THE FORESTRY CAMP FOR PRISON WORKERS


by

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ABSTRACT

The Forestry Camp for Prison Workers

The subject-matter of this study is a descriptive account of the prison forestry camp programme which was operative in the Kettle River district in British Columbia during the years 1951 to 1953. Perspective is given by examination of the origin and progress of the use of prison labour in general, and of prison labour projects in contemporary forestry camps. The British Columbia project is evaluated with particular emphasis on the programme as part of a rehabilitation process.

The methods used in arriving at the conclusions found in the study have been those of comparison and analysis, by reference to (a) administration; (b) selection of inmates; (c) types of inmate, and (d) components of the programme. The positive and negative aspects of the programme have been evaluated as far as possible.

The benefits which may be derived by inmates assigned to these camps include (a) improvement in physical and mental health from outdoor work and living, (b) experience in the camps which more closely resembles that of normal society. These help terminate a prisoner's sentence with a more acceptable reintroduction to community life.

On the other hand, it is evident that there are many problems which can impede the operation of a programme of this nature, including a divided administration, untrained personnel and inadequate facilities and finances. The study suggests that these difficulties are not insurmountable, and recommendations are made which would further the success and value of such programmes.
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The Forestry Camp for Prison Workers

Chapter I


Prison labour is the name given to that phase of prison organization concerned with the employment of prisoners. In most civilizations it has been customary for the state to utilize, either directly or indirectly, the labour of prisoners. The motive has been primarily, although not entirely, one of economy or profit. The types of work performed by the prisoners has been determined partly by existing economic and social institutions and concepts. Prison labour may be regarded as a punitive factor in addition to incarceration, as an ameliorating aspect in punishment, or as a part of the programme for the social and economic reformation of prisoners.¹

Work programmes in penal institutions are not a new idea. Such programmes were inaugurated shortly after the prisons were started. In the past, prison labour was chiefly a form of punishment. Convicted offenders were sentenced to prison for so many days, years, or whatever the case was, at "hard labour". Neither the courts nor the public gave little thought or concern to what the offenders did while at prison, or further still, what

the prison did to them. Today the situation has undergone a vast change. In most instances the aims of prison labour may be summed up as: (a) relieving the monotony and idleness of prison life; (b) reduction of crime; (c) maintenance of prison discipline; (d) manufacturing of economic products to reduce the cost of support; (e) rehabilitation through a useful work programme.*

Origin and Early Systems of Prison or Convict Labour.

In tracing the inception of prison labour it has been noted that forced labour for persons held guilty of criminal offences was employed as far back as the ancient Romans and Egyptians. Prisoners captured in war, paupers and children were frequently sold into bondage, and people convicted of special offences were made slaves.

Galley slaves were thought to be among the first to be made to work in what might be called "forced labor". Whenever there was a scarcity of free labour, or if the tasks were of such a nature that they were unattractive to the ordinary working man, then slaves were conscripted into service.

At the close of the sixteenth century the sailing ship displaced the galley, and as a consequence other methods of dealing with the convict had to be established. Since there were no prisons the death penalty, and the utilization of deportation to

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colonies were more frequently used. Also growing simultaneously with these methods of punishment were the workhouses in Europe. Although these workhouses were not originally entrusted with the custody of prisoners convicted of crime, a few of them gradually developed along these lines. They were the results of the efforts of some of the more enlightened administrators of the day, who showed more of an altruistic concern with regard to both the problem of dealing with criminals and also, to some extent, their rehabilitation. These workhouses were employed not only as a place of detention for youthful offenders, but served also as a place whereby the offender could not only learn a trade, but could be productive to the benefit of the state or municipality.

The next phase in the origin of prison labour was the rise of the first real prison or penitentiary. This was an outcome of the Philadelphia reformers renovating the Walnut Street Jail. The substance of their plan was that prison labour should be both productive and reformative. This plan materialized in the year 1790, and this date marks the beginning of the modern era of prison labour. It marked the first time in penal history that convicts were employed at a dignified task. They were paid a wage for their labours, and the whole process was oriented toward rehabilitation rather than punishment. This system continued until the 1820's when mass overcrowding of prisons led to a continually diminishing number of prisoners being employed in a profitable manner. Gradually the total products from prison labour became only a small percentage of the cost of administering the institutions, and the Walnut Street Jail, and similar systems suffered both industrial and financial failure. However, soon after this
"made-work" devices such as the treadmill and crank were brought into use by the more hardened penologists of that day, who rejected so-called "coddling" of the prisoners but emphasized the retributive aspects. It was attitudes such as these which led to the institution of the following different systems of early prison labour.

1. Contract labour: This system consisted in the letting out of the labour of prisoners to an outside contractor who supplied both the raw materials and machinery, and who was responsible for the supervision of the prisoners' work. This contract practice was most prevalent during the years 1825-1840, and by as early as 1819 deficits in operating prisons were transposed into profits.

2. Lease labour system: This was but a variation of the contract system inasmuch as the contractors assumed the complete control of the prisoners, subject to the stipulations fixed by statute. The convicts were taken from the prisons and were employed in such tasks as agriculture, quarrying, bridge and road construction.

3. Factory system: This practice reached its peak during the last half of the nineteenth century, and the early years of the twentieth. The aim of the system was not only to obviate idleness in prisons, but at the same time to discipline, punish, and make an attempt at reforming inmates. Trades were taught to prisoners and it was hoped that the habits of industry which they acquired from these would aid them in reintegration with society upon their release.

4. Public works and ways: This system entails the employment of prison labour in the construction and repair of public highways, streets, and other public utilities. This is presumed to be the
method which is the most agreeable to the ordinary taxpayer who feels that the state or municipality should be deriving some returns for their maintenance of the convict.

5. Farm system: The early farm systems of prison labour were more of a success financially than they were from the reformative point of view. In many of the Southern States in the United States, the whole prison system is a farm system. Recently a number of states in the U.S.A. have developed prison farms as a part of their treatment programme for the younger type of criminal offender.

The prison labour problem has been both a controversial and perplexing one for many years. For the benefit of the prisoners themselves as well as for the public, prisoners should be engaged during their waking hours, in constructive and useful activities. At the same time it must be remembered that correctional industries are not operated entirely for the economic benefits, nor should they unduly interfere with private enterprise. There are also other purposes of the programme such as the rehabilitation of men and the prevention of idleness and discontent within the prisons which have to be considered. Consequently, such a debatable issue provides grounds for a more detailed discussion on the subject.

Functions and Purposes.

Every penal institution should make it both an objective and a responsibility to rehabilitate the prisoner. A constructive work programme is one of the principal means of attaining this goal.

Accordingly, penal institutions ought to provide useful work for every prisoner able to work.

The term "useful work" has been interpreted as referring not only to production of goods utilized within the prison and ordinary maintenance work, but it also connotes the benefits which the prisoner obtains and which will be of value to him upon his eventual return to society. Nevertheless "useful work" does not necessarily mean only that type of work which allows the prisoner to acquire a trade or profession which may be applicable on the job in a free society. It also means the form of work which will have a positive effect upon the individual i.e., the type of work which will be an asset to him by the acquisition of both skills and habits of industry. It has been asserted that about eighty per cent of a prison inmate population can profit from a good work programme. However, for the remaining twenty per cent it is very difficult to do anything in the way of developing work habits.  

The more explicit functions of prison labour include the following:

1. Easing the problem of prison discipline. It may be stated that a prison work programme reduces or eliminates idleness. The form and the amount of work are both important factors here. The inmate who is kept constantly employed during working hours has less time to organize plans which are subversive of prison discipline. Further if the work is of a nature which meets not only

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the physical but psychological needs of the prisoner, he will have less incentive to conspire against the prison administration. Whatever our penal philosophy, prison discipline is an indubitable necessity and it is probably consistent with the experience of most prison administrators to say that a full work programme is one of the surest means of achieving this.

2. Teaching the inmates habits of industry. If a prison can help its inmates develop appropriate habits of industry it will have accomplished much toward the rehabilitation and treatment of the individual, which is the only real justification for any period of incarceration. The majority of prison inmates are unfamiliar with the values of work. They adhere to the philosophy that only "suckers" work and from this work they themselves will reap the benefits. There is a need for them to learn how to work in a manner suitable to the industries outside the prison and to become acquainted with the values of work to the well-being of the individual.

There are few inmates who prior to their imprisonment held positions as professional, skilled or semi-skilled people. Most prisoners have never learned how to work or how to maintain a job. Many suffer from the illusion that the world owes them a living and they propose to obtain that living with as little effort as possible. Since this is the case, penal institutions and their staffs are continually waging a battle not only to get the inmates to work and to show them how to, but also to teach them that work itself can be worthwhile.
3. A process for training unskilled labourers. The opinion has often been expressed that if prisoners on release were qualified to follow a skilled or semi-skilled trade in which there were good employment opportunities, much of the problem of recidivism would disappear. When a prison labour programme is established two factors must be borne in mind.

Firstly, officials in charge of the programme must keep the training purpose in view. Secondly, the individual inmate must be employed at tasks similar to the type of work which he may be employed at upon his release. Branham and Kutash express an additional benefit derived from such training programmes:

Prisoners trained in useful work habits and skills are less apt to repeat old offenses or to commit new ones after release. It is estimated that from fifty to eighty per cent of the prisoners in the institutions today are recidivists. It would be a tremendous saving to the state if this group were eliminated from institutional care because of training in work habits and skills suitable to the individual.  

It is assumed, therefore, that not only are the earning powers of the ex-prisoner, who has no skill and no training, limited, but also that he is more likely to be a potential recidivist. On the other hand, if an ex-prisoner has acquired a trade while in prison he is in a more favourable position to compete for a prospective job.

Many jobs in the institution are appropriate for training purposes. For example, some of the maintenance jobs have their

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corresponding trade in society. The prisoner who becomes adept at one of these jobs in the institution stands a better chance of both obtaining and maintaining employment of a similar kind after his release from prison.

4. Reducing the hours of idleness because idleness is demoralizing. Nothing is more insidiously cruel than forcing men to sit day after day, with nothing whatsoever to do, or having them do such futile work as breaking rock or weeding gardens month after month.

