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UK prison reformers

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Abstract

Part 1 (UK prison reformers) in a general tribute to some of the people who improved the lot of prisoners in Australia and comparable jurisdictions.

Series introduction

Modern resistance to prison reform comes from two main movements. The first is the discourse analysis of Michel Foucault and the critical theory/neo-Marxism of Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno and the Frankfurt School, both of which focus on how power relationships in society have affected discourse throughout history, and particularly how discourse has been used to control and shape social groups (both blatantly and subtly). With regard to prison reform, the critical theory and Foucauldian position is generally that charitable prisoner reformers (along with the state) are using their unequal power to coerce prisoners to become submissive. The glowing reports of prisoners who have been helped by benevolent prison reformers have not been trusted by these theorists because of the control of the discourse by the powerful or the ability of prisoners to manipulate generous reformers by feigning reform or conversion. This negative interpretation may have some relevance, but unfortunately the possible truth of the glowing reports and of the altruistic motivations of the reformers may be disregarded. In a 2014 study of a pioneering rehabilitation program by the Christian reformer, Sarah Martin during the period 1818 to 1843, Rogers investigated the post-release experiences of 43 former prisoners and their families. Rogers found that the benefits of the program included desistance from crime and improved employment and family relationships. She also found that 'Testimony from former offenders and their relatives suggest[ed] many did not see Christian ideals of duty and

fellowship as alien to their values; rather, these corresponded with a laboring-class ethics of kinship and neighborliness' (p. 721). Rogers also concludes that '…the Foucauldian premise that state and voluntary institutions worked to reconstruct their subjects as "docile bodies" has tended to obscure the intimate and affective relationships that sometimes bound reformers and those they hoped to serve' (p. 722). Booth similarly defends the genuine affective relationships of reformers: 'Evangelical discourse is disparaged among academics and activists today, largely because of the political platforms of the churches that most co-opted television and social media. Yet faith-based initiatives should not be discounted, then or now. They may provide empowering aid to refugees, migrants, survivors of abuse, those lacking housing, food, and health care—too many now still in want like the Bristol children, women, and men served by Carpenter and Cobbe [two reformers]. Religious organizations may even help repair the underlying causes of inequality and suffering without aggrandizing an evangelist… Automatic distaste for religious discourse can miss the narratives that support wider allyship, and may downplay the key role, for example, of the Black church in the civil rights movement (Booth 2023, pp. 662,670).'

The second movement is the prison abolitionist movement which generally frames prison reform as upholding the violent prison industrial complex (whether purposefully or inadvertently). This aspect (and the position of the Australian Prison Reform Journal) is discussed in the article 'Reform or abolish prisons?' and on the journal About page (Russell 2023).

What follows is a tribute to some of the dedicated people who improved the lot of prisoners in the United Kingdom. Many names are missing, but these brief profiles will hopefully provide an indication of the persistence, sacrifice and courage it took to advocate for the rehabilitation and humane treatment of people generally despised and rejected by society, often from birth without ever being habilitated in the first place.

UK prison reformers

James Edward Oglethorpe (1696-1785)

James Oglethorpe was an early prison reformer, although not a very effective one since he was in many ways before his time. The general public was only mildly offended by the atrocious prison conditions and sheer brutality and corruption of the prisons that they heard about through Oglethorpe's reports, especially since the police force was weak and an estimated 12% of London's population was regularly engaged in criminal activity (Pitofsky 2000, p. 99).

Oglethorpe followed the pathway of his father and two older brothers as Oxford-educated soldiers and MPs. While serving as an MP, one of his friends was sentenced to debtor's prison. Oglethorpe discovered that his friend had stopped paying fees to the warden and was sent to a smallpox-infected section where he contracted the disease and died. Oglethorpe turned his attention to improving prison conditions and in 1729 chaired the 'gaols committee' that investigated and reported on the state of gaols in the kingdom, Oglethorpe's committee reported, for example, that the warden of the Marshalsea debtors' prison routinely tortured debtors, and refused to release the bodies of the deceased to families unless exorbitant fees were paid. The bodies of debtors who had died from torture, disease and starvation were stacked in a yard and disobedient prisoners made to sleep amongst them. One of the findings of the reports was that the prisons run by the brutal and greedy wardens were horrific, yet prisons supervised by judges (such as the King's Bench) were in comparison close to model prisons. The committee implemented prison reforms in the warden-run prisons, including the release of hundreds of debtors (together with their spouses and children who had accompanied the debtors into prison, only to be raped by the guards). When Oglethorpe and his committee gained popularity and he tried to have the corrupt wardens punished, conservatives rallied and attacked them personally as amateur zealots and pulled strings to get the accused wardens exonerated. Oglethorpe disbanded his committee in disgust and changed his focus. Having suffered religious persecution (as a Jacobite), and as a solution to the expanded number of destitute debtors in England, Oglethorpe suggested to the king that a new colony be established between the British

