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**Watching and Policing in Manchester
and Salford
1880 – 1900**

David Daniels

PhD 2018

**Watching and Policing in
Manchester and Salford
1880 – 1900**

David Daniels

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the
requirements of the
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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Department of History Politics and
Philosophy
Manchester Metropolitan University
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Abstract

This thesis provides an analysis of the work of the Salford and Manchester Watch Committees between 1880–1900 and presents a unique comparative analysis of policing in the two towns. The analysis of police performance in the late nineteenth century is of vital importance in understanding the role the police were expected to perform. In this period HM government took an increasingly active part in national development and local government matured into an effective body. Manchester had a population of c.22,500 in 1773, rising to c.550,000 by 1901. Salford had experienced an increase from c.4,765 to c.220,000 over the same period. In the nineteenth century both Manchester and Salford changed dramatically and policing in Manchester and Salford changed as a result. The thesis will be based on four sets of primary data: the minutes of the Salford Watch Committee and the Manchester Watch Committee plus the Annual Reports of the respective Chief Constables. One of the elements of the thesis will revolve around the reliability of statistics. It will also examine the administrations of the two towns and determine if they attained a standard that could be expected of such municipal bodies, and the level of independence the two adjacent boroughs enjoyed. It will consider why crime rates fell sharply in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Research into, and focus on, policing in Manchester and Salford in the late Victorian period has never been conducted before. This research is unique and original and will offer a significant contribution to the historiography by identifying levels of criminality, police performance and police management of the two towns.

Contents

Acknowledgements

List of Tables

List of Illustrations

Aims and Introduction	1
Chapter 1. The Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford.....	33
Chapter 2. The Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford and the complex environment in which they operated	80
Chapter 3. Policing, Crime, Criminality and Criminals in Manchester and Salford	135
Chapter 4. Financial mismanagement, corruption and scandal 1880 – 1900.....	211
Conclusion	271
Bibliography	285
Appendices.....	309

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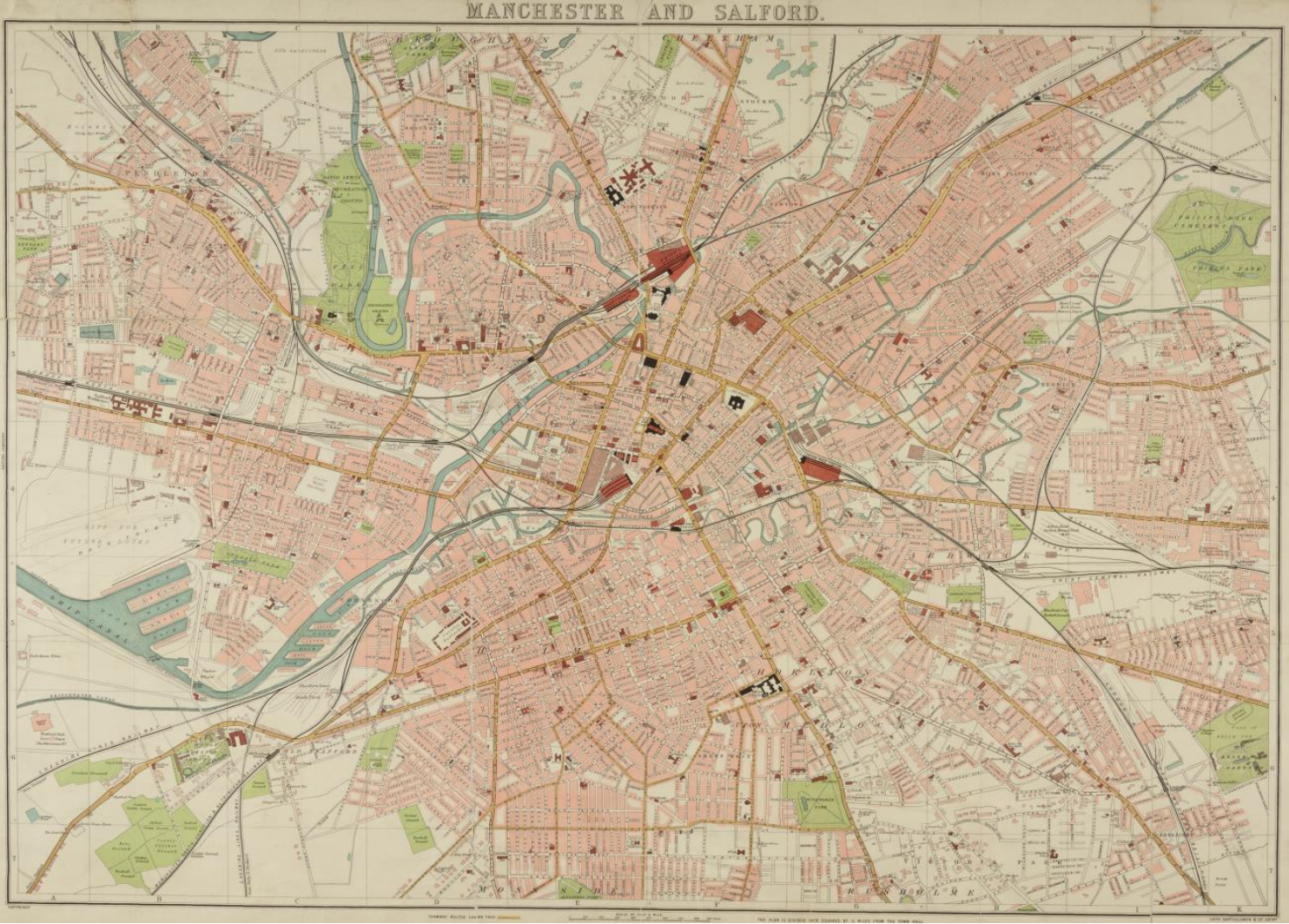
List of Tables

Table 1: Examples of crimes and offences reported to the Police in 1890	24
Table 2: The social composition of the county magistracy in 1887.....	60
Table 3: Net cost of policing in Manchester and Salford.....	68
Table 4: Police: population ratios in the Borough of Manchester	71
Table 5: Police: population ratios in the Borough of Salford.....	71
Table 6: Estimates. Police pay as a percentage of Gross costs of Police Force	75
Table 7: Manchester Chief Constables from establishment to 1926	82
Table 8: Salford Chief Constables from establishment to 1908	82
Table 9: Classification of the Principal Offences for which persons were proceeded against before the Magistrates for 1879-1880.....	98
Table 10: The ages of those arrested.....	98
Table 11: Prostitution in Manchester 1871 - 1880.....	99
Table 12: Robberies committed in Manchester (as far as is known to the police). 1875 & 1880	101
Table 13: Total Number of Persons proceeded against in Salford 1880	104
Table 14: Robberies reported to the police in Salford 1879-1880	105
Table 15: Committals to the Assizes in Salford 1879-1880	105
Table 16: Committals to the Sessions in Salford 1879-1880	106
Table 17: In Manchester, total number of indictable and summary offences 1890.....	111
Table 18: Brothels and Prostitution in Manchester 1883 – 1890.....	112
Table 19: Disposal of Persons charged before Magistrates in Manchester in 1900 for both indictable and non-indictable offences	123
Table 20: Committed for trial at the Assizes or Sessions in Manchester, 1900	123
Table 21: Age and sex of persons summarily tried and convicted in Manchester.....	124
Table 22: Other classes of nuisance and their number for Manchester in 1900	126
Table 23: Costs of policing in Manchester and Salford	141
Table 24: Breaking into shops and warehouses in Manchester and Salford 1880-1900	151
Table 25: Larceny from the person in Manchester and Salford 1880-1900.....	154
Table 26: Categories of Larceny between Manchester and Salford in 1900.....	161
Table 27: Aggravated Assault tried summarily in Manchester and Salford 1880- 1900.....	168
Table 28: Assaults on Constables in Manchester and Salford: How proceeded against, 1880, 1890 and 1900	170
Table 29: Common Assault tried summarily in Manchester and Salford: 1880-1900.....	173
Table 30: Drunkenness as a percentage of Summary offences.....	175
Table 31: Prostitution and Drunkenness as a percentage of Summary offences in Manchester and Salford.....	186
Table 32: Begging: Manchester and Salford 1880 - 1900.....	196
Table 33: Offences against Local Acts: Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900.....	198
Table 34: Prostitution, Drunkenness and Offences against Local Acts as a percentage of Summary offences in Manchester and Salford.....	209

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Manchester and Salford 1900.....	vi
Source: www.victorianpolicestations.org ; Manchester Historical Maps	vi
Figure 2: The location and names of Scuttling gangs in Manchester and Salford	200
Figure 3: The location of Lads' Clubs in Manchester and Salford.....	207
Figure 4: Map showing geographical location of Manchester Police 'D' Division in 1900 based on Hulme and Chorlton on Medlock.....	270
Shows significant addresses in 'Bannister' inquiry	270
Figure 5: Commander Charles T Scott.	325
Figure 6: W. H. Palin.....	328
Figure 7: C. Malcolm Wood	331
Figure 8: Sir Robert Peacock	335

Figure 1: Manchester and Salford 1900



Source: www.victorianpolicestations.org; Manchester Historical Maps

Watching and Policing in Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900

Aims and Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the institutional development of policing in the boroughs of Manchester and Salford in the later decades of the nineteenth century and the way in which these local developments were influenced by processes of institutional evolution in England and Wales more generally. The main points to be studied will be:

- a. The development and nature of a local administrative structure for the policing function of government following on from the establishment of the principle of policing provided by the state.
- b. The developing relationship between local politicians and the increasingly professional police force at a local level.
- c. The way in which the evolution of policing policy and practice in this location derived from wider social developments in the increasingly mature industrial economy of south-east Lancashire.
- d. The ways in which this was both a story of success reflecting the institutionalisation of practice and effective action, yet problematic on the other hand, revealing the way in which the institutional structure that had emerged by the 1880s also facilitated the abuse of power by individuals in key positions.

The original research which constitutes this thesis will contribute to the historiography of policing by identifying crime and criminality in Manchester and Salford in the period 1880 to 1900. It will do this by analysing the Watch Committee minutes and the Chief Constable's annual reports for the two boroughs and where possible will make comparisons between the two areas.

The respective public administrations were successful but there were instances during which they failed to live up to their own high standards. The Dugdale inquiry in 1897 and the corruption it identified in the case of Superintendent Bannister is an example. The Bannister case ruined the reputation of policing in Manchester throughout the 1890s and confirmed the oft held view about politicians and self-interest. Whilst this is not peculiar to Manchester and Salford nor the nineteenth century, it gives lie to the concept of a continuously improving policing regime throughout the period. The Bannister case and the ensuing Dugdale inquiry will be covered in Chapter 4.

The structure of boroughs in the nineteenth century was localised and self-contained. Superficially at least there was little evidence of interaction between the contiguous administrations in Manchester and Salford. However, the example used herein relating to Manchester detective Jerome Caminada (1844-1914) pursuing his suspected felon across the Salford border and confronting him in Weaste indicates otherwise. There is an inference that at a formal level there was limited cooperation but informally there was a much more pragmatic relationship.

As a result of this thesis, a question remains that can only be posited. Scholarship is cited that identifies that during the latter half of the nineteenth century crime rates nationally fell. The statistics as published by the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford in the period 1880 to 1900 confirm this trend. But why this should be the case is not proven. Was it an example of the efficiency of the police and a population aware of a greater certainty of capture? Was it better employment opportunities removing potential criminals from the streets, or was it greater faith in the police which created more cooperation from the public? Indeed, was it something else entirely? Without further research, the question cannot be answered with any degree of confidence.

Scope

This thesis will identify and analyse those activities which contributed to the management of watching and policing in Manchester and Salford in the late nineteenth century. The main sources for this analysis will be the minutes of the Watch Committees. Where possible the activities of these two policing authorities will be compared and examined in the context of the changing environment locally and of policing at national level.

A recent unpublished MA thesis assessed the performance of the newly created Watch Committee in instigating and managing the 'new' police in the emerging borough of Salford for the period 1844-1880.¹ It concluded that the people of Salford were well served by this group of elected officials. The aim of this thesis is to build upon this work by providing an analysis of the work of the Salford and Manchester Watch Committees for the later period 1880-1900 and setting it in a wider context. Both municipalities were by 1880 mature administrations which had experienced the 'industrial revolution'. Watching under the 'new' police in both areas was approximately forty years old and both police administrations and their forces had considerable experience in policing their respective populations.

Visitors from outside Manchester and Salford looking at south-east Lancashire would have had difficulty distinguishing between the two towns. The border between the two, the River Irwell, separated them by no more than twenty yards at its widest point and was little more than an open sewer. For historical reasons Manchester was in the Salford Hundred and Salford was in the parish of Manchester.² Salford, which by the late nineteenth century included Pendleton and Broughton, had no town centre. Manchester was Salford's shopping centre.³ The

¹ D. Daniels, 'The Watch Committee of the Borough of Salford 1844 to 1880' (unpub. MA, Open University, 2012)

² A. Redford, *The History of Local Government in Manchester*, vol.1 (London: Longmans, 1939), p. 5; A. Kidd, *Manchester: A History* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 4th edn, 2011), p. 3

³ R. Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2000), p. 1

centre for all types of entertainment was based in Manchester around the Deansgate area with Salfordians going over the imperceptible boundary. The factory owner and the labourer could either live in Manchester and work in Salford or vice versa and indeed there was much traffic between the two. An article in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1893 indicated that 'from observations that were taken at various points on a certain day between 5.30 am and 9.30 am it was ascertained that the number of persons who came into Manchester and Salford and vice versa were as follows: – from Salford into Manchester, 91,291; from Manchester into Salford, 37,125'.⁴

There was little interaction between the two municipalities although the citizenry appeared not to notice. Otherwise the populations of Manchester and Salford could not be distinguished one from the other yet they were policed by different forces and managed by separate councils. A reading of the minutes of the Watch Committees of both towns confirms that they took no formal account of each other. An indication of this determination not to interact occurred earlier in the period when the then Salford Fire Superintendent arranged an accommodation in 1847 with his Manchester counterpart and was subsequently admonished for his initiative.⁵

Performance indicators will be generated from contemporaneous published data. One of the elements of this thesis will revolve around the reliability of statistics in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. Here, comparisons of the two boroughs will enable conclusions to be drawn about their efficiency and effectiveness in policing relative to each other. This will provide a description of the way in which statistics were generated and will indicate the flaws inherent in this measurement and attempt to describe them using their contemporary meaning. Williams provides a very useful warning: 'this measure [indictable crime known to the police] is deeply unreliable and open to manipulation by the police

⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 31 January 1893, p. 9

⁵ Greater Manchester Police Museum, Minutes of the Salford Watch Committee, 10 March 1847

authorities[....] To use it uncritically is to base conclusions on very shaky foundations'.⁶

The analysis of police performance in the nineteenth century is of vital importance in understanding the role the police were expected to perform. The data that the Watch Committees directed their police forces to collect can inform us about what the civic authorities wanted the police to concentrate upon. It can also provide an indication about who they thought needed policing. Banton describes law enforcement as 'one aspect of social control'.⁷ Analysing police data can help confirm or challenge the views of Storch. He gave an alternative definition to that of the 'traditional' role that the police played when he wrote 'the overall mission of the police was to place working-class neighbourhoods under a concentrated and multifaceted surveillance'.⁸ According to Emsley police performance became increasingly important to rate payers who were footing the bill and to those with an interest in civic development. It was also a factor in enabling towns such as Salford and Manchester to maintain local autonomy as central government control encroached on police forces as exemplified by the 'Certificate of Efficiency' provided by HM Inspector of Constabulary.⁹ When successfully awarded this came both with a sizeable Home Office grant towards police costs and provided a public affirmation of council performance.

Many influences brought to bear nationally, and in Manchester and Salford particularly, changed the way that emerging nineteenth-century towns were both administered and policed. New industries and the 'factory' concentrated increasing levels of population which changed the nature of towns – especially so in

⁶ Chris A. Williams, 'Counting Crimes or Counting People: Some implications of mid nineteenth century British Police Returns', *Crime Histoire et Societies/ Crime History and Societies*, vol. 4, no 2 (2000), s.12, pp. 77- 93

⁷ M. Banton, *The Policeman in the Community* (London: Tavistock, 1964), p. 1

⁸ R. Storch, 'The Plague of the Blue Locusts: Police Reform and Popular Resistance in Northern England 1840-1857', *International Review of Social History*, 20 (1975), pp. 61-90, at p. 64

⁹ C. Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (Harlow: Longman, 1991), pp. 53-54

Manchester and Salford and thus a new approach to policing was required to meet the new demands. We will concern ourselves with the development of policing in the local area but will analyse this development in a wider, national context. The concept of how policing developed from the 'old' to the 'new' police will be considered. By making comparisons about 'watching' and 'policing' either nationally or in Manchester and Salford it will be important to critique the sources and test the reliability of the statistics upon which such comparisons can be drawn. This will provide a context for a comprehensive discussion of the subject of nineteenth-century police development.

The broad conclusions that emerge from this study, as we shall demonstrate, are:

- a. By the late nineteenth century, a coherent administrative structure had emerged, around the twin poles of the Chief Constable and the Watch Committees which generated a fairly consistent policy and practice.
- b. This reflected an often-complicated relationship between professional police officers and local politicians and, also, the influence of more general trends of ideas and social development.
- c. The evidence suggests that policing in later nineteenth century Manchester and Salford was increasingly effectual in a number of ways, as shown by the way in which local trends in recorded delinquency and criminality track wider ones.
- d. One aspect of the institutional development that becomes very clear is that of marked localism, with no formal cooperation or coordination between autonomous police authorities. This is particularly striking in this instance because of the proximity and almost indistinguishable nature of the two areas. However, the evidence also shows that there was considerable informal cooperation between the two forces behind the veil of separateness.
- e. The darker aspect of the institutionalisation was the opportunity provided for abuse of power by key individuals by virtue of the office they held in the authoritative structure of the policing system. It was the scene of a particularly bad instance of this which attracted national attention, in the case of Superintendent William Bannister. As we shall see, this is both an interesting

event, and something that casts light on how structures of administration could be used as well as serve the public.

