and get prison reforms in Canada. The Honor League strove mainly for the rehabilitation of prisoners through employment and financial independence. At the time of their union in 1918 the P.A.A. had still not taken any official action about joining forces, but made it known that it would co-operate so as to avoid duplication¹. The charter of the new Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association was so drawn up that the P.A.A. could come in at any time it wished.

P.A.A. did not join until 1931. In the intervening years C.P.W.A. representatives approached the association repeatedly about amalgamation. In view of P.A.A.'s strong desire to maintain its emphasis on religious work, C.P.W.A. suggested that an amalgamated society could under a central executive have a separate committee to deal with different departments of the work². This was an attempt to overcome the fear of P.A.A. that it would lose its identity and have to give up its religious orientation. The association actually formed a committee to attempt to draw up a constitution for discussion³.

Another objection raised by the association against joining with C.P.W.A. was the issue of the abolition of capital punishment which formed the major part of C.P.W.A.'s platform, along with individual rehabilitation work. The association was not prepared to endorse the abolition of capital punishment⁴. The question of amalgamation was finally, for the time being,

¹The Gazette (Montreal), October 30, 1918.

²P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", October 21, 1919.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

abandoned by P.A.A. in the following resolution it passed in 1923: "That the Association continue its efforts on the lines of former experience, retaining its identity as the Prisoners' Aid Association"¹.

The Montreal Council of Social Agencies continually emphasized the advantages of amalgamation for concerted planning and action. In the report of its first survey in 1919² it pointed out "the obvious necessity for amalgamation of the Prisoners' Aid and Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association". In addition, an executive of M.C.S.A. was at the same time honorary secretary of C.P.W.A. and, consequently, very closely involved both with joint planning among the Protestant services and with prisoner rehabilitation work in the community. Nevertheless, the P.A.A. chose to remain a separate, self-governing body working more or less in a world of its own until it finally amalgamated on September 1, 1931.

The name of the new body formed in 1931 combined the names of the joining members and became The Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal Incorporated³. The Bishop of Montreal continued as honorary president and the Synod Hall was offered as a future meeting place⁴.

3. Assessment

During the whole of its life from 1892 to 1931 the P.A.A. stood for moral regeneration of discharged men and women through religious influence. The religious emphasis of its work continued to take precedence despite developments in criminological thinking which by 1910 had

¹Ibid., January 16, 1923.

²M.C.S.A., op. cit., p. 32.

³C.P.W.A., "Minutes of Special Meeting", September 14, 1931.

⁴Ibid.

shifted to consider that financial independence and good habits of industry were more fundamental to rehabilitation than moral regeneration. An attitude of the early 1920's is rather well expressed in the following anonymous poem which pleaded the case for the discharged man. In part it is as follows:

Give him a lift! Don't kneel in prayer,
Nor moralize with his despair;
The man is down, and his great need
Is ready help - not prayer and creed.

The world is full of good advice,
Of prayer and praise and preaching nice;
But generous souls who aid mankind
Are like to diamonds - hard to find.

When amalgamation did take place in 1931 the Prisoners' Aid Association put forth as one of the conditions "that the religious work of P.A.A. should become a permanent part of the activities of the consolidated organization"¹.

Under the pressure of competition in the field of rehabilitation the P.A.A. felt that its identity as a religious organization needed to be re-affirmed. Its religious activities were increased and the prison reform platform apparently dropped. It expressed the need to gain new strengths and "get live wires on our Committee who can act"². It tightened up possession of its financial and other official documents³. It revived the issue of the Protestant Women's Jail by arranging a committee of representatives of interested agencies, with the understanding that

¹P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", April 27, 1931.

²Ibid., December 7, 1915.

³Ibid., October 5, 1915. The treasurer was asked to get possession of P.A.A.'s bonds in case of closer connection with the Honor League. November 2, 1915, the secretary was authorized to buy bags to keep all P.A.A. papers in.

"only Protestants should be asked to attend"¹. It was again concerned about "the influence brought to bear on prisoners in making a choice of a Roman Catholic or Protestant jail"², and the chaplain was requested to ask prisoners about this on discharge.

The association did not feel confident in its relationships with either the prison authorities or with the religious majority in the province. In 1915 when the Honor League first presented its plans for increased parole on a non-sectarian basis, two P.A.A. leaders expressed a fatalistic attitude³ that in their work they had come up against barriers beyond which they could not progress.

After 1915, while the association was listening to repeated proposals from the Honor League and C.P.W.A., it was at the same time concentrating more and more on the religious aspect of its work and turning away from current, criminological thinking. In 1916 it refused to send lay delegates only to meetings of the National Criminal Reform Association, or to participate in criticism of jail authorities and existing regulations⁴. In that same year it made arrangements for the first time for weekday services in Bordeaux jail, these to be held on an interdenominational basis with ministers from all member churches. Although the prison officials were at first indifferent, apparently, a good response

¹Ibid., March 2, 1915.

²Ibid., January 5, 1915.

³Ibid., May 4, 1915. The president stated that these ideas were of no use in this province, unlike Ontario or the United States. The vice-president added that "the Government would not allow us to take men on parole as there is a parole officer appointed by them". May 18, 1915, the vice-president stated that the Roman Catholic Bishop had positively refused to join in P.A.A. work and that church did not help its own men.

⁴Ibid., September 12, 1916; also March 19, 1918.

was reported a year later. The average attendance of inmates at these services was approximately seventy each week, which was quite consistent over the years. In 1918 the association obtained the approval of the governor of Bordeaux to hold Sunday and day schools in the jail. However, the consent of the provincial government was required before the schools could be started. There is no record of such a request ever being submitted to the provincial government. The association continued to supply hymn books and bibles for prisoners. At the same time, 1918, it noted that the Criminal Reform Association was presenting a play to raise money to set up libraries in both the Women's Jail and Bordeaux.

The position of P.A.A., after refusing to amalgamate with C.P.W.A., was emphasized by its president's statement in the annual report for 1923, as follows: "The work for which this Association stood was reform of the criminal; the sole end and aim of their existence".

From the activities of the association it appears that as time progressed they were increasingly directed towards the alleviation of suffering. The resistance to amalgamation with other rehabilitation bodies in the community would seem to signify a lack of interest in any collective action for the purpose of preventing those difficulties which necessitated rehabilitation work in the first place.

It seems valid to put forth the inference that the Prisoners' Aid Association was using its functions as a tool with which to gain recognition on behalf of a religious minority in Montreal¹. The association was very concerned with strengthening its work first as an Anglican, and later as a Protestant, church organization. It was less concerned with giving the kind of help which by 1910 and onwards was considered by crimi-

¹Supra., p. 18.

nologists to be the most meaningful to discharged men and women.

It will be seen in Section II, which follows, that the amalgamation of 1931 exposed the association to new thought which was more in line with current trends in criminology and prisoner rehabilitation.

SECTION II

THE PRISONERS' AID AND WELFARE ASSOCIATION
OF MONTREAL INCORPORATED

1931-1947

Introduction.--This section deals with the association as a member of Financial Federation and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies¹. Membership in these co-ordinating bodies was an automatic consequence of the amalgamation in 1931 with another prisoners' aid society which had already been a member for more than ten years.

As a member of Federation the Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association received a yearly allocation of funds to carry on its work, which Federation apportioned from the available resources raised by its campaign committee. It was the responsibility of the budget committee of Federation to estimate the financial requirements of each member agency and to distribute funds to the agency's board of directors to meet these needs.

In return for this financial support P.A. & W.A. had obligations to Federation. It agreed to submit an annual report to Federation, which body kept a close check on the standard of services offered. It agreed to abide by Federation policy and to co-operate with other constituent members to make the most efficient use of services available in the community. It had a responsibility to elect representatives to Federation's board of directors and to its budget committee. It agreed to submit its proposed budget for the coming year and to accept the decision of the budget committee of Federation regarding apportionment of available funds. P.A. & W.A. retained control of its endowment fund brought in by P.A.A. with amalgamation.

¹Supra., p. 19.

Federation agreed to this with the stipulation that the interest on such a reserve fund be used for current expenses of the association. On the whole, these agreements seemed to be satisfactory to the association.

The importance of this affiliation is underlined in the period dealt with in this section. First of all, it will be underlined in the part dealing with finances. Second, it will be dealt with as one of the most significant factors in the part dealing with the definition and carrying out of functions in the community.

This period will be dealt with in the following three sub-sections:

(1) Structure deals with the organization, including personnel and finances. It holds in this period much broader concepts and aims in prison reform and rehabilitation, with new emphasis on preventive work which involves considerable activity in the courts of Montreal. The dominant policy of its leaders was that the discharged person must have employment and other means of taking part in the community life. There was an awareness of the community on a broad scale and great emphasis on public relations. These new trends of thought and activity in the association were confronted by external pressures mainly due to the depression and war situations. (2) Functions deal with the activities of P.A. & W.A. which attempt to meet its broad aims. These will be treated in the order in which the association chose to state them in its constitution, namely; (a) assistance to prisoners, including religious services in Bordeaux jail and visitations to St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary, Bordeaux jail and the Protestant Women's jail, (b) aid to discharged prisoners, (c) work with dependents of prisoners, (d) treatment of delinquency problems especially with regard to single, homeless men, (e) court work as an integral part of (d) including the Recorder's Court, provision of legal aid for indigent accused and the

need for a Domestic Relations Court, (f) contacts with provincial government authorities to advocate penal reform, and the extension of Mothers' Allowance benefits, (g) contacts with federal government authorities to advocate penal reform, including its brief to the Archambault Commission, activity to aid veterans, and to encourage war efforts of prisoners, (h) relations with Financial Federation, (i) relations with the French-speaking community, (j) relations with the Salvation Army, (k) relations with the City of Montreal police, (l) publicity, and (m) contacts outside Canada. (3) Assessment considers this period of broad aims and objectives and the forced definition and limitation of them in the community setting.

1. Structure

The amalgamated body which was formed in 1931 was named the Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal Incorporated. Its objects were "the giving of assistance to prisoners and discharged prisoners and their dependents and the treatment of delinquency problems; advocacy of penal reform, including the appointment of Public Defenders, the extension of parole and probation systems, and industrialization of prisons and payment of convict labour"¹.

The officers of the association consisted of a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. These officers who, apart from the secretary, received no remuneration for their services were elected annually by the board of directors. The board consisted of twenty-one directors including the above officers². In 1934 the constitution was

¹Prisoners' Aid & Welfare Association, "Constitution", 1931, art. I, sec. 3.

²Ibid., arts. IV, and V as amended 1931.

amended to create an executive committee which was composed of the officers of the association. This executive committee was empowered "to deal with all general business affairs concerning office and staff and general policy and administration of the Association, and shall report to the Board regularly any decisions and actions taken, and receive its endorsement on matters involving policy"¹.

The first president of the association in this period was Rev. R. Gordon Burgoyne who held this position for sixteen years. The president for the remaining few months was a business man, Mr. Norman R. Romer. The Rev. Burgoyne was a most active member of the community. He was honorary chaplain of Bordeaux jail, president of the Royal Empire Society, a Rotarian, a Mason, Canadian manager of the British Dominions Emigration Society, and a Boy Scout leader. When he retired as president of P.A. & W.A. in 1947 he had devoted twenty-seven years to voluntary work in the prison and penal field. In addition to his theological background, he had studied quite extensively psychology and mental diseases.

Throughout this period the Lord Bishop of Montreal continued to be the honorary president of the association.

The board of directors included, as a rule, five or six Protestant clergymen, two officers of the Salvation Army, five or six lawyers including one French-speaking Canadian and a Jewish lawyer, a Jewish rabbi, business men, and other interested men and women of the community. The board met monthly. Seven members constituted a quorum. The board presented an annual report to the annual general meeting of the association which was held in February.

¹Ibid., art. IV, amended at Third Annual Meeting, February 2, 1934.

The executive secretary for the whole of this sixteen-year period was Mr. John Kidman who was a reporter on the staff of the Montreal newspaper, The Gazette. He served the association in a part-time capacity.

The one full-time caseworker, Mrs. Ruby Birchenough, worked for the association in this capacity during the entire period. She had originally joined the staff to do secretarial work.

General membership was open to any person, male or female, who paid the nominal annual subscription of one dollar, or who allotted any portion of his or her subscription to Financial Federation for the use of the association. Also, any person could be elected a member of the association by a majority vote of its directors¹.

Finances.--During the difficult depression years the financial situation was critical and the budget committee of Federation seriously considered withdrawing all financial support to P.A. & W.A.².

Table III, which follows, indicates the trend of the total income of the association during representative years and the expenditures on salaries and relief.

The major portion of the funds of the association were obtained by allocation from Federation, of which the association was a member. Membership fees of one dollar per annum made up only a very small proportion of the budget and were collected by the treasurer.

Government financial assistance was continued by the Province of Quebec at the rate of \$300.00 per annum. For years this had been the sum received by the former P.A.A. Many efforts were made by

¹Ibid., art. II, sec. 1.

²Infra., p. 78 ff.

the amalgamated body after 1931 to have that amount increased in keeping with the fact that the two constituent bodies had previously received individual grants of \$300.00 and \$500.00, respectively. In 1942 the grant from the Province of Quebec was raised to \$500.00 and in 1943 to \$1,000.00, which latter rate was used till the end of the period in 1947.

TABLE III

TOTAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FOR SALARIES AND RELIEF,
BY YEARS, PRISONERS' AID & WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL^a

Year	Total Income	Expenditures	
		Salaries	Relief
1931	\$ 5,246.96	\$ 2,334.00	\$ 1,268.20 ^b
1933	5,888.00	2,700.00	1,190.00 ^c
1937	3,700.00	1,919.25	1,103.82
1940	3,753.00	2,075.00	999.68
1943	4,741.93	2,460.84	1,601.97
1947	8,125.46	3,963.40	2,258.39

^aSource: P.A. & W.A., "Annual Reports".

^bIn addition \$180.00 was spent on the Court Poor Box and \$135.00 for legal aid.

^cIn addition \$180.00 was spent on the Court Poor Box and \$180.00 for legal aid.

In 1944 the first grant received from the City of Montreal was \$200.00; this was increased to \$500.00 by 1947.

No federal government financial assistance was received during this period. However, by the end of it the association was feeling very optimistic that federal assistance would soon be forthcoming. This was largely due to post-war government activity on the 1938 report of the Royal Commission on Penitentiaries and Penal System of Canada, now commonly known as the Archambault Commission. P.A. & W.A. delegates

returned hopefully from a conference in September, 1947, in Ottawa with Major-General R. B. Gibson, Commissioner of Penitentiaries, and Mr. Joseph McCulley, Deputy Commissioner of Penitentiaries, recent government appointments.

The major expenditures of the association were for direct relief to discharged prisoners and for salaries. There was a full-time caseworker, Mrs. Ruby Birchenough, who received an annual salary ranging between \$1,200.00 in 1932 and \$1,385.00 in 1944. The part-time executive secretary, Mr. John Kidman, received an annual allowance of \$900.00 approximately. In the early thirties an office assistant, who was on the staff until the 1936 financial cuts, received about \$480.00 a year. The officers of the association, apart from the executive secretary, received no remuneration. The chaplains received an annual honorarium of \$15.00 each to cover out-of-pocket expenses incurred in jail visits. In his capacity as chaplain, the president received this sum.

The sum of \$15.00 a month was given to the Poor Box in the Recorder's Court and was administered by the Recorder who accounted to P.A. & W.A. for it. By 1944 this practice had been fully discontinued due to several years of pressure exerted by Financial Federation that P.A. & W.A. should itself administer all allocated funds. The association had always exercised the right to advise the Recorder and Judge using the fund.

The usual nominal fee of \$15.00 was paid to legal counsel for cases defended and there were one or two of these most months.