colony of South Carolina and Spanish Florida, with debtors and unemployed people making up most of the settlers. The king was pleased to have a buffer between Spanish Florida and lucrative South Carolina, so the petition was approved in 1732 and Oglethorpe appointed to lead the Trustees governing the new colony of Georgia (named after King George II). Oglethorpe had laws passed that banned slavery, limited land ownership to 50 acres, and outlawed hard liquor, making it very different from the other English colonies. In 1733, Oglethorpe accompanied the first settlers and founded the capital city of Savannah. When war broke out between England and Spain in 1739, Oglethorpe successfully led battles against the Spanish. Oglethorpe made peace treaties with the local Native American tribes and respected their culture. He kept his promises and maintained good relations with the tribes. Oglethorpe also allowed for persecuted minorities, such as the Lutherans and Jews, to settle in Georgia, unpopular though that policy was. Oglethorpe returned to England in 1743 and resumed his parliamentary career.

Further reading: Pitofsky 2000.

John Howard (1726–1790)

The most famous and influential English prison reformer is usually considered to be John Howard. He inherited a fortune in 1742 and became Bedfordshire's High Sheriff in 1773. During an inspection of Bedford Prison, Howard was horrified by its filth and corruption. At a time when English prisoners were 'expiring on floors, in loathsome cells, of pestilent fevers and the confluent smallpox' (Howard cited in Smith 2008, p. 66), this early reformer and philanthropist began to advocate for improved prison cleanliness and air circulation to help eliminate contagious diseases, as well as improvements in prison design, prisoner rehabilitation, single cells and religious instruction (Howard was a strong Calvinist) (Smith 2008; Vander Beken 2016). Howard spent the remainder of his life visiting hundreds of prisons throughout the world; writing volumes on the state of prisons; providing evidence to the House of Commons on prison design, rehabilitation and public health; and successfully calling for legislative change which led to the Penitentiary Act of 1779. John Howard contracted typhus during a Ukraine prison visit and died in 1790. The John Howard League for Penal Reform in the United Kingdom; the John Howard Society of Canada; and the New

Zealand Howard League all carry on his work today. He wrote many genuine letters to dissuade the people who wanted to erect a statue in his honour.

Further reading: West 2011.

George Paul (1746–1820)

Like Howard before him, Sir George Onesiphorus Paul came into a sizeable inheritance; was made a High Sheriff (of Gloucester in 1780); believed in severe punishment; and began making prisons healthier after being disgusted with the local county gaol. Howard's report on Gloucester prison was highly critical. Paul realised it would be too difficult to update the existing gaol so he gained political support for a new gaol. He worked with the leading prison architect, William Blackburn (1750-1790) to design and construct a secure, functional prison that was also healthy. The gaol was ventilated with open portcullises, yet had spacious heated cells reached by open balconies. A ward for health checks was placed at the gaol's entrance. The prison also had a chapel, a dispensary, workhouses, two infirmaries and a foul ward (a workhouse and infirmary for people with venereal disease). The gaol had sections for the general prison population as well as serious offenders, minor offenders and people on remand, with male and female sections within each of these. Paul, like Howard, believed in single cells so that inmates could reflect on their life of crime. The prisoners were well fed and not kept in irons. In 1784, Paul wrote a pamphlet on how to prevent the spread of diseases in prisons through appropriate design (Paul 1817). His prison designs and prison rules became a model for many other prisons. As with Howard who had inspired him, Paul was serious about rehabilitation through work, education and Christian instruction.

Further reading: Paul 1784.

Samuel Romilley (1757-1818)

Sir Samuel Romilly was an accidental prison reformer. Self-educated, Romilly became the most outstanding chancery lawyer then chancellor of Durham and solicitor general. Romilly was an idealist, intent on bringing in major legal reforms which he formulated before

attaining high office (in the hope that he would begin his reforms as soon as he gained power). He entered the House of Commons after turning down the position a couple of times because he did not want to be beholden to anyone. Inspired by libertarians, reformers and theorists such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham, he successfully argued against the use of capital punishment for minor felonies and misdemeanours, such as begging by sailors and soldiers without a permit. Romilly argued that more moderate punishments such as prison would result in more criminals being punished, and act as a better deterrent for crime. His reforms were carried on after his death, with an expansion of the prison system being required as more and more people received a prison rather than death sentence. Because the former overcrowded, dilapidated and putrid gaols were supplemented by new larger prisons, Romilley's campaigns had the effect of improving prison conditions.

