

# Q Camp

An Epitome of Experiences at Hawkspur Camp  
(1936 to 1940)  
for young men aged 16 ½ to 25

By former members of the Committee and Staff  
Edited by Marjorie E. Franklin  
Published by  
The Planned Environment Therapy Trust  
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## Preface to 1966 Edition

Mr. Wills in his introductory remarks gives reasons why this pamphlet and "The Hawkspur Experiment" which he wrote over twenty years ago, both of which are out of print, should be re-issued. This new edition of "Q Camp" is published by the *Planned Environment Therapy Trust* and the re-issue of "The Hawkspur Experiment" is being published by Allen and Unwin for the Trust.

The Trust intends to publish from time to time articles on new ideas and new experiments in the field of planned environmental therapy. Some of these will be culled from a discussion group of which the three trustees who have contributed to this pamphlet belong and which has extended in its members their horizon of awareness of new activities and new thought.

For our first publication, however, we have turned our attention to the roots of our association together, from which later work has severally developed in varying directions and which is still, as readers will find, apposite to present day needs.

In re-reading "Q Camp" I am struck, as was Mr. Wills, by the up-to-date impression it gives. In the first edition (see p. 20) I ventured to suggest in relation to the "instruments of treatment" used by Mr. Wills and his colleagues, "that experience may lead to the dropping of some and the adding of others (though I think the latter is more likely than the former)." I believe this prediction has proved correct. I cannot think of any of the methods described in this booklet which time has shown to be other than desirable in the milieu and manner in which they were used. Further deepening and enlargement of general thought on the subject would be in favour of a still closer working association with psycho-analytic theory and practice, including, in some cases, treatment.

My previous conviction is strengthened that psychiatrists working as visiting therapists at places where informed and well thought out

environmental therapy is used, should make themselves cognisant of the therapeutic regime before they can usefully supplement it by treating inmates. Most of the therapists who treated men at Hawkspur were interested in the Camp. A few, unfortunately, ignored it and we, of the Q organisation, in the belief that if a course of treatment was started before a member entered the Camp it should be continued under the same therapist, were unwisely complacent. This resulted, in these few cases, in a dichotomy of loyalties and attachments which was detrimental to all concerned.'

On another aspect of life at Hawkspur, whose importance especially with adults (though it is important, in a rather different way, with adolescents and children too) is sometimes overlooked, I have Dr. Mannheim's permission to quote from a letter to him written about 1944 after reading the pamphlet, by Mr. John E. Ellington of the American Law Institute. He writes as follows: ". . . The pamphlet describes the boldest attempt that has come to my attention to accept human beings regardless of their maladjustments, on terms of true equality and apparently even without an unconscious assumption of superiority on the part of those responsible for the administration of the Camp. Easy as that is to say, I suspect that few people realise how difficult it is to achieve and how adult is the attempt to do so."

I add a personal comment. Progress where the outcome was successful (there were failures, too), may seem in retrospect more smooth and even than was, in fact, the case. It was more often intermittent, interspersed sometimes with emotional disturbance, even turbulence, inner anxiety and depression - and I am not referring here to the occasional conflict with the law, but to mental setbacks. This needed all the support, patience and understanding that a very skilled team was able to give. During these setbacks the members were also helped by the spirit of comradeship and tolerance which developed in fellow members within the Camp.

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When we look back over the years, we are saddened by the loss of many who helped in early days by their labours or by moral support. Of those who contributed to this booklet we regret to record the deaths of Cuthbert Rutter, Dr. Norman Glaister, and T. C. Bodsworth ("Bods"). To these we add two others whose personality deeply influenced the life of the Camp. These were Dr. Denis Carroll<sup>2</sup> and Mrs. Ruth Wills.

We would like to thank all who have helped in the production of this new edition. Dr. Hermann Mannheim we thank not only for the distinction of his earlier contribution, but also for permission to include the comments added in 1955 (see p. 65).

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<sup>1</sup>See Section 9, p. 60 (Dr. Mannheim) on this subject.

<sup>2</sup>During the war Dr. Carroll was in charge of an R.A.M.C. psychiatric hospital. He told, with humour, how his Colonel showed him the newly published "Q Camp" (first edition of this pamphlet) and advised Major Carroll to use the methods Perhaps Q's influence was more widespread than we knew? (Ed. 1966)

Special thanks are due to the Institute for the Study and Treatment Delinquency and its general secretary, Miss Eve Saville, B.A. for help and advice and for undertaking distribution and sale.

The pamphlet has been re-issued unchanged except for a few additions such as footnotes and two appendices. Appendix (A) contains more recent news of some of the members, and (B) is an extract from "A Memorandum of the Proposed Camp" issued in July 1935.

Other additions are the notes to his paper by Dr. Mannheim, referred to above, Mr. Wills' introductory notes and this preface and revised information about authors.

MARJORIE E. FRANKLIN

*December 1966*

# Introduction to 1966 Edition

by W. DAVID WILLS

A quarter of a century has passed since the closure of Hawkspur Camp and 23 years since the publication of this pamphlet, and perhaps someone ought to say why it is being re-issued.

There is really only one reason: crime has not diminished since the days of Hawkspur Camp, and the traditional residential methods of dealing with it become less and less successful as the years go by (or the analysis of results is more scientific and accurate). We believe that the Q Camp principles and methods have something to offer towards a solution of this problem. We do not claim (as Dr. Franklin said even then) that any of our ideas were new. What we did and do claim is that we put them into practice, which people -even to this day - seem reluctant to do. And we put them into practice, I think it is true to say, in a unique combination that had never been tried before, and has not, regrettably, been tried since (so far as I know). We believe that the kind of dynamic autonomous work-oriented group living that we tried at Hawkspur Camp has a real therapeutic value, and might well be used to help many of the disturbed antisocial and even criminal young men who afflict society today.

And anyway it is not strictly a resurrection, inasmuch as the pamphlet is still in use at various universities and training courses, but is out of print. Re-publication is therefore necessary. It is the first of what we hope will be a series of publications by the Planned Environment Therapy Trust.



# Q CAMP

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## FOREWORD (1943)<sup>1</sup>

By C. K. RUTTER

We live in times when more and more planning is acknowledged as being necessary. Nearly everybody recognises the necessity in some vague way. Nearly everybody is talking about it. Almost without pause for breath the organising people amongst us proclaim that "here's a scheme, and here and here."

A few people think more deeply about planning. Still fewer people attempt to bring together those two functions without which no planning will be worth its cost. The two functions are wise directing and wise working out.

The writers of this pamphlet represent both these functions and have wisdom in both. The pamphlet makes clear the conditions of the general direction in which we should plan in order to supply the special needs of certain groups of young people. These people are those who reach mature years without reaching maturity or finding a happy adjustment to life. They need re-adjustment, re-education.

Q Camps tried to make each of its charges feel accepted, liked, successfully active (in social life first and in things aesthetic and intellectual largely as a consequence) and understood. The understanding had as one of its conditions, as part of its price, a many-sided study of the creature MAN. To this understanding almost any experience thoughtfully interpreted might contribute.

It often happened that one necessary condition of being able to like a person was getting to know, as our American friends would express it, "just how they got to be that way!" Now this getting to know meant not only piecing together case histories. It meant arduous thought and patient contemplation of *individual* lives.

The qualification of the writers who follow includes that of working for many years in this special field - both within traditional institutions and in more flexible organisations.

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<sup>1</sup>This foreword (and what follows up to the appendices, which are additions) is reprinted unchanged from the 1943 edition. Its aptness to the situation in November 1966 is almost startling. (Ed. 1966)

# I

## INTRODUCTORY, INCLUDING NOTES ON THE ORIGIN AND INCEPTION OF THE WORK

BY MARJORIE E. FRANKLIN

Soon after the closure in 1940 of Hawkspur Camp (which is the only camp so far established by the, Q Camps Organisation)' the Committee discussed the compilation of a book describing in detail the history of the camp during the four years of its existence and the effect, so far as known, of their residence there on the members. The circumstances of the war, however, have made us postpone the writing of such a book and this pamphlet has been issued instead. It purports to describe in condensed form some aspects of the work done and of its history. The writers are members of the Committee and knew the camp and its members, some having been resident staff. Each writer is solely responsible for the sections that he has written and the personal opinions expressed, but there has been mutual consultation and agreement on facts relating to the camp. The publication is authorised by the Committee as a whole. It is in a sense complementary to "The Hawkspur Experiment" (Allen and Unwin, 6/-, 1941), a personal book by David Wills, which is warmly recommended, without endorsing everything in it.<sup>2</sup>

The editor's task is both eased and made more difficult when there are several contributors. Each writer was allotted a different subject, but the boundaries merge. Some overlapping seemed inevitable for vividness of presentation. The aim is to give a rounded, although undetailed, picture, and each writer saw the work from a rather different angle. Readers should bear in mind the foregoing explanation and that each section is a summary which could with advantage be expanded into a chapter. It is a pleasure to thank all the contributors for their co-operation, and Dr. Mannheim for his constant help in the work of editing.

### **Notes on the Origin and Inception of Q Camps**

Q Camps started towards the end of 1934 at the council table of Grith Pioneers, an organisation that ran camps which demonstrated the benefits of pioneering and self-government as an educational experience for young men. I was asked by the secretary, Guy Keeling, to consider how these ideas might be applied and expanded so as to help youths who were behaviour problems or unable to fit into normal society, but had been judged suitable for treatment by environment and as not requiring specialised individual therapy. Dr. Norman Glaister, Chairman of Grith Pioneers, has been from the start, and still remains, associated with me in the scheme but, although two of the original staff were ex-members of a Grith Pioneer Camp, that organisation as a whole had other interests and, with their approval, we formed a separate body.

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<sup>1</sup>The Boys' Camp was not opened till 1944. (Ed. 1966)

<sup>2</sup>"The Hawkspur Experiment" is shortly to be reprinted by Allen and Unwin for the Planned Environment Therapy Trust. (Ed. 1966)

Mr. Cuthbert Rutter joined us and later became chairman. With Dr. Glaister's help and advice, I drew up a memorandum embodying an outline of the way we believed such a camp should be run.' This became the basis of our subsequent work to which each member of staff or committee was asked to agree and which official bodies accepted as our constitution. The last authorised edition was endorsed by the Committee in 1936 and did not differ fundamentally from the original. In August 1939, a new edition, still adhering in essentials and in most of the wording to that of 1935, was nearly completed when the outbreak of war caused it to be laid aside. At the same time we were preparing a more democratic form of constitution which would have brought our subscribers and supporting organisations into closer relationship with the Committee and would have incorporated also the auxiliary organisation, "Friends of Q Camps." This had been founded at the suggestion of Miss Eaton, the Hon. Secretary being Mrs. Wills at first and subsequently (and still) Mrs. M. A. Wood.

The Memorandum, while still in typescript (in 1935), was shown to members of the committee of the Howard League for Penal Reform and to Dr. Carroll, a director of the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency (who joined our committee a year later). These two organisations allowed us to quote their approval on the first stencilled memorandum and have supported and helped us ever since in all manner of ways.

Most of the diagnostic examinations were made at the I.S.T.D., who waived all fees, both for this and for the attendance of Q Camp students at their seminars, as a gesture of sympathy.

The stencilled memorandum, with an invitation to a meeting, was sent to selected people. This meeting was held in May 1935, and marked the real launching of the enterprise. It was attended by representatives of various organisations, most of which subsequently gave their names as "supporters," and of the Home Office, and by a number of individuals. Among those who attended was Mr. David Wills. He joined the committee and became prospective Camp Chief, and was the head of the camp when it opened a year later.

The year of preparation was used for collecting funds, for propaganda, for getting to know each other better, for further developing our ideas, and in searching for a suitable site. Finding land was not the least difficult task, but eventually an exceptionally suitable field of 26 ½ acres was found by Mr. Thompson, our then Hon. Solicitor, at Hill Hall Common, Hawkspur Green, Great Bardfield, which was moderately priced, not too far from London, not too near a town, sufficiently good soil, and possessing natural springs of fresh water. The scenery was attractive and the neighbours kind, and of the ten or more prospective sites that had been inspected this was far the most suitable. Indeed we were literally "in clover," for it was a clover field that we chose! The 2 ½ acres on which eventually the buildings were erected and the garden made, together with the small hut used as the first staff sleeping quarters after leaving tents and intended eventually for a school and museum, were presented by his sister as a memorial to Geoffrey Franklin. The

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'See Appendix B, p. 67. (Ed. 1966)

remaining 24 acres were purchased out of funds collected. The nucleus of the largest building, adapted for use as day room and kitchen, came from King Alfred School. The camp opened in May 1936, and the community lived in tents till November, when they moved into the wooden buildings they had erected. The slowness with which the building was accomplished and the persistence with which, in spite of inclement weather, the community itself did the necessary labour, are measures of the difficulties encountered and the spirit with which they were tackled.

Members came through various social agencies, physicians, probation officers, magistrates, parents, friends or on their own initiative, though financial considerations limited their number. They were carefully examined before or soon after admission but we were too young and adventurous a body to receive many whose problems were recent or simple, or who were not other people's failures. Sometimes we decided to give a chance to a youth we felt doubtful of being able to help (the doubt being usually because of mental or nervous trouble). Our failures were mostly among these, but some "doubtfuls" did surprisingly well, while others were sufficiently relieved for subsequent psychological treatment to be, probably, less difficult and shorter than if they had not been at the camp. It was among this group, however, that the war seems to have caused most disturbance of balance. It was our custom to offer advice as to how to obtain alternative treatment to a rejected applicant or member needing it when he left the camp, but the advice was not always followed. Failures were surprisingly few among those with whom we expected to succeed - thus the methods justified themselves more than we would have dared to anticipate. The summary in Section 7 should be read in the light of the foregoing.

Memories of those arduous years of preparation and accomplishment are interwoven with the names of many persons whose help was essential, but a drastic censorship of space necessitates the omission of nearly all. The gracious and indomitable personality of the late Gertrude Eaton touched Q Camps at so many points, however, that it compels mention. Hawkspur Camp reflected the central personalities of David Wills and of Ruth Wills, but there were others, both staff and members, whose influence was important and lasting. I refrain from mentioning members by name, but I think it a distinctive feature of Q Camps methods that the members had sufficient scope to influence the growth of the community, so that it can be said with truth that the work was favourably affected because certain people were sent there. Among the staff whose contribution was lasting and important were Dan Minton, Ronald Urwin, Walter Smith, T. Charles Bodsworth, and Arthur Barron. The last two were there when the camp closed (we hope to be re-opened one day) and are now active members of the Committee and contributors to this pamphlet.

A few words about the name. It was decided from the first that there should be two names. One was for describing the organisation for purposes of propaganda and publicity. The other was intended to be a homely and private geographical address by which the members of the community could speak of their home without the neighbours connecting it with a newspaper article or a meeting. The hamlet of

Hawkspur Green provided the second, but, it may be asked, why Q? Well, and why not? It is better than an attempt at a descriptive title or than X or Y. We were prepared to change it, should a generous benefactor make the work financially secure and desire another name for the organisation. Moreover, we were continually researching and enquiring and Q suggests a quest or query.

## IIA

### SUMMARY OF THE METHODS USED

By MARJORIE E. FRANKLIN

"Bring up a child in the way that is *his*, and when he is old he will not depart from it"  
(from the Book of Proverbs, literal translation from the Hebrew original).'

"In the older penal methods we reject some part of the criminal's personality with entire confidence in our own standards and as high-handedly as we should nip diseased buds out of a plant ... inconsistently, we then expect him to become 're-habilitated' as a social being. He must bring the remains of his personality, pruned and trimmed according to our taste, and trustfully offer us that in full companionship .... Now, fortunately, a change has begun .... we are coming to realise that *a social group cannot expect the gift of a personality, even an unsatisfactory one, unless it meets it socially, and that means meeting it non-dominatively . . .*" (from "The Impulse to Dominate," by D. W. Harding.)

The high valuation for individual *personality*, which was at the core of the methods and the atmosphere of Hawkspur Camp, are embodied in the above quotations. A second and equally fundamental characteristic is that *love* was regarded by the leaders as the motive force of the work. A third basic attribute was the atmosphere of *reality and sincerity* which those who knew it well felt to pervade the life of the community, underneath the chaff and liveliness. In spite of the prevalence of emotional immaturity and mental conflict, the members in association with the staff comprised a group of adults who were seeking a way of community living in very simple surroundings. There were times of strain when it seemed that some of our principles would have temporarily to be abrogated, although this did not actually occur. At one critical period, involving the principle of shared responsibility, it was the members who pulled things round on their own initiative; at another it was their response to an appeal by a member of the committee that enabled us to avoid employing outside labour for urgent camp improvements.<sup>2</sup>

Another point to which it seems useful to draw attention at this stage concerns the method of coping with failure to meet the demands of a complicated society in the direction of "work" and in the direction of "living together". This is treated more fully in Sections 6 and 3. It was realised that didactic instruction had little effect, so that educa-

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<sup>1</sup>This translation is by Mr. Samuel Landman, supported by Dr. I. L. Zuri of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. (Ed. 1966)

<sup>2</sup>The Committee member referred to was the late Dr. Denis Carroll. (Ed. 1966)

tion was through *personal experience* of the *simpler forms* of these complicated problems in relation to needs personally felt. In practical work "simple" often means also "primitive," but not so in government. Because we valued individuality and because we wished to fit our members to be free citizens of a democratic country, the community was run on democratic lines. This is a mature and not a primitive type of government. At Hawkspur the forms were fairly elementary and the range simple and of immediate interest.

Work of the kind we were trying to do depends pre-eminently on the leader. David Wills was outstandingly well suited for the position of Camp Chief by his general personality, faith in the principles and methods, love for the members and concern for their welfare, and by sincerity, knowledge and experience, combined with a sense of humour and good health which enabled him to enjoy a pioneering life. To compare the relative importance of methods and the users of the methods, however, is to be deprecated. One needs both good men and good methods: faith inspires the energy, knowledge gives it direction.

On the subject of personnel in general some passages from a recent essay entitled "Probation", by Mr. John Brown (probation officer of the City of London) are particularly apt if we substitute "staff" for "probation officer" and "member" for "probationer."

Mr. Brown says:

"He must be an adult intellectually as well as in years to be able to view his Probationer's problems judiciously, but not so much of an adult as to have lost his sympathy for the earnestness and intensity of child problems. He need not be a trained psychologist, but he must understand enough of psychology to realise the fundamental principle that conduct, good or bad, that the whole personality make up, whether social or anti-social, is not the result of moral perversity or original sin: that it is primarily the result of past experiences, of impact of other personalities, and that if there had been nothing damaging or nothing lacking in such past experiences, the very relationship the Probation Officer is called upon to create would not be necessary. But even more important is the emotional stature of the Probation Officer . . . understanding alone makes no guarantee of reasonable conduct. That is true of the Probation Officer as well as the Probationer . . . emotional maturity, poise and tolerance are particularly important ... few of us are such expert actors that we can do all of this purely as an intellectual process, or even solely out of a sense of moral obligation ..." Mr. Brown warns against the "emotionally frustrated adult" who produces "disturbing effect by an excessive outpouring of emotion." "But" he adds, "there must be some residue of . . . 'affection' which he can give to his Probationer."

As I have indicated, Q Camp worked according to ideas held in common and developed and amplified by experience and by staff and committee discussions. Daily problems, however, were met as they arose, whether intuitively or by conscious thought, and not by reference to fixed rules, so that the account given is largely a retrospective summary. It is made on my own responsibility, but has been discussed with the Camp Chief, members of the staff, and other colleagues who have agreed on its factual correctness.