The association used the endowment fund of the old P.A.A. to provide Christmas cheer at Bordeaux jail, amounting to about \$100.00 annually, and for other expenses not allowed by Federation. For example, it was used to finance the publication in booklet form of a series of twenty-eight

articles which the president had written for The Montreal Herald. The booklet was entitled Some Tragic Defects in Canadian Courts and was published in 1944. While Federation recognized the right of constituent agencies to hold such a special reserve fund, it had also the right to ask that interest on such fund be applied to current expenses. The use of the fund for Christmas cheer at Bordeaux had for many years been approved by the budget committee of Federation.

The depression had a marked effect on the finances of the association, just at the time when relief was most needed by discharged men and women. In 1936 the budget was cut by Financial Federation by approximately forty per cent. This involved re-adjustment of salaries and curtailment of activities to the extent that it was suggested at one point that the office¹ should be opened only three days a week for giving relief.

2. Functions

a) Assistance to prisoners.--An important function of P.A. & W.A. was giving assistance to prisoners. To this end visits were made to St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary, Bordeaux jail, and the Protestant Women's Jail, all in Montreal area. Visits were also made to Kingston penitentiary in Ontario and Dorchester penitentiary in New Brunswick.

At Bordeaux jail the Saturday afternoon religious services were conducted by the chaplains in rotation, a continuation of the work of the former P.A.A. There were brief private interviews with the men after services, although these were often hurried affairs. The chaplains felt that they were carrying on educational as well as religious work as they met requests of the inmates for books on mechanical and technical subjects

¹The association's office was at 1502 St. Catherine Street West during these years. It consisted of a single, partitioned room.

as well as psychology¹.

In 1939 President Burgoyne arranged with the governor of Bordeaux for further visiting on another day during the week, and he and the executive secretary then found it possible to do more effective casework. The following year the president inaugurated baseball games following the Saturday religious services and these were very popular until curtailed because of the misconduct of some of the inmates. In 1945 one chaplain reported that each Saturday in his month's rotation he had taken one or two laymen along with him to see the work that was being done. He commented that "this is in line with our policy of trying to strengthen the work of the association. Each took a share in the service for that afternoon"².

Assistance to prisoners involved a great deal of work done by the chaplains, such as letter writing to friends and relatives to remind them of forgotten promises to visit, or instructions regarding the care of personal effects during incarceration, and enquiries into home conditions. In 1947 the chaplain reported that forty-two men had asked him to send Mother's Day cards for them.

The names of visitors to the jail were listed and approved by the Attorney-General of Quebec, and the penitentiary visitors similarly by the Minister of Justice in Ottawa. Throughout this period one notes a growing acceptance by prison officials.

As a result of riots in St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary and Kingston penitentiary in 1932 there was some re-organization of penitentiary administration and the temporary suspension of visiting

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", November 8, 1935.

²Ibid., April 6, 1945.

privileges afforded voluntary workers. Following negotiations with the Minister of Justice and the superintendents of these penitentiaries, a definite and official plan was promulgated and accepted, although, of course, some elasticity in visiting facilities was left at the time to be desired. Nevertheless, there was a modification of the original rule which had restricted visits to men about to be discharged within a month, and thereafter P.A. & W.A. visitors could see a man on request any time during incarceration.

It was noted that the warden of St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary was more co-operative with P.A. & W.A. after the organization was officially recognized by the Department of Justice in Ottawa¹. The number of interviews requested by prisoners increased after the warden of that institution made an announcement in the penitentiary bulletin concerning the services offered by P.A. & W.A.². The president, secretary, honorary legal counsel, as well as a Jewish representative, were enrolled officially for visitation to see men who would be discharged shortly, or who had family or personal problems on which they wished to consult P.A. & W.A. visitors. Visitation to St. Vincent de Paul was usually once a month³.

In 1947 there were still restrictions concerning penitentiary visitations, for example, an officer must be present during an interview. The length of visits was limited, largely due to the fact that the association had no car to eliminate the waste of travelling time on streetcars and buses. However, it is interesting to note the attitude expressed by the executive secretary⁴ that "visitation to prison in these days is

¹Ibid., September 22, 1933.

²Ibid., April 8, 1938.

³Ibid., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", February 4, 1948.

⁴Ibid., "Minutes of Board Meetings", January 31, 1947.

generally regarded as being for the purpose of beginning rehabilitation so that the staff may know their men when released".

Women prisoners in both the Protestant Women's Jail of Montreal and the Portsmouth, Ontario, Penitentiary for Women were assisted by visits from P.A. & W.A. in Montreal. As early as 1932 an official permit was obtained for a woman caseworker to visit Portsmouth and interview certain Montreal cases there. Her expenses were paid by the association. The next year the Minister of Justice sanctioned the appointment of two official visitors from the association to Portsmouth Penitentiary for Women. In 1933 the Women's Visitation Committee was inaugurated to visit the Protestant Women's Jail of Montreal.

b) Aid to discharged prisoners.--Perhaps the main function of the association was to give assistance to men and women on discharge. This meant providing temporary food and shelter, clothes, some cash aid and occasionally transportation, for which association funds were used. It also meant helping the individual to find suitable employment, which during depression years was extremely difficult, especially as the adult offender in the eyes of the employer comes in the category of the less desirable employees. The association made a practice of referring men for employment to the Protestant Employment Bureau which was also a member of Federation.

When jobs simply did not exist to meet the demand, the association concerned itself with the problem at another level and tried to protect unemployed persons from being picked up by the police for vagrancy and given short jail sentences. It urged the city to provide shelter for such people. At the same time the association struggled continually to protect itself and its very restricted funds from the

repeated demands of such short-sentence persons. By virtue of their jail sentence, these man and women came to P.A. & W.A. for assistance on discharge and felt that they had a legitimate claim for shelter and food. The association tried to overcome this and stipulated that it gave aid to persons serving terms of three months or more "where the fact of going to prison has snapped the continuity of social life"¹.

The association did the little it could to find any type of employment during the depression years. "The provision of a job for a delinquent is a sine qua non"². However, it was not until 1940 that it could report any improvement in the employment situation with the opening up of many war jobs. In April, 1940, the executive secretary reported that fifty per cent of discharged men had been placed in the past month through joint efforts of themselves and the association. The Protestant Employment Bureau was closed down in 1941. This created a new situation for the association which discussed³ setting up a special committee of heads of employment in leading industrial plants to enlist sympathy and active co-operation in the placement of discharged men. There are no apparent signs of further developments on this good suggestion up to the end of the period in 1947.

The discharged prisoners still had the same basic needs for food, shelter, and clothing immediately on discharge and the association tried to assist with meeting them. The availability of work only made the period of dependency on the association briefer, although no less important to those who came for help.

¹Letter from the executive secretary of P.A. & W.A. to the Regina prisoners' aid association, dated June 11, 1934.

²P.A. & W.A., "Annual Report, 1931".

³P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", March 7, 1941.

Although the shortage of manpower made it easy for many discharged men and women to find work during the war, it had another effect. That was to point out how many persons were actually unemployable or, in the association's terms, were impossible to rehabilitate. Because of physical or mental illness some forty per cent of the cases coming to the association for assistance were reported¹ to be still unable to get a job or to hold one more than a few weeks. The association considered that this situation was largely due to the poor feeding and housing conditions during the depression years, which effects were now recoiling on the community².

Besides these two major economic swings in this sixteen-year period, another important problem surrounded the association's efforts to rehabilitate the individual discharged prisoner. This was the unique racial and religious basis of welfare work in Montreal. The need to define and select on this basis was all the more urgent when financial difficulties threatened the organization. This will be dealt with later in this section³.

Discharged women were referred to the association's office by the Visitation Committee of the Protestant Women's Jail. Similar efforts were made to meet their rehabilitation needs. Their problems were usually more complicated than the men's and demanded more work by the office. In 1932⁴ it was reported by the caseworker that the Employment Bureaux at the Young Women's Christian Association were sufficiently well organized to meet the

¹Ibid., monthly statistics for May and October, 1941.

²The Gazette (Montreal), October 9, 1940.

³Infra., p. 80 ff.

⁴P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", October 20, 1932.

needs of all agencies in Federation and that the association was at liberty to refer to them all cases seeking employment, except the diseased and mentally handicapped.

Work with women also involved help and guidance given to wives and mothers of men in prison.

c) Work with dependents of prisoners.--Dependents of prisoners were treated as family cases by the Family Welfare Association of Montreal¹ which was also a member of Federation. This association back in the early '20's used occasionally to receive the sum of \$15.00 or so a month from a predecessor of P.A.& W.A. which called these "sustentation cases". However, the budget committee of Federation in 1924² and later tried to enforce the policy that distress cases should be dealt with exclusively by F.W.A. as ordinary cases where the breadwinner was absent from the home. Federation re-emphasized in strictest terms the need to define agency functions during the depression crisis, and urged immediate referral by P.A.& W.A. to the appropriate family agency in Montreal³.

d) Treatment of delinquency problems.--Another function of the association as stated in the constitution⁴ was "the treatment of delinquency problems". This brought it into relationship and close co-operative work with other agencies in M.C.S.A. as well as with community activities outside the council. The period 1931-1947 was not only one of co-operation, but also one of initiative on the part of the association. It was in a particularly vulnerable position to experience the

¹Hereafter referred to as F.W.A.

²C.P.W.A., "Minutes of Directors Meetings", October 15, 1924.

³P.A.& W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", February 10, 1933.

⁴P.A.& W.A., "Constitution", 1931, art. I, sec. 3.

impact of unemployment and it pressed other agencies and city administrators to try to take some steps to relieve the situation. In 1931 the setting up of a day shelter and recreation establishment on Vitre Street was largely the outcome of the association calling together a committee on the problem of loitering and vagrancy arrests¹. The decrease in the number of vagrancy arrests was immediately noticeable. The next autumn, when the association had not received any word about re-opening the shelter for the winter months, it sent a delegation to discuss the matter with the director of the city police.

The association was a member of the Dependency and Delinquency Division of M.C.S.A., as were also the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, the Big Brothers, Big Sisters, and other agencies which shared similar interests. This Division met regularly to discuss mutual problems.

A delinquency problem in the depression years which greatly concerned the association, and which received much of its attention, was that of the single, homeless man. Residence requirements for relief placed this type of person in a very vulnerable position. The association suggested some federal government intervention whereby domicile anywhere in Canada would entitle the man to receive relief wherever he might be looking for work, and it suggested that a voluntary agency in that community would administer such funds. The vicious circle in which single, homeless men were forced to move was explained² by the executive secretary in 1934, with his added statement that the association had called attention to the problem for the past five years without results

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", October 8, 1931.

²Ibid., April 6, 1934.

except the occasional slackening off of the number of arrests. He explained that the city magistrates ordered such homeless vagrants out of Montreal within twenty-four hours, then the provincial police arrested them at the outskirts and drove them back to the city. The procedure was repeated until it resulted in the man being sentenced to Bordeaux jail. Also, freight-riding as a means of free transportation from community to community was illegal and liable to arrest. These single, homeless men were actually unwanted in all communities. At the same time the attitude generally was that they could fend for themselves and that any help should go to the family men. Furthermore, the City of Montreal was discussing at that very time the use of identification cards so that none of these transients would be entitled to food and shelter.

However, the situation was rectified to some extent later in 1934 when some of the single, homeless men began to receive unemployment relief. Then fewer of them were picked up for begging, sent to Bordeaux, and subsequently were seeking aid on discharge from the association. Still in 1936 and 1937 annual reports of P.A. & W.A. mention was made of the transient problem and the fact that the local social agencies had made no real effort to solve it. The association insisted that residence requirements should be waived to encourage such men to move across the country and to seek work wherever it might be found. On December 11, 1943, the executive secretary reported to the board that the association "had come to the stage where it was necessary to rule out the vagrant and loiterer type, although it must be admitted that there is no organization that is caring for them satisfactorily".

e) Court work.--In attempting treatment of the delinquency problem, the association's work in the courts was especially valuable. This

aspect of rehabilitation was strongly advocated by it as a measure which should be taken before incarceration and as a prevention against imprisonment. At all times the association was most interested in helping the first offender, especially the youthful ones of both sexes.

Work in the criminal courts was of two kinds, either direct intervention in cases before the judge, or provision of legal defence for approved cases. Intervention with the Bench in cases not calling for legal aid, that is, probation work, was restricted by lack of money, and the association was aware that this could only be done satisfactorily by having a staff member working in the courts daily. Nevertheless, when the association's caseworker, and occasionally its board members, did intervene in court there were many successful results.

In 1933 the board heard the following report: "The judges are now regarding the Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association as part of the machinery of the court and the name is frequently called out by the court crier"¹. At the annual meeting of 1936, when the association was in its worst financial situation of the period, the following interesting statement was made: "Court work...continues to be more productive in definite benefit than any other part of the service given by the Association...If Prisoners' Aid and Welfare is obliged to re-organize operations, it would seem clear that this branch of activity should be maintained". Mrs. Birchenough, the one full-time caseworker on the staff, did the bulk of the court work "both as to attendance at court and preparation of lawyers' briefs on [association] cases"². On odd occasions the president and executive secretary attended court also.

¹Ibid., September 22, 1933.

²P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", February 4, 1938.

Another aspect of probation work was done by the association through its collaboration with the Recorder's Court. It maintained a Court Poor Box which in 1931 was the only one in Canada¹. From this Poor Box eighty-nine cases were aided in 1931, and ninety-two during the previous year. This fund was administered by the Recorder of Montreal who rendered careful accounts of disbursements to the association. It was used to provide some small financial assistance which would thereby enable certain persons to stay out of jail. Since it provided the fund, the association felt that it could give advice as to its use. For example, at the end of the navigation season the association would ask the Recorder to deal leniently with sailors who got into drunken scraps. It made the same request on behalf of immigrants who were vagrant until they could get established with some work. It also discussed with the Recorder the possibility of transferring old and indigent people to suitable institutions, where available, rather than committing them to jail for vagrancy simply because they had no place to live.

In 1936² the caseworker drew attention to the fact that the Recorder was experimenting in protective and preventive arrests of young women found in undesirable haunts. These cases were freed on probation after a due warning and instructions were given to them to re-appear on certain dates. Seven such girls were due to report in one month.

One feels that there was mutual benefit derived, both in the Recorder's Court and in the association, from the close co-operation and discussion of general problems and specific cases. One Recorder

¹P.A. & W.A., "First Annual Report 1931".

²P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", April 3, 1936.

used to make a personal contribution to cover deficits in the Poor Box¹. Unfortunately the very good relationship with the Recorder's Court was severed in depression years by the insistence by Federation that all allocated funds be administered by the association. Therefore, the Poor Box after some ten years in operation was withdrawn in the mid-thirties. One gets the impression that this move was a difficult one for the Recorders to understand.

The other side of the association's work in the criminal courts was provision of legal aid for cases of indigent accused persons who would otherwise appear before the judge without counsel. Approved cases were referred to lawyers by staff members of P.A. & W.A. During this period the association's honorary legal counsel was increased from one to five lawyers and they handled cases for a nominal retainer fee of \$15.00 each.

The association had long urged the appointment of public defenders, but pending such appointments had made its own arrangements with the Bar of Montreal for its own cases². In 1932 the president interviewed officers of the Montreal Bar Association in an effort to enlist their gratuitous services. Although received sympathetically, he had to report³ that the response had not been as large as anticipated and that only nine lawyers had volunteered to serve, and some of these made certain reservations. When a lawyer was needed on a case it was still often necessary to turn to the association's legal counsel and pay the

¹Ibid., January 20, 1933. Letter read from the Recorder with his accounts for the year 1932.

²Ibid., September 24, 1937.