Warden Hugh G. Christie of Oakalla Prison Farm says on the subject, "You can't keep men idle, working on their knees weeding, for two years and rehabilitate them. You must have a reasonable amount of work which has more challenge and some institutional value". ¹

5. A means of reducing the economic disutility of prison. In Canada the total disbursements for the nine federal institutions as of March 31, 1955, amounted to $8,983,966.56.² Probably a good proportion of this money could be saved through the employment of the prisoners who are capable of working in economically significant activities. Furthermore, it might be argued that the government should not have to carry the total maintenance of the adult prisoner. One writer states that in the ideal or perfect

¹Vancouver Province, March 11, 1955. p. 32.
system the inmate ought to be able "not only to support himself but to help cover the cost of investment and depreciation of the industrial and housing plants which the state provides for his safekeeping and employment as well as to contribute to the support of his family outside." 1

However, it should be remembered that no desirable prison labour system can or should be built on the theory that the prison is going to be a financial asset to the government. Although common sense prescribes that prisons should be maintained with an eye to economy of operation, their ultimate aim remains that of reformation of the prisoner.

Criticism Associated With a Prison Labour Programme.

The majority of inmates of penal institutions work because they want to, and the reason for their wanting to is a relatively simple one: they have learned that idleness is both tedious and humiliating, and believe that the safest way to prevent a mental breakdown is to keep their minds and their bodies busy.

However, the overall attitude of society with respect to the treatment of criminals makes it very difficult to find a solution to the prison labour problem. The feasibility of prisoners working is obscured by the controversy which surrounds the subject. The writer has found that most authors writing on the subject are in favour of prison labour. For example, as far back as 1912 the opinion was expressed that convicts should be

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made to work and at least earn their keep and the expense of main-
taining the penal institution as long as the products of their
labour did not compete with that of the free market. Another
writer on the subject, Governor Eugene N. Foss of Massachusetts,
mentions in a report entitled "Reform Through Labor", that all
able-bodied persons should be given the chance to work at some-
thing that will help restore their sense of usefulness and
responsibility. In a more recent study it has been stated that
the arguments against prison labour are in a sense absurd because
if a prisoner cannot work he must be supported at public expense
and by the labour of free men.

The form of labour most suited to a penal institution and
the most effective is generally highly standardized. Yet diversi-
fied employment should be more encouraged because it allows the
prisoner to experiment and try out several forms of work activity
in an effort to find the one which meets most of his needs. The
effect of labour upon the health, well-being, and eventual reform
of the prisoner ought to be kept in mind. Complementarily the
fiscal implications of prison labour and the degree to which it
threatens prices and employment must be taken into consideration.

1Whitin, E.S. "Penal Servitude", National Committee on

2Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social
Science, Volume 46, March 1913, p. 38.

3Elliott, Mable, A "Crime in Modern Society", Harper and
The problem of inmate idleness in correctional institutions has been known for some time to be detrimental to both the institution and inmate alike. Though this is a recognized factor there are impediments in overcoming this obstacle as a result of a number of conflicting attitudes. Such characteristic questions have been posed as: "Is it right to permit prisoners to manufacture goods which may deprive union men of work?" "Is it just for prison produced goods to compete with the ordinary manufacturer's products?" On the other hand wardens and correctional workers retort: "How can we rehabilitate the prisoner if he is kept idle?" or "Why should prison inmates not help pay for their keep?"

Are manufacturers and wage earners on good ground when they express the opinion that prison made goods are unfair competition? It has been noted that any type of prison labour will compete to some extent with free labour. Nonetheless it appears that the overall competition is very small. "Less than one-tenth of one per cent of the productive labours are in prison, and many of the prisoners would be more or less efficiently employed if they were not in prison. This makes the total competition of prison labour insignificant".¹

It would seem reasonably safe to say that although there are negative factors involved in a prison labour programme they are heavily out-weighed by the positive factors. Few men, even with their full freedom, can remain for a long time healthy and happy unless they have work to do. Although the individual in

prison is restricted in his freedom, he nevertheless should be permitted to work at something, within the limits of his capacity, which will produce useful results. It is probable that even if an individual is never released from gaol he may be able to live and die a better and a happier person merely by being kept busy at some task which is acceptable to him.

**Evolution of Policies for Prison Labour and Forestry Camps.**

Prison forestry camps had various precedents of a similar nature. The following discourse illustrates the development of such projects. The material used pertains only to the United States and is mentioned in order to afford continuity to the discussion of present day forestry programmes.

Convict road camps had been practiced in Colorado, Oregon, New Mexico, Wyoming, Arizona and Utah just prior to 1913. The positive benefits derived from them were that they were found to have helped increase the self-respect, stamina of character, and sense of responsibility of their inmates.

The first convict road camp which bears a resemblance to current forestry camps was started in 1908 in the state of Colorado. This first camp functioned well, although slowly. It was felt at the time, however, that too much attention was paid to guarding the men at work. But later on when Thomas J. Tynan assumed office as Warden of the Colorado State Penitentiary these projects took on a different shape. He expanded the honour system, increased the number of camps, eliminated the armed guards and placed the inmates entirely upon their honour. The result was
that triple the quantity of work was done compared with the previous scheme. It was found that the men worked with much more enthusiasm than they had ever done previously, and it was concluded that they did so for several reasons. They were anxious to attain the additional ten days a month that the road work permitted to be deducted from their sentence, as well as the normal remission allowed by law for good behaviour. They also liked the change in environment and adopted the idea that they were working for themselves, to retain the special privileges of sunshine, fresh air and other benefits which the camps afforded them as contrasted with the prisons.

Other projects of a similar nature soon followed the Colorado scheme. The legislature in the state of Arkansas in 1909 passed a law permitting county courts to form road and convict districts of several adjoining counties. These camps in Arkansas not only operated on a minimum security basis, but in addition when a man's sentence had expired he was furnished with a good suit of clothes, and $2.50 in pocket money.

The Kalamazoo county in the State of Michigan adopted road camps as a possible deterrent from vagrancy and petty crime. Each inmate of the camp was paid for one day's work for each week of good behaviour. This developed to the extent where a man sentenced for two months obtained $12.50 at the expiration of his sentence, and this money, as in the Arkansas project, was intended to aid the individual in his rehabilitation.

Ohio, New Jersey, and Columbia all developed schemes of a
corresponding nature to those already mentioned. A gradual aware­ness of the importance of studying the convict rather than just the evaluation and importance of his labour came slowly to the fore. Therefore it may be said by 1909 progress was beginning to be made not only toward the improvement of prison management, but also for the general welfare of society at large.

Another phase in the development of prison forest camps was the development of camps for boy probationers. The Court of Domestic Relations in Columbus, Ohio, in the year 1930 conceived the idea of instituting a camp for its boy probationers. The camp started with twenty boys, and developed to the extent where it was providing for one hundred boys each summer. Some of the objectives of the camp were:

1. To induct unstable boys into a conventionalized and co-operative medium by showing them the joy of successful participation in organized group activities.
2. To establish mutual confidence and understanding between the counselors and the boys.
3. To establish socially acceptable standards to displace the misconceived standards which are characteristic of maladjusted and delinquent boys.
4. To reveal to the boys themselves their personal potentialities by encouraging them to try out new activities.
5. To improve the boys' physical condition by good and sufficient food, outdoor living, controlled exercise, and adequate rest.¹

A project similar to the Columbus scheme was set up in 1931 by the Probation Department and the Juvenile Court of Los Angeles County. Since the development of this plan is more relevant to

the origins of prison forestry camps it will be dealt with at some length and in corresponding detail. It was the establishment of Forestry Camp 10 in San Dimas Canyon. The camp was intended for vagrant boys from other states who were in serious trouble. A large number of these boys were coming into Los Angeles, and were being returned to their homes at the expense of the Los Angeles County, only to make many repeated trips of a similar nature.

The county felt that if it could establish some form of programme to make these boys work for their return tickets, they might not be so anxious to return again. Therefore, the forestry camp was instituted as an opportunity to afford these vagrant boys a chance to earn their transportation back home at the rate of fifty cents a day, including board and room. In order to receive this they were obligated to work eight hours with pick and shovel. The camp was under the auspices of the county forestry department and the county probation department, the latter being the one responsible for the boys and their supervision.

From 1933 to 1937 the juvenile court sent boys convicted of burglary, robbery, grand theft and other offences to forestry Camp 10. Each boy received fifty cents per day for eight hours of pick and shovel work. Between the years 1931-1937 over one thousand boys had been handled in this camp. It was stated that "each boy's problem is carefully studied before his release, and an effort made to place him either with parent, relatives or friends, where he will have the best chance to complete his
social rehabilitation".¹

The most positive aspects of this camp have been stated as helping these young boys overcome their fear of work, and aiding them in adapting to the spirit of the programme. The camp included an active athletic programme for the boys and a school programme. The boys were supervised by adult counselors, though much of the camp discipline was maintained largely by the boys themselves. It was strictly an honour camp, operating on a minimum security basis, having no locks, fences, barred windows or guns. The entire camp process was directed toward the reconstructive modes of delinquent behaviour, not the punitive. There is no doubt that this type of Forestry Camp was a stepping-stone to present day prison forest camps. Although it developed nearly a quarter of a century ago, the characteristics of it bear a distinct semblance to current projects.

Prison road camps and forest camps are essentially honour camps instituted mainly for the purpose of giving a selected group of prisoners an opportunity to prepare themselves not only physically but psychologically to the inevitable problem of taking their places in society again.² It is not only the inmates of these camps who benefit, but also the public. It is felt that the prisoner whose mental outlook and health is improved by a camp programme is less likely to return to crime than is the man

¹Ibid., p. 359.

who is released directly from prison. This is one of the reasons why many experiments of this nature have recently been tried, and it is the aim of Chapter II of this study to give details of a few of the more important projects of this type.
Chapter II

Some Comparative Forestry Camp Programmes.

The majority of offenders should not be classified as wilfully anti-social. Many of them do not transgress the law by choice, but adopt delinquent behaviour patterns because of their inability to contend with modern civilization with all its complex situations and disturbing problems. Most sociologists concur that circumstantial pressure, not natural perversity, is the causal factor of crime. Accordingly, it has been said that little is to be gained by punishing these men, and also for the same reason it is not necessary to keep all of them behind steel bars and high stone walls. However, only in recent years has society become truly persuaded of this. Also, many progressive penologists are now strongly recommending more employment of prisons without walls or bars; that is, institutions where there are no armed guards, no bars, or walls, with the only barrier to escape being the word of honour of the inmates—a setting where the primary objective of the programme is oriented along treatment lines.

The recent establishment of prison forestry camp projects may be regarded as one aspect of such a movement. They have only lately come into being in Canada, but in the United States such ideas, in some locations, have been in practice for nearly a quarter of a century. Although there are eight states operating forestry camps today that the writer knows of, the writer has chosen California, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Massachusetts for the following comparative discussion. California was
selected on the basis of its prominence and its pioneering role in the development of these projects. Wisconsin and Michigan also are leaders in the field and have relatively extensive programmes. Massachusetts, although a smaller and a newer scheme, has been included because its origin is almost contemporary with that of British Columbia.