The work that Q Camps did at Hawkspur may claim distinctiveness in various ways, including the following: - (1) The effort to study and treat anti-social behaviour and mal-adaptation by environmental and educative means with a scientific seriousness comparable to that used for individual methods of psychotherapy. (2) That, although we were dealing with youths and adults, there was no drastic distinction made

between those who were technical lawbreakers, non-criminal behaviour problems and socially mal-adapted character problems provided they seemed likely to be benefited. In this connection our Memorandum states:

"In considering eligibility less weight would be given to the nature of the offence, if any, than to the personality of the candidate . . . . mental defective applicants would not be suitable . . . . . The category in mind is that of young men . . . who seem likely to respond to an unconventional but carefully thought out open air community life, offering scope for physical and mental development, but who nevertheless are not sufficiently advanced in citizenship to fit as ordinary members into an unmodified environment . . . . Without entertaining extravagant hopes of profound character change in young adults through education and environment, it may reasonably be expected that improvement in self-control, social behaviour, physical health, and general outlook will accrue. The aim in short is to discover and give scope and encouragement to those assets and talents possessed by the men which make for good citizenship, to stimulate a desire for this and to restore self-respect and usefulness."

Applicants were carefully examined before admission whenever possible. In urgent cases I, as secretary and convenor of the Selection and Treatment Sub-Committee, was empowered to admit on trial without the full preliminary investigations. I only did this when there was presumptive evidence of suitability from written reports, supplemented by a talk in person or over the telephone with a social worker who knew the applicant, and they came to London for examination soon after admission. The majority were examined at the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency, the Hon. Medical Staff of which included two and since the war has included all three of the medical members of our committee, while Dr. Carroll (one of its directors) and I are members of its Council. While gratefully acknowledging the enthusiastic and friendly support our colleagues of this society gave us, I would like to thank those other physicians and psychologists who consented to form a rota, even though our close, but unofficial, association with the I.S.T.D. made it unnecessary, to use their services as often as we anticipated. The physical health of the members while at the camp was under the care of the Hon. Physicians to the camp (Drs. Weller and Garland) and the Hon. Dentist, Mr. Howlett.

It is too soon to judge the type of person who responds best to Q Camp methods, but I am convinced that the methods are applicable, suitably modified, to a far wider variety than can conveniently be dealt with in association with each other. The following categories were considered *unsuitable* for Hawkspur, but in all but the second similar methods would probably be beneficial:- (1) Persons who had been subjected to long or repeated incarceration - that is to say the failures of the prison system - and those whose proclivities would raise special difficulties of supervision. I see no reason why Q Camp methods, suitably modified, should not benefit many in this category, but it was inexpedient to include them in the Hawkspur community. (2) Persons in whom deep-seated psychotic or psycho-neurotic traits dominated the personality in such a way that their psychic environment could be but little affected by the methods available at the camp (e.g. Case 22). Usually they were unsuitable for admission. Such disorders can often be benefited by special methods of treatment, such as psycho-analysis. Some nervous or psychopathic persons benefited considerably at Hawk-

spur, however, either because their psychoneurotic symptoms were not so deep-seated or, more probably, because their deeper symptoms were not diffuse, so that improvement of the general character gave great relief. It is

also likely that a previous stay at the camp will sometimes aid later more intensive psychotherapeutic treatment. Q Camp methods, however, were elaborated in such a way and involved utilisation of transference of a kind which made it inappropriate as a place of lodgement for men during the time when intensive psychotherapy was required to be their chief interest and focus for transference. (e.g. Case 25.) As an auxiliary to camp treatment interviews with psycho-therapists proved valuable. (3) Women. A community on Q Camp lines for young women would be very valuable and there are advantages in a working association between the sexes, but the disadvantages and difficulties of running a mixed camp for the type and ages catered for outweigh the benefits in our judgement and we decided to have only men members. We were tending towards a mixed staff (as advocated in the memorandum). Women friends of the members were welcome visitors and the members attended village dances and some belonged to the local dramatic club. (4) Children. Several of our staff are now working with difficult children, and a great deal of Q Camp methods is applicable to them. The Q Camps Committee look forward to undertaking such work in the near future.' The lower age limit at Hawkspur was 16 ½ and I am not yet prepared to say in detail what modifications are desirable for younger persons. It should be remembered that the staff play the role with children of parental substitutes where immaturity is a natural fact. At Hawkspur Camp the staff had a comparable, though not identical, position transferred to them by young men who still needed to work through earlier stages of development and had mostly tried and failed to take the place in society which their age and intelligence justified. Other differences include the importance of school curriculum and teaching methods, the use of "outside labour," inculcation (as opposed to re-learning) of personal habits, greater use of orderliness and routine. But difficult children need greater elasticity in discipline than do easy children.

A description conveys but little of the atmosphere of Hawkspur, but I have tried to draw up what I have called a list of the main *instruments of treatment* which I consider constituted together the manner in which Q Camp principles were carried out there. They should be read in the light of the earlier part of this section and of the following points:

(1) The opinion, endorsed by the committee, that "Whereas the personality of the leader and staff and group of people in contact with the members of the camp, and the love and concern felt by them towards the members are of paramount importance; the right use of the best methods is only slightly less so and stress should be laid on both men and methods."

(2) That the methods, though many-sided, should be viewed as a balanced whole and not just a string of good ideas. It is unlikely that

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<sup>1</sup> A successful Q Camp for boys of ages 11-15 was carried on, on the same site, from 1944-46, of which Mr. A. T. Barron was Camp Chief. A follow-up survey 10 years later showed very encouraging results. (Ed. 1966)



a piecemeal application would produce good results. A building is not made up only of "corner stones" and if we pick out the gayest bits from a mosaic picture, we may have a pretty and perhaps valuable heap of pebbles, but the design is destroyed.

(3) The importance of the power to organise and lead on the part of the Camp Chief, for there is great difference between the intentional and purposeful withdrawal of authority and an inability to exercise it.

(4) That the camp was a therapeutic institution and did not claim to be an ideal democracy for mature persons.

**Instruments of Treatment.** No classification or evaluation has been made. Some were applied universally, some occasionally. Some were dependent on personal relationship, others (such as pioneering) were in large degree impersonal. Some were applied through the community, and some were individual.

(1) **Pioneering.** This had value as inspiration, encouragement, adventure, education and discipline. The members, though not subjected to the arbitrary discipline of strict personal authority, were under the impersonal discipline of natural forces. Even an inefficient bungler may be encouraged by some result from, e.g. planting seeds, but one can only grow plants, care for animals or construct buildings efficiently if one follows the laws of the materials with which one is dealing. Pioneering played a part in relation to (a) the *Site*, which was developed by the community of members and staff without outside labour. Construction started with tents in a clover field and was constantly expanding, new buildings being erected, furniture made, ground cultivated and paths made. (See Section 6.) (b) The *Community*, which was young and was developing and changing its traditions and constitution. (c) The pioneer nature of the *Q Camps Organisation* inspired all the staff and was appreciated by many of the members.

(2) **Employment**, which includes *work*, *hobbies* and *education*, is dealt with elsewhere. (Sections 2.B. and 6.)

(3) **Economics.** The economic system at Hawkspur after the first year was fairly complicated and is described in Sections 3 and 5. It was intended to reproduce on a small scale and to some extent that prevalent in the world at large, e.g. there were charges on wages for board, lodging, clothing and taxes, including a poor-law tax to support non-workers. Wages were on a modified time and piece work basis and the maximum weekly pocket money was 2/6 and minimum 1/6. Fines were sometimes imposed by the Camp Council, usually to make good damage. Industry increased pocket money, but the "voluntary system" was never entirely abandoned and at some hours the work had no other reward than the pleasure of doing it, the satisfaction of accomplishment, the avoidance of boredom or the approval of others. Besides individual pocket money (which relatives were asked not to supplement) a certain amount of financial power and responsibility, chiefly derived from "taxation," was vested in the community and administered by the Camp Council.

(4) **Affection.** This was probably the most potent factor for emotional re-adjustment. The staff felt affection for the members and

their love was persevering and intelligent and, avoiding sentimentality, searched out likeable qualities. The members, many of whom when they came were deficient in feelings of attachment, grew more able to care for others and for the place. The phenomena of positive transference (and of negative transference too) were appreciated and utilised by the staff. An atmosphere of tolerance and friendliness was established.

(5) **Absence of regular use of punishment.** Penalties, usually in the form of small fines, were imposed by the Camp Council for offences against the Community. These were more in the nature of exacting restitution and repair and of tokens of disapproval than of 'punishment' in the sense of the infliction of pain, humiliation or serious loss. I do not think punishment was ever inflicted by authority of the staff, although there was an implied threat of punishment in the Camp Chief's power of expulsion. There was certainly no penal code definite enough to be an instrument of treatment, and in fact the known absence of a penal code imposed by the staff became an important instrument of treatment. To some readers this may sound startling and unusual (and I would refer them for fuller elucidation to Chap. 6 of Mr. Wills' book), and it was not pleasing to all the campers, especially when they first came. Even some who feared severe punishment would almost rather have had that than none at all, which compelled them to reflect on their conduct themselves and on its consequence to others, instead of cancelling it out by a penalty. It needed tactful treatment and sometimes open discussion to steer clear of the danger on the one hand of regarding unsatisfactory behaviour as trivial and on the other of engendering exaggerated feelings of guilt. We were aware of these dangers and of the difficulty of dealing with masochistic types. The subject was often discussed at Selection and Treatment meetings and punishment was the topic of our first staff-committee symposium. With increased experience the difficulties diminished and latterly it was seldom mentioned. This "instrument" proved a valuable aid to socialisation and the attainment of maturity. But to abandon authoritarian methods successfully in relation to the type of young men who comprised some of the Hawkspur members would have been difficult indeed without the help of other "instruments," especially those numbered 1, 4, 6 and 9. And may I here make a mild protest against the use of the words "punishment" and "discipline" as synonyms? Such use leads to confusion of ideas.

(6) **Individual Approach.** The Camp Chief sought to know each member intimately; to deal with individual difficulties through understanding, so far as possible, their causes; to discover and cultivate talents and aptitudes. Each member was discussed with the Selection and Treatment Sub-Committee at fairly regular intervals (as well as with various members of the sub-committee at other times when problems or interesting developments occurred), even if all appeared to be going well with him.

(7) **The Group.** A vigorous corporate life with community occupations and activities was cultivated. The individual influenced the

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'See footnote page 10.

group and the group influenced the individual. The building up of a free and happy community, to which past members can and do look back with affection and pride, was a potent instrument for social readjustment.

(8) **Informal Relationship between Members and Staff.** In order that the Camp Chief and rest of staff could really know the members, and even in order that the members could feel genuine respect for the characters of the men who formed the staff, apart from their rank, it was important to get rid of formal barriers. As a help to this ease of contact there was informality in the manner of address. The members and staff called each other, officially, by their first names, although nicknames were, in practice, used on both sides. The staff (naturally including the Camp Chief) participated in the domestic work and orderly duties without accepting privileges of status.

(9) **Shared Responsibility between Staff and Members.** The members shared with the staff in the management of the community. There was a planned, but changing, constitution, gradually evolved from socially directed discussion to responsible activity. (See Section 3.)

(10) **Inter-Staff Co-operation.** Frequent staff meetings were held and there was a free, informal relationship between the Camp Chief and rest of staff. Discussion on subjects of common professional interest and the pooling of observations on members were frequent. In later years the regular staff attended the student-helper seminars and study circles. All this helped to achieve agreement and understanding when dealing with special cases and situations.

(11) **Participation of senior members of the Resident Staff in executive work and responsibility for Q Camps Organisation.** Mr. Wills joined the Committee a year before the camp opened and is still a member. Mr. Minton and Mr. Walter Smith, original members of the staff, were full members of the Committee before the camp started and until they left Hawkspur. Later members of the staff were not co-opted on the Committee, and Mr. Bodsworth and Mr. Barron have only joined since they left Q Camps' employ. Staff, therefore, were not ex-officio on the committee, but it was a great help in our pioneer struggle to have the camp responsibly represented, and probably a help to them also.

(12) **Co-operation of non-resident medical psychologists.** The three medical psychologists on the Committee and an educational psychologist formed, in association with the Camp Chief, the "Selection and Treatment Sub-Committee." (See Section 4.) They were concerned with all aspects of behaviour and with every member, and not merely in giving advice about abnormal situations.

(13) **Formal Therapy.** Visits to specialists, psychiatric interviews, medical treatment, outside educational help, etc., were recommended and arranged by the Selection and Treatment Sub-Committee where indicated. A few members (some of whom had been under treatment before coming) attended regularly, though (with the exception of Case

25) not more than once a week, for psychotherapy of various kinds. For others occasional interviews were arranged when specially indicated, e.g. to help over an emotional situation, to estimate progress or to advise about readiness for discharge in doubtful cases (though this was not a routine procedure). Other forms of medical treatment included glandular therapy, operation for squint, etc.

(14) **Physical Health.** The healthy, open air life was of great benefit.

(15) **Training of Student-Helpers.** These acted as junior staff. The training was intended to last a year, though most were unable, for financial reasons, to remain as long. It comprised practical work, sharing the life of the members, weekly tutorials from the Camp Chief, advice on reading, seminars at the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency, and a period of three weeks organised study leave to visit other institutions.

(16) **Documentation.** Our files contained the preliminary correspondence and notes on the members, including the full reports of the examinations made before admission. These were circulated to the Camp Chief and the medical members of the Selection and Treatment Sub-Committee. In addition, the Camp Chief sent each week a progress note on members who had been at the camp less than one month, monthly notes subsequently and extra reports of special occurrences. Besides this there was less formal correspondence between us about problems and camp incidents. Mr. Wills also sent regular reports to the social workers interested in a particular case, and corresponded with parents and with members who had left. A certain amount of correspondence and reporting was also done by the Hon. Secretary.

(17) **Examination before admission.** All applicants were examined by fully qualified persons. A full examination consisted of a social history, a physical examination by a physician, a psychometric test by a trained psychologist, an interview and report by a psychiatrist who knew something about the camp (not always a member of our committee, however). The object of the examination was not only to determine if the applicant was suitable to go to the camp but also to give advice on how to deal with him when he was there. It was the custom to give alternative advice on rejected applicants.

**CONCLUSIONS.** The camp existed too short a time to speak with *certainty* of the degree of success obtained. We can be sure that not all who improved were relieved in the same way, and that any improvement was due to a multiplicity of causes. There are possibilities of almost infinite development and improvement in the "instruments" themselves and in the skill with which they are used. Experience may lead to the dropping of some and the adding of others (though I think the latter is more likely than the former).<sup>1</sup> I believe that the methods outlined provide a skeleton of value and that changes should only be made

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<sup>1</sup>This has proved to be the case For further comments see Preface, p. 5. (Ed. 1966)

carefully and with understanding and insight and be as little as possible determined by mere expediency. This article is descriptive rather than interpretative, but I conclude with a few tentative and elementary suggestions as to some of the psychic mechanisms that were concerned in such improvements as occurred:-

(a) **Transference and Identification.** Most of the members had in their early years suffered frustration or interference in their natural emotional relationship to parents and others, and had failed to master normally the biological complexities of early family adjustment. At Hawkspur they were enabled to transfer on to members of the staff these feelings and emotions, sometimes hostile but, more often, of filial love and respect, and sometimes to imitate as well as admire. Thus they were helped to become happier and have a better relation to society.

(b) **Recapitulation.** The development from childhood to maturity was disturbed in many of the members. It seemed in some of them almost as if the period of later childhood and adolescence had been left out. The camp environment conduced to a certain lessening of assumed adulthood, and re-living through a younger development stage, thus leading to a steadier and more genuine maturity.

(c) **Security.** Nearly all felt psychically insecure and anxious. The friendly and appreciative atmosphere, and a knowledge that the friendships were lasting and would continue after they left, did much to overcome this.

(d) **Relief of Guilt.** It is known that an excessive sense of guilt can lead to delinquency. A delinquent sometimes seeks in an overt act of lawbreaking and its punishment relief from an apparently inexplicable sense of remorse. He does not know the cause of the uneasiness, but it is often connected with unconscious memories, thoughts or phantasies of a sexual or aggressive kind, which the more tolerant and reasonable conscious mind of an adult can accept and understand. Q Camps gave considerable help in some of these cases, although usually they need deeper forms of psycho-therapy.

There are others, and these were found to derive much benefit at Hawkspur, who are oppressed by general feelings of unworthiness and self-condemnation, and who take up an anti-social attitude partly because they think they matter too little for it to be worth trying to resist temptation or to feel part of the community. Self-respect producing social types of behaviour was increased by friendliness, by unveiling likeable qualities, and by conditions which made the work of each person genuinely important. They found, too, that favourable notice was obtained by acts helpful to the community.

(e) **Sublimation.** The regime made it possible to provide a choice of outlets for impulses and energy in directions of a cultural or socially useful character such as were natural to the individual concerned.

(f) **Personality Development.** In many of the members the unsatisfactory and unstable sides to their character involved only part of the personality, which in other ways was healthy and satisfactory. In some cases where it was not possible to eliminate completely psychoneurotic

or other undesirable symptoms, we were able to discover and strengthen the satisfactory qualities to such an extent that the undesirable symptoms were suppressed or faded into comparative insignificance and the total personality was noticeably improved.

The follow-up enquiry made by Mr. Wills for Section 7 has brought to light some interesting points. One of these is illustrated by Cases 5 ("Cuthbert Parsons" of Mr. Wills' book) and 10, both older recidivists with whom we thought we had failed. It seems that sometimes the changes wrought by the camp only become manifest after they leave, perhaps because of its protected atmosphere, and sometimes because of the violence of transference emotions and of the psychological changes themselves. See also supplementary information on Case 43. - *Addenda*, page 51 (see also *Appendix A*).

## IIB

### SOME COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING

By W. DAVID WILLS

Dr. Franklin has made a masterly summary of the methods employed, and we are indebted to her not only for this particular summary, but for having spent a great deal of time in examining and interpreting and analysing our methods and principles.

There are only three aspects of our methods I should like at this point to stress.

The first is what I may perhaps call the voluntary principle. A very important aspect of the life of the camp was the fact that residence there was voluntary, except for one or two who were on probation with a condition of residence. True, there was a certain amount of "moral compulsion" employed by some of the sponsors of members but perhaps not much more than is often used to persuade a sick man call in his doctor. This had the important sequel that the co-operation of the members was almost assured. The sick man persuaded against his will to call in his doctor is at first inclined perhaps to "pooh-pooh" the suggestions the doctor makes, but when the symptoms and their significance are explained to him he quickly realises that it is in his own interest to carry out the doctor's advice, even though he may call that advice "orders". So it was with the Q Camp members, and this voluntary element, with its corollary of co-operation, is an integral part of the Q method. There is no reason, as Dr. Franklin says, why our methods should not be applied to an even wider range of types than those we had at Hawkspur Camp, provided there were some classification. I can even conceive of its being used within the prison system, contradictory as the two concepts may at first appear.

The second point I wanted to stress was the extreme value of "psychological supervision." One of the warnings I received from an official before we started the camp was to the effect that "these psycho- logists" may be all very well in the consulting room, but that their training did not qualify them to legislate on the running of a com-

munity, and there was no knowing what might happen if I were expected to put into practice the ideas of arm-chair theorists. As a layman and, I trust, a moderately practical person, I paid good heed to this warning.

I need not have worried.

In the first place there was no pressing of principles by "arm-chair theorists." I was already in the fullest agreement with the general principles laid down in the Q Camps' Memorandum, and my colleagues of the committee, where any difference over an immediate issue arose, were more than ready to defer to the man on the spot. The man on the spot, on the other hand, quickly acquired such confidence in the judgement of his colleagues (most of whom were medical) that he was increasingly apprehensive of this deference, especially where it concerned an individual, as distinct from a communal, problem. Not that the contribution of the medical people to communal problems was by any means to be despised. Dr. Glaister has a wide experience of camping and communities, and Dr. Carroll came down - very reluctantly - to the camp at a critical period to attend a special camp council and made a very considerable impression on the corporate life.

But in my dealings with individuals I simply do not know where I should have been without my colleagues at the Selection and Treatment Committee. I was constantly being astonished at their understanding of a man's character - often a man they had not even seen - and though their recommendations were made as a rule with a good deal of reserve, I can only recall one case where a recommendation or prognosis proved wide of the mark. I occasionally questioned the wisdom or practicability of a suggestion, but usually had to eat my words sooner or later.