³Ibid., May 6, 1932.

usual fee of \$15.00. At the same meeting President Burgoyne pointed out a difficulty in this project. "There is a distinct difference between legal aid of a criminal and of a civil nature, as in the latter case a bureau is opened where advice is given at night and therefore does not encroach on a lawyer's day practice; whereas in criminal cases it necessitates his attendance in court in his professional hours at the cost of his own practice". However, some progress was made and The Gazette of September 25, 1937, reported as follows the discussion at a monthly board meeting of P.A. & W.A. concerning free legal aid to the poor in criminal cases: "Limited help of this nature has been given in Montreal for the past twelve years or more with the kind co-operation of legal firms after assent of the Bar of Montreal was obtained. As to civil cases they are looked after by another agency". The other agency was the Legal Aid Bureau of S.P.W.C.

Throughout this period the association continually and emphatically pointed out the need for a Domestic Relations Court where family and marital problems would be heard in private. It deplored the fact that the largest city in Canada was without one while many other cities had them. One of the board members, a professor of constitutional law at McGill University, reviewed the difficulties involved, "the chief factors being the co-ordination and agreement of provincial juridical authorities and powers as to providing the court, naming judges and making the necessary financial arrangements, with the introduction of such legislation as may be necessary in the two respective spheres"¹.

f) Contacts with provincial government authorities.--Another stated function of P.A. & W.A. was "the advocacy of penal reform, extension

¹Ibid., June 14, 1940, Professor C.S. Mesurier.

of parole and probation systems, industrialization of prisons and payment of convict labour"¹. Its efforts to carry out these functions brought it into frequent contact with both the Province of Quebec and federal government authorities.

The Quebec provincial authorities were frequently approached with regard to conditions in jails under their jurisdiction. The efforts of the old P.A.A. to obtain reforms on behalf of female prisoners in the Protestant Women's Jail of Montreal were also continued by the P.A. & W.A. It may be noted that the association was in favour of introducing some measure of popular control of penal institutions through the appointment of local advisory and visiting committees, as it had observed was a common and valuable practice in England.

In 1931 a representative each of the association and of M.C.S.A.² were allowed to make an official enquiry into conditions at the Women's Jail which at the time contained eleven Protestant inmates. As a result of this enquiry it was stated in the annual report for 1932 that, although the request for a new prison for Protestant women was not granted owing to government economy, the atmosphere was changed perceptibly and some necessary reforms were effected.

However, in subsequent months the association submitted a petition to Rt. Hon. Taschereau, Prime Minister of Quebec, requesting more visiting privileges. As a result, a Women's Visitation Committee for the Protestant Women's Jail was set up in the autumn of 1933³. It consisted of seven

¹P.A. & W.A., "Constitution", 1931, art I, sec. 3.

²These representatives were Mr. John Kidman, executive secretary of P.A. & W.A., and Mr. Frank Pedley, executive director of M.C.S.A.

³P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Women's Visitation Committee Meetings", October 26, 1933.

members representing P.A. & W.A., M.C.S.A., S.P.W.C., and the Salvation Army¹. In its first year of work it looked after ninety-two women during their imprisonment. Three passes to the jail were issued by the sheriff of Montreal, with the consent of the Attorney-General, allowing monthly visits by committee members. The committee undertook to submit an annual report to the Attorney-General. At its organizational meeting² the following statement was made: "Furthermore, it is understood that no public action in relation to the jail, or representation to authorities will be taken or made except through the Board of the Association as the good faith of the Association and of the Council of Social Agencies is involved in all that may be done".

In 1942, as a result of President Burgoyne's personal visit to provincial authorities in Quebec City, the Attorney-General's Department gave direct official sanction to the association's visitations of Bordeaux jail and the Protestant Women's jail³. An official of the association commented that "heretofore our visitation to Montreal Jail has been by the courtesy of the sheriff and governor, but now it is on an official basis and names both for men and women [visitors] have to be submitted to the Department for approval".

For years the association urged the provincial government to make a survey of conditions in county jails in Quebec "but the proposal was turned down flat"⁴. The association objected to the treatment of short-

¹P.A. & W.A., "Annual Report 1934".

²P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Women's Visitation Committee Meetings", October 26, 1933.

³P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", March 6, 1942.

⁴The Gazette (Montreal), October 22, 1938.

termers in the county jails where there was no industry and no segregation. It noted that new jails were being set up following the same old unsatisfactory traditions with "maximum security and minimum result in reduction of crime"¹.

On behalf of prisoners' dependents the association pressed the provincial government for amendments to the Mothers' Allowance Act passed in 1937. The object of such amendments was to extend benefits to the wife of a man under sentence. In 1947 the amendment was passed, and duly noted by the association². The change granted benefits to the wife of a man sentenced to one year or more in prison.

g) Contacts with federal government authorities.--The association approached also federal government authorities to achieve similar penal reform measures for penitentiary inmates, that is, for those sentenced for two years or more. It might be noted here that contacts at the federal level were maintained mainly through the Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association which was the nationally organized body. In 1935 it changed its name to the Canadian Penal Association. Since the office of the national organization was established in Montreal³ and since its leaders were also leaders in P.A. & W.A. locally, much of their work in this field coincided. It should be made clear that during this period a major activity and interest of P.A. & W.A. was to promote the development of a strong national body to unite prisoners' aid societies across Canada and to work directly with federal authorities for penal reforms.

¹Ibid.

²P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", October 15, 1947.

³In the 1940's the head office of the Canadian Penal Association moved to Toronto because more financial support was available in that city.

To a large extent the growth of a strong national organization has been due to the work and leadership of P.A. & W.A. members in Montreal.

In the annual report for 1933 the association reported that it had been closely following the re-organization of the penitentiaries as a result of the riots in 1932. On the invitation of the Minister of Justice the president and the executive secretary of P.A. & W.A. visited both Kingston and St. Vincent de Paul penitentiaries where full liberty was given to see all parts of the institutions and to converse with the inmates without the presence of officials. A special report¹ was sent by the association to the Minister of Justice and to the superintendents of these penitentiaries, noting special ameliorations and making recommendations for further improvements.

An earlier petition of 1932² from the association had listed some of the resolutions of the Tenth International Penal and Penitentiary Congress held in Czechoslovakia in 1930, especially one stating that "the aid of unofficial workers should be sought". It had recommended to the Canadian Minister of Justice "the greater encouragement of welfare work among the inmates before and also after discharge".

In 1936 the two associations, local and national, submitted a joint brief to the Royal Commission on Penitentiaries and Penal System of Canada, now generally known as the Archambault Commission. Illustrating the inter-relationship of the two associations is the fact that this brief was signed as follows: "Milton L. Hersey, D. Sc., President of Canadian Penal Association; F. R. Scott, Professor of Constitutional Law,

¹"The Penitentiaries' Situation", January 27, 1934.

²"Administration of Penitentiaries", n.d., submitted to the Minister of Justice in December, 1932.

McGill University and a Director of Canadian Penal Association; Rev. R. Gordon Burgoyne, President of Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal and a Director of Canadian Penal Association; and John Kidman, Honorary Secretary of Canadian Penal Association and Executive-Secretary of Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal".

Since this brief reflected very accurately the concepts of penal reform then held by P.A. & W.A., the summary of its recommendations are quoted here as follows:

I Prisons and their Administration:

- (1) The employment of psychiatrists and psychologists.
- (2) Adequate classification of prisoners so that those who may be placed in higher classifications may enjoy some of the ameliorations suggested in these representations. Preferably there should be classification by institution as well as individually.
- (3) Proper development of the Borstal System for youths within the specified age limits.
- (4) Protection against industrial accidents [in prison].
- (5) That while the principle of remuneration for labour is approved, the general question of how best to conserve money earned for wise and truly economic rehabilitation be further studied.
- (6) That educational facilities be extended.
- (7) That dark cell punishment be discouraged.

II Clemency, Remissions and Outside Control:

Establishment of an external local Board, composed of representative and qualified citizens, such Board to operate two sections: (a) As a visitation committee to keep in touch with internal conditions, (b) In the role of a Parole Advisory Board, or (c) By operation from a central point.

III Welfare Work for Penitentiaries:

Extension and encouragement of Prison Aid and Welfare work with the penitentiaries (or other prisons) by adequate subsidies from governments, both Federal and Provincial, together with fuller liberty to such agencies' representatives to carry on casework in the prisons.

IV The Criminal Courts:

Establishment of adult probation system in the Criminal Courts of every large city, including the county town, probation officers to be fully accredited agents before the tribunals and to be either entirely or partially financed by the competent authorities.

V Consolidation of Prison System:

That the question of bringing all prisons and jails under one authority be studied, if necessary by a Dominion-Inter-Provincial Conference, in order that uniform standards of treatment of the criminal and delinquent may prevail throughout Canada, and that the ultimate goal be the establishment of a Federal Prison Commission.

The findings of the Archambault Commission published in 1938, which to a large degree reflected the association's recommendations, failed to secure immediate implementation due to the outbreak of war the next year. In 1944 the board of P.A. & W.A. passed a resolution "that this association advise the Canadian Penal Association to organize forthwith a pressure campaign to force implementation of the Archambault Report, especially in view of the prospect of forthcoming general elections"¹. At its annual meeting in 1947 the association expressed its appreciation of the fact that the Commissioner of Penitentiaries, Major-General R. B. Gibson, had recently submitted a report to the Minister of Justice recommending reforms "such as the Association has urged for many years and contained for the most part in the Archambault Royal Commission Report of 1938"².

The association frequently contacted the federal Department of Justice to seek parole for individual cases. It also asked for financial aid because it always helped penitentiary men more liberally "on the basis that the longer the sentence the more the need, as the break in life has been more severe"³. In 1947 P.A. & W.A. protested strongly to the Minister of Justice, Rt. Hon. J. L. Ilesley, regarding his suggestion

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", June 23, 1944.

²The Gazette (Montreal), March 3, 1947.

³P.A. & W.A., and C.P.W.A. petition "Administration of Penitentiaries", op. cit.

to introduce legislation whereby fourth offenders could be given life sentence, similar to the Baumes Law in New York State¹. The association stated in strong terms the unfairness of such legislation in Canada which had not the equivalent graded institutions and which had less preventive facilities than the United States. It further protested against the needless financial burden to the state, and against the untimeliness of such legislation in the exceptional conditions of post-war restlessness.

The association worked with the federal government on veterans' problems. In 1935 it presented a brief to a Royal Commission on the Care of Unemployed Veterans². In 1943 it presented a memorandum entitled "Rehabilitation of the Delinquent War-Veteran" to the Veterans' Rehabilitation Committee in Montreal. That same year it was reported at an association board meeting that "we are working up a very good connection with the Department of Pensions and National Health, Veterans Branch, concerning delinquent veterans"³. It also worked with the Canadian Legion, Provincial Command on similar problems.

During the war when there was a shortage of manpower the association intervened to encourage the government to allow prisoners and discharged prisoners to 'contribute their bit'. It urged ticket-of-leave to enable all possible inmates to join the armed forces⁴. It protested to the Minister of War Services the barring from munitions work all men and women with criminal records, which was government policy despite the acute labour shortage.

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", May 28, 1947.

²This was also known as the Hyndman Commission.

³P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", September 17, 1943.

⁴The Gazette (Montreal), December 15, 1941.

P.A. & W.A. tried to get the federal Minister of Justice to consent to setting up a blood bank at St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary similar to one it had organized at Bordeaux jail with the permission of the Attorney-General of Quebec¹. It had found the men most anxious to give their blood and "do what they can, even in custody". However, there is no record of federal government permission being granted to permit it in the penitentiary.

h) Relations with Financial Federation.--Throughout this period, 1931-1947, the association was a member of M.C.S.A. and of Federation. These bodies co-ordinated welfare services in the city for the Protestant, non-Roman-Catholic, non-Jewish people. The association's membership in Federation involved conforming to Federation policy, in the formation of which it had a responsibility. P.A. & W.A. found it difficult to accept the ethnic and religious demarcations to its work which it believed should not be confined in any such way. Furthermore, there was another way in which Federation policy influenced the association's work. Largely due to objections raised by Federation against the anti-capital punishment propaganda, P.A. & W.A. had dropped this policy which was objectionable to many subscribers to Federation. It realized that if this propaganda was to be carried on it must be done by a separate society with other financial support.

In 1935 Federation was forced to consider taking drastic measures to eliminate any overlapping of services being offered by its members. It concluded that P.A. & W.A. was duplicating the local rehabilitation

¹The Gazette (Montreal), July 12, 1943. The superintendent of Royal Victoria Hospital in Montreal helped the association organize this project for the Canadian Red Cross Society.

work being done by the Salvation Army and the penal reform work done by the national body, Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association¹. The association struggled to enforce its claim on Federation funds to continue its work, meanwhile seriously considering withdrawal from Federation and making a direct appeal to the public for funds on its own merits. The following statement by the president at the annual meeting in 1936² is of interest:

The outstanding feature of the past year has been the challenge to the existence of the Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association offered by the Survey Committee [of Federation] and the many manifestations of sympathy and indignation that have been displayed as far as we are concerned. However, negotiations have taken place and, though it is much against our will, we have consented for one and a half years to try out a new modus operandi on a budget of about one-half what we had formerly.

President Burgoyne went on to repudiate the suggestion of Federation that as long as unoffending citizens were badly hit by the depression there was no need to worry about the lawbreaker. He stated that this was completely untenable and that, when prevalent conditions were making criminals of otherwise good people, the association needed more money, not less.

The association's struggle for recognition was obvious at the annual general meeting of February 3, 1937. Mention was made there of a published statement to the effect that P.A. & W.A. activities were redundant and that its clientele could go elsewhere for similar services. At this point the objections of P.A. & W.A. were voiced by the executive secretary, who argued as follows:

Yet 1,583 individual lawbreakers, as against 1,274 in 1935, still sought the old stand disregarding that advice [to go elsewhere].... There is no wish on our part to clash with other agencies...all we seek is recognition that in such work this agency has attained a

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", January 10, 1936.
Letter read from M.C.S.A.

²P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", April 16, 1936.

place that rendered it necessary to the delinquent element in the community.

At the same time as M.C.S.A. curtailed the work of the association, it also urged a selective program of activity¹ which over the years forced the association to re-define its functions more clearly. The council suggested that visitors to prisons should select certain cases for careful study and follow-up. It felt that otherwise

a wide open invitation to discharged prisoners...would appear to favour dissipation of energy on the part of the staff and the sacrifice of quality of work to quantity....Cooperation might be secured from wardens so only hopeful cases be selected....The success of such a selective program depends almost entirely on the quality of staff personnel and the Board of Directors should constantly bear this in mind.

Recognizing the desirability of widening lay interest, an increase in the number of board members was recommended by the council, as well as a system of rotation on the board to provide a constant influx of new members. The council further suggested that relief should be held at a minimum and that "the entire emphasis should be on research and public education". It stated that, since the community had many relief facilities, "no anxiety need be felt by the Association concerning an ex-prisoner not helped by them with food and clothes". This arbitrary statement of policy for the association demanded some considerable shift away from its concern for more financial assistance for the men and women who came to it for help.

i) Relations with the French-speaking community.--Parallel to this re-definition of policy, it is timely to consider briefly some attempts to clarify the racial and religious demarcations of the association's work in Montreal. Financial Federation stressed its policy of

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", June, 1937. Letter read from M.C.S.A. dated June 12, 1937.

working with non-Roman-Catholic and non-Jewish people. The association was strongly opposed to this. When one of its predecessors had entered Federation in 1922 no stipulation was made about ethnic and religious discrimination. However, about 1929 the issue was raised by Federation in response to the association's request for more money.