The State of California.

Administrative Organization.

Prison forestry camps have been in operation in California since 1931. During the period 1949 to 1950, the number of inmates sent from adult male institutions to these camps was 4,010. During the summer the approximate average daily population was seven hundred and fifty and in the winter is was six hundred. During the year 1951 twenty forest and road camps, operated by the Corrections Department in conjunction with the State Division of Highways, the State Division of Forestry and the U.S. Forest Service, were assigned more than one thousand carefully chosen inmates. These camps are situated in the mountainous areas of sixteen California counties. While twelve camps are operated the year round, the remaining eight function only in the summer months.

To promote the development of camp operations the California Corrections Department has had the following objections in mind:

1. To provide housing and employment for state prisoners of minimum security classification, thus helping to relieve the overcrowded conditions in the institutions.
2. To furnish inmate labor to state and federal agencies for the purpose of conducting work projects of benefit to the public which otherwise might not have been accomplished.¹

The responsibility of administering these prison forest camps has been delegated to individual institutions by the Department of Corrections.

In 1953 California had nine permanent forestry camps and nine seasonal camps which are in operation only during the spring reforestation season and the summer fire season. In addition there are three road camps which operate on a year round basis.²

Besides these camps functioning under the Department of Corrections, there are three camps established by the California Youth Authority, which was created by statute in 1941. The first Youth Authority Camp was instituted in the Calaveras Big Trees State Park in 1943. The three in operation today are: (1) Ben Lomond Camp, approximately sixteen miles north from Santa Cruz with an average daily population of seventy; (2) Pine Grove Camp, nine miles east of Jackson with an average daily population of ninety, and, (3) Coarsegold Camp, forty-four miles from the City of Fresno with an average population of 125. The age range in all camps is sixteen to twenty-one.

There is less regimentation, fewer restrictions, and greater opportunity for individual counselling at these camps which, along


with the wholesome environment, provide positive therapeutic values. During the camps' years of operation, California has found them to be a very effective technique in the training of adolescents. One author states however, that it must be borne in mind that the success of the camps depends upon their operating along with the more formal types of correctional training schools, for many boys require close custodial care and could not be placed in camps under any circumstances.¹

Selection of Inmates.

In its assignment of prisoners to the camps the California Department of Corrections adheres to the suggestions set forth in "A Manual of Correctional Standards for 1954"—i.e., the classification committee keeps in mind the physical and mental fitness of the prisoner, willingness of the inmate to accept camp life², and so on—as do the Corrections Department in Wisconsin and Michigan.

Both the Department of Corrections and the California Youth Authority have proved by years of successful prison camp operation that carefully classified inmates can be placed in minimum security conditions with benefit to both the state and the individual. Thus, these camps have become a constituent part of the California correctional system.

Nature of Work Project.

Camp labour is used for the construction of mountain highways,


forest roads and trails, forest buildings and telephone lines. The inmates also contribute valuable assistance in the suppression of forest fires. It has been estimated that during 1949 to 1950, men from the Department of Corrections' Camps supplied 250,000 man hours of actual forest fire fighting time. Forest officials emphasize the value of having these trained inmate fire crews. Previously it was necessary to depend upon last minute subscription of untrained persons, which often caused loss of time with resultant increased fire damage.

All camp inmates are paid for their work (fifteen dollars per month) which consists of six eight-hour days per week. Any inmate who has dependents receiving state aid must send two-thirds of his monthly earnings to them. A part of every inmate's wages is placed in a trust fund. This is given to him upon release.

The boys at the California Youth Authority camps are also trained to be effective fire-fighters, which not only contributes to the welfare of the state but teaches the boys to work together as a team giving them a strong socializing experience. There are also year-round construction and reforestation programmes similar to those carried out by the Department of Corrections' camps.

Extra-work Activities.

The writer has been unable to find information concerning the recreational and educational programmes in the Department of Corrections' camps. However, material has been obtained concerning the development of these activities in the California Youth Authority's camps.

The administrators encourage staff and boys to play together
as well as to work together. There are the usual team sports, indoor athletics, craft and hobby programmes (including choral and theatrical groups) as well as "low-organized" activities (such as checkers). A library of books and magazines is also being built up in each camp.

The limited number of hours available prevent having much in the way of conventional academic schooling. However, such project type activities as the building of relief maps and the running of a camp newspaper provide some opportunity for educational advancement. Counselling services, including experimental work in group therapy, is an integral part of their programme.

Philosophy of Camp Programme.

The California State Department of Corrections feels that the benefits from a forestry camp programme are many. Some that they have mentioned are as follows:

1. In place of being a charge against the Department, the camps are self-supporting as the inmates are paid for their work and the cost or operations (feeding, housing, etc.) being deducted from these payments.

2. Besides the special work being done by these inmates, on an assortment of projects which perhaps could not otherwise be accomplished, they also constitute a force of trained men who are readily available to combat forest fires.

3. The assignment of an inmate to a camp is of definite assistance in his rehabilitation. He is doing constructive work in healthy surroundings; paying his own way and saving some money to be of assistance to his family or to start him again in free society.

4. The placing of men in camps aids in relieving the overcrowded conditions of present institutions. It would cost several million dollars to build and maintain an institution to properly care for 1,000 inmates.  

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1California State Department of Corrections, "Seven Years of Progress", July 1, 1951, pp. 14-15.
Originally the main idea behind the Youth Authority camps was that the constructive work programme itself would have therapeutic value and that selected youths could benefit from this relatively free, simple and open type of life. This is still the core of the camp programme. However, other constructive aspects of camp experience have developed. The close staff-boy relationship is one of the most effective features of these camps. Because the number of boys seldom exceeds sixty, the staff have an opportunity to get to know each boy in his social group as well as on the job. Each staff member has several boys who are his particular responsibilities. He is expected to have weekly conferences with them and make written reports concerning these talks which become a basis for evaluating the boy's progress.

It is found that the flexibility and informality of a forestry camp provides greater opportunities for new experiments—such as group counselling—which would be more difficult to undertake in the training schools with their larger populations. Habits of work, improved health, and character development through counselling and guidance are more likely to be the outcome of a well-balanced programme.

The State of Wisconsin.

Administrative Organization.

Wisconsin's first state prison forestry camp was established on August 1, 1931. It was the site of a former lumber camp situated at McNaughton, Wisconsin, about two hundred miles north of the prison. The reasons for the development of the idea arose as a result of the following:
1. Since the prison was overcrowded the state had to choose between building a new prison, adding to the old one, or setting up some type of camp system.
2. The desire on the part of the State Conservation Department to enlarge its reforestation and forest preservation programme by as cheap a method as possible. Therefore, the use of prison labour was accepted without hesitation.
3. The belief that the transfer of prisoners from the prison to camps might not only be better penology but also, in the initial procedure, cheaper than building a new prison.

It was thought to be better penology because:

1. Prisoners who had such a short sentence that they were handicapped in learning a trade in the prison itself, could be looked after just as well, if not better, in the setting of a camp.
2. The camp environment would be beneficial to the health of the prisoners.
3. For prisoners who were serving long sentences the camps would serve the function of gradually helping the prisoner to prepare himself for his ultimate return to society.
4. The camp would provide a wide range of work activities.¹

All of Wisconsin forestry camps are situated on land owned by the state. There is a working agreement with the Conservation Department and the various responsibilities are allocated. The Conservation Department supplies: (1) equipment for forestry work, (2) transportation for work, (3) buildings for forestry equipment and work, and, (4) technical advice on forestry work (the services of qualified Forest Rangers are available on an advisory basis to the camps).

The obligation on the part of the prison in this dual administration was to furnish: (1) the prisoners, (2) the guards, (3) the buildings for housing prisoners, (4) medical care, (5) transportation for camp needs, and, (6) food and clothing (the Conservation Department initially held this job but later on an expansion

in the prison budget allowed for the institution to accept the responsibility).

The number of prison farms and forestry camps Wisconsin had operating in 1954 was seven. The inmate population varied from a maximum of seventy-five in one camp to a minimum of twenty in another camp. The number of camp personnel varied from five to three.

**Selection of Inmates.**

It has been assumed in the Wisconsin experiment that the success or failure of a camp programme is contingent to a large extent, on the care and discretion used in selecting the prisoners for the camps. The experience of the state has shown that about ninety-nine per cent of the prisoners assigned to their camps and farms were good security risks. This excellent record is founded on the grounds that not only are the staff and programme adequate, but also their screening process in selecting the men for assignment to these open institutions is an efficient one. The selection is done not on the basis of one man's opinion, but of a group of men who utilize the various casework files and other resources of the institution. Some of these include: (1) psychiatric reports, (2) medical reports, (3) F.B.I. reports, (4) verified social histories, (5) prison work record, (6) Chaplain's report, (7) conduct report, (8) mail censor's report, (9) school reports, and, (10) guidance officer reports and recommendations.

Prisoners who are thought to be "poor risks" are classified and each category elucidated in the following manner:

1. Emotionally disturbed cases. The instability of this type
causes them to upset the entire camp routine. There is always the possibility that other prisoners may shun them and so provoke them into absconding.


3. The sick. There are lack of medical facilities to care for them at camp and, as a result, there is the possibility of their becoming depressed and running away.

4. The temporarily upset. This class includes those inmates who have just undergone or are undergoing some severe emotional disturbance. For example, an inmate who has a member of his family about to undergo a delicate operation.

5. Publicity seekers. Prisoners who have the incessant urge to be in the "limelight". They are apt to escape just to satisfy this need of theirs.

6. Sex perverts. This category of inmates, due to their reputation, may be ignored by other prisoners and as a result may escape. In addition, they should not be sent to camps because it provides them with the opportunity to practice the crime.

7. Agitators. They should never be sent to camps due to the fact that they are prone to creating trouble amongst the rest of the inmates.

8. "Floaters". The "wanderlust" of these types of prisoners makes them poor risks.

9. Escapees. Inmates who have records of previous prison escapes should be excluded from camps.

10. "Stool pigeons". This type of prisoner is apt to be both discriminated against and ignored by other prisoners and, as a result, might be a potential escapee.

11. Prisoners with "detainers" i.e., Prisoners who are wanted by other law enforcement agencies for prosecution. Camp inmates in this category may elope to avoid further imprisonment.

12. Very young and immature inmates. The majority of these inmates are presumed to be more emotionally unstable than older men and, as a result, abscond oftener.

13. Prisoners with disagreeable personal habits. This class includes the prisoner who may be a persistent braggard, or who snores excessively. There is a chance that inmates with such habits may be "picked on" or ostracized and in discouragement run away.