The use of medical psychology is an integral part of the Q method, and my experience at Q convinced me that no such venture can hope to achieve the maximum success - or anything like it - without some such body as our Selection and Treatment Committee. Though whether any other such committee is likely to have a convener who seems to count it a positive pleasure to be rung up at all hours of the day and night, is another matter.

There is one other aspect of Hawkspur Camp which I believe to have been of real value, and which I believe is not remarked on elsewhere. My wife had literally nowhere to sleep in the camp during the first three winters (she used a tent in the summers) and in any case we needed some sort of *pied a terre*. So we took a house in the village, two miles away. The White House (as it is called) is the repository of some of my happiest memories, and I believe there are many "Old Hawkspurians" who will say the same. There we had most of our staff discussion groups, and there also met the poetry group, and there were parties and functions, private talks, tea-parties and midnight tea- drinkings, and all the things that make a real home life. This was something that many of our members had never known and of which others, however much they may have appreciated the life of the camp, were glad sometimes to have a glimpse.

**Education.** The whole of the life of the camp was designed to be educative in the widest and best sense, but little reference has been made elsewhere to education in its narrower sense.

Of formal classes there were only two - one in first aid and one in French, both conducted by a member (Case No. 17). But there was individual tuition by various staff members and other interested friends in a

variety of subjects - shorthand, book-keeping, mechanical drawing, reading (for Case 47), painting, book-binding are recalled by memory, and there were probably others. There were debates, discussions and wireless listening groups (we had a great time with "The Artist in the Witness Box"). There was music in diverse forms, though not so much as one might have wished; we read plays and acted them in neighbouring villages; there was the "Poetry Circle" at the Camp Chief's house, often attended by outside friends; and there were hikes of various kinds, one of the best of which ended at Cambridge, after various interesting visits of observation during the three days en route, at a performance of the Ballet Jooss (by the kindness of Mr. Kurt Jooss) where we sat in our shorts among the dinner jackets of the dress circle.

### III

#### **INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CAMP: ITS GROWTH AND CHANGES**

By W. DAVID WILLS

The Minutes of the Camp Council of Hawkspur Camp are contained in two volumes. I have just been looking through them and they make - to me at any rate - very interesting reading.

They each cover approximately two years of the camp's existence but there is a remarkable difference between them. The first - from May 1936, to April 1938 - is, to use an Irishism, full of omissions. There are blank pages where minutes should have been written up and were not, and my recollection of events tells me that most of the blank pages represent meetings which were spontaneous, disorderly, and very significant.

In the second volume - from May 1938, to the closure of the camp, about April 1940 - there are no omissions, everything is carefully (though not always grammatically) recorded, there is a well-kept index, and a typed constitution is pasted inside the front cover. Indeed I read on 7.11.1938 "A vote of censure was passed on the Secretary for his negligence, viz. failure to enter the minutes of the last meeting in the minute book before his departure." The Camp Chief was secretary of the Camp Council at that period and had gone off for a week's holiday without, in the rush, remembering that the minutes were not written up.

There may be many reasons for the difference between these two minute books, but I think an important one is to be found in the two documents pasted inside the cover of volume two, about September 1938, when certain important changes were agreed upon, and a formal constitution was adopted.

We started in 1936 with the assumption that as all the residents at the camp would be more or less adult, as they were there of their own



free will (see Section 2B., p. 22) and as they were not to be called upon to do anything that was not in their own interests, there was reason to suppose that they might empirically evolve some *modus vivendi* without the use of an imposed authority. That assumption was in the sequel justified, though there was a great deal of highly educative (and sometimes diverting) friction and failure in the process, leading to the voluntary acceptance, in October 1938, of a small measure of imposed authority, and a system of limited economic sanctions.

We said, in effect, to the first members "Here we are. We've got 26 ½ acres and a few tents, and we're going to live together. Timber and a skilled carpenter are available if we want to build ourselves more permanent quarters. The ground will grow some of our food if we cultivate it, we can have goats and hens to give us milk and eggs." And then we anticipated Mr. Morrison's famous war-time slogan: "Go to it! "

The snag was, of course, that there was no absolute necessity – from the point of view of an idle or unco-operative person - to help with any of the work except perhaps with the building, because food was obviously going to be bought until we grew our own; we were not moved by all the natural compulsions of life on a desert island. But other, more immediate things did have to be done. Meals had to be prepared - no-one had any doubt about that - the water supply had to be looked after, the latrines must be attended to, and no one denied that it was desirable to wash dishes sometimes. These essential matters were the subjects of our first legislative discussions, as they were of our first judiciary ones, though these two functions of government were never very clearly separated.

When these essentials were arranged, Walter Smith said (in effect) "I am starting a vegetable garden, and shall be glad of all the help I can get," and Ron Urwin said much the same about building operations - and we were off.

It was soon accepted that the work of the camp should be shared by all in it, and for the first two years much of our discussions were about work - how it was to be arranged, how we were to deal with slackers and so forth. But there was little attempt at coercion beyond the pressure of public opinion, which was often not very strong.

Among our earliest discussions, too, was naturally the question of a time-table, but we soon found that we had to spend a good deal of time discussing personal differences between individuals, which developed into a practice of bringing "charges." Then people had suggestions to make for hikes, games and entertainments, so that before long a regular weekly meeting was being held, at which the Camp Chief presided, and which came to be known as the Camp Council. The first recorded minutes are dated May 20th, 1936 (11 days after the arrival of the first campers), and the Camp Chief continued to act as self-appointed chairman until July 27th, when one of the members was elected to that office. In four years the office of chairman was held 15 times by members (cases No. 2, 5, 9, 11, 15, 17, 20, 24, 30, 31, 39, 43, 48, 52, 56), three times by staff and three times by student helpers; that of Secretary 13 times by members (cases No. 3, 5, 9, 13, 17, 20, 22, 37, 39, 41, 44, 46, 52), five times by staff and once by a student helper.

Perhaps the two outstanding features of our efforts at shared responsibility in those days were:

- (1) The reluctance of members to use coercive sanctions.
- (2) The reluctance of the members to shoulder the responsibilities of government.

The explanation of the first is perhaps fairly simple. The staff were, by and large, opposed to the use of punishment, and while they were careful to avoid *imposing* their views on the community (the Camp Chief more than once experimentally suggested the imposition of a punishment) this attitude could not fail to become known to the members, who naturally looked to the greater maturity and experience of the staff for a lead. That may be an over-simplification, but my space is limited.'

The second feature was the cause of much discussion and dissension. Our members were either what is loosely called by the layman neurotic, or what is loosely called delinquent (or, of course, both) and both these types tend to be egocentric and blind to their duty to the community. The Camp Chief was constantly trying by ruse, subterfuge and direct challenge to force responsibility on to the members. On one occasion he asked the camp council whether we should not abandon the "pretence" of sharing responsibilities, and re-organise the camp with all the authority vested, as in a normal institution, in the staff. This had for a time the desired stimulatory effect on the members and indeed was taken so seriously that one staff member threatened to resign if such a thing were to happen. An even more direct challenge had a greater - and more lasting - effect. Very little work was being done (it was the winter of 1936) and the camp council was very irresponsible about it. After two or three slack weeks the Camp Chief pinned a notice on the board to the effect that as camp council had failed to deal with the prevailing situation he proposed to do so himself. Henceforward pocket money would be, not, as hitherto, 2s. a week, but would be paid on a sliding scale on the basis of points awarded for work and conduct. It was received without comment, but the next day a number of members barricaded themselves in a bunk-house and issued an ultimatum that they would not come out until the "points system" was abolished. They were, of course, ignored, and before very long were compelled by the state of their stomachs to capitulate, afterwards saying that they would like to discuss the matter. Here followed one of those camp councils which is not recorded in the minute book, the upshot of which was that the members, without the "interference" of the staff, were to evolve a new and more efficient system of government. After some weeks the only upshot of their deliberations was that "The ideal system of government is anarchy." The Camp Chief expressed himself as being quite in favour of anarchy if anarchy would cook the dinner, and that could soon be discovered by the empirical method. So anarchy was formally adopted. It did indeed cook the dinner for about a week, but after that the camp relapsed into the popular conception of anarchistic society, and just when the Camp Chief was wondering what his next move was, and even asked the Q Camps Committee in London to sanction imposing authori-

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<sup>1</sup>I would suggest that the mechanism of unconscious identification was also a causal factor. (Ed. 1966)

tarian discipline for a time, one of the members (Case No. 31) strongly supported by a second (Case No. 26), called a meeting of all those who wanted to return to constitutional government. This happened while the Camp Chief was in London at the very committee at which he brought the matter up. It was apparently a very stormy meeting, with constant interruptions from the "rebels" outside. But the result was that the camp returned to constitutional government, and things never again became as slack as they had been in the period immediately preceding the anarchistic phase. This was an outstanding example of a member making a very real contribution to the well-being of the community. It was, of course, not by any means the only one.

That was early in 1937. For a year or so life went on fairly smoothly, with divers experiments - all contributing in one way or another to the process of learning by doing - of varying success. For a time the camp council met monthly as a legislative body, delegating its executive and judiciary functions to a weekly committee. (During one period it was a "Committee of the whole House," but members found this rather confusing.) For a period we had a separate court, for a time an amended version of the Camp Chief's "point system" was put into operation, with a committee meeting daily - and so on. But "non-workers" and slackers continued to be a constant topic of discussion at all these meetings.

Eventually we began to wonder whether a somewhat radical change in our system of government might not be desirable. Most of our members needed to be given *security*. We aimed at providing it on a deep level through the medium of affection. This tends to be a slow process, and members meanwhile were constantly seeking it on a more superficial level through the medium of authority. A way was sought by which the members' need for superficial security might be "pandered to" a little, thus relieving them of a great deal of anxiety, without affecting in any fundamental way the nature of the camp. This was found in the proposal to remove responsibility for the work programme from the Camp Council, putting the various staff members somewhat in the position of employers hiring labour. A wages scheme was proposed to apply only to the mornings, so that the motive for work in the afternoons was still what it had been - the welfare of the community, and not pure self-interest.

The scheme was discussed at staff meetings, camp councils and at the Q Camps' Executive Committee, and finally adopted unanimously by the Camp Council and the London Committee. The opportunity was also taken to define in writing the scope and functions of the Camp Council, and this document, with various additions from time to time, came to be known as the Constitution. These - the wages scheme and the constitution - are the documents which were pasted into the inside of the minute book in October 1938. One is tempted to reproduce them verbatim, but space forbids. Briefly, the wages scheme meant that every man was paid 1s. an hour for the 20 morning hours in each week, of which a proportion was paid back for board and lodging, a proportion paid into a clothing account, a proportion paid into the funds of the camp council as "taxation" and the remainder into the members' pockets. If a man did not earn enough to pay his board, he was paid for

by the Camp Council, and became in effect a pauper.

It proved a highly successful solution to a number of problems, and this system, with slight modifications, remained in operation until the closure of the camp.

One other important feature of learning to live together needs to be referred to. As in any other group of immature young men, the man with the strongest right arm tended to get his own way in the democratic assemblies, not necessarily by overt threats of violence, but because it was known that he could, if he thought it suited his book, be violent. "Assault" in its various forms was discussed at meetings almost as much as the work problem. Public opinion on this point was strong, and often strongly and unanimously expressed, but practically without avail until, in the winter of 1938, it was agreed that in any case of assault there should be an automatic fine of 1s. From that day - or at least from the time the law was first implemented - the dominance of the bullies was ended, though it must be added that this revolution was brought about *not* by the fear of losing 1s., but because the men realised that if the community was prepared to go to the extreme length of taking 1s. from them (half the week's pocket money), feeling about this type of offence must indeed be strong. The reduction of the fine, later, to 6d. brought about no increase of bullying - public opinion had expressed itself by a token which signified the seriousness of its feelings in this matter, and that was enough.

#### IV

#### **THE SELECTION AND TREATMENT SUB-COMMITTEE\*<sup>1</sup>**

By MARJORIE E. FRANKLIN (*Convener*)

Responsibility for deciding admissions to Hawkspur Camp was vested in one or other of the medical members of the Executive Committee (Dr. Carroll, Dr. Glaister and myself), although the examination was often made by others, generally colleagues on the I.S.T.D. who knew about the camp. The three physicians, together with Mr. Wills (Camp Chief) and Mr. Otto Shaw (Educational Psychologist) formed a sub-committee which met at intervals of about five weeks to discuss problems concerning the internal life of the camp and the progress of members. It was also the function of this sub-committee to arrange for any special treatment, e.g. medical, surgical, psychiatric and educational, that was considered desirable. An agenda was prepared by Mr. Wills and sent out before a meeting giving names of members to be discussed. In addition to considering special problems, it was the practice to review at the Selection and Treatment Sub-Committee the case of every member in turn, so that those whose conduct did not attract particular attention should not be overlooked.

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\*(Written in 1943) It was hoped that Major Denis Carroll, R.A.M.C., now on active service, who was an energetic member of this sub-committee, would have written this section. Unfortunately he is not available owing to army medical duties.

<sup>1</sup>See footnote p. 6. (Ed. 1966)

It was an informal gathering that sat round a table, usually in Dr. Carroll's flat, and discussion roamed widely, from concrete subjects such as garden paths and drains to abstract theory. Sometimes we talked about prospective jobs for members about to leave. From time to time one of us was commissioned to write a letter to a parent or probation officer, urging moderation of their attitude to the son or probationer at Hawkspur. Once only did we admit a visitor - a probation officer concerned about one of the members. Although we covered a wide field, subjects were taken fairly systematically. We usually started with some general and acute problem - perhaps most often relating to the handling of transference and of the "special attention" of which mention is made here and there in the case abstracts of Section 7. From this we would pass to the routine cases and to those whose conduct presented problems about which the Camp Chief wanted to consult his colleagues.

Regular notes sent every week by the Camp Chief (additional to much personal correspondence and contact) to each medical member of the committee kept us informed. Besides this, I spent weekends at the camp at intervals of 4-6 weeks, and other committee members visited rather less frequently.

The notes were kept with great regularity throughout the four years of the existence of Hawkspur Camp, and whenever Mr. Wills was away were written by the senior staff in charge. Case files were treated as confidential matter and among the staff were available only to the Camp Chief and Mrs. Wills (who acted as secretary). Student helpers and assistant staff discussed their difficulties and observations with each other and with the Camp Chief, and information from notes was, when the Camp Chief thought it desirable, shared, but they did not see the files. The Committee, in making this rule, were chiefly influenced by considerations of confidence. They wished also, however, not to over-emphasise the academic side of the work, although in the hurly-burly of daily life and activities there was not much risk of that.

## V

### **DAILY LIFE AT HAWKSPUR CAMP**

By T. C. BODSWORTH

I did not join the staff at Hawkspur Camp until June 1937, something over a year after the camp had started, and these notes only cover from that time. I do know that in the first year of the camp the staff and few members had done a good deal of pioneer work and the camp had grown from a few bell tents to a somewhat permanent establishment, consisting of a large wooden hut, used as a dayroom, with kitchen attached, a small hut used as office and staff sleeping quarters, a fair-sized wooden building to house the goats, poultry-hut and runs, covered latrines and a large bunkhouse, with 10 bunks inside and another one in the process of construction. This was no small achievement for Hawkspur's first year, and I can well imagine how different the daily life must have been during this period, especially during the first few months,

from that of which I shall write. If, therefore my story should appear to vary from what others may have conveyed it will be because the life and routine at the camp was bound to be somewhat different between the earlier and later days. I think it is known that the Camp Chief, rest of staff and student helpers shared a communal life with the members and participated in all work, kitchen and other routine duties.

Prior to my joining the camp the preparation of meals had been carried out by mutual agreement among the staff and members, and, while in the main, it had been satisfactory and was preferred to an earlier arrangement with a permanent cook, there had been occasions when some of the members had not come up to scratch (everyone didn't want to be a cook), and naturally the others got aggrieved. I had arrived as Bursar and Quartermaster, and, feeling that here was an opportunity to get the feeding arrangements a little more stable, the Camp Chief took an early opportunity of suggesting to the Camp Council that I should be asked to be responsible for the preparation, for kitchen duties, of a rota. The Camp Council seemed very glad to experiment to see if the existing arrangement could be improved and my election for this job was unanimous. So day in and day out we had two people, sometimes one of the staff and a member, at other times two members to prepare and serve our meals. Naturally, everyone had not the aptitude for cooking and I tried as far as possible to so pair the team to ensure that we had one "cook" in it. Generally speaking, this was very satisfactory; those to whom cooking had not appealed showed an interest and became anxious to try their hand and improved as time went on. It was very seldom anyone "jibbed" at taking their turn, and we always got our meals (though sometimes a little late) and often we had meals that would put some restaurants to shame. I regard this as one of the most important and successful of the events in Hawkspur's daily life - no credit is due to me, but to the members who, having asked for a little help and guidance, took advantage of it and put their backs into the job.

Having dealt at some length with the arrangements for looking after the inner man, I had better briefly outline the usual daily routine, lest it be thought feeding was our principal occupation. At 7.30 a.m. we were called by the people on kitchen duty (who had risen an hour earlier) and breakfast was served at 8 o'clock. After breakfast, there was bed making, tidying up, etc., and rally in the dayroom at 9 o'clock. Then we had a ten minute sing song before joining the work squads or going to other duties. A short break for a cup of tea at 10.45 and then back to work until dinner at 12.30. Rally again at 2 o'clock, work until 4.30, and tea at 5. Some afternoons, or part thereof, were spent in handicrafts or other educational pursuits. Summer evenings were generally spent outdoors, some going for walks, others playing outdoor games. In the winter we spent most of our evenings indoors with the wireless, ping-pong, cards, boxing and occasionally an unofficial fight to entertain us. Cricket, football, deck quoits and outdoor boxing were all played in season. There was bread, cheese and cocoa at 9 p.m. and at 10.30 to bed. From time to time we held little social functions, to which we invited neighbours and friends.

In the daily work routine at Hawkspur we had much to do. Living in a Camp is not the easy happy-go-lucky life which some people visualise.

One has to remember that the members who came to us had not previously experienced a life of this type. Neither had the majority had any experience of the type of work that was expected of them, in fact some had not experienced work of any kind. To educate them to this was no easy task, but gradually we were able to do so, with generally satisfactory results. We tried, as far as possible, to allow new members on arrival to take stock of the position and then to choose the type of work that appealed to them most. In certain types of work, such as kitchen duties, general camp cleanliness, etc., we had, as I have said earlier, a daily rota, in order that staff and members alike equally shared in this work. In addition we had to have squads for erecting fresh buildings and repairing existing ones, a squad to do the garden and produce most of our vegetables and keep the remainder of the land under control, a laundry squad, a squad (G.M.A.s) to which I shall refer later; someone to look after the poultry and goats, which made a very useful contribution to our camp larder, and so on.

Generally we were able to have sufficient members in each squad to carry out these jobs of work, but we did on occasions such as haymaking time or when a new building was being put up, get one squad temporarily to amalgamate with the other, to expedite completion of the work. As was to be expected among a mixed crowd, we had occasional slackers who were not inclined to pull their weight in the camp life, and we had from time to time to consider ways and means of overcoming the problem. Although various methods may have produced a temporary solution, we cannot claim we were able satisfactorily to overcome this difficulty until the adoption in middle 1938 of a scheme which continued to operate until the closing of the camp. The Camp Chief submitted a scheme to the Camp Council and then to the Q Camps Committee, which gave their approval, first for a trial period, but later indefinitely. Under the scheme a "token" payment on paper of £1 per week was available for all members for a full 30-hour week, from which 15s. was retained for the member's maintenance, 2s. put aside for his clothing renewals, 6d. for the Camp Council funds for wireless maintenance, games and social activities. The remaining 2s. 6d. was the member's weekly pocket money. If the member failed to work his full week, not only was his pocket money proportionally reduced, but the money being put to his credit for clothing was also less, and the deficiency on his maintenance had to be made up from (or at least debited from) the grant to the Camp Council funds. Any member whose absence from work caused any great pull on Camp Council funds soon found himself in disfavour with his fellows and moral pressure was put on him to pull his weight. The first serious case of a non-worker under this scheme had brought home to us what it meant - the whole of Camp Council funds had been absorbed in meeting his liabilities and we found ourselves with not even enough money to get the wireless accumulator re-charged, and so for some days we had no wireless. Nothing like it happened again, and the fact that the Camp Council never considered changing the scheme is evidence of its value. I should add that during their first month new members were not brought within the scope of the scheme in order to give them the opportunity of fully understanding it and deciding which work squad they preferred to join.

