THE COHEN INTERVIEWS

ROSE MARY BRAITHWAITE -- Interview no 4.

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Each interview is presented as a free-standing publication with its own set of notes. However, readers interested in the Cohen Interviews as a whole and the period discussed are referred to:

(a) the other 25 interviews

(b) the Editors' Introduction,

(c) the select Bibliography.

All of these can be found at
http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/explorefurther/subject_guides/social_work

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Rose Mary Braithwaite (1914–2012) came from a socially concerned family. Her father resided for a time at Toynbee Hall and was a major figure in community enterprises: later was a leading member of the Lloyd George team that created the National Insurance scheme prior to the first world war. And her mother was an early member of the London County Council's care committee staff - a vital influence on many of the pioneers interviewed by Alan Cohen. It was therefore no surprise that she became a student at the London School of Economics (LSE) and, once there, switched from the study of economics to take the two-year Social Science Certificate. Her first job, in 1939, was as a probation officer at a juvenile court in the east end of London and thus began a distinguished career in the probation service and in social work more generally. In common with other Cohen interviewees, she had a period (1948) of training at the New York School of Social Work. And her abilities as a supervisor were recognised by LSE in 1954 when she was appointed to the staff of the first Applied Social Studies ("Carnegie") course. Her hands-on probation practice continued for several years and she was given senior training responsibilities by the London probation service; and this was followed by a teaching post on the first social work post-graduate course at Bedford College and later to an advisory post in the early 1970's at the newly formed CCETSW. She wrote a

number of articles including, *The Probation Officer, His Training and Skills* for the Probation Journal in 1959.

Her obituarist, Marina Jenkyns, wrote: “Rose Mary was a remarkable friend, with a sharp intellect, great warmth, interest in others and concern for the consequences of human actions.”

A.C. Rose Mary, when did you come into social work?

R.M.B. 13 February 1939, to be precise. That was when I became a juvenile court probation officer in the London Probation Service.**[1]**

A.C. What happened before then?

R.M.B. Before then I’d been at LSE.**[2**] Like yourself, I didn’t do particularly well on the BSc degree course. In fact I got referred in economics but while I was there I discovered that there was some people having a much better time than we were, on the Social Science Certificate Course.**[3]** So I managed to persuade my father **[4]** to allow me to change courses and it was while I was doing that two year course, that I found out about probation. And as I was, and always have been, and still am, very, very fond of children, it was juvenile court probation that I went into. And I probably ought to explain at this point that in London at that time one could specialise. It was a curious set-up stemming from 1911. You remember Sir William Clarke Hall, **[5]** (or rather you’ve heard of Clarke Hall and Morrison **[6]**)**,** well, Sir William Clark Hall persuaded the then Home Secretary to appoint ‘women of education’ to the juvenile courts. One or two were appointed then, and more, subsequently. And up until ’38, when the probation service became a wholly public service, women had gone on being appointed in this way to work in the juvenile courts. Whereas the magistrates courts had been staffed by missionaries. I can go on a lot about that because that impinged quite a bit, but I don’t know if now is the time.

A.C. Did you go to the Social Science course straight from school? Or to LSE straight from school?

R.M.B. No, I had a year and went out to Germany and learned German. And that was a very interesting time because I arrived in Germany the night the Reichstag was burnt down **[7]** and I stayed with a family, and saw the effect of Hitler on a family, which was very interesting. So I suppose I went up to LSE when I was 19, and then had one year in the BSc course and then two years in the Social Studies course.

A.C. What was it you had in mind to do when you first went to LSE?

R.M.B. I wanted to be a journalist. And my father said, “I will not have a journalist in the family who doesn’t understand what makes the world tick. You must study economics.” And I couldn’t understand the connection at all, but duly went to LSE.

A.C. And it was there you discovered probation work?

R.M.B. I discovered about probation, yes.

A.C. You said you liked children, but there are lots of other things you could have done which would have brought you into contact with children? One of the things I'm interested in is whether there was lurking in the background some sort of religious, political or philosophical commitment that made you want to work with those particular kind of children. Let's identify them – with naughty children.

R.M.B. Yes. There were very good reasons why I identified with naughty children, partly because I'd been brought up to be very, very good. But I think why I went into social work altogether was because I was the child of voluntary social workers. My father ran a club in Limehouse for 40 years, men and boys' clubs.**[8]** And after he married in 1908, my mother became one of the very first LCC care committee workers,**[9]** and so I was brought up on stories of the East End. This has been my unique privilege. Mother and father's attitude was never 'Them and Us'. People from the East End, (we lived in Hampstead, so I didn't see a lot of them), were talked about just exactly the same as if they'd been other kinds of friends of the family, and so I'd heard an awful lot about social work before ever I went to LSE. And as you see, to begin with I was making a bid for striking out by myself and saying I wanted to be a journalist, but evidently the inherited or cultural factors were stronger.

A.C. Before you ever got to LSE did you meet social workers of that time? Did your parents have people visiting them?

R.M.B. You see there weren't social workers in this specific sense. I don't honestly think I did. Oh yes! There was a settlement worker from East London whom father used to see a lot of because her settlement was near his club. And various of his friends had marginal interest. When he came down from Oxford he lived at Toynbee Hall. **[10]** And so various of his friends had an interest in social conditions certainly. I was brought up very, very much aware of social conditions.

A.C. So nothing you saw when you did the social science course surprised you?

R.M.B. No, not really. I sort of absorbed it.

A.C. Do you have any memories of the social science course? How it was organised and the sort of things students talked about.

R.M.B. Yes and this very much tied in with the philosophy at home. We looked forward to the day when we would have overcome social problems. It was an age of immense optimism really. Even though this was the Depression, and things were cruel and awful, it wasn't felt to be beyond the wit of man to devise a fair social system, without a revolution; although of course at LSE there were a lot of communists and a lot of people who said it could only be done by revolution. But there were equally strong numbers of evolutionists, who thought that if we got Family Allowances **[11]** - I can remember that - oh! the difference Family Allowances would make. We would abolish the 'Means

Test' **[12]** and all kinds of things that one hoped that could be brought in by legislation, which would make the lot of the very poor so much better, that they'd be able to manage without social workers. Social workers were looked upon as inevitable people in the transitional period. That there would always be some who would fall through the net even if you had a really careful net, so to speak, there would be some people who from personal inadequacies would fall through. But that the great mass could be raised by wise social legislation to a reasonable standard. Full employment and all those things.

A.C. That was the centre of discussion, was it?

R.M.B. Those were the sorts of things we talked about.

A.C. Who were the lecturers and tutors?

R.M.B. Well I was extremely lucky. Miss Eckhard **[13]** was head of the course. And because my name's Braithwaite and she was a Quaker, every time I went to see her, she said, "Are you a Friend?" meaning a 'Friend' in the Quaker sense. And then the first year I had Janet Kydd **[14]** as my tutor and the second year Eileen Younghusband (Interviewee no 26). So I was really a very favoured student.

A.C. Do you have any memories of that?

R.M.B. I can remember Eileen twisting me up in knots. I have got rather a habit - always had I'm afraid - of sounding as if I was laying down the law. So I'd lay down the law on something and we would go on talking and in the end I'd be saying absolutely the opposite. And then she'd say, "I thought you said...? How do you tie that up?" So she took me for a good intellectual stretch. She also said that if I wanted to work with delinquent children, that I must work with normal children. So she sent me off to the 'Time and Talents' Settlement **[17…..15]** in Bermondsey, where I was a disaster as a student Youth Leader and decided group work was not for me. I couldn't control the children at all, no.

A.C. So how did you get to hear of probation then?

R.M.B. Because there were students on the course doing it. That was <u>one</u> of the things. Actually quite seminal, I know, were seminars from Dr Hermann Mannheim. **[16]**. He'd only just come to LSE and his English was absolutely terrible. But I remember him for his seminar writing a paper on *The Influence of the Cinema on Juvenile Delinquency*. And I was hooked from that moment really. Just the reading for that one paper showed me that there was so much more that I'd simply never thought about. And I'm sure that was one of the things because I enjoyed his seminars so much. He was so courteous and sweet.

A.C. Did they arrange placements for you which related to probation? At the Charity Organisation Society (COS)? **[17]**

R.M.B. I had COS like everybody else, yes. That was in Hackney where I had a gentleman area secretary, which was rather unusual for the COS. No

perhaps it wasn't, it was FWA **[18]** that had the preponderance of females. Anyhow, I learned to write a good letter and to keep copies and do all those things. Then at one time before those seminars, I thought I wanted to be a medical social worker. So I had a placement in a hospital but I didn't like that at all. Then I had the one at 'Time and Talents'. And then I had one in probation, with one of these original juvenile court probation officers – Nina Blyth. **[19]** You were talking about 'social work grandparents', she must have been a founding mother. I think she was one of those women of education who came in, I think, in about 1919. I was her last student, the last of many, and so she always called me "Benjamin". And she was a most marvellous influence. Educational really. She really was a woman of education. She read. She had a leather strap and never less than three books held together in this leather strap, and <u>any</u> odd moment she was reading. And she was very vague, I suppose, her mind was elsewhere, but it certainly wasn't vacant. She'd forget which station to get off, and she'd leave the case papers in the train, and I used to have to spend a lot of time going to Baker Street Lost Property Office, to get things back that she'd left in buses and trains and things. But she, again, made social work non-specific, and this is something I think I'm so lucky to feel all the time. I feel social work is part of life. And now that I've retired I don't feel any different from how I felt when I was at work. When I was at work I thought I'm lucky to be paid for all this, and now I'm living a retired life, I feel I'm lucky to be living a retired life on a pension, still doing what I want to do. I can remember quite clearly two little ragamuffins, very poor. This was early '30s, and they lived in Quinn's Buildings in the Blackfriars Road, and their names were Charlie and Jimmy. And Miss Blyth said, "Charles and James, - Stuart names, - Kings of England." And this in a way made you think, "Kings of England and all that privilege, and here were these little scruffs." And I think those were the sort of perspectives that she gave me without direct teaching but just opening up my mind. Ideas and ironies and paradoxes and those sorts of things. But she never told me what to do!

A.C. That's something that has just come into my mind over the last couple of days. It hit me yesterday, or it only got formulated yesterday talking to Mary Sherlock (Interviewee no 16) and as I've gone round I've asked people about the way in which text books and so on, may or may not have impinged on their practice. And a lot of people said, "Not very much". But there's very obviously been an enormous oral tradition in social work. Insight, understanding and being transmitted by word of mouth from one social worker, trained experienced social worker to a student. Opportunities to watch models. "Sitting next to Nellie", we rather decried that , didn't we?

R.M.B. Yes for a time, this was not the right thing at all! But it depended upon Nellie so enormously. Miss Blyth gave me a tremendous lot, almost unconsciously though, because she was she. I mean I remember another sort of 'sitting next to Nellie thing', when I went to a very tough district, and took over from what must have been a very neurotic probation officer, and in the case papers she had underlined when the children came to report in blue ink and home visits, in red. And I can remember going on doing this because I thought it was the thing to do. Now that's not a good 'sitting next to Nellie' thing, is it? And I think

some of this would have gone on in that sort of way: an unthinking, “We do that this way here”.

A.C. This is after your training?

R.M.B. Well I didn’t have any more. I’m a direct entrant. I’m one of the unmentionable things.

A.C. Had not the Rainer House course **[20]** started?

R.M.B. Yes but I never did it. I heard about it. It wasn’t Rainer House; it was years before then. I’ve forgotten where it was. Morley College **[21]** I think. There were one or two probation trainees on that course that I did at LSE. So I did hear about it. And again it was meeting them that made me think that probation was what I wanted to go into.

A.C. So how did you learn once you got into the services? You finished on the social science course and took your first job?

R.M.B. No, I did relief work. That was a very good way of learning. Relief in the probation service. When you went away for your holidays you had a relief officer who came and did your work while you were away.

A.C. Like a supply teacher?

R.M.B. Like a supply teacher. And I did that largely in South London and was trained by the typist there. Marvellous person, called Connie Barnett, and she taught me everything I needed to know in order to function. For a fortnight or three weeks at a time. The others were all very kind.

A.C. Did you go out into the field, into the service never having appeared in court?

R.M.B. Oh I had to appear in court as a relief officer, but you see concessions would be made because I wasn’t expected to know very much.

A.C. You went in absolutely cold to a court, to give evidence without having the protection of what we would call a field teacher, or a supervisor, or somebody to coach you before you went in.