14. Prisoners who believe their sentences are grossly unfair. They are prone to escaping in order to "go out and get even", or to "fix things up on the outside".

15. Inmates unaccustomed to the climate. Some men from warm climates cannot adjust to cold ones, and there is a possibility that they may try to escape rather than ask for a return to the prison.

Prisoners who are considered good camp security risks by the Wisconsin inmate selecting group are, on the other hand, typed
as: (1) adequate physical and mental health, (2) suitable civil and prison work record, (3) reasonably good prison behaviour record, (4) good familial relationships, (5) a business or job to return to, and, (6) prisoners sentenced to long terms who have already served a good portion of their sentence.

Men serving life sentences may be included in the programme, but they usually have served five to seven years of their sentence. ("Lifers" in Wisconsin are eligible for parole after they have served eleven years and three months of their sentence.) All camp inmates are granted five days additional good time off by the Wisconsin Corrections Department.

Nature of Work Projects.

Various kinds of work such as reforestation planting, maintenance of state parks, and fighting of forest fires has been done, and are being done, in the Wisconsin camps. Other projects are the operation of tree nurseries, farms and gardens, and the construction of forestry buildings, roads, bridges, camp sites, and fire lanes. The clearing of underbush from along roadsides and in the parks and forests, as a means of lessening fire and disease hazards, was also undertaken.

Extra-work Activities.

1. Recreation. Besides a variety of games played on the athletic field there is swimming, fishing and skating on rivers near the camp. A movie is shown once a month and informal entertainment is produced by the prisoners with their own instruments. Painting and drawing, as well as woodworking, are included in the hobby activities.
2. Educational Programme. Besides vocational training on the job there are academic classes, taught by inmates who were successful in teaching in the prison school, university extension courses and directed reading courses.

3. Religious Services. Once a month the camps are visited by the Protestant Chaplain and by the Roman Catholic Chaplain who hold mass. There is no Jewish Chaplain available, but Jewish prisoners are allowed to return to the prison whenever there is to be a special service held. They are also not required to work on important Jewish religious days.

Philosophy of Camp Programme.

Wisconsin endeavours to operate only small prison forestry camps with inmate populations of about fifty. It is felt that by following such a policy a better rehabilitation programme can be carried out. The reasons given for this are two-fold. Primarily, they are more conducive to individual treatment. For instance, the camp personnel officer is in a better position to become more closely acquainted with the different inmates. Thus, he would be able to have a more intimate understanding of a prisoner's problems, worries, or any other emotional conflicts which may arise from family difficulties or home developments. In addition, the importance of small camps is explained on another basis. Diseases which may strike the camp such as an influenza virus can be handled more easily. Trouble, if it arises, can be better controlled than in larger groups. The detection of agitators, possible escapees, and prisoners who are general misfits to the camp programme are more readily determined in advance of diffi-
The Wisconsin Corrections Department stresses the importance of the careful selection of officers as a valuable asset in helping to insure the success of a camp programme. The Department states that one poor officer in a prison is not bad, but one poor officer in a camp is tragic. All Wisconsin camp officers have been promoted from the guard force. Each officer must be adept in many fields. His duties may run the gamut. He may at one time act as a Warden, Deputy Warden, Shop Officer, School Teacher, Parole Officer, Recreation Director, Nurse and member of the clergy. Experience in Wisconsin has shown that there is a relationship between the quality of the camp officers and the number of escapes and disciplinary problem cases that a camp has.

It is the contention of those most closely associated with the Wisconsin camp programmes that it is not only the prisoners who benefit from such programmes, but the whole State. It is hoped that if a camp programme can help a prisoner by way of an improvement of his health and mental outlook, there is a possibility that he will be less likely to return to delinquent behaviour than the man who is released straight from prison. For example, when an inmate who has been employed at a camp is released, he is less apt to feel as inadequate, helpless, and bewildered as the man who is released directly from prison, because he has experienced the gradual steps to freedom.
The State of Michigan.

Administrative Organization.

"In 1947, some token crews of several inmates were assigned on an irregular basis to Park Managers of the Conservation Department for small tasks. These little token crews were actually the forerunners of the Prison Camp Program."¹

The idea of camps for prison inmates with conservation work as their assignment was almost simultaneously suggested by both the Corrections and Conservation officials. The plan was accepted and interpreted as having possibilities for immediate success and very shortly thereafter it was put into effect.

Michigan's first prison forestry camp was inaugurated on May 19, 1948, and was named Camp Waterloo. Its original site was a vacant prisoner-of-war camp in the 13,523-acre Waterloo Recreational Area, nineteen miles east of the State Prison at Jackson.

A comparatively simple initial agreement was soon formulated between the two departments. It was decided that the Conservation Department would assume the responsibility of supplying the work, tools, necessary vehicles and of providing the pay of fifty cents per day for the prisoners. On the other hand, the operation of the camp itself, the provision of guard foremen, medical and dental care, the security and discipline of the inmates was a responsibility of the Corrections Department. As a form of convenience

for both departments a simple inter-accounting system was constructed whereby the respective departments could be reimbursed for equipment used by one but owned by the other.

By the year 1953, the Michigan Prison Camp Programme, although only five years old, had developed rapidly from the pilot camp in the Waterloo Recreational Area to a permanent division of the Corrections Department. Currently, there are about seven hundred inmates occupying nine regular work camps and there is an additional Michigan Parole Camp which has a population of 128 men.

Selection of Inmates.

The Corrections Department of Michigan has emulated the American Prison Association's "A Manual of Correctional Standards, 1954" suggestions on selection of inmates for camp programmes. They include the following:

1. Inmates should be selected through appropriate classification procedures and it should be their prerogative to accept or refuse camp assignment.
2. Prisoners should have both medical and dental examinations before being sent to the camp. This would help to lessen the number of trips back to the institution.
3. The only prisoner who should be selected for the camp are those who are good custody risks without the use of gun-guards, chains, or other undesirable forms of restraint.
4. If it is possible prisoners should be paid wages for the work they perform.
5. The number of inmates assigned to a camp should be in proportion to the amount of work available.
6. Prisoners suspected of malingering should be returned promptly to the main jail.¹

Nature of Work Projects.

Although the Michigan Prison Camp Programme has been engaged chiefly in joint Corrections-Conservation projects, it has in some instances performed work in special areas such as Michigan communities, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the Michigan State Department of Agriculture.

During the years 1951 to 1952 Prison Camp inmate labour aided the United States Department of Agriculture in the control of Blister Rust. In addition, inmate labour played an active part in the development of community projects such as the renovation of Iron Mountain Ski Jump for the 1951 International Olympic ski-jumping trials, building of Boy and Girl Scout Camps, consolidation of the Social Welfare Department's camps, and the construction of a community recreation building in Greyling.

It was discovered that by these projects the camp programme itself not only received better acceptance but also that public relations were immeasurably improved by bringing to the immediate view of the public the work performed on these different community projects. It was hoped at the same time, by this accomplishment of projects by prison camp labour, that it would help bring to the public view the fact that prisons and prisoners are the responsibility of all the people of Michigan and not the responsibility of the Corrections Department alone.

The prison camp programme received repeated and numerous requests from Michigan communities for help on public projects. Whenever possible, such help is granted. However, the camp
programme stipulates three requirements before their services are supplied:

1. There are to be no civilian workers displaced.
2. The work to be performed must be of a public nature and the land and buildings public-owned.
3. The responsible leaders of the community must ask for the assistance, and also the assistance offered by the inmate crews must be agreeable to the entire community before the work commences.

It is believed that the future of the Prison Camp Programme in Michigan is unlimited in respect to the amount of work which can be done. The tremendous State Forests, Park and Recreational Areas of Michigan are presumed to be able to provide work for a thousand men for twenty years or more.

Extra-work Activities.

Due to insufficient documentary material the writer has been unable to present an account of the "extra-work activities" as practised in this state.

Philosophy of Camp Programme.

Although at present there are ten camp programmes functioning in Michigan it is hoped that legislative approval of a twelve camp programme will eventually be obtained. The eleventh camp is scheduled to be constructed during 1954 to 1955, and the twelfth during the years 1955 to 1956. It has been mentioned, however, that the attainment of this objective is dependent upon the accessibility of both "good security risk" prisoners and legislative approval. If such a plan was found to be unprofitable inasmuch as it goes beyond the point of diminishing returns, then the ten camp programme will be maintained as the optimum.

The Supervisory Personnel of the Michigan prison camp
programme are required to take continuous in-service training courses. Each employee is compelled to attend at least two such courses of study each year. The courses deal with supervision of camp officers and prisoners, overall day-to-day functioning of the camps, learning of security measures, buying and ordering of camp supplies and material, and public and interdepartmental relations. It is felt that no matter how experienced a camp officer or sergeant may be, new situations are continually arising in such a wide-spread programme that study and constant probing are needed to keep abreast with the changes.

In addition, in-service training courses are given to camp custodial personnel. The purposes of the courses are to acquaint any new camp programme employee with the policies and stipulations of the camp custodial work, and to bring them into contact with the supervisory personnel with whom they will work. It also is used as a refresher course for experienced employees. The course includes general operating policies of the camp programme as well as the history and principle. Also emphasis is placed on the fact that training and treatment of camp inmates is a career worthy of and entailing much thought and study. The policy of the camp programme is that each Camp Custodial Officer is obliged to take a two day in-service training course at least twice each year.

In a similar manner, since the Michigan prison camp programme is dually operated by Corrections and Conservation Departments, and since Conservation foremen are occasionally responsible for handling inmate crews, employees of this department have to
take what are termed "indoctrination courses". It is the responsibility of the Corrections Department to train them for this particular work. The main emphasis of the indoctrination courses entails training of Conservation foremen in the areas of established penological methods as well as in the important problems of inmate control and discipline. The courses also include such matters as responsibility of foremen, liaison between the two departments, assignment of inmates, the Corrections Law, camp feeding problems and related subjects. This plan is rigidly adhered to as it is believed that regardless of how much training an individual may have had in ordinary areas of human behaviour, when he deals with prison inmates, he is faced with problems dissimilar from those of any other profession.

The Prison Camp Programme functions with these ideas and principles:

1. To provide useful and instructive work for prison inmates and to assist them to become good citizens by instilling into them good work habits and a better attitude toward society.
2. To provide for the Camp Programme employees a satisfying way of life in a work environment where there is co-operation and harmony, as well as to provide opportunity for performing useful human service, and an advancement in an honourable career in penology.
3. To render economical and efficient labour service to the Conservation Department for the benefit of the people and for future generations who will visit and enjoy the improved recreational facilities.
4. To protect the community the Programme serves by maintaining proper supervision and custody of camp inmates until they are released by due process of the law.¹

The State of Massachusetts.