In 1932 the board of P.A. & W.A. appointed a sub-committee to study the French question. Table IV, below, gives the statistics which this sub-committee presented to the board. It shows the proportion of work with French-Canadians among a total of 262 cases assisted by the association during the first three months of the year 1932.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF FRENCH-CANADIAN CASES AIDED, BY PENAL INSTITUTION, PRISONERS' AID & WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL, JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE, 1932^a

Penal Institution	Cases Aided		
	Total	French-Canadian	Per Cent
Total	262	102	38.9
Bordeaux Jail	200	79	39.5
St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary	25	17	68.0
Others outside Montreal	37	6	16.2

^aSource: P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", March 31, 1932.

It can, therefore, be noted that 38.9 per cent of the total cases assisted by the association during these three months belonged to the French-speaking population of Montreal. On the other hand, it can be assumed that Federation would, in the main, have formulated its policy on the fact that its financial resources were derived mainly from 16.2 per

cent of the population of Montreal while the Roman Catholic population, amounting to 76.3 per cent of the total, did not contribute any proportionate amount of financial support to the maintenance of the services which Federation offered¹.

The association stated its general position as follows:

It is unjust to the Association's reputation to have to repudiate men without the arrangement being formally announced to the world. We find by private enquiry that other agencies that entered Federation at its inception refused to yield to this segregation plan (notably Big Brothers, Montreal Boys' Association and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children). Yet it hurts our agency more than any of these to draw the line because we are dealing on sufferance, not by legal right, with prisons, having certain facilities and privileges by courtesy of French and Roman Catholic officials....It will be seen that if we cut off the French entirely our penitentiary work will be very limited and the question of our relations with the head of that institution may be a serious matter.²

During the next two years the association approached the Roman Catholic church authorities to try to encourage them to assume more responsibility for their discharged prisoners. In 1935 it announced that

negotiations with La Fédération des Oeuvres Charitables Canadiennes Françaises were concluded successfully in April 1934....The result is that that Federation has registered us on their list under the title of 'Le Secours aux Prisonniers'. Thus the work has been consolidated and a grant of \$800 per annum has been made [by French Federation] though the arrangement must still be regarded as an experiment.³

The association participated in the French Federation campaign for funds, and a French-speaking member of the board outlined P.A. & W.A. work in French on the radio.

This arrangement was short-lived, as explained in a letter from

¹Infra., p. 18, Table I.

²P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", March 31, 1932. "Report of the Sub-Committee on the French Question".

³P.A. & W.A., "Annual Report 1934".

French Federation dated March 3, 1937¹, as follows: "The Directors cannot see their way clear to renew the allotment granted to this Association in three successive years". The letter further stated that the situation had now changed since two agencies which were members of French Federation had been developing plans for several months back to do this work, and that Federation was bound to give them financial assistance of \$900.00 a year. The agencies referred to in the letter were not named.

The cessation of the French grant had a serious impact on the association's budget; but it survived. Financial Federation paid the deficit incurred and refunded a small loan to the executive secretary which he personally had advanced to the association in critical weeks. The new arrangements made by French Federation were slow to take hold and were not particularly successful according to reports of French-speaking prisoners who still sought help from P.A. & W.A. Nevertheless, the association did stop giving material assistance to French-speaking prisoners, although some court service was continued.

In 1945 the formation in French Federation of another prisoners' aid for French-speaking persons, L'Aide aux Prisonniers, was mentioned at an association board meeting². On request of the new agency, the association sent copies of its by-laws and charter as a guide. At the end of 1946 a liaison meeting was held by the two bodies to discuss mutual problems and the possibility of making joint representations to the provincial government. Although the work of the new organization was progressing rather slowly, the P.A. & W.A. had to continue its unpleasant work of turning men away if they were French-speaking and Roman Catholic.

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", March 8, 1937.

²Ibid., March 9, 1945.

j) Relations with the Salvation Army.--As already noted, the association's affiliation with other community agencies was during this period largely determined by its membership in M.C.S.A. However, special comment may be made about its relationship with the Salvation Army since both organizations were engaged in prison work in the local Protestant community. After the merger of P.A.A. and C.P.W.A. in 1931 the Salvation Army was anxious to know the attitude of the new organization. It wanted to know if it would be possible to continue the subsidy of fifty per cent of its monthly bill for material assistance which it had been obtaining from the former P.A.A. since about 1919.

Owing to its affiliation with Financial Federation, the association's work with the Salvation Army was re-defined and the following resolution was passed at a board meeting on October 15, 1931:

- (1) That two Salvation Army officers be invited to attend meetings of the Board in an advisory capacity but would have no vote.
- (2) That for the time being the Army be invited to continue its share in the Saturday afternoon ministrations, but that its officers should deal with men interviewed who seek material help through the Salvation Army Prison Department.
- (3) That the Association is unable to make any block grant such as was made by P.A.A. and with regard to meals contract¹ is ready to rescind that and pay ordinary prices on orders.
- (4) That with regard to court work Prisoners' Aid and Welfare will carry on as in the past doing its own casework when necessary in courts.
- (5) That Salvation Army will make reports on ministrations but will not be mentioned specifically by name.

This ad hoc arrangement of 1931 appears to be the basis for subsequent relationships between the two bodies. One notes a certain tendency for overlapping of their work and the resultant frictions at times.

The association's attitude to the Salvation Army was stated as follows in its report to the Survey Committee of Financial Federation,

¹whereby meals were provided at the Salvation Army hostel at a nominal cost to the association.

dated December 12, 1934; and apparently continued thereafter:

Most important is the fact that the Salvation Army does not evolve any policy from its contacts. It has been the policy, however, of P.A. & W.A. always to build up on its casework, whether in courts or prison or on discharge, some constructive proposals for improved penal methods. Many of its recommendations have been adopted by the Department of Justice.

And in another communication of the same year it was stated:

The Salvation Army does not touch reform and that is why it enters the prisons more easily than us [sic] the Salvation Army is on the same footing as the Chaplains, they are not supposed to open their mouths. We are out for reform and must have it.¹

k) Relations with City of Montreal Police.--The association always worked for better co-operation with the Montreal city police on behalf of discharged prisoners. For example, in 1940² the board discussed proposals of the Montreal police to refuse driving licences for cars and trucks to recidivists. The board's view was that every case must be considered on an individual basis and that, furthermore, the commitment of a crime such as forgery, for example, had no relationship to bad driving. Such police action would add one more difficulty to the employment problems of discharged men and women.

l) Publicity.--The publicity which the association obtained during these sixteen years was quite substantial. The fact that its executive secretary was a leading reporter for The Gazette since the first world war was largely responsible for the excellent publicity. Monthly board meetings and annual general meetings were regularly reported, and The Gazette write-ups were frequently kept on file at P.A. & W.A. Other coverage was given in The Montreal Star, The Montreal Herald, and

¹Letter from the secretary of C.P.W.A. to the Regina prisoners' aid association, dated October 5, 1934.

²Reported in The Gazette (Montreal), November 23, 1940.

La Patrie, as well as radio news bulletins.

Several clubs were approached annually with a view to taking a speaker from the association, the choice of a clerical or lay speaker being offered. There was considerable response to this action. However, the problems of good publicity were expressed often too. In the 1934 annual report one reads as follows:

Perhaps there is no social work which needs more explaining to the public and in this matter the association has not been found lacking; in fact it has excelled in finding expression....Yet judging by the hostile attitude of some, the indifference of many and the questioning even of those engaged in other forms of social work, we are still unprofitable servants.

There was another inherent difficulty for an agency working with individuals whom the public commonly tended to consider undesirable, that was that "the men and women whom the Association can claim to rehabilitate generally do not cry the fact aloud from the housetops"¹.

Noted in 1939 was, nevertheless, a growing tendency of the public, for example, relatives of prisoners, clergy, and pressmen, to look to the association for information pertaining to those accused before the courts and incarcerated. Staff from other agencies were also frequently in contact with the office.

In the fall of 1944 President Burgoyne had written a series of twenty-eight daily articles for The Montreal Herald in which he discussed many aspects of crime, prison reform, and rehabilitation work. This series was published in booklet form entitled Some Tragic Defects in Canadian Courts. Over a thousand copies were printed by The Gazette press; some two hundred of these were sent to Rotary Clubs across Canada, and one hundred to Lions Clubs. Others were sold and the proceeds of about one hundred dollars were donated to the association by

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", October 9, 1943.

the president.

m) Contacts outside Canada.--P.A. & W.A. was a keenly interested participant in the activities of the American Prison Congress. Throughout the period, 1931-1947, the association sent a regular delegate or two to annual meetings of this congress in various cities, such as, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Salt Lake City. In 1937 the budget committee of Federation made a grant of fifty dollars for an association delegate to attend the congress meeting in Philadelphia, and President Burgoyne represented the association. The executive secretary of P.A. & W.A. also attended with a grant from a special fund. The previous year he had attended the congress meeting in Chicago at his own expense and in his holiday time. In 1938 Mr. Kidman was named vice-president of the National Prisoners' Aid Association of the United States, which was one of the constituent agencies forming the National Congress of the American Prison Association. Later on he was named president of this constituent body for 1940¹.

The association co-operated with the United States Department of Justice, Immigration Service, on the problems of deportation of Canadian men released from American prisons. This was an attempt to work out some satisfactory system of referral to available Canadian rehabilitation services for discharged prisoners.

P.A. & W.A. was always closely affiliated with the Howard League of Penal Reform in London, England. It kept a keen eye and ear on the progressive penal developments in England, many of which were reported to it by the Howard League. Whenever possible an association member would personally visit penal institutions there and discuss rehabilitation

¹The Gazette (Montreal), November 4, 1939.

work. An exchange of literature and of experiences was maintained. Mr. Kidman was for many years the Canadian correspondent for the Howard League in London. In 1936 the association reported to the Archambault Commission that it was the only Canadian body that had co-operated with the Howard League of England in efforts which had resulted in a permanent Penal and Penitentiary Committee being instituted by the League of Nations¹.

The exchange of ideas on an international level was always found to be stimulating and worthwhile to the Montreal organization. The International Penal Congress in Berlin in 1935 was attended by Mr. Kidman, as had been the previous one in 1930 in Prague. He attended in dual capacity as secretary of both the Montreal and the national associations. These congresses afforded an opportunity to compare Canadian penal practices with those of other countries. Some of these comparisons have been noted².

3. Assessment

Throughout this period, 1931-1947, the aims of P.A. & W.A., which in the preceding pages have been discussed in some detail, were closely aligned with current penological thinking. This thought was premised on the theory of the multiple causation of crime or, in other words, on the theory that crime was caused by a combination of social, economic, and emotional factors. The association understood well the need for employment and education to develop moral and intellectual

¹Report to the Archambault Commission, op. cit.

²Supra., p. 12.

powers. It ascribed to the statement of the International Penal Congress of 1930 that the carrying out of a penalty ought to contribute to the education and improvement of the inmate, in order better to insure the protection of society. Formerly the plea had been a humanitarian one for the man as an individual, that the severity of treatment should not be such as to kill mind and soul. Now the case for prison reform was presented in a new light.

The carrying into practice of these new values and objectives was another matter. Two violent swings in the economic life of the country hindered implementation of these aims. However, there was a steady, if slow, movement in that direction. In the belief that the treatment of the prisoner should contribute to his education and improvement, the religious services held in Bordeaux jail tended more and more to lead into educational and beginning rehabilitation opportunities. In 1932¹ the chaplain reported that "the men have been referred to the [P.A. & W.A.] office in many instances and the link created between these services and the office is undoubtedly helpful in dealing with the men".

In dealing with its cases the association moved towards fuller use of scientific methods. In a case record dated 1933 one finds the following: "The story indicates persecutory mania....Promised to make enquiries but to hold over until his wife comes out of Verdun Protestant Hospital - looks like double case of mental twist". Concerning an unfortunate experience in 1936 with ticket-of-leave granted under political pressure, the board expressed its opinion that "if psychologists and psychiatrists were consulted instead of politicians, there

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", February 5, 1932.

would be fewer paroled men returning to prison...For proper working of a parole system it is necessary to have trained personnel who could observe the prisoner throughout his incarceration"¹.

The association had some success in developing, what one might call, the necessary art of working with local and provincial officials in the province of Quebec. It was thus able to assist the French-speaking Roman Catholics to assume more responsibility and to plan for their own discharged prisoners. It developed an effective relationship with the federal government, also, through which it attempted to achieve its aims in respect to penitentiary inmates. It is interesting to note that federal authorities became more and more willing to implement penal reforms and to accept the contributions offered by voluntary workers. This trend became more marked after the close of World War II. It was beginning to reflect modern conceptions of penal reform such as were found in the United States, Great Britain, and other European countries.

However, one cannot overlook the views of one individual, the president of the association for sixteen years. These views, expressed at the time of his retirement, may have been aimed, in part, to create public awareness of the situation in the province. He spoke of having become more conscious all the time "of failure in what one set out to do. The failures have been in dealing with federal and, particularly, provincial government officials". The failures he mentioned were: Montreal was still without a Domestic Relations Court which most other large cities had; there was still no English-speaking probation officer appointed for criminal courts after twenty years of the association's striving

¹The Gazette (Montreal), June 13, 1936. The case referred to was the Red Ryan case.

for this; there was still no Public Defender appointed; and no real improvements had been made to the Protestant Women's Jail. The Montreal Star on February 18, 1947, reported this retirement speech under the heading "Apathy Harms Prisoners' Aid Task in Quebec". Nevertheless, one feels that the president's real feeling was perhaps contained in his remark that "despite the heartbreaks, the outlook is very bright".

This statement reinforced the views he expressed on his return from the American Prison Congress in New York two years earlier, as follows:

A lot of addresses and discussions were around subjects that we as Canadians have no need to discuss, such as the necessity of paying good salaries to probation officers for they were so important in running courts and they should be more highly trained....At one conference for wardens it was interesting to hear [them] discussing the trouble that sometimes arose because the psychiatrist didn't always agree with the psychologist. I got up and told them they should not worry, but be thankful they had such men on staff, as we had not one across Canada, except in insane sections of our prisons....I'm glad I went. I came away as usual sad because they were talking about things they had, but which to us as Canadians are not present, but we hope things to come.¹

This whole period under discussion shows dramatic efforts by the association to define casework techniques. The idea of a selective program had been suggested by Financial Federation in 1937 and had gradually been accepted by P.A. & W.A. In a survey which he presented to the board on January 31, 1947, the retiring executive secretary stated:

As regards government grants, I would suggest that...money be used for more staff rather than [for] more relief, as probation service would be much more far-reaching in its good effect than mere alleviation for the moment....Perhaps we should aim at a more selective method and if we have to weed out some men whom we cannot rehabilitate, then representations should be made to city authorities as to the needs of these men.²

¹P.A. & W.A., "Minutes of Board Meetings", December 13, 1945.

²Ibid., January 31, 1947.

The Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal was the real pioneer prisoner rehabilitation body in Canada. It felt its responsibilities keenly and acted accordingly. There had developed a strong core of interest and activity in Montreal which was reflected in the work of P.A. & W.A. Out of this strong Montreal body grew the national organization, the Canadian Penal Association, which strove to establish local bodies across Canada to join forces in order to make more effective representations to the federal government concerning all aspects of criminal justice. The national organization also aimed to consolidate and extend the prison aid society movement throughout Canada.

In order to strengthen this co-ordination of work across the country, the Canadian Penal Association suggested that all member associations should be known under one name, that of The John Howard Society. This name had been synonymous with prison reform and welfare since the eighteenth century. Significantly, it also eliminated the word 'prisoner', thereby removing the connotations which involved a stigma for the discharged men and women who sought help. Similar changes in the names of many other welfare agencies in the past decade or two reflect the same desire to remove the stigma which has long been attached to community welfare work. The suggestion of this new name by the Canadian Penal Association indicated a re-affirmation of the concept of rehabilitation as a service through which to enable the discharged prisoner to make his return to the community as a contributing member.

Acting on the advice of the national body, and anxious to co-operate, The Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal Incorporated became in December, 1947, The John Howard Society of Quebec Incorporated.