R.M.B. Oh no wait a minute. I’ve left out a bit haven’t I? I’ve left out that when I left LSE my father retired that year and I’d better explain about my father because he’s obviously another influence. Besides running his club for 40 years, he was the architect of the first National Insurance Act , Lloyd George’s Act. **[22]** And a very distinguished civil servant, and so that’s why, I ought to have explained earlier, I did believe so wholeheartedly in the welfare state. Because I was cheek by jowl with one of the early architects, and self-help and all that was something father very much believed in. Well anyhow, in 1937 he retired from the civil service and he and mother and I went out to Burma to visit my brother who was a forestry officer, and who’d just got married. And then it was very, very sad, he caught malignant malaria on this trip and died on the way home. So then I had to help mother get established in a new home in Kent, and then I did this relief work and I earned £3 per

week. I'll show you the coffee set that I bought with my first week's money. Because when you say £3 a week, you've got to remember that £3 went quite a long way. Wasn't as pathetic as it sounds. Well, that was in the summer. This must by now have been 1938.

I then went and applied for a job in probation and I was told at the Home Office that I had no chance at all of appointment, and that I'd much better turn to other things. Anyhow all my experience had been in the juvenile court, so that I had to do some adult court work if I wished to persist in this cul-de-sac. Then I did have a placement, (I suppose I must have paid for myself or something), at North London Magistrates Court. There I did have some help about giving evidence and those sorts of things. Then there was a juvenile court vacancy advertised in the following January ('39) and I applied and got it. In East London. And that, Alan, was the most extraordinary thing. Of all London, where did I get appointed? East London, my father's old stamping ground! I had the most lovely office. It was an old pub, tiny little street corner pub off East India Dock Road. Had been called *The Horn of Plenty* and it had glass partitions. It was just two rooms, you see, like the saloon bar and the public bar, I suppose, but they'd taken the beer machine out! There I was absolutely alone, 25 yards from Pennyfields: part of the neighbourhood; it couldn't have been a better office! And the first morning the postman walked in and slammed the letters down on my desk and said, "Any relation to WJ?" And this was one of my father's old club boys. Wasn't it extraordinary?

A.C. It must have been very nice for you.

R.M.B. Very nice feeling. And there I was. In those days, there was this great attempt to 'decriminalize' the juvenile courts. They had to meet in neutral places and the probation offices had to be as inconspicuous as possible. And mine certainly was. The parents used to feel thoroughly at home there you see. Reporting never ended until 10 pm. They'd get the children indoors and then they'd come round and talk and feel relaxed. I was always sorry there wasn't some beer to pass round.

A.C. I'll bet! Did you use that phrase 'decriminalizing the juvenile courts'? How was it put?

R.M.B. I think we talked about 'stigma'. Children had got to learn to uphold the law of the land. This was seen as very important but that it must be done in such a way that they didn't come into contact with other criminals and that there was no stigma attached to the buildings they were required to enter. You see the courts were at Friends House, Toynbee Hall: all neutral sorts of places. And Miss Blyth, where I went and did my practical work during the course, her office was in a little room at the Public Library in Blackfriars Road, so that the children who reported to her were seen to be coming in and out of the library. A lot of thought was given to this, even though it was part of the criminal law, and to the fact that the system must lean over backwards not to stress the police side of it.

A.C. Was that a Home Office memo?

R.M.B. Must have been, mustn't it? This again is what I inherited. I don't remember how it came in.

A.C. There must be somebody around who pressed the button on that one, mustn't there? Gosh, isn't that interesting?

R.M.B. I think it was really Clarke Hall. He was really marvellous...And the 1933 Act. **[23]** That would have been where it was all in. Clarke Hall was architect of the '33 Act.

A.C. Does it say?

R.M.B. I can't remember, but I'm pretty sure that's where it came from.

A.C. I've never even noticed – I've never perceived that all the juvenile courts are always in these kinds of places. I just didn't take that in.

R.M.B It must be in the '33 Act.

A.C. Isn't it funny I always assumed that North London Juvenile was in Friends House because that was a nice convenient central place and it suited everybody to rent that building!

R.M.B. No. But there's been a move back into the courts now. Which is so interesting.

A.C. Indeed. I was struck by your phrase. It's the sort of phrase I hear being thrown around by my colleagues at work now.

R.M.B. 'Decriminalizing'? 'Labelling theory', you see. These people didn't want labels to get attached to the children. But it wasn't called 'labelling theory'. We used phrases like 'give a dog a bad name'. So: <u>don't</u> give a dog a bad name. Give him a chance! Well then I can tell you some more. You see there was me in this lovely office, and you just got on with your job. There was no clerical help at all and you met your colleagues once a week at court. It's really extraordinary. Then came the war. I started on 13 February. War came 1st September or whenever. And the powers that be didn't think it was quite nice for me to be all by myself 25 yards from Pennyfields in the blackout. So I was scooped up and put into an office in Albert Gardens which belonged to Thames Magistrates Court, and there was a typist and a steel filing cabinet; there was lino on the floor and, you know, it was all sort of tidy. And I remember on the first evening when the children came, I said to one of them, "Well what do you think of it, Johnnie?" He said, "Don't like it Miss." So I said, "What's the matter?" "Too posh for you!"

A.C. How did you find out about Interviewing? Where did that all come from? Did you just pick it up for yourself?

R.M.B. Yes! Oh, yes!

A.C. You were tuned in?

R.M.B. I've no idea how. I wouldn't have read anything and nobody would have taught me anything, though I would have heard about the importance of privacy. Oh yes. There was a tremendous emphasis on privacy. We all demanded rooms to ourselves and would never interview in front of anybody else. And confidentiality. Certainly those things would have been drummed into me.

A.C. I was thinking about matters like very elementary things like how to ask a question. Whether it should be wide open or –

R.M.B. Oh no! No! Nothing like that. We learnt empirically. Truly did!

A.C. And did you reach a point where you were beginning to formulate a few principles for yourself? Did you have opportunities to reflect on your experience and the things you were learning? Or was it all done unconsciously?

R.M.B. I stopped asking direct questions, I do remember that! Because that was the way to get lies, and I didn't like getting lies because I didn't feel it helped anybody. If you can call that formulating a theory? I suppose it got as far as that. But things like defence mechanisms. I'd no idea how they worked or what purpose they served or couldn't recognise one when I met it! Except that perhaps in the court report I would say, "Mrs. So-and-So was not very forthcoming".

A.C. How were the probation officers organised at that time?. Were there opportunities to meet colleagues and talk about matters of common interest?

R.M.B. How did one survive? You see this was '39 and the probation service got itself organised about 1938. After the Departmental Committee on Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in 1936, **[24]** London got its first Principal Probation Officer in '38 and Seniors were appointed thereafter. So it did get a bit of a structure. So at East London there was a Senior and I think there were four other ordinary probation officers. Oh, I think the Senior wouldn't accept her salary and wouldn't be called 'Senior'. I'm not sure if the next one wasn't the same. But there was a structure; not that it made a lot of difference to anybody. I suppose there were occasional staff meetings. I can't remember any. Because the war came you see and everything went haywire. And I went off to Somerset where I was seconded to the Somerset Probation Service. **[25]** But to come back to "How did you learn anything?" I learned a tremendous lot through a little organisation called the Society of Juvenile Court Probation Officers. And I got a little paper that I can let you read about that. You see there were only 33 of us in the whole of London. And I can't tell you what an elite we felt! My pride when I got into the probation service! And when I became a member of this little society! Because really if you think of it, the juvenile court was the primary child welfare organisation at that time. It was really the only body charged specifically to have regard to the welfare of the child. And our morale was very, very high. We sincerely believed in what we were doing and we really thought we were doing good; we truly did, though we did not always think the system was fair. We took our work terribly seriously but we really enjoyed it, loved it. At SJCPO we used to have

monthly meetings and would discuss our work and that was again a learning thing for a young officer coming in.

A.C. I know it's a tall order, but can you remember any of those meetings? Or any of those discussions? What sort of things did people discuss?

RMB A demarcation dispute really is the first thing that comes to mind. I can remember talking about school visits. Oh yes, a lot about school visits because the London County Council (LCC) officers who were a special group in London who used to liaise with the courts. They'd been old 'Relieving Officers'. **[26]** They would collect the school report when the child came to court, and then once they were on probation you could visit the school. And we used to have arguments as to whether it wouldn't be better if we went to collect the school report before they came to court, because we would know the Head Master and we had other children there and we had contact with him. We would be able to find out so much more than these other people. Part of our conceit! Those sort of things we'd talk about. Can't remember any other topic. But again one learnt to run an organisation. I became Secretary and then Chairman, and so again one got a little, tiny bit of responsibility and experience of writing reports. We tried to write a paper on what probation for juveniles was all about, I remember. What the essence of it was, and why we had reporting and how one adapted the famous duty to "advise, assist and befriend" of the PO Act 1907 **[27]** to work with juveniles – so we did do a bit of thinking.

A.C. You tried to put together a booklet. Juvenile court probation sort of thing. Did it get done?

R.M.B. That type of thing yes. I can't remember exactly.

A.C. That's a shame. That would be a most interesting thing to read now. Did you emerge pretty early on then as a leading light? Secretary, Chairman. Two or three years out of social science course.

R.M.B. 1939. Well then '40. No, you've got me moved to Albert Gardens, haven't you, at the beginning of the war? Well then I was moved out of London to Somerset because East London was very heavily evacuated from, and there wasn't any work for me to do! And the country probation services were absolutely popping at the seams, because all these children, uprooted, got into trouble. Did you know what determined how many evacuees each county took? The drainage system! And Somerset had the best drainage system of any County and was therefore the most heavily evacuated to. Whereas Dorset hadn't got a drain anywhere, and only had a very, very few. Isn't that interesting? Well, Somerset was so heavily evacuated to that there were three London probation officers sent down there. A Captain Thornton, a Miss Witteridge and me. I had a case load of 120 or something, and used to have to drive round Somerset in the blackout with all the name boards taken down and have to try to find my way round. You do know probation was a reserved occupation? We were frozen in post. So that's why I didn't go into the forces. I suppose I could have resigned and gone into the forces, but I seemed to get

carried along with all this, and down I went to Somerset. Now there I learnt so much. Not having ever read a book.

I'd read *Wayward Youth* by Aichhorn **[28**]. That was about the only book there was to read as far as I know. And another marvellous book by John Watson on *The Child and the Magistrate* **[29].** There weren't very many books to read in those days. But you see there with a whole lot of uprooted children there was so much to learn. And that was from my own point of view what you call nowadays 'professional development'; that was a useful time. Again quite on my own you see.

A.C. What sort of things did you learn then?

R.M.B. The importance of family relationships. Importance of home. Importance of culture.

A.C. That crystallized for you in that Somerset experience of evacuation? Why was that particularly pointed up then?

R.M.B. Why couldn't the children settle in lovely homes? Why were they bed wetting? Why were they stealing?

A.C. Any anecdotes about that?

R.M.B. Heaps of anecdotes! I came back to London after a year, so I was back in time for the blitz. But I remember then the younger brother of a boy who was on probation to me. He was not yet 2. His mother was in a mental hospital and he was being brought up by his grandfather. One still had nice ideas about cleanliness and safety for little children and all that. And so I persuaded them to let him go to a residential nursery and took him down to the country and then followed up with a visit a little later on.

And I shall never forget when I got out of the car and it was like a swarm of bees! All these tiny children coming and clinging on to whatever they could get of me. A total stranger to them all except this one. You don't need to read about maternal deprivation when you see things like that going on. So there was a lot of learning in Somerset. Then I suppose it was when I came back that I got going in SJCPO, that little organisation must have kept going in the war.

A.C. And this is the time you were Secretary and Chairman.

R.M.B. Yes. It must have been in the late war period.

A.C. Had you made your mark in that organisation? How did you come to be chosen? Were you the one who jumped up?

R.M.B. It was very, very small. There were only about 30 of us. You all had to take a turn.

A.C. There wasn't that much time for 30 people to take a turn surely. You must have made your mark. They must have wanted you to do it.

R.M.B. I suppose so.

A.C. Did you have an agenda of your own or some sort of – did you see where things should be going?

R.M.B. I suppose I wasn't shy. Don't think I've ever been shy. Some people hate speaking at meetings. I hate it now but didn't when I was young. So I suppose I had plenty to say!

A.C. So you emerged as a leader.

R.M.B. I suppose I must have. Because in 1946 I became a Senior and I was the youngest in the country. I hadn't been in very long for those days, because promotion was very, very slow. But I was so lucky because I worked for Sir Basil Henriques **[30]** in East London and that was all so stimulating and such fun, as I was saying, because he was passionately interested in 'the work'. Took a tremendous interest, and insisted on a very high standard for those days, on court reports and information to be made available to him and he would follow up through case committees and all that. So that I was in a very good stable. People used to come from far and wide to see how the place was run. So that I was very fortunate and the court was in the press every single week, because he used to make outrageous statements. They used to come to pick up what they could.

