

Chris Leonards

# Visitors to the International Penitentiary Congress

A Transnational Platform Dealing with Penitentiary Care

*Abstract: Visitors to the International Penitentiary Congress. A Transnational Platform Dealing with Penitentiary Care.* This contribution looks at foreign visitors and organisers of a selection of penitentiary congress sessions between 1880 and 1910. Using lists of members from the congress proceedings, it seeks to assess the relative importance of civil society and governmental visitors at the penitentiary congress sessions, seen as an emerging expert platform of private and public stakeholders in social welfare. Several empirical approaches towards a clear division between public and private stakeholders are presented, experimentally using networking-, named entity recognition- and visualisation techniques. The article argues that in the historical context of the penitentiary congress a clear antithetical division of public and private stakeholders is difficult to sustain. Instead it proposes a more dynamic characterisation of the penitentiary congress visitors where, gradually by the turn of the century, elements of the philanthropic and governmental merge into the hybrid type of the all-round penitentiary expert, well connected to governmental circles and well-versed in philanthropic considerations.

*Key Words:* Penitentiary congress, 1880–1910, visitors, philanthropists, civil society organisations, governmental representatives, expertise

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Chris G.T.M. Leonards, Department of History, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, Maastricht University (the Netherlands); [chris.leonards@maastrichtuniversity.nl](mailto:chris.leonards@maastrichtuniversity.nl)

## 1. Introduction

In the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginnings of the twentieth century, until 1914, an abundance of ever more specialised international congresses and conferences have taken place in the central cities of Europe.<sup>1</sup> For instance in the 1880–1920 period approximately 3.500 congress sessions have been organised, of which around 1.500 were related to philanthropic, social care issues.<sup>2</sup> These international congresses on social care are an invaluable source for studying similarities and differences of welfare state arrangements in Europe<sup>3</sup> and are a fascinating platform to do research on how 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century private and public stakeholders in social welfare have cooperated and competed in drafting new ideas and policy recommendations for social assistance and insurances, anti-slavery, alcohol misuse and temperance, penitentiary reform, hygiene, demography, peace, sanitary issues, statistics and many more.

In order to investigate the nature of a relationship between philanthropic and public stakeholders we here focus on foreign visitors to the International Penitentiary Congress. Dealing with all kinds of issues related to penal law, prisons, penitentiary systems, moral reform, discernment, preventive measures and care for children and minors, etc., this typically is a platform where public and private stakeholders met to cooperate and compete on issues which from a present day view may be on a government's plate, but in a contemporary perspective were a contested area, where governments were gradually taking up responsibilities and other actors were pushing for a much more philanthropic nature of penitentiary interventions.

We need to explain why we focus on *foreign* visitors only, and not *all* visitors present at the congress sessions of the *Congrès Pénitentiaire International*. As this collection of penitentiary congresses is but a small part of our greater endeavour to study some thirty social reform congresses between 1820 and 1920, one self-evident and rather mundane reason is that we did not have the working power to extract data on the local visitors to a congress session taking place in a city in their home country. As a rule of thumb one may assume that the ratio of foreign versus local visitors often may have been 1:2 or even 1:3. But there is also a more content-related reason to opt for not incorporating the locals. Our main purpose of studying congresses is that we want to find out about the *transnational* nature of congresses, about the way in which transnational, alleged experts of social care have acted, communicated and bargained between the local and international level of their interest and to what extent transnational networks have been formed.<sup>4</sup> Crossing borders, although not the ultimate proof of a transnational mind-set, certainly helps in broadening views, and gathering at multinational conventions, away from ones national comfort zone, brings comparison to a higher level. In our data collection we therefore mainly

focused on foreign visitors, but made an exception for those locals who were actively involved in the organisation of the congress session at hand. Here our reasoning was that those active locals presumably would already be more involved in the congress sessions over the years anyways, and would probably already be part of the transnational community of a congress.

To keep things manageable, we chose to focus our research for this contribution on four crucial moments in time around the turn of the century: 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910. In case there did not take place a congress session in one of these years, or data were not properly available, we selected the nearest congress session. In case of the *Congrès Pénitentiaire International* that entailed 1878, 1890, 1900 and 1910. We here, therefore, cover four years out of a series of fifteen penitentiary congress sessions between 1846 and 1950.<sup>5</sup>

Based on prior research<sup>6</sup> for the 1840–1880 period, we expect this period around 1900 to be of special importance. In this timespan various social reform congresses – the international penitentiary congress being a prominent example here – have gradually turned into centres of expertise with influential transnational ties to national and local decision makers in specific fields of social reform. Not only have governments become sensitive of the international level of deliberations on criminal and penitentiary matters, also the congress organisers are becoming more aware of the importance of involving governmental delegates in their processes. The congress sessions could therefore function as a direct platform of exchange, cooperation and competition between public and private stakeholders.

Regarding our theoretical orientation on expertise and expert communities, we here refer to the ground-breaking work by Peter Haas, adhering to a straightforward definition of an expert community as “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area”<sup>7</sup>. Recently, its narrowing focus in academic literature on *scientists* per se has been revisited and broadened up again by Mai’a Davis Cross. She stresses that these communities “are at the forefront of recognised trends towards transnational governance, and [...] are a major means by which knowledge translates into power”. Moreover she calls for more “attention to the internal dynamics within an epistemic community to understand its strength or weakness”, for which she thinks more comparative research is necessary. Thirdly, she reconceptualises “the framework of epistemic communities to explain why knowledge and uncertainty [...] should be understood more broadly; how the relationships between governments and epistemic communities are often highly synergistic; and why the central attribute of epistemic communities is their professionalism”<sup>8</sup>. Actually, her considerations directly feed into the encounter of private and public visitors to the penitentiary congress sessions where authoritative

claims of expertise and professionalism are at the root of the allegedly policy-relevant resolutions taken.

In light of these theoretical considerations we hope to show that the International Penitentiary Congress has changed in nature and composition of its members by the turn of the century, attracting more governmental representatives and trained professionals who, to a certain extent, incorporate the philanthropic mindset.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, there seems to be some evidence in various countries that, through this international expert community, actual changes in penitentiary issues and practices have taken place on the ground and that these have more or less materialised by 1910.<sup>10</sup> This is certainly not to say that the congresses have been the sole cause of the changes, but have contributed to the changes, along with other national and international mechanisms.

While taking up this challenging task, it is important to keep in mind that a clear-cut distinction between public and private stakeholders may sometimes be very difficult to make for this historical period where such a distinction actually still is in the making with developing stately and civil society institutions. A fusion of private, philanthropic and public, governmental elements might have been the most prominent feature of the penitentiary expert by the end of the period under study.

In order to shed light on these issues, we will here primarily focus on foreign visitors – civil society actors, governmental representatives or a combination of the two – and how their interaction at penitentiary congress sessions has worked out in the congress resolutions. How these possibly have impacted decision-making back home on national levels will be primarily addressed in a pilot study on penitentiary policies in the Netherlands.