SECTION III

THE JOHN HOWARD SOCIETY OF QUEBEC INCORPORATED

1947-1955

Introduction.--This section deals with a professional casework agency, the most recent development in the association's history. Still a member of Welfare Federation, the society receives from it sympathetic support and greatly increased financial assistance. This encouragement to improve the services which the society offers to the community follows directly from the steps taken by the federal government in 1947 towards penal reform and more effective prisoner rehabilitation services in Canada.

This period will be dealt with in the following three sub-sections:

- (1) Structure of J.H.S.Q. deals with the organization which includes rotating board membership, personnel, professional casework staff, and finances.
- (2) Functions of the society are dealt with, where applicable, in the same sequence as its objects are stated in the constitution, as follows: (a) rehabilitation work inside Montreal jails, visitations and religious services in Bordeaux, visitations to Protestant Women's Jail, (b) rehabilitation work inside St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, (c) aid to discharged prisoners, (d) employment, (e) court work. The sub-section then deals with (f) the agency's casework status, (g) the participation of the board of directors, (h) community relationships, (i) contacts with the provincial government, (j) contacts with the federal government, and (k) other contacts in Canada and outside.
- (3) The Assessment discusses the work in a period when the society has clarified the ways and means of maintaining

and improving its services to the community.

1. Structure

When the John Howard Society came into being in 1947 it continued to function within the complete structure of its predecessor, P.A. & W.A. Only the name, in fact, was changed in this respect. In November, 1952, however, the by-laws were revised by the board of directors and approved by the annual general meeting in March, 1953. Under this revision the objects of the Society were re-stated in simplified form as follows: "To promote, by all lawful means, the welfare of adult offenders and their dependents, and to examine and promote penal reform in accordance with modern principles of penology, and are, in effect, the whole as more fully set forth and described in the Charter"¹.

The revised by-laws gave official recognition to a nominating committee and to the position of executive secretary. In fact both had been functioning for many years, but this was the first time their respective functions had been officially outlined in the by-laws.

The nominating committee, now composed of five members of the board and two other persons, was to be appointed annually by the board. Its duty was to present a slate of proposed directors to the annual general meeting which was held before the end of March each year².

The executive secretary employed by the board of directors "shall under the authority of the Board be responsible for the general direction of the affairs and operations of the Society, in accordance with policies laid down by the Board. The Executive-Secretary may

¹John Howard Society of Quebec, "By-Laws 'A'", 1953, art. II.

²Ibid., art. IV, sec. (a) and (c).

select, subject to the previous approval of the Board, and shall supervise the staff and shall perform other such duties as the Board may delegate"¹. The title was changed to executive director in 1954 in line with Welfare Federation policy adopted in other member agencies².

The 1953 by-laws provided for the establishment of an executive committee to be composed of the officers of the society and three other members to be appointed by the board of directors annually. The executive committee had powers which were restricted "to act for the Board of Directors between meetings of the Board, provided such action is unanimous. Any action shall be subject to the approval of the Board at the meeting immediately following date of such action. Five members shall constitute a quorum"³. It was explained at the annual meeting on March 12, 1953, that there was no provision in the old by-laws for an executive committee but that such a body was very necessary for the smooth running of any organization. This statement appears to overlook the 1934 amendment to the constitution of P.A. & W.A.⁴ which had created a somewhat similar executive committee. It seems, however, that this earlier committee had a brief, but unrecorded, history.

The financial agreement with Welfare Federation was officially incorporated in the new by-laws⁵. By this agreement the Society received yearly allocations from Federation, in return for which it had

¹Ibid., art. VII.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", May 19, 1954.

³J.H.S.Q., "By-Laws 'A'", op. cit., art. IV, sec. (h).

⁴Supra., p. 53.

⁵J.H.S.Q., "By-Laws 'A'", op. cit., art. V.

a responsibility to keep within the budget approved by Federation, and otherwise to conform to Federation policy.

Finally, perhaps the most important, and certainly the most controversial change was to establish the board of directors, increased from twenty-one to twenty-seven members, on a rotating basis. The term of membership on the board was limited to three years, with re-election possible after a lapse of one year following the expiry of the three years of consecutive office¹. This first term was extended to five years in 1955. In addition, it was decided that "no officer shall be eligible for re-election to the same office for more than three consecutive years"².

The controversy centered about the problem of deriving from the community as wide and varied representation on the board as possible, while at the same time obtaining the support of persons with specialized interests in the work of the society³. The system of rotating board membership was practiced by the great majority of Federation members. It could be noted here that as early as 1935 the survey committee of Federation had stated that "a policy of rotation in Board membership is highly desirable and [the committee] recommends that all agencies give serious consideration to this suggestion"⁴.

The composition of the board of directors in this period con-

¹Ibid., art. IV, sec. (c).

²Ibid., sec. (d). This amendment was approved by the annual general meeting on March 24, 1955.

³Cf. J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", November 20, 1952.

⁴Financial Federation, Report of the Survey Committee, Sections Seven and Eight, A Report on Final Observations and Recommendations (Montreal, 1935), p. 35.

tinued to represent business and professional interests in the community. The legal profession remained very active while that of the clergy tended to diminish. In 1953, for example, only one minister was elected to the board.

The president of the board of the society from 1947 to 1953 was for the first time a business man, Mr. N. R. Romer. He was succeeded by a psychologist, Dr. D. J. Wilson, who under the revised by-laws of 1953 held office for the maximum of three consecutive years until March 1956.

The Rt. Rev. J. H. Dixon, D. D., Bishop of Montreal, continued to be the honorary president.

The executive secretary from 1948 to 1950 was Lieut-Comdr. B. C. Hamilton, R.N.R., an Englishman with experience in British penal work. The main emphasis of his work was perhaps on penal reform matters. He was succeeded by Mrs. Kathleen Campbell, formerly district secretary in charge of the Single Men's Division of the Family Welfare Association of Montreal. In that post she had long been very co-operative in planning for the rehabilitation of discharged prisoners.

J.H.S.Q. was the first prisoners' aid society in Canada to appoint a woman as executive secretary. It had heretofore always been considered absolutely essential to have a man in that position. At the time the question was raised as to whether a woman would be accepted by the clients, and also whether she would be accepted by the authorities and permitted to visit penal institutions. This challenge was successfully met.

In 1950 the society moved its offices into the newly constructed Red Feather Building on Atwater Street. Private interviewing rooms for

each caseworker and also a waiting room for the clients were important advantages of the new premises, advantages not heretofore enjoyed.

Finances.--The method of raising funds for the society remained the same as in the previous period. Allocations from Financial Federation increased remarkably from \$8,333.00 in 1948, to \$18,285.00 in 1952, to \$29,550.00 in 1955. Membership fees and donations were nominal and made up only \$200.00 or \$300.00 of the annual income.

A significant feature of this period was the receipt of an annual grant from the federal government. The first grant, received in the year 1948, was \$1,500.00. In 1954 the amount was increased to \$2,320.00 and in 1955 to \$2,945.00.

The provincial government annual grant of \$1,000.00 continued to be received during the first two years of this period. It was presumed to be discontinued in 1950 as a direct consequence of the society's outspoken criticism of conditions at the Protestant Women's Jail in Montreal. The grant had not been re-instated by the end of 1955. It should be noted that none of the other prisoners' aid societies in Montreal receive a direct grant from the Province of Quebec.

The society continued to receive \$500.00 annually from the City of Montreal. The city grant was made directly to Federation in a lump sum and was divided among the member agencies as part of the general resources.

At the annual meeting in 1949 President Romer pointed out that at this time all three government grants amounted to only one-sixth of the society's total budget, and that the remaining five-sixths was furnished by the citizens of Montreal through Federation.

The emphasis on the need for fully-trained professional staff

was indicated by the great increase of expenditure for salaries which ran parallel to the rapidly increasing budget. At the end of 1947, it will be recalled, the casework staff was untrained and consisted of one full-time worker and the part-time executive secretary, whose annual salaries totalled \$3,963.00¹. In 1947 with the re-organization of the Society Welfare Federation authorized it to hire two full-time professional caseworkers in addition to the new executive secretary². In 1952 Federation granted a request to employ a third full-time professional caseworker.

In the early years of this period the society experienced very great difficulty in procuring and retaining the services of properly trained professional staff. For a few months in the summer of 1948 it had to close down the office because there was no staff to run it. The directors undertook personally to handle some cases with the help of Rev. Phillips, Protestant chaplain of Bordeaux jail, with the assistance of the Single Men's Division of F.W.A., and by referring cases more or less wholesale to the Old Brewery Mission. Again the lack of an executive secretary made it necessary during the first six months of 1951 to put the society under the direct care of M.C.S.A. which handled its caseload until the present executive secretary arrived in July 1951 to take up duties and carry out the re-organization program of the society.

In some respects the problem was due to the lack of existing professionally trained caseworkers in the community, and even outside. On more than one occasion, the officers of the Canadian Penal Association and of the John Howard Society of Ontario were requested to help

¹J.H.S.Q., "Annual Report 1947".

²Ibid., president's report.

find a suitable executive secretary and caseworkers. Also, with regard to casework staff, the salaries paid by the society were low and, especially for male workers, made other more remunerative positions in the community more attractive. Salaries were in line with Federation salary scales and were constantly under study and revision. In 1948 the range of salary for fully-trained caseworkers was \$1,800.00-\$2,100.00. By 1953 it had been increased to \$2,400.00-\$3,300.00. In 1953 the range of the executive secretary's salary was between \$3,480.00 and \$4,440.00.

Table V gives the total annual income of the association throughout this period, and the expenditures on salaries and relief.

TABLE V

TOTAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FOR SALARIES AND RELIEF,
BY YEARS, JOHN HOWARD SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, 1948-1955^a

Year	Total Income	Expenditures	
		Salaries	Relief
1948	\$ 11,550.01	\$ 6,529.00	\$ 3,171.89
1949	15,691.68	10,188.40	3,751.75
1950	12,565.31	6,530.50	3,451.40
1951	12,960.87	5,603.90	3,804.92
1952	20,628.63	11,910.25	5,101.29
1953	26,746.69	15,856.21	6,442.44
1954	30,976.78	17,416.52	9,192.40
1955	32,702.34	18,603.32	9,312.26

^aSource: J.H.S.Q., "Annual Reports".

The budget provided a salary for one secretary-bookkeeper until 1955 and then a full-time stenographer was added to the staff for the main purpose of maintaining useful records of the casework done.

An example of the main distribution of a year's relief was as follows: In 1949, expended on shelter in Old Brewery Mission and Salvation Army Hostel, \$1,083.00; paid in direct relief in cash for room rent and food, \$2,065.00; paid for travelling, clothes, tools, etc., \$665.00¹. There was an increase in relief applications in 1953, which for the first ten months of 1953 were 48.3 per cent higher than during the same period in 1952². A rise in unemployment in Canada resulted from a slight business recession attributable in large part to the ending of the Korean fighting in 1953.

2. Functions

a) Rehabilitation work inside Montreal jails.--An important function of J.H.S.Q. was to promote the welfare of adult offenders and, as far as possible, it began its rehabilitation work during incarceration. This period, 1947-1955, was marked by a definite distinction being drawn between penitentiary and prison work. This was further illustrated by the fact that the society received its first financial grants from the federal government during this recent period, specifically earmarked to help penitentiary men.

With regard to Bordeaux jail, visits were made by the casework staff of the society, and occasionally by board members. Prison officials,

¹J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", February 1, 1950, report of the executive secretary.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", November 19, 1953.

especially the Protestant chaplain, Rev. Gordon Phillips¹, were co-operative and greatly facilitated the work. During the summer of 1948, when the society was without an executive secretary, Rev. Phillips was a great help. For a few months he was given a small sum of money² to enable him to make certain relief expenditures at his own discretion on behalf of J.H.S.Q. He submitted a brief monthly statement of his activities.

The Saturday afternoon religious services at Bordeaux jail were officially stopped by Governor Lesage late in the year 1947. Two reasons were given. These services overlapped in a twenty-four hour period with the regular Sunday religious services conducted there by the official jail chaplains. Also, due to shortage of staff in the jail on weekends, it was not possible to adequately guard prisoners taken from their cells for services. Since the provincial government could not see its way clear to increase the pay of the guards, an arrangement had been made to shorten their hours of duty by letting some of them take Saturday afternoons off.

The society accepted the governor's decision to end these services held by voluntary preachers on Saturdays. It understood the reasons for the step which it considered reasonable and necessary, and pointed out that other groups which had been doing similar work in Bordeaux had apparently accepted the ruling without demur. "It is proper that there should be no misunderstanding nor an unfounded belief that the action was taken by jail authorities in any arbitrary or ill-considered manner"³.

¹He was appointed Protestant chaplain of St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary on June 25, 1954.

²The amount was \$100 in July, 1948.

³The Gazette (Montreal), February 19, 1948, Editorial. Note that this was one day after the same paper published strong criticism

However, this change at Bordeaux had serious repercussions within the board of directors of the society because of a breach of privilege of one of its members. This member publicly protested in the press¹ against the move of the Attorney-General's Department to prohibit Saturday Protestant evangelical services at Bordeaux. His statements clearly indicated that he saw this change as a flagrant denial of minority rights. It would appear that he was unaware of the board's decision a few weeks earlier to accept the governor's ruling.

This board member was none other than Rev. R. G. Burgoyne, who had very recently retired as president of P.A. & W.A. after many years' service in that capacity. The board was greatly perturbed by this outspoken criticism of provincial government administration. Serious consideration was given to demanding the resignation of Rev. Burgoyne from the board², but this was not done. However, at the same meeting the following resolution was passed:

That this Board condemns most strongly the views expressed regarding Saturday religious services at Bordeaux Jail, by Rev. R. G. Burgoyne, as publicized in the press, which are contrary to decisions of the Board as taken at its meetings in December and January, and wishes further to state that it is receiving most happy cooperation from the Attorney-General of the Province as well as from the Governor of Bordeaux Jail.

The traditional Christmas cheer was provided at Bordeaux until 1952 when the society felt it could not continue. Christmas cakes had been purchased with monies from the trust fund of the former P.A.A. In 1949 it was pointed out that the fund was becoming depleted and would

of the action by one board member of J.H.S.Q. It appears that J.H.S.Q. then persuaded The Gazette to speak on behalf of the society officially in this matter. There had long been close co-operation with this paper.

¹The Gazette (Montreal), February 18, and The Montreal Star, February 21, 1948.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", February 28, 1948.

not allow the usual expenditure. It was suggested that literature or some other such gift could be distributed instead. One of the veteran board members pointed out that in the past the distribution of cakes had provided members of the board access to the insane wing of the jail¹. However, as the administration in 1949 did not allow anyone to enter this wing, such arguments for retention of the practice were invalidated. In the same discussion it was thought possible to continue the Christmas cheer by arranging the sharing of expenses with the two Roman Catholic rehabilitation societies² on a pro rata basis, since less than twenty-five per cent of the inmates of Bordeaux were Protestant. This suggestion was apparently not carried through.

Following arrangements made by P.A. & W.A. in earlier years, the Red Cross Blood Donors' Clinic obtained 567 donations to its blood bank from prisoners in Bordeaux in 1949. It was pointed out by the executive secretary of J.H.S.Q. that this figure represented donations from over sixty per cent of the eligible inmates, "which is very little below the achievement of Blood Donors Clinics visiting United States prisons"³. It was "regrettable, however, that both jail administrators and the Canadian Red Cross [were] anxious that no publicity whatsoever should be given to this", and that somehow the public could not be informed of the prisoners' contributions to the community. This stipulation had apparently not been made in 1943 during the war years.

With regard to the Protestant Female Jail, frequently called Fullum Jail, the Women's Visitation Committee continued its work there

¹Ibid., November 10, 1949.