Massachusetts prison forest camps were initiated upon a survey conducted by Mr. Gavin (Director of Camps) of the camp programmes of Wisconsin and Michigan. As a result of the survey, Massachusetts has incorporated nearly the same concepts relating to selection of inmates, aspects of camp routine, and philosophy of programme, as these two states, into its own camp project. Therefore, the writer, in order to avoid repetition, has excluded these three components from this section of the study. At the same time, however, since the Massachusetts camp programme is almost contemporary with the British Columbia one, the writer feels that it is significant enough to this study to merit some mention.

Massachusetts established its pilot camp in May of 1952 in the form of a U-shaped building, constructed by outside labour at the approximate cost of $35,000.00.

The inmates, under supervision of camp officers, helped to modernize and to add to the building in such ways as the following:

1. A combination chapel and recreation hall was built.
2. A joint workshop and avocational building was set up.
3. A garage, for the camp vehicles, and a storage building were constructed.
4. A quonset type supply building and a bunk house were built.¹

In addition to camp projects inmates cleared land, built roads and parking lots, and cut, skidded, decked and processed logs, some of which were for state use.

As of November 1953 (the camp's total length of operation at that time) their own camp buildings had been renovated, one hundred extra camp sites had been developed and three thousand man-hours of forest fire fighting had been put in by the inmates.

The Massachusetts prison camp programme works in conjunction with the State Conservation Department. The Conservation Department provides the work projects and the Corrections Department, in co-operation with them, selects the work gangs of prison inmates.

**Conclusions.**

It is the writer's opinion that this comparative study cannot be adequately concluded without some appraisal of its components.

Although the writer is unfamiliar with the efficiency of these prison camp programmes, there are certain observations he has made:

1. The material used in this study is of a public relations nature and offers little scope for a possible critique.

2. The criteria for selection of inmates (especially Wisconsin) seems so exclusive that the number of prisoners eligible for the camps must be very limited.

3. The process employed by the inmate selecting committees of Wisconsin and Michigan in the evaluation of prospective camp inmates seems to be a very comprehensive one, e.g., Chaplain's reports, F.B.I. reports, etc. However, the extensiveness and usefulness of each report would be open to question.
## Schedule A

**Comparative Analysis of Different Forestry Camp Projects**

*(California, Wisconsin, Michigan and Massachusetts)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF STATE</th>
<th>DATE OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>ADMINISTRATION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CAMPS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INMATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>Dept. of Corrections - 1931 &lt;br&gt;California Youth Authority - 1943</td>
<td>Dept. of Corrections and California Youth Authority in conjunction with the State Division of Highways, State Div. of Forestry, and U.S. Forest Service</td>
<td>9 permanent &lt;br&gt;9 seasonal &lt;br&gt;3 Youth Authority (in 1953)</td>
<td>4,010 in 1949 &amp; 1950 &lt;br&gt;1,000 in 1951 &lt;br&gt;285 in 1952 in Youth Authority Camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Dept. Corrections in conjunction with State Conservation Dept.</td>
<td>7 (in 1954)</td>
<td>20 to 75 inmates per camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Dept. Corrections in conjunction with State Conservation Dept.</td>
<td>9 permanent &lt;br&gt;1 parole (in 1953)</td>
<td>700 permanent in 1953 &lt;br&gt;128 in parole (in 1953)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Dept. Corrections in conjunction with State Conservation Dept.</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter III

The British Columbia Programme:

Treatment Aspects.

Origin. The idea of a prison forestry camp programme for
British Columbia was conceived in February 1951. It arose as
a result of a suggestion made almost simultaneously in the Prov-
incial Legislature by Mr. G. Wismer, the Attorney-General for
British Columbia at that time, and Mr. Kenny, the Minister of
Lands and Forests. They suggested that a summer forest work
project might be a suitable rehabilitative programme for young
delinquents. The concept was submitted for approval to Mr.
E. G. B. Stevens, the Inspector of Gaols for British Columbia,
who considered the plan feasible. After administrative prepara-
tion the plan was inaugurated.

British Columbia embarked upon its first year of a summer
prison camp programme on June 18, 1951. On that day eleven
young offenders were released from the Young Offenders' Unit of
the Oakalla Prison Farm under the provisions of the "Ticket of
Leave Act".\(^1\) The group was flown to Penticton by Canadian
Pacific Airlines, from whence they chartered a bus and were
transported to the camp area. The approximate location of the
camp area was in the upper reaches of the Kettle River in the

\(^1\) The "Ticket of Leave Act", is administered by the
Remission's Branch of the Department of Justice for Canada. It
allows inmates to live outside the prison under supervision.
The prisoner who violates it stipulations has his "ticket"
revoked.
Monashee Pass, fifty miles east of Vernon.  

In May of 1952, as a result of the successful camp programme in the previous year, British Columbia launched its second forest camp programme. Two camps were established in the Nelson Forest District. Each camp contained twelve inmates, who were released as in the preceding year under the "Ticket of Leave Act".

One camp was situated on forest access road approximately six and one-half miles south of the Monashee Pass Road. It was on the upper reaches of the Kettle River in the mountain range between the Okanagan and the Arrow Lakes. The towns nearest to the camp were Lumby, about sixty miles west, and Edgewood, about fifty miles east. This camp, named Rehabilitation Camp No. 1, was under the supervision of the Edgewood district Forest Ranger.

The second forestry camp, called Rehabilitation Camp No. II, was located at the north end of Christian Valley, about fifty miles north of Rock Creek. The distance between the two camps was about thirty-five miles. However, since they were not of easy access, a distance of some two hundred and fifty miles had to be travelled in order to get from one camp to the other.

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2 Material used in Chapter III of this study has been obtained from the Annual Reports of the Inspector of Gaols for the years ended March 31, 1951, 1952, and 1953. In addition, information has been acquired through a number of personal interviews with Mr. E.G.B. Stevens, the Inspector Gaols for British Columbia and Mr. R.M. Deildal, the Senior Officer in charge of these forestry camps during their three years of operation.

The 1953 British Columbia forestry camp was a continuation of the previous experiments of 1951 and 1952. However, it differed in this respect—it was named a gaol. In "Order in Council", number 1183, dated May 19, 1953, it was stated that there was to be constructed a gaol, to be located in the same places as the camps of the previous years and it was to be called the "Forest Camp Gaol". Then, by "Order in Council" number 1184, May 19th, six inmates from Oakalla Prison Farm and fourteen from Young Offenders' Unit of Oakalla Prison Farm were to be transferred to the Forest Camp Gaol. These inmates were to be detained there until discharged by due course of the law or until further order. The inmates were to be transferred under section five of the "Prisons and Reformatories Act". This transfer was to be effective on or after May 31st and its stated purpose was to enable the said prisoners to carry out a work programme at or in the vicinity of the said camp under the supervision of the Forestry Branch of the Province.¹

By changing the name to the Forest Camp Gaol the rather awkward procedure involved in the "Ticket of Leave Act" was done away with, and the moving of the inmates from the main gaol to the Forest Camp Gaol was facilitated. Also, by the adoption of the name Forest Camp Gaol it allowed for the Administration of the camp to be centralized in the hands of the Corrections branch.

¹Government of British Columbia, Copy of a Minute of the Honourable the Executive Council of the Province of British Columbia, May 19, 1953.
Administration.

Since the prison forestry camp in 1951 was the first to be experimented with in British Columbia, there was no precedent to follow and so the administration of the camp was developed as the programme progressed. This lack of definition in administrative policy produced some confusion between the two authorities involved. They were the British Columbia Forest Service Officials of Nelson District and the Provincial Probation Branch. The majority of problems, however, were resolved by consultations between the supervisors of each department.

The 1952 forestry camp had a more clarified form of administration than its predecessor. In this year the officials of the British Columbia Forest Service of the Department of Lands and Forests and the officials of the Probation Branch decided to operate two camps. The Forest Service established and equipped the camps. They were also responsible for the food supplies, tools, vehicles and housing (tents). A foreman and cook were appointed by the Forest Service to each camp and they were under the direction of the Forest Rangers of the area. The job of the foreman was to direct the work project, to maintain the equipment and to supervise any additional personnel who might be working in the camp area.

The supervisor of the 1952 camp was the same person as in the previous year (Mr. R. M. Deildal). He was on loan from the Provincial Probation Branch and was responsible to the Inspector of Gaols. His responsibility was to supervise the inmates. Further duties of the Supervisor were those of discipline, custody,
The forestry programme for the year 1953 functioned under the same joint administration as those camps of the preceding years. There was, however, a more adequate preparation for this year's project which included a few changes in administrative arrangements. The Attorney-General's department had complete control over the supervision and organization of the camp. Mr. Deildal who was the camp supervisor this year, held the position of temporary camp warden. The Attorney-General's Department appointed a foreman and cook, as well as a supervisor who was put in charge of recreation.

The sum of $20,000.00 was secured from the Forest service for operation of the project. The camp warden, through the Nelson Forest District Office, assumed the responsibility of processing the requisitioning and accounting.

The equipment for the camp was provided by the Forest Service, and they were also responsible for the road location and specifications of the work projects. As a means of ensuring that such specifications were carried out the Forest Service conducted periodic inspections of the work and offered the camp foreman any needed advice.

Selection of Inmates.

For the 1951 and 1952 forestry programmes inmates for the camps were chosen by the staff of the Young Offenders' Unit and of the Oakalla Prison Farm. The classification officers and their respective staff aided in this process. The criteria used for selection of the inmates was flexible but in most cases was as
follows:
1. Good security risks.
2. No drug addicts.\(^1\)
3. Good health—medically and dentally.
4. In most instances inmates serving six to seven months (prospective paroles).\(^2\)

It was found that the majority of inmates had juvenile court records, but that they were serving their first gaol sentence. Nearly all were serving sentences of at least one year. The nature of the offences were auto theft, breaking and entering, theft over twenty-five dollars, and contributing to juvenile delinquency.

The candidates for the 1953 forestry scheme were selected well in advance. They included not only the inmates from the Young Offenders' Unit, as in former years, but also a group of six men from the main gaol. The director and classification officer of Young Offenders' Unit, along with the classification officer of the Oakalla Prison Farm, constituted the selecting team. The standards used for choosing the prospective camp inmates was on the same basis as in the past years. It was discovered, as before, that the majority of inmates had had juvenile court records and were now serving their first gaol term. The pattern of offences was nearly the same as for the preceding two years.