Mr. Barron, who is contributing to this booklet, Mr. Smith (the gardener) and his successor, Miss Elsner, and the leaders of the other squads, undoubtedly found their squads very interesting. I hope, however, I may be forgiven if I make especial reference to a squad I was privileged to lead - the G.M.A.s ("General Muck Abouts"). We always had, of course, a few members, usually the younger ones, who were more "lively" than their fellows, and, whilst generally good chaps, they seemed unable to settle down with any stability in any squad for very long at a time. They found a continuity of similar work monotonous and sometimes hindered rather than helped. Some of their fellows thought them slackers, but the staff felt otherwise. We appreciated that there was a will to work, and set about to find the outlet for the activities of these high spirited youths, and so the G.M.A. squad was formed. There was much for it to do - trees to be felled and sawn up to add to our fuel supply, hedges to be trimmed, ditches cleared, refuse pits to be dug, general jobs in camp that did not come in the scope of work of other squads, and so on. It just provided the variety that was wanted, and it was not long before it became a very useful part of the camp make-up. Its few members worked hard and became proud of and jealous of their squad (so was I). I think when we started it the general impression was that it was for those members who were useless, but it was not long before we heard "You're no good for the G.M.A.s if you don't like hard work." And they were right.

## VI

### PRACTICAL WORK AT THE CAMP

By A. T. BARRON

The following is a list of the most important work done:

May 1936, to May 1937

**Day room and kitchen.** This was an old army hut, 60ft. by 16ft., that had to be largely re-made before it could be re-erected at Hawkspur. "**Franklin**" **bunkhouse** was built, with bunks to sleep ten adults. This was not a pre-fabricated structure but was completely planned and constructed in the camp. "**Power**" **bunkhouse** was largely built and only required windows, doors and bunks fitted. A **temporary shelter** with hessian walls, was built (and was still standing when we left), first to house the office. It was later used by the construction squad as a workshop. The "**schoolroom**," a pre-fabricated hut, was erected, which was used as staff quarters, office and stores. It got its name because it stood on the site planned for the school and museum, and was intended eventually to be used as such. The **goat-shed** was built to house two goats. This was the work of one member (Case 26), who planned and built the sturdy little structure almost unaided. A **hen house** was built. A **reservoir** was dug at the top of our hill that served, with only minor alterations, as our main water supply to the last. About two acres of **land** were kept in constant cultivation. The **animals** and **hens** were cared for and some were reared. **Furniture** of the simpler



sort - tables forms, cupboards, etc. - sufficient for our needs had been made. And, needless to say, the cooking, cleaning and other **daily demands** had been met.

#### May 1937, to May 1938

Latrines of various types were built and tried out before the existing unit was built in May 1937. The **Day room and Kitchen** were repainted and slightly altered so that they fulfilled their purpose better and were more cheerful. The **Bathroom** was built. This was a separate building, to which we laid on hot and cold water, bringing a pipeline 300 yards from the reservoir. It had 12 hand basins, one plunge bath and six "trickle" baths, and a cupboard for airing clothing. While we were building the bathroom we rearranged the whole **drainage** system, constructed a soakaway with filters, etc., to which we connected the kitchen and bathroom. This meant laying about 200 ft. of drain pipes. **"Power" bunkhouse** was completed. **Paths** were laid down, radiating from the dayroom to the existing bunkhouses and the sites where future ones were planned. **Lawns and flower beds** were made in the sectors so formed. Considerable work was done in **ditching** and **draining** the site. More **land** was brought into cultivation and the **stock yard** was increased.

#### May 1938, to February 1940

The **road** leading through the camp was improved and other drainage work continued. The **"Office and Stores"** was built. This is a two-storey building where the Camp Chief and his wife lived and has a "room in the roof," two offices on the ground floor, food store and hard store. It was our most ambitious building. The **garden**, etc., was further extended. Considerable **maintenance work** was done, including the re-decoration of **"Franklin" bunkhouse**.

It was often felt by us, who were living and working at Hawkspur, visitors and people who read reports or listened to speeches about the work, thought the rate at which we were building and developing the camp slow. This feeling on our part may have been due to a knowledge of our own failings, or it may have been because our visitors did not altogether realise how closely knit with the main purpose of the camp was our attitude to practical work therein. Our aims when building and doing other work were intensive rather than extensive. (I write of the period - 1937 to 1940 - when I was in charge of the construction squad. This was after the buildings most "essential to life" were inhabited.) We did not wish to erect buildings hastily if this meant building to a lower standard than the conditions demanded, but we wished to build, etc., as well as possible. Each new building gave us greater power: (a) Knowledge, of the materials with which we were working. (b) Experience; of the most suitable ways of working them under primitive conditions, and (c) Facilities; a wider range of tools and equipment, including the advantages of a roof to work under. Our standards of work became higher and during 1937 to 1939 this progress was rapid. Thus it would have saved us some real hardship, and have sometimes been cheaper, to buy doors, windows and other joinery ready-made or ready milled. We did not do so, even though this meant our

working in the midst of winter covered only by a roof in a shelter with neither walls nor solid floor, which it was impossible to warm, because we wanted to build the camp as nearly unaided as we could. We also avoided using metal bolts and other sundries for the making of which we had not yet the equipment. This meant the invention of gadgets which would serve the same purpose, or a reversion to the methods of craftsmen of the days before machinery.

Other factors that did not make for "efficiency"\* in the sense of speed or display were the following:

1. Each member (and member of the staff, since in work as in everything else the camp was a classless society) spent about 30% of his working week doing orderly duties. This work was arranged by rota, everyone taking his turn, because it was desired that members, before leaving the camp, should be self-reliant in meeting their personal needs, such as cooking, washing and repairing clothing, scrubbing and sweeping. Another reason was that it was desired that domestic work in the camp should not be pushed on to the less bright members and thereby be regarded as of little importance. I think we can safely claim to have been successful in this. But, as every housewife knows, it does not make for maximum efficiency to have the kitchen in different hands every day, and corners that someone else will have to clean tomorrow tend to be skipped today!

2. That members were not only permitted but were encouraged to move from one type of work to another rather than to specialise. It was hoped that this would assist them to discover where their abilities lay by experiment rather than by preconceived notions, help them develop wide interests, and give ample means of employing their leisure hours after leaving the camp. A member who spent most of his time on the land at Hawkspur would probably not take up gardening as a means of livelihood afterwards, but it might become his lifelong hobby. Once a "special" interest had been discovered, however, the member was encouraged to develop it.

3. Within the camp all occupations of a creative nature were deemed to be "work" and therefore legitimate and socially acceptable means of employment for at least part of the working day. This meant that quite a lot of time was spent on things more usually delegated to the leisure hours.

It can thus be seen that we were not out for efficiency in its usual sense, What we were aiming at, the part that work performed in achieving social adjustment for our members, I will return to when it has been seen how the work was organised.

The work of the camp fell easily into three main divisions: (1) The grounds, gardens and animals. (2) The maintenance and construction of buildings and other equipment. (3) Work inherent in camp life, besides the domestic work which, as mentioned, was done by "orderlies". A squad was formed with a staff member as leader for each of these categories.

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\*(Note by M.E.F.). The dictionary defines efficiency as "power to produce the result intended." One of the forebears of Q Camps was a study circle on efficiency in a one-class community."

**The Gardening Squad**, first under the leadership of Walter Smith and later Elizabeth Elsner, in addition to keeping the camp in vegetables, milk (from goats) and eggs, had to convert a clover field into the grounds of a residential community. It was responsible for the care of the 14 ½ acres of land that was unlet, and the drainage, etc., of the whole site.

**The Construction Squad**, which was led by Ron Urwin during the most difficult year - the first - and by me thereafter until the camp closed, made all buildings and furniture and had a permanent sub section for the maintenance and improvement of existing buildings.

**The G.M.A.s** ("General Muck Abouts"), a squad, under the leadership of T. C. Bodsworth, of members who were ready to do any and everything, provided they did not have to do it for long, and which dealt with the third class of work, viz., that which is inherent in a primitive life. It was of later formation than the other two squads, yet is perhaps the most interesting, since it was formed, or rather grew of its own accord, to supply needs that arose as the camp developed. These needs were, firstly, a mobile pool of labour that could be quickly directed to relieve emergency situations, such as the clearing of a stopped drain or ditch, unloading building materials, helping in the rush season on the land, repairing a leaky gutter, and the hundred other jobs that arise every week in a camp. Members of both the other squads objected to having to leave important work merely because the entrance to the camp had become impassable and needed clearing immediately, or because there was a block in our primitive drainage system, because wood was needed to cook the dinner, or the car needed pushing before it would start, and so on.

Secondly, as the work of the other two squads became more intensive in nature and demanded greater concentration on the part of the members, the G.M.A.s provided a haven for those who were either not yet able to stand the strain of concentrated work, or who needed less exacting work while they were passing through a bad patch in their struggle with their emotions. For these it provided useful and varied work, often of a thrilling nature. It was a lighthearted squad, without definite responsibility. Yet, because it supplied real needs and was united by the opposition it had at first to face (its members were at one time outlawed by the other squads), it came to play an important role in the Camp and gained so much respect that its services were in constant demand.

This, then, was the basis on which the work at Hawkspur was organised. But it was freely adapted to meet special needs, whether of the community or individuals. For example, when the trench for the pipe line from the well to the bathroom was dug each person in the Camp was allotted so many yards to do. The planting of the potatoes was another job which was specially organised each year. Special arrangements were made for every member for some part of his stay, and there were some for whom permanent plans were made., e.g. a youth (Case 2) who had had some training as a land worker at a farm training colony before coming to Hawkspur and wished to remain faithful to that calling

afterwards but also to learn some carpentry. He spent from 9 to 11.30 each morning with the gardening squad and the rest of the day on construction.

For a time there was a laundry squad, led by Mr. Lennard, which drew its labour from the others and functioned as a unit on the days of the week when the washing was done.

Squad work was compulsory only in the mornings, the afternoons being reserved for "hobbies," i.e. occupations of a creative nature that had no direct bearing on the development of the camp. It was, however, only at times when routine work - mixing concrete, digging trenches, etc. - was the order of the day, that members were not to be found continuing their squad work in the afternoons and, in the summer, the evenings, although only morning work came under the payment scheme. (See Sections 3 and 5.)

The range of hobbies was very great because this time was unorganised and everyone was free to develop his own interests how and where he pleased. Thus: weaving was usually being done in "Power" bunkhouse; the shelter that housed the construction squad in the morning was used for making fittings and gadgets for private use in the afternoon, usually to fit in the bunk; part of the goats' shed was converted into a photographic dark room. But it was the day room that was mostly used: here painting of all descriptions was done, designing, the camp sign, lino cuts, the camp Xmas cards, private Xmas cards, etc. Here letters and stories were written, books read, music (jazz or classical) played and listened to., clothing and boots repaired, etc., etc. Although this gives but the vaguest indication of the afternoon activities, mention must be made of the poetry circle which usually gathered at the Camp Chief's house in the village.

It was possible to allow this freedom in the use of time because the work was linked up with every other aspect of life. To understand this, to be able to see it against its background, to realise how it avoided being chaotic, and, above all, how it served the wider purpose of the camp, it is necessary to understand the - if I may be permitted the word - philosophy that inspired and underlay our approach to this problem of work. For a clear statement of this belief I refer the reader to Dorothy Sayers' booklet, "Why Work?" Briefly stated, our belief is that work is not just something one has to do in order that the community will not strafe one; it is something essential to do if one is to be happy, or to gain or retain self-respect, or to develop one's character or use one's powers. Work is defined as "effort directed to some end," and it matters not if the end is to score a goal in a football match or the pursuit of an ideal, provided (a) it is honourably striven after, (b) does not in any way conflict with what one feels to be right, so that (c) one is able to give oneself freely to the work, and (d) it is sufficiently difficult to use one's powers to the full.

At Hawkspur we wished work to give expression to this doctrine, and also to fit our members with sufficient interests in life to use their leisure hours in a creative manner. By experiment we found that this was best done (in the camp environment) by organising only about half of each day and leaving the rest to the members' own initiative. The introduction of compulsory work for even this short time each day was

for Hawkspur a serious curtailment of the members' freedom. Previously, for over two years, the members had been free to work or not. The fact that we decided to make some work compulsory does not mean that we had modified our attitude to freedom in work or self-government. But it marked the end of what we who were working in the camp looked upon as the "foundation" period and the beginning of a further stage in the development of the camp's corporate life. We had passed the stage in which the members as a whole needed total freedom in the use of time and reached one in which they were prepared to follow a lead and had ceased to be, as a community, suspicious of the staff as such. This would not have been so if the foundations and traditions of the camp had not been laid in absolute freedom, that was followed by a period of relative chaos which led to a general desire for law and order. This desire was based on the experience that law and order are necessary not only for the continuance of the group but also to individual happiness, and from it came the elaborate system of wages, taxes, communal funds, etc., outlined in Sections 3 and 5.

In the pressure of daily life we tend to accept men at their own valuation. In the camp it was in large measure by his work that an individual was appraised or the prevailing temper of the community judged. It was by work that we were able to provide our members with an outlet for their energies and, in an intimate, personal way, give assurance of personal worth. It formed the background of the self-government and the communal life, and was a subject on which all had views which they expounded. The primitive condition and limited man power ensured that all work, however small in quantity or poor in quality, really was of undoubted value. There were never enough members to carry through the development programme that we set for ourselves from time to time at the Camp Council. There was usually equal advantage for each person in the camp from all labour. The "office and stores," the last building we did, was an exception, in that it did not have the same obvious appeal as, for example, the building of the day room had. In work, as in the training and daily life, the principle that immediate convenience should be subordinated to ultimate and lasting good was followed, often at the cost of much discomfort. We drew our lessons from past experience but looked always towards the future.

The whole of life at Hawkspur was an experiment. This applied not only to the work done but also to the methods of teaching it. The person in charge of a squad, although qualified in that branch of the work, did not assume, as a matter of course, that he "knew" and the members were "learners." All had a say in the planning and execution of the job in hand. When a member had a definite job to do - say a window frame to make - he was not given instructions on how to proceed, until he realised the need for them and asked advice. He was encouraged to refer to books, or to observe the methods used by the local builder and the manner in which the houses in the village were built, etc.

This experiment made each job an adventure, the result was unpredictable to the last. We relied on developing powers of critical and constructive thought. in the knowledge that these would provide the key to meet each problem as it arose. When I was appointed Student

Helper to take charge of the construction squad I was younger than most members in the camp at that time. On arriving there it was not announced that I had any previous experience in building, but merely that I would work *with* the construction squad. As time went by I was looked upon as the leader because the members with whom I was working saw I knew the job.\* It was this faith in the judgement of the members that characterised so much of the life at Hawkspur and, not least, of the work there.

At the time of writing, when changes in education are being discussed and when concern is being felt by many for the future of youth, and especially for those who find difficulty in social adjustment, the experience gained by Q Camps in their first experiment at Hawkspur has much to offer in theory and practice. Although we were engaged in the task of re-education, which necessarily had to concern itself with breaking down false notions and values, we evolved a technique for developing the human personality that is capable of far wider application. The main points, as expressed through work training, were: (1) Faith in the judgement of the members. (2) That the minimum of compulsion was used, and that only in the initial stages (and not till a member had been at the camp a month). As David Wills has remarked elsewhere," it is all very well to talk of the pleasure of working, but it is necessary to work to experience this." (3) Most work and the majority of the most successful was done in community, i.e. the whole squad would be engaged on one job, although each person had his own part or definite function. The distribution of work was not done by allocating to each an equal amount, but rather to each according to his ability. The results were judged - if judged they were, since it was rarely necessary to praise or blame - by the effort and will with which they were done. (4) The contribution of each member was valued. We tried to make each feel he was essential to the job, as in fact he was. Within the limits of squad work members were allowed to follow their special bent, in the knowledge that a development of special talent is followed by a general development. (5) The work was arranged as far as possible in such a way that no member tackled a job beyond his powers. At the same time it was intensive in nature and aimed to exercise the mind as well as the body fully. Risks of spoilt material and of work being left unfinished were necessarily taken. We tried, however, to alleviate any fears the ruin of expensive material might arouse by finding some use to which this could be put, or, preferably, by devising means of overcoming the mistake, (6) Everyone felt personally responsible for the job as a whole and therefore for the work of everyone else, and free to criticise, make suggestions and initiate methods of working.

No enumeration of what "was done and wasn't done" will give a

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\*(Note by M.E.F.). Student Helpers slept in the bunkhouses with the men and had none of the prestige of authority. In the first year it was necessary to have some steady and reliable workers to help make the camp. Therefore three students of social work (one of whom left after three months) were appointed helpers and given a small honorarium. Next year it was decided to give an honorarium only to the student in charge of construction, and Mr. Barron, then aged 18, who was well known to Mr. Wills was invited to apply. For a time he was the only student but later on there were others, some of whom paid for board.

satisfactory key to the success that Hawkspur Camp enjoyed in using work as an aid to character development, but I consider that, if there is such a key, it lies in the empirical method - the freedom to strive and experiment and to learn by error. This method must have for its background, if it is to be successful, a large measure of freedom and self- government, and for foundation Q Camps' deep respect and faith in human personality.

## VII

### **SUMMARY OF DATA DERIVED FROM MEMBERS' CASE RECORDS AND AFTER-HISTORIES**

By W. DAVID WILLS (M. E. FRANKLIN collaborating)

**Note by M.E.F.** This section has been compiled mainly by Mr. Wills, who has made abstracts from the case files in his custody and has sent out questionnaires concerning all the members. We have collaborated in the selection, presentation and condensation of data. The decision to illustrate the pamphlet by a few facts about every case, instead of a fuller account of a small selection has, it is hoped, more advantages than drawbacks, but considerations of space, anonymity and confidence limit the amount and precision of data. We appreciate warmly the co-operation of those who have replied to the questionnaire and should be most grateful if readers who have recent information about any past member of Hawkspur would communicate with one of us; he may be someone with whom we have lost touch.

**Explanation of data.** The numbering of cases is haphazard and not chronological. In the description of symptoms (items 4 and 5) we have generalised. The term "psychopathic" has been used to include not only psychopathic personality proper, but also some cases of border line psychosis, schizoid and cyclothymic types, latent homosexuals, etc. Items 8 and 10 below also require elucidation. All members were treated by general Q Camp methods, which included individual attention from the Camp Chief. Some, in addition, had specialist treatment outside. Most were better known to and more influenced by the leaders of their squad than other assistant staff. As mentioned below, a few were given special attention by Mr. Bodsworth, and Mr. Wills has also mentioned a few instances where the individual attention he tried to give everyone was especially time consuming over a long period.

**Key to, signs.** 1 = Age on admission. 2 = Group according to standard test. A. = I.Q. 70 to 85. B.= I.Q. 86 to 100. C. = I.Q. above 100. ? before group means no test made. 3 = Length of stay. 4 = Ostensible reason for coming. 5 = Other symptoms and characteristics. 6 = Previous history: (a) offences and court charges and how dealt with. (b) Early life, especially whether institutional upbringing or family difficulties. (6) Education, viz., elementary (=El.), or secondary (including also public or private school, technical or university, i.e.

anything beyond elementary) (= Sec.). 7 = Reasons for leaving and whether in agreement with Q or against advice. 8 = Special treatment, if any, in addition to general camp regime, 9 = Results and after-history; (A) While still at camp. (B) Between leaving and September 1939, (C) After outbreak of war. *Classification of Results.* (a) In relation to items 4 and 5 above. (b) In regard to law-breaking and sentence. (c) Social behaviour and adjustments. (d) Economic. (e) Personal happiness. (f) Personality development. (g) Special points. (h) Contact with members of Q Camps' Organisation since leaving. 10=W.D.W.'s estimation of the most helpful factors in treatment. 11 = Remarks.