The Significance of Manchester and Salford

Manchester had a population of c.22,481 in 1773, rising to 544,000 by 1901. Salford, always smaller than Manchester, had experienced an increase in population from 4,765 at the end of the eighteenth century to 220,957.¹⁰ South East Lancashire, revolving around Manchester and Salford, had become a major industrial area. As Briggs has noted, Manchester was 'the business capital of a whole constellation of textile towns'.¹¹ For Kidd, 'the quality of life is determined by many things. Industrial growth generated great wealth [...] but it also occasioned great poverty'.¹² Manchester and Salford were at the epicentre of a step change in world manufacturing. Cotton was the industry that generated this step change and it was to this that policing had to adapt.

Literature Review

Policing across the United Kingdom had followed the same model for centuries prior to the introduction of the Metropolitan force in London in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850). The first and pioneering work on criminology was conducted by men whose names are amongst the most famous of those who contributed to the development of what we now refer to as the 'new' police. Firstly, Tobias refers to the 'Royal Commission on a Constabulary Force' appointed in 1836 which was represented by Speaker of the House Charles Shaw Lefevre (1794-1888), Charles Rowan (1782-1852) who became the Metropolitan Police's first Commissioner, and Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890) who is credited with doing much of the work. The

¹⁰ 'Population of the Townships 1773-1901', Salford Local History Museum, unpublished typescript, n.d.

¹¹ A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 37

¹² Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 34

secretary to this group was Samuel Redgrave (1802-1876) who did much of the work on improving police statistics.¹³ Secondly, the historiography of policing had its modern roots with Prof. Sir Leon Radzinowicz (1906 – 1999) in the 1940s and remains an essential resource.¹⁴ Bruce P. Smith defines it as ‘the most comprehensive treatment of English justice’.¹⁵ The development of the Metropolitan Police was catalogued by Charles Reith in the 1950s. Whilst most subsequent descriptions of this subject merely indicate that the ‘Met’ took some years to establish, Reith described how difficult the circumstances were from a political and operational viewpoint. It is now obvious that the creation of this new force in London was merely the beginning of the subject and that many obstacles had to be overcome before this new model of policing came to be established and copied not only across the United Kingdom but across the world.¹⁶ More recently Emsley has been at the forefront of research into the history of crime and policing and observed that ‘30 years ago the history of crime, criminal justice, penal policy and penal institutions in Britain was a subject scarcely explored by academics’, and even since, little academic literature has been published.¹⁷ It is into this limited field that this original research topic enters. It will concentrate on primary sources emanating from the Watch Committees, i.e. senior committees, of the councils of two neighbouring northern towns, Manchester and Salford, and will be complemented by the reports provided annually by their respective Chief Constables.

The subject of this thesis is policing in Manchester and Salford in the two decades at the end of the nineteenth century. The importance and significance of the following chapters are that they form the only work that has attempted to provide

¹³ J.J. Tobias, *Nineteenth-Century Crime: Prevention and Punishment* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), pp. 56-58

¹⁴ L.Radzinowicz, *A History of the English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750*, 5 Vols (London: Stevens and Son, 1948-90)

¹⁵ Bruce Smith, ‘English Criminal Justice Administration 1650 – 1850; A Historiographic Essay’, *Law and History Review*, Vol 25, Issue 3 (2007), pp. 593-634

¹⁶ Charles Reith, *A New Study of Police History* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956)

¹⁷ C. Emsley, ‘Crime and Punishment: 10 years of research. Filling in, adding up, moving on: Criminal Justice History in Contemporary Britain’, *Crime History and Societies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2005), pp.117-138

a detailed comparison of policing in this area and the activities of the Manchester Watch Committee (MCWC) and Salford Watch Committee (SWC). It is unique. A preparatory piece of work by Daniels assesses the performance of the newly created SWC in instigating and managing the 'new police' in the emerging Borough of Salford between the period 1844, when that town was incorporated, until 1880.¹⁸ Hewitt describes policing in Manchester from the eighteenth century until the more modern era but writes about the problematic introduction of the 'new' police in Manchester and how the 'ancien regime' simply refused to accept any change and carried on regardless.¹⁹ A detailed discussion about the transition from the 'old' to the 'new' police in Manchester and the ensuing conflicts can be found in Joyce.²⁰ Briggs provides some insight into the conditions prevailing in the nineteenth century whilst Kidd and Greenall provide contextual information which details the conditions that prevailed in Manchester and Salford and the environment into which policing took place. Woodman further contextualizes with a description of the environment in the two towns by discussing the role of the public house, the emerging temperance movement and the politics of the publican in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Publicans would prove to be influential in Manchester and Salford politics, membership of local councils and policing authorities later that century.²¹ Simon outlines how local government in Manchester coped with providing civic administration which attempted to cope with the complexities of industrialising towns and massive demographic change.²² The website www.victorianpolicestations.org provides policing structures, period mapping of Manchester and the location of police stations.²³ Storch and Emsley

¹⁸ Daniels, 'The Watch Committee'

¹⁹ E. Hewitt, *A History of Policing in Manchester* (Manchester: Morten, 1979), pp. 43-50

²⁰ P. Joyce, 'The Transition from "Old" to "New" Policing in Early Nineteenth Century Manchester', *The Police Journal*, (April 1993), vol. 66, pp. 197-206;

²¹ D.E. Woodman, 'Radical Politics and the Role of the Public House in Manchester, 1815 - 1850', (unpub. MA, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2003)
A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*; Kidd, *Manchester*; Greenall, *Victorian Salford*; S.D. Simon, *A Century of City Government, Manchester 1838 – 1938* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938)

²³ www.victorianpolicestations.org, Manchester Historical Maps

attempt to provide a description of the emerging role of the police in the late nineteenth century.²⁴

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 allowed towns to attain borough status. This Act created a new era in the development of local government and this is particularly well covered by Fraser and Davies in Cannadine.²⁵ A more local perspective on the same subject is provided by Redford, Greenall and Garrard.²⁶ In the context of municipal development, and, in particular, over policing, the Counties and Borough Police Act of 1856 had a significant effect, not the least of which was to force localities to establish their policing function on a more formal level. This pill was sweetened by the establishment of subsidies paid by the Home Office to local councils. This effectively allowed central government a modicum of control over policing. This is covered in Wall, Critchley, Emsley and Reiner.²⁷

To administer the increasingly complex affairs of these rapidly increasing boroughs, and after incorporation under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, local councils adopted a 'committee' system upon which elected councillors dealt with matters as they arose. Redford, Greenall and Garrard contribute to the understanding of the development of the committee system and its operation in

²⁴ Storch, 'The Plague of the Blue Locusts', pp. 61-90; Emsley, *The English Police*, ch.4, p.65

²⁵ D. Fraser, *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982); and in particular 'Municipal Reform in Historical Perspective' in *Municipal Reform in the Industrial City*, ed. Fraser; J. Davies 'Aristocratic Town Makers and the Coal Metropolis' in D. Cannadine, *Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth Century Towns* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982)

²⁶ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol 1; R. Greenall, 'Local Government in Salford' (unpub. MA, University of Leicester, 1970); J. Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns 1830-80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983)

²⁷ D.S. Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales* (Aldershot: Ashgate Dartmouth, 1998); T.A. Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales*, (London: Constable, 1967); Emsley, *The English Police*; Emsley, *Policing and its Context 1750 – 1870* (London: Macmillan, 1983); R. Reiner, *The Politics of the Police* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4th edn. 2010)

both Manchester and Salford.²⁸ Garrard provides much detail about the respective councils and their make-up in three Lancashire towns comparing Salford with Bolton and Rochdale.²⁹ Hennock similarly provides a comprehensive account of committee development and membership using Birmingham as his case study.³⁰ E.D. Simon provides an almost contemporaneous account of the committee system in Manchester prior to the First World War.³¹ The committee system more generally is discussed by Elliot, Barber and Gatrell in Fraser.³² Redford further discusses the Watch Committee in Manchester whilst its operation and relevance are described in Steedman and Nott-Bower.³³

The development of police and policing are described in detail in Reith,³⁴ although the Whiggish concept of a continuous and successful police development over the decades is somewhat tarnished by what became known as the 'Bannister Affair' that caused much trouble and difficulty in Manchester in the latter two decades of the nineteenth-century; this is discussed in Chapter 4. The Police History Society has published a comprehensive police history written by Stallion and Wall, which combined with Godfrey and Lawrence and Emsley in Newburn covers policing development.³⁵ No comprehensive historiography of policing could be complete

²⁸ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 1; Greenall, *Victorian Salford*; Garrard, *Leadership and Power*

²⁹ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*

³⁰ E.P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973)

³¹ E.D. Simon, *A City Council from Within* (London: Longmans Green, 1926)

³² A. Elliot, 'Municipal Government in Bradford in the mid – nineteenth century'; B. Barber, 'Municipal government in Leeds 1835 – 1914'; and V.A.C. Gatrell, 'Incorporation and the pursuit of Liberal Hegemony in Manchester 1790 – 1839' all in *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City*, ed. Fraser

³³ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 3; C. Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: the Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-1880* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); W. Nott-Bower, *Fifty-Two Years a Policeman* (London: Edward Arnold, Second Impression; 1926)

³⁴ Reith, *A New Study*

³⁵ M. Stallion and David S. Wall, *The British Police: Police Forces and Chief Officers 1829-2000* (Hook: Police History Society, 1999); B. Godfrey and P. Lawrence, *Crime and Justice 1750-1950* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2005); C. Emsley, 'The Birth and Development of the Police', in *Handbook of Policing*, ed. Tim Newburn (Cullompton: Willan, 2nd ed.2008), pp. 72–89

without listing the output of Emsley who has written extensively on all aspects of this subject. This thesis must pay Emsley a special debt.³⁶ Welsh, by describing the economy and politics of the area and the subsequent organization, attempts to analyse what the new police were expected to do. He describes the difficulties that occurred during the introduction of the new police and uses as a case study the borough of Hull.³⁷ McLaughlin and Bittner attempt to define the work with which policemen and police forces became involved. That the role of the policeman was an important one is at the core of much of the historiography and, as has been written by McLaughlin, 'the police are the most visible representation of state sovereign authority in civil society and police officers are authorised to use their considerable powers to take action against crime and disorder in a manner that is both fair and impartial'.³⁸ They describe their visibility and the comprehensive, uncatalogued and almost incoherent range of activities with which the police became involved.³⁹ Policing did not occur in a vacuum but policemen were very much part of their community. The conditions that they worked in are described in Hobsbawm, Greenall, Engels, Trevelyan, and Bullock and poverty was endemic in Manchester and Salford during the latter two decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

³⁶ C. Emsley, 'Police Politics', *History Today*, vol. 63 (2013), pp. 19-20; idem 'Crime and Punishment: 10 years of Research', *Crime, History and Societies*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2005), pp. 117-138; idem *The Great British Bobby* (London: Quercus, 2009); idem *Crime, Police & Penal Policy European Experiences 1750-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); idem *Hard Men: the English and Violence since 1750* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005); idem "'Mother what Did Policemen do when there weren't any Motors?'" *The Law the Police and the Regulation of Motor Traffic in England. 1900 – 1939*, *Historical Journal*, vol. 36, iss. 2 (1993), pp. 357–381; idem *The English Police: A Political and Social History* 1996 (Harlow: Longman, 2nd ed.1996); 'Crime in 19th Century Britain', *History Today*, vol. 38(4) (1988), pp. 40-47; *Policing and its Context 1750-1870* (London: MacMillan, 1983); C. Emsley, and M. Clapson, 'Recruiting the English Policeman c.1840-1940', *Policing and Society*, vol. 3 (1994), pp. 269-286; C. Emsley and H. Shpayer-Makov, 'The Police Detective and Police History', in *Police Detectives in History, 1750 – 1950*, ed. C. Emsley and H. Shpayer-Makov (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1-15

³⁷ D. R. Welsh, 'The reform of urban policing in Victorian England: a study of Kingston upon Hull from 1836 to 1866' (unpub. PhD, University of Hull, 1997)

³⁸ E. McLaughlin, *The New Policing* (London: Sage, 2007)

³⁹ E. McLaughlin, *The New Policing*, p. vii; E. Bittner, *Functions of the Police in Modern Society* (New York: Aronson, 1975)

⁴⁰ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Abacus, 1975; repr. 2014);

Poverty was a fact of life. Lees writes about this subject generally and Kidd, specifically, about Manchester and Salford and the strict interpretation of out-relief.⁴¹ Improvement in standards of health in Manchester and Salford did not come cheap in terms of the provision of clean water and the costs and debates in these cities are described by Ritvo and Sheard.⁴² By the latter decades of the nineteenth century the immigrant Irish had become an integral part of both Manchester and Salford and required policing in both boroughs. They suffered much because of first generation poverty, the conditions they found themselves living under and the low esteem with which they were viewed by the local population. These experiences are catalogued by the works of Bull, Busted, and Busted and Hodgson.⁴³ Busted traces Irish migration to the poorer areas of Manchester such as 'little Ireland' and Angel Meadow, both areas of desperate poverty, high crime and the prejudice stirred up locally by protestant preachers like the Rev. Hugh Stowell (1799-1865) of Salford. The natural extension of immigration from Ireland into England was the phenomenon of 'Fenianism' both

Greenall, *Victorian Salford*; F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), ed. David McLellan; G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (London: Longman, 1978); R. Bullock, *Salford 1900 – 1914: The County Borough at the Start of the Twentieth Century* (Salford: Richardson, 2000)

⁴¹ L.H. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers the English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2006); A. Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester Voluntary Charity, Poor Relief and the Casual Poor 1860 – 1900' in *City, Class and Culture* eds. A.J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985)

⁴² H. Ritvo, 'Fighting for Thirlmere-The Roots of Environmentalism', *Science*, vol. 300, no. 5625 (2003), pp. 1510–11; 'Manchester v. Thirlmere and the Construction of the Victorian Environment', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 49, iss. 3 (2007); *The Dawn of Green. Manchester, Thirlmere, and Modern Environmentalism* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2009); Sally Sheard, 'Water and Health: The Formation and Exploitation of the Relationship in Liverpool, 1847–1900', *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire*, vol. 143 (1994)

⁴³ P. Bull, 'William O'Brien M.P: The Metropolitan and International Dimensions of Irish Nationalism', *Immigrants and Minorities* Vol.27, Issue 2–3 (2009); M.Busted, *The Irish in Manchester c.1750 – 1921* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Busted and R. Hodgson, 'Irish migrant responses to urban life in the early nineteenth-century Manchester', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 162, No. 2 (1996), pp. 139-153

nationally and in Manchester and Salford particularly and this is discussed *inter alia* by McNamara, Newsinger, Sheridan and Gilley, and Comerford.⁴⁴ Fenianism in Manchester and Salford assumed a high degree of publicity and notoriety after the murder of a Manchester police sergeant when accompanying Irish prisoners to a local gaol; Busted, Rose, McGill and Redmond have written on this subject.⁴⁵

One of the primary sources for this thesis will be the Annual Reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford. Both these reports contain a wealth of statistical data as collected by the two police forces and published by the respective Watch Committees. The two new disciplines of statistics and criminology met in the nineteenth century and consequently provided a prime example for the practice of collecting and analysing data. Thus, there is a wealth of statistics emanating from the policing authorities in Manchester and Salford, so a discussion about the quality of these statistics is appropriate. There is a growing historiography about crime and each historian considers it appropriate to preface their contribution with a warning as to the limitations of data related to criminal statistics in the late nineteenth century. The statistics of crime and their utility is dealt with by Reiner, Archer, Godfrey and Lawrence, Tobias, Emsley, David Taylor, Howard Taylor, Morris, Daniels, Gatrell and Hadden, Coleman and Norris and Coleman and Moynihan.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ J. Newsinger, *Fenianism in Mid – Victorian Britain* (London: Pluto, 1994); R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and society 1848 – 1882* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, Humanities Press, 1985); R. Swift and Sheridan Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); C. McNamara, 'The Execution of the Manchester Martyrs, 1867: Special Constable Samuel Page's Letter to his Mother', *History Ireland*, Vol.19 Issue 6 (2011), pp. 30 – 31;

⁴⁵ M. Busted, 'The Manchester Martyrs: a Victorian Melodrama' *History Ireland*, Vol. 16, Issue 6, (2008), pp. 35 – 37; P. Rose, *The Manchester Martyrs: the study of a Fenian Tragedy* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1970); J. McGill and Tom Redmond, *The Story of the Manchester Martyrs* (Manchester: Manchester Branch Connolly Association, 1963)

⁴⁶ R. Reiner, *Crime: The Mystery of the Common Sense Concept* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), pp. 176–178; J. Archer, *The Monster Evil* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*; Tobias, *Nineteenth-Century Crime*; Emsley, 'Crime and Punishment', pp. 117-13; Emsley, *Crime, Police, & Penal Policy European Experiences 1750-1940* (Oxford: Oxford

If there is an absence of accurate statistical method and if the body publishing the results is elected politicians then it is sensible to treat the information with due caution. Emsley writes that for many years after the 1856 County and Borough Police Act the police crime returns referenced 'known thieves and depredators' in any police force area. He concludes that there was an absence of definition and says that 'the major problem with these statistics is that it was not until the close of the century that any form of guidance was given as to what these categories should contain'.⁴⁷

This thesis will analyse the returns of the Manchester and Salford policing authorities via access to local primary sources. It is anticipated that a fundamental role of the police will be found to be in maintaining public order but this concept will be investigated from the perspective of the two towns. The introduction to Gatrell, Lenman and Parker notes that 'it is clear that law and its enforcement systems are controls which every society employs to protect the established order'. The authors add that 'these controls suffice to cope with public disorder'.⁴⁸ The maintenance of public order could be simply an element of local public policy; see

University Press, 2007: repr. 2009); C. Emsley, *The Great British Bobby* (London: Quercus, 2009); Emsley, *Policing and its Context*; D. Taylor, *The New Police in Nineteenth Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); D. Taylor, *Policing the Victorian Town* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); H. Taylor, 'Forging the Job: A crisis of "Modernization" or redundancy for the police in England and Wales 1900-1939', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 39 no. 1 (1999), pp. 113-35; Robert Morris, "'Lies, Damned Lies and Criminal Statistics'": Reinterpreting the criminal statistics in England and Wales', *Crime, History and Societies*, vol.5, no.1 (2001), pp. 111-127; D. Daniels, 'The Watch Committee'; V. Gatrell and J. Hadden, 'Criminal Statistics and their Interpretation', *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the use of Quantitative Methods in the Study of Social Data*, ed. E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), Ch. 8, pp. 336-39; C. Coleman and C. Norris, *Introducing Criminology* (Cullompton: Willan, 2000); C. Coleman and Jenny Moynihan, *Understanding Crime Data: Haunted by the Dark Figure* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996; repr. 1998)

⁴⁷ C. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 3rd edn. 2005), p. 23

⁴⁸ V.A.C. Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker, eds., *Crime and the Law, The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London: Europa, 1980), p. 2

Smith.⁴⁹ It could be determined by the pressure applied to the local council and by them to their elected Watch Committee. An article in the press or letters to the local newspaper could generate an instruction from the Watch Committee to the Chief Constable and Emsley noted that 'changes in policing could also change the statistics of crime'.⁵⁰ Taylor writes that the statistics of crime are simply the information that a Watch Committee is prepared to publish: 'Victorian police did not bother much about reactive policing of indictable crime; instead they concentrated on preventing crime and keeping the streets clear of suspicious characters using non-indictable offences. Each police officer was expected to bring in the same number of non-indictable prosecutions each year'.⁵¹ The number of arrests was a function of the number of policeman employed. More policemen generated more arrests which influenced the published crime numbers. It is pertinent then to ask if the police forces of Manchester and Salford increased their complement between 1880 and 1900.