As our prime thesis we will argue that gradually, for this period, the main experts in the field of penitentiary matters have acquired a hybrid quality, gradually combining private, philanthropic elements with governmental considerations. Therefore, in this contribution, we will put extra effort in sorting out empirical evidence for this hybridisation of the congress visitor, as opposed to a clear-cut public-private divide.

Our empirical base mainly consists of the proceedings of the penitentiary congresses. Since the first penitentiary congress, taking place in Frankfurt am Main in 1846, these *actes* (transactions) have been printed and spread on a prodigious scale, in itself giving evidence of congresses' effort to spread their shared views and in promoting themselves as centres of expertise. The *actes* typically contain a list of adherents and of the organisational structure of the congress series and sessions, extensive minutes of the deliberations in separate sections on specific questions – often introduced by way of a report overviewing a specific issue –, and concluding discussions on a congress session's final resolutions answering to the initial questions. Currently, we focus on two specific features of the proceedings: on the one hand we list

the organisers and foreign visitors, using spreadsheet software mainly, and sometimes more advanced and specialised software in an experimental way, on the other hand we experiment making parts of the proceedings machine readable and searchable by scanning them and then using optical character recognition programmes.<sup>11</sup> The former will give us an overview of the developing and ever changing network of philanthropists, lawyers, practitioners and governmental representatives in the time span, the latter a first opportunity to take a cautious peek into how the experts worked their way through the issues at stake, who was prominent in leading the discussions, and what various stakeholders' intentions, goals and strategies have been. In the longer run we intend to do an extensive analysis with the multipage machine-readable proceedings.

## 2. Private and public visitors

Using reports of the various congress sessions, we will here evaluate the relative importance of private and public visitors and its trend through the years around the turn of the century (1872–1910).

In current debate on social care there evidently seems to be a controversy between private and public stakeholders on who ultimately is responsible for social care. This is heavily influenced by the recent history of social care since after-war reconstruction in western Europe, where mainly governments, governmental and publicly (co)-financed institutions constructed a Keynesian, all-encompassing system of social care from cradle to grave. This was countered by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when neo-liberal ideologies favoured a so-called free market and a retreat of government in many fields, social care being a prominent one. Even more recently, this is again counteracted by more or less radical civil society organisations, 'occupy'-movements and such amongst them, calling for a rethinking of a market-led social care.

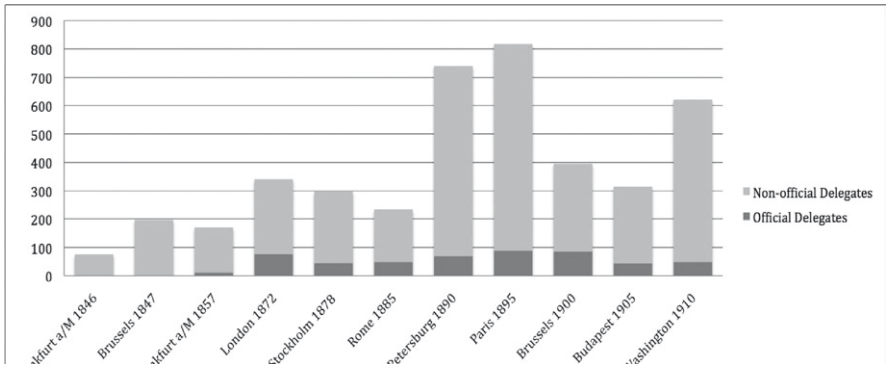
This half a century, short-term alteration between public and private stakeholders can be viewed as part of a longer-term tidal wave dating back to at least the first half of the nineteenth century. Triggered by the negative influences of industrialisation and urbanisation on the social and economical well being of the lower and working classes, a growing body of 'philanthropists' concerned itself with the development of theories and practices regarding social care, ranging from health care to social science and from well-fare initiatives to savings banks.<sup>12</sup> Starting from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we can witness an upswing of idea development and real life experimentation in this field, expedited by informal and more formal gather-

ings, publications, correspondence and other exchanges of views and plans between philanthropists all over Europe and beyond.<sup>13</sup> By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century this has, for instance, evolved into an archipelago of congresses on social care issues, amongst many more congresses on technical, political and scientific subjects in general.<sup>14</sup>

It is an intricate task to differentiate and compare the presence and influence of public and private, governmental and civil society representatives at nineteenth and twentieth century congresses, as the available sources do not indisputably make that kind of distinctions. Therefore, we will approximate the subject from a few different angles. First, we will go the route also taken by contemporary observers to the congresses, once reporting back to their national organisations and governmental institutions, using the statistics on official visitors given by the congress itself; then we take a different angle by first looking into who and what the most prominent visitors to congress sessions are, and then whom they are representing or what organisation or government they apparently are accountable to. Here we will approach the subject by evaluating what congress visitors themselves have put on file regarding their 'quality' once registering for a congress session, and by looking into the context of their performance and function at the congresses. Next, we will summarise these three approaches in a visualisation of visitors and their affiliated institutions for all four congress sessions. Moreover, in yet another attempt at getting to know whether public and private stakes and stakeholders are at all discernable there, we will take a short peek into some deliberations at the congress sessions. Then, finally, we will look into the reception and implementation of ideas coming from the congresses at the national – in this case, Dutch – state level in order to see to what extent outspoken public or private stakes and stakeholders are of influence here.

### Official and non-official delegates

In several congress proceedings the number of so-called 'official delegates' has been mentioned. Contemporary reporters have used these numbers in their writings on congress sessions to their national governments and organisations.<sup>15</sup> Using their overviews for certain years, and comparing and completing these with data directly taken from original congress proceedings, we can approximate the ratio of official and other delegates at the congress sessions.<sup>16</sup>



*Graph 1: Official and non-official CPI delegates, 1846–1910. Numbers based on sources mentioned in notes 15 and 16.*

Graph 1 shows that, from the congress series' inception in 1846, non-official delegates always have been a clear majority, but that from 1857 a percentage of 10–15 per cent of the visitors has been tagged by the congress organisers and reporters as 'official delegates.' In this context 'official delegates' were visitors representing their home countries' government, bound to report back to their governments on the congress sessions' proceedings. With highest figures in the 1895 Paris' and 1900 Brussels' sessions, we can see their numbers going down again in 1905 and 1910. Quite clearly this first inquiry does not confirm the theory that penitentiary congresses, as much as many other congresses, by the end of the century, have developed from non-governmental gatherings to official, state-level meetings.<sup>17</sup> A sixty years time-span of congress sessions in graph 1 shows that penitentiary matters are mainly discussed by private persons, either visiting a congress session on their own account, or – in an as yet unknown number – on behalf of their non-governmental organisation. This, however, cannot be the final assessment of the relative influence of public and private entities with regard to changing policies in penitentiary matters.