A.C. Any stories about that?

R.M.B. Oh, he used to attack people's hats. He was very rude really. If he didn't like people's hats, he'd say so. We used to have to wear hats. This will interest you! We used to wear hats and stockings in Court until the war. First we left off the hats and then we finally left off the stockings when we couldn't get any. But on court days you definitely used to have to dress up. It was a serious occasion. And the other funny thing I was going to tell you was we all called each other by our surnames. I was "Braithwaite" and I would call my male and female colleagues by their surnames. And they would call me "Braithwaite". Wasn't it extraordinary? Where did this came from? This seems to be the kind of probation officer bit. You know, officers of the court. Isn't that funny?

A.C. When did that change?

R.M.B. I don't know. Except that I went to a funeral service at St Martin in the Fields last week [in 1980] for the senior probation officer from Bow Street who'd just died, and right up to her dying day she'd called me "Braithwaite". So that I suppose it was a generation thing. If you came in at a certain period, and if you never got on terms of real friendship and intimacy with a colleague, you'd go on calling them by their surnames.

A.C. So can I just get the pattern of your career? It was Somerset for a year during the war.

R.M.B. Then came back for the Blitz, and in fact worked in a rest centre because again you couldn't do probation work. Everybody went into the shelters.

A.C. Were you in the same rest centre as Noël Hunnybun? (Interviewee no 12)

R.M.B. I don't think so. Never saw her there. In the East End?

A.C. Yes she worked in a rest centre.

R.M.B. No. It can't have been the same one. And then things got a bit straighter and that was the war really. I'll tell you where a lot of learning went on and I don't know if this was as early as the '40s, but we had the most marvellous psychiatrist at Stamford House Remand Home, called Dr Peter Scott **[31].** Have you ever heard of him?

A.C. I've had reports from Peter Scott on my children, when I was at FSU.**[32]**

R.M.B. Well you see, again you couldn't work with Peter Scott without learning, could you? The debt the juvenile court officers owed to him! Because he would always make time to see you. So that in these informal, casual ways one's knowledge of human growth and behaviour and family relationships and outside influences and all that, would build up. What was lacking was the conceptualization to make it more generally available.

A.C. By the end of the war you'd been made a Senior?

R.M.B. Yes. In Sir Basil's court. And then I was selected, I didn't apply, I was nominated, I suppose, to go to America, by the British Committee for the Interchange of Social Workers and Administrators. **[33].** And if you've seen Betty Reid, she was the first to go, and then it was the turn of Probation and a man called Kevin MacIntyre from Nuneaton and I were selected to go. And who was the Secretary of the British Committee but Letty Harford! (Interviewee no 11). That's where I first met her. And who was the Secretary the other end but Walter Pettit, **[34**] Dean of the New York school **[35]**. Well, because I was a juvenile court probation officer, I was sent over there to study American juvenile court methods. It was 1946 when Kevin MacIntyre and I went by boat to the States, and took part in a programme which Walter Pettit had organised. Different programme for each of us. And I had a placement in Connecticut and another one in Pittsburgh.

He went to Toledo and I can't remember where else. This will amaze you. It was while I was there that I discovered that there was something called 'casework' going on! Well I thought I'd been doing 'casework', so I was very mystified by all this and nobody would tell me what it was! I don't think it was being 'done' in the juvenile courts system in America at that time. It was mainly being done in the voluntary agencies, and so it was rather mysterious and one couldn't quite find out about it. Anyhow, there was a lot to be learned about the system and it was all very interesting. When we were coming away I said to Dr Pettit, that this 'casework' business interested me very much, and he said, "Oh you must come back and find out about it sometime". Well I did go back and I've got a lot to tell you about what happened then. In 1948 he sent me the papers to apply for the Willard Straight Fellowship **[36]**. And that is what I did, and that is what I won; and so I went back to the New York School and did one year of an MSW course. But now I've got two strands in

my mind that I want to tell you about. I don't know which to tell you about first. Whether I tell you about that, or whether I go back to when I came back in '46?

A.C. Come back to '46.

R.M.B. I came back in '46 and immediately found myself immensely in demand as a speaker because there we had been all boxed up in this little island all through the war, with no new ideas and no opportunities for anything, except survival. People all loved hearing about America, so I did a lot of talking and the Home Office were very good in allowing me time to talk. But it was a rather hectic period because I had nine colleagues who I was meant to be supervising, and I had a case load of 30, and I was constantly going off on speaking engagements. But the message I was trying to get over was, that the Americans were looking at what they were doing much more carefully than we were. They just didn't go on dishing out rule of thumb, and persisting in "This is the way we've always done it". They were ready to take their things apart. That was an amazing experience. I was speaking once in the East End. There was a magistrate who shall be nameless, who was in the chair and she said at the end of the meeting … (She was in the chair and proposed the vote of thanks, because that was rather her way.) And she said she'd been thinking while Miss Braithwaite was talking, and in the 40 years she'd spent at her club, she'd never done a wrong thing. And I nearly died! Because this was the attitude that I was increasingly finding so difficult. This sort of apparent self- satisfaction, that we were perfect.

A.C. Did you have any allies? Were there any other social workers around you who supported your points of view?

R.M.B. We need to get onto that much more when I talk about '48 and when I came back after doing the course, really.

A.C. So you were pretty much on your own up to '46?

R.M.B. Yes. But it was all much more light-hearted than later. It was such an exciting period socially, with the war ended and the election and the hopes for the welfare state, a new criminal justice act. It was again a time of great hope and great excitement and a feeling that there could be progress.

A.C. You got caught up with that did you? And believed it?

R.M.B. Yes. Just as I had at LSE although perhaps I realised that there were more people who'd fall through any net than perhaps I'd thought of originally.

A.C. The invitations to speak, were they invitations from organisations or what?

R.M.B. Probation services, and magistrates associations. Little branches round the country. Yes, that was it.

A.C. It would involve a lot of travelling.

R.M.B. Quite a bit of travelling. And a case load of thirty. There wasn't much in the way of staff supervision, you see. That was the next thing that came in with the Probation Rules of '49 **[37].** The rules that followed the 1948 Act. And that was when really there were independent people, and they couldn't bear anything that curbed their freedom of action. So it wasn't very easy being a Senior. Before you came I'd meant to look up a cartoon one of my colleagues drew of me because the first lot of Rules had the words, "That the senior shall 'scrutinise' the records" and this was the most emotive word!

A.C. Who dreamt up that for a wording?

R.M.B. Some civil servant. So I was called the "Scrutineer". Again probation officers have a rather bad attitude to their records. They always maintained that time spent face to face with the client was the most important and the records didn't matter. So that to have somebody scrutinise them was a terrible prospect!

A.C. Weren't you a year before you were confirmed? Was that the system when you came in?

R.M.B. Yes I think I was confirmed. Yes, I think that's always been the system. So my records must have been scrutinised.

A.C. Can you remember that?

R.M.B. I can't remember who the inspector was, but I can remember that all the colleagues –(again probation officers had bad attitudes to authority, and authority must be manipulated and kept in its place.) - rallied round at lunch time and we all took the Inspector out to lunch and they were awfully kind and making sure that the Inspector knew that I should be confirmed. A ganging-up. Wonder who it was? Can't remember at all.

A.C. The man who wrote the contribution to Cherry Morris's book **[38]** was a man named Minn, so was it him?

R.M.B. So he was. I can remember Minn. He was still in the courts. He was a Senior. No, you see I went in, in '38. When I first went in I mean. He was a Senior, I suppose he went to the Home Office during the war, and he became Chief Inspector. **[39]**

A.C. Is there any more you want to say about between '46 and '48?

R.M.B. I started taking students. Started getting interested in training. Home Office students, Rainer House and Social Science students. I don't know what year Kit Russell **[40]** went to LSE but she used to send me social science students.

A.C. She took on what had been Eileen Younghusband's role.

R.M.B. Perhaps Eileen sent them. I know I had social science students. Foreign students as well as English students. That must have all happened in the late '40s.

A.C. Going back to before you go to the States, the first time, had any of the notions, psycho analytic notions which the Commonwealth Fund had really fostered by setting up the Mental Health Course at LSE **[41]** and getting the Child Guidance movement going: had any of these notions been developed in practice? The Child Guidance Movement was sold to the local authorities as a preventative response to juvenile crime wasn't it? Did any of those ideas impinge on you or on the service in general? Were you a great one for that?

R.M.B. Well, there you see Peter Scott would be doing it all the time, so to speak, but nobody noticed. And he made it all in an acceptable way. Because you co-operated with him over somebody you knew, you saw the immediate relevance of what he was saying. But there was this awful stereo-typing going on which I expect you have heard about from all the people you have interviewed previously. How we stereo-typed each other? Almoners in white coats. Lady Almoners?

A.C. No. I've raised that with people I've seen, but they haven't raised it themselves.

R.M.B. Haven't they? Oh yes! "When did an almoner last do a home visit?" Oh dreadful we were! It was because we were so separate you see. "Never see an almoner at work after 5, do you?" All that. "Look at noble us plodding the streets at night, dirtying ourselves in these filthy homes" and all that. That was the stereo-type. Then 'ivory tower PSWs, sitting in their ivory towers.' This is interesting that we thought they were <u>supported</u>. Well now there must have been a lot of envy in that. Although we kept on, and on, and on, about how gorgeous to make up your own mind, take your own decision, decide for yourself, make your own recommendations, we must often have felt absolutely bewildered! And longed for somebody to discuss a case with and come to a diagnosis. And there were the PSWs with their psychiatrists at their elbows. We denigrated them, but I'm sure there was envy in it. So the PSWs were a bit written off because they were in ivory towers and cushioned by psychiatrists.

A.C. So that more or less wrote off the ideas as well.

R.M.B. Quite right! It was as simple as that. They didn't really understand.

A.C. And then you go to America, and presumably the ideas are seen in a different context? More acceptable context perhaps.

R.M.B. Well I was the most dreadful, awful failure I don't mind telling you. You see I really thought that I'd been doing 'casework' and they thought I'd been too successful. And my tutor, at the NY School, quite deliberately, took on a line of humiliation to sort of make me bite the dust. And at the end of the first term she wanted me to give up. Tried to counsel me out! And said I was never going to be a caseworker. (How right she was!) I was a philosopher and an academic and if I liked to stay on I could do those sort of courses. Well you know, unfortunately, she didn't realise how contra-suggestible I am, so that the more she tried to counsel me out, the more determined I was to stay. So I

said, “I’ve come 3,000 miles to study casework and I’m bloody well gonna study it!!”

A.C. You’ve just used a phrase there I’ve never heard before.

R.M.B. “Contra-suggestible”? I am contra-suggestible I know.

It is a very nice way of being able to explain when you think she should find me another placement. You see again so stupid, I’d asked for a probation placement in my first term, which was the biggest mistake because I spent my whole time comparing the attitudes to liberty and privacy and respect for the law within the American and English legal systems. And I couldn’t function. I was absolutely paralysed because I was so horrified at the American system. And it was all a big, big mistake. So I asked to come out of it. And she said it was midway through the year and she couldn’t find anywhere else and all that. So the Christmas vacation was absolute hell. .

AC Were you on your own with no support from friends?

R.M.B. Yes. Dreadful it really was. Somebody else who was going through a similar period in Chicago, is Katherine Lloyd. I don’t know if you ever met her up in Newcastle. If only we’d known! She was up in Chicago weeping her eyes out as I was in New York!

A.C. Was Ilse Westheimer (Interviewee no 22) there at the time?

R.M.B. I don’t know where she was. Anyhow, it was awful. Then they found a White Russian to act as supervisor in a day nursery and they put me there in the spring term. After a ‘convalescent’ period I really learnt from her. And it was most interesting. I found the reality of being a European. I found all sorts of things. I always thought Americans were our cousins, and I found that in fact I was a ‘European’. I got on much better with the Greek, Finnish, Dutch; all the other European students, and this Russian supervisor. And <u>not</u> the Americans.

A.C. Something about being an immigrant?

R.M.B. Of course there were a lot of things that even they didn’t think at that time they should explore. There was the awful feeling of being dependent when you are on a fellowship. You’re dependent on them for your bread and butter.

A.C. I read an article that Ilse Westheimer wrote about being an overseas student in America, and in this article, she talks about the various stages that you go through. First stage utter bewilderment; second stage was angry rejection of everything.