Emsley notes that with the advent of HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in 1856 after the Counties and Borough Police Act there was an element of political control which increased as the nineteenth century wore on. Howard Taylor provides a jaundiced view of the value of criminal statistics in the late nineteenth century.⁵² He notes that provincial forces in the period 1850 to 1900 recorded consistently low crime figures, as recorded in *Judicial Statistics*. He suggests 'so far as the statistics were concerned this had not mattered much to the Home Office in the past, since the Inspectors of Constabulary maintained the status quo equating low crime with efficiency'.⁵³ Taylor also notes that this was 'largely owing to the vacuum of disinterest at the Home Office'.⁵⁴ It was of course important to local

⁴⁹ P.T. Smith, *Policing Victorian London* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), p. 15-17

⁵⁰ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p. 26

⁵¹ H. Taylor, 'Forging the Job', p. 114 – 115

⁵² H. Taylor, 'Rationing Crime: the Political Economy of Criminal Statistics since the 1850s', *Economic History Review*, vol. 51, no.3 (1998), pp. 569-590

⁵³ H. Taylor, 'The Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics of England and Wales 1914-1960' in *Crime, History and Societies*, vol.2, no.1 (1998), pp. 5-28, s .24

⁵⁴ H. Taylor, 'Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics', s .26

Watch Committees to report to their ratepayers that their area was actively policed. Rising crime figures would have indicated that the efficiency of their police force could be drawn into question. The number and types of crime that were brought to the attention of the police were not in their control but how they appeared in police statistics was a matter of the policy adopted by the Chief Constable. Chris A. Williams notes a significant change in arrest rates in Sheffield and observes that 'the most likely explanation for this break is a change in policy stemming from the top: a new Chief Constable took over in 1858'.⁵⁵ It appears that Watch Committees and Chief Constables were quite prepared to be economical with their published crime statistics. In Tobias it is noted that in 1892 a discussion based upon published data appeared in the publication *Nineteenth Century*. The discussion allowed the Chaplain of Wandsworth Prison to argue that crime had increased, the Chairman of the Police Commissioners could argue that it had decreased whilst the Chief Constable of Staffordshire argued that they were substantially unchanged.⁵⁶ Access to the same statistics allows any authority to arrive at those conclusions that are most convenient.

Godfrey writes that 'if we can examine how statistics were relied upon in the nineteenth and twentieth century by social police theorists we might grow to have a better understanding of their strengths and weaknesses'. However, he concludes that even then it would not be possible to answer the quantitative questions confidently.⁵⁷ As Chris. A. Williams notes, crime statistics lack reliability and require considerable comprehension and qualification for them to be employed accurately.⁵⁸

Williams was writing about policing in the city of Sheffield in the mid-nineteenth century and concludes that the system used by the police force of the city was

⁵⁵ Chris. A. Williams, 'Counting Crimes and Counting People', *Crime, History and Societies*, vol.4, no.2 (2000), pp. 77-93, s.14.

⁵⁶ Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1967), p.15

⁵⁷ B. Godfrey, *Crime in England, 1880 – 1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 12

⁵⁸ Chris. A. Williams, 'Counting Crimes and Counting People', s.12.

fundamentally flawed in that, 'the system was characterised by stages and decisions: the policeman's decision to arrest; the charge in court and the magistrate's verdict'. All participants in the process had discretion and when statistical collation took place, crime and arrest rates would have been distorted, even at the local level. Williams also noted that changes in policing policy or personnel could have a significant influence upon reported activity levels. Whilst there was an increasing demand for this information from all parties at a local and national level and as more and more numbers were produced, the level of consistency fluctuated greatly. Without providing a definition of the meaning of the terms it could not be possible to expect any degree of commonality of use. It is acknowledged that inconsistencies occurred between the discretion and reporting – one policeman versus another in the same police station. Aggregated statistics at borough police force level are suspect. When police statistics were collated at national level inconsistencies abound. Clearly then the crime statistics published by the Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford decennially over the period 1880-1900 cannot be used uncritically but will be used as contextual material to help describe what was going on in the two towns in the late nineteenth century. The concomitant of the limitations of those crimes that are reported are those crimes that are not recorded. For several reasons, the public were not always keen to tell the police that they were the victims of crime so the full picture of criminology cannot be revealed nor even estimated. This gap between crimes reported and crimes committed is generally referred to as the 'dark figure'

The difficulty of coming to terms with what 'crime' relates to is discussed in Daniels.⁵⁹ A study of crime and policing in its historical context reveals that little remains constant and the changing environment is ever present. The development from the old system of 'watching' to the creation of the 'new' police took place in the absence of meaningful data. There was a perception that crime was increasing and the watching systems that prevailed were impotent in the face of

⁵⁹ Daniels, 'The Watch Committee'

industrialisation and population increase.⁶⁰ The concept of crime itself changes over time as public attitudes change and laws are enacted or amended. Emsley describes this changing environment and attempts to define the concept.⁶¹ This attempt at defining crime is developed in Reiner, Mawby, and Loader and Mulcahy.⁶² Stuart Hall expands on this: 'crime is not a fixed and universal phenomenon which remains the same in all societies and at all times. It changes through history. More significantly wider social and economic changes influence the definition of crime'.⁶³ We begin to discuss criminality in Manchester and Salford in 1880-1900 knowing that a definition of these terms is at best a moveable feast. They were imperfectly understood and used differently by individual policemen, police shifts, police stations and police divisions, let alone between policing authorities, in different boroughs and cities. The number and types of crime in Manchester and Salford will be highlighted and comment on this will be made with reference to trends nationally.⁶⁴ It appears to be the case that policing related to low level offences and the control of public order. This is highlighted in Woolnough, which examines the problems police encountered, the offences caused by vagrants, traditional recreations, drunkenness, pickpockets and gambling and how discretionary policing was essential in policing the area.⁶⁵ Confirmation can be found in the memoirs of a very successful Manchester detective who has proved to be both entertaining and illuminating: Jerome Caminada (1844-1914) was a policeman in the Manchester area in the latter decades of the nineteenth

⁶⁰ Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*, p.9-19

⁶¹ Emsley, *Crime, Police and Penal Policy*, p. 1-4

⁶² Reiner, *Crime, The Mystery*, pp. 186-187; R.I. Mawby, 'Models of Policing', in *Handbook of Policing*, ed. Tim Newburn (Cullompton: Willan, 2nd ed. 2008), pp. 17-40; Ian Loader and Aoghan Mulcahy, *Policing and the Condition of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 22-23

⁶³ S. Hall, *Law and Disorder: Histories of Crime and Justice* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1986), D103, block 2, part 1, p.5

⁶⁴ Gatrell, Lenman and Parker, *Crime and the Law*, pp. 333-337

⁶⁵ G.N. Woolnough, 'The Policing of Petty Crime in Victorian Cumbria' (unpub. PhD, Keele University, 2013)

century.⁶⁶ Drink and drunkenness was a major element in the recreational life of the populations of Manchester and Salford and consequently played a very significant part in the work of the local police forces. Huggins writes about the war waged by those in the Victorian period who virtuously campaigned against vice and its resultant behaviour. Best, contributing to the same subject, writes that some workers were still being paid in beer. Wilson notes that drink was an obvious narcotic. Briggs writes about the new town of Middlesbrough and how drink and the public house were the only recreation available for working men.⁶⁷ Storch quotes a Lincolnshire magistrate writing about the inability to police drunkenness.⁶⁸ Kidd notes that industrial Manchester and Salford had a problem with drink and, unsurprisingly, was the headquarters of the temperance movement.⁶⁹ This thesis enumerates crimes in the Manchester and Salford area between the years 1880 – 1900 which appears to confirm that crime (for whatever reason) was on a decreasing trend. Emsley and Archer conclude that in the period of the thesis ‘most murders went uninvestigated by the police’, which suggests that either the police were uninterested in this type of crime or that they had proved to be incapable of solving more serious offences leading to underreporting by the public.⁷⁰ Churchill concurs and writes that the success of the police lay more in dealing with traffic problems, nuisance, drunkenness and prostitution than more serious offences and that in Victorian society the local populace were perhaps more likely than the courts to deal with offenders.⁷¹ The subject of female offenders who appear in the crime statistics is discussed in Emsley, Philips,

⁶⁶ J. Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol. 1 (Manchester: Heywood, 1895); J. Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol. 2 (Manchester: Heywood, 1901)

⁶⁷ M. Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Arrow, 2002); G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (London: Fontana, 1979); Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 267

⁶⁸ Storch, ‘The Plague of the Blue Locusts’, p. 65

⁶⁹ Kidd, *Manchester*, p.132.

⁷⁰ Emsley, ‘Crime and Punishment’, pp. 9-10; J.E. Archer, ‘Mysterious and Suspicious Deaths, Missing Homicides in North West England (1850 – 1900)’, *Crime, History and Society*, Vol.12, no.1, (2008)

⁷¹ D. Churchill, ‘Crime, Policing and Control in Leeds, C.1830 – 1890’ (unpub. PhD, Open University, 2012)

Godfrey and Lawrence and Tobias.⁷² Statistics for Manchester and Salford indicate that women appear extensively in the figures. There are however, difficulties interpreting crime statistics relating to women which is ably discussed in Bardsley, Birchall, Evans and Jamieson, Heidensohn, Silvestri and Crowther-Dowey, Walklate, and Zedner.⁷³ Walkowitz writes specifically about prostitution in Victorian society and there is a contribution from Jerome Caminada about the prevalence of vice and prostitution in Deansgate in Manchester.⁷⁴ Deansgate was at the boundary of Manchester and Salford and catered for the recreational needs of both boroughs. Archer writes about female 'savages' and 'tippling viragoes' and Davies talks about 'cruel viragoes'.⁷⁵ The concept of the declining appearance of women in crime statistics appears in Coleman and Moynihan who write about the 'dark figure' and female crime and it again appears in Feeley and Little.⁷⁶ Carlen and Griffin conclude that offences conducted by females are largely due to their lack of money, even

⁷² Emsley, *Crime, Police, & Penal Policy*; D. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England, The Black Country 1835 – 1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*; Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*

⁷³ B. Bardsley, *Flowers in Hell, an Investigation into Women and Crime* (London: Pandora, 1987); J. Birchall, 'The Carnival Revels of Manchester's Vagabonds: Young Working-class Women and Monkey Parades in the 1870s', *Women's History Review*, vol.15, no. 2 (2006), pp. 229-25; K. Evans, and J. Jamieson, eds., *Gender and Crime: A Reader* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2008); F. Heidensohn, *Women and Crime* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); M. Silvestri and Chris Crowther-Dowey, *Gender and Crime* (London: Sage, 2008); S. Walklate, *Gender and Crime* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995); *Gender, Crime and Criminal Justice* (Cullompton: Willan, 2001); L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)

⁷⁴ J. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight, Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1992); *Prostitution and Victorian Society, Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*

⁷⁵ J. E. Archer, *The Monster Evil, Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); A. Davies, 'These Viragoes are no less Cruel than the Lads: Young Women, Gangs and Violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 39, no. 1 (1999), pp. 72-89

⁷⁶ Coleman and Moynihan, *Understanding Crime Data*; Malcolm M. Feeley and Deborah L. Little, 'The Vanishing Female: The Decline of Women in the Criminal Process, 1687-1912', *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1991), pp. 719-758

when in work.⁷⁷ Godfrey, Farrall and Karstedt explain sentencing patterns for women which appear to be different from their male counterpart, confirmed in Turner.⁷⁸ Domestic violence is singularly absent from published statistics from the period and D’Cruze writes that this class of offence was not a matter for the courts and that communities would have sorted out these problems without recourse to police or the courts.⁷⁹

In Britain generally, and Manchester and Salford particularly, the problem of gang culture was serious even though neither the local published statistics nor the minutes of the respective Watch Committees provide information. In Birmingham, this phenomenon appears under the name ‘Peaky Blinders’, in Liverpool, the ‘High Rip Gang’ and in Manchester and Salford ‘scuttling’. Gang culture caused considerable trouble throughout the period of this thesis. This is discussed contemporaneously in Russell and more recently by Andrew Davies and Gooderson who write specifically about scuttling in Manchester and Salford whilst Archer, in contrast, refers to neighbouring Liverpool.⁸⁰ This subject is also covered in Duffy

⁷⁷ P. Carlen, *Women, Crime and Poverty* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1988); E. Griffin, *Liberty’s Dawn: A Peoples History of the Industrial Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013)

⁷⁸ B. Godfrey, Stephen Farrall and Susanne Karstedt, ‘Explaining Gendered Sentencing Patterns for Violent Men and Women in the late Victorian and Edwardian Period’, *The British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 45, iss. 5 (2005), pp. 696-720; J. Turner, ‘Punishing Women, 1880–1905’, *The Howard Journal*, Vol. 50, No 5. (2011), pp. 505–51; J. Turner, ‘Summary Justice for Women: Stafford Borough, 1880 – 1905’, *Crime, History and Societies*, Vol.16, no. 2 (2012), pp. 55-77

⁷⁹ S. D’Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage: Sex, Violence and Victorian Working Women* (London: UCL Press, 1998); S D’Cruze, *Everyday Violence in Britain, 1850-1950: Gender and Class* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); S. D’Cruze and Louise A. Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

⁸⁰ C. E. B. Russell, *Manchester Boys* (Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1905); A. Davies, ‘Saturday Night Markets in Manchester and Salford 1840-1939’, *Manchester Region History Review*, vol. 1 (2) (1987); A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender, and Poverty: Working Class Culture in Salford and Manchester 1900– 1939* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1992); A. Davies, ‘Youth gangs, Masculinity and Violence in Late Victorian Manchester and Salford’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol 32, No. 2 (1998), pp. 349-369; A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester* (Preston: Milo, 2008); P. Gooderson, ‘Terror on the Streets of Late Victorian Salford and

and Gillig, Miller, Deuchar, Maguire, Goldson, Brotherton, Morash, Humphries and Pearson.⁸¹

The discipline of statistical method and analysis is widely used to illuminate debate and discussion and can be particularly useful when dealing with data collected over many years. Individual datum points over one or two years can introduce an element of bias and should not be used to generate conclusions. Data collected over many years evens out this bias and produce trends upon which comment can be reliable. This thesis will use data emanating from the police forces of Manchester and Salford over the two decades 1880-1900.

In the thesis, reference will be made to the apparently low number of crimes reported to the police in relation to the high and increasing populations of Manchester and Salford. The number of crimes reported to the police in the various categories has been outlined in Table 1. These statistics are not meant to be comprehensive but indicative of the limited number of occurrences recorded by the police. The numbers are lower than anticipated in two major industrialising towns and therefore worthy of further comment.

Manchester: the Scuttling Menace', *Manchester Region History Review*, vol. 11 (1997), pp. 3-11; Archer, *The Monster Evil*

⁸¹ M. Duffy and Scott Edward Gillig, *Teen gangs: a global View*, (Westport: Greenwood, 2004); J. Miller, *One of the Guys: Girls, Gangs, and Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); R. Deuchar, *Gangs, Marginalised Youth and Social Capital* (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, 2009); M. Maguire, *Street Crime* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1996); B. Goldson, *Youth in Crisis? Gangs, Territoriality and Violence* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011); D. Brotherton, *Youth Street Gangs: A Critical Appraisal* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015); M. Morash, 'Gangs, Groups and Delinquency', *The British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 23, No.4 (1983), pp. 309-335; S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?: Oral history of Working Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981); G. Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (London: Macmillan, 1983)

Table 1: Examples of crimes and offences reported to the Police in 1890

	Manchester	Salford
Wounding	10	8
Burglary and Housebreaking	105	28
Breaking into Shops and Warehouses	116	29
Aggravated Assault	38	4
Assaults on Constables	238	86
Common assault	1140	530

Source: Annual Reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford for 1890

The subject of ‘underreporting’ has been recognised and needs to be discussed. This concept has been covered at length in Gatrell, Lenman and Parker.⁸² Underreporting of offences of crimes was noted by King discussing prosecutions prior to the middle of the nineteenth century when it was the responsibility of the victim to pursue the alleged perpetrator through the courts himself. Not surprisingly the numbers who had the resources of money, time or inclination to take this course of action were few. King concluded that fewer than one in twenty thefts resulted in a prosecution.⁸³ This reluctance of victims to report their experiences to the police continued after the state began to take responsibility for prosecuting criminals. The thesis will discuss the subject of ‘underreporting’, or the ‘dark figure’, that is, the number of crimes anticipated to have been committed by a large industrialising population but which are not recorded in any crime or police statistics and consequently cannot be quantified. Biderman and Reiss define it as ‘occurrences that by some criteria are called crime yet that are not registered in the statistics of whatever agency was the source of the data being used’.⁸⁴ That the number of crimes reported to the police in Manchester and Salford was low has

⁸² Gatrell, ‘Crime and the Law’, pp. 1-11

⁸³ P. King, *Crime, Justice and Discretion in England 1742-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 11

⁸⁴ A. Biderman and A. Reiss, ‘On Exploring the “Dark Figure” of Crime’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 374 (1967), pp. 1-15, at p.1

been demonstrated in Table 1, but cannot be identified as whether this was underreporting or because of other factors. It is also surprising that crime statistics published at the time did not engender any contemporaneous comment. An examination of the *Manchester Guardian* during the period 1880-1900 indicates that most press articles commenting on police statistics confine themselves to an almost slavish reiteration of the published reports of the Chief Constables with a marked absence of comment or analysis.