²These were Société d'Orientation et de Réhabilitation Sociale and Catholic Rehabilitation Service.

³J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", September, 1949.

regularly taking clothing and magazines and special gifts for Easter and Christmas, as well as flowers for the chapel. J.H.S.Q. continued its interest there but perhaps felt that conditions were such that efforts to begin rehabilitation planning during imprisonment would be relatively unproductive. In 1951 it was instrumental in obtaining the consent of the Sheriff of Montreal for a group of members of Alcoholics Anonymous to visit the jail twice monthly, and it contacted A.A. for the purpose of getting the group started there.

In 1952 one of the important obstacles to rehabilitation planning was officially eliminated when the Attorney-General of Quebec authorized the executive secretary of the society to interview prisoners in Fullum Jail without any other person present in the room. Visits were made when any inmate expressed a wish to see a caseworker from the society. The inmates were informed of the services also available at the office on release.

b) Rehabilitation work inside St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary.--

The most outstanding progress in the functions of the society in this recent period was in relation to its work with the men in St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary. With the development of other rehabilitation societies through the Canadian Penal Association, J.H.S.Q. ceased its work in the penitentiaries in Kingston, Ontario, and in Dorchester, New Brunswick. With federal government officials there was a most constructive sharing of ideas, and also some resources with which to implement them. In 1947 visits to St. Vincent de Paul were made each month by the caseworkers, and later bi-monthly became the practice. Board members visited occasionally too. As the penitentiary was gradually geared more to treatment than punishment, J.H.S.Q. was welcomed to assist more and more in rehabilitation

planning for the men.

To this end, group therapy sessions were begun in St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary late in 1954. A selected group of inmates began to meet weekly with a treatment team consisting of two psychiatrists, a social worker, and the penitentiary psychologist¹. All types of personal problems were discussed. It was believed then to be a unique service in Canada, initiated by a rehabilitation society which requested and received the permission of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries to offer this service.

Late in 1955 the group therapy sessions were also instigated in the Federal Training Centre² for young offenders. A third group was held at J.H.S.Q. offices for released prisoners to help them share together their transition difficulties. It is interesting to note that this latter group for discharged men had been formed on the suggestion of an inmate during a session inside the penitentiary. Permission was obtained from the Remissions Branch in Ottawa to extend this service to prisoners released on ticket-of-leave. As explained to the board³, "it was necessary to obtain this permission because one of the conditions on which a man is released on ticket-of-leave reads: 'he shall not habitually associate with notoriously bad characters such as thieves and prostitutes', and also it is understood that ex-prisoners are not encouraged to meet as a group".

With the opening of the Federal Training Centre in 1952, many young first offenders were moved out of nearby St. Vincent de Paul.

¹This new addition to the penitentiary staff was appointed in 1951.

²Hereafter referred to as F.T.C.

³J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", May 18, 1955.

The new institution provided complete segregation, new type dormitories, and excellent facilities for vocational training. The director, Mr. Martineau, immediately turned to J.H.S.Q. and asked its workers to begin visiting the young prisoners when they were first sentenced, and to also help their families to understand the difficulties involved.

The society felt that F.T.C. offered a real hope for successful rehabilitation work. However, it knew that still more segregation was needed. In 1954 it was noted that S.V.P.¹ was still overcrowded, and that the age range of offenders was growing progressively lower while anti-social behaviour was increasing. At a board meeting² the president explained the selection policy for F.T.C. Before a prisoner was accepted there he must, in general, be below twenty-five years of age, be a first offender and have no more than five years left to serve on his penitentiary sentence. Also, he must meet both certain academic standards and psychological requirements which would be necessary for apprenticeship training. As a result of this type of classification, it necessarily followed that a given number of very young boys in St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary would likely remain in that institution for their entire sentence.

The society was keenly interested in the formation of Alcoholics Anonymous groups at S.V.P. About 1943 there had only been two A.A. members in Montreal. The rapid growth of A.A. in the city provided a real ally for J.H.S.Q. With the same enthusiasm the society supported plans for the formation of a Narcotics Anonymous group in 1955. In order to insure the continuity and regularity of this group in the penitentiary,

¹Refers to St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", March 18, 1954.

the warden arranged for one of his staff to take the responsibility for arranging meetings.

Christmas gifts were given to men at S.V.P. and F.T.C. who had no other friends or relatives. The board members and other interested persons financed this privately¹. Donations were sufficient to cover the cost of small gifts to men in the penitentiaries, as well as some dinners and presents for families of men known to the society.

c) Aid to discharged prisoners.--In promoting the welfare of adult offenders the society relied greatly on its professionally trained casework staff for direct contacts with the client. In 1949 the executive secretary stated that "the objects of casework as applied by a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society must be related to an attempt at (1) the reduction of the recidivist proportion of intake of the penal system, and (2) the re-socialization of individuals through placement and counselling". In 1955 the society stated that it was struggling to find an answer to the question "how do we prevent recidivism".

In 1949 the executive secretary stated that relief giving was incidental to giving counselling-placement service, for the opportunities for giving services with little or no relief expenditures were extremely small. He further stated that the physical needs on leaving jail were such that no adequate counselling service could function until those needs were at least partially satisfied. In 1954 the executive secretary discussed the same problem of 'hand-outs' and commented that "if the social worker is able to convey that he is interested in him as a person, it may enable him at some future time to use more effective

¹Ibid., January 15, 1953. It was stated that \$161.30 had been received, of which \$85.00 had come from board members. Of this amount \$110.91 had been spent on Christmas gifts and the balance of some \$50.00 was used to buy hockey equipment for F.T.C. inmates.

service"¹.

Thus, we see that relief giving was a tool which the professional staff used to carry on their rehabilitation work. Clothes were collected and given to the men in an effort to help them feel adequately dressed when seeking employment. The real object of their work was to form a close relationship, if possible, with the individual and to use their knowledge of human behaviour to enable the client to understand and be more accepting of himself. "Only when an adult offender has attained understanding of why he committed an anti-social act, can help be fostered to develop controls for future acts"². The society, therefore, saw itself offering psychological support to discharged prisoners, usually given through a brief intensive casework relationship, and significantly supporting the person over the first few days of the worst stress after discharge. "Giving a man the opportunity to express his fears, his anxieties, his ambivalence towards society, and his hopes, helps him to work through some of these problems and so leaves him free to take the action he wishes to take"³.

d) Employment.--The society continued to stress the prime importance of employment to help the ex-prisoner to move back into society. It did a great deal to try to expand resources available to its clients. It worked with the Special Placements Division of the National Employment Service to enlist their co-operation and to help them understand the problems confronting men and women with prison records. In 1952 the Deputy Commissioner of Penitentiaries informed J.H.S.Q. that the Special Placement

¹Ibid., March 18, 1954.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", March 12, 1953, executive director's report.

³Ibid., March 12, 1952.

Officers of the National Employment Service had been instructed to notify prospective employers of a man's record. After some discussion the board agreed that this was advisable, although it would certainly not lessen the difficulty of finding employment.

The federal Department of Justice made every effort to co-ordinate these services and invited staff of the Special Placements Divisions across Canada to attend its annual conferences of After-Care Agencies instituted in 1954¹. In 1955 the supervisor of the Special Placements Officers of the Handicapped Division of N.E.S. in Montreal attended a J.H.S.Q. staff meeting. He went away promising to arrange a meeting for J.H.S.Q. staff at which all the Special Placement Officers would be present². It is noteworthy that this aspect of the work of N.E.S. was originally set up in 1941 to help the physically handicapped, and had slowly changed its shift to include working with the mentally and emotionally handicapped. The society was anxious to enlist its co-operation and understanding because many of its clients were emotionally disturbed people who, if able to fit into ordinary work situations at all, needed the greatest personal attention.

The board of directors set up an employment committee in 1953. Each member agreed to write to two or three personal friends in key positions in industry to acquaint them with the needs of J.H.S.Q. and to ask their co-operation in giving employment to ex-prisoners who were thought by the professional staff to be ready for it. The board was also active in dealing with the old problem of bonding. Jobs which required bonding were closed to ex-prisoners. It sought the advice of executives of

¹Infra., p. 122.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", December 14, 1955.

insurance companies in an attempt to set up some bonding system for discharged persons. Although difficult to achieve, some progress seems to be indicated.

The society was very interested in keeping records to show the source of its cases, the age of persons helped, and whether the service given was brief or continued for some weeks or months.

Table VI shows the cases opened in J.H.S.Q. by age groups and convictions. These statistics were compiled for the year 1949 when the society was working to develop a policy of careful screening before giving service, and to direct its efforts towards aiding younger more reformable persons. For comparative purposes figures are given for 1948, the year prior to the serious implementation of this screening policy by the society at that time.

TABLE VI

CASES OPENED, BY AGE GROUPS AND CONVICTIONS,
JOHN HOWARD SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, 1948 AND 1949^a

Cases Opened	Year			
	1948		1949	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
Number of Cases	472	100	286	100
Age Groups:				
Under 25 Years	79	17	96	34
25-50 Years	317	67	165	58
Over 50 Years	77	16	12	8
Convictions:				
First	142	30	158	55
Other	331	70	128	45

^aSource: J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", February 16, 1950.

For the year 1954 the executive director reported that, out of 952 applications received during the year, 235 were opened for continued service and 717 were given brief service. In 1953 out of 268 cases opened for continued service, 29.5 per cent were twenty-five years of age and under, and 48.2 per cent were between the ages of twenty-five and forty years. These figures are very similar to those for 1949, presented in Table VI, when the strict screening policy was first seriously enforced.

e) Court work.--The society found that it was unable to effectively continue its court work because of staff shortages. It was fully aware of the great opportunity to serve in that area, due to the fact that no adult probation system was yet established by provincial authorities. In 1949 it had no qualified caseworker to take over court work, and no funds available for another salary. In 1950 the executive secretary reported to the board that there were countless court cases where great assistance could be rendered but "because facilities are not available in the community it is impractical for us to attempt to interfere as our relief budget cannot provide for the total maintenance ...for an indefinite period"¹.

In the absence of probation officers the society did accept men and women who had been freed on suspended sentence. In 1954 the executive secretary observed that "the judges are beginning to realize we are not asking for leniency but rather we are asking for an evaluation of the person who committed the crime in order that the judge may pass the sentence best suited to bring about that person's ultimate rehabilitation

1J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", February, 1950.

into society"¹. And at the annual meeting the following year it was stated: "We feel we are severely handicapped in our work until there is fuller understanding of our function by both the public and the judges".

f) Casework status.--The agency's new status as a professional casework agency involved the problem of obtaining the services of suitably trained staff. When the executive director proposed to resign in 1955 for personal reasons, she recalled the great difficulty of finding staff a few years earlier and, therefore, added the qualification that in view of her investment in the agency for the past four years she would prefer to continue for another six months if it were not possible to find a qualified person to replace her.

In anticipation of the old problem of finding an executive director, the board asked Mrs. Campbell to prepare for them a description of her job. The board decided that an advertisement should be placed in the two periodicals, Social Casework and Canadian Welfare, and "they were anxious that this advertisement should not be so worded that it would exclude persons other than fully trained caseworkers from applying"². However, one feels that, after studying the executive director's description of her post, the board would no longer be inclined even tentatively to consider the suitability of an administrator who was not a fully trained caseworker. For example, the description³ states in part:

The Executive-Director is responsible for maintaining a high quality of casework and for the professional development of individual case-

¹Ibid., March 19, 1954.

²Ibid., April 20, 1955.

³Ibid., May 18, 1955.

workers on his staff.... He must have vision for the future of the society and the part it can play in the correctional field, and that vision to be practical and worthwhile must be the product of sound education in the field of social welfare....He must be able to interpret to officers of the Department of Penitentiaries...to wardens and matrons of correction institutions, to judges and lawyers, the problems and needs of adult offenders and to suggest - and above all, to demonstrate by the work of his own Agency - professional treatment methods. He must likewise interpret the problems and needs of the adult offender to the community.

g) Participation of the board of directors.--Continuous efforts were made to educate the board of directors about the casework goals of the professional staff, and to enlist their participation in activities to this end. In 1952 the board agreed with the executive secretary that staff members should have an opportunity to present cases at board meetings. The board heard reports of caseworkers on the conferences of After-Care Agencies held annually in Kingston, Ontario, by the Department of Justice. The executive secretary urged board members to attend the annual Congress of Correction meeting in Toronto in 1953; and later suggested that they take out membership in the Canadian Welfare Council in order to obtain literature directly on the work of the Council's Crime and Delinquency Division. Further, it was arranged for board members to attend an open meeting of the Alcoholics Anonymous group in S.V.P., after some members expressed interest in it.

Apparently the conscious efforts made to enlist the board's participation actually created a steady increase in the interest and activity of that body. The need for this was especially urgent after the rotating board was established in 1952. With the limited terms of office it was essential for the vitality of the society that the board should be readily enabled to make its contribution in many areas of activity.

h) Community relationships.--The board was the link between the society and other resources in the community with which to further the work of rehabilitation. Service clubs and individuals were enlisted to give used clothing. The Rotary Club was especially generous. For example, in 1953 it began a custom of giving eight Christmas dinners to families known to J.H.S.Q. In 1954 the social service committee of the Rotary Club of Montreal promised \$650.00 towards the purchase of a new car which the society urgently needed.

Large laundry concerns were contacted for donations of unclaimed clothing. Large department stores were asked to sell clothes at specially reduced prices or to donate from surpluses. Small societies, such as In His Name Society and St. Andrews Society, carried on their traditional co-operation; by such private donations were obtained most of the clothes, tools, and special travelling allowances for the discharged prisoners. The relationship between the society and the Salvation Army was occasionally under discussion, indicating continued efforts to harmonize their activities. In 1952 at the request of the Jewish Child and Family Welfare Bureau of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, J.H.S.Q. decided to extend its services to ex-prisoners of the Jewish faith; the Institute would reimburse any relief expenditures involved.

Throughout this period J.H.S.Q. continued active membership in Welfare Federation and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. During the first six months of 1950, when J.H.S.Q. was without an executive director, the council took over its caseload. As a member of Federation the society conformed to policies of co-operative social welfare action in the community, and worked very closely with two other Federation members, Family Welfare Association of Montreal and the Children's Service Centre,

to meet the needs of the prisoner and his family. In 1951 a co-operative plan was worked out with F.W.A. whereby J.H.S.Q. would continue to handle certain long-term cases where referral to another agency was not felt to be in the best interests of the client who had established a good relationship with a John Howard worker. It was arranged that F.W.A. would apply for Q.P.C.A. funds for such cases and transfer the grant to J.H.S.Q. when received. The individuals thus assisted would be eligible for Q.P.C.A. if transferred to Family Welfare, and this arrangement only meant that J.H.S.Q. could continue to give casework to known clients who were sick and unable to work. Although the arrangement still stands, there has been little use made of it and the practice has been to refer long-term, physically handicapped, cases to the family agency.

There was also close co-ordination with the Boys' Farm and Training School, another member of M.C.S.A., and a sharing of ideas and problems common to the rehabilitation of both juvenile and adult offenders.

One of the most useful and much used resources in the community during this stage of brief, intensive casework was the Mental Hygiene Institute. In 1952 an arrangement was made with the Institute for a consultation period of one-half a day a month for workers for help with their difficult caseload, as well as a seminar of three or four sessions covering the problems of ex-prisoners. In 1954 the consultation sessions were increased to a weekly basis¹ and were very valuable to the staff. In 1954 the board passed the following resolution:

That the Board of the John Howard Society of Quebec wish to express their appreciation of psychiatric services already provided by the Mental Hygiene Institute to the John Howard Society, and request the Board of Directors of the Mental Hygiene Institute to extend their

¹J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", March 24, 1955.

services in order that the John Howard Society may give adequate care to the increasing number of emotionally disturbed adult offenders who apply for help.¹

The two organizations agreed on the increasing need for psychiatric services in the community and discussed ways and means of obtaining a Mental Health Grant from the federal government with which to set up a service geared particularly to prisoner rehabilitation work.