R.M.B. Yes! I recognise that.

A.C. None of it’s any good. And I think the third stage was when you are coming out the other side and beginning to get things together a bit. A bit more discriminating in your acceptance and rejection of the different bits and pieces.

R.M.B. Yes. You certainly react most violently. I got so angry you see! This was ’48, ’49, we got all these exciting new bits of social legislation and experiments going on at home. Not one question was ever asked me by any student or lecturer as to how we did things. No interest in our social experiment at all over here and that made me very angry too! And it all seemed fiddling about with the individual. The system seemed so rotten to me.

A.C. No thought about social context.

R.M.B. No!

A.C. When I saw Sybil Clement Brown (Interviewee no 7) she was saying something very similar. And she was going back to 1924. She went earlier on some kind of scholarship, didn’t she? Well she crossed swords with Gordon Hamilton **[42]** in Chicago. She told me Gordon Hamilton was talking very disparagingly about the ‘dole’, and Sybil was a very quiet, shy woman then, but couldn’t contain herself and said, “It’s not a dole. It’s insurance, and unless we’ve got it we’re not going to do anything about unemployment unless we’ve got a National Insurance scheme.” And she said that when she met Gordon Hamilton many years later, after the war, she reminded her of this and Gordon Hamilton said she must have misunderstood because actually she was very much into the National Insurance schemes. She’d been to Germany and seen theirs. But she came back with the same impression as you that they seemed to be so focussing on the individual and neglecting the social context in which all these things are happening. So it must have been very frustrating for you. Were you as bubbly then as you are now? Were you constantly telling them about it?

R.M.B. Well, we formed a gang. And there was an ally; Eveline Burns **[43]** was on the staff there, and she was ex-LSE, an economist, and I remember we went to see her and said, “You aren’t treating your overseas students right. We have got something to contribute and we do find this, that and the other.” She was a person you <u>could</u> communicate with.

A.C. Were they rigid? Could they reformulate their ideas to accommodate the sort of things you were trying to break through with?

R.M.B. I suppose by this time we were through the worst. I don’t know if the lot of overseas students improved afterwards.

A.C. Overseas students were from different European countries?

R.M.B. I remember the Greeks were splendid. There was a Greek girl in the second year and a Greek man in the first year. And the Greek woman in the second year said to me how this boy had said to her, “Tell me, what is it the Americans keep talking about?” (This boy had come just from the Resistance, straight after the Greek civil war, and been doing relief work up in the mountains.) “What is it the Americans keep talking about? This “frustration”? That seemed so amazing!

A.C. Did they have no appreciation of people coming from the war?

R.M.B. Apparently not. Anyhow I learnt a lot, but precariously. And I then came back and this is the bit that will probably tie in with some of the things that you've heard before. The pressure on me to deny I'd learnt anything was enormous. You see again because of this obstinate and stupid streak in me I wanted to go back to East London, and I wanted to apply my new knowledge with colleagues and clients. Again I shouldn't have made conditions. I should have just waited to see what happened. Oh! Wait a minute we've got to go back. Basil Henriques, was always inclined to make fun of anything 'psychiatric', and he would say "I hope we are not going to have any of these American new fangled ideas in my court" and all that. I said something one day about "a casework concept". Hoots of laughter! "Casework concept"! Giggles all round. And they didn't want to know. All very difficult indeed, so more depression. And then one day in a train who did I meet but Noël Hunnybun (Interviewee no 12). Our paths must have crossed before the war when she was in the East End. Anyhow we recognised one another, and so we had a lovely talk. What was I doing? So I told her, and must have been pretty full up. I told her this whole saga. And she said, "Would you like some supervision?" And do you know she had me round her flat once a fortnight in the evening for several months, which was exactly what I needed. Applying what I'd learned in one culture in that situation, to the actual work I was doing. Wasn't it wonderful of her? And she never charged a penny and nobody ever knew that I was going there. But you see there was no one in the probation service that could give me any help. Nobody at all. So wasn't I lucky?

A.C. You were. Yes.

R.M.B. Now I'll go back to this very important thing. When I won this fellowship I had to apply for leave of absence and it was turned down. So I went to the Home Office to beg for it. And I was told that I would have to forfeit my seniority, that the only thing they might keep going were the superannuation things, but that if I came back they couldn't guarantee a job for me although I might be a relief officer. Well I have explained to you that relief officers were the lowest form of life. Can you believe it? In 1948, when they'd got a new Criminal Justice Act **[44]** on the stocks, and when I was already a Senior, and there might be something I could contribute if I had a little extra training. No, we don't want it. Resign. Isn't it amazing? So what did I do? I went to see Miss Harford (Interviewee no 11). Because you see, I said to her, "Look you started all this. You sent me to America in '46. Now I've had the great honour of winning this award and I do want to go back and it would be so marvellous, and I can't go." And I remember something so wise she said "You know there are some people who always say, "No" first." I'm quite sure she made it her business to go round to the Home Office and say, "Look, couldn't you say yes to this because this could be quite a good thing." Because a letter came out of the blue non-committally saying this, that and other and it was possible, and arrangements could be made.

A.C. It's a very strange ambivalent attitude towards training. Wasn't it in the middle '30s that Departmental Committee reported and recommended setting up the Home Office training scheme at Rainer House. All that. And no, no, no on the other side.

R.M.B. And then you see it didn't tie up with their willingness to send Kevin MacIntyre and me in '46. If they could spare us then, why couldn't they spare me again? Most extraordinary.

A.C. How did you account for it? Or didn't you?

R.M.B. Well I just thought it was typical Home Office. No long term planning. Taking the easy short-cut to keeping things ticking over, if I'd thought about it at all. So there we are.

A.C. So you came back again.

R.M.B. And then I had the Hunnybun experience.

A.C. You're right. A whole number of people talking about various stages of this period have talked about how you'd got to be pretty careful about the way you said or did anything.

R.M.B. Yes you did. It really was awfully sad. At the time you didn't realise it was a sort of fear on the part of your colleagues. You knew your knowledge itself was so tentative that you weren't too sure of it and hadn't got any way much of describing it or helping other people.

A.C. Had NAPO [the National Association of Probation Officers] been formed by this time?

R.M.B. Oh NAPO was formed in 1912.

A.C. Was the Society of Juvenile Court Probation officers still around, or was that all absorbed by that time?

R.M.B. No that was still going on. Perhaps this was the time when I was Secretary and Chairman. It may have been as late as the '50s. I was a member of NAPO but I was a more enthusiastic member of this little, small group you see. I suppose that was it. It was wound-up and I can't remember which year it was wound-up in. Late '50s I suppose.

A.C. So what happens next?

R.M.B. Well a lot of hard work. I stayed as a Senior at East London Court. And then, this was '49 wasn't it? There was one good thing for me then. They had a rather more forward-looking Chief Inspector appointed in the Home Office called Finlay McRae, and he introduced 'groups' run by Doctor Turquet. **[45]** Did you ever hear about them?

A.C. No I didn't hear of those, but I know about Dr Turquet.

R.M.B. Well these were to be groups to spread the light. Not to teach us group work but they were called "Ourselves and Our Cases", to help us see the dynamics of interaction and that sort of thing. And I was chosen for the first 'Turquet Group'. That again of course increased everybody's suspicion of me because perhaps wisely, perhaps unwisely, we were told not to say what went on, because these were going to be a series of groups over several years So we

went to the Home Office on a certain evening every week, and weren't allowed to talk about what went on. Well that you can imagine stirred things up! But they were a very good thing, those groups.

A.C. Was it heightening your sensitivity to process?

R.M.B. Yes.

A.C. People bouncing on and off one another?

R.M.B. Yes. These awful silences and Turquet sitting impassive like a sort of Sultan. And Tilda Goldberg **[46]** scowling away. We never could quite make out her role. And we were meant to talk about our cases you see, but of course we were talking about ourselves. He was good. It was nerve wracking. You know this degree of exposure. But it was a good experience.

A.C. Tilda was associated with him?

R.M.B. With him but didn't intervene much and we never could think what she was there for.

A.C. Like an independent observer.

R.M.B. I suppose so.

A.C. This is a long way from where you were when you came off that social science course?

R.M.B. Isn't it? Wasn't I lucky, really? To be able to get all this on-going help.

A.C. And it all sort of naturally fell into place for you, in terms of your practice?

R.M.B. Well in a way you see, you feel this in all teaching: you don't want to teach until there's been experience and yet you've got to teach before experience in certain things, and yet it's all got so much more meaning if you've had experience. Well I had some experience and then some teaching. I think it was a pity I didn't have any teaching before I had experience. I'm sorry for my clients in those days. But of course by this time I had fewer and fewer clients; there was a second Senior at the court and I had fewer cases and then I took students and started to prepare for the Carnegie course **[47]**. So that my actual practice started to dry up from this time onwards. And it was always limited just to parents and children. I never did matrimonial work or after-care or any of these other aspects of a probation officer's work. Very limited.

A.C. What was the top age?

R.M.B. 17.

A.C. Down to 8?

R.M.B. Well with care and protections you had whole families.

A.C. Would that be a good point to describe a piece of work. Can you think of any typical piece of work of a probation officer at this period?

R.M.B. That is tough! I honestly don't think I'm going to be able to cough up any case that I was dealing with at that time, - except I was thinking at lunch time when you were saying about that case that Eileen had invented with Dame Geraldine's [Aves; interviewee no 2] help. I can remember a ludicrous case on that line: There were neglectful parents who were charged at Old Street. They were put on probation to a man and a woman probation officer. The children were brought to the juvenile court as being in need of care or protection. One of them was put into the care of the Children's Department, and boarded out or put in an institution, and the baby was left at home under my supervision. And so there were three probation officers, a children's officer, the health visitor and there must have been some other child that I've forgotten because there was the Care Committee worker also involved. So that the rationale for Seebohm **[48]** was very, very strong. Because none of us could do anything. We all defeated each other and the mother could work us all off one against the other.

A.C. Reg Wright (Interviewee no 25) always says that's the client's democratic right. I was always very impressed when he used to say that.

R.M.B. Provide them with choice. Give the client choice.

A.C. He really is in your hands so to speak. When I first heard him expressing that view it was 1957 at evening classes at LSE, and saying that the trouble is that we don't have a local authority ombudsman of any sort. He was telling us about this scheme they have in Sweden. We were all open-mouthed. Gosh! Sweden. He was so well ahead. He was so forward in his thinking about that. So when you were preparing for the Carnegie students, [48] were you in at the ground floor of the planning for the course?

R.M.B. We worked with somebody called Lydia Rapaport **[49]** the year before the course started. She came over. And really it was looking at student supervision. But for the first time in this country I was in a 'mixed professional group', would you call it?

A.C. One of the things that interests me is that do you know they call it 'inter-disciplinary' now? Yes. 'Mixed professional group'.

R.M.B. And this was simply terrific you see. Hearing about other people's work, and we had to bring our own cases. I took a case to that and Miss Moon, Marjorie Moon,**[50]** nearly had a fit because it was so exactly like some case that she'd had as a medical social worker. Then I remember the first reunion of the Carnegie students. This must have been in '55. George Newton **[51**], he and I were busily engaged in training seminars and we both went to this conference. I thought, I won't go into his group. I'll go in somebody else's group. I'll go into the medical social workers' group: I won't go in the probation officers' group. I went in with the medical social workers and these students who'd been in jobs for a year were talking about the difficulties of working with a ward sister. And even then, (and this was '55), I had to break in at some stage and say, "You aren't talking about ward sisters. You're talking about hostel wardens." Because the attitude: "*This is <u>my</u> ward. You don't know. You're not here when the patient is really ill"* was exactly the same as the

hostel warden resenting you coming in perhaps when everything was quiet, when they'd been having a hell of a time when you weren't there. So that this was the stage when I was picking up the similarities of work across the board. It was a revelation to me.

A.C. Did that then lead you to think , that was more important than the things that were peculiar to the individual settings?

R.M.B. Yes. I think you do a terrific swing. The excitement of that discovery is so big that for a minute, for a period, you deny the differences. But then I think you swing back. I think I did anyhow, and needed to relook at the setting and found that you understood the setting a bit better.

A.C. There are some things which lend themselves to a generalisation, say for educational purposes, or discussion purposes, but not necessarily a good idea in terms of practice. I don't know what you think about that?

R.M.B. I think that's true. I think you could say there was a stage when I was all overboard for the general, and then stood back a bit. You've got to remember that I wasn't in practice after '56. I was by this time at the Head Quarters of the London Probation Service as an Assistant Principal Probation Officer. At Walton Street in those days. And grappling with probation officers and their problems.