The 'dark figure' is discussed by contributors in the historiography of crime and includes Godfrey, Williams and Lawrence; Coleman and Moynihan; Tobias; Rawlings; Emsley; Jones;⁸⁵ whilst Eric Hewitt writes,

People living in Manchester knew all too well from their life experiences that most crimes went unrecorded and undetected for all manner of reasons, not least that it was pointless involving the police, who was seen by most people as being at best inefficient and at worst useless.⁸⁶

Several references are made to a lack of statistical evidence in various categories. Coleman and Moynihan attempted to provide insight into what they describe as 'the slippery subject of the sources, status and use of the criminological data'.⁸⁷ They subtitle their work 'haunted by the dark figure'. In the mid to late nineteenth century the emerging disciplines of statistics and criminology combined to attempt an understanding of, and provide answers to, the dilemma of crime and criminality. By highlighting those who were criminals and addressing the environmental and sociological issues which caused crime would it be possible to minimise criminal

⁸⁵ B. Godfrey, Chris. A. Williams and P. Lawrence, *History and Crime* (London: Sage, 2007); Coleman and Moynihan, *Understanding Crime Data*; Tobias, *Nineteenth-Century Crime*; P. Rawlings, *Policing, A Short History* (Cullompton: Willan, 2002), pp. 107, p. 213; Emsley, *Policing and its Context*; D. Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community and Police in Nineteenth-century Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982)

⁸⁶ E. Hewitt, *Capital of Discontent, Protest and Crime in Manchester's Industrial Revolution* (Stroud: The History Press, 2014), p.83

⁸⁷ Coleman and Moynihan, *Understanding Crime Data*, editor's foreword.

behaviour? However, it would not be long before this optimistic view was challenged. It was obvious that the statistics only told a part of the story. The data collected only related to statistics that were created by official statisticians. It became apparent that there was a gap between what was reported by the policing authorities and crimes that were actually committed. Statistics published by Watch Committees, of which Manchester and Salford were perfect examples, provided an indication of this emerging gap. This was the 'dark figure' alluded to by many historians of this subject and quoted to such effect by Coleman and Moynihan. They also note how disconcerting it is, to be unable to ascertain the size or extent of this number. Not only did this emerging gap in the data give cause for concern about how much crime actually occurred but also about the type of people who were committing it. Chapter 3 analyses data published by the Watch Committees of the sister towns of Manchester and Salford. They give rise to the conclusion that both police forces made a concentrated effort to police public order. With the exception of theft, where they recorded many offences but solved few, they were singularly unable to come to terms with serious crime. Indictable crimes went unreported and unsolved because the authorities were not equipped to deal with it.⁸⁸

This thesis has as a subsidiary question: 'what did the Watch Committee want their police to do?' This can be measured in large part by examining the statistics as published by the policing authorities and deriving conclusions from them. A Chief Constable in his Annual Report would want to provide a mechanism by which his achievements against his 'key objectives', as given to him by his employers, could be published. In short, he would have wanted to prove the effectiveness of his force and his political masters would want to be able to prove to ratepayers that their money had been well spent. But these objective measures might be less revealing in the arena of public order. A constable and his sergeant would have to develop personal strategies to maintain order within their own beat area and that would require the use of personal discretion. An understanding of a locality would

⁸⁸ Daniels, 'The Watch Committee', pp. 52-53

allow local 'bobbies' to provide a warning to some, a ticking off to others or a more robust reaction in other circumstances. Only a small minority of these actions would appear in the criminal statistics. In these circumstances, the police themselves would be contributing to an 'under reporting' of offences of which even the authorities were aware but could not quantify. How did police discretion work? Coleman and Norris provide an example in which an officer could be presented with a situation in which he discovered two men fighting.⁸⁹ Although the constable has an objective of upholding the law and bringing miscreants to justice he has considerable latitude. He could break up a fight with an informal warning, attempt to conciliate and mediate, caution one or other of the parties concerned, arrest the one he considers responsible, or arrest both parties. Clearly there has been a public order offence but in three out of the five alternatives outlined above he would have expended considerable police time and effort without any appearance in criminal statistics. For a discussion about the use and relevance of policing with discretion see Woolnough.⁹⁰

Several things are apparent from the analysis of the statistics prepared by the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford and published by the respective Watch Committees. Perhaps the foremost is the type of offence which occupied most of the time and effort of the two police forces and consequently those Mancunians and Salfordians who 'needed policing'. Public order in the form of clearing the streets of drunks and prostitutes and a considerable amount of low level theft was the metier of nineteenth-century policing in the two towns. It is not difficult to analyse and comment upon the crime statistics that are published, and draw conclusions therefrom, but identifying gaps in the numbers requires a more critical approach. Emsley discovered that the police were recruited, quite consciously, from men with a working-class background and they were set to work policing their own kind.⁹¹ It was the lower orders that required their attention. It is apparent from the statistics, from secondary literature such as Rawlings and from reading

⁸⁹ Coleman and Norris, *Introducing Criminology* (Cullompton: Willan, 2000), p.131

⁹⁰ Woolnough, 'The Policing of Petty Crime'

⁹¹ Emsley, *Policing and its Context*, p.73

contemporary accounts such as that of Manchester policeman Jerome Caminada, that the middle classes employed, and paid for, a police force that kept the working class and their lifestyle at bay.⁹² What is absent from published data is any mention of crime committed by these middle classes, or 'white collar crime'. Coleman and Moynihan, whilst discussing crime data, apportion only one page to this subject under the heading 'the dark figure in a white collar'.⁹³ The authors quote Sutherland who defines white collar crime as 'crimes committed by persons of respectability and high social status in the course of their occupations'.⁹⁴ By its very nature, crimes that are not recorded cannot be subject to quantification or analysis. Sutherland and Cressey claim that such crime was widespread but prosecution was often avoided to prevent scandal because of the importance of those involved – both perpetrator and victim. If one looks at the classes of offence or crimes published by the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford only one, 'embezzlement', could be categorised as 'white-collar crime'. The numbers of such offences were in 1880 in Manchester, 13, 1890, 7 and 1900, 56, the respective numbers in Salford were 1, 1 and 12. Coleman and Moynihan; and Sutherland, *et al*, identify this type of crime as being significant in terms of effect and number. It is evident that this classification is not a feature of crimes that come to the attention of the police forces of Manchester and Salford. Similarly, there is absence of any indication that these authorities would know how to deal with it if it was reported.

Monica Walker discusses a more modern, but equally relevant, debate about the incidence of offences and concluded that 'it has been estimated that under half of offences are recorded by the police'.⁹⁵ Whilst being generally in accord with her conclusions it remains difficult to come to terms with her quantification of an unknown and perhaps an unknowable number. However, we can agree that there remains a considerable number of offences that are not included in official

⁹² Rawlings, *Policing*, p.143

⁹³ Coleman and Moynihan, *Understanding Crime Data*, p. 9

⁹⁴ E. Sutherland and D. Cressey, *Principles of Criminology* (Chicago: Lippincott, 1960), p. 62

⁹⁵ Monica Walker, *Interpreting Crime Statistics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p.

statistics. This applies as much today as it did in late nineteenth-century Manchester and Salford. Bottomley and Pease add that 'it is clear that the most frequent single reason for non-reporting is the triviality of the offence, but a substantial number of reasons are to do with perennial police impotence or disinterest'.⁹⁶

The emerging discipline of feminist criminology indicates considerable under reporting of crimes of a sexual nature. Historiography of crime in general records few instances of this type of crime. D'Cruze quotes Jones, whose figures for Manchester show fewer than 15 persons per year apprehended for sodomy, bestiality and rape between 1840 and 1892.⁹⁷ D'Cruze also quotes Caroline Conley whose figures show that only 41 men were convicted of rape in Kent between 1859 and 1880.⁹⁸

The 'dark figure' of offences skews our understanding of criminality as much now as in late nineteenth century Manchester and Salford. The statistics produced by the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford tell us little about criminality in the period. It does tell us about the criminals and offences that came to the notice of the policing authorities. However, this thesis intends to illuminate what the police forces were asked to do by their political masters. Not pursuing certain types of crime and types of people informs us about the prevailing mood of the time.

⁹⁶ A. Keith Bottomley and Ken Pease, *Crime and Punishment: Interpreting the Data* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), p. 25

⁹⁷ D'Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage*, p. 2; Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 152

⁹⁸ D'Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage*, p. 2

Chapter Structure

The thesis is in four parts.

Chapter 1 will provide a definition of the Watch Committee and its remit as specified and authorised by the full council. This will identify the functions that the municipality authorised the Watch Committee to perform. This chapter will then analyse the financial estimates or their annual budget that when established would be submitted to the full council.

Chapter 2 will analyse the annual reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford. A Chief Constable was a paid employee of the policing authority, a 'servant' of the Watch Committee. Whilst it has not been reported in any of the sources available, the annual report of any Chief Constable would have been read, vetted and edited by members of the committee before publication and this chapter will provide an example of what happened when a Chief Constable published his report without using the correct protocol. The published report was available to all Watch Committee members and was found within the minutes of the Committees of the two areas. It was a record of how the Chief Constable fulfilled his role and how he obeyed the orders he received from his employer and political master. An attempt will be made to come to terms with what policing meant. Policing itself will be defined as will the development from the 'old' police to the 'new' police arrangements and the difficulties that this transition created. In Salford post incorporation, little opposition is evident but the transition in Manchester created a situation in which there were three policing functions operating briefly at the same time, all chaotic and inefficient. An attempt will be made to describe the events surrounding this transition. The chapter will describe the developing police function before and after the Counties and Boroughs Police Act of 1856 in terms of recruitment, turnover, remuneration and subsequently later legislation that affected police forces including Manchester and Salford through to the conclusion of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3 will analyse the classification of crimes committed and the numbers of crimes reported to the police in Manchester and Salford in the latter two decades of the nineteenth century. The primary data used will be the statistics collated by Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford and published by the respective Watch Committees. A series of subjects arise from this analysis and will be dealt with in separate sections. The subjects include, for both Manchester and Salford, the numbers of indictable crimes; the numbers of indictable crimes dealt with summarily; the numbers of offences that were proceeded against summarily before justices; and the appearance (or the non-appearance) of women in the statistics. Latterly this analysis will be followed by the incidence of a type of criminality that is dealt with in elements of the historiography, gang warfare, referred to as 'scuttling' in Manchester and Salford. This gang culture appeared to be one of the most serious and pervasive acts of criminality throughout the latter the decades of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 4 will highlight a major feature of policing in Manchester in the period 1880 to 1900 when corruption, mismanagement and inefficiency was evident within the ranks of the Manchester police force and involved several Watch Committee members. With hindsight, progress, both in terms of the development of municipalities and their policing function, was strong, even and inevitable. However, there were struggles, pitfalls and irredeemably unresolvable issues along the way. The common thread that was involved were the local and democratically elected representatives of the ratepayers - councillors and aldermen. The administration of a large borough like Salford required experience, dedication and commitment from these men. The issues and problems facing a large city, like Manchester, were the same as those that Salford experienced but on a considerably bigger stage. This chapter will examine three areas, in Manchester and in Salford, which exposed the shortcomings of these representatives during the period 1880 to 1900. Firstly, it will examine the financial mismanagement which surrounded the arrangements made for police superannuation. Secondly, Salford and its councillors experienced financial mismanagement over the same period but their experience was much more serious. And thirdly, the Manchester Watch

Committee came under very public scrutiny in the last decade of the nineteenth century in what became known as the 'Dugdale inquiry after Mr. J. S. Dugdale QC was appointed Commissioner to the Inquiry into the 'efficiency and discipline of the Manchester Police Force'.⁹⁹ The latter part of the chapter will move away from the factual elements of the hearing and report on the Inquiry from the point of view of the Watch Committee.

⁹⁹ Baber, Frederick William [shorthand note-taker], 'In the matter of an inquiry re the efficiency and discipline of the Manchester police force, before J.S. Dugdale, commissioner. At the City sessions court, Manchester, on May 24th-29th and June 14th-18th, 1897' (unpub., 1897), hereafter 'Dugdale Proceedings'; John S. Dugdale, 'Manchester police enquiry', letter to the Home Secretary, 26 June 1897, n.p., hereafter 'Dugdale Report'. Kenelm E. Digby, 'Police enquiry', letter to John Mark, chairman of the Watch Committee of Manchester, 16 July 1897

Chapter 1. The Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford

Many elements in the historiography provide a passing reference to a Watch Committee but the scope and definition of this local government body has received limited attention and the Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford none. A Watch Committee was an important municipal committee which oversaw several necessary local authority functions which included policing, weights and measures and hackney carriages. This chapter will aim to define the activities of the Watch Committee to its full extent. Since the members of the Watch Committee provided management and oversight of the local police force it is appropriate to provide a description of that Committee, its genesis, scope, remit and the framework of local governance within which this form of policing authority was created in the latter half of the nineteenth century. An attempt can then be made to determine what elected representatives wished their police to accomplish.

The provision of policing in a municipality was a prime function of an incorporated borough. Membership of a Watch Committee consisted of senior elected representatives. By utilising the minutes of the meetings of the Watch Committees of both Manchester and Salford (1880-1900) and by analysing their financial estimates it is intended to ascertain the budgets they recommended to their council.¹ The setting of a budget is important as its ratification by the council indicates that the policies and policing arrangements for the borough have been confirmed and sanctioned by the council and therefore by the ratepayers. The analysis of the financial estimates will help to identify how the Watch Committee intended to fund their local policing function and what they wanted to spend their money on, to see how policing changed, if at all.

¹ Greater Manchester Police Museum & Archive, Salford Borough Council, Minutes of the Salford Watch Committee, 1880-1900; Manchester Central Reference Library, Archives +, Manchester City Council, Minutes of the Watch Committee, 1880-1900

1.1 Development of local governance and policing in Manchester and Salford

Municipal development in both Manchester and Salford was not achieved easily. There was considerable opposition, especially in Manchester. Police forces do not operate as independent bodies. They are the operational arm of the executive body in the shape of a democratically elected council. This council elects from its elected members- councillors– a Watch Committee whose job it is to determine policy and provide local oversight. The creation and evolving practice of the council of the township, a town, a borough or a city needs to be understood. Councils and thereby Watch Committees suffer from the vagaries of democratic control and their policies and priorities will change accordingly. Manchester was awarded its Charter of Incorporation in 1838 but such was the concerted opposition to the idea of Manchester and incorporation that very little council business took place. Although ‘due process’ had taken place in applying for incorporation there was sufficient dissent that the council had difficulty raising finance. This included paying the salaries of its employees including the newly constituted police force. Redford notes that the town was ‘reduced to a condition bordering on administrative chaos’.² The Police Commissioners had been legally advised that the new charter was not valid and attempts at raising funds via rates by the newly established borough was unauthorised and not legal. Notwithstanding the validity of the Charter of Incorporation gained by the borough, there was considerable opposition from the ‘ancien regime’.³ Although the charter is dated 1838 it would be seven years before opposition was finally overcome.⁴

Salford also had a difficult introduction to the new legislation. At a meeting of the Salford Police Commissioners in 1841 William Lockett, a supporter of the application, is reported as saying ‘either have a Corporation or the County Police’.⁵ Those towns which had not achieved borough status would be policed by the

² Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 1, p. 373

³ www.victorianpolicestations.org- Manchester’s new corporation

⁴ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 1, pp. 372-374

⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, 27 February 1841, p. 2.

county. As county magistrates could set their own rates without consultation it was not a healthy prospect. The Salford Ratepayers Retrenchment Association (SRRA) had been created in the mid-nineteenth century to oppose any scheme which could have increased any rates charged.⁶ They realised that application for a Charter would be preferable to administration by the county magistrates.

Previously it has been noted that the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 was defining legislation that modernised local government. The County and Borough Police Act of 1856 was of similar significance. In creating Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) it began the process of standardising policing and its eventual improvement. It began the process under which government had an influence over the provision of local policing and provided a subsidy to be paid by central government to boroughs, if, and when, they complied with central government's requirements. This legislation authorised central government to contribute 25 percent of the cost of police uniforms and wages – but only if HMIC had provided a Certificate of Efficiency. This was a ground-breaking development not only because central government was to subsidise local government but because local government was happy to allow the centre to have involvement in their affairs. This involvement was not universally popular: Doncaster, Sunderland and Southampton refused to accept their involvement and consequently the subsidy.⁷ Nor was the passage of the legislation that became the 1856 Act straightforward. One of the main stumbling blocks was the wish of central government to be rid of those very small police forces that they saw as inefficient, but opposition forced the government to abandon this. In addition to the novel concept of subsidies, the Act was significant because it compelled counties to establish police forces, required small borough forces representing populations of less than 5,000 to amalgamate with county forces, and provided a requirement for a borough force to have a chief officer. Also for the first-time government required

⁶ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 56-57.