A resource in the community with which the society was slowly developing some direct relationship was the School of Social Work at McGill University. At the same time as the society was suffering from staff shortages the School was training professional staff. In 1949 the executive secretary of J.H.S.Q. reported to the board concerning the need for adequate public relations in the community, prompted in this instance by his attendance at a meeting of the American Penal Association. It was stated there that a good public relations program should include discussion of criminal problems in higher education programs. Relating this point to the Montreal scene, the executive secretary "deeply regretted that very little attention is paid to criminology or penology in our school of social work....Unless social work students and law students are made increasingly aware of penal problems, little can be expected from us in this area". The School tended to see the J.H.S.Q. board, in particular, as a channel through which future workers could be made interested in social work training and career. Certain steps were taken to clarify a reciprocal helping program and in 1955 the director of the School spoke about it further with the board².

¹J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", February 18, 1954.

²Ibid., April 20, 1955.

Whereas the society was keen to enlist the co-operation of as many community resources as possible to further its work, it was also fully aware of its responsibility to point out to the community the gaps in the available resources. This had long been done concerning the needs of unemployed employable persons. With the increasing understanding of the psychiatric handicaps which were the lot of many ex-prisoners, the society spoke out repeatedly against the lack of facilities in the community for its indigent, alcoholic, mentally retarded, feeble-minded, aged, homeless, and vagrant members. It also deplored the fact that these gaps caused overcrowding of jails and the consequent confusion of plans for prisoner rehabilitation.

The chronic problem of transients was still very much alive at the end of the period studied here. In 1955 the following report was given:

We fully recognize these people need help and in many cases can use help,...for the most part they represent a great band of transients moving restlessly across the country....Caring for and meeting the needs of these men is a far greater task than can be carried by a private agency. We also doubt if it comes within the function of an After-Care Agency. We hope that in the near future the challenge presented by these transient men will be met by the community on a nation-wide basis.¹

i) Contacts with the provincial government.--In the society's dealings with provincial government authorities this third period was one of strained relationships. The tensions were aggravated by the society's publicity campaign concerning the Protestant Female Jail, which was set off in 1948 and continued for over a year. A petition, dated July 10, 1948, to Hon. Maurice Duplessis, Attorney-General of Quebec, read as follows:

¹J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", March 24, 1955.

Whereas this Society has for many years been concerned about unsatisfactory conditions at the Protestant Female Jail; Whereas the recent incident about the difficulty of admission of prisoners is just one more indication that conditions are far from satisfactory; and Whereas immediate action for improvement of these conditions is urgently needed:

We respectfully petition that there be immediate arrangements made for: (1) the erection of a separate reformatory for Protestant adult women; (2) the appointment of sufficient, adequately paid, properly trained staff; (3) the provision of trade training, educational and occupational facilities for the prisoners; (4) the segregation of different types of prisoners; (5) the provision of physical and outdoor exercise for the prisoners; (6) the provision of an adult probation system and rehabilitation programme; (7) consultation with the Citizens' Visiting Committee appointed to this jail.¹

To compare this petition of 1948 for reforms at the Protestant Female Jail with one presented to the provincial authorities in 1900 brings out strikingly the similarity of the reforms requested nearly half a century earlier. On November 6, 1900, a special meeting was held of representatives of the Prisoners' Aid Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Christian Association, National Council of Women, and the Sheltering Home. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

That it is the opinion of this representative meeting that the accommodation provided for the prisoners in the Montreal Protestant Female Jail is entirely inadequate in the following respects: (1) There is no room for classification. (2) There is no room for temporary sickness. (3) There is no provision for out-door exercise. (4) There is no provision for occupation. (5) There is not sufficient supervision provided to prevent evil communications.

That a Committee be appointed which shall interview the Government with the purpose of laying the aforesaid grievances before it, and which shall endeavour to make arrangements with the Government for the establishment of a separate Gaol and Reformatory for Protestant Female Prisoners, under the auspices of Protestant Societies of Prison Workers.²

The resolution was presented by a deputation to the provincial government authorities in Quebec City in December, 1900³.

¹J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", July 10, 1948.

²P.A.A., "Minutes of Monthly Meetings", November 6, 1900.

³Reported in The Montreal Star, December 18, 1900.

The letter¹ which accompanied the 1948 petition to the Attorney-General pointed out that it had been passed unanimously at a recent board meeting, and continued:

Because we know that you are interested in our provincial penal institutions, and in the rehabilitation of those committed to them, we are taking the opportunity to bring this particular problem to your attention. We are anxious to know your views on the matter before giving any publicity to this petition and shall appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

However, when the Attorney-General indicated indirectly that only 'in due course' would changes be initiated in the Female Jail, the society then released its publicity campaign. It was supported by The Gazette and other local newspapers. At that time the board felt that this had afforded an opportunity for valuable interpretation of J.H.S.Q. work. A few months later the issue was raised again with more vehemence because some mental cases were being held in the jail without any form of sedatives or treatment awaiting a mental examination, which meant a period of anything between two weeks and three months. These very disturbed inmates were not segregated from the others except for confinement in tiny cells, and their screams could be heard all over the building. The confusion experienced by all inmates was described by the daily press in such terms as 'bedlam', 'antiquated', 'confinement of the Middle Ages', and so forth.

The event which touched off the renewed criticism was the refusal of administrators of the Roman Catholic side of the jail to accept any more suspected mental cases in their section. It must be noted, however, that the Roman Catholic prisoners are cared for by a specially trained order of nuns who are not supported by the government and are, therefore, in a position to state their intake policy. As a result of their action, every suspected mental case, Roman Catholic and Protestant, in the Montreal

¹Dated July 14, 1948.

district was, by provincial government arrangement, to be committed to await mental examination in the Protestant section of the jail which was financed by the government on a per capita basis. Naturally, a large percentage of cases held for long periods were Roman Catholic owing to lack of space in St. Jean de Dieu, the Roman Catholic mental hospital.

In this two-year period the society embarked on a program of public criticism of provincial penal administration which appeared to be contradictory to its previous policy in this area. At the time it was based on a unanimous decision of the board. However, the executive secretary at the time expressed his regrets that he had not been consulted in regard to press releases, and he pointed out his views that prison officials were in a difficult position and should be protected as far as possible. In his monthly report for February, 1950, he mentioned the reaction of prison staff to the society's public criticisms and spoke of "the severe repercussions upon the reception of the caseworker staff in Bordeaux Jail and to a certain extent also at St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary". Moreover, Rev. Gordon Phillips, official Protestant chaplain to Bordeaux and Fullum Jails, a long-standing ally of the society, felt compelled in this matter to challenge J.H.S.Q. on some of its public charges which reflected directly on the staff at Fullum Jail.

Provincial authorities apparently responded to this overt criticism by withdrawing the annual grant of \$1,000.00 to the society. Repeated petitions and efforts were made to have this grant re-instated but no success was achieved to the end of 1955.

j) Contacts with the federal government.--By contrast, the society's relationships with federal government authorities were very co-operative, even friendly. Some indication of this has already been given in discussing

its penitentiary work. In 1949 the executive secretary was invited to assist with the newly introduced training course for penitentiary officers, which was presented by the Penitentiary Commission in conjunction with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Ottawa. The federal government not only accepted the services offered by the voluntary agencies; it set out to improve them. In this respect, special mention must be made of the annual conference on Care and After-Care of Offenders which was first called in 1954 by the Remissions Service of the Department of Justice. The government reimbursed the expenses of one representative from each agency. Included were the Special Placements Officers of the National Employment Service, representatives from the Remissions Service, and from rehabilitation societies across Canada. Problems relating to ticket-of-leave and the work of the rehabilitation agencies were discussed. Representatives of J.H.S.Q. went to the conferences and reported enthusiastically to the board.

J.H.S.Q. accepted men on ticket-of-leave for supervision. Some applications for tickets were made by the society, some by prisoners' families, and in some cases the society was approached by officers of the Remissions Service to accept men for supervision.

In 1949¹ the executive secretary stated that during that year the penitentiary cases had formed twenty-one per cent of the total caseload, and that an even larger percentage of the society's staff time and its money had been expended on behalf of these cases. At that time the average cost in relief alone of penitentiary cases was \$21.50; in other

¹Letter dated December 2, 1949, to the president of J.H.S.Q. for incorporation in the annual report to the Commissioner of Penitentiaries.

cases this cost was \$11.10. The federal government grant of \$1,500.00 was just under ten per cent of the society's total operating costs. By 1953 the society's work was more than fifty per cent with penitentiary cases and it felt that this warranted greater financial support than \$1,500.00 on this basis, and also on the basis of the improved casework services it offered. The federal grant was increased to \$2,320.00 the following year¹.

Another federal government activity which the society watched closely was that of the commission appointed in the spring of 1949 to revise the Criminal Code. It commented with approval on the first reading of a Bill before the House of Commons to introduce into the Criminal Code a provision whereby fines might be paid by instalments. J.H.S.Q. had favoured this for many years. It was mentioned to the board² that in 1947 ninety-five per cent of all indictable and non-indictable offenses in Canada were dealt with by the imposition of a fine.

A research committee was set up by the board of J.H.S.Q. in 1954 under the chairmanship of Professor Maxwell Cohen of the Faculty of Law of McGill University. This committee was extremely active and in less than two years it submitted four briefs, as follows: one to the Royal Commission on the Law of Insanity as a Defence in Criminal Cases, one to the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Capital and Corporal Punishment and Lotteries, one to the Special Committee of the Senate on the Traffic in Narcotic Drugs in Canada, and one to the Royal Commission on the Criminal Law relating to Criminal Sexual Psychopaths.

¹Supra., p. 98.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", Monthly Report of the executive secretary for November, 1949.

k) Other contacts in Canada and outside.--The objectives of J.H.S.Q. brought it into working relationship with other prisoner rehabilitation organizations both in Canada and outside. Naturally a main concern was to support and further the development of the Canadian Penal Association which it had originally fostered. Meanwhile, J.H.S.Q. was also active in the Crime and Delinquency Division of the Canadian Welfare Council.

And so, with the greatest interest did the society participate in the steps taken by the Canadian Penal Association and the Crime and Delinquency Division towards amalgamation. It had been realized that there was ~~not~~ room for two separate national organizations on penal affairs. The amalgamation became effective on October 1, 1955, and the new national united body became known as the Canadian Corrections Association. The first meeting of the new association was held early in 1956 immediately following the annual meeting of executives of After-Care Agencies held by the Remissions Service in Kingston, Ontario. The executive director of J.H.S.Q., Mrs. Campbell, was appointed chairman of the nominating committee for Canada, a fitting recognition of her leadership and vision which helped effect the union. She was a member of the executive committee of the Canadian Penal Association in 1954. A committee was formed to draw up a constitution for the Canadian Corrections Association, which was to be based on the charter of the former Canadian Penal Association.

The society regularly continued to send representatives to the annual American Congress of Corrections held in the United States. In reports to the board it was made clear that these occasions were stimulating for the delegates.

Another influential contact outside Canada, the Howard League of Prison Reform in England, was still looked to as a leader. In 1948 the League had proposed to make an international survey of prison conditions and it had enlisted the ready co-operation of J.H.S.Q. Unfortunately the League's proposal did not mature. The following year J.H.S.Q. accepted the renewed invitation of the Howard League to act as its correspondent on matters relating to penal reform in Quebec.

It is interesting to note that from organizations in both the United States and Great Britain the society subscribed to periodical literature covering its field, which was a useful resource particularly to the caseworkers.

An interesting new affiliation was made just at the close of the period under study. On a trial basis for one year the society took out membership in the newly formed International Society of Criminology in Paris, which was set up to conduct research into the causes of crime and recidivism. The letter of invitation had come to J.H.S.Q. through Father Mailloux, noted psychiatrist on the faculty of the University of Montreal who was very active in the field of criminology.

3. Assessment

This latest period in the history of J.H.S.Q. has been well described by the statement "we are a casework agency and, therefore, interested in treating causes, not symptoms"¹. This statement was based on the knowledge that the causes of social maladjustment are complicated mixtures of economic, social, and emotional factors. Rehabilitation of the prisoner means helping him to learn, or re-learn, the feeling that he belongs to society and that he is personally able to make a definite contribution to

¹J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Annual Meeting", March 24, 1955.

it. Rehabilitation also means more and more striving to develop an understanding attitude in society, no longer to set the prisoner apart but rather to help him to feel that he is one with the rest of the community.

The reorganization of the society into a professional casework agency began in 1947. It was one of the direct results of the implementation by the federal government of recommendations of the Archambault Commission Report published in 1938. The commission had recognized the great value of services offered by voluntary prisoner rehabilitation societies and had encouraged their development. Given this impetus, Welfare Federation and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies supported the reorganization plans in principle, and in 1947 Federation promised supplementary grants to enable the society to proceed at once.

For the first time in its sixty-year history the society was now able to concentrate on the work it set out to do, without spending undue time and energy finding the financial means. The society often commented with satisfaction upon the full sympathetic support that it was receiving from Federation. It was also appreciative of its financial grants from the federal government, not entirely because of their size, but even more perhaps because of the real co-operative support they symbolized. It was noted in 1953 that "if we save only one man a year from returning to penitentiary, we have saved the government more than their total present grant to us"¹.

In this period J.H.S.Q. concentrated on the development of its casework services to better meet the needs of adult offenders. Furthermore, it tried to make as effective as possible the brief intensive case-

¹Ibid., March 12, 1953.

work which is the type of service its clients use most frequently. In attempting to redefine its goals the society frequently analyzed itself. "We need to see ourselves in our true light. We are not now doing a thoroughly professional job. We need better and more purposeful procedures. We need to use the tools which modern science has given us; we need research - research to evaluate our methods and procedures, research to tell us where we succeed and where we fail"¹.

It is always difficult for the professional staff to establish a criterion of successful rehabilitation. As one caseworker put it to the board², if 'complete integration into family and community' is the criterion used, then very few of the total prison population could achieve this goal. On the other hand, if a relatively loose criterion such as 'no return to a penal institution' is used, then many ex-prisoners would achieve success. He added:

We feel that a realistic basis for judging success would fall somewhere between these two extremes. It would consider the level of psychological, social and moral integration of the individual being judged, and in terms of this we see success as movement of the person towards a fuller development of his personality. In one case, success may be found purely in the man's ability to hold a permanent job; in another it may be a woman's acceptance of her responsibility as a mother; in yet another, a man who has had six penitentiary sentences is achieving success in staying out of prison even though he continues to lead a marginal life.

In assuming the name of John Howard, the society feels that it has taken on a renewed responsibility for penal reform, in which its fellow-societies in other provinces of Canada are more fruitfully engaged. It felt isolated in attempting to meet this responsibility because neither of the other two rehabilitation societies in Montreal had undertaken to become very actively involved in penal reform work. Except for these

¹Ibid., March 24, 1955, executive director.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", November 13, 1953, Mr. E.V. Shiner's presentation 'Closing Cases'.

three societies in Montreal, which are separated traditionally along ethnic and religious lines, only one other such society exists in the entire province¹.

The standstill with provincial government authorities which developed in this period was the result of the society's endeavours to get penal reforms in one provincial institution situated in Montreal. These reforms were to a large extent the same ones urgently requested by the society's predecessor, the Prisoners' Aid Association, half a century earlier, and subsequently repeated with considerable diplomacy until the outburst of 1948. It would appear to be more than mere coincidence that in 1949 an official of the national body, the Canadian Penal Association, declared from one of the western provinces that "provincial jails are little more than crime schools". This was a significant re-statement of the publicity put forth by J.H.S.Q. that same year, and caused a stir of reaction in various provinces, including Quebec.