### CASE 1

(1) 20. (2) ?B. (3) 10 weeks. (4) Stealing motor car (Probation). (5) Highly strung and impulsive; violent temper. (6) (a) Two previous offences connected with cars; Probation. (b) Fairly normal home but discord between subject and his father and siblings. (c) See. (7) Stole car and sent to Borstal. Psychotherapy intended but not started. (9) Wrote while at Borstal occasionally. War destroyed contact. (11) (M.E.F.) Was not fully examined before admission. Probably an obsessional type unsuitable for the camp and requiring intensive psychotherapy. (See *Addenda*, p. 51)

### CASE 2

(1) 18. (2) B by Terman and C by performance tests. (3) 22 months. (4) Inability to keep jobs. (5) Inhibitions and disparities in his mental development. Marked inferiority feeling, over-compensated by boastfulness. Inability to accept instruction or correction. (6) (b) Parents unknown. Poor law institution, farm training colony, several jobs, then Q Camp. (c) El. (7) Placed in employment by Q as considered ready to leave. Same career - agriculture - as before admission. (8) Encouraged to think better of himself by developing latent capacities and skills as hobbies. Spectacles provided. (9) (A) Satisfactory all round improvement. (B) and (C). 4 apparently cured and 5 improved. (h) Contact by correspondence till war. Last seen in 1941, when doing well. (10) The work programme, the patience of staff and democratic nature of the camp, See p. 35.

### CASE 3

(1) 16. (2) A. (3). 13 months. (4) Larceny with gang. (5) Bullying, cruelty, need to defy authority, continual pilfering. (6) Removed when 10 from very bad family environment to poor-law foster home and later to farm training colony. (c) El. (7) Q reluctantly agreed to his wish to leave for factory job found by mother. (8) Special attention of Camp Chief. (9) General improvement at camp, satisfactory report from guardians six months after leaving. Contact lost since war. (10) Probably positive transference to Camp Chief and wife and democratic machinery of camp. (See *Addenda*, p. 51)

### CASE 4

(1) 16. (2) C. (3) 12 months. (4) Larceny. Probation. (5) Feckless, irresponsible, lacking insight and interests. Hypersensitive to criticism. (6) (a) Previous probation for larceny with gang. (b) Home environment rather unsatisfactory. Father died when subject infant and mother lacked understanding of him. (c) El. (7) Mother's desire, Q not opposing. (8) Special attention from Bursar. (9) No stealing while at camp and improved satisfactorily in 5. (h) Corresponded about a year. Former probation officer writes (1943) that working as labourer and "of great help to his widowed mother" and derived from Hawkspur "great physical, mental and emotional improvement." No further offences. (10) Bursar's special attention and occupational programme.

### CASE 5

(1) 29. (2) ?C. (3) 3 periods, totalling 10 months, 4, 4, 2 months. (4) Obtaining money by false pretences, impersonating clergy, Imprisoned. (5) Psychopathic, phantasies, recurrent depression, multiplicity of symptoms, many



showing periodicity. (6) (a) Several terms of imprisonment for similar offences. (b) Mother a widow and dominating. Poor. (c) El. (7) After 4 months absconded with money; re-entered for 4 months and left against advice; two years later returned for 2 months (refusing psychotherapy) and left for job he found. (8) ) short course of psychotherapy but refused to continue. (9) Prison for theft between second and third admissions, but, mother states, no offence since final discharge, "improved physically and mentally for a time" but recently depressed and left too soon. (M.E.F.) Probably helped by working social welfare phantasies out in real life, and both helped and hindered by his turbulent positive and (more often) hostile transference. Sometimes helpful, sometimes disturbing to the community. Referred to in section 2, p. 22. (See *Appendix A*)

#### **CASE 6**

(1) 17. (2) C. (3) 3 months. (4) Would not stay at jobs. (5) Unable to face difficult situations, lacked insight. (6) (b) Middle class. (c) Sec. (7) Closure of camp. (9) Little improvement noticed at camp but some reported since. Reported self -supporting and engaged to be married. (h) None. (See *Appendix A*)

#### **CASE 7**

(1) 18 2/12. (2) C. (3) 2 months. (4) Undisciplined; dirty habits. (5) None noticed. (6) (b) Middle class. (c) Sec. (7) Volunteered for military service. (9) No symptoms noticed at camp beyond a certain irresponsibility. (h) None.

#### **CASE 8**

(1) 16 8/12. (2) C.?. (3) 2 months. (4) Discord with parents and at lodgings. (5) Psychopathic; Hypochondriacal; many symptoms. (6) (h) Boarded out as a child. (c) El. plus naval school. (7) Closure of camp. (9) (A) Very appreciative of camp and might have reacted favourably (M.E.F.) (B) Social worker states (Feb. 1943) more self-reliant and co-operative and better social contacts. Successful in singularly suitable job. (C) A few months after call-up to navy showed former symptoms

#### **CASE 9**

(1) 21. (2) C. (3) Two periods, 3 months and 8 months; 1 ½ years interval. (4) Lethargic, unable to concentrate, threw up job. (1st admission) violent at home. Police called in, but was not charged. Sent to camp by parental pressure. (2<sup>nd</sup> admission) wrote to ask to come for training and health. (5) Grandiose and varying ambitions. Psychopathic. At first hostile, later depressed, introverted. (6) Disharmony at home. Symptoms started at 19. (c) Sec. (7) Left without notice, returned 18 months later and left to take job, Q not objecting. (8) Course of psychotherapy (weekly visits) second period (too hostile before). Special attention from staff with view to directing and stabilising interests. (9) (A) Improved progressively in 4 and 5. (B) Two jobs in profession not followed before and to which hopes to return after war. (C) Volunteered 2 years ago. Now senior N.C.O. in charge of section, maintains friendly and mild discipline, without friction with those above or below him in rank. Psychotherapy discontinued when he left camp but has visited psychotherapist for advice once or twice, last being Feb. 1943. Psychotherapist states: "I could not spot anything unbalanced," that he has been married nearly a year, is quite happy in social contacts, good relations with his family, purposeful with regard to his post-war future, and that he learnt at Hawkspur "tolerance of his fellow members in society and to make terms with authority." (h) Writes occasionally. (10) Psychotherapy and opportunity for recapitulation provided at camp.

#### **CASE 10**

(1) 25. (2) ?C. (3) 3 months. (4) Stealing (Probation). (5) Grandiose, boastful, lying, cruelty, bully. (6) (a) False pretences - imprisoned. (b) Unknown, country stock. (c) El. (7) At request of S. & T. Comm. who considered him undesirable influence and not susceptible to Hawkspur methods, and requiring closer supervision (8) Psychotherapy intended but not started. (9) Former Probation Officer states (Feb. 1943) that no further offences and is self-supporting in former calling, first with father and 7 months on own account. Married 3

years. Now serving in H.M. Forces. On return from Hawkspur "his conduct was much more satisfactory." (11) (M.E.F.) I refer to this case in section 2A, p. 22.

### **CASE 11**

(1) 25. (2) C. (3) 1 year 10 months. (4) Petty fraud, irresponsible with money. Could not support himself. (5) Immature, pronounced inferiority feeling. Untruthful, much phantasy. Psychopathic symptoms. (6) Long history of petty thefts, but no prosecutions. (b) Mother died when subject young; some family difficulties. (c) Sec. (7) To job found by father, Q approving. (8) Occasional interviews with psychotherapist. (9) Pilfered in camp but apparently stopped before leaving and showed some improvement in other symptoms. Employed after leaving. Is married (1943). (h) Fairly frequent by letter and occasionally visits. (See *Appendix A*)

### **CASE 12**

(1) 22. (2) C. (3) 5 months. (4) Personality difficulties. Unemployable. Own wish to come. (5) Chronic psychopathic, atypical. Not deteriorated. Quarrelsome and sensitive, very difficult and essentially anti-social. Artistic inclinations. (6) Foster parents, vagrancy, mental hospitals. (c) El, continued by reading. (7) Q's request as too disturbing. (8) Weekly psychotherapy. (9) (A) Made a flower garden at the camp. (B) and (C) Prison for window-breaking and thence mental hospital, escaped and since supported by P.A.C. (h) Occasional correspondence till war, occasional visit and once visited camp. (11) (M.E.F.) Relation to camp disturbed by outside transference, might have been more helped otherwise.

### **CASE 13**

(1) 21 **8/12**. (2) C. (3) 11 months. (4) Theft: Probation. (5) Weak character, no interests, initiative or energy, discontented. (6) (a) Long history debts, finally prosecution for theft; Probation. (b) Family difficulties. (c) El. (7) To job found by himself, Q approving. (8) Weekly psychotherapy. Special attention by camp staff to ways of stimulating interests and skills. (9) (A) 4 and 5 greatly improved. (B) and (C) progress continued. Married with family. Displays initiative and independence and works well. No offence since leaving. Probation officer writes (Dec. 1942) "Camp made him more reliable and trustworthy," "has stronger character and will power," "parents very pleased with him." "Is very happy." (h) Writes occasionally. (See *Appendix A*)

### **CASE 14**

(1) 21. (2) B. (3) 14 months. (4) Indecent exposure; impersonating police officers; Probation; unable to keep jobs. (5) Psychopathic; much phantasy and some impulsive violence. (6) Very poor. Family quarrels. (c) El. (7) The war. (8) Psychotherapy tried but considered unsuitable. (9) (A) 4 not seen. All general symptoms gradually improved. (B) No further offences known to probation officer who reports (Jan. 1943) that "he seemed much improved between leaving camp and joining army" and that mother said (C) (Dec. 1942) "quite all right mentally"; engaged to be married. Discharged from the army for sunstroke. Now labourer. (11) (M.E.F.) Probably helped by friendliness of staff and opportunities for working out sexual phantasies (disguised) in drawing, etc.

### **CASE 15**

(1) 28. (2) C. (3) 17 months. (4) Probation for vagrancy and indecent exposure. (5) Psychopathic symptoms of paranoid schizophrenia and obsessions; could work very little. (6) Poverty. Quarrels. Clerk until 25, then vagrant. (c) Sec. (7) To mental hospital as voluntary patient arranged by Q. (9) Still in hospital and M.O. reports (Jan. 1943): chronic schizophrenia not deteriorated. (11) (M.E.F.) Although unsuitable he found camp a happy shelter, so was allowed to stay till symptoms too pronounced. (h) Has written.

### **CASE 16**

(1) 18. (2) B. (3) 6 months. (4) Larceny with gang; Probation. (5) Sullen, aggressive, inarticulate. (6) (a) Similar offence; Probation. (b) Home fair; stepfather. (c) El. (7) Borstal for breaking into public house while at Hawkspur in

association with cases 4.) and 41. Q disapproved and offered to readmit. (9) Marked improvement in 5 which would undoubtedly have continued. (See *Addenda*, p. 51).

### **CASE 17**

(1) 24. (2) C. (3) 15 months. (4) False pretences. (5) Incapacity to face difficulties, phantasy, romancer, inferiority feeling, depression. (6) Father died in subject's infancy. (c) Sec. (7) For national service. (8) Special encouragement from Camp Chief's wife. (9) Good progress in all respects till war, some relapse, recovering at time left. Now N.C.O. in H.M. Forces. (h) Corresponds. See Section 2.B. p. 24.

### **CASE 18**

(1) 23. (2) ?C. (3) 6 months. (4) Personality difficulties. Not self-supporting. (5) Psychoneurotic, lethargic, moody, bad mixer, etc. (6) Family discord. (c) Sec. (7) Felt unable to co-operate. Q consented. (8) Weekly psychotherapy which started before admission and continued after leaving. Hobbies. (9) (A) Some improvement. (B) Increased after leaving; reported to be economically self-supporting and reconciled to family. (h) None.

### **CASE 19**

1) 20. (2) C. (3) 1 year. (4) Personality difficulties and unable to work. (5) Various psychopathic symptoms, including depression and social difficulties. (6) (a) Treatment for psychoneurosis. (b) Family difficulties. (c) El. (7) At Q's suggestion, but influence of camp maintained by frequent visits while working. (8) Weekly psychotherapy. (9) Little at camp but considerable improvement shortly after. (B) Self-supporting and independent, getting own jobs. Social and family adaptation improved, happier and more insight. (C) Psychoneurotic symptoms increased later and receiving treatment. Remaining self-supporting and other improvement maintained. (h) Frequent letters and visits. (See *Appendix A*)

### **CASE 20**

(1) 20. (2) C. (3) 2 periods of 13 months and 5 months (one year interval). (4) Theft and fraud; not charged. (5) Inferiority feeling over-compensated by conceit and fabrication. Other psychopathic symptoms. (6) Father died in subject's infancy. Family discord. (c) See. (7) To temporary employment found by Q in which did adequately. After further training, Q found him other work. No recurrence of 4. Much improvement in 5. Self-supporting (finds own jobs) and increased insight. (h) Writes occasionally. (10) Work programme of camp probably an important factor. (See *Appendix A*)

### **CASE 21**

(1) 18 5/12. (2) C. (3) 1, years. (4) Personality difficulties. unable to keep a job or mix with people. (5) Depressions, introspection, psychopathic, occasionally violent, unrealistic ambitions, unable to concentrate. (6) Family discord; "nerves". (c) Sec. (7) To job of own finding. Q approving. (8) Weekly psychotherapy. Had been treated before. (9) (A) Some general improvement. (B) Partial relapse, followed by some improvement. (C) Further relapse, requiring hospital treatment, probably connected with war stress. Some improvement. (h) Occasional contact. (See *Appendix A*)

### **CASE 22**

(1) 23. (2) ?C. (3) 3 months. (4) Theft (prison sentence). (5) Repeated theft and fraud and false pretences, in spite of efforts to resist on subject's part. Periods of great emotional stress. No insight or self-discipline or concentration; changeable. Phantasy and romancing. (6) (a) Several prison sentences for theft. (b) Harsh upbringing, nautical school, step-father. (c) El. (7) Discharged by Q to have intensive psychotherapy arranged by Q (and I.S.T.D.). (9) Refused treatment and left London hostel found for him. Further sentences (penal servitude). (h) Revisited camp, but no recent contact. (11) (M.E.F.) This case is referred to in Section 2A, p. 15, as being of a type unsuitable for the camp, because too out of touch with the environment. (Cf. "Roland Leaf", in Mr. Wills' book.)

### **CASE 23**

(1) 17 6/12. (2) B. (3) 3 months. (4) Could not keep a job (5) personality difficulties, shy, irrational fears, ideas of reference, etc. (6) No father and much tied to mother. Had some psychotherapy, with good results, before admission. (c) El. (7) Own desire, Q not approving. (9) News that he has much improved in 4 and 5 since leaving and doing well in H.M. forces. (h) Writes occasionally. (11) (W.D.W.) Doubtful how much improvement due to Q.

### **CASE 24**

(1) 24. (2) C. (3) 6 weeks. (4) After-treatment following "nervous breakdown." (5) Alcoholism with violence, depression, psychopathic symptoms. (6) Long history of institutional treatment for same symptoms. (c) Sec. (7) Un-cooperative, suspended at Q's request and unwilling to return. (8) Psychotherapy intended but not started. (9) Symptoms appear unchanged (1943 letter from father), though father thinks he derived some benefit. In H.M. Forces 19 months, then discharged, medical grounds. (11) (M.E.F.) Very improbable that lasting improvement could be obtained from Q by 6 weeks' residence in a case of this description.

### **CASE 25**

(1) 181. (2) C. (3) 3 months. (4) Conduct disorders, phantasies, etc. (5) Stammerer. Slow reactions, easily confused, etc. (6) "Difficult" since early childhood, much treatment. (c) Sec. (7) Came, at request of psychotherapist, for limited period only and left at end of it. (8) Psychotherapy (not arranged by Q) preceded camp residence and continued, twice a week, while there. (9) Almost no change noticed at camp. Continued psychotherapy since and reported by psychotherapist that confusion has partially cleared, and is earning, though not fully self-supporting. (h) None. (11) Q's influence very little. (M.E.F.) Camp used as lodgement in order to get away from home during a period in his psychotherapeutic treatment, which was his main interest. See section 2A, pp. 16, 19 and 20.

### **CASE 26**

(1) 19 11/12. (2) B. (3) 13 months. (4) Breach of probation. (5) Lazy, shiftless, irresponsible, dishonest. (6) (a) Probation for larceny. (b) Very poor. Father died when subject 4. Large family. Little home training. Threw up jobs after few weeks. (c) El. (7) Own volition, because considered cured, Q doubtfully assenting. (9) Marked improvement all symptoms in camp, though Q considered room for developing more positive qualities. Happy there and useful. Made goatshed (see section 6, p. 32). Mother reports (Dec. 1942) no recurrence of trouble, worked till war, then joined up and is reported missing at Singapore. Mother considers derived very great benefit at Q. (10) Shared responsibility and work programme.

### **CASE 27**

(1) 15 10/12. (2) ?. (3) 2 ½ months. (4) Not amenable to discipline. (5) Dirty, untidy, quarrelsome, lazy. (6) Early history unknown. (c) Probably Sec. (7) Closure of camp. (9) (A) Some improvement. (C) Reported by social worker (1943) to be continuing his education, so presumably improvement continues. (h) None.

### **CASE 28**

(1) 17. (2) C. (3) 9 months. (4) "Corrupting influence." Not amenable to discipline. (5) Intensely discouraged and unhappy, shut in and morose, intellectually precocious, but all interests crushed. Some psychoneurotic symptoms. (6) No direct family history, as is one of the foreign members, but, according to own account, childhood and family life ideal, purposeful, constructive and intellectual. (Family interests mainly political.) (7) Closure of camp. (8) Special attention from Camp Chief and Bursar. (9) (A) Began to open out, happier and interests beginning to re-awaken, especially after got news of family. (C) Progress continued. After short period of study, joined the Forces, where fits in well. Is now particularly lively and happy. Main purpose in life is still to find and rejoin parents. (h) Frequent.

### **CASE 29**

(1) 17. (3) ?B. (3) 5 months. (4) Theft. (5) Violent, aggressive, frightened, moody, periods of depression, phantasies, romancer. (6) Little available history,

(7) Closure of camp. Recommended to have intensive psychotherapy after leaving, but advice not followed. (9) Little improvement in camp. (C) Social worker reports that he has died from accident. (11) (M.E.F.) A type who might have responded favourably to lengthy sojourn at camp, but was only there for few months during somewhat disturbed period before closure.

### **CASE 30**

(1) 18. (2) C. (3) 20 months. (4) Theft. (5) Shiftless, irresponsible, lazy, no interests. (6) ? previous offences. Mother died in subject's infancy. Lack of understanding in family. (c) El. (7) To job he found, Q approving. (8) Some special attention from Bursar. Special responsibilities in construction squad. (9) (A) Marked improvement in all symptoms, happier and more purposeful. No stealing. Enjoyed camp. (B) and (C) Improvement apparently maintained. In the Forces. (h) Regular correspondent. (10) "Shared responsibility" an important factor.