\(^1\)The administrative authorities in charge of the British Columbia forest prison camp programme were of the opinion that the inclusion of drug addicts in the programme would constitute poor security risks and less chance of rehabilitation.

\(^2\)Statement by R. M. Deildal, personal interview.
Type of Inmate.

The camp personnel were provided with social histories on the majority of inmates. Where no social histories were available, personal interviews were utilized as the means of obtaining desired information.

The age range of the prisoners during the three year operation period of the camp programme was from fifteen to twenty-six. The greater number of inmates, however, were in the eighteen, nineteen and twenty year old age group. A large number of the inmates showed varying degrees of emotional immaturity. Many of them had primary behaviour disorders rather than serious neuroses or pre-psychotic behaviour. The average intelligence of the inmates was thought to be slightly lower than that of the general population. The educational level ranged from primary school to one or two years of university, with the average schooling being about Grade VIII.\(^1\) Table 1 gives a detailed tabulated account of the social history information of the twenty inmates included in the 1953 camp programme.

About two-thirds of the inmates came from urban environments and the remainder from small towns in British Columbia and other provinces. Most of the inmates were found to have come from an unsuitable home environment, that is, broken and inadequate homes rather than just material impoverishment. There were very few inmates who were first offenders. The bulk of them had been processed through the Family Court, Juvenile Court, Juvenile

Detention Home, Boys' Industrial School and a few had even served sentences at Oakalla.

Very few prisoners had ever worked before, and those who had were discovered to have had poor work habits, with frequent changes of employment. The usual reason for an inmate quitting a job was found to be the individual's inability to get along with his employer.

It was noted that the majority of inmates had an extremely narrow range of recreational interests. Only a few prisoners were interested in hobbies. Movie pictures, bowling alleys, pool halls and other forms of commercial entertainment were preferred by the inmates. It was observed that the majority of prisoners were not only unresourceful as a group but also as individuals, and this was believed to be a contributory factor in their delinquency.
Table 1.
Social History Information of the Inmates in the British Columbia Prison Forestry Camp Programme during the year 1953.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>16-17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19-20</th>
<th>21-23</th>
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Personnel.

The 1951 British Columbia forestry camp programme was impeded in its operation by the type of staff and by the newness of the situation. All the staff, including the camp senior officer, R. M. Deildal, were unfamiliar with a prison camp programme at the beginning of their first year. The camp foreman and cook who were both supplied by the Forest service had had no previous experience at all in dealing with prisoners.

The staff problem did not improve much in 1952. Personnel appointed by the Forest Service proved to be far from satisfactory. The foreman in charge of Rehabilitation Camp No. 1 was the same man who had been foreman the previous year. Although experienced in managing forest camps, he was unsuitable in a camp of this type. He was unable to understand or apply the social work method with the prisoners and his relationship with the supervisor was unsatisfactory. The foreman in charge of Rehabilitation Camp No. II also had little understanding of the inmates and, finding the job not to his liking worked only a short while.

The supervisors for these two camps were recent graduates of the University of British Columbia. One was a Bachelor of Arts and the other was a theology student. They had been given temporary appointment to the corrections branch for the camp period and were under the supervision of R. M. Deildal, who was again Senior Camp Officer. Both men, although able to get along with the inmates, were inexperienced in handling prisoners and in running this type of programme. As a result they had some difficulty in maintaining discipline.
Furthermore, during this year, there was considerable difficulty in securing good camp cooks. In Rehabilitation Camp No. II alone there was a succession of four cooks. The majority of these employees were found to be either inefficient, unsanitary, or refused to conform to camp rules and regulations, and so had to be discharged. Eventually, in Camp No. II the inmates ended up by doing their own cooking. This led to waste and inefficient ordering of supplies with resulting high costs.

After the discouraging experiences with the calibre of the employees during these two years, planning for the 1953 programme emphasized the careful selection of personnel. This year Mr. R.M. Deildal was given the temporary appointment of warden, and the responsibility of hiring all the staff for the forestry programme was entirely incumbent upon the corrections branch.

The foreman employed this year was a very competent person. As well as having had extensive experience in the woods, he had good control of the inmates. His manner with them was acceptable and he instinctively did the right thing in handling situations.

The cook this year again had no knowledge of dealing with inmates, but his work was satisfactory. They kept him isolated from the inmates and any complaints pertaining to his work were made to one of the personnel, not directly to him.

Included on the camp personnel this year was a supervisor who was on loan from Young Offenders' Unit. He not only had experience in dealing with delinquent boys but also had been working on the 3:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. socialization programme at
the Young Offenders' Unit. He had knowledge of group activities and experience in organizing various events and games which he carried out with competence.

**Nature of Work Projects.**

The chief work project of the camp programme for 1951 was the building of an eight mile road from the camp site to Fish Creek. The prisoners cleared the forest to produce a right-of-way for the road and then helped as "swampers" on the trucks and as gravel spreaders when the actual road building began. For this work the Forest Service sent in bulldozers and other road building equipment.

During the month of August of the same year the inmates were engaged in fire-fighting. For the first eight hours of fire-fighting they received their regular wages. For any additional hours they obtained fire-fighting pay at the rate of seventy-five cents per hour.¹

The form of work of both camps in 1952 was much the same as in 1951. Rehabilitation Camp No. I continued on with the main project started the previous year. Rehabilitation Camp No. II cleared additional trees and did other road-building work as their main project. Both camps were termed fire suppression camps, as in the previous year, and inmates built fire trails and were prepared for fire-fighting.

In 1953 the camp work programme was primarily the clearing

of the right-of-way for the forest access road along the Kettle River. The inmates were subject to fire-fighting duties and were recognized as a fire suppression group but their services were not needed as it was a wet summer.

During this summer the work project was better organized by Forest Service Personnel than in past years. Emphasis was placed on keeping the inmates busy on the basis of a forty-four hour week. The camp foreman was given supervision and on different occasions the inmate crew was divided into three groups with the supervisors helping the foreman as "strawbosses". ¹

Operation of Camp Programme.

1. Camp routine: The average working day for each inmate was one of routinism. The inmates were wakened at 6:45 a.m. by the camp "flunkey" and breakfast was served at 7:30 a.m. Before reporting for work each inmate was responsible for making his own bed and for helping clean up the tents and tent area. The work period in the morning was from 8:00 a.m. until twelve o'clock. During the work period one or two breaks for smoke periods were allowed, since due to the fire hazard in the bush, the inmates were prohibited from smoking on the job. The afternoon work period continued from 1:00 p.m. until 4:30 p.m. with appropriate smoke periods. Supper was served at 5:30 p.m. The inmates occupied their evenings by either resting, reading books obtained from the camp library, friendly discourse, or engaging in the

different recreational activities available at the camp. In addition, the supervisor's time was available during the evening to the inmates for counselling and discussion of different problems. The commissary was opened several times a week after supper and the inmates could buy tobacco, candy, soft drinks etc. The price of the purchases was deducted from the inmates' deferred earnings. The day terminated at 10:30 p.m. with all lights out in the sleeping tents. There was, however, no regulated time for lights out on a day prior to a non-work day.

2. Physical facilities: The facilities of the 1951 British Columbia forestry project were somewhat inadequate. During the next two years of the programme, however, they improved somewhat. The facilities existent during the 1953 programme can be divided into four categories; (1) medical and dental services, (2) clothing, (3) camp commissary, and (4) miscellaneous camp equipment.

Each inmate, before coming to camp, was given a thorough medical and dental examination. Inmates who were in need of dental treatment received it before leaving Oakalla. In order to be practical and to avoid malingering the inmate group were told that there was no means of looking after sick people in camp. It was explained to the group that anybody with an illness of more than two or three days duration would have to be transferred back to the main gaol. It happened, however, that such actions were not necessary, and no time was lost through illness. Nevertheless, several inmates had to be escorted to Vernon for emergency treatment. Also, due to a number of accidents, mostly axe cuts, a few
inmates had to be taken to a doctor at Vernon. The crewmen were responsible for their own dental bills, but the medical bills were sent in to the corrections branch and Workmen's Compensation forms were submitted.

Before leaving gaol, each inmate was outfitted with a complete set of work clothes, the cost of which came to sixty-five dollars. This was deducted from the inmate's earnings. The issue of clothes consisted of boots, running shoes, socks, pants, shirts, and gloves, which the inmates were allowed to keep after discharge.

A commissary was set up as part of the programme for the inmates. The different articles which were sold were purchased by the senior officer of the camp at the wholesale price and sold to the inmates at the retail price. The profits made from this procedure were used to buy recreational equipment for the camp, as well as various prizes for different contests such as fishing which were held throughout the summer. A limit of two dollars was set on the amount of commissary purchase that each inmate could make per week.

The inmates were divided into groups of four, and each group was allotted a tent as their sleeping quarters. The camp's senior officer had his own sleeping tent and it also served as an office. Similarly, the camp supervisor and foreman each had their individual sleeping tents in which they also used to store such equipment as saws, hammers, and first aid equipment. Each bunk tent was equipped with a small stove, army style cots and bed clothes. Two tents set end to end served as a kitchen and mess hall. The dining tent contained an eating table, a hot water
storage drum and a sink. In addition, a coal oil refrigerator was a valuable piece of camp equipment.

Other general physical facilities which the camp possessed was a half-ton pick-up truck provided by the Forest Service. The vehicle was quite old and on different occasions proved to be very unreliable. Nevertheless, it served as a means of transporting both merchandise and inmates to and from town.

3. Discipline: It was found that when the inmates were kept busy at work their overall behaviour was at its best, and at this time they also appeared to be the happiest. The camp programme was well equipped with rules and regulations. Some of them included:

1. Deprivation of privileges. Minor misdemeanors were dealt with by this type of disciplinary measure. For instance, an inmate might have his commissary privileges revoked due to misbehaviour. He would be prohibited from making purchases for a few days, the period of time contingent upon the nature of the offence.

2. Assignment of unpleasant work detail. There were numerous jobs around the camp that had to be done and yet were arduous and disagreeable labour. Some of these included cutting extra supplies of wood, emptying garbage and general camp maintenance.

3. Discipline related to the damage done in the course of misbehaviour. It was observed to be a characteristic of some of the inmates to be very careless with the camp tools and equipment. The inmate who wantonly damaged property was required to either repair it or pay for the damage out of his deferred earnings.

4. Re-classification. Inmates found guilty of misdemeanors of a
more serious nature, e.g., persistent malingering, insubordination, were transferred back to the main gaol.¹

**Extra-work Activities.**

The camp activities, apart from those of the work programme, possessed no organized form for either the 1951 or 1952 camp projects. The inmates were provided the means to make their own recreation and entertainment, though on occasion they were taken as a group to the nearby town to see a moving picture.