⁷ Adrian Elliott, 'Municipal Government in Bradford in the mid Nineteenth Century' in *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City*, ed. Fraser (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 133

the production of crime statistics although the usefulness of this information has long since been moot.⁸ The County and Borough Police Act of 1856, despite the furore that it caused at the time, was successful.⁹ Its effect can still be felt one hundred years later. Reports commissioned by government on the creation of an efficient and effective system of policing, for example, the Royal Commission of 1839, all recommended a national system of policing. This recommendation always met with considerable opposition. The Association of Municipal Corporations objected to the very idea – ‘it took away the right to self-government and the result would be little better than the continental spy system’.¹⁰ But the County and Borough Police Act of 1856 showed that central government wanted to have an influencing role and was prepared to pay for it.

1.2 The Watch Committee and Committee System

The Watch Committee of an incorporated borough was created as a result of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and was an integral part of the prospectus prior to establishing a borough and consequently to forming a police force. A Watch Committee was appointed from the ranks of elected members of a full council and authorised by the council. *inter alia*, to provide policy, oversight and executive management of the police force. Steedman writes that ‘a Watch Committee was the most prestigious of all of a corporation’s subcommittees and members of a Watch Committee were chosen on the basis of long service and regular attendance at town council meetings’.¹¹ Police oversight in a county force was provided by a ‘Standing Joint Committee’ which provided their Chief Constable with considerable leeway in the manner in which he performed his duties. Not so in a borough force. The Watch Committee of a borough was made up of elected town councillors who had knowledge of their community and knew their voters

⁸ Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales*, pp. 40-41

⁹ Stallion and Wall, *The British Police*, p. 4.

¹⁰ Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales*, pp. 115 – 116.

¹¹ Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, p. 43.

intimately. They appointed their Chief Constable and his officers and could get rid of them just as readily.¹²

Both Manchester and Salford Watch Committees had their subcommittees to regulate the activities of the various functions (see appendix 1 and 2). These subcommittees sat at different times and reported back to the Watch Committee which would ratify, or not, the decisions of these sub-sets. In both Manchester and Salford no subcommittee was delegated to oversee the policing function. Policing was discussed and debated by all the members of the committee. The chairman of the Watch Committee of even the smallest municipality had a great deal of power and authority. It was a high profile political role and he had this position because of his political acumen. As will be shown the development of the new policing arrangements after the incorporation of the boroughs (Manchester in 1838 and Salford in 1844) did not come about without a fight. The success or otherwise of the new arrangements was due entirely to the calibre and status of those men who began to develop a system of government for their local community. Both Manchester and Salford were well served at this point. By 1880-1900 the quality of these politicians declined as captains of industry were replaced by the shopocracy, men of lesser ability and imagination, none more so than in Salford when the local taxpayers in the guise of the SRRA became an effective voice in challenging any improvement plans that would increase the rates payable.

Both Redford and Churchill write that the Watch Committee might have been staffed by elected representatives and might have been given its remit by the full Council but was not completely subject to the control of the borough council. It was also subject in some degree to the Home Office, because the police force had to be maintained to a standard which the Home Office inspectors considered to be satisfactory.¹³ The Watch Committee employed the Chief Constable who understood that he was employed by, his performance monitored by, and his

¹² Emsley, 'Police Politics', pp. 19 - 20

¹³ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 3, p. 3 ; Churchill, 'Crime, Policing and Control', pp. 59-66

objectives generated by a political committee. As such he must have been a very astute operator himself to maintain the continuing support of sufficient numbers of committee members to ensure that his priorities were well funded and his position secure. Individual annual reports of the two Chief Constables (1880-1900) will be analysed and the types of offences reported and their incidence will be described.

A major Manchester industrialist, E.D. Simon (1879–1960), later Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, who had served as a local councillor and subsequently Lord Mayor of Manchester, described the council committee system as it pertained both nationally and, because of his direct experience, to the city in particular. A local council, large or small, was responsible for a vast number of activities. To meet their responsibilities elected members of the council were selected to work on individual committees and councillors and could be members of more than one committee at any one time. As with any operation it is the competence of those elected which determines the success or otherwise of the enterprise. This local authority model broadly follows the organisation of a commercial company in that the overall activity is broken into its constituent parts and qualified and experienced staff were appointed to ensure the success of each activity. The commonality of purpose between a commercial and a municipal enterprise is striking. As with any organisation the appointment of the chairman is one of the key factors in its performance. Also critical is the appointment of the people who run it and, in particular, the full-time employed member of a council staff who will act as executive officer. The size of the committee will reflect the scale of the enterprise. In Manchester, those on any council committee numbered approximately twenty councillors and an examination of the Watch Committee minutes of the Salford council indicate that sixteen councillors and aldermen constituted the Salford committee.¹⁴

¹⁴ E.D. Simon, *A Council from Within*, pp. 82-100

1.3 Municipal Government and Municipal Leaders

Whilst Manchester and Salford were two distinct entities, there are circumstances under which they can be discussed jointly and severally. Manchester was part of the Salford Hundred and Salford was part of the Manchester parish so in many circumstances they can be discussed as one.¹⁵ This section will discuss municipal government generally and locally. One thing that can be said with some degree of confidence is that in the mid- to- late nineteenth century the men who became members of a council did so because it was a natural progression in their status. They became political leaders because they were already pre-eminent figures in their economic and social spheres. In the nineteenth century, it would have been necessary to convince, and thereby gain approval from, central government to changes in local administration. When proposing a change in the status of their locality, for example when incorporating, it would have been natural that to convince central government that the town should achieve the Charter of Incorporation that the potential municipality was capable of exercising the leadership required. A convincing argument at the time would have been to list those prominent individuals who had achieved success in their business careers and even prominence in their religious spheres and who were prepared to support the development under discussion. This would have been an appropriate strategy to provide confidence that incorporation could be achieved. In both Manchester and Salford many eminent local businessmen and church leaders were persuaded to put their names forward.

However, the same could not be said at the close of the nineteenth century as the successors to these municipal leaders were appointed.¹⁶ Garrard describes the changing nature of those who were prepared to become local councillors. He compares the periods 1845-50 and 1876-1880, the latter being the start point of

¹⁵ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 10

¹⁶ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, pp. 64-65; Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem, the Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London: Phoenix, 2005), pp. 292-94 and 376-377; Daniels, 'The Watch Committee', p. 12

this thesis. The beginning of the period coincides with Manchester (1838) and Salford (1844) gaining their Charters of Incorporation when 'large proprietors' comprised 60 percent of council members, 'small proprietors' were 11 percent, 'gentlemen' were 18 percent and 'professionals' were 6 percent. By the end of the period these percentages had changed to 48, 21, 11 and 12 percent respectively. The percentages of 'large proprietors' had decreased markedly as had those who describe themselves as 'gentlemen' whereas the percentage of 'small proprietors' and 'professionals' had doubled over the period. Thus, municipal leadership had changed and was now firmly in the hands of those would describe themselves as shopkeepers, pawnbrokers, chemists, licensed victuallers and beer sellers.¹⁷

There must have been a real conflict of interest among those councillors who were professional publicans when the police wanted to oppose an application for a license or who were being prosecuted for a related offence. Hunt confirms the former point when he records that in 1902 in the London borough of Poplar, council authority lay in the hands of an iron foundry labourer, a chemical works labourer, a gas stoker and a bricklayer.¹⁸ This shows that even a working-man could achieve a standing that they might not otherwise have gained.¹⁹ This thesis has already noted William Lockett's plea when attempting to convince the Salford Police Commissioners to apply for incorporation. He retired from his trade of 'silk mercer' in 1831. He was a 'small proprietor' yet he became police commissioner in 1832, overseer of the poor in 1835, commissioner from 1836, constable in 1837, guardian from 1840, borough reeve in 1842 and Salford's first mayor in 1844.²⁰ He was a retired shopkeeper but could achieve the highest office in his town. There was a crossover in this area where economic power created a political and social standing. But it could also be that political standing could also be translated into economic and social benefit. Salford and its council became increasingly influenced by the shopocracy and the SRRA and subsequent attempts at improvements were

¹⁷ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, pp. 14-15

¹⁸ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, p. 377

¹⁹ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, pp. 69-70

²⁰ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 33

defeated by an unwillingness to seek investment in the town which might have to be paid from locally derived rates. Manchester, however, was growing in confidence. The opposition to the application for the Charter of Incorporation had been led by Manchester's elite: middle-class Tories and working-class radicals.²¹ They led a very successful rear-guard action against application for the Charter and refused to accept its implications when it was granted. In the early nineteenth century Manchester was riven by political and religious tension. The Tory and Anglican faction retained power, and authority by the Court Leet and police commissioners and were opposed by a Liberal and Nonconformist faction who wanted progress on all fronts. It was only after the successful application and subsequent granting of the Charter of Incorporation that the progressive Whigs began to exercise authority.²²

So, Manchester became progressive in its political, economic, social and cultural outlook. What has been said about the type of people who became councillors in Salford is equally true of Manchester. Just as in Salford the first men to take office had been major industrialists, factory owners, bankers and merchants who occupied in excess of 50 percent of seats up to 1875.²³ Subsequently they left local politics to men of smaller vision – the shopkeepers and professional men. Whereas Salford largely turned in on itself, Manchester's elite went on to grander things. They became the new members of parliament and their businessmen began to take national and international roles. Kidd notes that the emergence of industrial Manchester was a consequence of the activities of a new breed of businessmen and the era of the 'Manchester School'.²⁴ Manchester was promoted to city status in 1853 and this enhanced its esteem, 'especially as Salford still remained a mere municipal borough'.²⁵ The machinery of local government largely operated by the committee system and at committee level it appeared effective. But when the

²¹ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 66.

²² Redford, *History of Local Government*, Vol 2, pp. 27-29

²³ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 14-15

²⁴ Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester', p. 6

²⁵ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 2, p. 208.

financial estimates of spending committees should have been discussed in total, cracks began to appear. Redford writes that in Manchester membership on such committees like finance and health groups had an unbalanced representation when they should have had a mix of expertise and experience.²⁶ In Manchester at the end of the nineteenth century, expertise and experience was conspicuously lacking.

In Salford matters appeared even worse. Committee chairman seemed to operate quite autonomously and appeared reluctant to discuss their affairs either at full council meetings or to provide any information to those not associated with their committee. Greenall has written that 'no committee documents would be provided to outside councillors, nor would a committee report be given'.²⁷ An article in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1858 suggested 'that the proceedings of the Committee were then gone through in the inconvenient and unsatisfactory manner usual in the Salford Council Chamber'.²⁸ A comment from the town clerk of Salford was to the effect that 'the Water and Watch Committees were quite out of the control of the Council'.²⁹ In 1882 the retiring mayor declared 'the need for discretion... for a Mayor to interfere too much with the business of any committee, he would soon find he was encroaching on their rights and privileges'.³⁰

1.4 The benefits of being a councillor

In the nineteenth century events relating to manufacturing and commerce were evolving quickly. Factory owners would have had a keen interest in wanting to ensure that local factors would provide benefit to themselves even if only indirectly. They would have wanted to be in a position to influence where a new

²⁶ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 2, pp. 305-352 at pp. 329-332

²⁷ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 209.

²⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, 29 January 1858, p. 4.

²⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, 10 November 1858, p. 3.

³⁰ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 65.

factory could be sited, ensure that there was a plentiful supply of labour for their factories and in a position to influence the Watch Committee. Those who accepted the office of councillor could have done so out of an economic motivation. A municipality in the nineteenth century was a more important entity than today. Today a factory owner would have to join an association that would lobby government to gain influence, whereas in the period 1876 to 1880, proprietors, both large and small, constituted in excess of 76 percent of councillors on Salford council.³¹

Councillors came and went, some finding the task onerous or uninteresting whilst others found that the life of a councillor was at odds with their business career. In many cases, individual committees met regularly, for example, the Watch Committee of the borough of Salford met during the working day every fortnight and at times weekly. If members attended a full council meeting and council committees, they could find that council business rapidly took over their other activities. A survey of attendees has been conducted by Daniels of the SWC from inception in 1844 to 1880. By listing each member of the Watch Committee in each year it has shown that 129 different people served and the average term was 4.3 years. The number who served for three years or less was 60.5 percent which means that 39.5 percent of councillors served for more than three years, at an average of 8.4 years. There were several councillors who served on the Watch Committee (as well as their other council responsibilities and business careers) for long periods. Alderman Gendall was a Watch Committee member for 35 years and died whilst in office. Councillors Kellett served for 28 years, Nuttall for 17 years, with Preston, Hubbard and Towle for at least 15 years.³²

³¹ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 14-15

³² Daniels, 'The Watch Committee', pp. 14-15.

1.5 Watch Committee Development and Remit

Discussion of the remit of the Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford is important because it is necessary to understand the powers adopted (see appendix 1 and 2). The Watch Committee operated as an entity within the municipality and the powers they assumed for themselves indicated what they wished to accomplish. It is also important that in prosecuting their business they themselves could fall foul of the law so their powers would have to be ratified to ensure they were operating legally. Both Manchester and Salford councils had sponsored local improvement acts. Manchester used the Act for the Good Government and Police Regulations of the Borough of Manchester of 1844 and 1845, plus the Manchester Town Hall and Improvement Act of 1866, the Manchester Corporation Act of 1882 and the Manchester City Extension Act of 1885.

Salford had been handicapped by the activities of the SRRA, whose success was in preventing any local improvement legislation which could impact on the rates. Having said that, Salford had the Salford Improvement Acts of 1862 and 1867 and the Salford Tramways and Improvement Act of 1875, which formed the basis of their local enforcement activities. Both councils operated under the Local Government Act of 1888 which, on the national stage, indicated the extensive powers that had been given to local authorities.

Much of the opposition to development of policing came from local and county magistrates fearful of losing their historic control and from those who saw that anything other than a local system would curtail individual freedoms. The Select Committee on Police in 1822 reported that,

It is difficult to reconcile an effective system of police, with that perfect freedom of action and exemption from interference, which are the great privileges and blessings of society in this country; and Your Committee think that the forfeiture or curtailment of such advantages would be too great a sacrifice for improvements in police, of facilities in detection of crime, however desirable in themselves if abstractly considered.³³

Peel and his legislation did prevail. That was followed in 1835 by the Municipal Corporations Act which revolutionised local government, removing much of a largely feudal system of administration and replacing it with effective local control of affairs in a country changing quickly. The Act recognised that incorporation provided a mix of political and administrative improvements and partly explains why there were 178 municipal boroughs in 1835 and 240 in 1879.³⁴ One consequence of incorporation was that it required the creation of a borough police force and the commensurate responsibility of establishing a council committee – the Watch Committee.

Civic pride would propel communities into pressing for the enhanced status of a borough. That was not always so because alongside the independence of borough status came responsibilities, requiring the instigation of bodies to create the administration of the devolved functions and one of these was policing. Potential expenses proved unpopular and in none so much as Salford. Whilst the policing template had been created in England the debate about liberty and central control continued.³⁵ In Salford the debate was about affordability and who would pay the bill. The main opposition to any local reform in Salford came from the SRRA led by Councillor and later Alderman Peter Gendall. This group was set up specifically to oppose any proposed Salford Improvement Bill, which was likely to increase rates. They were extremely successful throughout the nineteenth century.³⁶

³³ Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*, p. 10

³⁴ Fraser, *Municipal Reform*, p. 6

³⁵ Storch, 'The Plague of the Blue Locusts', p. 69.

³⁶ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 56-57.

There was a hierarchy of committees providing oversight into policing. The Metropolitan Police were answerable to central government in the form of the Home Office whilst county constabularies were governed by the justices in quarter sessions who were the last bastions of a feudal agrarian elite used to providing local governance. Wall quotes Smellie who described the county magistracy as ‘the rear-guard of an agrarian oligarchy’ and Keith-Lucas, ‘the most aristocratic feature of English government’.³⁷ The Rural Constabulary Act of 1839 provided for those police forces of unincorporated boroughs to be managed by the county magistrates via a county Chief Constable.³⁸

1.6 The Watch Committee of the borough of Manchester

As a senior committee of a council the following provides an example of the appointment of a Committee and how they set themselves up for the ensuing year’s business. The minutes of the meeting held on 25 October 1888 – the last meeting before the close of the municipal year contained a vote of thanks to the outgoing chairman in glowing terms:

Resolved Unanimously;

That the warmest thanks of this Committee be tendered to Alderman Bennett, the Chairman, for the zeal and ability he has displayed in conducting the business of this Committee during the past year and for his unwavering kindness and courtesy to every member of the Committee.³⁹

For a full examination of the powers and remit assumed by the Watch Committee of the borough of Manchester see Appendix 2.

³⁷ Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales*, p. 92.

³⁸ Greenall, ‘Local Government’, p. 53.

³⁹ MCWC, 25 October 1888

1.7 Minutes of the weekly meetings

The business of the Manchester Council Watch Committee (MCWC) was conducted every Thursday and followed a consistent format throughout the period of this thesis. Over the twenty years in question very little changed.

The meeting of 22 November 1888 is used as an example of these gatherings. Five aldermen and ten councillors were present and, after noting that the previous minutes were accepted, newly submitted accounts and invoices were discussed and approved. Councillor Thompson was at odds with both the Watch Committee and the Chief Constable regarding the 'Crown and Cushion' public house. This matter took up twelve pages of handwritten correspondence in copperplate script before a resolution to the effect that 'the Committee had all the information before them and that the police gave an emphatic denial to the charges outlined by Councillor Thompson'.⁴⁰ Tension between the Watch Committee, individual councillors and the police force, then, became a recurring theme throughout the period covered in this thesis.

Examples of typical entries in the minutes are that the Manchester Working Lads' Association requested the opportunity for their band to practice in a local corporation building yard; and that the Deputy Chief Constable was invited to join the Watch Committee in the absence of the Chief Constable.

Most meetings were characterised by entries stating that individual applicants for the position of police constable had presented themselves for examination at the full Watch Committee meeting and had been employed as probationary constables. It would be noted that various named probationary constables had satisfactorily performed their duties and were to be appointed fourth class constables. Despite the rigours of the role of a policeman there was never a shortage of applicants.