### Frequent visitors

An alternative way of retrieving who actually represents whom and what at the congress sessions, is by producing a short-list of the frequent visitors to the congresses, and then find out where these persons stand in a public-private dichotomy. Also here, this can only be done by approximation, as sources on visitors' background are often lacking or rather ambiguous. Using visitor data for four penitentiary congress sessions in 1878, 1890, 1900 and 1910, we made a list of most prominent visitors and used this list for an evaluation of changes through time in the importance

	1878	1890	1900	1910		top 1-10 in a year
4	Guillaume	Guillaume	Guillaume	Guillaume	4	present in 4 years
4	Goos	Goos	Goos	Goos	3	present in 3 years
4	Skousès	Sko usès	Skousès	Sko usès	2	present in 2 years
3		Woxen	Woxen	Woxen		
3	Pessina	Pessina	Pessina			
3	Smith	Smith		Smith		
3	Almquist	Almquist		Almquist		
3	Brusa	Brusa	Brusa			
2			Aa	Aa		
2			Baldwin	Baldwin		
2	Fœhring	Fœhring				
2			Rickl de Belye	Rickl de Belye		
2			Ruggles-Brise	Ruggles-Brise		
2			Typaldo-Bassia	Typaldo-Bassia		
2		Voisin	Voisin			
2	Beltrani-Scalia	Beltrani-Scalia				
2			Engelberg	Engelberg		
2		Nocito	Nocito			

Graph 2: Frequent visitors to the CPI, 1878–1890–1900–1910.  
For sources see note 16.

of a private (personal and institutional) or governmental stake in the *Congrès Pénitentiaire International*.

944 persons from abroad were present at the four congress sessions used in this sample. Graph 2 gives names of those amongst them who visited more than one session – thus showing a certain amount of permanency and commitment to the cause of the congress – and at the same time were mentioned in the proceedings of a year between four and nine times – thus showing a degree of involvement in a session. Both criteria combined lead to a hierarchy in this ‘platinum-card’ group of frequent visitors, ranging from presence at all four sessions with top scores regarding involvement, to at least being present twice with more than minimal involvement.

Of most visitors we know if they had any formal role at the congress session, for instance acting as president of one of the sections or as organiser of a specific activity. Moreover, of many visitors we know from the proceedings what function, profession or activity they said to have had at their home. For instance in case of Dr. Louis Guillaume – on top of the list – we are dealing with a person from Switzerland, living in Neuchâtel and Bern whom we got to know as director of the Neuchâtel penitentiary prison, as delegate of the Swiss *Conseil Fédéral*, as director of the Swiss federal bureau of statistics, and as secretary general to the congress. Moreover he was an on-going member and secretary to the *Commission Pénitentiaire Internationale* (CPI) since its inception in 1874. At the sessions themselves Guillaume acted as chair to sections, as secretary to the presidential board, etc. He seems representative for many of the prominent congress visitors, and what actually strikes is the amalgam of their activities and responsibilities at the congress session and back home.

In similar vein, Carl Goos, Alexandre Skousès, Frederik Woxen, and Enrico Pessina had multiple connections and institutional affiliations in the wide world of



social reform. Two of them (Goos from Denmark and Skousès from Greece) were also connected to the *Congrès International d'Assistance* (1889 and 1910), and Woxen (from Norway) to the *Congrès International sur le Patronage des Détenus et la Protection des Enfants Moralement Abandonnés* (Antwerp 1890).

### Functions and positions

There is yet another striking insight from this sample of the first five frequent visitors. In graph 3 we have summarised activities back home and at the congress using seven categories.<sup>18</sup> All five persons are designated as official delegates representing their governments and are involved in the organisation of congress sessions; moreover, all five are actively involved in civil service, either as a policy officer or as an executive, and finally three of them are in politics back home as member of parliament or government, three are involved in the permanent body of the IPC and yet another two are in academia as a professor of law.

At first sight, and only using this 'official' information from the congress proceedings, our conclusion from this should be that the 'influential few' at the penitentiary congress are highly related to their state and government and hardly to non-governmental institutions and civil society organisations: there is not one mentioning of a person for instance representing a prison society or another private association, whereas we know that generally many congress visitors indeed have these kind of non-governmental affiliations. Is it because the penitentiary congress in particular strives for recognition as a trustworthy institution that it advertises its official members, or is it that through the years there has been a successful battle for author-

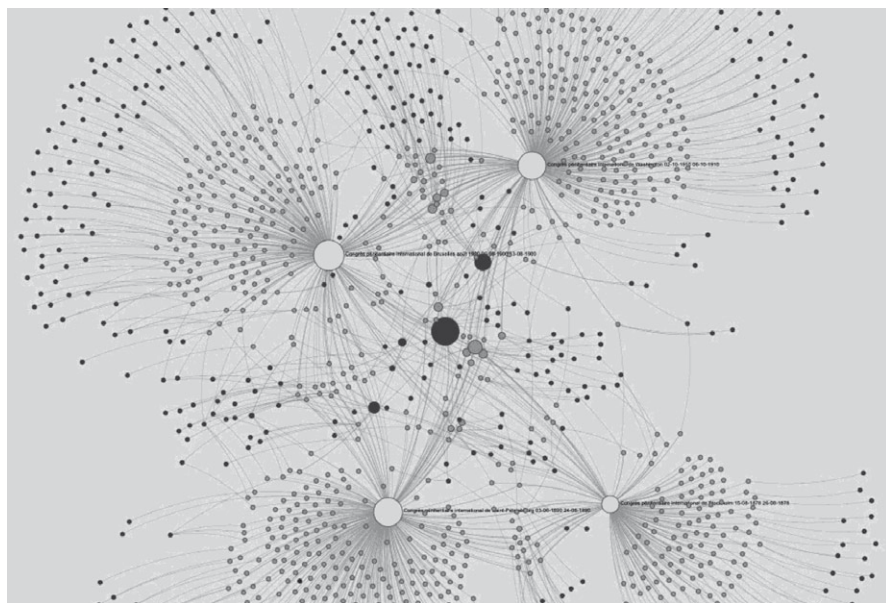
	politics	academia	official delegate	civil service org	civil service exec	congress org	i.p. commission	
Guillaume			■		■	■	■	4
Goos	■	■			■	■	■	6
Skousès			■	■				4
Woxen			■	■	■	■	■	5
Pessina	■	■	■		■			5
	3	2	5	3	3	5	3	

Graph 3: Functions, positions and professions of top five visitors.  
For sources see note 16.

ity by official members to the detriment of civil society representatives? In her *Crime on the Agenda* Martine Henze argues that in the International Penitentiary Commission there was the wish and later convention to only take official delegates from participating countries on board, and although we found no evidence that this extended into the membership of the penitentiary congress itself, it looks indeed as if a comparably small portion of the organisations affiliated to the penitentiary congress sessions through their representatives were of a truly non-governmental nature.<sup>19</sup> This seems both different from the older situation at penitentiary congress sessions before 1872 and from the general picture coming from a bigger sample of six social reform congresses in the 1880–1910 period.<sup>20</sup> There, besides organisations affiliated with academia and several indiscriminate organisations, there was a fair number of organisations of a clearly private, non-governmental nature. Here with the penitentiary congress sessions this seems less evident.