Further reading: Port n.d.

Elizabeth Fry (1780–1845)

Like James Oglethorpe, John Howard and George Paul, Elizabeth Fry was an influential English prison and social reformer and philanthropist, inspired by her Christian faith. Fry became a Quaker, moved by the preaching of travelling American Quaker missionaries and abolitionists, Priscilla Gurney (with whom Fry was staying), Deborah Darby, Stephen Grellet and William Savery. Also like Oglethorpe, Howard and Paul, Fry was appalled at prison conditions, in her case Newgate Prison, from which prisoners were transported to the Australian colonies. She too was instrumental in English legislation – the Gaols Act of 1823, which segregated prisons according to gender and introduced female warders for female prisoners to protect them from rape and sexual exploitation; and the Prisons Act of 1835 which introduced prison inspectors and the central control of all prisons and gaols. Unlike Howard and Paul, Fry advocated shared cells to encourage socialization and she was more interested in hand-on assistance for inmates - providing improved education and treatment of prisoners, especially female inmates - than she was about reforming the entire penal system as Howard was. Fry became known as the "Angel of Prisons" and was supported in

her endeavours by Queen Victoria; the Russian Emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I and their wives and mother; King Frederick William IV of Prussia; and Sir Robert Peel (twice PM and founder of the Metropolitan Police Service, with officers nicknamed 'bobbies' and 'peelers' in his honour). Fry and her female friends founded the Association for the Reformation of the Female Prisoners in Newgate, teaching sewing, needlework and knitting skills to improve their mental state and future prospects, and they worked hard against harsh treatment and the death penalty (getting death sentences commuted to deportation to Australia). Fry and friends visited convicts in many prisons and transport ships before they set sail providing a package with Bible, food, utensils and sewing equipment. She assisted the homeless and established nightly shelters and societies to visit the poor throughout Britain. Fry even established a training school for nurses, some of whom treated wounded soldiers in the Crimean War under Florence Nightingale. Fry successfully lobbied for better conditions for women in the colonies, and helped end transportation and slavery. Upon her death, she was honoured by the establishment of the Elizabeth Fry Refuge which provided temporary shelter for women after release from prison.

Further reading: Isba 2010.

Samuel Tuke (1784-1857)

Samuel Tuke was another Quaker philanthropist. His grandfather William Tuke and father Henry Tuke co-founded the York Retreat in 1796 to treat people with mental health needs. The York Retreat was built by Quakers as a reaction to the existing harsh asylums and their brutal treatment of patients. The Retreat was derided at first, but Samuel continued the work and helped popularise the humane approach (what he termed 'moral treatment') in his 1813 book, *Description of the retreat near York.* The moral treatment influenced asylums internationally, particularly in the UK and US.

Further reading: Tuke 1813; Digby 1985.

The Rathbone family:

William Rathbone V (1787-1868) was a Quaker until disowned by the Quakers in 1820 because of a critical pamphlet his father, the slavery abolitionist and universal suffrage leader **William Rathbone IV** (1757-1809) wrote about Quaker religious intolerance during the Irish Famine. The Rathbone family were wealthy merchants. William Rathbone V worked in the family business and was elected as Liverpool Councillor in 1835 and Lord Mayor in 1837. He carried out a number of significant reforms, including establishing wash-houses and public baths following the 1832 cholera epidemic. He and his wife Elizabeth cared for the American prison reformer, Dorothea Dix for a year and a half following what was probably a mental breakdown and severe depression. Their eldest son, William Rathbone VI (1819-1902) was again a merchant and philanthropist, as well as a Liberal politician who helped reform workhouses and establish with Florence Nightingale a district nursing system throughout England. One of William Rathbone VI's daughters, Eleanor Rathbone (1872-1946) became a prominent social reformer on behalf of refugees, prisoners of war and political prisoners in hot spots around the world.

Further reading: Cohen 2004; Pederson 2011.