While forced to accept its handicaps in assuming leadership in penal reform on the provincial government level, the society felt it could endeavour to function more effectively at the lay level. In 1952², after discussing these problems, the board concluded "that the John Howard Society should give leadership in bringing together the different factions of the community who would be interested in penal reform on the provincial level". It was the feeling of the board "that the English-speaking community looks to the John Howard Society in penal reform, but in order to

¹This society is in Quebec City. It is working very competently with both juvenile and adult offenders, and is directly affiliated with Laval University. It has been successful in obtaining Mental Health Grants from the federal government to increase its financial resources.

²J.H.S.Q., "Minutes of Board Meetings", May 14, 1952.

carry out these reforms it is essential to have the backing of the whole community¹. It may be recalled here that in the province of Quebec four-fifths of the population is French-speaking and that the English-speaking group is a minority 'pressure group'.

At the close of this period in 1955 there are strong indications that the society had taken very concrete steps towards defining its goals, and towards adopting techniques to further its individual rehabilitation work. It had also realized that to obtain provincial penal reforms a revision of methods was absolutely essential and must include a concerted effort on the part of the community. The friendly liaison with federal government authorities, which was an impetus to the reorganization in 1947, continued to give encouragement and support to the society's further development at the local level.

¹Ibid., October 23, 1952.

CONCLUSION

The history of the John Howard Society of Quebec is, throughout, the history of a welfare organization which worked with and was supported by a small minority group in the socially segregated community of Montreal. One of the objectives of this thesis was to analyze the relationship between J.H.S.Q. and the non-Catholic community within the larger community of Montreal which is traditionally predominantly French-speaking Roman Catholic.

The founders of the Prisoners' Aid Association in 1892 conceived it as a religious activity of the minority group of Anglican church members in Montreal. Later they broadened their concepts somewhat and made it an interdenominational Protestant church activity.

The association was guided through its middle period by men and women who had broad concepts of prisoner rehabilitation and prison reform. These leaders found it very difficult to accept the ethnic and religious demarcations to their work which were imposed on it by the very nature of the community in which the association functioned.

In its third, most recent, period the association has quite fully accepted these limitations as far as its direct work with men and women is concerned. Furthermore, it has had the wisdom to realize fully that local and provincial support for all aspects of its work can only be gained by joining forces with the French-speaking Roman Catholic majority in the community of Montreal and in the Province of Quebec. In the last period it has had considerable success in this approach, and plans for the future to continue to concentrate on uniting with this group in the view that whatever support will be given to the overwhelming majority in the province

will tend also to come to the minority. An inherent difficulty in this plan has been the fact that concerted action by the different culturally and ethnically oriented bodies has been slow because each Federation has been at a different stage of development. Parallel activity has not been easily achieved, but definite steps have been taken in that direction. The system of rotating board membership set up as a recent development in the society has been an important step to increase the interpretation of the work to the public.

In the non-Roman Catholic community of Montreal the society maintained a close working relationship with certain other welfare agencies and societies during almost its whole history. In 1955 one of the four divisions of Welfare Federation was the Family Welfare Group. It was composed of the following member agencies: the John Howard Society, the Sheltering Home, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, Family Welfare Association of Montreal, and Travellers' Aid Society. It is significant to note that the first three agencies named, J.H.S.Q., the Sheltering Home, and S.P.W.C., had worked together on mutual problems since the end of the nineteenth century. This close relationship had included informal co-operation and also more direct contacts when specific issues such as the Protestant Women's Jail were being raised. The last two agencies named, Family Welfare Association and Travellers' Aid, began to co-operate with J.H.S.Q. when they came into being.

Also, within the non-Roman Catholic community of Montreal, the society has continually since its inception worked with the Salvation Army. This has entailed some misunderstandings which have arisen because of the tendency to overlap in the scope of activities. However, there has been maintained, despite this, a definite working relationship and ex-

change of resources.

Although it is not within the scope of this thesis to analyze the attitudes of these other agencies to J.H.S.Q. over the years, it is valid to infer that the association was considered a helpful ally which would help other organizations to meet their objectives, as well as join forces to meet mutual ones.

Moreover, while the organization was maintained by a small minority group in the community, it also functioned under another major handicap. Public opinion generally in both the non-Roman Catholic and in the much greater Roman Catholic communities was not enlightened with regard to the need for the association's work or with regard to the need for public support to facilitate the return of the discharged prisoner into community life. Although the society did what it could to create public interest, it was but a small voice heard by few.

Within the context of the predominantly French-speaking city of Montreal, the society as a minority sponsored organization received regular municipal financial support after 1944. It might be noted that in latter years this came indirectly to J.H.S.Q. through the medium of Welfare Federation, the larger Protestant, non-Roman Catholic body which was recognized directly by city authorities.

It is clear that the work of J.H.S.Q. was complicated by the fact that the penal institutions with which it worked were under two separate jurisdictions. Over the years the philosophies behind these separate jurisdictions became increasingly at variance. Federal penitentiary administration underwent a major revision in 1947 to include a more effective treatment program for the adult offender which was more closely geared to contemporary thought in other countries than ever before in the

history of Canadian penal institutions. However, the administration of provincial jails reflected no similar shift in theories or practices. This dissimilarity had important bearings upon the society's work. When it set out to rehabilitate prisoners discharged from both types of institutions it found itself dealing with individuals who had been under the influence of two quite different kinds of prison administration. The length of sentence served determined the type of institution and the consequent treatment which the prisoner received. The society found a definite correlation between the effectiveness of the treatment program during incarceration and the ability of the discharged person to use rehabilitation services upon release.

The association as a minority group worked with provincial government authorities and for years it received certain nominal financial assistance for its rehabilitation work. However, the society also felt responsible to approach the Attorney-General's Department as a prison reform group. From its early years it tried to encourage the provincial government authorities to recognize the need to allow visiting committees of citizens of Montreal to take a responsible role in the welfare of prisoners in local jails and, thereby, to maintain a link between life in prison and in the community. Its proposals were based mainly on successful experiences in England which dated back to the Prisons Act of 1877 in that country¹. Visiting committees were accepted in England as a necessary and advantageous part of the prison administration system and were re-enacted by the Prisons Act of 1948 with very little change. By the 1948 Act the powers and duties of visiting committees fell into three main groups, as follows: (1) as an independent and non-official body with the right to enter prison or a Borstal

¹Fox, op. cit., p. 85.

institution at any time to see any prisoner or inmate. Any prisoner might apply to see them to make a complaint or application. This was a valuable safeguard for the prisoner against harshness or oppression by authority; (2) as the superior authority for maintenance of discipline in the establishment. The governor could deal only with minor offences against the rules; more serious offences must come before the visiting committee. In particular any offence in prison for which corporal punishment might be imposed must be dealt with by the visiting committee; (3) the committees were charged with the general oversight of the management of the prisons and Borstals and reported to the Secretary of State on the way in which the statutes and statutory rules were applied by the governors and their staffs. This was done by means of an annual report, though it did not preclude interim representations on particular matters when necessary¹.

It is also interesting to note here, in part, the views of the Prison Commissioners in England on the visiting committees. "It makes for public confidence in the administration of discipline; it creates local sympathy and interest in the work going on inside the walls; it spreads necessary knowledge among magistrates of what is the actual result of the sentences they pass in court"².

This was the kind of citizen participation which J.H.S.Q. and its predecessors had continually tried to encourage in the jails in Montreal. In its stead, they had been permitted certain restricted visiting privileges which denied all right to criticize publicly. This limited opportunity to participate was meted out to only those citizens

¹Ibid.

²Stated in their annual report for 1947, cited in Fox, op. cit., p. 86.

who were already interested and active in helping the prisoner, and, therefore, allowed very little opportunity to develop the interests of any new group in the community. In other words, it appears that the authorities of the province of Quebec have not really admitted a responsibility to the citizens for the penal institutions under provincial jurisdiction.

While after many years the society is still on sufferance with provincial authorities as a minority pressure group, since 1947 it has been recognized by federal government authorities as a helpful resource in the total treatment plan for adult offenders under federal jurisdiction. The federal government has in the past decade entered significantly into the field of social welfare. This raises the whole question of federal-provincial jurisdiction over welfare matters and the financial ability to pay for such services. The question is, of course, beyond the scope of this thesis.

Another main assumption which was to be tested out was that the society may have been successful in keeping abreast of current trends in criminology. A linking together of the assessments of each of the three historical periods will show the whole trend in the association's work. Throughout the first period, as the P.A.A., one found a continuity of the theory and practice that religious influence was the best means of rehabilitation. The association rigidly adhered to this idea for a quarter of a century after concepts of penal reform had changed elsewhere. The newer concepts emphasized financial independence and good habits of industry as being more fundamental to rehabilitation than moral regeneration. This firm conviction of the leaders of P.A.A. reminds one of a remark made to the effect that a person, who has never had religion, can

no more make use of it when he is in trouble than can a person who has never learned to count begin to do so when he has need of it.

In the second period, as P.A. & W.A., there was quite a wide divergence between theory and practice in the organization. Its leaders accepted advanced ideas of penal reform, criminology, and prisoner rehabilitation. This thinking was premised on the theory of the multiple causation of crime and the knowledge that a combination of biological, economic, and sociological factors were involved in each individual's failure to adjust satisfactorily to society. With this belief the association emphasized the value of helping the individual in court where some of the multiple causes of crime could be considered and dealt with before, or in lieu of, sentence to a penal institution. It saw this work also as a valuable opportunity to interpret this knowledge to the magistrates in the courts. Furthermore, the association strove to influence the general public in Montreal and further afield in Canada in order that these ideas might be shared and acted upon by other groups.

However, the practices of P.A. & W.A. were handicapped mainly by the depression and the second world war. They were also handicapped by the persistent lack of acceptance by government authorities. This seemed to be much more aggravating to the leaders of P.A. & W.A. than to those of P.A.A. because of their broader visions and aspirations.

Some perspective is gained from the vantage point of the present day which tends to make more positive the results of those frustrating years. Now it appears that the financial restrictions and the affiliation with Financial Federation combined in those days to exert pressures which had, at least, long-term advantages to the association. It was forced to move very slowly and to restrict and condense its ideas into a selective

working program which was practical in the community of Montreal wherein it functioned. It was stimulating to find that P.A. & W.A. had a breadth of vision which encompassed much wider objectives than that of its religiously oriented predecessor. But it had swung to the opposite extreme almost insofar as it had hopes and plans closely comparable with those of more advanced countries, but too advanced at the time for the Canadian public and quite impractical and unrealizable in Montreal. One of the leaders at the time admitted with reluctance that, particularly in the community setting in which P.A. & W.A. was functioning, prisoner rehabilitation work was "the Cinderella of the Social Services", even in the view of other social welfare workers.

Along with the numerous advantages of membership in Welfare Federation, the association was acutely aware of two major disadvantages. One of these was that it was influenced by Federation to discontinue propaganda for the abolition of capital punishment. The second one, which was more intimate to the association and was, therefore, more difficult to accept, was to abide with the ethnic and religious demarcations to its work in conformity with Federation policy. In theory the association appears never to have really agreed with these two aspects of Federation thinking; but in practice it did conform. And out of its efforts to practice a selective program along ethnic lines was born a concrete plan more advantageous to the whole community. The association furthered the understanding of the French-speaking majority and encouraged the contribution which the Roman Catholics were making to the rehabilitation field. As the idea of prisoner rehabilitation was gradually accepted in the Roman Catholic community, the association aided in the establishment of an organization analogous to its own. Although the developments were rather slow

at first, it does appear that the association did much to create a parallel organization which has the support of the vast majority of the community and which, in the long run, will be in a much better position to gain general support than the association itself has been in the past. It is hoped that the close co-operation of the two organizations will be continued and will involve a reciprocal sharing of ideas and plans.

In the third and last period, as the John Howard Society, the association entered another distinctive phase of activity. The work of its professional caseworkers is based on a deeper understanding of the theory of the multiple causation of crime with an increasing emphasis on the importance of the emotional factors involved. Once again, after the troubled middle period, the association is able like the P.A.A. to correlate closely its accepted theory and practice. Of course, they have changed remarkably. The tremendous change has been only in the means of helping. The end, the happiness of the individual, has not changed over the years. Furthermore, the association knows and accepts quite fully the limitations within which it functions in the community. These remain narrow, but clearly defined, so that the concentration is on depth and strength rather than breadth. There is also a sound vision, based on experience and real understanding, to widen the horizons in the community in the future and to help unite the various factions which divide it in welfare work.

It is interesting to note that there has been in the community an increasing interest in prisoner rehabilitation and prison reform matters. There seems to be a definite tendency for this changing attitude to correspond with the marked increase in the public interest in mental health matters generally. It would appear that the field of mental health is the approach through which the community will be enabled to take more responsibility for

the problems of its adult offenders. This correlation brings up the fact that in a frontier country, such as Canada, the first essential work to be tackled must be to master the natural resources of the country for the purpose of developing economic stability. Only after some considerable measure of success in this area, can the question of human resources receive the attention it must have. Another explanation for the delayed awakening of public interest in social welfare matters in Canada must, to a large extent, be that these matters, including the care of prisoners, are split on three levels corresponding to municipal, provincial, and federal government jurisdictions.

A lesser assumption to be examined was that there may begin to emerge within the society a differentiation between the role of the leaders or policy-forming group, and that of the functionaries or caseworkers. Each of the three periods of the association's development has brought about a gradual differentiation and has been a step forward in accommodating the views and efforts of two different specialized groups engaged in its work.

In the P.A.A. period the officers of the association actually did most of the work with the prisoners before and after discharge. In other words, the same persons who led in policy formation were occupied in carrying it out.

After 1931, in the second period, a part-time executive secretary and a full-time caseworker were paid staff members or functionaries. However, the distinction between the role of these workers and that of the leaders was still not made clear. The executive secretary was an active member of the executive committee of the board of directors. He was, therefore, involved in policy making as well as in administrative duties

and casework.

In the third period a clear differentiation was drawn between the role of the leaders and that of the functionaries. A core of professional caseworkers headed by the executive director was entrusted with carrying out the rehabilitation work. The society made the role of these functionaries very specific. The executive director has no membership and no vote in the board of directors or its executive committee. Therefore, the head functionary has no direct, active role in policy formation. Secretarial duties necessitate her presence at all board meetings to record the minutes. Nevertheless, the executive director's role does involve a great deal of extremely important direct influence upon the policy formation by the leaders. As an experienced functionary, the executive director interprets the professional work to the board and guides it in its leadership in the community. This liaison is particularly essential with rotating board membership which was practiced in an effort to get wider public support of the work of the organization.

In conclusion, the John Howard Society of Quebec has for more than sixty years steadily developed its work and influence in the community of Montreal. In its history there have been periods of slow and rapid growth. The association has been led by a few people who were keenly interested in the welfare of the adult offender, and who were also convinced that the community needed the services which it tried to offer. The association has demonstrated considerable ability to shift and re-define its aims through many difficulties in order to carry out a meaningful and responsible role in the total welfare field of Montreal.

Over the years this small society has had the conviction to work for recognition in Montreal, throughout Canada, and abroad. It has worked

with some success to stimulate public interest in the whole field of penal reform, and has assumed a leadership role in this respect.

The visions of the few men and women who led the society through its development have become steadily broader and, yet, more realistic. They have been tempered with patience born of a deeper understanding and acceptance of the social welfare philosophy of the majority in this French-speaking Roman Catholic community. For the future there appears to await a leadership role again and the John Howard Society looks forward to it. "We need vision - above all vision to see the tremendous significance of our work. The stakes are no less than the lives of fellow humans, the priceless dignity of the human personality".

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