#### Visitors and their organisations visualised

There is yet another way of finding out about what drives visitors to the penitentiary congresses and whom or what they say to represent. Of many congress visitors not only their activities back home have been registered, but also on behalf of what kind



Graph 4: Visualisation of persons and institutions 1878, 1890, 1900 and 1910.  
Visualisation by author, using Nodegoat™, for sources see note 16.

of institution such an activity was pursued. These registrations may change from congress session to congress session, but will nevertheless allow for an evaluation of a person's motivation to visit and for some more insight into differentiations along the lines of public and private, governmental and non-governmental affiliations.

Using 'Nodegoat', a web-based data management, analysis and visualisation environment, we have been able to evaluate centrality of both visitors to congress sessions, as well as the institutions they are affiliated with.<sup>21</sup> Graph 4 shows centrality between the four congress sessions (white dots) of around 1.215 visitors (grey dots, directly stemming from the four sessions) and 1.286 affiliated institutions (black dots in the outer rings).<sup>22</sup> The bigger grey dots in the centre of the graphs confirm the importance of the frequent visitors with all four sessions, mentioned earlier in graph 3.<sup>23</sup> Also between two congress sessions one sees grey dots representing visitors connecting these two sessions.<sup>24</sup> The same goes for the black dots: some institutional affiliations are mentioned in connection to all congress sessions, some for two or three sessions only.

In a first analysis it turns out that many, not to say the majority of institutions mentioned are governmental (e.g. *Ministère de l'intérieur* [France], *Senato del Regno* [Italy], *Justitiedepartementet* [Norway]), which would confirm evidence from the analysis in the previous section. But also more privately organised institutions and organisations are mentioned, like the *Institut de France* [France], the *Howard Association* [Great Britain and Ireland], the *National Prison Association* [USA] or the *Société Suisse des Prisons* [Switzerland].

What however strikes the most is the impressive presence of the *Société Générale des Prisons* (SGP), the biggest black dot in graph 4. Together with the *Commission Pénitentiaire Internationale* – initiator and agenda setter of the penitentiary congress – the SGP, a French, allegedly civil society organisation, seems to have been at the centre of power.<sup>25</sup> Is it than a civil society organisation that eventually rules the penitentiary congress?

In her *Réformer la société. Les hommes de la société générale des prisons, 1877–1900*, Martine Kaluszinski identifies the SGP as rather a hybrid, public-private organisation by calling it at the same time a *commission extra-parlementaire privée* and identifying it as an *association d'initiative gouvernementale*.<sup>26</sup> This she then corroborates by going into some of the members of the SGP, men like Charles Lucas, Leon Lefébure, Émile Cheysson and René Bérenger who have adhered and participated in the penitentiary congress and/or in the welfare congress.<sup>27</sup> These men typically had multiple affiliations in both their life at home and at the congresses. Cheysson, for instance, was a member of the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Assistance*, of the *Musée Social*, the *Comité Central des Oeuvres d'Assistance par le Travail*, and of the *Institut de France* and, also according to Kaluszynski, was most influential in the realm of

penitentiary and welfare matters.<sup>28</sup> The same goes for Bérenger. As a French senator for life he also was member of the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Assistance Publique* and the *Institut de France*. He succeeded Charles Lucas in the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques* in 1890, and he was a regular visitor of penitentiary and welfare congresses and driving force in the SGP.<sup>29</sup>

The second largest black dot in graph 4 represents the *Commission Pénitentiaire Internationale* (CPI). This is the organising body of the on-going penitentiary congresses since 1872 and as such a special category within the much broader number of governmental and non-governmental institutions represented. According to Martine Henze, the CPI typically had some twenty members, mostly government officials and professors from European law faculties.<sup>30</sup> Guillaume, Goos and Woxen, three out of the five members discussed in graph 3, indeed were members of the CPI officially representing their governments with either political or academical positions back home. In a way, Louis Guillaume, as director of the Neuchatel prison, is the odd one out here with a direct connection to the working field.

These are but two examples, but looking into the institutional affiliations of all visitors in our database there is a majority of them having these multiple connections, where often a combination of a governmental and private institutional affiliation is in place. Martine Henze gives a straightforward classification of the occupations of the regular visitors to the penitentiary congresses. She mentions lawyers, high governmental representatives, representatives from all kinds of social reform institutions, a broader category of visitors from the hosting country (amongst which mayors and members of national or local parliaments), (mainly local) nobility and religious officials, and a last category of some representatives from countries outside Europe (consuls and a few journalists).<sup>31</sup> What she, unfortunately, does not reveal is how these functions and positions are sometimes combined. From our database it can be concluded that indeed combined representations are not uncommon. For instance a vicar or priest representing a prison society, or in turn a nobleman or lawyer a more theoretically oriented social reform institute. Here we witness a nineteenth century combination of professional and moral aspects that no longer seems self-evident in present times: the inspector general of prisons who is also an active member of local welfare organisations; the prison director giving his spare time to privately organised aftercare; the chair of a prison association visiting prisoners in their cells, the senator being an active member of a prison society, etc. etc. This is the *nébuleuse réformatrice* in full swing: configurations of persons and organisations, actions and politics around philanthropic and reformist causes.<sup>32</sup>

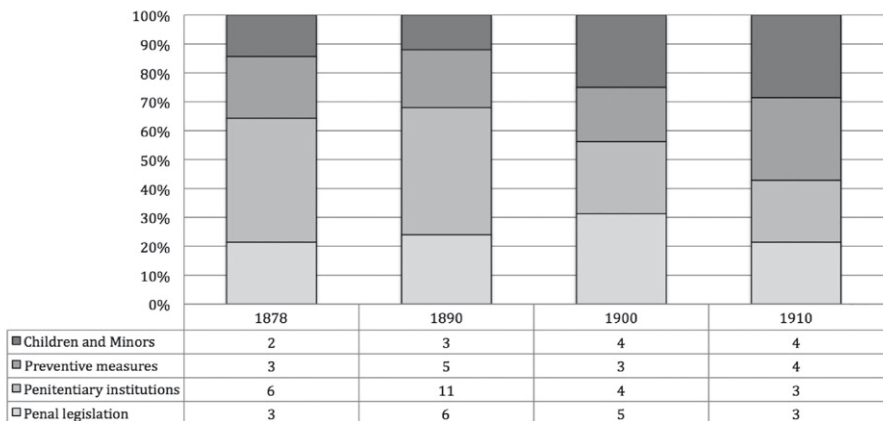
If indeed membership and affiliation at the congresses are best characterised as a *mélange* of governmental, non-governmental, institutional and private stakeholders in the first place, how then does that work out in the results coming from

the congress sessions? Can we expect any effective policy recommendations, initiated by some official representatives, allowing us to characterise the congresses as an expert community in the sense of Peter Haas' definition, or are the resolutions resulting from the discussions mainly of a high held philanthropic nature, forced upon the congress by its non-governmental stakeholders and without effective impact on decision making and policies back home? Moreover, if indeed considerations and resolutions at the various congress sessions turn out to correlate with contemporary changes and adaptations in penitentiary policies, how could we then ascertain that the congresses were the cause and not one of the effects of these changes and adaptations?