The camps were situated in a setting that afforded good opportunities for hiking, exploring and fishing, but the more passive type of entertainment seemed to be preferred by the inmates. It was found that most of the inmates would rather spend their time in conversation with other inmates, or to read pocket-sized books which were sent to the camp by the Oakalla Prison Librarian.

The 1953 forestry camp extra-work activities were not only better organized than in 1951 and 1952, but in addition had a staff person responsible for the management of them. This person had had previous experience in directing recreational programmes. He encouraged the inmates to organize tournaments and sport days and prizes were provided. The inmates organized their own soft ball team and competed against the neighbouring towns of Cherryville and Edgewood.

A number of games were purchased such as checkers, monopoly, chess, etc. A ping pong table and a pool table which were set up

¹Statement by R.M. Deildal, personal interview.
inside a large tent were popular items among the inmates.

Instead of taking the camp group into town to see movies as was done in the past years, a projector machine and screen were borrowed this year from the Forestry Service and feature length films were rented and shown to the inmates in camp. The Forest Service Department supplied educational films of their own as well.

Philosophy of Camp Programmes.

The philosophy of the British Columbia Prison Forestry Camp Programme is not unlike those of the programmes discussed in Chapter II. The writer has found that the philosophy, selection of inmates and camp routine of all four prison forestry programmes included in Chapter II of this study, and of the British Columbia programme are relatively speaking the same. It has been observed, through the various research material used in this study that differences in these three components were in the nature of degree, not form. Therefore it is probable that the aspects of the particular programme where documentary material was not available would also be similar to the corresponding subject where information was obtained.

The following list of features are those relevant to the philosophy of the British Columbia programme: (1) removes the individual from the corrupting influence of an overcrowded prison; (2) affords an opportunity for professionally trained staff to give individual attention to the inmates; (3) provides group work values; and (4) means of reducing government expenditure in the
treatment of offenders.¹

Social Work Implications.

Plans for the care and welfare of the prisoners were designed to help them adjust from prison to civilian life by providing work opportunities under healthful conditions that were not unlike the conditions they would have to face when released from custody. Also, being paid a wage of $3.00 per day for their work, inmates were able to accumulate funds to help tide them over the immediate period following their re-entry into a free society.

Training for the development of good work habits was one of the main rehabilitative factors of these camps. Offenders who had never really worked before were helped to gain satisfaction from a work situation. The labour was made as interesting as possible. Remuneration for work performed took the form of compliments to the inmates, encouragement, recognition, granting of certain privileges as well as the daily wage.

Limits were set on the individual's behaviour, and it was anticipated that since most of the prisoners were immature they would want to test the pattern. Control and punishment were used as social work tools. The imposition of penalties for the infraction of camp rules was done on a basis that was as firm, fair, consistent and impersonal as possible. Privileges served as extra means of control and emphasis was placed on the earning of privileges.

¹Statement by R.M. Deildal, personal interview.
One of the main social work aspects of the programme was the case work counselling services which were available to the inmates. Some inmates needed help with their personal problems and understanding of the underlying causes of their delinquency, which in turn would help them adjust better to society on their release. A second type of case work service was that in which the supervisors helped the inmates in relating to their families. It was believed that a large part of rehabilitating prisoners comes from their response to those whom they care most about.

During an interview with the writer, Mr. R.M. Deildal, who was the Senior Officer in charge of the prison camps from 1951 to 1953, illustrated how these counselling services were carried out with the following case. It was taken from the 1953 programme and it deviated somewhat from the normal.

The inmate in this particular case came from a home environment which was very inadequate. The father was an extremely autocratic person, and the mother a very submissive person. The boy had been beaten many times by his father, often without knowing the reason for it. Because of this kind of family setting and the inconsistent discipline imposed upon the boy as a youngster, he developed a negative attitude toward authority. Concerning such behaviour patterns Friedlander has noted that family backgrounds similar to this boy's are often the cause of this type of reaction.\(^1\) The boy's attitude eventually led to his incarceration, and it carried over from the gaol, where he served part of

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his sentence, to the prison forestry camp. When the boy first arrived at the camp, he projected his hostility toward authority at anyone. He would protest either by verbal abuse or more often by the breaking of something such as an axe or a shovel. His behaviour followed the pattern of violating a camp rule and then waiting for what he thought was the inevitable punishment and rejection. This behavioural reaction was noted by the senior camp officer. He was familiar with the boy's social history and felt that the boy was in need of special counselling services to help him with this emotional problem. During the course of case work counselling, following an emotional "blow-up" on the part of the inmate, the senior officer tried to relate to the boy why he "blow-up". He attempted to convey to the boy that his behaviour was unacceptable, but that he himself as a person was acceptable. After a number of interviews the senior officer was eventually able to help the boy gain insight into why he had these emotional outbursts. The boy was helped to understand that the source of his problem stemmed from his home environment. Gradually the boy's behaviour became more socially acceptable. The role of the senior officer seemed to change from one of counsellor to that of an accepting father. In the opinion of the senior officer it appeared to be the only time the boy had had a relationship with a person in authority who didn't reject him, but accepted him for himself.

Unfortunately, the supervisors at the camps were not always adequately trained for extensive casework, and the senior camp officer, although a trained social worker, was kept too busy
with administrative work to spend much time at case work coun­selling. Nevertheless, through observation of the inmates at work and play, the personnel became familiar with each individual. An evaluation was made of the person's work as well as his habits, and preparation was made for the inmate's eventual release.

The efforts to place inmates in suitable jobs was very successful in 1951 and 1952 due to the co-operation of the Special Placement Section of the National Employment Service, the B. C. Forest Service, and the Probation Officers. Unfortunately, they met with less success in 1953 and only half the inmates had found employment upon their release. The rest were registered with the National Employment Service.
Chapter IV

Benefits and Difficulties.

Opportunities for the Group Work Method.¹

The group work process was used by the personnel at the British Columbia Prison Forestry Camps but it is probably impossible to assess the full consequences of their programme. If an inmate's social behaviour improved after his release, it would be very difficult to prove whether this was because of the camp programme, or in spite of it. However, the values that can be attributed to any good group work programme should apply in this setting too.

Two cardinal principles in the theory and practice of group work are, (1) the core of the maturation process is that the maturing of an individual results from his contact with other people, and (2) most people mature and develop as a result of problem solving. When people live together on a group basis, as they did in the prison camp, various problems inevitably arise from the sharing of food and facilities, and because of the struggle for leadership within the group. In a group work programme the people are recognized as individuals, but are treated as members of a group, and problems are dealt with on a group basis.

Group work leaders should never feel that the group members are "too disturbed" to participate in, or benefit from, a group work programme. Group work, when practised correctly, is a flexible

¹Trecker defines the group work method as "one way of giving service or help to individuals and to some degree social group work is used in all social practice. Primarily, it is a specialized method of providing growth opportunities for individuals and groups in the functional settings of social work, recreation and education".

method of helping groups to resolve their problems. Effective leadership is especially important in a custodial setting because most inmates would drift aimlessly if left to their own devices.

Illustrations follow of how group work method was used as one aspect of the treatment plan in the camp programme.

There were four inmates to each tent and the inmates were allowed to choose their own companions for the tents. By 7:30 a.m. the tents had to be swept out and the tent area cleaned. Each tent was required to work out its own system for getting the work done. If it was not done, the group was penalized generally by deprivation of commissary privileges. Each day, one of the five tent groups was responsible for cleaning the recreation tent, lavatories and overall camp site and for filling the wood box. Groups were scored for good work, and the crew which did the best job was rewarded, perhaps by a special outing to get a load of wood or by giving each man an extra package of tobacco.

The inmates particularly enjoyed ball games as recreation and in 1953 the recreation officer encouraged them to form a committee the better to organize the games. The committee that was formed had a chairman and a secretary who kept minutes of the meeting. Each of the five tents sent one representative and either the recreational officer or the senior camp officer were invited to attend the meetings. The inmates welcomed their presence not only for their guidance but also for special favours that they might grant. Ping-pong, pool and bridge tournaments as well as a fishing derby were organized by this inmate committee. Suggestions pertaining to aspects of camp routine and the work programme were
also brought up at their meetings. For example, when a rainy
spell decreased the danger of forest fires, the inmates suggested
that factory made cigarettes, which were not usually allowed in
camp, be given as prizes for the tournaments instead of ordinary
tobacco.¹

When the construction of a recreation tent was planned as a
group project during the inmates' time off from work, the inmate
committee allocated the jobs. The recreation officer helped them
to plan the work. Unfortunately the inmates only worked for a
short time before they lost interest. When some of the allocated
jobs were left incompleted, the senior camp supervisor had to step
in and order the construction to be finished. When the building
was completed, the inmates really appreciated it and felt their
efforts had been worthwhile. Thus, the personnel had to be care­
ful to grant only as many democratic privileges as the inmates
were capable of responding to.

Besides being placed in groups at the camp the inmates were
grouped while working. The group was used as a medium to help the
individual who was finding it difficult to adjust to a group envir­
one. For example, a person in this category might be placed

¹In connection with this, it is interesting to note that
Dorothea F. Sullivan, in "Group Work in an Institutional Setting",
Group Work Horizons, Selected Papers for the year 1944, American
Association for the Study of Group Work, Association Press, New
York, p. 72, describes the importance of allowing groups to make
their own decisions on various issues such as determining the hours
for sleeping and eating, use of equipment and extracurricular
activities. Clearly implicit in the article is that groups should
be given as many opportunities as possible to plan and participate
in different activities, which would afford both the individual
and the group with chances for growth.
with a group of inmates who were known to work well together. It was found in most instances that the group proved to be of some constructive value for this type of inmate. Similarly, groups which were believed by the camp personnel to be undesirable, were broken up, whether the inmates were working together or living together. It was hoped that by adopting such a procedure, each group would have at least been given the chance to fulfill some positive function for its participants.

The type of work that the inmates did required them to learn co-operation and to be interdependent, looking out not only for their own safety but for that of the others too. When clearing the forest the inmates liked to fell the trees but did not like to clear up the debris. The groups were encouraged to work out their own arrangement for this chore. When good progress was made the group was praised and given tangible rewards. They might perhaps be allowed to break off early, and go swimming for instance. On the other hand when work was poor, they might be deprived of special privileges.

Fire-fighting offered a chance for good group work. The element of danger made the work interesting and the inmates took pride in combating the fires. They were also made more aware of their place in the community. This type of work demands a great deal of co-operation. The food had to be carried and, for the first few days, there was usually a shortage. The inmates had to learn to share and to take turns cooking and collecting water. The personnel tried to foster a competitive spirit with outside fire-fighting groups. This resulted in closer co-operation within
the group. The forest rangers as well as the camp supervisors praised them for work well done.