A.C. Does that mean you were a member of the inspectorate?

R.M.B. No it didn't. That meant Assistant Principal Probation Officer. Look at it in terms of Nottingham, Paskell was a Principal Probation Officer. Running the Nottingham service. And I don't know how many Assistants he had, but there were four of us at one time in London. I had supervised students from the Carnegie course for two years, and in '56 I went to HQ but I continued to run what was called a settings group or discussion group or something. Well I hadn't got cases. I wasn't attached to a court and I found that the sort of distance helped you look at the setting much more clearly. So then, from then on, I couldn't have run a discussion group about cases, but I could run discussion groups about the setting.

A.C. I wonder if I could link that with your trip to America in '48? As I understand it, at that time, American social workers were divided into two schools. The majority school being the 'diagnostic school' of which New York was one I presume, the other being the 'functionalists' represented by Pennsylvania. Is that right? Who gave a central place to 'agency function' and I wondered whether notions about 'agency functions' lurked at the back of your mind?

R.M.B. I always thought that article by Clare Winnicott (Interviewee no 24) **[52]** was one of the best. Don't you agree?

A.C. That said *"Agency function is the central dynamic of the casework process*." It's written up on my board. I think that's such an important link.

R.M.B. I wonder how this works out now, with these much more amorphous agencies. And that's another thing that I would like to talk to you about.

What's happened to motivation? Because I think perhaps I've said enough about the early days to show how mad keen we were on a particularly small area of work. And this went on as far as I'm aware all through my time with students. And I haven't finished talking about my time with students, probation students. They knew that they wanted to come into the probation service and they were motivated to equip themselves to do so. I'm wondering, so much, nowadays where the choice is limited really to local authority, probation or, perhaps, now of course it's community work as well isn't it? Very few go for voluntary agencies.

A.C. We don't get very many, no, seconded by voluntary agencies, nor do many of our students go afterwards to them. Not for their first job after training anyway. They go to social service or probation.

R.M.B. So the choice, like you were saying, Reg Wright (Interviewee no 25) said about the choice of worker, choice of work, choice of employer, choice of opportunity is less; and how motivated are they and is this perhaps part of the trouble that they sort of think, "Well, we'll try social work and see what turns up". Because in the old days you had a pretty shrewd idea of what would turn up when you made a specific choice. Do you think this is partly why there's so much movement and perhaps the grass is greener next door?

A.C. I'm sure that's a large part of it. I wonder, too, whether one of the reasons why many of the Social Service Departments are going back to specialisation is to create more choice so that although you're going to have that same employer you know that you'll be hospital-based, or dealing with the elderly, or mental health and then you'd be back to where you started. Where we were!

R.M.B. I hope not entirely. But this is the other thing you see. In those good, old days, and I know I'm being a garrulous old lady and getting nostalgic, and I'll make a cup of tea to pull myself together, but, it was so small that you really could master it. Although I never had the Home Office training course, I got to know enough law to get by. I knew enough about the resources, I knew enough about many things to feel a certain confidence. Ever since then, that glorious time, there's been this information overload, and all these circulars and all these changes in legislation and all these new categories of this and categories of that.

I didn't understand my clients' dynamics, alas and alack, and hadn't got much opportunity of doing much about that. But I understood the system, I understood the context, I understood the legislation, I understood the resources. Because it was all so small-scale. And then I've never understood anything since, because more and more and more had happened. It's all got more confusing and a theory about this, and a theory about that and no evidence for this and evidence for that. It's an all expanding universe and got incomprehensible. I'm thankful I'm not in it!

A.C. Kay McDougall (Interviewee no 14) was saying something very similar in relation to doing social work in Warlingham Park Hospital **[53]** before the War. She said, "I wasn't expected to know this and the other." And during the

war it became an emergency hospital for ordinary casualties as well and she, "Suddenly I had to learn an MSW's job and I found that very difficult picking that all up. I got to it, eventually. I was only expected to know a limited amount and I knew that very well".

R.M.B. Yes. And there is a satisfaction in that. I think there was sufficient stretch but now it seems to me these poor workers are drenched with so much more, that they ought to master and seriously ought to be conversant with and the reading they ought to have kept up with.

A.C. Can I ask you about theories and reading? This is one of the things I forgot to ask Enid Warren (Interviewee no 21) because I observed something in her house. I notice in your bookcase, is absolutely full of 'Eng. lit.' books. I don't want to put words in your mouth, but I'd be very interested to know whether there's any connection between that and your understanding about people. Or whether you got it from the text books?

R.M.B. The text books are all over there. From both really. Unfortunately I haven't kept up with my reading. Got out of the habit of it. I hardly ever do any. It's awful. I'd found I'd got out of it terribly. When I went to Bedford College **[54]** I had to read like mad to keep ahead of the students, as you can imagine. Certain books I've found useful. And some I haven't found at all useful. I'm sure I've forgotten the content of them. And now I don't even take *Social Work Today* [the then BASW journal] .

A.C. Well, nor do I but probably for different reasons. I got fed up with it.

R.M.B. I got fed up with it.

A.C. Where were we?

R.M.B. Well I'd just remembered about the NAPO bits. I belonged both to the London Branch and then I was on the National Development Committee at a very interesting time. I suppose this was in the early '50s. And Frank Dawtry **[55]** was the chairman. He was another person who was very influential. In fact there were three Yorkshiremen. Sidney Eshelby, who was Chairman of NAPO at one time and Alec Bannerman who was Principal Probation Officer in Leeds and Frank Dawtry who was General Secretary. And we used to have some fascinating discussions. Incidentally, that was when we were writing the book that replaced the old probation handbook, The Probation Service edited by Joan King. And that was another learning experience for me, because Doris Sullivan **[56]** and I worked together on it.

R.M.B. We wrote the casework and the training sections in that. That was sort of something sponsored from the Development Committee. Well, at about the same time I suppose, no a little later in the '60s, I was invited to become a member of the education committee of the Institute of Almoners. **[57]** I simply didn't know what had hit me when I went to the first meeting, because after what you might call the kind of rough and tumble of NAPO meetings, with probation officers, many of whom would like to have been lawyers I always thought. They loved arguing cases and this, that and the other, and were

perhaps not very well prepared at meetings which were not well-minuted meetings. It was a general sort of scrimmage. But with the Institute of Almoners the minutes were well prepared, the agenda was perfect, the Chairwoman wore a hat and everything went on oiled wheels, and it was such a different culture! Really most interesting. Sidney Eshelby would be a good person for you to see. If you want an old fellow probation officer.

A.C. I'll write his name down and perhaps you could tell me about him. So what was your role on the education committee of the Institute of Almoners?

R.M.B. You see this was the interesting thing in the days when there weren't so many social workers. We used to sit on each other's committees, representing the probation service, or representing the child care interest. I suppose it was an attempt to have people there who saw the thing from the outside, not just as consumers. But Jean Snelling (Interviewee no 18) was Secretary of that committee, and I remember we struggled with the Robbins Report and those sort of things then.

A.C. You'll have to remind me what the Robbins Report was.

R.M.B. That was about higher education. Expansion of university places and colleges and all that. 1963.

A.C. So you considered a very wide range of issues.

R.M.B. Oh yes, and how it would affect almoners' training.

A.C. Probation training changed enormously during this time didn't it? Because up to '54, probation training was predominantly in Rainer House, provided by the Home Office, and then, once the generic course had demonstrated itself, other universities took up the idea and so there were other university-based probation courses, weren't there?

R.M.B. Yes there were. The Home Office for a long time had sent students on the social science courses. Right from the '30s, as I was explaining, I met them there. Then as the post-graduate training developed, the Home Office was very good. I was on the Probation Advisory and Training Board. I think the Home Office record on training in all those immediate post war years and the '50s and '60s was pretty good. We found it a bit difficult years later when I worked for the CCETSW, **[58]** because the Home Office needed to expand probation training and they didn't dare risk giving up Rainer House because they wanted to keep the numbers up. And then there's always been the problem in the probation service of the older entrant. The older entrant really has got a tremendous contribution to make in probation I think, as a father figure. And those sort of people haven't got university entrance qualifications so often, so that there has been a need for courses for older people. I believe now [in 1980] there's a special course isn't there, at Wolverhampton, somewhere, for older entrants.

This is after your period, except it starts in '59, when I was Assistant Principal Probation Officer in London, and then had tremendous responsibilities thrust on to me as kind of training officer. There was a terrific staff shortage and the

Home Office said, (because at that time the Home Office directly administered London), said that we must have direct entrants. That's to say people coming in with no training, trained on the job. And this became a really terrific political issue and there was an action committee and it was very, very nasty indeed. We were able to compromise, I suppose you'd call it, by ensuring, by promising that those that came in would get as good a training at Rainer House. We were so fortunate and got Kate Lewis, **[59]** who had taught on the first applied social studies course, to come as our casework consultant. Those were in-service courses, spread out over two years. I was the sort of organiser, internal organiser, for those courses and that was very interesting.

A.C. You've said several times what a small world it was and how you all knew one another. Was that done, I don't mean this in an unpleasant sense, but was it like an old boys' network? You knew who was around, and who would be suitable and available. Knew who to approach. You'd asked them informally and they said, "Yes", informally, they'd like it. Then you'd get them.

R.M.B. I suppose that's it. Being at the right place and at the right time. I'd worked with Kate; George Newton was at Walton Street too as an Assistant Principal, we'd both know. And Kate and other staff on the Carnegie Course were so good, you see, helping with conferences and things. They got known beyond their own immediate circle and of course the Home Office knew them because they were seconding students to that course. Eileen [Younghusband] had been on the Probation Advisory and Training Board for years, and was well known to everybody. I'm sure those things helped. I'm sure they did. That's quite a good example.

A.C. Can you remember how that actually came about?

R.M.B. Yes, we were having these agonising decisions as to how to offer training to people coming in as direct entrants and how to make sure, not only that it was as good as Rainer House, but that it was <u>seen</u> to be as good. And I think it was probably George Newton who said if only we could get somebody of the stature of Kate Lewis and we happened to know because of the friendship network that she was just coming back from America. So I think we got a cable to her on the boat or something. I think it was as dramatic as that. Well then, we thought that our course was better than the Home Office one and so did some other people. So that was a little bit awkward. But we got several other teachers. We got Manny Eppel **[60]** to come. I think that was all from the Carnegie course. Then, of course, gradually the Home Office course took on more and more generic features. There was a marvellous sort of 'taking of ideas'. There was some rejection, of course there was, but I suppose slowly these ideas did get adopted 'across the board', as they say!

A.C. What was it like, being a woman in such a male world? Did you find it difficult? Did you have to shout twice as loudly to make yourself heard? Because it was very unusual for a woman, there were very few senior posts in probation service at that time, and to become Assistant Principal…?

R.M.B. Oh! Now there are more things to tell you about that. I was kept well in order as a Senior and if I asked anybody to do anything, I was reminded sharply that I was paid to do that particular job myself. I think the differential was something like 16/6d a week when I began. I was reminded sharply that it was my responsibility to buy the stamps for the stamp book and all those sorts of things, you know. On the other hand I met with an awful lot of kindness from my male colleagues who were willing to do various jobs. Because I was a great believer in not amassing everything to myself. I can't think of any illustration, but I remember about the stamps quite well because I wasn't very good at adding it up and was told that I'd got to do that. I was also Senior when I was taking students from the Carnegie course and that was most helpful in that it suddenly made all my colleagues decide that they wanted supervision too. So that I was very, very busy at that time and, of course, there were interruptions during the students' supervision, to find out what was going on. I expect everybody's told you that? These private sessions, what was this thing that was happening? And so they had to come and see. Break in on you, yes. But, in a way, I think it was a good thing – if supervision is a good thing. And I think as the complexity in work with clients had began to be <u>seen</u> in the probation service, they've seen that they needed opportunities for talking about their work.

A.C. What was it you were going to say about being the Association of Principal Probation Officers?

R.M.B. Oh yes. I'd already got there, so it can't have been said about me, but at one time it used to be said in the London probation service, that promotion was by courtesy of LSE. This was because the applied social studies supervisors and later its past students got promotion and all that sort of thing.

A.C. Meaning that if you were connected with that course, therefore …?

R.M.B. Exactly. You were 'made'. There was a lot of unhappiness among the older old-stagers, because they felt they hadn't got the right hallmarks and so were awfully defensive and worried about revealing what they thought they were expected to know, and didn't. And that's where I think, with Kate's help, the in-service courses did so much good because she gave a particular status to the experienced officers. People who'd never been used in student training we were able to use, and had a group for them, and I'm sure it did their morale good to be valued as having something to pass on to the newcomers.