### Interaction at the congress

In the course of the century, from its inception in 1846, the sessions of the *Congrès Pénitentiaire International* have gradually become more ritualised. The oldest three sessions in 1846,<sup>47</sup> and '57 were very formal in their daily workings, but their structural organisation was light-weighted and based on pre-existing informal connections between visitors.<sup>33</sup> From the 1872 London congress on the organisation became formal in every sense and directed by a permanent committee of which the congress adherents chose the members. The *Commission Pénitentiaire Internationale*, with its permanent bureau, organised the sessions from 1878 on in a stricter manner.<sup>34</sup> Questions to be discussed were set beforehand and experts were invited to write a report on a question in advance to the session. At the congress session separate sections were held, each discussing a question, which was often introduced by several specialists and then discussed at length. By the end of the congress session section reporters would propose their negotiated answer to a specific question at plenary meetings of the congress, leading to a set of resolutions by the end of the congress meeting.<sup>35</sup> This whole process was then documented in the official proceedings of a congress session, under the direction of the *Commission*.<sup>36</sup> Louis Guillaume, secretary to the bureau and editor of the proceedings, thus was highly influential on the way in which the official results of the sessions were published.

Looking at what engaged the congress visitors, one sees some structural changes in the four general realms which the penitentiary congress dealt with, i.e. penal legislation, penitentiary institutions, preventive measures and children and minors.<sup>37</sup> Whereas in 1878 and 1890 penitentiary institutions were still taking 40 per cent of the questions, there definitely is a trend to more prominence of preventive measures and questions dealing with children, the latter two leading to extra-penitentiary propositions like guardianship and post-penal relief, special schooling, supply



Graph 5: Questions discussed in 1878, 1890, 1900 and 1910.  
For sources see note 16.

of work and apprenticeships after release from prison, etcetera. By 1910 these two sections together take more than 50 per cent of the questions, leading to a more or less equal division of attention for the four sections. Because the organisation of the congress sessions took great pains in concluding into final resolutions, these numerically were very much in line with the initial questions in the four realms.

This boom and bust in penitentiary subject matters and the resolutions emanating from the congress sessions co-vary with what actually happened ‘on the ground’ in various western countries which, through official and unofficial representatives, were present at the congress sessions: after half a century of discussion and experimentation with different penitentiary regimes, adjusting and reformulating penal law, in many European countries by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the focus was shifting to prevention in a broad sense: more strict separation of adults and minors in prisons, juridical and institutional differentiation between responsible and ‘innocent’ criminal children, passing of children acts, conditional leave from prison, subsidising of preventive and rehabilitating organisations and institutions, etc.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, co-variation does not give a clear picture of cause and result. Although we may assume that congress resolutions have had some influence on national decision making, it is very difficult to assess to what extent that has been the case. Moreover, from this evidence, we cannot give a definitive answer to the question, who actually was responsible for this specific shift towards prevention, the more traditional substream of privately organised philanthropists and practitioners or a new faction of government officials and academics. In line with the previously stated insight that many congress visitors had a double or even triple inspiration or mandate, one could argue that the direction towards more preventive ideas and practices was at least consistent with the ‘Zeitgeist’: on some platforms, for instance

at the welfare congresses and at the congresses on hygiene and demography, a similar preventive outlook had become prevalent too, but we should also include analysis of neighbouring platforms like the International Congress on Criminal Anthropology and *Internationale Kriminalistische Vereinigung* after its inception in 1889.<sup>39</sup>

For a preliminary example we zoom in on the 1890 St. Petersburg congress session, section three on preventive measures and matters concerning children.<sup>40</sup> Seven questions were to be answered here, of which the seventh probably was the most challenging, not to say most biased question:

“Comment pourrait-on écarter l’influence pernicieuse des parents ou tuteurs sur leurs enfants ou pupilles, lors de la libération conditionnelle de ces derniers et en général depuis l’expiration du terme de leur condamnation jusqu’à l’époque de leur majorité?”<sup>41</sup>

This was a multiple and rather tricky question, entailing implicit ideas about boundaries to parents rights towards their children, about the controversial idea of conditional leave from prison and about indeterminate sentencing of young criminals until the age of adulthood. It was first put on the agenda of the congress session’s first section on penal legislation, but then later on diverted to the third section on prevention, where congress members at first considered to propose to not answer this question for the time being, and to postpone it to a next congress session in order to have more research done on its consequences. Ultimately, Karnicki – one of the discussants in the third section – was to report all considerations of the third section on this seventh question to the congress plenum, which were mainly based on insights gathered from the prior Paris congress session of 1885. Then, unexpectedly, and as it were without much further ado, Karnicki’s report was applauded and adopted by the congress plenum as an answer to the question: Yes, indeed, there was a duty to the state to do away with such a pernicious parental influence, and both in case of conditional leave and indeterminate sentencing a certain restriction of parental rights should be enforced.<sup>42</sup>

Thus a highly controversial statement on parental rights and criminal children’s needs was published as one of the outcomes of the St. Petersburg Penitentiary Congress, totally foregoing any legal, governmental or other sensitivities in the various countries. Was this a successful intervention of non-governmental forces – prone to introduce far-reaching intrusions in parental rights, while governmental representatives and legal people had been sleeping? Or was it just an ‘accident’ at the congress session’s plenary meeting? As of now, a conclusive answer in this specific controversy is hardly possible here, but it is worthwhile to contrast more prudent national considerations and decisions in criminal juvenile matters with this kind of controversial

and far reaching propositions at the congress. For the contrasting national level we will take the Netherlands as a next, sensitising example.

### Decision making back home

The Dutch relationship with the penitentiary congress goes back to its earliest days in 1846 were chairman Willem Hendrik Suringar of the Dutch prison society, the *Genootschap tot Zedelijke Verbetering der Gevangenen*, was one of the core members.<sup>43</sup> At all sessions of the congress, throughout the century, representatives of both the Dutch prison society and the national government have been present, sometimes even combined in the same person, but more often with separate representations, as the combination has not always been appreciated.<sup>44</sup> Until the 1870's the prison society's focus at home and abroad had mainly been on prison institutions, being a strong and on-going advocate at home and at the penitentiary congress of solitary confinement and special institutions for criminal children. But while after the London congress of 1872 deliberations at the congress sessions shifted from law, solitary confinement, and prison institutions towards preventive measures, indeterminate sentencing, conditional leave, and care for criminal children and minors during imprisonment and after leave, at home – in the Netherlands – the main issues in criminal matters still were the by now 'old fashioned' issue of (the length of) solitary confinement and the production of a new criminal law book.<sup>45</sup>

According to its chronicler Van Bemmelen, in the sixties, seventies and eighties, the Dutch prison society retreated from its practical activities in prisons and reformatories to mostly theoretical work.<sup>46</sup> Had it been initiator in the Netherlands of new ideas coming from the congresses in the thirties, forties and fifties, and often implemented them themselves – like education in prison, special institutions for criminal children and after care –, now it was eventually hardly involved in the implementation and development in the Netherlands of the *Huis van Verbetering en Opvoeding*, a new reform institution for criminal children without *discernment*, while the Dutch prison society had battled for its grounding ideas at earlier congress sessions.<sup>47</sup> At the Dutch, national level it now very much seemed that roles between the government and civil society institutions had shifted: governmental dignitaries and high officials, who apparently had internalised the philanthropical and innovative views coming from the congresses took action themselves while marginalising the prison society in these decades.