Sarah Martin (1791-1843)

Sarah Martin was an orphan raised by her grandmother. She was apprenticed to a dressmaker in Yarmouth at the age of 14. Following her conversion at age 19, Martin began to teach Sunday School and then taught children at the workhouse infirmary each Monday. She visited prisoners at Great Yarmouth Borough Gaol from 1818, reading the Bible, teaching inmates to read, write and make craftworks and books, and leading Sunday chapel services. Unusually, Martin aided prisoners not only during their prison term, but following release, helping them find employment and supporting them until they got resettled (Rogers 2014, p. 722). Reducing the recidivism rate was one of her major objectives. Like Howard and Fry, Martin believed in 'uniting kindness with strictness' and treated inmates as a friend and fellow sinner (Rogers 2014, pp.724, 726). Unlike Howard and Fry, Martin was a worker and neighbour of the inmates. She refused the town corporation's offer of paying

her £12 per year for her service (she saw payment as an 'odious thing, a fetter'), but relented when the authorities threatened to bar her from the jail if she did not take the allowance. Nevertheless, Martin invested over £400 of her own money into her prison work. The Prison Inspector took an interest in Martin's methods, recommending them in his reports and suggesting that they be adopted elsewhere with the formation of Discharged Prisoner Associations. Rogers recounts a number of examples of genuine voluntary positive responses from 'reclaimed' inmates that go well beyond mere deference or submission to authority. Martin was a friend and considered herself as merely a vessel of God rather than a patron (Rogers 2014, pp.724, 726). Following her death, Martin's poetry was published and her name was inscribed under the topmost name of Elizabeth Fry on the Reformers' Monument, Kensal Green Cemetery.

Further reading: Rogers 2014.

Mary Carpenter (1807-1877)

Mary Carpenter was the daughter of a Unitarian minister and educator at Exeter then Bristol. Mary was a devout Christian who received a classical education in her father's schools. She ran the family's school for girls then obeyed a calling to open one of the first charitable Ragged Schools for street children in 1846, which provided a higher standard of education than then-existing Ragged Schools (Booth 2023). In 1851, Carpenter's book on her reformatory schools for impoverished children and 'juvenile offenders' was published, 40 years before the concept and study of 'juvenile delinquency' in the United States gained momentum. Carpenter also engaged in 'child-saving' activities by establishing homes for destitute and criminal children from the early 1850s. At the time, juvenile offenders were tried and punished in the same way as adults. Carpenter was involved in reform for children and the abolition of slavery throughout Britain and in India and the United States, and her work with children greatly influenced the Australian colonies from 1860 (McGuire 2001; Ramsland 1980).

Further reading: Ramsland 1980; Booth 2023.

Charles Dickens (1812-1870)

Following the 1836 publication of The Pickwick Papers, Charles Dickens became the world's most famous novelist. This influence, which remained with him until his death, was used by Dickens to reform the ugly sides of Victorian society – poverty, harsh working conditions, oppression, hypocrisy and onerous prisons, alms-houses, orphanages and asylums. At the age of 12, Dickens had to leave school and work in a boot-blacking factory because his father was incarcerated in a debtors' prison, along with his mother and youngest siblings.

In tours of the United States, Dickens sought to visit courts, prisons, alms-houses and asylums. He was generally impressed with the more egalitarian American courts with their lack of wigs, gowns and ceremony, although he expressed concern that the US may have gone too far in becoming so relaxed that respect was lost for the legal practitioners (Dickens 1850, pp. 37-38). Dickens also expressed hope when witnessing child petty offenders being sent for training in a trade rather than to prison, although such an opportunity was said to be reserved for white children (Dickens 1850, p. 71). He detailed these positive features in order that the British criminal justice system would be reformed (Dickens 1850, pp. 35-38). Dickens commented on the prisons and asylums visited, favourably for well-kept and well-designed prisons, but unfavourably in other cases such as the Halls of Justice and House of Detention in New York, nicknamed 'the Tombs' (perhaps because it was built in Egyptian Revival style with a mastaba-like form, or perhaps because the structure was built on a filled-in swamp and so began to sink and stink soon after being opened). Charles Dickens did not hold back when describing the Tombs as filthy stagnant holes, sewers filled with untried people, concluding: 'Such indecent and disgusting dungeons as these cells, would bring disgrace upon the most despotic empire in the world!' (Dickens 1850, p.63).

Further reading: Forster 1872.

Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904)

Frances Cobbe was born into a wealthy English family in Ireland and was educated as a lady in Brighton. Her father visited a new prison in Bristol (on his wedding day) with a view to improving Irish prisons, and the Kilmainham County Gaol in Dublin that he helped establish

in 1796 became celebrated amongst reform-minded people and is now a National Monument (Cobbe 1904; Office of Public Works n.d.). Like Carpenter, Cobbe was an abolitionist and devout Christian – a liberal Unitarian or Theist. In 1858, Cobbe worked with Carpenter as an unpaid live-in aide but left the following year for health reasons, probably unable to keep up with the pace of Carpenter's mission in the nearby slum. Cobbe continued to visit and write about prisons, becoming a pioneer in writing about the Ragged Schools and Workhouse reform (Cobbe 1904, p. xvi), but became involved as a writer and journalist in the fledgling women's rights and Suffragette movements, social reform, theology and abolitionism alongside her life partner, sculptor Mary Lloyd (Cobbe 1904). Although Cobbe associated with atheists and 'advanced' free thinkers, she referred to the 'great beauty and glory of Evangelical Christianity', describing her faith as 'intensely interesting and exciting' and finding pleasure in religious exercises (Cobbe 1904, pp. 82-84). After her conversion at age 17, she went through four years of doubt, but then abandoned 'dogmatical Christianity' in favour of Theism or 'indigenous religion', expressing belief in a perfectly and infinitely loving, good and just God. Cobbe suddenly came to see Love as greater than Knowledge and from then on served people 'freely and tenderly', asking herself how she could bless individuals rather than acting out of duty (Cobbe, p. 96). Cobbe is known today as a philosopher, religious thinker, feminist and animal-rights organizer. She was one of the first to promote the right of women to university degrees, and she founded the 'Society for the Protection of Animals Liable to Vivisection' (SPALV) and the 'British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection' (BUAV), both of which remain active today. Her article 'Wife Torture in England' (Cobbe 1878) led to the passage of legislation that allowed for women to legally separate from abusive husbands.

Further reading: Cobbe 1904; Booth 2023.

Howard Vincent (1849-1908)

Howard Vincent was a lawyer and former Director of Criminal Investigation at Scotland Yard who became criminal justice reformer. After visiting Boston which had an early form of probation in place, Vincent became the most prominent advocate in Britain for the probation of both juvenile and adult first offenders. In 1886, Vincent won a seat in

Parliament and on his first day introduced three bills, one of which was the Probation of First Offenders Bill. The controversial Bill was debated over 20 years. Before this, Vincent travelled the world promoting this system in the interest of saving many from being contaminated by prison and leading a habitual life of crime, as well as saving on correctional costs (Robinson 2015, pp. 31-32). In 1884, one of the people that Vincent discussed his ideas with was Sir Samuel Griffith, then Queensland Premier and later Australia's inaugural Chief Justice of the High Court. Queensland was the second jurisdiction in the world after New Zealand to emulate the Massachusetts legislation that originally inspired Vincent. All other colonies had followed Queensland in enacting early parole legislation by 1900. Vincent was able to point to the success of probation in Australia and New Zealand while he agitated for a proper probation system. Finally, the Probation of Offenders Act received royal assent in 1907. Following Federation in 1901, the states and territories proceeded to enact modern parole in the following order: Victoria 1957; Queensland 1959; Western Australia 1963; New South Wales 1966; the Commonwealth 1967; South Australia 1969; Northern Territory 1971; Tasmania 1975 and Australian Capital Territory 1976.

Note: Refer also to the Alexander Maconochie (1787–1860) entry in the Australian article. He was the Captain in charge of the English penal colony at Norfolk Island, and was the first to institute an early form of parole.

Further reading: White 1979.

Henry Massingham (1860-1924)

Henry Massingham was the editor of leading liberal/radical newspapers in Britain, including *The Star* (1890-1892); *Labour World* (1892-1895); the *Daily Chronicle* (1895-1899); and *The Nation* (1907-1923). He strongly promoted prison reform, and the *Daily Chronicle* series of articles, 'Our Dark Places' influenced the 1895 Gladstone Committee in its condemnation of the inhumane, ineffective and harmful prison regime in England and Wales (Crone 2022, pp. 305-337). The reforms of the Gladstone Committee, led by Herbert Gladstone (son of the Prime Minister), were largely diluted by the career civil servant responsible for executing them, Sir Evelyn John Ruggles-Brise (1857-1935). Ruggles-Brise became chairman of the