A.C. Because that really was a very different time. I should imagine it could be, a very difficult situation to be a woman with authority and seniority over men, on the one hand (first hurdle), and the next hurdle is not only <u>that</u>, but you'd been to America and got hold of all this new secret information!

R.M.B. Oh yes. Quite a sort of threatening combination.

A.C. There'd be all sorts of things laid on to you which didn't belong to you.

R.M.B. It was awfully helpful having George Newton there and he and I used to do a lot of work together. Of course once we started this training we found all sorts

of other unmet needs. We had a group for supervisors; then we had a group for the experienced officers; and then, of course, we found the group we'd neglected were the Seniors. That was the most difficult group to run of the lot. In fact, George and I used to spend a lot of the time talking to each other, because there weren't many contributions to the discussions we'd arranged.

A.C. You mean the other group members didn't take an active part in it? Didn't know what to say, or reluctant? Reluctant to expose themselves?

R.M.B. Yes. Then we got a Seniors' training committee going and that was a great success because a committee was a much more familiar situation. They all had points of view. What they wanted to say about the training scheme and things they didn't like and this, that and the other. That went like a bomb. I was only Secretary to that. That too was a familiar situation. But you see everybody grew at their own pace and you'd keep on finding pockets of resistance and ignorance. I remember, in the late '50s, going to see a Senior and she started talking about a case, and, I think it was a prostitute or shop-lifter or somebody, a woman who had been to Holloway on remand and there'd been a report. The psychiatrist had said that this woman was damaged in her social relationships because she'd been evacuated when she was two. This was held up to me to join in the ridicule. So I enquired a little more about it, and the Senior said, "I'd understand if the psychiatrist had said that if she had been evacuated when she was eight, as then she could remember about it". Then you get struck powerless. You don't know what to say.

A.C. What's been the biggest change you saw during that period between your coming into the service, before the war, up to '59? It puts a stopper on your career at '59, in a sense, I wonder if it's possible to think what, looking back, you estimate to be the most important change?

R.M.B. Well just about that time the juvenile and the adult courts staffs were merged, and I think that was a good thing in that it brought, (this is a terrible thing to say, showing all my prejudices and where they are), some of the insights from the juvenile courts into the magistrates' courts. I'd just been talking to you about the barrenness of the outlook of some of the magistrates courts' people. It had seemed to happen that the people in the juvenile courts had, had the better training. So when they all got together, and when the appointments were to both juvenile and adult courts, you must have had a better amalgam of officers, and a better exchange and interchange, because what one found when one was in administration was that one person with a new outlook could do nothing in a court. You were just condemning them to absolute isolation. There had to be two; there could be a dialogue going on somewhere.

When you got these appointments to the joint courts, you see you'd have three or four with a similar background and a similar outlook, and hopefully a chance of raising standards. On the other hand I was never sure, and I used to talk about setting up "robber bands" within these great big amalgamated offices. Because my contention was that more actual work went on in little

offices, and the bigger the offices the more the opportunities for talk, the more the opportunities for meetings, the more the opportunities for cups of tea and coffee, and with the best will in the world, less face-to-face work with clients. I felt that an office culture doesn't suit the kind of client that comes to probation. They aren't at ease, some of them, in the very formal, big, modern office blocks, that the probation service now have. Although I know their homes are all much better than they were in the old days, and you don't want to abase people by asking them to substandard accommodation. It's a problem, isn't it? Really a problem as to where you should site that kind of work with people.

A.C. Big things are intimidating. It's intimidating to go into an official building.

R.M.B. So you see there are pros and cons about that. I think also in that period, certainly the attitude to supervision and getting help with your clients, took root. I used to say that the motto of the probation service was "What I have, I hold" like the Navy League. This terrific sense of "It's my case. It's my caseload. I am responsible. I will only tell the magistrates". You know. That attitude did soften. A tremendous possessiveness. Of course it produced the dynamic for infinite personal sacrifice in the interests of the client and going on and on, and trying and trying – partly I suppose because you didn't want to be beaten, you were so involved. Sometimes you perhaps went on the wrong tack when a bit of help from somebody else might have been useful to you in changing tack. Then I also think that they began to understand a bit more about the value of groups and there were some tentative attempts at group work, perhaps less working as an individual and more as a member of a team. However you still go into probation offices and find they are all out visiting and none of them have thought to say when they will be back. I think that still goes on.

A.C. What about ideas? What do you think were the most influential ideas during that time? I suppose you've got into it a bit when you talked about the notion of supervision. Is there anything else?

R.M.B. Up to '59? Ideas. Ideas about clients do you mean?

A.C. Yes. Casework concepts.

R.M.B. Well I think the acceptance that 'casework' could be taught. This was something quite new, wasn't it? We had yet to learn that it couldn't always be learned!

A.C. And that being epitomised in the new generic course?

R.M.B. Yes. Again it's one's own beliefs: there was the idea of there being cause and effect in human behaviour and that behaviour had meaning and purpose. The infiltration of all those ideas. But then those seem to have been thrown out again, don't they, since then?

A.C. Some rather critical things have been said about social workers during this period. I'm thinking about Barbara Wootton **[61]** and Audrey Harvey, **[62]** which is why I stopped short at '59, because *Social Science and Social*

Pathology was published then. I wondered what you would say about it all? What's your come back, or observation about those criticisms?

R.M.B. I think there's a lot in them. I really do. I think that one of the roles of social work is as a facilitator and when Barbara Wootton talks about a "secretary", I think that's the sort of role she had in mind, and I think that society has got so complex, and we live now under such a multiplicity of rules and regulations; that there are a great many people not equipped to be entirely competent in all those fields and that the social worker, without patronising in any way but merely to enable the people to have their rights, has a role to play there. Where I think she goes wrong is in thinking that if there was equality of income everything would be alright; then they could be left alone. Because those same people may have rather immature attitudes to satisfactions. They may want immediate satisfactions, not be prepared to do any long term planning or any of the things that the 'secretary' could undertake. So that I don't think that if you gave everybody the same income, you would abolish social problems. And whereas at LSE I thought the millennium would come, I now no longer expect it, and I think inequality is with us and will remain with us.

A.C. So, on reflection, you think there's something in her criticisms?

R.M.B. If ever I write a book it will be on the "Myths of social work". Well, perhaps, "The Myths of the Carnegie Course", because so much was attributed to it that it never taught, with those overweening claims. Perhaps they were true and that some people did make overweening claims for what social work could do. I have also taken rather a dim view of the overweening claims for professionalism. I do think social work is still at a very rudimentary stage of its knowledge and skill, and the quieter it keeps, and the closer it gets on with its work, the better. It doesn't say, "Look how marvellous I am". But I think now, after having been told how frightful it is, after the [local social work] strikes and all these unfair attacks that have been made on social work, I hope it won't make these claims in the future. But I do think that it was in the excitement of the new knowledge in the late '50s I suppose that resulted in its making the most ridiculous claims. Case histories were published showing such movement and all that. It was a pity in some respects.

A.C. You don't need to contain yourself within the period. Looking back on your whole career now, what do you think back on as the best thing you did?

R.M.B. Oh as a Senior! A Senior in the probation service is an almost perfect job. Or it was then. Because you were still in practice. You still had a caseload, you were still close to people, and yet you had quite big responsibilities for ensuring good working facilities, good morale among colleagues. I think it's an ideal job. It's not <u>too</u> big. You can really see results. And it's not too small because you have every kind of problem. I think I probably enjoyed those few years, best of the lot.

A.C. And those are also the years you look back on with greatest pride are they?

R.M.B. Well I've enjoyed it all as it's come along. Those years as Assistant Principal Probation Officer, Training, (1960-'65, so after your period), I didn't enjoy the pure administration, but the training period, getting those 40 men into the probation service, from every kind of walk of life, and watching them grow and develop and find satisfactions in their work, that was a wonderful time. And then Bedford College (1966-'69), although it was a nightmare, I wouldn't have missed it for anything. But as a containable job, Senior in the probation service is a very, very good one.

A.C. Do you look back on any clients that you've worked with and think 'Ah, yes!' (Shows photograph from mantelpiece).

R.M.B. This is the awful thing you see. I think again if you go round these old girls that you're going round and scratch enough, you'll find that some of them, a good many of them, are still in touch with one or two.

A.C. Yes I have.

R.M.B. You have. Well I'm no exception! I have one in Canada who has just recently been over, and I've seen her. One in Australia who I visited when I've been out there. That one's father who lives in the East End was put on probation to me at the age of 9, in 1939. And one in Glasgow who I am still in touch with. Well this is terrible you see, and shows that I'm not a caseworker, because they all ought to have been weaned and put on their own two feet and all that, years and years ago!

A.C. Do you really think so? No, you don't do you?

R.M.B. I don't know what I think. In a way I'm rather glad they're not because it is so fascinating to see how their lives turn out. I could go on talking until next week about those four.

A.C. Could you talk about one in an anonymous way? To illustrate your intervention. Where you came in.

R.M.B. I think my intervention has been the same in all four cases. I think I am a mother substitute. When I think of them all, they all had extremely inadequate mothers. And I suppose this was a basic human need for a bit of mothering, and they must have got some satisfaction at the time of the order from having me around, and it's become a habit.

A.C. It's very interesting, isn't it, because you're putting it like that. It's another way of saying part of being a good mother was being the one who set the boundaries and said this is where it's all at and this is what you've got to do. Yet during this time we've been talking about, the time when you talked about setting up the Carnegie course and the discovery that casework could be taught, and so on, the idea of being a controlling person was very often regarded as being antipathetic to the casework ideal. We were all in the business of, very often, not being the permissive parent, but the firm, controlling parent, and lo and behold your four cases are of that kind.

R.M.B. They felt the need for a continuing control. But I can give you an even better story about that. Again in my very early days. This boy who said he didn't like my office because it was, "Too posh for me". He was a real little rebel. He had a frightfully hard dad who cracked down on him and he was a proper little devil. And I got him evacuated to David Wills **[59]**

You see David Wills was well in advance of his day, and he was running a permissive hostel for evacuees in an old workhouse at Bicester. I thought I was very, very lucky indeed in having got a vacancy for Johnnie there and so I took him down, in the War. You know a specially arranged evacuation so that he could have the benefit of the regime which David Wills prescribed.

I went down after about a month to see how he was getting on. I found a very dejected child, and I said, "Don't you like it here?" "No Miss". "What's the matter?" "Too temptational". And you see that taught me an awful lot at the time. That for some children although they may rebel, unless there are boundaries they don't feel safe. I've always loved that, "Too temptational".

A.C. Thank you very much.

EDITORS' NOTES TO THE BRAITHWAITE INTERVIEW

1 **The London Probation Service** was founded in 1876 and operated on a charitable basis until the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907. The volume of work expanded from the 1920's following the requirement for probation to be a formal obligatory service to the courts. See Bochel's *The Development of the Probation Service in England and Wales* (1963) and Bradley's *Evolution of the British Juvenile Courts* (2008).

2 **The London School of Economics and Political Science** (informally, the London School of Economics or **LSE**) was founded in 1895, the moving Fabian spirits being Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas and George Bernard Shaw. The initial finance came from a bequest of £20,000 from the estate of Henry Hunt Hutchinson, a lawyer and member of the Fabian Society. He left the money in trust to be put "towards advancing its [The Fabian Society's] objects in any way they [the trustees] deem advisable". The aim of the School was the betterment of society through the study of social science subjects such as poverty and inequality.

The important role of the LSE in the development of social work education is referred to in several of the Cohen Interviews. The Charity Organisation Society (COS) sociology department - that had provided some theoretical training for social workers - was absorbed in 1912 into the LSE's new Department of Social Science and Administration. The range of courses later

provided by the Department was described by David Donnison in 1975: “The Department was teaching about 300 students at this time (1956): about sixty were taking the Social Administration options in the second and third years of a course leading to an honours degree in sociology, ninety were taking a course leading to a Certificate in Social Science (later renamed the Diploma in Social Administration) and twenty five graduate students were taking the same course in one year. The Department also provided four one-year professional training courses designed in the main for graduates in social sciences: the Personnel Management course for about twenty five students, the Mental Health Course [established in 1929] for about thirty five students training for psychiatric social work, the Child Care Course for about twenty students training to work in local authorities’ children’s departments and involuntary child care organisations, and the Applied Social Studies Course for about twenty five students entering various branches of social work. A number of graduate students were reading for higher degrees, and various others were temporarily attached to the Department.”

The School ceased on offer professional social work qualifications in 1998.