Not only on national grounds the stakes had shifted. Even at the congress sessions Dutch governmental and non-governmental representatives sometimes took opposing and reversed roles. For instance at the Stockholm congress of 1878, Ploos



van Amstel, then core member of the Dutch prison society, strongly disagreed with governmental representative Pols on the innovative idea of conditional leave, where Pols was in favour and Ploos against the idea in most of the cases.<sup>48</sup> It was only in the nineties that the *Genootschap tot Zedelijke Verbetering van Gevangenen* managed to break out of its more traditional, not to say conservative frame by finally accepting the idea of conditional leave from prison, that had been fiercely discussed at the congresses<sup>49</sup> but was only accepted by the Dutch prison society once it saw its new practical role as a private society involved in after care and rehabilitation in the new century.<sup>50</sup>

Overlooking this Dutch case, a clear-cut division of tasks, stands and outlooks between governmental and non-governmental stakeholders seems not self-evident. At times representatives of the Dutch prison society may have acted as mediators between penitentiary congress sessions and Dutch governmental circles, importing new ideas and practices and lobbying for them with Dutch governmental stakeholders or even implementing certain ideas themselves and for their own account.<sup>51</sup> But by the turn of the century the congress sessions themselves acted as a fuzzy force field for both governmental and non-governmental representatives leading to quite complicated and inversed lines of decision and action at home.<sup>52</sup> As a result, at least in the Netherlands, the initiative was more and more taken over by philanthropically motivated government officials. Further comparative research will have to shed more light on this line up of cause and effect, in the first place. But also whether this was a typical Dutch phenomenon or a more structural feature in other the western countries involved in the penitentiary congress. There may, for instance, have been huge differences or similarities in the scope and reach of organisations like the French *Société Générale des Prisons*, the Dutch *Genootschap tot Zedelijke Verbetering der Gevangenen*, the British *Howard Association*, or the American *General Prison Association*, etc. and also differences in the way they interacted with governmental entities within their home countries. As Alcock and Craig rightly say in their recent comparative volume on current international social policy: "(...) there has been no consistent convergence towards a single model of state welfare support (...). Different countries have developed different 'mixes' of welfare provision, and these have been adapted or preserved differently in the light of internal political partisanship and preexisting commitments as well as external economic pressures".<sup>53</sup> For historical research on social reform this means that much comparative work on both the international and national level remains to be done.

### 3. Discussion

With the example of the penitentiary congress as an evolving nineteenth and twentieth century expert platform, how should and can we weigh and compare the contribution of privately organised philanthropists and public, governmental stakeholders to what were perceived the needs in this special field of social care?

Up front we must stress again that it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between public and private stakeholders in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Our manifold approximations of the ideal-typical distinction have shown that in real life, historical divisions at the penitentiary congress sessions have been much more fuzzy and complicated. Going by the criteria of the congress organisers themselves, they may have strategically opted for the presence of more governmental representatives, but for the congress sessions researched here it has become clear that only gradually a small percentage of all visitors (up to 10 per cent) was marked to be an official delegate to a congress session. If, on the other hand, one looks into a hierarchy of visitors while taking both frequency of presence and involvement in the congress sessions' organisation and deliberations into account, there emerges a small group of visitors who seem to have had it all: an official representative status, an academic background, involvement in state affairs either through political responsibilities or civil service, and finally with a direct influence on congress affairs by taking part in its organisation. Going from this elite group to a visual evaluation of all visitors, including their affiliations, there is also evidence for an important presence of visitors with non-governmental affiliations, although less than in pré-1872 congress sessions. The *Société Générale des Prisons*, one of the most outstanding institutions in our base, turned out to be of a hybrid nature having both private and governmental features. This again made us aware of the fuzzy character of the field.

Contrary to present-day 'politics of need interpretation', were often civil society counteracts a hegemonic state, we conclude that in our case of contestations regarding the needs of- and proper care for prisoners, in the period studied, the relationship is different, maybe going from a prevalence of civil society exponents, mainly theoretically defining what care is needed, to a later nineteenth century stage where governmental representatives become more involved in these theoretical contestations at the penitentiary congress and elsewhere, while at the same time incorporating congress interpretations of philanthropically inspired care for prisoners in their day to day practices.

Decision making on parental rights at the 1890 St. Petersburg congress session and the way in which innovative penitentiary concepts were realised at the Dutch

national level by the turn of the century confirmed the idea that in penitentiary matters it wasn't so much the critical dissociation, the on-going strive and opposition of private and public forces that mattered, but rather a certain hybridisation of both the congress visitor and his or her strive: indeed, the visitor more and more seemed to combine the mixed affiliation to public and private institutions, while at the same time merging ideas on governance with philanthropic considerations. These solitary examples maybe sensitising, but ask for a larger-scale, comparative analysis of discourses on the level of congresses and national platforms.

From a certain perspective, these insights could lead to the conclusion that the highly moral, philanthropical mission of the early visitors to the penitentiary congress sessions in the 1840s and 50s in the end has been successful. The original drive of philanthropic congress visitors in the 1840s may have been two-fold, stressing the need for change both for the sake of the underlying, criminal classes and for the survival of their own bourgeois group. Through the gradual merging of civil society's and government's problem – and need interpretations the successful realisation of new penitentiary ideas then lies in the latter, bourgeois stakes, mainly. What remains unanswered, however, is to what extent these new penitentiary ideas and interventions have eventually advantaged the needy classes, not present at the penitentiary congress.

## Notes

- 1 The author would like to thank Kiran Patel and Nico Randerdaad of the history department at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of Maastricht University and two anonymous reviewers for ÖZG for their advice and comments.
- 2 Numbers based on (l'Union des Associations internationales, eds., *Les Congrès internationaux*. Tome 1: de 1681 à 1899, liste complète, Bruxelles 1960; *ibid.*, *Les Congrès internationaux*. Tome 2: de 1900 à 1915, liste complète, Bruxelles 1964.
- 3 For an inventory, see Dirk Jan Wolfram, *Social Politics and the Welfare State. An International and Local Perspective*, in: *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 17/4 (2007).
- 4 On transnational history, transnational networks and transnationalism, see Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History*, Houndmills Basingstoke 2013.
- 5 These were: Frankfurt am Main (1846); Brussels (1847); Frankfurt am Main (1857); London (1872); Stockholm (1878); Rome (1885); St. Petersburg (1890); Paris (1895); Brussels (1900); Budapest (1905); Washington (1910); London (1925); Prague (1930); Berlin (1935); the Hague (1950). The 1857 gathering in Frankfurt actually was a welfare congress, but one out of three sections was prominently dedicated to penitentiary issues and was attended by more or less the same group of specialists which also visited the 1846 and 1847 penitentiary congresses. In other work on penitentiary congresses the gatherings in 1846, 1847 and 1857 are not mentioned at all or pictured as 'philanthropic tourism' instead of transnational congresses proper. Also it has been argued that the series actually only started from 1872 with the London congress. Standardisation of its congress proceedings, a central organising *Commission Pénitentiaire Internationale*, and consecutive meetings at regular intervals being the main arguments for this view. See: Nir Shafir, *The international congress as scientific and diplomatic technology. Global intellectual exchange in the International Prison Congress, 1860–90*,