⁴⁰ MCWC, 22 November 1888

Disciplinary proceedings were heard about policemen whose actions had been entered into the 'defaulters book' and the manner in which the matter had been resolved. This could have been that they had been cleared of all charges, admonished, fined, suffered loss of days off, suspended, or dismissed.

Having examined the minutes of the Watch Committee for the period 1879–1900 several things are immediately obvious. There was no discussion of police operational matters and there were no discussions of any operational or technical advances. The Watch Committee employed, promoted, disciplined or dismissed all their servants, however junior or senior, the only exception being the Chief Constable himself. The Watch Committee made their choice for the position of Chief Constable but it would have to be ratified firstly by the full council and finally by the Home Secretary. Similarly, there had been no discussion of crime, or crime statistics. A recurring theme was the receipt of memorials from organisations like the Licenced Victuallers Association complaining about the activities of the Watch Committee and police harassing public houses or publicans, and conversely from the Church Temperance Society who were complaining that publicans and public houses were not harassed enough. A letter to the Watch Committee appeared to be the way to achieve Watch Committee action.

The remit of the Watch Committee of Manchester can be compared with that of Salford. Both towns achieved borough status in the mid- nineteenth century whilst Manchester is the bigger area by size and population. That said, there is much similarity between the two areas, one of which is that they have a contiguous border.

The minutes of the SWC between 1879-1900 have been examined to comprehend the issues dealt with and how they approached their responsibilities in providing executive management to their functionaries. Whilst they were a committee of the Salford borough council they assumed for themselves a method of operating which bordered upon secrecy. These matters would not have been open to the curiosity

of their contemporaries. Greenall pointed out that no committee documents would be provided to outside councillors nor would a committee report be given.⁴¹ In Salford a highly individual committee process had been developed within the borough. Greenall notes that 'on these traditionally autonomous council committees, chairmanships and deputy chairmanships were largely an aldermanic preserve safe from direct ratepayer's influence. Salford Aldermen could ignore public opinion'.⁴²

For a comprehensive discussion about the remit and powers assumed by the Watch Committee of the borough of Salford refer to Appendix 1.

1.8 PC Samuel Wilkins

Emotion in these otherwise terse minutes was rare. One such concerned the police surgeon who in 1879 was asked to examine PC Samuel Wilkins. Without national health care, policemen had at least an opportunity of access to a doctor. Wilkins reported sick and had been referred to the police doctor who could find no reason for Wilkins' sickness and was suspicious of his motives. He referred him to a colleague. At the meeting of 25 November 1879 reports from the two doctors were entered into the minutes and both accused Wilkins of malingering.⁴³

On 9 December 1879, Chief Superintendent Marshall informed the members of the SWC that PC Wilkins had passed away. There was a degree of anger and embarrassment evident in the minutes and the Watch Committee demanded an explanation from the police surgeon. He reported back on 23 December 1879 but his opinion reveals little.⁴⁴ In an act of contrition which is most unusual for this

⁴¹ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 209.

⁴² Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 207–209; *Manchester Guardian* 29 January 1858, p. 4; *Manchester Guardian* 10 November 1858 p. 3; Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 65

⁴³ SWC, 25 November 1879

⁴⁴ SWC, 23 December 1879

body of officials, the SWC had established that Wilkins had left debts of £3 8s and they agreed to pay these. They agreed to pay for his funeral expenses and went even further by arranging for the police band to head the funeral cortege which was accompanied by a parade of 112 police officers. The minutes of the SWC were normally cold and mundane, so to have this evident display of anger, embarrassment and contrition speaks volumes.

1.9 Replacing Chief Constable Torrens

Also on 25 November 1879, the SWC received a report that Chief Constable Torrens, whilst on duty on Blackfriars Bridge, had slipped on ice and broken his wrist.⁴⁵ On 23 December, they received a medical report which indicated that his condition had worsened and that he needed six weeks to two months' rest and recuperation in a drier and warmer climate. By 6 January 1880 his condition had worsened further and the town clerk informed the Watch Committee that Chief Constable Torrens had resigned.⁴⁶ That his injuries had been sustained in the course of his duties would be taken into account when superannuation was discussed. It is an indication of the speed with which events could move that at the meeting on 14 January 1880 the Watch Committee discussed the merits of the applicants to the vacant post.⁴⁷ Seven applications had been received from Leeds, Bath, Scarborough, Greenwich, Weymouth, Brighton and Guildford. One of these applications was from Mr. W. Nott-Bower whose career is fully discussed in his memoirs.⁴⁸ Another candidate was the Chief Superintendent in Salford, William Marshall, and it was proposed by Alderman Gendall that he be promoted to Chief Constable at a salary of £400 per annum. Alderman Gendall's support would have been critical as Gendall had in the past been instrumental in the demise of Chief Constables.⁴⁹ At a time when these minutes encouraged courtesy amongst Watch

⁴⁵ SWC, 25 November 1879

⁴⁶ SWC, 6 January 1880

⁴⁷ SWC, 14 January 1880

⁴⁸ Nott-Bower, *Fifty Two Years*

⁴⁹ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 56

Committee members it is interesting to note a minute of 30 August 1881.⁵⁰ Without having been mentioned previously there is a minute that Councillor Lee be appointed to the 'Clothing' subcommittee to replace the late Aldermen Gendall. There is no other mention in the minutes about the death of Peter Gendall, who had served both the council and the Watch Committee in excess of 40 years.

Whilst the death of this most powerful member of the SWC member does not appear in the Watch Committee minutes he received a fulsome obituary in the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*.⁵¹ His was an influential career in the activities of the SRRRA – and perhaps contributed to the failure of Salford to blossom into the type of city that Manchester became. The objective of the SRRRA was to oppose any activity which could have caused an increase in rates. The obituary tells us that Gendall had been born in 1797, attended Manchester Grammar School, lived all his life in Salford and was a builder and joiner by trade. He was a Salford commissioner prior to incorporation and became one of Salford's first councillors in 1844 and alderman in 1857. Whilst he was a member of the SWC until his death – very nearly 40 years – he was also a member of the Gas and Water Committees. His workload as a Salford councillor was prodigious. The obituary notes that in political terms he was a Radical with Liberal leaning. Having said that, he was no stranger to controversy. The SWC minutes record that Peter Gendall was appointed Chairman of the Watch Committee at a time when Salford's record of recruiting and maintaining the services of their Chief Constables was not good.⁵² Shortly afterwards the minutes of the SWC record the resignation of Chief Constable Shepherd.⁵³ This note and subsequent minutes fail to provide a reason for the resignation, however when the subsequent Chief Constable also resigned he published a pamphlet outlining his reasons to the effect that 'it was the same Peter Gendall who persecuted my predecessor, Mr Shepherd, an able and efficient officer, who after two years of continued annoyance, retired from your service in

⁵⁰ SWC, 30 August 1881

⁵¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 29 June 1881, p. 8

⁵² SWC, 9 November 1847

⁵³ SWC, 19 July 1848

thorough and unmitigated disgust'.⁵⁴ Peter Gendall died aged 84. That a Watch Committee could make life difficult for a Chief Constable is confirmed in the memoirs of the Chief Constable of Leeds in the 1880s. Chief Constable Nott Bower, later Sir William Nott-Bower, K.C.V.O., City of London Police Commissioner, writes that,

the greatest difficulty, however, was to manage to work efficiently and harmoniously with the Watch Committee, who could interfere in almost every detail, and required considerable care and tact to get on with. The position was made not only easier by the vagaries and the speeches of members of the Town Council who were *not* members of the Watch Committee, but who were always trying to interfere in matters of which they had no knowledge.⁵⁵

1.10 Consultation with Manchester

Also on 6 January 1880, the deputy town clerk of Manchester had written to the Watch Committee of Salford asking for their opinion about reducing the pay of new constables. The Salford chairman and deputy chairman were asked to consult with their Manchester counterparts, but that after a meeting with the MCWC it was decided not to reduce the salary of new constables.⁵⁶ It was copied from a note in the MCWC minutes attended by the mayor of Salford, the Watch Committee chairman and the Watch Committee deputy chairman with the acting Chief Constable. This very high-level deputation had concluded that no amendments should be made to future police constable salaries but also that in future in Salford new recruits be paid 24 shillings a week to 'assimilate the scale with that of Manchester'. This was a significant change. Previously there was rancour amongst Salford policemen that they were paid less than those across the River Irwell.

⁵⁴ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 56

⁵⁵ Nott-Bower, *Fifty Two Years*, p. 40

⁵⁶ SWC, 3 February 1880

1.11 Repetition

As has been noted before, the minutes of the meetings are terse to the point of economy. When read over a ten-year period they appear formulaic. There were many points during the year that occurred in each successive period. The municipal year opened in November and closed in October. Every year they were successfully inspected by HMIC and received their Certificate of Efficiency. They produced the budget 'estimates' in April and the Watch Committee and Chief Constable produced their Annual Reports and the crime statistics were published at the end of the municipal year.

The minutes note that HMIC had conducted their inspection. The report always seemed to be phrased the same way; the report of 30 April 1883 is representative:

The Honourable Captain Legge, Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary, attended at the Drill Ground at the Broughton Town Hall where the men were assembled on parade and he witnessed certain military manoeuvres by the men and the sword 'evolutions' which were well executed. The clothing and the kit of the men were then also minutely inspected. He then proceeded to Headquarters to inspect the Police Department books. After partaking of luncheon with the Mayor and the Watch Committee he proceeded to inspect the Police Stations.⁵⁷

The 'inspection' conducted by HMIC tells us something about late nineteenth-century policing. The inspector is concerned with the ability of the Salford policemen to march around a parade ground and to show off their skills with a sword. He then goes off to examine the 'books' associated with the police authority. At no point in the 'inspection' process does he inquire into the ability of the police to provide their policing function. Each year a description of this inspection was entered into the minutes and it is noticeable that each year the

⁵⁷ SWC, 30 April 1883

same words were used. Each year on two occasions a subcommittee was formed to purchase the summer uniform and then to specify, purchase and inspect the winter uniform.

HMIC was a body that, as a representative of the Home Office, had to be informed should any change be made, or was proposed to be made, and HMIC had the right to object to any proposed changes. An example of this is the debate which occurred between Councillor Goldschmidt of the MCWC when he fell foul of the Home Office in relation to salary raises and promotions of his force. In Salford at the meeting on 24 January 1882, the mayor called the attention of the Watch Committee to the present position of the police force in terms of numerical strength, with a view to reduction.⁵⁸ They agreed that by a rearrangement of the beats, and the disbandment of the police band, the force might be reduced by seventeen men. The mayor submitted a statement by the Chief Constable showing the way that it could be done. It was resolved that, subject to approval of HMIC, the band should be discontinued and the police force reduced. Captain Legge of HMIC wrote that he was surprised that a reduction in the force was being requested. He said that at his previous inspection he did not think that the numbers of policeman were excessive nor that the beats could be reduced. 'Considering the importance of the town, the value of the property in it, the situation and the mixed character of its large population, I have not thought the present strength excessive'.⁵⁹ HMIC thought it undesirable to reduce the numbers in the force. At a later Watch Committee meeting a note was read into the minutes to the effect 'that in the opinion of the Salford Council it is inexpedient to dispense with the Police Band and that the question of the reduction of the force be referred back to the Watch Committee for further consideration'.⁶⁰

An example of the need to consult HMIC and the Home Office is contained in a letter received from the Home Office on 17 January 1882. The Home Secretary had

⁵⁸ SWC, 24 January 1882

⁵⁹ SWC, 31 January 1882

⁶⁰ SWC, 14 February 1882

written to the SWC approving the proposed increase in salaries for Superintendent Lythgoe from £230 to £250 pa and for Superintendent Donoghue from £250 to £280 as from 30 September 1881. The Home Office had approved these changes and the Watch Committee of the borough of Salford had thought it necessary to consult with the Home Secretary to gain his approval.⁶¹ The SWC had obviously learned that HMIC and the Home Office were forces to be reckoned with.

1.12 Judge and Jury

Disciplinary matters relating to members of the force of any rank were discussed by the Watch Committee which had a range of sanctions to ensure the behaviour of its employees. At a meeting on 5 December 1882, eight charges against Inspector Lovett of the Salford police were discussed.⁶² The resolution of the committee was that Inspector Lovett be reduced to the rank of first-class constable. The details of Inspector Lovett's misdemeanours are not included but to reduce an inspector to the rank of constable was indeed a swingeing sanction. He could have been fined, reduced in rank to that of sergeant, admonished, fined or suffered loss of holidays. That something very seriously had occurred was evident when in February 1883 'PC' Lovett was dismissed from the force.⁶³ At the meeting on 5 June 1883 the case of Lovett is again discussed when he applies to have the money he has paid into the superannuation fund returned to him. His application was dismissed and there is a whiff of asperity in the minutes.

A similar example of the SWC investigating a case and acting as both judge and jury was reported on 20 October 1885.⁶⁴ At this meeting the Watch Committee was asked to deliberate in the case of Sgt Howard and PC Greaves who had been accused of taking money in relation to illegal betting and gaming. Councillor

⁶¹ SWC, 17 January 1882

⁶² SWC, 5 December 1882

⁶³ SWC, 13 February 1883

⁶⁴ SWC, 20 October 1885

Bradbury stated that the witnesses had given the appropriate information in the council chamber. The Chief Constable had requested that the witnesses appear before the Watch Committee. The evidence having been heard, the officers requested an adjournment so that they could submit their own evidence. When the committee met some days later to consider the charges both officers denied the allegations which they said were fabricated. The mayor asked the Watch Committee for its decision. The Watch Committee considered that the charge was not proven but another charge of seizing a betting book was then considered and it was resolved that in the opinion of the Committee the charges in this case had been proven by the evidence submitted. The two officers were dismissed.

1.13 Memorials

It was quite common within the minutes that memorials would be recorded from parties wishing to have the police take action. On 19 December 1882, a letter to the mayor from the clerk to the Salford School Board had been passed to the Watch Committee. Glued into the minutes are two letters signed by Rebecca Cheetham, secretary and Mr. Hance, clerk to the Liverpool School Board. The address to the mayor indicated, 'I am directed to send you a copy of a memorial which has been received from the Manchester Association for the Care of Friendless Waifs'. It related to children who resided in immoral houses. The memorial continued

the object of the Board in placing the cases before you, are to ascertain whether the Police in this Borough in taking proceedings against keepers of immoral houses could be directed to bring to the notice of the magistrates and to report to this board that all children under 14 years of age living in such houses, in order that they may be dealt with on the provisions of the Industrial School Acts and Amendment Acts 1880.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ SWCM, 19 December 1882

The officers of the School Board had no power to enter houses to search for children and hitherto the Act referred to has not proved to be of much practical value owing to the difficulty of finding the children and bringing the necessary proof against the parents or guardians. The Board, they wrote, would be glad if some combined action between the police and their officers could be promoted such as is described with a view to the removal elsewhere of children who are now living in immoral houses.

The 1880s were a time of hardship generally and in Salford in particular.⁶⁶ At the meeting on 23 March 1886 the Chief Constable reported at length that several members of his force had expressed a wish to open a soup kitchen for the distressed poor and that other members of the force had promised assistance both pecuniary and otherwise and that with the sanction of the mayor and the chairman of the Town Hall Committee the kitchen in the basement of the town hall had been utilised for this purpose. On the previous Saturday 393 applications were made and soup and bread given; on Monday 642 persons were relieved and 550 tickets issued for Tuesday. The Chief Constable stated that he had received several gifts from gentlemen, shopkeepers and others, in money and goods, and offers of assistance. The Chief Constable was assured that his action received the approval of the Watch Committee and he said that he intended to continue the distribution daily for a longer period if necessary. The Watch Committee approved and highly commended the action of the Chief Constable and desired him to continue the works for as long as he deemed it necessary to do so.⁶⁷

1.14 Photographs

In December 1886, the Chief Constable was authorised to obtain photographs of all the police officers in the force and that all future applicants should have their photograph taken.⁶⁸ The conditions of service of the police force were altered to

⁶⁶ Wilson, *The Victorians*, pp. 441-450

⁶⁷ SWCM, 23 March 1886

⁶⁸ SWCM, 28 December 1886

include this new requirement to create a permanent album of the members of the force. The Home Office offered no objection to the proposed amendment of Conditions of Service.⁶⁹ This allowed the policing authorities to obtain photographs of members of the force, and soon after, in March 1887, the Chief Constable submitted the photographic likeness of the whole force included in three albums in accordance with the resolution of the committee.⁷⁰ This development is interesting for two reasons. The first is that we have an isolated instance of the Salford police adopting a new technology and the second is the obviously close grip that the Home Office held over the terms and conditions of even junior members of local forces. There is no mention of this technology being adopted for use against miscreants.

1.15 Chief Constables' Reports to the Salford Watch Committee

At each meeting of the SWC, the Chief Constable presented his report. The subjects he brought to the meetings could be of a high or mundane level but his reports were formulaic with similar subjects appearing. The content of his report represented matters for the committee to adjudicate on and provide the Chief Constable with direction. The SWC was the chamber in which decisions were made – not in the office of the Chief Constable.

The following are examples of those issues that appear on a regular basis; similar entries appear in almost every report provided by the Salford Chief Constable.

Taken from the minutes of December 1885:

- The appointment of PC Edward Thomas Jones as a probationary constable be confirmed and that he be appointed a full constable accordingly.

⁶⁹ SWC, 25 January 1887

⁷⁰ SWC, 5 April 1887

- The Chief Constable reported that Inspector Jeremiah Goodwin who had been with the force for 25 years had now been reported by the police surgeon medically unfit for duty. Inspector Goodwin was to be allowed to resign his position and retire on a superannuation allowance of two thirds of his pay being 32 shillings per week.
- The notice of PC Lloyd of his intention to leave the force be accepted and that he should be allowed to go immediately.
- The application of PC Sharples for permission for his wife to keep a greengrocer's shop be granted.
- Applications for licenses to act as furniture brokers or marine store dealers be granted to the undermentioned persons.
- The undermentioned persons/license holders be allowed to change their place of business.
- The gratuities to the men as stated in the Chief Constables' Report Book be allowed and be passed to them respectively.
- The following may be appointed probationary constables on the force on the usual terms.⁷¹

1.16 The social standing of county and borough police oversight committees

There was a marked difference in the oversight of the police. In a county, management of the force lay as it had done for centuries with the county magistrates, whose qualifications had been outlined by the Duke of Wellington in 1838:

Gentlemen of wealth, worth and consideration and education; that they should have been educated for the bar, if possible; and that above all they should be associated with and respected by the gentry of the County.