### **CASE 31**

(1) 17 8/12. (2) X. (3) 10 months. (4) Stealing (repeated, but not charged). (5) Inferiority feeling, "snobbish." Hard crust of spurious sophistication, strong guilt sense and loss of self-respect. (6) Father died when subject young. Various economic and other vicissitudes. (c) Sec. (7) Removed by mother to job, Q disapproving, as considered character development could go on further. (8) Weekly psychotherapy, some special attention from Camp Chief and Student Helper. (9) Marked improvement in all symptoms at camp. Gained self-respect, lost snobbishness and "hard crust." Acquired self-discipline. Particularly happy and interested in camp. (B) Progress continued, found work himself and self-supporting. (C) A commissioned officer in H.M. Forces. Social worker says (1943): "Has done remarkably well" and no recurrence at all of offences. (h) Has revisited camp. Writes occasionally. (10) Work regime and participation in shared responsibility important factors. (See *Appendix A*)

### **CASE 32**

(1) 19 6/12. (2) A. (3) 4 months. (4) Vagrancy and mendicancy (probation). (5) Irrational fears, delusions of grandeur and persecution. Sexual aberrations without comprehension of offence. Caused trouble at camp by wandering away almost daily (or nightly) for irrational or delusional reasons. (6) Institutional upbringing, including poor-law homes and approved school (?). (c) El. (a) At least 2 previous convictions. (7) While arrangements were progressing for transfer to observation ward, broke shop windows and committed to Borstal. (9) No improvement. (h) Nil. (11) (M.E.F.) Quite unsuitable for Q camp and probably incurable by any method. Probably happiest at large institution. (See *Addenda*, p. 51)

### **CASE 33**

(1) 17. (2) ?C. (3) 5 months. (4) Refused to earn his living or to work. (5) Aggressive at home. Tendency to ideas of reference. Psychoneurotic symptoms, sex and other adolescent worries. (6) Poor and difficult family situation. One sibling and possibly father M.D. (mother intelligent but neurotic). Onset of difficulties at puberty. (c) El., and truanted a good deal. (7) Closure of camp. (9) (A) Symptoms under 4 much in evidence at first but cleared up in a few weeks under influence of work regime and shared responsibility. Became industrious and obliging. Some improvement in general development. (B) and (C) Improvement reported maintained and self-supporting, but contact later lost.

### **CASE 34**

(1) 17. (2) C. (3) 6 months. (4) Theft (frequent); probation. (5) Depression, with occasional excitement. Pathological lying, phantasy, strong emotional stress. Many psychoneurotic and psychopathic symptoms. (6) Father dead. Unsatisfactory family relationship. (b) Repeated delinquencies. Approved school and probation and recall to approved school. (c) El. (7) Absconded. (8) Weekly psychotherapy. Some special attention from Camp Chief. (9) Negligible improvement apparent. (11) (M.E.F.) A case in which a long period of intensive psychotherapy was indicated. However, reported to have worked after leaving.

### CASE 35

(1) 21. (2) ?B. (3) 5 months. (4) Stealing car. (5) Irresponsible and irrational behaviour. Childish. Disturbance of memory. (6) Said to have been normal until a car accident. (7) Discharged because severe home sickness and difficulty for this town-bred lad to adjust to country life, and because a diagnosis made of possible infective encephalitis. (After-history does not substantiate more than a less permanent traumatic disturbance.) (9) No improvement noticed at camp. Father reports (1943) that he was in several hospitals, is now married and self-supporting and has recovered from memory disturbance. Father considers camp "certainly improved his brain - in fact it made him a new man," but doubtful if this really due to Q.

### CASE 36

(1) 26. (2) ?C. (3) 6 weeks. (4) Robbery with violence (violence denied by subject), on licence after penal servitude and flogging sentence. (5) Volatile, over-talkative, obsessed by punitive experiences. (6) Step-father a travelling tinker, ran away from home at 13 and gradually lapsed into a criminal career. Many terms of imprisonment for larceny and burglary. (c) El., augmented by reading while in prison, and W.E.A. (7) Own request, in order to study, but Q could not have retained him, and decided not again to accept an ex-convict, as his talkativeness over past experiences alarmed the neighbourhood. Had a job found for him. (8) Weekly psychotherapy, continued for short time after leaving. (9) (h) Contact for a while and heard of one year later as being at liberty. No news since.

### CASE 37

(1) 22. (2) A. (3) 1 year, 8 months. (4) Repeated pilfering, not charged. (5) None, except over fat. Dull, heavy, pleasant person, absorbed in "shockers." (6) F. Killed in last war. (c) Sec. (7) To a job, Q approving. (8) Short course thyroid. Occasional psychotherapeutic interview, but considered unsuitable for course. Special facilities for hobby. (9) 4 ceased at camp and since, except occasionally from mother. Retained simple job till called up, now in Forces. Mother states (1943) that the camp "broadened his outlook quite a bit and that he has continued to develop mentally since leaving. (10) Respect shown for such talents as he had.

### CASE 38

(1) 22? (2) ?A. (3) *one week*. (4) Sex offences with small girls (probation). (5) Delusions. Atrophied sex organs. (6) (a) Petty thefts, etc. Never held job. Would gather group of children and play guitar to them. Had been in prison. (b) Respectable working-class family. (c) El. (7) Admitted pending examination. Found unsuitable owing to psychosis, but absconded before arrangements for discharge complete. (9) (h) Wrote from prison. Died in 1940.

### CASE 39

(1) 17 9/12. (2) B. (3) 1 year, 3 months. (4) Stealing. (5) Slow and clumsy, obstinate, anxiety, antagonistic to women. (6) Father died in subject's infancy. Family difficulties. Stealing, mainly at home, since 15. Psychotherapy, twice weekly, for about one year before admission. (c) Sec. (7) Closure of camp. (8) Occasionally visited former psychotherapist, but no regular treatment. Development of interests. Attended Arthur Segal's painting school. Special attention from Camp Chief's wife. (9) (A) 4 ceased and 5 showed improvement. (C) Since leaving 4 occasionally from mother but not outside. Improvement in 5 continuing and doing satisfactorily in the Forces. (h) Occasional. (10) Positive transference to Camp Chief's wife and also painting.

### CASE 40

(1) 20 1/12. (2) C. (3) 1 year 6/12. (4) Stealing (probation). (5) "Hard" and addicted to gay life, conceited, probably as compensation for deep-seated lack of self-respect and assurance. (6) Step-father. Family discord. Long history petty fraud, false pretences, stealing, but no previous prosecution. (c) Sec. (7) For job, Q approving. (8) Special attention from Bursar. (9) Very satisfactory. No sign of 4 in camp and no offences whatever since leaving. (5) Much improved in camp, where he learnt new values and gained self-respect. Improvement con-

tinued since leaving and steady promotion in work from minor position to one of trust and responsibility. Medically unfit for Forces. Happily married, family. (h) Frequent. (10) Special attention of Bursar (See Appendix A)

#### CASE 41

(1) 22. (2) B. (3) 9 months. (4) Theft of cycle (probation). (5) Psychopathic, and psychoneurotic symptoms, idle, irresponsible. (6) Had been in mental hospital and army (pre-war). One or two previous offences (probation). (c) El. (7) For employment, against Q's advice. (9) No improvement of general symptoms, but appears to have committed no further offences. Married and unemployed when last heard of, but had held jobs.

#### CASE 42

(1) 23. (2) C. (3) 3 months. (4) Theft, for which had been imprisoned. (5) Constant tremors in arm and sometimes in leg and whole body. Periods of excitement and sometimes violence due to irrational fears. Liable to attack women and to attempt sodomy. In normal periods was a simple, gentle creature. (6) Very poor. Long history of offences, dealt with by Approved School, Borstal and two periods of imprisonment. (c) El. (7) Discharged to observation ward, prior to admission to mental hospital, as found to be suffering from after-effects of organic disease, encephalitis lethargica, which was probably of long standing and the explanation of his previous criminal career. (9) No improvement, as was inevitable.

#### CASE 43

(1) 16 9/12. (2) C. (3) 2 years 6 months (in two periods). (4) Burglary (probation). (5) Wild 'distractible, high spirited youth, with periods of excitement and depression. Irresponsible, irrational fears and nightmares, unstable and insecure. (6) F. dead. History of mischievousness and hooliganism. (c) El. (7) After 2 years to employment found by Q, which gave up (reasonably). Readmitted at own persistent request for further 6 months. Discharged by Q, as felt would not improve by staying and was growing afraid of outside world. (8) Sedative for short period, ineffective. Special attention from Camp Chief and Bursar. Occasional psychotherapeutic interviews, but no course. (9) Stole occasionally at camp when depressed. Some destructiveness of property when excited. Developed a vigorous personality and some capacity for leadership. Increased intellectual development, power of concentration and working. A good deal of his improvement lost during latter part of stay. (10) Q's contribution not so much relief of symptoms as providing suitable environment during very difficult adolescence, without which criminal career probable. Efforts to maintain contact fruitless. (11) (M.E.F.) Became unsettled by the intensity of his emotional attachment to the camp and difficulty of breaking away. The improvement and mental growth was probably real and is likely to become manifest later on. (See *Addenda*, p. 51)

#### CASE 44

(1) 20 6/12. (2) C. (3) 13 months. (4) "Nerves," shyness, unable to mix, anti-social impulses. (Own initiative and expense.) (5) Somewhat morose, few interests, inhibited. (6) Father died when subject 4. Lived alone recently. Attended nerve hospital as out-patient, where heard of Q two years before coming. A clerk. (c) Sec. (7) To temporary job found by Q, which enabled him to keep in touch. Then to join Forces as volunteer, Q approving. (9) (A) Much general improvement. More socialised, cheerful and friendly. Very happy in the Forces, doing clerical work. (h) Writes regularly. (10) Work programme and community life. (See *Appendix A*)

#### CASE 45

(1) 20. (2) ?. (3) 4 days. (4) "On enclosed premises" (probation). (5) See 3 and 6. (6) F. died when subject 4. Large family. Only known offence begging (probation), but probably an experienced criminal. Admitted as supposedly urgent case on trial during holiday season, when Hon. Sec. away, without usual examinations. Camp Chief away when offence (see 7) committed. (7) Arrested for breaking into public house with cases 16 and 47, two of our most promising members, for which all three were sent to Borstal. Q did not oppose in this case though we appealed (without success) for the other two. (See *Addenda*, p. 51)

#### CASE 46

(1) 16. 10/12 (2) C. (3) 1 year, 4 months. (4) "Personality difficulties." (5) Highly strung and sensitive. Somewhat effeminate, undeveloped and psycho- neurotic. A number of psychopathic and psychoneurotic symptoms. (6) M. died when subject very young. Family conflicts later. Screaming fits as child, ran away from various schools and foster homes. Some psychotherapy at child guidance clinic. (c) El. (7) To training (with scholarship) for artistic profession, arranged by Q, artistic tastes not having been suspected before. (8) Much special attention from Camp Chief and wife. (9) Considerable artistic sensibility discovered and developed. Retains defects of "artistic temperament," but is mature and self-supporting. (h) Sporadically. (See *Appendix A*)

#### CASE 47

(1) 17. (2) A (but see under 9). (3) 2 years, 4 months. (4) "Beyond parents' control." (5) Morose, inarticulate, violent temper, anti-social. Unable to work at anything more than an hour and practically unemployable, no interests, intense emotional conflicts with no means of expression, illiterate, intermittent stealing, were among the symptoms noticed at the camp. (6) Poor home. Family difficulties and had been much thrashed in childhood. "Unmanageable" from early age and stayed out all night from age of 12, "browbeats all at home" and "nuisance to neighbourhood." Stated to be always fighting and to have never kept a job. Ran away to army, but discharged as untrainable (Cp. *Addenda*, p. 51.) Period on probation while still at school, (c) El. (7) Joined in an escapade (during absence of Camp Chief and closure for holidays of painting school he attended) of breaking and entering public house, with cases 45 and 16, and was sent to Borstal by order of a court that probably disapproved of Hawkspur methods. Q deemed Borstal unsuitable and opposed, offering to readmit. Stolen goods were hidden and case 47 surrendered them and tried to assume whole responsibility. Publican later stated that he would not have called in the police had he suspected Hawkspur inmates. (8) Special teaching for reading difficulty, training in painting at Arthur Segal's school, who wrote: "If circumstances are favourable I am sure that ---- could become a remarkable artistic personality." Intermittent psychotherapy. Special attention from Camp Chief. (9) (A) Probably the most difficult and, in relation to difficulty, most successful case who passed through the camp, notwithstanding (7). Progress first clearly manifested after 18 months, when artistic talent uncovered and cultivated. Then marked improvement in all symptoms. Became articulate, intelligent in conversation, thoughtful, sensitive, industrious and much less unstable. But improvement had not had time to consolidate when arrested. Low (2) probably due to emotional difficulties and illiteracy, but was not retested. (B) and (C) Sent to Borstal and had become so far integrated that they pronounced him on admission "normal." Discharged after one year and immediately resumed contact with the painting school and members of Q organisation in London. While awaiting call-up his mother was ill and he nursed her and ran the house. Entered army and maintained contact when on leave, until London "Blitz," which rendered his Q friends temporarily inaccessible and in which his parents, brother and home were destroyed. No subsequent contact with Q. (11) (M.E.F.) This case is "Jim Payne" in Mr. Wills' book. (See *Addenda* and *Appendix A*)

#### CASE 48

(1) 29. (2) C. (3) 3 months. (4) Embezzlement, forgery, theft. (5) Charming personality, but facile and showing some anxiety and much guilt feeling. (6) Long history thefts and embezzlement, all hushed up. Trouble said to have followed operation at age of 4. Psychotherapy had been tried. (c) Sec. (7) Against Q's advice to look for work. (8) Psychotherapy once weekly. (9) Too short stay in view of age and history to expect change, but no later contact. Continued psychotherapy arranged by Q, with more frequent interviews.

#### CASE 49

(1) 20. (2) B. (3) 1 month. (4) Unwilling to work. (5) Abnormally childish and suggestible and inexperienced. (6) Only child. Mother and he tied to one another and neither wanted him to grow up. (c) El. (7) Ran back to mother, who kept him against Q's advice. (9) Mother reported "Improved out of all recognition," but Q sceptical. (h) Nil.



### **CASE 50**

(1) 21. (2) C. (3) 1-2 months, off and on, in residence, but frequent meetings with Camp Chief outside. (4) Personality difficulties, including inability to earn his living. (5) Psychoneurotic symptoms, inept in simplest practical matters, unable to mix with people of own age or younger, lacked volition, lived in past, too elegant. (6) Very unusual upbringing. Wealthy till aged 18, when left unprovided for and untrained. Supported by others till sent to Q Camp. (c) Sec. (7) Left against advice, but Q gave approval when found he had improved enough to get himself satisfactory job. (8) Special attention from Camp Chief and wife. Facilities for interests, especially literary and artistic. Cultural friendships in neighbourhood. (9) Not happy at camp, but marked general improvement. Supported himself various jobs for two years, then friends paid for his higher education and is now university undergraduate. Is mature and self-reliant. (h) Regular. (See *Appendix A*)

### **CASE 51**

(1) 22. (2) A. (3) 7 months. (4) Hypochondriac. (5) Pleasant, childish, anxious. (6) Step-father. Under care mental welfare association. Could not keep jobs. (c) El. (7) To mental hospital for melancholia, having made a suicidal attempt. (8) Some special attention of Camp Chief. (9) Had begun to show improvement and become cheerful and industrious, but sudden onset depression. Reported soon discharged from mental hospital. (11) Probably manic-depressive. (M.E.F.)

### **CASE 52**

(1) 23. (2) A. (3) Two periods, 2½ years and 4 months. (4) Theft from mother (probation). Long period of pilfering at home. (5) Extremely "shut-in." Depression. Inhibition against paid job, though not idle in camp, except during depressed periods. When was found jobs ran away from them. Mature and sensible in some respects. (6) Parents separated. Other family difficulties. (c) Sec. (7) Sent home by Q as closure imminent and unlikely to benefit further. (8) Operation for squint. Pronounced unsuitable for psychotherapy but occasional interviews. Tested in several jobs. (9) No offences. Became more socialised and responsible. Little real self-understanding owing to (2). (C) In Forces and apparently doing well in fairly responsible work of a kind in which developed interest while in camp. Mother reports satisfactory improvement. (h) Personal contact recently with Q. (10) More successful than we thought. Probably staff's continued belief in him, after failure, helped. Also share in government.

### **CASE 53**

(1) 24 5/12. (2) C. (3) 1 month. (4) Personality difficulties, including refusal to work. (5) Delusions. (6) Father died when subject 9. Symptoms started at 22. Out-patient at mental hospital. (7) Discharged by Q after month's trial as unsuitable on account of mental state.

### **CASE 54**

(1) 23. (2) B. (3) 1 day. (4) Refusal to earn living. (6) Lengthy treatment in nerve hospital for symptoms said to be partly organic and pronounced now fit for work. Had become hospitalised, would not believe that recovered. (7) Departed own accord. (9) Asked sponsors for employment, which was found and accepted. (11) (M.E.F.) Obviously only influence of the camp was to demonstrate to subject that physicians were sincere in believing him fit for work and not needing convalescent care.

### **CASE 55**

(1) 19 7/12. (2) A. (3) 2 weeks. (4) Thefts. (5) Excitable, emotional stress, slick. (6) Brought up by foster parents. Long history truancy, thieving, etc. Approved school and several periods probation. (7) Departed. (8) Psychotherapy intended. (9) No record but prognosis very bad.

### **CASE 56**

(1) 16 8/12. (2) C. (3) 9 months. (4) Beyond parents' control, sent by court. (5) Aggressive and violent. Unstable and various psychopathic symptoms.

Violent temper, but charming and friendly otherwise. (6) Very unsatisfactory childhood, though no great poverty and no parental separation. Long history tempers, violence, window smashing, etc. Always worse at home. Boarding-out tried. Short period at mental hospital as V.P., discharged "unimproved." Prison on remand as unsuitable for remand home. (c) El. and central. (7) Upset and hysterical at outbreak of war and went home, against advice, on visit. Became violent at home and was certified. (8) Some psychotherapeutic interviews and much special attention from Camp Chief. (9) Was improving and responding well to methods of camp. (h) Not recently.

**Notes on above by M.E.F.** I would refer the reader to section 1, p. 12, and to Section 2A, p. 15, where I discuss the type of person who is less suitable for treatment and also explain why, at this stage of an experiment, which it is hoped one day to resume, I do not feel prepared to discuss "the type of person who responds best to Q Camp methods". Moreover, as a further reason for reserve, I have stated (Section 1, p. 12) "we were too young and adventurous a body to receive many whose problems were recent or simple, or who were not other people's failures." Great care has been taken to treat the case histories with discretion, and much confidential matter has been excluded even though it may have an important bearing on causation and symptomatology, but naturally readers who were members will be able to recognise themselves and probably their contemporaries. It may be of interest, perhaps, to note that of the 16 cases believed *not* to have turned out satisfactorily, 10 were psychotic and five had deep-seated symptoms which required more intensive psychotherapy; i.e. belonged to the group 2 on p. 15, who were considered on theoretical grounds to be unsuitable (although a number belonging to this group did well), while one case stayed only four days. The members about whom we had this impression are Nos. 1, 12, 15, 21 22, 24, 29, 32, 34, 38, 42, 45, 51, 53, 55, 56. We cannot call all of these failures, since some were discharged as unsuitable after a period of trial, and some may have done better than we have been given to understand. Similarly in not all whose after-history was satisfactory can the improvement be attributed to Q Camp methods, for some stayed too short a time. It would be best on the whole to regard these summaries as illustrative of the kind of problem we had to tackle rather than to seek to draw too many statistical conclusions.

We found, as all observers have found, that the home background of nearly all lacked harmony, but as we made no new discoveries here I have not thought it necessary to give details. "Family discord" may be due to the subject's own peculiarities, although more often it was independent of him. It was tempting whenever a fact that was not confidential had an important influence to include it - e.g. "only child," "successful brother.--- But to include these and exclude such particulars as, e.g. "refugee from Nazi oppression" (which might give a clue for identification), "illegitimate," "drunken father", "nagging and neurotic mother," etc., would convey a less balanced idea than does vagueness. When a parent was absent altogether it has usually been stated. Our case files mostly contain detailed histories. For this pamphlet, however, we have concentrated on treatment and results, with just enough about the antecedents for the reader to form some picture of the kind of problem we were up against, but not enough for him to

know, to quote our chairman's foreword, "just how they got to be that way," important as that knowledge was for us who were dealing with them.