- in: *Journal of Global History* 9/01 (2014), 72–93; also: Martine Henze, Crime on the Agenda. Transnational Organizations 1870–1955, in: *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 109 (2009), 369–417. We, however, think that an almost continuous series of penitentiary congresses witnesses the coming about of a specific penal and penitentiary expertise, and a gradual evolution of the congress to an expert community.
- 6 Chris Leonards/Nico Randeraad, Transnational Experts in Social Reform, 1840–1880, in: *International Review of Social History* 55/02 (2010), 215–239; Chris Leonards/Nico Randeraad, Building a Transnational Network in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Social Reform in a European Perspective, in: Davide Rodogno et al., eds., *Shaping the transnational sphere. Experts, Networks, and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*, Oxford/New York 2015, 111–131.
  - 7 Peter M. Haas, Introduction. Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination, in: *International Organization* 46/1 (1992), 3.
  - 8 Mai A K. Davis Cross, Rethinking epistemic communities twenty years later, in: *Review of International Studies* 39/1 (2013), 138.
  - 9 On professionalization, expertise and science, e.g. see Sandrine Kott, Une “communauté épistémique” du social? Experts de l’OIT et internationalisation des politiques sociales dans l’entre-deux-guerres, in: *Genèses*, 71 (2008), 26–46.
  - 10 Solitary confinement, juvenile law, probation, conditional leave and such being the most prominent features.
  - 11 For lists and summary statistics we used *Microsoft Excel* and *Apache Open Office*; for PDF, OCR and other document conversion and -cleaning we made use of *Abbyy FineReader* and *Google Refine*; for geographical and social representations of networks and other relations we experimented with *Node-Goat* and *NameScope*, and finally *OpenRefine* with *Named Entity Recognition* to explore possibilities for name extraction from ocr-ed proceedings.
  - 12 Christian Topalov, Les “réformateurs” et leurs réseaux. Enjeux d’un objet de recherche, in: Christian Topalov, ed., *Laboratoires du nouveau siècle: La nébuleuse réformatrice et ses réseaux en France, 1880–1914*, Paris 1999, 11–58.
  - 13 Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, Du tourisme pénitentiaire à “L’Internationale des philanthropes”. La création d’un réseau pour la protection de l’enfance à travers les congrès pénitentiaires internationaux (1820–1914), in: *Paedagogica Historica*, 38/2–3 (2002), 533–563; Leonards/Randeraad, *Transnational Experts*.
  - 14 Anne Rasmussen, Les Congrès internationaux liés aux Expositions universelles de Paris (1867–1900), in: *Mil Neuf Cent. Cahiers Georges Sorel. Revue d’histoire intellectuelle* 7 (1989), 23–44; *ibid.*, Jalons pour une histoire des congrès internationaux au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Régulation scientifique et propagande intellectuelle, in: *Relations internationales*, 62/été (1990), 115–133; Leonards/Randeraad, *Building*, 114–120.
  - 15 Samuel June Barrows, Report of the Delegates of the United States to the Fifth International Congress held at Paris, France 1895, Washington D.C. 1896; *ibid.*, The Sixth International Prison Congress, held at Brussels, Belgium, August 1900. Report of its Proceedings and Conclusions, Washington 1903; *ibid.*, Report of Proceedings of the seventh international prison congress, Budapest, Hungary, September 1905, Washington 1907; Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, Prison reform at home and abroad. A short history of the international movement since the London congress, 1872, London 1924; Negley K. Teeters, *Deliberations of the International Penal and Penitentiary Congresses. Questions and Answers: 1872–1935*, Philadelphia 1949; Henry Boudewijn verLoren van Themaat, *Zorg voor den Veroordeelde in het bijzonder na zijne invrijheidsstelling*, Utrecht 1910/11.
  - 16 Congrès international de bienfaisance de Francfort-sur-le-Mein, session de 1857. Francfort-sur-le-Mein 1858; Edouard Ducpétiaux, ed., *Débats du congrès pénitentiaire de Bruxelles: session de 1847, séances des 20, 21, 22, et 23 septembre, Bruxelles 1847*; Louis Guillaume, *Le congrès pénitentiaire international de Stockholm, 15–26 août 1878. Actes du 2<sup>e</sup> congrès. Prés. au congrès et publ. sous la dir. de la commission pénitentiaire internationale par le Dr Guillaume, Stockholm 1879*; *ibid.*, *Actes du congrès pénitentiaire international de Saint-Petersbourg 1890, publ. sous la direction de la commission d’organisation par le Dr Guillaume, Saint-Petersbourg 1890–1892*; *ibid.*, *Actes du congrès pénitentiaire international de Budapest, septembre 1905. Publ. sous la dir. de Jules Rickl de Belye par le Dr Guillaume, Budapest 1906–1907*; Louis Guillaume/Eugène Borel, *Actes du congrès pénitentiaire international de Washington, octobre 1910. Publiés à la demande de la commission pénitenti-*

aire internationale, Washington 1913; Louis Guillaume/Charles Didion, Actes du congrès pénitentiaire international de Bruxelles. Août 1900, publ. sous la dir. de F.-C. de Latour, par le Dr Guillaume et Charles Didion, Berne 1901; Louis Mathurin Moreau-Christophe, Débats du congrès pénitentiaire de Francfort-sur-le-Mein, 28, 29 et 30 septembre 1846, Paris 1847; Edwin Pears, Prisons and reformatories at home and abroad, being the transactions of the international penitentiary congress held in London, July 3–13, 1872, including official documents, discussions, and papers presented to the congress, London 1872; Actes du congrès pénitentiaire international de Rome, novembre 1885, publ. par les soins du Commission exécutive, Rome 1887–1889; V<sup>e</sup> congrès pénitentiaire international (Paris 1–9 juillet 1895), Melun 1897; Marie Matthieu von Baumhauer, Verslag der beraadslagingen op het poenitentiair congres gehouden te Frankfort a/M, 28, 29 en 30 september 1846, s.l. 1846; Carl Joseph Anton von Mittermaier, ed., Débats du congrès pénitentiaire de Francfort-sur-le-Mein 28, 29 et 30 septembre 1846, Paris 1847.