Prison Commission in 1895 and was charged with implementing the 1894-1895 Gladstone Committee reforms. However, whereas the Gladstone Committee on Prisons wished to introduce reformation alongside the existing punishment and deterrence provided by prisons, Gladstone clung to the old retributive emphasis. Whereas the Gladstone Committee wanted beneficial education/ training for all prisoners, Ruggles-Brise limited the teaching to basic literacy and numeracy, and only for prisoners sentenced to more than four months. Whereas the Gladstone Committee found that cell-by-cell education of prisoners was useless, Ruggles-Brise resisted calls to replace cell-based education with classes. One reform that was successfully introduced by Ruggles-Brise was the Borstal system. The Children Act 1908 prohibited imprisonment under age 14, and strictly limited that of ages 14 to 16 (Crone 2022, pp. 305-337). The Gladstone Committee had shown that criminal propensity peaked from the mid-teens to the mid-twenties. They sought to break the cycle of offending and imprisonment by establishing a new type of reformatory, that was informally called 'Borstal' after the village in Kent that housed the first one. The movement reached its peak after the first world war. The Borstals encouraged personal responsibility and education and were designed like guarded English Public schools, with cellblocks arranged as 'houses', each headed by a housemaster. Cross-country walks were encouraged, and no one ran away. It may be added that the articles published in *The Nation,* including those written by John Galsworthy, were an inspiration for Winston Churchill's efforts to reform the British penal system – refer below (Moritz 1958, pp. 430-431).

Further reading: Crone 2022.

Winston Churchill (1874-1965)

Wartime British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, was an important prison reformer, particularly while the Liberal Home Secretary responsible for the correctional system (1910–11). In 1899, he had been held for 28 days in a South African POW camp during the Boer War. Churchill later said that he hated his captivity more than anything else, and that this experience had given him deep pity for prisoners and captives. He escaped alone by climbing over a wall when the guards were not looking and evading capture all the way to Durban despite a 'dead or alive' reward being offered by the Boers for his recapture.

As Home Secretary, Churchill could have let the Prison Commission under him run the prisons as they saw fit, but he took a strong personal interest and worked hard to divert people from prison where possible, and where not possible, to reduce their sentences. Churchill analysed such issues as probation, imprisonment in default of fines, young offenders, political prisoners (including suffragettes), solitary confinement, preventive detention, the need for recreation and education/training for prisoners, and aftercare of prisoners; and he developed practical actions to address each of these issues (Moritz 1958). Despite the unpopularity of his reforms, Churchill focused on keeping as many people as possible out of prison, improving prison conditions and increasing opportunities for the rehabilitation of inmates.

Further reading: Moritz 1958.

Erwin James Monahan (1957-2024)

Erwin James Monahan became homeless at the age of 10 after his mother died in a car accident and his father (the driver) turned to alcohol and violence. From that age, Monahan was convicted 53 times, culminating in two murders committed with an associate during two robberies, murders that he was later extremely remorseful about. He was sentenced to 20 years in 1984 and completed a degree in History, then wrote feature articles and a column for the Guardian under the name of Erwin James, the first of their kind in British journalism. Following his release in 2004, James continued his education and became a full-time writer (contributing to many publications). He became the editor of Inside Time, the national newspaper for people in prison, and wrote three books about his experiences: . James' writings and editorial direction provided prisoners with a voice (for example, he created a series called Inside Voices, in which prisoners wrote about their own experiences and he visited many prisons once released). James also provided the general public with an insight into life inside, giving inspirational public presentations around the world, and assisting many charitable organisations including: Alternatives to Violence Project Britain, Clean Break, Create, The Forward Trust, Human Writes, Koestler Arts, the Longford Trust, The Phoenix Trust, Prison Reading Group, Prison Reform Trust, Prisoners' Education Trust and The Reader Organisation. He was also a government advisor on prisoner rehabilitation

and a Commissioner in the Westminster Commission on Miscarriages of Justice. James wrote three books on his thoughts and experiences: *A Life Inside, a Prisoner's Notebook* (2003); *The Home Stretch, From Prison to Parole* (2005); and *Redeemable, a Memoir of Darkness and Hope* (2016). James was an influential prison reformer and prisoner advocate, and his work gave prisoners hope for a better life.

Further reading: Inside Time 2024; Billington 2024; James 2024.

Yvonne Jewkes (1966-)

Yvonne Jewkes is the world's leading expert on rehabilitative prison design and is currently Professor of Criminology at the University of Bath; Honorary Visiting Professor at the University of Melbourne; and Writer-in-Residence at HMP Grendon (running creative writing workshops). Jewkes has been a consultant on improved prison design for rehabilitation in the UK, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand and has written numerous articles and the coming memoir, *An Architecture of Hope* (2024).

Further reading: Jewkes 2024a, 2024b.

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