There is a point, however, to which I would like to draw attention, as it was rather unexpected. We realised that we differed from general custom in that not only was psychological knowledge applied in dealing with behaviour problems in lads who were not, in the ordinary use of the word, "nervous or mental," but this knowledge was applied with the advice and co-operation of trained psychiatrists. What the present writer, at least, did not expect, was the number of cases of gross mental illness - too serious for camp and in some cases even for consulting-room treatment - that went through the penal system without (apparently) diagnosis. In this connection I refer especially to cases 1, 22, 32, 38, 42, and perhaps 34, and if we included applicants who were rejected on mental grounds without being admitted on trial the number would, of course, be considerably higher.

## **SECTION 7 ADDENDA March, 1943**

### **CASE 1**

Continued to steal motor cars after discharge from Borstal. 3 convictions between December 1938, and joining army January 1940. Better in army, where driving a motor cycle, but conviction for car stealing, February 1941, when deserted from army. No later information.

### **CASE 3**

Social worker reports (March 1943) that he has been married two years, and is now in the Forces serving in Middle East.

### **CASE 16**

Discharged from Borstal Institution September 1939. Various temporary jobs till called up 1940. Conviction for car stealing and 9 months' sentence 1941, before and after which appears to have done satisfactorily in army. Last news September 1942.

### **CASE 32**

Certified and sent to a mental hospital from Borstal Institution. Some positive feelings shown by his phantasies of giving Hawkspur vast sums.

### **CASE 43**

Social worker reports (March 1943): No offences since leaving Hawkspur. "Apparently quite normal." Worked as labourer before joining army, 3 years ago. Now an N.C.O. serving in Middle East. "His letters home are interesting and show that he thinks a great deal of the welfare of his home." See p. 22.

### **CASE 45**

Discharged from Borstal Institution, September 1939. Medically unfit for the Forces. Several instances reported of "behaving badly" and 2 prison sentences, for "wilful damage" and for housebreaking. 12 months' sentence December 1941. No news since.

### **CASE 47**

Except for one relapse (3 months' sentence for larceny occurring 6 months after air raid tragedy. Full remission earned). Has done satisfactorily in army (c.f. under Case 47, p. 40, item 6). Is married. Volunteered for foreign service and was with 8th Army in Libya. Wounded November 1942. No further news. Described by social worker as "A rough type but possessing grit and determination." (See *Appendix A*)

## VIII

### THE BIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF Q CAMPS

By J. NORMAN GLAISTER

The social complications of this human life of ours are, beyond question, results of the activities of living matter; it follows that everything done by or to Q Camps as a social organisation, or by those connected with it as individuals, might be claimed as material for biological study in the broadest possible sense of the term. But the purposes of this short survey of the life of Q Camps are more specific and practical. They are:

(1) To state a *prima facie* case for the thesis that the continuance of the evolution of life on this earth is to be expected only if the direction and control of evolution is undertaken consciously by organised humanity; that upon men and women now living rests the responsibility for bringing into being a social organism which will provide each individual with opportunity and stimulus for living up to his highest possibilities, and which may be expected to develop in its corporate capacity patterns of life beautiful beyond our present understanding.

(2) To show that Q Camps has already made a small contribution towards the understanding, planning and execution of this task, and that it may perhaps be worth using again as a test-tube in the world-wide laboratory of those who are working to increase our knowledge and control of social forces.

(3) To urge that, if Q Camps has any such possibilities of continued usefulness, no effort should be spared in bringing the whole of its experience to the service of this task of creating a higher quality of individual and social life; for the social forces with which we are concerned will continue to be used ignorantly, irresponsibly and destructively if we do not learn, before it is too late, to reverse the degenerative process, to use them responsibly in the service of life.

#### What is Progress?

It would be ridiculous to try to set out here the full evidence for the biological thesis which I propound, but I shall try to state the conclusions reached in sufficient detail to give the reader not strongly prejudiced against those conclusions good ground for accepting them provisionally. The evidence is to be found in the manifestations of life around us; it has been most ably set forth in the writings of Professor Julian Huxley and it is upon his authority that I chiefly rely here. Perhaps the shortest convincing statement is his "Progress, Biological and Other" in "Essays of a Biologist." For a biologist's definition of "progress" I am also indebted to him. He says:

"During the course of evolution in time, there has been an increase in the control exerted by organisms over their environment, and in their independence with regard to it; there has been an increase in the harmony of the parts of organisms; and there has been an increase in the psychical powers of organisms. an increase of willing, of feeling, and of knowing . . . It is to this increase, continuous during evolutionary time, in the average and especially in the upper level of these properties that, I venture to think, the term biological progress can be properly applied."

Does this definition of progress, based primarily upon the observation of evolution in its lower ranges, seem to be applicable to the case of human life at the present day? I think most students of human affairs, innocent of any bias in favour of biological language, will agree that human progress has in the past been associated with changes of precisely these kinds. But what of the present and the future? An intelligent Nazi might argue that he is a progressive individual, struggling to increase his control over his environment, to increase his skill and efficiency, and to enlarge his capacity for willing, but (and the omission is significant), not also for feeling and knowing.

### **The Hope of Progress is in the Human Community**

The parting of the ways is precisely here. For the Nazi pseudo- biologist progress must mean an increase of these powers in certain individuals, the destiny of the mass of people being to serve the purposes of these superior lives rather than to build themselves into a social organism capable of initiating a new era of evolution by progressing as a unit of life in these specific ways.

For those who have eyes to see even a glimmer of the truth such dreams of resumed aggrandisement for individuals are pure illusion. The control of human environment has long since passed from the individual to the community, so that the direct environment with which each individual must make his personal adjustment has become the human community in which he lives; and there is no example of a multicellular organism which has made good except on the basis of a fully mutual interchange of benefits between the community and each individual. An organism in which the whole is exploited irresponsibly by a part has not proved capable of survival (e.g. the victim of a cancerous growth). The view that the unit of life which holds the possibility of further progress is the human community is also supported by Professor Huxley. After making it clear that we may well expect some further improvements in the capacity of individuals, within the framework of a progressive community *consciously providing the best possible conditions for the realisation of the possibilities of the individual lives within it*, he says ("Progress, Biological and Other," p. 50):

"Since the incidence of natural selection has fallen, from long before historical time, upon the community and its traditions far more than upon the individual, and since the conditions under which the possibilities of the individual can be even qualitatively realised have been rarely forthcoming, it is not surprising that the level of possibility itself has not been raised."

And (id. pp. 51-2):

"Since, however, the main stress in human evolution has been upon the community and its tradition, it is here that we shall expect to find most definite evidences of progress, and it is here that we do in fact find them. We have in the first place the increase of the size of units, familiar to us already in lower forms. We find an immense increase of control over environment - a theme so hackneyed as to need no labouring. We find an almost equally striking, if less spectacular, increase in independence. Man becomes less and less at the mercy of the forces of nature and other organisms, attains much more to self-regulation."

Professor Huxley sees that the hope of progress rests with the human community developing as a living organism, as opposed to the Nazi view of a superman parasitic upon his fellows. It is the biologist's way of expressing his confidence in democracy as opposed to dictatorship

## **Humanity must now assume conscious responsibility for evolution**

Progress thus defined is nothing different from evolution as understood by the biologist, and if this definition is accepted little argument is required to show that humanity must now assume conscious responsibility for evolution. I will content myself with one more quotation from Julian Huxley ("Preface, *Essays of a Biologist*," pp. 10 and 11):

"However, to most men at some time, and to some men at most times, these purely biological ends and purposes of life become altogether inadequate. They perceive the door opened to a thousand possibilities higher than this, all demanding to be satisfied. The realisation of what, for want of a better term, we can call spiritual values becomes the true end of life, superposed on and dominating the previous biological values.

"When civilisations and societies are organised so that their prime purpose is the pursuit of spiritual values, then life will have passed another critical point in its evolution; as always, what has gone before is necessary as foundation for what is coming, and the biological conditions must be fulfilled before the new and higher edifice can be built; but, as when the mammals superseded the reptiles, so this change of aim will mean the rise of a new type to be the dominant and highest form of life.

"This can only come about so far as man consciously attempts to make it come about . . . "Nature" will no longer do the work unaided. Nature – if by that we mean blind and non-conscious forces – has, marvellously, produced man and consciousness; they must carry on the task to new results which she alone can never reach."

Though it may well be said that the effective arguments are not mine but Professor Huxley's, I think it may be said truly that a *prima facie* case has been made for the thesis that enlightened men and women can no longer escape the responsibility of mastering the technique by which Nature has achieved our present level of life, and of using it deliberately in order to reach yet greater achievements in the future.

### **What can we learn from Q Camps?**

It is perhaps reasonable to hope that a few of those who have read the foregoing had already reached very similar conclusions, or find that their own experience and observation of life enable them to accept them now. It is not to be expected that those to whom such conceptions of world order are quite new will accept them forthwith, but most of these who have been interested in the Q experiment will want to know what we have in fact learnt from it, however the facts may be interpreted.

I think the outstanding lesson of Q centres round the instinctive craving of a gregarious creature to be accepted and valued by his fellows. The men selected for admission to the Hawkspur Camp were wanted by the Committee of Management; they were welcomed by the Camp Chief and his staff, who looked for and found likeable human qualities in them and looked forward to the pleasure of seeing them increase in sociability as many others had done. They were accepted by their fellow members with a measure of cordiality roughly corresponding with their social attractiveness. Most of them had been unwanted in a previous social environment, and many could not believe that the friendship now offered to them was sincere nor that the camp community had a real use for them. The extent to which a man came to be valued and to know that he was valued in the camp became the measure of the success of his treatment there.

There was evidence that some men regarded the possibility of expulsion with dread as an extremely severe punishment, so much so in some cases that they were compelled to act offensively in order to put the question of their being wanted to a final test. The dramatic relief of their anxiety when they found the friendliness of the staff undiminished afforded a measure of their need to feel themselves wanted.

Another point learnt was that the men worked better with a money incentive (Sections 5 and 3). It seems possible that this may have some connection with the regular use of money, in the world known to our men, as a measure of the value placed by his fellows on a man and his work.

A distinctive feature of Q has been the pioneer experience in camp. It was considered very desirable that the men should build their camp and continue to increase its amenities by their communal work. A sound roof, a vegetable garden, water supplied through pipes, a bath-house with hot water - the man working on any one of these is doing something valued by his fellows, the advantage of which he will share with them.

Dr. Franklin has indicated that Q does not claim to have discovered any new principle or used any new instrument of treatment; it does claim to have achieved a real synthesis of sound theory with bold practice, of painstaking study of behaviour with personal regard and consideration for those whose conduct is studied. Similarly, the emergence of a craving to be wanted is neither new nor surprising, but it is nonetheless important; for, though social science has emphasised it, society has, for the most part, ignored it in practice, and the success of Q Camps in applying it has been such as to encourage its wider application. Of the 17 "instruments of treatment" listed by Dr. Franklin as having in fact been in use in Q Camp no fewer than 12 represent some aspect of this need to be valued, to have a responsible function in one's social group, to feel that one's opinions as to how the community may best use its powers is taken into account in the shaping of action, viz., 1-9 and 11-13. See pp. 17-19.

I do not think anyone who knew Hawkspur Camp in action will doubt that the foundation laid should be used for a further building and that the effort to keep the Q organisation ready to go into action at the earliest possible moment is well worth while. If the demand for the extension of the methods of Q Camps should become such as to justify the opening of many camps, for other age groups and both sexes, many opportunities for further enrichment of life in the camps would present themselves.

### **The contribution of delinquents, as such, to social life**

So we have offered to these young fellows a place in a society which wants them, and they have responded happily. For those whose experience of life has made them suspicious and hostile such treatment is beyond question more rational than deliberately to inflict upon them humiliations and punishments which will necessarily increase their resentment. But the law is concerned not only with the treatment of delinquents, but also with the deterrent effect of the punishment of

law-breakers who are caught upon potential law-breakers who are never caught, and here it is possible to make some sort of a case for punishment. In our present state of society we may be fairly certain that there are some hundreds of thousands of law-abiding citizens who would be ready to rob or otherwise injure their neighbours if they thought they could do so with impunity; they are deterred by the spectacle of delinquents caught and punished. Those delinquents, who have not been deterred by the threat of punishment may not unreasonably be regarded as playing an essential part in our legal system. If we demand – as we do - that as an act of simple justice they should be given the opportunity to take their proper place in society, we cannot be altogether unconcerned about the need to find an alternative method of dealing with the anti- social tendencies of those who have heretofore been restrained by the fear of punishment. And the main lesson taught by Q Camps is applicable here also.

### **The lesson of Q applied to Social Reform**

Hawkspur Camp was a therapeutic institution, not a model community (Dr. Franklin, p. 17). Nevertheless, it was in one respect biologically in advance of society at large, in that it offered to each member a full mutual partnership with the group as such. The individual member was invited to plan and work for the welfare of the whole community, but on occasion the whole community might address itself to the welfare of that individual. Of course, there were at every moment some members incapable of devoting themselves to any social group, and some who could not interest themselves in anyone's welfare but their own, and it was seldom or never considered desirable to discuss private problems in public, but the Camp Chief was ready at need to devote all available resources to solving an individual difficulty, and the members in general were ready to back him up.

Nothing less than a similarly benevolent attitude on the part of the State towards each individual can be expected to influence anti-social self-seekers favourably. So long as authority demands payment of taxes, steady work, obedience to prohibitive laws and conformity to conventions on pain of punishment, while showing no interest in the citizen as an individual, in his preferences in work, his personal difficulties and ambitions, or his criticisms of convention, so long will he respond by giving as little as possible and getting all he can. When Government has developed an organisation through which any citizen may approach it as a matter of course *on his own business*, then anti-social individuals will apply to it in the hope of furthering their personal interests; and if this new "Ministry of Individual Approach" is efficient it will discover desires in the applicant which can be satisfied with advantage to the public.'

What is more important, public-spirited citizens will come to it to ask that a way may be found for them to make their best possible contribution to the general welfare. In fact, by the creation of such an organ

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'One wonders if an "ombudsman", if or when appointed (as has been proposed by the present Government) will include among his activities these suggestions of Dr. Glaister's (Ed. 1966)



for the influencing of the state by individuals, we shall have taken the first step towards bringing into being a social organism which will provide each individual with opportunity and stimulus for living up to his highest possibilities, and which may be expected to develop in its corporate capacity patterns of life beautiful beyond our present understanding.

## IX

### **GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PLACE OF Q CAMPS IN PENAL REFORM**

By HERMANN MANNHEIM

My qualification for writing this concluding section is mainly the negative one that I have been connected with Q Camps much less intimately than my colleagues and may, for this very reason, perhaps, be able to give a more detached and impersonal estimate of its activities than those who are its lawful parents or godparents. My interest in Q Camps, it is true, goes back, if not to its pre-historic days, at least to the year 1937, when I began to attend some of the meetings. In the following year, I visited the camp and the "White House" and invited the Camp Chief to talk about his work to members of my Seminar at the London School of Economics. This first, and very successful, contact between the University study of delinquency and Q was soon renewed and may have given many of the students some foretaste of certain practical difficulties which beset the path of the "penal reformer" who has to rely mainly upon his own resources. Such experiences, together with frequent discussions with leading members of the organisation, convinced me of the great potentialities of this experiment, and in 1940 I had the privilege of being elected a member of the Committee. Since then I have taken a modest share in their efforts to keep the spirit of Q alive and to prepare for the time when it will again become possible to use its services for the work of reclamation.

There are a few questions to which the reader of the foregoing sections may still want an answer: What are the distinguishing features of Q, as compared with other similar experiments, and where will be its place among future methods of dealing with a-social and anti-social behaviour?

As an unconventional attempt to re-educate young people of the "behaviour problem" type - whether or not officially labelled as "delinquents" - Q Camp might, at the first glance, be associated with such well-known places as Homer Lane's Little Commonwealth, the Caldecott Community, the George Junior Republic at Freeville, New York, the Californian Forestry Camps, August Aichhorn's Training School, and Anton Makarenko's Gorki Colony near Kharkov, the famous model of the "Road to Life". Yet, in spite of obvious similarities, among which might be ranked first the spirit of brotherly love and shared responsibility, many important differences lean to the eve. Only the most elementary of them can here be touched upon. Needless to say,

to emphasise such differences implies no disparagement, and frequently even no criticism, of other systems. Q Camp principles are in no way intended as a panacea. Nothing is more needed in this field than manifoldness of methods to cope with the unending variety of individuals. "Homer Lane was the root and inspiration of all our work at Hawkspur Camp," writes Mr. Wills, in his book, and other founders of Q Camps may have had other models in mind, as for instance the Grith Pioneers alluded to in the introduction, p. 10, or Aichhorn's work. Nevertheless, how many contrasts are there even in essentials: At Hawkspur Camp, ages ranged officially from 16½ to 25, and there were actually even several members up to the age of 29; less than one-third were under 18 and two-fifths over 21. The Little Commonwealth was intended for lower age groups, mainly between 14 and 18, and, like the Gorki Colony, even admitted a number of young children. Still more is this true of the Caldecott Community. As a consequence, all these institutions have, or had, to forego those very primitive forms of living which were an essential characteristic of Hawkspur. Commonwealth citizens went to live at a farm with, it seems, adequate buildings; Makarenko established his colony in five dilapidated brick barracks, and later on he managed to take possession of an unoccupied estate. No deserted farm happened to be in the neighbourhood of Hawkspur, and, as at the beginnings of North Sea Camp Borstal, for a considerable time members and staff had to live in tents (viz. from May to November of the first year). On the other hand, those bold and imaginative pioneer enterprises that would seem to bear the closest resemblance to Hawkspur in this particular aspect, North Sea Camp and the Californian Forestry Camp,\* are not only larger in size but have behind them all the material resources of the State, which provides an element of stability absent at Q Camps, although knowledge of the risk of closing through lack of funds was kept from the members. A remark like the one we find in one of the earlier Annual Reports of Q, that work was held up "because there simply was not the money with which to buy materials for construction," almost reminds us of Makarenko's "idiotic poverty of those early days." Primitive conditions, accentuated by handicaps of this kind, may not only strengthen the bonds of affection between members and staff and the will to overcome difficulties and to achieve something positive, but may also go a long way to satisfy the need for punishment on the part of the individual and of society. All this, with the proviso, of course, which is sometimes forgotten, that even complete absence of the amenities of life is in itself no guarantee of success.

The Little Commonwealth had co-education, and so have the Caldecott Community, the George Junior Republic and Gorki. For the reasons indicated in Section 2, there was none of it at Hawkspur. We appreciate its value and would wish to see it being used wherever possible, but we realise that, in the circumstances, it would have been premature. Considering the many opportunities of mixing with women outside the camp, the voluntary character and the comparatively short duration of residence - 19 inmates stayed for less than three months,

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\*For information on the latter the writer is much indebted to Mr. John R. Ellingston, of the American Law Institute, Philadelphia.

another 18 for less than one year, and only 19 for more than one year, some of them with intervals - the matter was perhaps less burning than at long-term institutions. By the way, considering the roughness of camp life and the absence of compulsion, even the above figures are greatly to the credit of members and staff alike.