- 17 Henze, *Crime*, 377.
- 18 1. Politics: members of parliament and/or government; 2. Academia: university professors, mainly in law; 3. Official delegates: as designated by the congress; 4. Civil service (organisational/representative): secretary general of governmental institutions; 5. Civil service (executive): director of governmental institutions; 6. Congress organisation: organising committee, chair or secretary of section; 7. International Penitentiary Commission: member, chair, secretary.
- 19 Henze, *Crime*, 377.
- 20 Incorporating four sessions each from the *Congrès International d'Assistance*, *Congrès International d'Hygiène et Démographie*, *Congrès Universel de la Paix*, *Conférence Sanitaire Internationale* and the *Institut International de Statistique*.
- 21 See: <http://lab1100.com/> (April 18, 2015); <http://nodegoat.net/> (April 18, 2015).
- 22 As an indication of a visitor's occupation or interest, organisations or institutions mentioned with their name have been listed. These institutions can be either be governmental, or private, or anything in between.
- 23 By hovering over the original (coloured) visualisation in the online Nodegoat programme one can get information about an item's name and a centrality measure. This unfortunately cannot be shown here.
- 24 Evidently there are but few between the first 1878 session and the last 1910 session in this sample.
- 25 SGP: 32 affiliations, degree of centrality 0.0160; CPI: 19 affiliations, degree of centrality 0.0095.
- 26 Martine Kaluszynski, Réformer la société. Les hommes de la société générale des prisons, 1877–1900, in: *Genèses* 28 (1997), 76.
- 27 Here we mean the *Congrès International d'Assistance*, with regular, five yearly sessions since 1889.
- 28 Moreover he was an advocate of the combination of public and private initiative: "l'idée apparemment 'exhibée' serait celle d'une alliance à construire entre initiative publique et initiative privée, ce que nous montre Cheysson". See Kaluszynski, *Réformer la société*, 81.
- 29 René Bérenger's father, Alphonse, who had a similar career and interest, published a book on penal repression (Alphonse Marie Marcellin Thomas Bérenger, *De la Répression Pénale, de ses formes et de ses effects. Rapports faits à l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, Paris 1855.)
- 30 Martine Henze, Important Forums [...] among an increasingly international penological community. Die internationalen Gefängniskongresse 1872–1935, in: Sylvia Kesper-Biermann/Petra Overath, eds., *Die Internationalisierung von Strafrechtswissenschaft und Kriminalpolitik (1870–1930). Deutschland im Vergleich*, Berlin 2007, 60–85: 74.
- 31 Henze, *Important Forums*, 72–73.
- 32 Topalov, *Laboratoires*.
- 33 Chris Leonards, Priceless Children? Penitentiary Congresses debating Childhood. A Quest for Social Order in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe, 1846–1895, in: Clive Emsley et al., eds., *Social Control in Europe, 1800–2000*, Vol. 2, Columbus/Ohio 2004, 125–149, 129–131.
- 34 Henze, *Important Forums*, 76.
- 35 For inventories and discussion of the resolutions, see: Teeters. *Deliberations*; Lothar Frede/Rudolf Sieverts, *Die Beschlüsse der Internationalen Gefängnis-Kongresse 1872–1930*, Jena 1932.

- 36 The 1878 proceedings, for instance, comprised 1687 pages in two volumes, also containing reports on the current state of penitentiary matters in separate countries, reports on festivities and banquets and other varia. In 1890 4.001 pages in five volumes, in 1900 2.490 pages, in 1910 2.627.
- 37 Actually it was only from the 1895 congress session that there was a separate third section on preventive measures and a new, fourth section on children and minors, but for comparison the three category data for 1878 and 1890 have been split up into four categories as in graph 5.
- 38 There is a vast body of historical literature on the history of prison and punishment in 19<sup>th</sup> Europe, e.g. Norbert Finzsch/Robert Jütte, eds., *Institutions of Confinement. Hospitals, Asylums and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500–1950*, Cambridge 1996; Patricia O'Brien, *The Prison on the Continent: Europe, 1865–1965*, in: Norval Morris/David J. Rothman, eds., *Oxford History of the Prison*, Oxford 1995, 178–201; Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, *De la prison à l'école. Les pénitenciers pour enfants en Belgique au XIXe siècle (1840–1914)*, Heule 1996.
- 39 Martine Kaluszynski, *The International Congresses of Criminal Anthropology. Shaping the French and International Criminological Movement, 1886–1914*, in: Peter Becker/Richard F. Wetzell, eds., *Criminals and their Scientists. The History of Criminology in International Perspective*, Cambridge 2006, 301–316; Sabine Kesper-Biermann, *Wissenschaftlicher Ideenaustausch und „kriminalpolitische Propaganda“. Die Internationale Kriminalistische Vereinigung (1889–1937) und der Strafvollzug*, in: Sabine Freitag/Désirée Schaub, Hg., *Verbrecher im Visier der Experten. Kriminalpolitik zwischen Wissenschaft und Praxis im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2007, 79–97.
- 40 In an ongoing research we are working on comparative analysis of deliberations at the congresses and argumentations at national levels, on a much broader scale, using textual analysis techniques.
- 41 Guillaume, *Actes du congrès pénitentiaire international de Saint-Petersbourg 1890*, Vol. I, 515.
- 42 *Ibid*, 620–621.
- 43 For a general history of the Dutch prison society and its work for criminal children, see Chris Leonards, *De ontdekking van het onschuldige criminele kind. Bestrafing en opvoeding van criminele kinderen in jeugdgevangenissen en opvoedingsgesticht, 1833–1886* [the Discovery of the Innocent Criminal Child. Punishment and Education of Criminal Children in Youth Prison and Reformatory, 1833–1886], Hilversum 1995; Jacob Maarten van Bemmelen, *Van Zedelijke Verbetering tot Reclassering. Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch Genootschap tot Zedelijke Verbetering der Gevangenen, 1823–1923*, 's-Gravenhage 1923.
- 44 At the 1878 Stockholm conference there were two governmental representatives, one of them – Ploos van Amstel – actually being a board member of the Dutch prison society. He, however, was not willing to take up a double mandate: Van Bemmelen, *Van Zedelijke Verbetering*, 161.
- 45 Herman Franke, *The emancipation of prisoners. A socio-historical analysis of the Dutch prison experience*, Edinburgh 1995.
- 46 Van Bemmelen, *Van Zedelijke Verbetering*, 150–180.
- 47 Leonards, *De ontdekking*, 167–174.
- 48 Guillaume, *Actes du 2<sup>e</sup> congrès*, 597.
- 49 According to Van Bemmelen, *Van Zedelijke Verbetering*, 162, it had already been introduced by E.C. Wines at the Cincinnati preparatory meeting for the 1872 Penitentiary Congress in London.
- 50 In the course of the twentieth century the *Genootschap* would turn into one of the Dutch organisations for social rehabilitation (*reclassering*). See Jean Paul Heinrich, *Particuliere reclassering en overheid in Nederland sinds 1823*, Arnhem 1996.
- 51 This, for instance, clearly was the case with the introduction and consolidation of solitary confinement, the separate youth prison, the agrarian colony and primary and vocational training in prison.
- 52 Examples of which are the introduction of the reformatory, conditional leave, undetermined sentencing, and the child acts at the beginning of the twentieth century.
- 53 Pete Alcock/Gary Craig, *International Social Policy. Welfare Regimes in the Developed World*, Basingstoke 2009, 4.