3 **The Certificate in Social Science** was awarded by the London School of Economics usually after two years of study but could be taken by graduates in one year. During the life of the course lectures included : Richard Titmuss on Social Policy; Morris Ginsberg on Social Psychology; Herman Mannheim on Criminology; Dr E J Anthony on Family Relationships; Claus Moser on Social Investigation; and Dorothy Gardner on Child Development.

4 **William J. Braithwaite** (1875 – 1938). Senior civil servant, community leader and author of a volume of memoirs, *Lloyd George’s Ambulance Wagon.* See also notes 8 and 22 below.

5 **Sir William Clarke Hall** (1836-1932). A progressive London Metropolitan magistrate, with strong Toynbee Hall connections, who advocated probation and other humane approaches to juvenile delinquency. A central belief was that crime was preventable and that the solutions to it should be remedial. He allied himself to fellow magistrates Cynthia Colville and Basil Henriques in promoting non-punitive ideas about the treatment of young offenders. They were strongly influenced by the growth of the Child Guidance movement and developments in child psychology.

6 **Law Relating to Children and Young Persons.** This text book has run to many editions and is frequently updated.

7 **Reichstag Fire**. 27th February 1933.

8 **Men and Boys’ Clubs.** The specific activities and locations of Braithwaite’s clubs are discussed in Bradley’s *Creating local elites: the University Settlement movement, national elites and citizenship in London 1884--1940*. kar.kent.ac.uk/7808/1/Bradley.

In the 19th century, and for most of the 20th, the standard convention was that youth and adult clubs be organised by gender. They frequently provided food,

medical attention and education. In the last quarter of the 19th century several clubs for “working boys” were established by churches, universities and philanthropists; and the London Federation of Boys’ Clubs was founded in 1887. See the Federation’s papers at the London Metropolitan Archive and McEager, W. M. (1953), *Making Men: the History of Boys’ Clubs and Related Movements in Great Britain*. University of London Press.

9 **The School Care Committee service** was set up in 1908 by the London County Council to provide a welfare service to London’s school children, using large numbers of volunteers directly employed by the local authority. Published histories include: Willmott, P. *London’s School Care Committee Service 1908-1989* in Voluntary Action Journal (6, 2 (Spring 2004, 95-110) and Jennings, H. (1930) *The Private Citizen in Public Social Work*. Allen & Unwin.

10 **Toynbee Hall.** In 1884 Samuel Barnett launched Toynbee Hall, the university settlement in Whitechapel, a residential colony of university men, committed to no particular religious creed, who would live among the poor as friends, neighbours, social-scientific observers, and practical social workers. He served as Warden until 1906 and he kept his connections with Whitechapel throughout his life, though he resigned from St Jude's in 1893 to serve as a canon of Bristol, by which title he is best-known to posterity. He was also actively involved in many initiatives to improve the economic and material conditions of the poor, including slum clearance and housing reforms such as the Artisans' Dwelling Act of 1875, old-age pensions, and labour farm colonies.

11 **Family Allowances** were instituted by a 1945 Act of Parliament to be implemented in 1946. The rate was 5 shillings (25p) per week paid to the mother, but the first child was excluded. The introduction of this non-means tested benefit was the culmination of a long campaign led by Eleanor Rathbone and many others who witnessed first hand the hardships of working class families. The importance of this Allowance was a key feature in the campaigns to end child poverty in the 1960’s. It was superseded from the 1970’s onwards by Child Benefit but the principle of a universal benefit paid to mothers was established.

12 **The ‘Means Test’** was essentially a continuation of the Poor Law principle that public bodies should not be obliged to give support unless it is established that the applicant has virtually no resources of their own. In the 1930`s, through a combination of Poor Law and Unemployment Acts, the resources of the applicant’s family were also taken into account when assessing eligibility for unemployment relief – and this was hugely unpopular.

The local inspector, who was charged with ensuring that all family resources were counted in, became known as the *Means-Test Man*. Walter Brierley wrote a powerful novel with that title in 1935 describing a week in the life of an unemployed Derbyshire miner. There was also a popular song with the same title which satirically casts the Means-Test man as villain.

13 **Miss Edith Verena Eckhard** taught at the LSE from 1919 to 1952, firstly as Assistant Lecturer, then as Senior Tutor (to the Almoner students) and finally as Deputy Head of the Social Science Department. Miss Eckhard was part of a long campaign to encourage the mutual raising of standards in social studies departments in the face of a proliferation of *ad hoc* courses. She was Secretary of the Joint University Council which published *Training for Social Work* in 1926 in which the training needs of Almoners were recognised. For a period she served on the Executive Council of the Institute of Almoners.

14 **Janet Kydd** joined the staff of the London School of Economics in 1946 as a Tutor in personnel management and became Deputy Head of the LSE Social Services Department in 1953.

15 **Time and Talents** was founded in 1887 to encourage young women ("of leisure and education") to make use of their time and abilities in the service of others. A number of Centres were set up, the first being in Edinburgh in 1889. The Bermondsey Settlement in east London, referred to by Rose Mary Braithwaite and other Cohen interviewees, developed from a Centre founded in the late 1890's. The activities included clubs for girls, welfare and safety activity with working girls, a hostel for 16 working girls and a country holiday cottage. See: Daunt, M. (1989). *By Peaceful Means: the Story of Time and Talents, 1887 – 1987.*

16 **Dr. Hermann Mannheim** (1889 –1974). Was born in Germany and studied at four Universities before practising law and later becoming both a judge and a professor. At the age of 44, faced with the rise of the Nazis, he emigrated to England and took up an honorary post as Lecturer at LSE and gave important lectures on criminology. See: *Criminology in Transition***:** *essays in honour of Hermann Mannheim*. Tavistock Publications. 1965.

17 **Charity Organisation Society (COS**) was founded in London in 1869 and led by Helen Bosanquet (1860–1925), social theorist and social reformer and Octavia Hill ((1838–1912), housing and social reformer. It supported the concept of self help and limited government intervention to deal with the effects of poverty. The organisation claimed to use "scientific principles to root out scroungers and target relief where it was most needed". It organised charitable grants and pioneered a volunteer home-visiting service that formed the basis for modern social work. The original COS philosophy later attracted much criticism though some branches were much less doctrinaire than others.

Gradually volunteer visitors were supplanted by paid staff. In 1938 the COS initiated the first Citizens' Advice Bureau, and continued to run CABx branches until the 1970s. The COS was renamed Family Welfare Association in 1946 and still operates today as **Family Action** a leading provider of support to disadvantaged families. [For more information, *see* Charles Loch Mowat *The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913* (1961), Madeline Rooff *A Hundred Years of Family Welfare: A Study of the Family Welfare Association (Formerly Charity Organisation Society) 1869–1969* (Michael Joseph 1972) and Jane Lewis *The Voluntary Sector, the State and*

Social Work in Britain (Brookfield 1995). Michael J.D. Roberts, in an article *'Charity Disestablished? The Origins of the Charity Organisation Society Revisited, 1868-1871'* in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (CUP 2003, vol 54 pp 40-61).]

18 **Family Welfare Association (FWA)** was the new title adopted by the Charity Organisation Society in 1946 and there followed a marked change in its work when the new local authority Children's Departments were set up in 1948. Volunteers were mostly replaced by paid staff and statutory funding was sought and used to provide a number of therapeutic services for families and children. The operational area was confined for may years to London and the south east, but this changed in 2006 when the Association, now re-named as **Family Action**, merged with **Family Service Units**.

19 **Nina Blyth**. Probation officers in the 1940's and 50's often worked with large huge caseloads. Caseloads of 100 – 120 were not uncommon. The shortage of office accommodation was also a problem. In the early days staff flitted between their own homes and offenders' homes. In the 1920's resourceful London mission recruit Nina Blyth set up her office in Blackfriars Library. Rose Mary Braithwaite, who joined the London service in 1939, had her first office in a pub in the East End, the *Horn of Plenty* in Limehouse. See *Nina Blyth: Juvenile Court Probation Officer – an Appreciation* by Ethel Crosland. *Probation Journal.* April 1933 1:235.

20 **Rainer Foundation** was the name chosen for the Church of England Temperance Society in 1939 when the Home Office assumed full responsibility for the probation service. It was named in honour of Frederick Rainer who had earlier prompted the Society to get involved in police court work. The Foundation developed into a charity providing residential and other care for young offenders. Subsequently merged with other charities.

21 **Morley College.** Founded in 1889, Morley College (for Working Men and Women) developed from the series of popular Penny Lectures organised by the social reformer Emma Cons in the 1880's at the Royal Victoria Coffee and Music Hall --now the Old Vic. With an endowment from Samuel Morley MP, the College established high quality adult classes in the sciences, music, drama, literature drawing and painting. The College attracted high quality teaching staff in all these disciplines and maintained its commitment to the education of working class people over several generations.

22 **The 1911 National Insurance Act** was originally two separate pieces of legislation - one for health insurance and one for employment insurance – that became joined as parts of the same Bill. The passage of the Bill required skilful tactics and compromises from Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer, inside and outside Parliament in order to ensure the passage of a measure he called his 'ambulance wagon'. The Act was an important recognition by Parliament of the hardships experienced by working men and women and the need for some nationally funded schemes to relieve them. RMB's father William had a strong influence on the legislation.

23 **The Children and Young Persons Act 1933**. Consolidated and developed earlier legislation relating to the protection of children and young people and several of its provisions were carried forward into the Children Act of 1948. Major sections included: prevention of cruelty to children; regulation of sales of tobacco; exposure to open fires in the home; regulation of children performing in public entertainments; children travelling abroad; hours of work for the under 14's; and limitations on children's presence in courts of law.

24 **Summary Jurisdiction** is the legal process which allows JP's and magistrates to decide verdicts and punishments on a wide range of cases without involving a jury trial. Historically, such matters as poaching and other minor offences have been dealt with in this way but the 1936 reforms gave magistrates a wider range of options, including probation, in adjudicating on offences committed by children.

25 **Somerset Probation Service** is now (in 2013) part of the West Mercia Probation Trust.

26 **Relieving Officers** were employed by the Poor Law Union to receive applications for relief and make payments when approved by the Board of Guardians. They could also issue orders to admit people to the workhouse. RMB obviously felt it important to refer to the poor law background of this group of LCC staff.

27 **1907 Probation Act.** Formally introduced probation as a means of rehabilitating offenders who had broken the law. For an account of the social context , see Kate Bradley's *Juvenile Delinquency and the evolution of the British juvenile courts c1900 – 1950***.** www.history.ac.uk

28 **Aichhorn, A**. (1925). *Verwahrloste Jugend*. Preface by Sigmund Freud. Vienna. English translation (1935): *Wayward Youth*. Viking Press.

29 **Watson, J. A. F.** (1942). *The Child and the Magistrate***.** Jonathan Cape.

30 **Sir Basil Henriques.** (1890–1961), founder of youth clubs and magistrate. His early enthusiasm for the study and practice of club work among underprivileged boys and young men was inspired at Oxford by the example of Alec Paterson who frequently to talk to undergraduates about his London east end club and its members. Henriques, convinced that such social intervention was necessary, went to stay at the Oxford and Bermondsey Mission in London and decided, as a result of this experience, that social work, and particularly club work, was to be his profession. He agreed to his family's suggestion that he give time to his fellow Jews. And so his two interests developed as one and he spent the rest of his life among the Jewish people of Commercial Road and Berner Street (later renamed Henriques Street) as club leader and magistrate.

31 Appreciations of **Dr Peter Scott** were published in the *British Journal of Criminology* (1978) 18(1) and an obituary notice by Professor Trevor Gibbens appeared in the *British Medical Journal* (2, 646).

32 **Family Service Units. (FSU).** An independent charitable social work agency, founded in 1948 in succession to the Pacifist Service Units created during World War 2. Alan Cohen worked for FSU for a period in the1960's and published in 1998 *The Revolution in post-war family casework: the story of Pacifist Service Units and Family Service Units 1940-1959***.** (University of Lancaster). In common with the 26 Cohen interviews, this book was based on interviews with pioneers. An FSU archive can be found at the Modern Records Centre at the University of Warwick.
www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc

33 The Minutes of this Committee are held at the National Archive, Kew.

34 **Walter Pettit**. Co-author with Porter Lee of *Social Salvage*. 1924.

35 **The Columbia University School of Social Work** is a professional programme within Columbia University. With an enrolment of over 900, it is one of the largest social work programmes in the United States. It is also the nation's oldest, with roots extending back to 1898, when the New York Charity Organization Society's first summer course was announced in The New York Times. The combination of its age and size has led to the School becoming a repository for much of the reference literature in the social work field. The Summer School continued as the primary training course until 1904. That year, it expanded the coursework as the first full-time course of graduate study at the newly renamed New York School of Philanthropy. The name was changed to the New York School of Social Work in 1917 and in 1963 to its current title.