Impediments.

During the three years of operation of the British Columbia Forestry camps many obstacles were encountered. The following discussion relates to the drawbacks of the scheme in each successive year as observed by those persons most closely associated with the project.

1. 1951 Programme: Because the camp was formed rather hurriedly there was lack of planning and a number of problems arose that had not been anticipated beforehand. The personnel were at a disadvantage because they were unfamiliar with such a scheme and because those hired by the British Columbia Forest Service were unfamiliar even with the handling of prisoners. A line of authority was worked out but controls were inconsistent and not readily enforced.

The dual administration of the corrections branch and the British Columbia Forest Service proved to be unsatisfactory. No clear line of authority was articulated nor were responsibilities definitely delegated to each department. There were basic differences in the attitudes and purposes of the representatives of the two departments at camp level. The Forest Service personnel were, understandably enough, more interested in securing a certain amount of work from the inmates rather than with the rehabilitatory goals.

Another disturbing factor was that the finances were completely in the hands of the Forestry Department. The inmates were paid by cheque $3.00 a day, of which they were allowed to spend
fifty cents per day, and the supervisor of the camp had no control over it. As a result the inmates were able to pay outsiders to bring contraband into the camp. On one occasion, a large quantity of beer was smuggled in. The camp officer was lured away on a pretense and on his return he found half the camp intoxicated.

An additional negative influence on camp discipline was the invasion of the camp by outside Forest Service employees on various occasions. One time the camp was used as a "staging route" while fighting a fire near the camp site and forest rangers kept coming in and out of the camp. Other times some of their personnel were sent in to do special jobs and lived with the inmates. These people, as well as the drivers of the road-building equipment, did not come under the authority of the supervisor and felt they were not subject to the rules of the camp. Their conduct interfered considerably with the discipline and morale of the inmates.

The supervisor was handicapped in other ways. He did not receive enough guidance or direction from higher authorities of his branch, possibly because of the relative inaccessibility of the camp to headquarters. The camp was also understaffed. There were only three staff members—the supervisor, the foreman and the cook. As a result, the supervisor was forced to be on duty twenty-four hours a day seven days a week for the entire three and a half month period that the programme was in operation. Such constant pressure on one man was certainly undesirable. The foreman and cook took the occasional week-end off but were subject to recall. The foreman was sometimes responsible for the prisoners' custody after hours and the cook had to have inmate helpers to assist him.
This latter measure was unsatisfactory because of the tendency for these inmates to steal supplies.

The release of the prisoners under the Ticket of Leave Act turned out to be one of the main impediments to the successful operation of the 1951 project. The prisoners felt that they were out on a form of parole. This had an adverse psychological effect on them for, if they violated the stipulations of their ticket, they lost both the time spent at camp and their good conduct time. Also, there was no allowance for transferring inmates who became ill back to the gaol without revocation of their ticket. When it was necessary to transfer a prisoner, considerable difficulty was encountered because the R.C.M.P. were hesitant in accepting the authority of the camp supervisor on such matters.

1952 Programme: Although the programme was better prepared in some respects in 1952, many of the obstacles of the previous year were encountered again. Prisoners were still released under the Ticket of Leave Act and authority was still divided between the two departments. However, Forest Service personnel this year definitely recognized the supervisor as being in charge of camp discipline.

Medical and dental care for the inmates remained a problem. Much dental work had to be done and the trips to town became a nuisance because of the distance that had to be travelled and the inadequate transportation available. Moreover, time was lost from the work programme whenever prisoners had to go for medical or dental care. There was some malingering but a certain number of accidents must be expected where inexperienced persons are engaged
in this kind of work. However, there would have been less time lost if a more careful examination was given to the prisoners before they were sent to the camp and if a doctor had been more readily available.

The 1952 work programme necessitated the use of heavy machinery which often broke down. Consequently, the work programme was constantly being disrupted. This was bad for the inmates' morale for they seemed to like routine as they then knew what was expected of them. Furthermore, starting a job and finishing it gave them a sense of accomplishment.

There was again, in 1952, considerable difficulty with incompetent personnel, especially cooks. Although the supervisors of the two camps were university graduates and had some theoretical knowledge of how to handle the men, they were totally inexperienced in this type of work. Because of the distance between the two camps it was not easy for the senior supervisor to give guidance and assistance to them. As a result, discipline was far from satisfactory in the camps and three inmates had to be returned to gaol because of their defiance of authority.

1953 Programme: The experience gained in the preceding two years resulted in smoother functioning of the camp and an improvement in personnel in 1953.

Although there was a better understanding between the two departments this year, there was still a division of administrative authority, particularly concerning finances, at the upper level.

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1It has been frequently observed that the majority of penal institution inmates have weak internal controls and are in need of an ongoing and unbroken routine.
However, the corrections branch was given complete responsibility for the direction of staff and the Forest Service seldom interfered with the internal administration. They did offer guidance, though, pertaining to the work project.

Finances, equipment, and transportation were still inadequate. Lack of transportation was one of the biggest single problems this year. Sometimes there was no vehicle in camp to take a seriously injured person to the hospital if such a mishap occurred. There was also no means of taking the men the twelve miles to their ball field, and so the recreation programme had to be limited.

Despite the numerous hindrances to successful operation of these camps, it is felt that once these impediments are overcome, Forestry Camp projects will assume an important part in the treatment of the criminal in British Columbia as they have done in other places.

Recommendations.

The British Columbia Prison Forestry Camp Programme met with many and repeated problems. Although it was terminated in 1953, some workers in the British Columbia correctional field--including Mr. E.G.B. Stevens, Inspector of Gaols for British Columbia, Mr. H. G. Christie, Warden of Oakalla Prison Farm, Mr. D.L. Clark, Deputy Warden of Treatment at Oakalla Prison Farm, and Mr. R.M. Deildal, senior officer in charge of the camps during their operation--still believe that such camps have their place in the rehabilitation process for the prison inmate. The writer is much indebted to these people for their opinions concerning
future attempts at such programmes. Some of the following recommendations reflect the ideas of the writer, while others are the suggestions of the individuals mentioned above.¹

1. Attempts should be made, when planning a prison camp programme, to avoid divided administrative responsibility between the corrections branch and the other provincial departments. The camps should be set up, administered and financed if possible by one department only. However, the second department could pay for the work through contract agreements.

2. A prison forest camp programme should be established with institutional status and separate from the prison. The inmates could then be received under the general supervision of the corrections branch, thus eliminating the use of the Ticket of Leave Act.

3. The institution of prison camps requires sufficient trained personnel to operate them. People with training in modern penology or with some knowledge of either social work psychology or sociology represent the type of applicant needed. Ideally the person hired for this type of work should have academic training, administrative ability, knowledge of the project, and leadership ability. They should also recognize the use of authority and understand staff relationships.

4. A camp programme should be operated on a year-round basis not just a seasonal one. This would provide continuity to the programme and a saving of funds as the inmates and equipment would not have

¹These people do not take responsibility for opinions directly expressed as such.
to be transported to and from the prison every summer. It was found by Mr. R.M. Deildal that the British Columbia summer prison camps were valuable inasmuch as they helped to introduce an idea and to prove its feasibility. However, such a system made it impossible to employ a permanent trained staff and consequently each year of the programme it was necessary to recruit new staff and start afresh. Furthermore a short term programme necessitated the release of a large number of inmates on the same date because of the camp closure. This obviously made it difficult to obtain employment for all the inmates at the same time which could be overcome if the programme was a continuous one.

5. There is a need for purposeful and constructive work projects. These should be properly organized so that any work done will be of some value in the training of good work habits. The development of provincial parks, forest fire suppression, construction and clearance of forest access roads and reforestation were work projects used in the 1951 to 1953 British Columbia Prison Forestry Camp Programme. They were found to be a suitable type of work for such a programme and could be used again in future projects. In addition, the British Columbia Corrections Branch could conceivably enter into a contract with federal authorities such as the Department of Fisheries for the purposes of restoring salmon spawning grounds on the British Columbia coast, counting and tagging of fish and other forms of fishery research projects. There is also the possibility that the Provincial Department of Public Works could make use of prison labour in road construction and tunnelling as is being done in California. There are numerous
projects which could be used and if embarked upon would not necessarily be a threat to free labour. However, even if problems should arise they could no doubt be worked out as they have been in other places.

6. A prison camp programme should not necessarily be confined for the use of youthful offenders as it was primarily in the British Columbia plan. With proper method of selection the programme could be used for older inmates as well. This method has been adopted at the new Haney gaol.

7. Camps should, to a certain extent, be isolated from the community, but at the same time be within reasonable access to a city or town. A distance of about ten to fifteen miles might be considered suitable.

8. The possibility of having a separate allocation of money voted by the Provincial Government for the operation of a forestry camp scheme ought to be considered. This money could be administered by the director of the forestry camp programme.

9. It has been illustrated through the British Columbia experiment that thorough planning is extremely important before a new prison forestry camp project is undertaken. The administrators of such a plan might be well advised to send a representative to American states that are leading in this type of work to see how they function.

10. Steps should be taken not only to interpret but also to emphasize the merits of a prison camp scheme to both the legislature and the public. For example, it could be explained that the cost of maintaining a man in prison is high when one includes the construc-
tion and maintenance of the building, staff wages, food and clothing and other miscellaneous expenditures. The tax payer helps to provide the money but receives few returns for his outlay. The British Columbia camp programme has proved that under adequate supervision inmates can do productive labour.

**Conclusions.**

The principle of prison camps as initiated during the years 1951 to 1953 in the Kettle River district of British Columbia has been followed up in many respects by the work project at Haney. At the present time Oakalla Prison Farm has about fifty inmates between the ages of sixteen and sixty-six working at the site of the new British Columbia Correctional Institution at Haney. Although this is chiefly a work project camp where inmates receive $1.00 per day for work done, it is also a minimum security project as was the forestry programme.

Other suggestions for prison labour besides the Haney project should be considered. Areas in the province that might be considered unprofitable by trade unions could be developed. For instance, there is the possibility of constructing camps in the Garibaldi area, and developing vacation resorts, and playgrounds and camp sites in the Howe Sound area. This type of work would give inmates something productive to do rather than the futile work which they might otherwise be employed at. Although these plans may not prove feasible, it nevertheless has been proved at Haney that prison camps can be operated on a year round basis. If it can be done at Haney, then it can be done anywhere on the Lower Mainland.
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