Students of institutional systems will be particularly interested to compare the scheme of shared responsibility as applied at Hawkspur (see Section 2A, "Instruments of Treatment," No. 9, and Sections 3, 6 and 8) with corresponding schemes in other places. Considering, however, the view expressed by the author of a volume of 600 pages on "Reformatories for Women in the United States" that "a full discussion of all that has been said about self-government would be out of proportion to the rest of this study" the present writer hopes to be forgiven if his remarks on this difficult and controversial subject should hardly scratch the surface. It is a subject that, ever since the days of William George and Thomas Mott Osborne, has been recognised as one of the crucial tests of progressive institutional methods, though there exists much confused thinking as to the exact meaning of the term. "Self-government" of inmates in its literal sense is to be found nowhere outside Soviet Russia, and other more cautious terms, such as "inmate participation" or "shared responsibility" are therefore more appropriate. Such participation can apply to all or only one or two of the three traditional functions of government, the legislative, judicial and administrative. How far one may safely go in transferring some of these functions to inmates will largely depend upon their age, sex, and character, on the size and spirit of the institution, and the ability of the staff to achieve their essential objectives without a formal show of authority. As a cautious form of inmate participation in the administrative sphere, in some of the Borstals and Approved Schools "house captains," "prefects" or "leaders" are appointed by the head of the institution. The Californian Forestry Camps have developed a "tribal" form of government with boy leaders, appointed by the Camp Director, who have a voice in camp affairs without any disciplinary authority over their fellows. In some American prisons, notably at the so-called "Community Prison" at Norfolk, Massachusetts, and several American Reformatories and State Training Schools for delinquent children, councils, elected by the inmates, are in operation with varying rights and duties, usually in respect to the running of kitchen, canteen, sport and other leisure-time activities. More elaborate are the methods reported from the Little Commonwealth, Gorki, Freeville, and at the Red Hill School, East Sutton, Kent, which is under the direction of a member of the Q Camps Committee, Mr. Otto L. Shaw.\* Greatly as they differ from one another, they have in common the existence of an Inmates' Court, with more or less detailed rules of procedure and varying scope of jurisdiction. Apart from this, there was apparently not much self-government at Gorki, at least until 1923, when Anton Makarenko's book ends. Not only did he believe in the need for discipline and the use of force "until a community spirit is developed": the right of punishment and of expulsion rested in his

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\*Described in Mr. Shaw's interesting little book, "School Discipline. A Practical Application of Evolved Social-Legal Methods."

hands, and he expressed some regret when the appointment of "commanders" passed to the "Soviet" of members. By far the most comprehensive scheme of all is the one evolved at the George Junior Republic, as it implies complete powers of legislation, jurisdiction and executive with full economic self-responsibility, mitigated by appeals for contributions from the public. To outside observers, this system may appear somewhat too artificial and ready-made in its willingness to adopt all the shortcomings of the world at large. One has to realise, however, that the present state of affairs has been reached after 40 years of growth, the initial stages of which may not have been all plain sailing.

Seen in this setting, "shared responsibility" at Hawkspur stands somewhere between the extremes. There was neither a "leader" system nor a full-grown "republic". The chief characteristic may be regarded to be its experimenting spirit which, by a continuous process of trial and error, led the members through almost every conceivable form of government. Brief spells of anarchy or dictatorship were followed by various types of constitutionalism, the Camp Council exercising the usual three functions of government, with the over-ruling powers of the Camp Chief and the Q Camps Committee kept as discreetly as possible in the background. To a limited extent, the idea of economic self-responsibility of each member was adopted, including even, as at Freeville, the "Poor Law" for those who "did not want to work." On the other hand, no exaggerated significance was attached to economic aspects at the expense of an all-round development of the personality. An ingenious combination was finally arrived at of the planned, paid and compulsory part of the work programme, performed in the morning and catering for the individual's need of security, and the unplanned, unpaid and voluntary activities of the afternoon, devoted chiefly to the spontaneous development of the personality. To regard the system as described in this pamphlet as the final word would be to misinterpret its spirit. "Shared responsibility" was largely worked out in co-operation between members and staff, and any important change in personnel was bound to affect its practical working for good or evil. Not rigidity but constant evolution must remain its essence.

What may be regarded as one of the most original and valuable features of Q Camps is its way of tackling the difficulties inherent in the psychological treatment of delinquents. In many institutions facilities for such treatment are either entirely absent or, where they exist, their incorporation into the whole system is usually on different lines. Two potential risks, it seems, have to be faced, though both of them can be neutralised by skilful handling: The one may be present in places where psychological treatment is given outside the institution or by a visiting specialist. Under this arrangement, occasionally the link between institution and psychologist may not be sufficiently strong and organic to provide the expert with that intimate knowledge of its communal life and spirit which he needs and to secure the sympathetic and efficient co-operation of the resident staff. Consequently, the patient's loyalties may become divided between psychologist and institution and his feeling of security and his confidence in the result may be undermined. The opposite difficulty may arise in places where treatment is given within the institution by a resident specialist. If the institution is small and

the treatment intensive, the emotional temperature of the place may be raised to a permanent and unhealthy fever-pitch. The larger the institution, the shorter the average period of residence and the less intense the methods of treatment applied the easier will it be to evade this danger. Under the system as applied at Hawkspur the advantages of these two methods seem to have been skilfully combined and their potential shortcomings eluded. In view of its smallness, the last mentioned risk had to be regarded as the greater; moreover, to secure the full-time services of a resident medico-psychologist would have been impracticable anyhow. Therefore, the other system was adopted, but with Camp Chief, treatment committee and treatment experts all working together as one organically united body, allowing for as much local separation between them as necessary to avoid tension. All this could be achieved only through well thought-out organisation, through utter devotion and mutual understanding between those concerned; and, lastly, because of the smallness of numbers of inmates (never more than 20 at a time) in proportion to the available body of voluntary part-time experts, for which the credit was due to the medical members of the Treatment Committee and to the I.S.T.D.

As the brief case histories in Section 7 indicate, the human material, valuable and worth saving though it was, cannot throughout be regarded as promising from the treatment point of view. As stressed by Dr. Franklin, experimental units of the Q type, just as newly founded Child Guidance Clinics, are likely to receive "other people's failures," who do not become any easier through their previous experiences. As compared with those of ordinary reformatory institutions the members show certain deviations. Not with regard to the frequency of "broken homes" or similar family troubles among them (which are apparent in at least two-thirds of all cases), but in their mental, educational and emotional make-up: An I.Q. of more than 100 was ascertained by mental testing in ca. 44% and estimated without test in ca. 16%, both together comprising 60% of the cases, which far exceeds the usual level, whereas only ca. 15% had an I.Q. of under 86.<sup>1</sup> About 40% of the members had a secondary education, which again is entirely atypical (it may be recalled that in a group of 606 ex-Borstal boys whose records were analysed by the writer, the corresponding figure was 2.6%). Moreover, the case histories given above, in spite of their extreme briefness, show beyond doubt that a very high proportion of members were psychotics or borderline psychotics of a type generally regarded as unsuitable for camp life and Q methods (see also Section 2 A). In this respect, Hawkspur shared the fate of other adventurous enterprises in this field, as, for instance, of the Californian Forestry Camps; in its desire to be of practical help in cases abandoned as hopeless by everybody else it had, occasionally, to act against its own regulations. This, among other factors, should be duly taken into account when the common yardstick of "success" and "failure" is applied. The figures given at the end of Section 7 (among 16 with unsatisfactory after-histories, 10 psychotics and five showing deep-seated symptoms) conform very closely

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<sup>1</sup>Only in special circumstances were applicants admitted with an I.Q. below 86. (Ed. 1966)

to the general experience that recidivists are mainly recruited from the psychotic and psychopathic groups. It may suffice to quote from one of the famous follow-up studies made by Professor Sheldon Glueck and Dr. Eleanor Glueck, of Harvard University ("Later Criminal Careers," 1937): out of ca. 500 young adult male offenders, followed up over a period of 15 years after leaving the Massachusetts Reformatory, only 15% of the successes, but no less than 90% of the failures showed some psychiatric symptoms.

Whether, on the basis of such facts as are here presented, Q Camp methods as such can be called an unqualified success, it is for others to say. They will have to consider, above all, that the experiment was abruptly terminated by the war after only four years of practical work, which is not enough for any final judgement. Borstal can look back upon some decades of slow and steady development; the Californian Forestry Camps have now behind them about 10 years of trial and error; and the George Junior Republic, too, seems to have needed an experimental period of considerable length. It is probable that Q methods will have to undergo certain changes if it should become possible to make a fresh start. No definite programme has as yet been worked out by the Committee, but attention may be drawn to the hints given by Mr. Wills in the concluding chapter of his book. Primitivity of life, for instance, though it should always remain an essential feature of Q, might not necessarily have to be adhered to over the whole period of an individual member's stay; with an expansion of the whole scheme it might become advisable to introduce a greater variety of methods, to be applied either simultaneously or one after the other, without destroying any vital characteristics. This would also facilitate the inclusion of younger age groups (which the Committee hope to do in the near future) and closer co-operation with other branches of the reformatory system. Within the framework of the present system of dealing with behaviour problems in the young, Q might most fittingly be brought under Section 80 of the Education Act, 1921, and also under the category of Probation Homes and Hostels, and, given a certain relaxation of their regulations, it should not prove impossible to gain official recognition as such. Likewise, if the conception of Howard Houses, as envisaged by the Criminal Justice Bill of 1938, should be slightly adapted to the needs of the future, the gap between them and Q might easily be bridged.

Inevitably, considerations of this kind lead up to a final problem of very general significance, on which a few words may seem not altogether out of place. Assuming that the methods evolved by Q should in future enjoy an even more widespread approval on the part of the community than hitherto, can a case be made out for its continued existence as a private concern, or should it rather be absorbed into the State reformatory system? English methods of dealing with the lawbreaker offer a particularly interesting example of struggle and compromise between the ideas of State ownership and management and private enterprise. There is an extraordinary wealth of types, ranging now from the one extreme of State owned and managed Prisons and Borstals to the other extreme, represented by Q Camps and others, of an entirely private organisation without official sanction or control, supported by subscriptions, donations, and maintenance fees paid either

by the inmates, their relations or friends, or by the authorities sending them. Somewhere between stand the Approved Schools, owned and managed by local authorities or private committees, with 100 per cent. State or local authority grant and correspondingly strong State supervision; the Remand Homes; and the privately owned and managed Probation Homes and Hostels, receiving smaller State grants with correspondingly less intense State supervision. The Probation Service, out of entirely unofficial beginnings, has, in the end, been taken over by the authorities, and its complete nationalisation is under discussion. Lastly, the After-Care systems show hardly less variety than the institutions. No doubt, the future trend of policy will go in the direction towards further strengthening of State influence, whether this may imply State ownership or only State management. Will this mean the unconditional extinction of the small, privately owned and run, experimental unit? Just as within the new structure of social services recommended by the Beveridge Report, its continuation can be justified only if it should have to contribute something unique, which the State as such is unable to provide. After a long and chequered history, the treatment of crime and delinquency has now come to be regarded as the domain of the State, and, as a rule, there is no reason why the State should be incapable of performing, even more efficiently, the work of private agencies. The Borstal system, the New Hall Camp at Wakefield, and just now the Classifying Centres for Approved Schools in this country; the Norfolk Community Prison, the Californian Forestry Camps and other modern institutions in the U.S.A.; Bolshevo and the Gorki Colony in Russia - to give only a few recent examples - they all show that the State can work out new methods and that it can experiment, sometimes even in advance of public opinion. Nevertheless, State departments may be hampered by red tape and Treasury control; their tempo may be somewhat slow, their schemes too rigid and uniform, and they may have to avoid taking really big risks. Certain minimum standards of material comfort may have to be insisted upon in State institutions, whereas outsiders may occasionally be able to dispense with them in the interest of pioneering, if there are sufficient compensations in the spiritual sphere. Or, new and unorthodox ideas in the field of psychological treatment may need a place where their value can be tried out without committing the State penal system. Moreover, psychological methods of treating the law-breaker, who is, more often than not, an "unwilling patient" (to refer to the masterly analysis of this type made not long ago by an absent member of the Q Camps Committee, Dr. Denis Carroll, and other medical-psychologists), may be the more successful the less the element of coercion becomes visible. Its absence, among other factors, has probably been a contributory cause of the success of the I.S.T.D. At Hawkspur, where delinquent and non-delinquent cases were represented in exactly equal numbers and even many of the former came of their own accord, this voluntariness was stressed more than anywhere else - voluntariness not only in the sense that the individual member joined the camp without being forced to, but also that he was voluntarily accepted by Committee and staff instead of being imposed on them. Something of this spirit, it is true, can be found in the open Borstals as well. It is, however, more difficult

to keep up the appearance of voluntariness in State institutions than in others.

Reflections of this kind might be put forward to justify the continuance of that category of private institutions to which Q belongs, provided they are kept not as relics of the past but as truly experimental units and pioneers of the future. Only to the extent that they live up to such expectations will they be able to vindicate Cyril Burt's dictum that "nothing can take the place of these voluntary ventures."

Of course, in an age when the sources of private generosity are drying up, the preservation of such experimental units will become impossible unless State support, in one form or other, is available to compensate for the loss of those long lists of subscribers and donors on whom they have hitherto been dependent. In future, the State will have to step in at an earlier stage than up to recently when it was largely content to confine itself to the taking over or subsidising of those private ventures whose practical worth was already established beyond doubt.

As in any other field of expanded State activity, boldness, though never entirely without risks, will have ample rewards in penal reform.



## "After Fifteen Years"

### EXTRACT FROM A POSTSCRIPT WRITTEN IN 1955

By HERMANN MANNHEIM

[(Ed. 1966) Dr. Mannheim's contribution was reprinted, with some cuts, in his book "Group Problems in Crime and Punishment", Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955. The following is a quotation, included with Dr. Mannheim's kind permission, from a foreword to his article as it appeared in that book.]

". . . On further reflection, after a lapse of fifteen years since the closing down of Hawkspur Camp, it can be said without exaggeration that many of the ideas upon which the Camp was founded have gained widespread acceptance. 'Instruments of Treatment', as Dr. Franklin calls them in her section, such as 'pioneering', absence of regular use of punishment, informal relations between members and staff, shared responsibility (not 'self-government') to the development of which David Wills has made lasting contributions, and many others have become integral parts of the programme of every progressive training school. No doubt, some of these principles had been known and applied before Q Camp by the pioneers to whom acknowledgement is made throughout the booklet. The work of Hawkspur Camp, however, carried on up to the present day with due adaptations in different places by David Wills and his pupils and by Marjorie Franklin has helped to keep these ideas alive and to demonstrate their practical worth. In particular, the Schools for Maladjusted Children, established in connection with section 33 of the Education Act, 1944, have taken over some of the principles and of the staffs trained by former members of the Q Camps Committee."

## APPENDIX A (1966)

### FOLLOW-UP NOTES ON MEMBERS

Information obtained between publication of the first edition of this book and November 1966.

#### 1. Between March 1943 and end of 1944

Recorded in the pamphlet "Q Camp for Boys" which states "only changes are mentioned, those continuing as before are not reported on again in this group".

**Case 5.** Has resumed contact and is engaged in responsible social work.

**Case 6.** Has resumed contact. Is married and self-supporting.

**Case 21.** Has resumed contact. Self-supporting in artistic profession.

**Case 40.** Has relapsed.

**Case 44.** Is now a non-commissioned officer.

**Case 46.** Contact more frequent. Is self-supporting.

**Case 47.** Resumed contact with one of Q committee and corresponded fairly frequently with him. Happily married, child. Has served on several fronts and is still serving abroad.

#### 2. Dates uncertain, probably between 1945 and 1955

Information by M. E. Franklin

**Case 5.** Known to have had one relapse but now in domestic work and apparently satisfactory.

**Case 19.** Relapsed and entered a mental hospital.

**Case 20.** Was in occasional touch. Steady work in a professional craft and teaching, married.

**Case 31.** Social worker reported he is quite satisfactory, married and working.

**Case 44.** In touch occasionally.

**Case 47.** M.E.F. visited him soon after war. Living happily in well kept pre-fab cottage with wife, daughter of seven and baby. Their second child died as result of bombing. Previously both parents and a brother killed in raid. He had been wounded and a prisoner of war. Now seems a responsible person and working steadily as a house painter. Describes headaches and a few symptoms.

#### Notes on members contacted during the last ten years up to present time

(November 1966) by W. D. Wills

**Case 5.** Now working apparently successfully in residential social work.

**Case 11.** Happily married and has been working for fifteen years in the same job with a local authority.

**Case 13.** Happily married and a proud grandfather. Has an important executive position in industry calling for much drive and initiative. Still in touch.

**Case 20.** Believed still to be working in the same profession.

**Case 28.** Happily married and successfully settled in a middle-class job.

**Case 44.** Farming in Rhodesia.

**Case 46.** Domestic and employment situations highly satisfactory. Still in touch.

**Case 50.** Has pursued an academic career in literary research. Still in touch.

## APPENDIX B

Extract from **Memorandum on Proposed Q Camp for Offenders against the Law and others Socially Inadequate**", July, 1935.

**Note.** The "Memorandum" is referred to on page 11 and elsewhere. The first issue included an invitation to a meeting held at Dr. Glaister's consulting room on May 3rd, 1935. Mr. Wills attended, having met the committee earlier. The Memorandum is too long to include in its entirety, but an extract is given from a later, slightly modified, issue of July 1935 (the previous issue being lost). The stencilled copy is signed by the members of the Q Camps Committee and by the Chairman, Mr. Finch, of Grith Fyrd. Mr. Wills' name is added in pencil. He joined the committee then as prospective Camp Chief and, after a year of discussion and planning, Hawkspur Camp was opened on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1936, and Mr. Wills and his colleagues began to give life to the bare bones of the scheme. The extracts deal with some points less fully discussed elsewhere and may be of interest. (Ed. 1966)

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### FROM THE "MEMORANDUM" OF JULY 1935

**"Purpose** . . It is anticipated that when traditions have been established and experience gained in the practical working of the scheme it will be possible to accept candidates of a more difficult type than in the early days. Without entertaining extravagant hopes of profound character change in young adults through education and environment, it may reasonably be expected that improvement in self-control, social behaviour, physical health, mental alertness and general outlook will accrue.

The aim in short is to discover and give scope and encouragement to those assets and talents possessed by the men which make for good citizen-ship, to stimulate a desire for this and restore self-respect and usefulness ....

**Psychological Co-operation.** It is hoped to work in co-operation with psychological specialists and with an organisation such as the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency.<sup>1</sup> The camp might form a useful bridge to ordinary life in after-treatment following a course of psychotherapy. While intensive psychotherapy will not be practicable, diagnosis, advice, and guidance by specialists should be available. The camp should be at such a distance from London that visits for this purpose may be possible.

**Curriculum.** This should include various kinds of open air work – if possible, elementary farm work, handicrafts, games, drama, music, educational classes, and debates. An important part would be the provision of the community's essential needs and amenities, which would be of the simplest.

The construction of the camp and much of the furnishing, etc., would be done by the members themselves, assisted by members of Grith Fyrd<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Now Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency. (Ed. 1966)

<sup>2</sup>See p. 10. (Ed. 1966)

and others. In addition to production for their own use, there might be some exchange with other camps of the Grith Fyrd organisation.

It is not proposed that produce will be used commercially for two main reasons: (a) to avoid unfair competition with industry by subsidised workers, which would contradict that appreciation of good citizenship and the interests of others which it is intended to foster; (b) because the small economy this would bring about would be more than counterbalanced by the consequent interference with the general educational plan. It would necessitate over-concentration of effort and resources in one or two directions at considerable initial expense and doubtful profit. It seems likely that one of the good influences of the camp will be the experience of doing and making things which are of social value without reference to their use for the acquisition of money. Pocket money will be given.

**Vocational Training.** It is desirable that men should be able to earn their living when they leave the camp; that is to say, that the unemployable should become employable and be able to retain a job which they have the skill and knowledge to do, and to take advantage of opportunities for training. Technical training involving highly skilled paid instructors, expensive modern machinery, etc., is obviously outside the scope of a private enterprise of this nature. Much of the educational value of the camp will lie in the direct contact with primitive conditions and the use of make-shifts and home made apparatus and some small experience of that struggle with natural forces which appeals so strongly when seen on the films. At the same time skilled hand-workers not requiring elaborate machinery - carpenters, etc. - will have opportunities of utilising and developing their skill for the good of the community, and others of acquiring the rudiments of a congenial trade which should make them useful beginners in industrial or agricultural life. If opportunities presented themselves for more than this, they would be welcomed. Brain workers, while sharing in the physical labours of camp life, should also be encouraged to develop their powers. The chief aim, however, is to provide what may be called an adult school in social adjustment and community living . . . . .

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