⁷¹ SWC, 1 December 1885

This had not changed by 1887 as Table 2 demonstrates:

Table 2: The social composition of the county magistracy in 1887

	Aristocracy	Gentry	Clergy	Middle-class	Other
	%	%	%	%	%
1842	8	77	13	0	1
1887	6	68	5	15	5

Source: David Wall p. 93

Whilst the middle classes had sprung as though from nowhere it was merely a reflection of a new group in society who had been belatedly recognised as a *fait accompli* and had been invited to join the ‘Bench’ by those controlling policy-making and administration in the county – the aristocracy. The various attempts at amending the way that local government in the counties operated had very limited effect and the relationship to the Chief Constable and local attitudes to policing remained largely the same.⁷²

We have seen how the Municipal Corporations Act required all incorporated boroughs, of which Manchester and Salford were prime examples, to create a Watch Committee to provide executive management and oversight of the new policing arrangements. This executive management could vary dramatically and the extent of the duties exercised by the Watch Committees would depend on the size of the force employed. Some boroughs had a force of less than ten.⁷³ Manchester and Salford forces recruited in hundreds. The Act required a full council to appoint, ‘for such a time as they may think proper, a sufficient number of their own body, who, together with the Mayor of the Borough, for the time being, shall be called the Watch Committee’.⁷⁴

The oversight of the police was the responsibility of the magistrates in counties and they were represented by the aristocracy and the gentry (see Table 2). The composition of borough councillors and consequently the Watch Committees was

⁷² Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales*, p. 94.

⁷³ Elliott, in Fraser, *Municipal Reform*, p. 131.

⁷⁴ Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales*, p. 94.

taken up by those with the highest standing in these emerging municipalities. Boroughs were areas of increasing population and this increase in population was generated by an increasingly industrial landscape. The leaders of this society were rarely aristocracy or gentry but a new group – industrialists and captains of commerce. Membership of the Watch Committee was recognition of good service on the full Council. The borough police force was a matter of civic pride. A Watch Committee was a body appointed from the ranks of elected members and authorised by them to provide oversight and executive management of the Police Force within their jurisdiction.⁷⁵ As Steedman has said, ‘a Watch Committee was the most prestigious of all a Corporation’s subcommittees and members of a Watch Committee were chosen based on long service and regular attendance at town council meetings’.⁷⁶

There was a marked difference in the social standing of the county magistracy and the borough Watch Committees, and a deeply-felt distinction between Chief Constables of a county force and his equivalent in the borough. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the head of a borough force began to adopt the title of Chief Constable. County Chief Constables expressed their unhappiness with this development and complained to the Home Secretary, who, displaying some tact, suggested that the social *status quo* could be maintained if the Chief Constable in the county should have the title ‘Chief Constable of the County Force’ whilst their equivalent be called ‘Chief Constable of the Borough Police’.⁷⁷ No one knows if this assuaged their concerns.

1.17 The basis of the authority on which the Salford Watch Committee operated

The council’s business for each financial year commenced with appointments to the various subcommittees of the full council. Each of these would be given their

⁷⁵ Daniels, ‘The Watch Committee’, p. 1.

⁷⁶ Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, p. 43.

⁷⁷ Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales*, p. 95

remit which gave the terms of reference under which the committee members would operate. It would define the limits of their powers. The initial remit of the SWC after incorporation does not appear in the minutes until November 1853 when the new year began. In subsequent years for both boroughs a copy of the printed terms of reference that had been approved by the full council are glued into the minutes as a permanent record. In Salford in 1853 there appears a handwritten note copied by the Clerk to the Watch Committee:

That it be an instruction to the General Watch Committee:
to execute all the powers by law to such committee given; together, also,
with full power and authority to transact such business as has been
committed by the Council to the Watch Committee for the past year, except
as to the fire brigade; and, to carry out the provisions of the Common
Lodging Houses Act 1851. Any three to form a quorum.⁷⁸

The minutes of the SWC in 1875 contained the terms of reference for the SWC. It referred to a council meeting held on 9 November 1875 and announced that the committee was to be formed under the mayor Mr Alderman Davies with 16 members. Members represented Salford, Broughton and Pendleton. Even as late as 1875 the three townships retained their individuality. Such was the prestige of the Watch Committee that, including the mayor, seven out of the sixteen members were aldermen. The list of parliamentary and local acts from whence the Committee derive its powers are like those for Manchester and included:

all such appropriate sections of the Salford Improvement Act 1862 and 1867.
Under and by virtue of the Salford Tramways and Improvement Act 1875 as
relates to the making of bylaws for regulating the use of Bicycles and
Velocipedes.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ SWC, November 1853.

⁷⁹ SWC, 9 November 1875

In the mid to late nineteenth century boroughs and their subcommittee – the Watch Committee – were new to the world of policing. The commercial momentum was for counties to depopulate as townships grew into towns and boroughs. Into this mix came the borough and the method of administration created by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. This required new men to introduce new methods of local government to meet the challenges of burgeoning towns. The commercial elite lent their expertise to put their towns on the right municipal path. Those men who had built their businesses revelled in this new type of challenge. They left the day to day running of their businesses to their sons. Sir Elkanah Armitage (1794-1876) in Salford was one such example. Salford and Manchester prospered under such men.⁸⁰

1.18 A detailed comparison of the financial estimates prepared by the Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford in 1880 – 1900

This element will provide a detailed comparison of the budgets prepared for inclusion in the financial estimates for the forthcoming year in Manchester and Salford. It will identify the categories in which the Watch Committees sought to spend their ratepayers' money, to provide the facilities which would enable policing in their operational areas. An assessment can then be arrived at which will help to answer questions about the determination of elected representatives to police their areas effectively. It is acknowledged that budgeting to spend money does not mean that the necessary money was spent on the right things. Nor that when budgeted, the money was spent. This section will therefore concentrate on the intention of elected officials in the two boroughs to provide policing capability – the effectiveness of this will be the subject of further research out-with this thesis.

⁸⁰ Daniels, 'The Watch Committee', p. 10

Manchester and Salford were two typical examples of emerging towns that were looking to gain more independence from national government. They wanted the opportunity and legal standing to cater for the demands of the new breed of commercial and industrial enterprises growing within their boundaries. In parallel they needed to provide for the domestic and environmental facilities essential for towns that were growing every decade. In the five years from 1880 to 1885 Manchester and Salford increased in population by approximately 10 percent.

1.19 Population Statistics

Tables 4&5 detail the respective populations of the two boroughs and the police to population rates in Manchester and Salford. They provide the base data from which further comparisons will be calculated.⁸¹ The source of the population statistics requires some explanation. Each Annual Report of the Salford Chief Constable published an annual estimate of the population of the borough. However, no method of calculating this annual population estimate is explained. The report provided by Manchester Chief Constable does not contain any attempt at estimating the population of that borough although the Manchester Council Proceedings contains a report from the Medical Officer of Health which does estimate the population. The numbers provided by the Medical Officer of Health have been included to record the population of Manchester over the period.

⁸¹ For example, the population of Salford in 1895 was 208,253 and if the number of policeman employed by the SWC was 329 the police to population ratio would be 1:633. In 1895 the population of Manchester was 527,010 and if the number of policeman in that Borough was 1,037 then the police to population ratio would be 1:508. It can be deduced from the above that Manchester in this example had a more favourable police to population ratio and ostensibly the MCWM would have set out to police their Borough on a better basis.

1.20 Financial Estimates

The financial estimates prepared by the respective Watch Committees were prepared and submitted in April or May of each year.⁸² This was the basis of the local tax levied on borough ratepayers from which councils would fund their activity. These financial estimates formed the basis of their council budget for the coming year and budgets having been established and rates levied it was then up to the various sub-committees to operate within these limits. Both Watch Committees obviously took these financial responsibilities seriously because each set of minutes record extensive and detailed consideration of finances. At the commencement of each Watch Committee meeting every call upon their funding arrangements was discussed. If further details were required, then more information would be supplied prior to any decision. It was an exercise in micro-management. In the spring of each year the financial estimates for the following year were recorded as being accepted by the Watch Committees and having done so were submitted to the Finance Committee of the council. The following paragraphs will relate to those costs which are for the establishment and management of the police force.⁸³

A resolution from 1875 shows that a group of Watch Committee members had formed a sub-committee to arrive at this proposed budget.⁸⁴ No mention of this had been made prior to the entry and no record is available for the discussions and

⁸² Financial estimates for the respective policing authorities for Manchester and Salford are published in the respective Watch Committee minutes for 1880-1900. Salford; 1875 published 27 July 1875; 1880 published published for year ending 25 March 1881; 1885 published 10 March 1885; 1890 published 3 March 1891; 1895 published for year ending 25 March 1896; 1900 published 12 April 1900; 1905 published March/April 1905; Manchester; 1875 published 13 May 1875; 1880 published 13 May 1880; 1885 published 16 April 1885; 1890 published 24 April 1895; 1895 published for year ending 25 March 1896; 1900 published 12 April 1900; 1905 published in Mar/Apr 1905

⁸³ Costs which are related to other responsibilities assumed by the Watch Committee, for example the Fire Brigade, have been excluded. This thesis deals with policing in Manchester and Salford.

⁸⁴ The minutes of the Manchester Watch Committee, Financial Estimates for 1875

debates which contribute to it. There would have been considerable debate. Watch Committee members were politicians who wanted to become re-elected. They would have been very reluctant to increase spending and all tried very hard to reduce costs.

The Manchester 1875 estimates are entirely handwritten. The document or documents that accompanied the recommendations of the Audit-Committee have not survived but the final estimates are written into the minutes as a permanent record. The resolution at the end of the minute reads: 'that as recommended by the Audit Sub Committee estimates for the ensuing year now submitted be approved and be transmitted to the Finance Committee'. This was obviously the last item on the agenda, for the next entry is a resolution to adjourn the meeting for a fortnight. There must have been some discussion over the ensuing years about the way in which these estimates were presented to the Watch Committee because the minutes of meeting 16 April 1885 contained an entry:

Mode of dealing with Estimates

Resolved: that in future after approval of same by the Audit Sub Committee, the City Rate estimates be printed and a copy thereof be forwarded to each member of the committee prior to the same being brought before the Committee for consideration.⁸⁵

It would appear that the full Watch Committee wanted more involvement with the budget and its implications.

In Salford, the estimates appear throughout as printed pages glued into the minutes. There is neither mention of having been prepared by a sub-committee nor of any debate surrounding them. Neither Manchester nor Salford minutes contain any reference to their servants, the Chief Constables, having any

⁸⁵ MCWC, 16 April 1885

involvement in their compilation. Neither set of minutes refer to the influence, for example of HMIC or other government agencies having either involvement or influence.

1.21 Comparing the Estimates

The 'financial estimates' for the Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford appear in the minutes of their respective meetings and are compiled in quite extensive detail. It would appear that every possible item of expenditure from the largest cost to the smallest detail had been included. Examples of such highs and lows of expenditure are, for Manchester in 1880, an item of £80 is included for the estimated purchase of winter gloves for policemen whilst in 1905 the aggregate budgeted pay for the force was anticipated at £106,509. In Salford, potential merit pay for 1880 was estimated at £8 whilst the contribution anticipated from the Home Office in 1905 was £15,360. The level of detail gives some window into the minds of those compiling the budgets.

Data from the SWC and MCWC minutes, the Salford and Manchester Chief Constables' annual reports, the 'Manchester Council Proceedings' relating to the police force and the report of the Medical Officer of Health have been extracted for the purpose of comparison. The gross costs of policing relate to those costs incurred by the Watch Committees in paying salaries, expenses, the cost of equipment, rent, rates and appropriate building costs incurred as a result of establishing and running a policing function. The net cost of policing is established by deducting the contribution to policing costs paid for by the Home Office as a result of their statutory contribution to the cost of a police force, also as a result of the borough hiring out policemen and other sundry income such as fees generated for licensing activities. An example of an organisation which paid for a police presence was that body which ran the annual horse race meeting in Salford at the local race course. The estimates for 1880 included an item 'Wages of Police

Constables, Special Duty, Races, etc., with an item estimate of £1000.⁸⁶ These special duties generated income for the SWC. Whilst the information has been created both in detail and in aggregate there have been difficulties in obtaining individual comparative statistics throughout the period under investigation. There have been instances where individual data points have been available throughout; where individual data points have been aggregated within reports; and where activities have been fulfilled in a manner which prevents accurate comparison.

Table 3: Net cost of policing in Manchester and Salford

	Net cost £	Population	Cost per resident £sd
Manchester			
1880	40,002	341,508	2s 4d
1890	42,499	505,368	1s 8d
1900	55,580	548,768	2s 0d

Salford			
1880	16,947	171,727	2s 0d
1890	18,404	216,830	1s 8d
1900	19,594	223,480	1s 9d

Source: Financial Estimates of the Salford and Manchester Watch Committees, 1880-1905

Whilst the population of Salford increased markedly over the period the assimilation by Salford of Broughton and Pendleton had already been completed by 1880. Between 1881 to 1900 Manchester grew from a population of 341,508 to 542,566 inhabitants.⁸⁷ The population grew because of the demands of the economic activity drawing in people from outside the area but also because of the assimilation of outlying townships. In 1885 Harpurhey, Bradford and Rusholme became what we now recognize as Manchester and in 1890 Blackley, Moston,

⁸⁶ SWC, Financial estimates, 1880

⁸⁷ See Table 4&5

Crumpsall, Newton Heath, Openshaw, Kirkmanshulme and West Gorton were incorporated.⁸⁸ This increased pressure on policing in Manchester.

The budgeted expenses of the respective police forces had both increased significantly from 1880 to 1900. There was a discrepancy between the two boroughs in terms of the amount due to be spent on policing and the respective population size. However, the amount budgeted to be spent per resident was remarkably similar both within each town and over the whole period. By reference to table 3 the population of Salford in 1880 was estimated to be 171,727 whilst Manchester was estimated to be 341,508. In 1880 Manchester spent £40,002 on policing with a population of 341,508 which equates to 2s 4d per resident. In the same period, Salford spent £16,947 on policing with 171,727 residents i.e. 2s 0d per resident per year. By 1900 these figures had changed. Manchester spent £55,580 on policing for a population estimated at 548,768; 2s 0d per resident. Salford spent £19,594 for a population of 223,480, that is 1s 9d per resident per year. Manchester, then, was growing in terms of population quickly but was spending 15 percent more per resident than the ratepayers of Salford.⁸⁹

The 'financial estimates' represent the amount of money anticipated to be spent by the Watch Committee of the respective boroughs. They represent the costs that the Committee recommended to their councils. Population statistics are similarly projections – in Salford's case they are published by the Chief Constable in his Annual Report. They appear without qualification and without a methodology for preparing these figures. They are important because whilst they might lack absolute accuracy they represent those that the Watch Committee used to prepare their budget. The MCWC did not publish any population statistics at all so the basis upon which their 'Financial Estimates' are prepared is not disclosed.

⁸⁸ S.D. Simon, *A Century of City Government*, Chapter iv, 'How the City Grew'.

⁸⁹ Table 3

By reference to Tables 3 it can be noted that the money spent by each borough is different both in actual terms and in the rate of increase over the period. Manchester increased their spend from £40,002 in 1880 to £55,580 in 1900 (40 percent).⁹⁰ The estimates for 1880, 1885 and 1890 are broadly the same in terms of spend per resident. 1900 was similar in money terms (£55,580). 1900 to 1905 saw a further big increase from £55,580 to a budget of £78,465, a change of 41 percent. This can be explained by the increasing size of Manchester and the increasing investment in policing by the council. The Salford estimates also increased from 1880 to 1900 but not significantly. There are two explanations for this. The assimilation of the out townships had been completed before the period under investigation and the lack of willingness to invest in the policing function. This latter point has been identified as being the influence of the SRRA and has been recorded at some length earlier. Manchester had maintained its spending on policing from 2s 4d per resident in 1880 and 2s 0d in 1900. In Salford, the equivalent figures were 2s and 1s 9d per person. The only conclusion that can be derived from these 'financial estimates' is that Manchester borough council wanted to increase the amount of money they wished to allocate to policing in their Borough. Table 3 indicates that in Salford they approached the subject of policing in a more measured way and maintained their policing budget by a smaller amount over the period. The cost of policing per head of population decreased in Salford between 1880 – 1900. Manchester was prepared to invest more in policing than their counterparts Salford over the period.

1.22 The number of policeman employed in the two boroughs

It is a working assumption in this study that the number of policemen employed is an indication of the determination of the municipal authorities to provide effective policing in their areas. As the population of a borough increased in number and geographical area so the policing response from the Watch Committees had to change to ensure the safety of their ratepayers. This thesis will attempt to identify

⁹⁰ £40,002+40% = £55,500

who and what the authorities were to police and how they delivered their function. This section will contrast if, and how, Manchester and Salford Council Watch Committees set out to meet the challenge of policing in the late nineteenth century.

Table 4: Police: population ratios in the Borough of Manchester

Period	Police establishment	Population	Police to population ratio
1875	801	353,254	1:441
1881	847	341,508	1:403
1885	876	373,583	1:426
1891	880	505,368	1:574
1895	1,037	527,010	1:508
1900	1,001	548,766	1:548
1905	1,175	631,933	1:537

Source: Police establishment – MCWC Financial estimates 1875 – 1905.