36 **Willard Straight**. An alumnus of Cornell University who left a substantial endowment "to make Cornell a more human place."

37 **Probation Rules of 1949**. These rules brought the after care of former offenders into the remit of probation officers. One consequence was a steep rise in the size of caseloads.

38 **Morris, C.** (1950). *Social Casework in Britain.* Faber. Including chapters by:

- Cormack, U. M. and McDougall, K. *Casework in Social Services* and *Casework in Practice*
- Snelling, J. *Medical Social Work***.**
- Hunnybun, N. *Psychiatric Social Work*
- Deed, D. M. *Family Casework.*
- Britton, C. *Child Care*
- Minn, W. G. *Probation*
- Reeve, B and Steel, E. M. *Moral Welfare*
- Younghusband, E. *Conclusion*

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39 **W. G. Minn** also served as one of the Joint Secretaries to the Probation Training Board in 1948. Two of the members, Sybil Clement Brown and Eileen Younghusband, were interviewed by Alan Cohen.

40 **Katherine (Kit) Russell** (1909–1998). Social worker and university teacher. On leaving school at the age of seventeen, she at first combined running the family household with voluntary work in the impoverished dockside area of Bermondsey, in south London. The Time and Talents Settlement, started in 1887 by Christian society ladies, gave her early opportunities. In 1931 she went to the London School of Economics (LSE) and in 1933, having gained the Certificate in Social Science, she became the Warden of the Time and Talents club house in Dockhead. She remained a devoted supporter of the Settlement and admirer of Bermondsey people until the end of her life.

In 1937 she was recruited by the London Council of Social Service to organize community activities on the new Honor Oak housing estate in Lewisham, but following the outbreak of the Second World War she moved in 1940 to become Warden of a youth centre in Southampton, a city by then suffering heavily from German bombing. In 1945 she took charge of five emergency courses run by the Institute of Almoners to ease the shortage of hospital social workers in Britain and in 1949 moved on to the Social Science Department at the LSE, first as practical work organiser, later as senior lecturer. She retired in 1973, but continued as president of the LSE Society for many years. After retirement in 1973 she a detailed questionnaire to 2000 past LSE social administration students and the published result was *Changing Course* (1981).

41 **The Mental Health Diploma Course at the LSE**. This was established in 1929 with financial aid from the Commonwealth Fund in the USA and this support continued until the1940's. However, as Professor John Stewart has established by researching the archives of both organisations, the relationship was a complex one and not without difficulties. The senior staff of the Commonwealth Fund had had strong views on how the course should be run – particularly in relation to the course content and the experience and qualifications of admitted students - while the LSE wished to maintain its independence. However, threats to withdraw funding were not carried through and the course became established

For a considerable period this was the only course of its kind in the UK and hence carried considerable prestige. It formed a focus for the expansion of the profession of psychiatric social work from a very low base: in 1930 the newly formed Association of Psychiatric Social Workers had only 17 members. The curriculum included the different existing strands of psychiatric theory and practice; intra-family relationships; and disorders of childhood. Those qualifying went into, or returned to, a variety of work settings; child guidance, mental hospitals, local authorities and voluntary agencies. Over the years the influence of this course gradually spread.

For a fuller discussion see: Stewart, J.(2006). *Psychiatric Social Work in inter-war Britain: American ideas, American philanthropy*. Michael Quarterly. www.dnms.no and Noel Timms (1964). *Psychiatric Social Work in Great Britain: 1939-62***.**

42 **Miss (Amy) Gordon Hamilton**, (1892 - 1967). Social work educator at the New York School of Social Work at the Columbia University School of Social Work from 1923 to 1957. She was an admired teacher, thinker and writer with a considerable influence on European social work pioneers as well as in the USA . Her particular concern for the direction and quality of social work education. She was an outstanding contributor to social work literature and Her most important work was *The Theory and Practice of Social Casework* first published in 1940. See *Notable American Women: the modern period: a Biographical Dictionary*. Harvard University Press. 1980.

43 **Dr Eveline Burns** was born in London, England and came to the United States in 1926. She was President of the National Conference of Social Welfare, 1957-58, and vice President of the American Public Health Association from 1969-1970. She was also active in the Consumers' League, the American Association of University Women and the American Association of University Professors. From 1946 until her retirement in 1967, she taught in Columbia University School of Social Work. Credited with being one of the key figures in the creation of social policy studies in this country, she helped develop the doctoral programmes in social work at Columbia and served as the programme's first chairperson.

44 **The 1948 Criminal Justice Act** was broad and far-reaching in scope, but section of the long title of concern to RMB and colleagues read "to amend the law relating to probation officers and otherwise reform existing methods of dealing with offenders and persons liable to imprisonment".

45 **Pierre Maurice Turquet** (1913–1975) was an English psychiatrist at the Tavistock Clinic (becoming a consultant in 1952) with an interest in group relations. From 1976 to 1973 he was Chairman of the Adult Department of the Tavistock. See: *Dwell in Possibility: Selected Writings of Pierre Turquet* by W. Gordon Lawrence and Robert Gosling. Process Press.

46 **Tilda Goldberg** (1912-- 2004) was a well known and respected social researcher who was born in Berlin and studied psychology and economics at the University. Came to England in 1933 and worked in a child guidance clinic for seven years; from 1943 to 1949 she served as an aftercare officer in Newcastle and assessed the needs of people discharged from military psychiatric hospitals. Was editor of the *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work* from 1961 to 1965 and Director of Research at the National Institute for Social Work for 14 years until her retirement in 1977. She was a strong advocate of evidence based research and evaluation; and she bequeathed a substantial sum for the establishment of the Centre for Social Work and Social Care at Bedford University.

47 There was considerable deliberation at LSE and elsewhere about the introduction of a one year **"Carnegie" Applied Social Studies Course**, sometimes referred to as a Social Casework course, which was eventually established in 1954 and ran for four academic years. Lectures included Eileen Younghusband on Social Administration and Social Policy; Dr Winner

on Problems of Health and Disease; Mr E.M. Eppel on Social Influences on Behaviour; Miss Bell on Services for the Handicapped; George Newton on Law for Probation Officers; Dr William Goodey on Neurology; and Professor Raymond Fisher on Group Dynamics. Donald Winnicott and Dr Stewart Prince also gave lectures.

48 The **1968 Seebohm Committee** (Home Office. *Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services*. London, HMSO (Cmd, 3703)) which led to the 1970 Local Authority Social Services Act and the birth of new local social services departments in 1971.

49 **Lydia Rapaport**. (1923-1971) was a leading educator in social work in the USA and elsewhere. She developed the curriculum for several colleges and wrote about the theoretical basis of social work. At the time RMB met her she was probably a Visiting Professor at the Smith College School for Social Work and advising LSE because she had strong links with Richard Titmuss and Eileen Younghusband.

Rapaport, L. (1960). *In defense of social work***.** Social Service Review, 34(2), and Rapaport, L. (1968). *Creativity in social work***.** Smith College Studies in Social Work, 38(3).

50 **Marjorie Moon.** Author of *The first two years: a study of the work experience of some newly qualified medical social workers***.** Institute of Medical Social Workers, 1964 or 1965.

51 **George Newton** (d. 1978) was an Assistant Principal Probation Officer of the London Probation Service, and a part-time lecturer to the Applied Social Studies Course at the LSE.

52 **Winnicott, C.** (1962). *Casework and Agency Function*. Case Conference, Vol VIII, No7.

53 **Warlingham Park Hospital**. Opened in 1903 as Croydon Mental Hospital and closed in 1999. Historical records discussed at www.bethlemheritage.wordpress.com. See also Cohen interview, no 14, with Kay McDougall.

54 **Bedford College** was founded in London in 1849 as a higher education college exclusively for women. It was the first institution of its type in the United Kingdom and the founders led by Elizabeth Jesser Reid wished to provide a liberal non-sectarian education. In 1900, the college became part of the University of London and continued to play a leading role in the advancement of women in higher education - and in public life in general. The College became fully co-educational in the 1960s and in 1985 merged with another of the University of London's colleges – Royal Holloway

55 **Frank Dawtry** (1902–1968). Appointed in 1937 as welfare officer at Wakefield prison in the early days of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society. Very much a pioneer, he was involved with the initial "open" prisons, with the training of prison staff and with promoting a progressive approach to after-

care. He moved on to Maidstone Prison and later campaigned for the abolition of capital punishment. In 1948 he became General Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers and also served as a trustee for several voluntary bodies devoted to penal reform and the after-care of prisoners.

56 **Doris Sullivan.** Served for several years in the probation service and eventually became an assistant Chief Probation Officer. Took the LSE Mental Health Course and achieved a distinction.

57 **The Institute of Almoners** was one of the several almoners' organisations that preceded the formation of the Institute of Medical Social workers in 1964 and were in turn merged with other organisations to form the British Association of Social Workers in 1970-71.

58 **Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW)** was established on 1 October 1971 under the Health Visiting and Social Work (Training) Act 1962. It replaced the Central Training Council in Child Care, the Council for Training in Social Work, and the Recruitment and Training Committee of the Advisory Council for Probation and After-Care, and also took over certain functions of the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers and the Institute for Medical Social Work. The responsibilities of the Council were: the promotion of education and training in social work; accrediting academic courses and awarding qualifications throughout the United Kingdom.

59 **Kate Lewis** was a co-tutor with Eileen Younghusband on the LSE's two year Applied Social Studies Course in the1950's. A psychiatric social worker by profession, she went on to be an influential training consultant for the Home Office and also for the National Association for Mental Health.

60 **Emanuel (Manny) Montague Eppel**. (1921-2006). Author of *Adolescents and Morality*, (1966). Later to be the founding Director of the Centre for Continuing Education at University of Sussex.

61 **Barbara Frances Wootton**, Baroness Wootton of Abinger (1897–1988). Eminent economist, criminologist and social scientist. After leaving Cambridge, Wootton took up a research studentship at the LSE and later worked for the research department of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress. She was Principal of Morley College from 1926, and Director of studies for tutorial classes at London University from 1927 until she became Reader at Bedford College in 1944 and Professor in 1948.

She published widely and her *Social Science and Social Pathology* (with Vera G. Seal and Rosalind Chambers. Allen & Unwin, 1959) remains a classic in the application of utilitarian philosophy and empirical sociology to the enlightened management of society. It is a wide ranging 400 page book and Alan Cohen, in his interview questions, concentrates on a chapter ("Contemporary attitudes in social work") that was very critical of some approaches to social work and the claims made about what social work could achieve. It would be difficult to find more trenchant and sustained criticism of

the attitudes, language and assumptions of the selected social work writers and academics quoted – in particular of the claims made for the more high-flown psychoanalytical approaches to solving human problems. These she ridicules and claims that they do a great disservice to social workers in their daily tasks. It is clear from the edited transcripts that Alan Cohen was keen to gather the views of his interviewees about the impact of the Wootton bombshell and most of them give a response.

From 1952 to 1957 she was Nuffield research fellow at Bedford College. She was created a life peer in 1958 and was the first woman to sit on the woolsack in the House of Lords; and later held several senior public appointments. Her reputation as a fiercely independent thinker was sustained during the following years of public service.

Accounts of her life and work are available from her autobiography, *In a World I Never Made* (1967) and Ann Oakley's biography *A Critical Woman* (2011).

(*Sources:* Personal Papers of Barbara Wootton, Girton College Archive, Cambridge; and the books cited above).

62 **Audrey Harvey**, (1912-1997) was a journalist and long-term contributor to the *New Statesman* and leading campaigner on welfare benefits and homelessness. Author of *Tenants in Danger* in 1964 and a founder member of the Child Poverty Action Group, she was impatient of a perceived lack of involvement by social workers in these fields. For this reason her name was often associated with Barbara Wootton's 1959 criticisms of social work – and this is mentioned by some of Alan Cohen's interviewees.

63 **W. David Wills**. (1903–1980). Trained as a psychiatric social worker in the USA, he later played a key part in the creation of several therapeutic communities. He and his wife Ruth had a particular concern for, and success with, young offenders. His accounts of the work done –for example, *The Hawkspur Experiment* and *The Barns Experiment* were widely read and thus influential.

For a summary and discussion of Wills's 1971 book, *Spare the Child; the story of an experimental approved school* (based on the educational work of Richard Balbernie), see www.childrenwebmag/articles.