Table 5: Police: population ratios in the Borough of Salford

Period	Police establishment	Population	Police to population ratio
1880	300	171,727	1:572
1890	300	216,830	1:722
1900	330	223,480	1:677

Source: Salford Chief Constables' Annual Reports 1880-1900

The police establishment in Manchester changed little throughout the period 1875 to 1890 (801 to 880) and the police: population ratio decreased (1:441 to 1:574). By 1895 whilst the population had not changed markedly from that in 1890 the police establishment increased from 880 officers to 1,037. Between 1895 and 1900 the police establishment remained the same, 1,037 and 1,001 whilst the police: population ratio initially improved to 1:508 and then changed marginally to 1:548. This ratio was similar to that in earlier periods. Such was the similarity of police: population ratios in the later period that there is every indication that the Watch

Committee had a target of one policeman to every 500 residents although this is not quoted in the Watch Committee minutes.

The police establishment in Salford changed in the period 1875 to 1880 when there was an increase from 229 officers to 300 policemen. Thereafter the police establishment remained stable and 20 years later the number of officers was still only 330. The police: population ratio in the borough of Salford remained as constant as that of Manchester, but compared unfavourably, at 1:572 in 1880 and 1:677 in 1900.

By reference to Tables 3–5 and the financial estimates over the period it can be deduced that whilst the overall police: population ratios remain similar in both boroughs it masks some very real differences.⁹¹ In Manchester, the salary of the Chief Constable was £800 per year in 1875 and £850 in 1890, only improving to £1,000 in 1900. The Salford Chief Constable salary was £500 in 1875 which equated to only 62.5 percent of his neighbour but had deteriorated by 1900 to 55 percent of the head of the Manchester force – £550 per annum compared with £1,000. The Salford Chief Constable's salary did not increase from 1875 until 1900. This imbalance also affected the lower ranks of the officer corps. An inspector (first class) in both forces in 1880 received £2 8s per week but by 1905 the Salford man £2 10s and his counterpart £3 1s 6d per week. Sergeants (first class) in both forces would have received £1 17s a week in 1880 and both would have received £2 per week in 1905. Wage inflation could not have been an issue at that time. Between 1880 and 1905 there had been a salary increase for sergeants of 8 percent. There was also a disparity between the remuneration received by constables of both forces. In 1880 a Salford police constable (first class) received 28s per week and 31s by 1905. His counterpart in the Manchester force would have earned £1 8s in 1880 but £1 17 6d in 1905, a not insignificant difference of 16 percent.

⁹¹ Manchester and Salford financial estimates 1880 – 1905

Included in the headcount for the Salford police force in 1895 was one 'female attendant' who was paid 15s per week. This is the one inclusion of women in the Salford borough force and does not appear before 1895 or thereafter. In Manchester, there appeared one 'police matron' in 1895, and four in 1905. Whilst their remuneration appears in 'total pay' they are not included within that headcount figure relating to policemen. The numbers of pay grades within ranks increased over time as numbers of officers employed within the respective forces increased.

At this point it is a matter of some speculation as to the reasons for this grade structure. It could have been a lack of desire on the part of the Watch Committees to pay officers without experience salaries to which time-served officers would be entitled. Or it could have been that they were acting as a benevolent employer and providing a career path that encouraged policemen to remain in their jobs as the professionalism of the role improved. Both Manchester and Salford police forces adopted very similar approaches to the remuneration of their officers although as we have seen above the pay rates are dissimilar. In Salford in 1875 there were three classes of inspectors although there were only officers in the first class and the third-class bands. In Manchester, there were two chief inspectors and thirty-three inspectors in the first, second and third-class bands. In both forces, there were three classes of sergeant and they were paid at the same rate – class by class. In both forces, there appeared police constables in first, second, third and fourth classes and significantly the pay rates were the same across both forces and all classes. By 1905 Manchester's pay structures had changed. They had eight classes of inspector with the highest being paid at £3 1s 6d per week and the eighth-class inspector being paid £1 13s per week. Salford had inspectors being paid in the first class and fifth class band and unlike Manchester they had a 'reserve class' with two officers included. It is assumed that these were new entrants to the grade of inspector or probationers. Both forces adopted the same pay structure for sergeants and both had five classes although Salford also had a sixth, a 'reserve' class. In both 1900 and 1905 Salford had eight different classes of constable, the pay rates being between 31s for the first-class constable and 25s per week for an

eighth-class constable. Manchester had a wide range of pay rates for police constables. They had officers being paid at twenty-four different rates and the difference between rates could be a matter of pennies. Throughout the period 1875 to 1895 Salford reported a separate group of officers under the heading 'detective department'. They did not report the detective department separately in 1900 and 1905. Manchester's estimates do not enumerate detectives as a separate class of data throughout the period.

There is a commonality of approach by the two Watch Committees that at face value has some significance. They had constant police: population ratios and they introduced female staff at the same time. Whether by coincidence, a decision by the respective authorities to collude or an example of the influence of a body like HMIC would require further study. It is unlikely to be coincidental as the two authorities had displayed little inclination to cooperate with each other but borough reports would have been seen by both parties. There is every possibility that there is evidence of the involvement of a third party. It is in the remuneration of its servants that we see Salford operating in a manner different to that of its neighbour. Either the Salford authorities wanted to operate its police force more cheaply as evidenced by the salary offered to its Chief Constables and the speed with which it would reduce this figure when a new man was appointed, or we are seeing an unofficial ranking of police forces. Indeed, there was a distinct difference in the status of these two neighbouring areas. Salford remained a borough until 1926 whilst Manchester had attained the status of a city in 1853. Salford was a smaller force than Manchester and an ambitious candidate for the job of a Chief Constable might want to gain experience in such a smaller force. This could stand him in good stead should he wish to improve his standing and fulfil an ambition to head a larger force.

1.23 Expenses that were not related to pay

The chart below details both the gross cost of policing (which is the cost before the deduction of receipts) and police salaries. These receipts would include

contributions from H.M. Treasury, licencing and where costs have been charged for policing at events.

Table 6: Estimates. Police pay as a percentage of Gross costs of Police Force

	Manchester			Salford		
	Gross Cost £	Police Pay £	Pay/Gross Cost	Gross Cost/£	Police Pay/£	Pay /Gross Cost
1875	72,380	61,919 ⁹²	85.5%	23,574	18,213 ⁹³	77.3%
1890	79,957	69,868 ⁹⁴	87.4%	31,519	23,641 ⁹⁵	75.0%
1905	137,020	106,508 ⁹⁶	77.7%	36,960	30,968 ⁹⁷	83.8%

Source: Financial estimates of the Manchester and Salford Watch Committee Minutes 1875 – 1905

From the above it can be deduced that for 1875 and 1890 Manchester appeared to be a more efficient force in that it contained its expenses at a lower level than its neighbour with a pay: expenses ratio of 85 percent and 87 percent respectively whilst Salford experienced a ratio of c. 77 – 75 percent. By 1905 the Manchester ratio had reduced to 77.7 percent which was lower to that of Salford. Salford suffered in this comparison because it was much the smaller force. It would require further work to determine if either or both forces had established a target for a pay: expenses ratio although there is no mention of this in any published material that has come to light in this research. There would have been debate about the numbers that appear in the estimates that were agreed by the Watch Committees prior to acceptance as part of that budget from which the ‘rates’ were calculated. These conversations either were not minuted or have not survived.

⁹² MCWM minutes dated 13 May 1875

⁹³ SWC minutes dated 27 July, estimate 1875-76, includes pay of uniformed and detective departments and allowances

⁹⁴ Estimates for 1890-91. Under the heading Constabulary force. There are no other costs associated with police pay other than salaries.

⁹⁵ SWC minutes 3 March 1891, taken from column, ‘ Last Estimate One Year to March 25 1891’

⁹⁶ Estimates for 1905-6

⁹⁷ SWC, Estimate for the Borough Rate 1905-6, estimate to 31 March 1906

As can be seen there was a similar expense ratio for both forces. Both forces produced budgets in which their salary costs were around 80 percent of the total budget. In the reporting of this both boroughs give evidence of similarities in their respective budget estimates. It is striking also that over the period and for both municipalities how little the presentation of these estimates changed. In Salford, what is included in the budget in 1875 is recognisably the same as in 1905 – 30 years later. The budget for ‘clothing’ was substantial in overall terms with, in 1875, £800 budgeted for uniforms and £598 for boots. By 1905 this figure was an aggregate of only £2,009. This was in a period in which the force had increased from 229 men to 359 men. The cost in relation to ‘police stations’ in the force area in 1875 was £2,142 when 10 stations were required – five in the Salford district, three in Pendleton and two in Broughton. By 1905 the significance for the borough was that the townships appeared less important but the aggregated cost of the Salford area force stations was still only budgeted at £3,681 and this includes rent, rates, insurance, coal, water and repairs. The surprise is that over 30 years, 1875 to 1905, very little change to policing practice is evident in the estimates. It is difficult to find any evidence that the police as an organisation improved or even changed its capability to perform its function. There is a similar lack of evidence that the individual policeman did his job in a way that would enable him to perform better. At a time when it would be expected that there would be a greater use of detectives Salford stopped budgeting for its ‘detective department’ as a discrete entity. The size of the detective force did not increase which indicates that detectives were not seen as important as anticipated when initially created. In 1875 to 1890 the senior officer in the detective branch was a superintendent. From 1895 to 1905 this post was downgraded to a chief inspector. In budgeting terms, it is in ‘technology’ that a further surprise occurs. The only mention of any form of technology is the use of the ‘telegraph’, the rent of which increased from £75 per annum in 1875 to £146 per annum in 1905. At a time when it was becoming commonplace in police forces to use photographs to record criminals there is no mention of any camera equipment or photographic supplies in the estimates. Similarly, no mention of fingerprinting technology appears. If the only method of

analysing the policing progress in the borough of Salford is from the 'financial estimates', then one would find difficulty in identifying 'progress'.

The 'financial estimates' for the borough of Manchester is a more comprehensive document in that it provides more information in relation to expenses. The cost of clothing, for example, increases from a total of £5,435 in 1875 to £6,400 in 1905 but at a time in which the number employed increased from 800 men to 1,175. The contingent expenses for 'rent of police stations' went from £420 at the start of the period to £1,406 and the budget for 'lamp oil and wicks' reduced from £140 per annum to £100. The expenses in relation to the 'telegraph' went from £130 per annum to £400. Just as in Salford, any evidence of the use of any technology to improve performance is significantly lacking. The policing role was obviously expanding and in Salford there is a budget for looking after 'vagrant lunatics', 'inebriates' and 'juvenile offenders' whilst in Manchester there are, latterly, new categories of expenses, for example, 'purchase of an ambulance', the construction of 'new ambulance buildings', 'police band', and 'allowance for court witnesses'. Progress in policing practice is not evident from the 'financial estimates' of either borough.⁹⁸

1.24 Conclusion

Manchester and Salford have always shared a common border. Their industrial and commercial interests are common and both were indivisible parts of that area of South East Lancashire that became known as 'cottonopolis'. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 spurred both towns to seek incorporation, Manchester in 1838 and Salford in 1844. The estimated population of Manchester in 1880 was 341,508 and Salford was 171,727 and it was perhaps because of this difference in population that the differences in the approach of the respective Watch Committees arose. The conclusions of this thesis are based upon estimates both of

⁹⁸ Manchester and Salford financial estimates 1880 – 1905

population statistics and the budgets of the two Watch Committees for the years ahead. That Salford had approximately one third of the population of the two areas gives a clue as to the reason behind their preoccupation with retaining their individuality. Salford was fiercely independent and worked to maintain this situation.

There was a hierarchy of police forces in the Victorian era with the Metropolitan Police at the pinnacle reporting directly to the Home Secretary, the county constabularies under the management of the county magistrates. Borough policing was new and the emerging entrepreneurial elites had to lend their economic and administrative expertise to ensure that their municipalities took the best possible advantage of these new arrangements. The decision to apply for municipal status was not achieved without significant opposition in the boroughs but having incorporated even those who opposed this step eventually cooperated in making the new status work and succeed. Salford was the smaller borough and they had the smaller geographical area, the lower population, the smaller police force and consequently the smaller budget. The Salford authorities set out to provide a police force for the ratepayers that would be just as efficient as their larger neighbours. Policing costs per resident in Salford were 2s per resident in 1880 compared with Manchester at 2s 4d per resident. In 1900, and in both areas, these figures had changed with 1s 9d for Salford and 2s for Manchester. Over these 20 years Manchester appeared to invest more in their police force with a larger per resident estimate of spending than its neighbour and whilst costs per population reduced over the period the positive disparity in favour of Manchester remained towards the latter part of the period. Salford's estimates of spending indicate that their police force budget was much less ambitious with their spending constant throughout the period but lower than its neighbour. Both boroughs maintained a police: population level that were not dissimilar over the period 1880 to 1900 and across both municipalities. A difference between the forces lay in the way in which the respective Watch Committees rewarded their servants for their labour. The Manchester Chief Constables were paid almost twice as much as the senior man in their neighbouring force. This remuneration discrepancy was reflected at lower

rank levels which must have had motivational repercussions. The officer ranks of the Salford force were at a disadvantage when compared with their larger neighbour.

In conclusion, it is apparent that Manchester consistently invested more per capita in their policing function than their close neighbour. This chapter has concentrated upon the costs and population ratios to determine how the Watch Committees of the two areas responded to the challenge of policing at a time of significant population growth. The next chapter will concentrate on the Chief Constables, the senior employee of the Watch Committees, and having analysed their Annual Reports, provide an indication of his priorities.

Chapter 2. The Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford and the complex environment in which they operated

The previous chapter discussed the remit of the Watch Committees and how they prepared their budgets. This created the framework that would determine how they wanted their police force to operate. This chapter will switch focus from the elected representatives and concentrate more on the man who had the operational responsibility for translating into action the policy and executive instructions from the Watch Committee. This was the man the Watch Committee appointed to provide them with a policing function. This man, the Chief Constable, was a professional policeman upon whom were laid many pressures. In the early decades of 'new policing' he was unlikely to have policing experience but could have recently retired from the armed services. As the nineteenth century unfolded, he was more likely to have substantial police experience obtained from roles in other forces, although some form of military experience would have been common.¹ This chapter will identify the Chief Constables and examine their changing environment. This included the development of policing itself, changing legislation, economic depression, poor infrastructure and Irish nationalism. It will then analyse the Annual Reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford in the two decades 1880 – 1900 to gain insight into how these influences changed the way they reported their roles to their employer, if at all. This chapter will examine the local environment to provide a context under which these Annual Reports were prepared. Subsequently, it will analyse the Annual Reports to determine those factors that the Chief Constables wanted to bring to the attention of the police authorities and then will discuss the developments in policing with which the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford would have been involved. The last element of this chapter will examine the development of policing both nationally and in Manchester and Salford.

¹ Emsley, 'Police Politics', pp. 19 - 20

2.1 The Chief Constables 1880 – 1900

The relationship between the Watch Committee and the Chief Constable is unquestionably that of master and man, however as a Chief Constable's tenure developed his relationship with his employer would mature perhaps into a less deferential state.² As will be discussed later, Salford Chief Constable Stephen Neal (in post 1848 – 1852) attempted to exercise some independence and was dismissed.³ Chief Constable C. Malcolm Wood of the Manchester Force (in post 1881 – 1898) was encouraged to resign as the politicians on the Watch Committee placed the responsibility for the 'Bannister Affair' firmly in his quarter (chapter 4). His successor Robert Peacock (in post 1898 – 1926) had to fight to retain his position.⁴ Brogden discusses the relationship between the Watch Committee and the Chief Constable using the Liverpool force as his reference point.⁵ He records that the relationship between the Liverpool Watch Committee and Head Constable Captain Nott-Bower as being 'one of unquestioning obedience'. Brogden concluded that the relationship early in the twentieth century was a very complex partnership.

Tables 7 & 8 list the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford, and biographies of those in post 1880-1900 can be found in Appendix 5. After an uneasy introduction of the 'new police' Manchester had a stable relationship with their Chief Constables whilst Salford experienced many changes.⁶ The reasons for this could be multifarious and the prejudices of councillors and particularly Alderman Peter Gendall have already been discussed (1.9).

² Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, p. 43

³ See s. 3.8

⁴ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, pp. 107-109

⁵ M. Brogden, *The Police: Autonomy and Consent* (London: Academic Press, 1982) p. 67

⁶ Daniels, 'The Watch Committee', p. 20

Table 7: Manchester Chief Constables from establishment to 1926

Manchester Chief Constables		Tenure (years)
1839 (Jun) – 1839(Sept)	Richard Beswick	0.5
1839 - 1842	Sir Charles Shaw	3
1842 - 1857	Capt. Edward Willis	13
1857 - 1881	Capt. William Palin	24
1881 - 1898	Charles Wood	17
1898 - 1926	Sir Robert Peacock	28

Source: Stallion and Wall, *The British Police*, p. 123

Table 8: Salford Chief Constables from establishment to 1908

Salford Chief Constables		Tenure (Years)
1844 -1845	John Diggles	1
1845 - 1848	Edwin Shepherd	3
1848 - 1852	Stephen Neal	4
1852 - 1866	James Taylor	14
1866 - 1868	William Sylvester	2
1868 - 1869	Edward Hibberd	1
1869 - 1880	Robert Torrens	11
1880 - 1890	W. Marshall	10
1890 - 1898	Cmdr. Charles Scott	8
1898 - 1908	John Hallam	10

Source: Greater Manchester Police Museum (GMPM). Minutes of the Salford borough council Watch Committee (SWC), 1844 – 1905.

2.2 The development of policing

Chief Constables were very much influenced by developments in national policing. It should not be difficult to determine what the authorities wanted the police to achieve but no statement of purpose has been found in either the Manchester or Salford Watch Committee minutes. The first steps in policing in Manchester is discussed in www.victorianpolicestations.org. Bittner writes that 'the business [of the police] is to control crime and keep the peace'. Perhaps this is too straightforward as the pressures on the police were manyfold. Bittner discusses the complex relationships between police, policed and authority.⁷ For our purposes, an appropriate starting point to discuss policing development is the County and Borough Police Act of 1856. It came into force on 1 January 1857 and its wide scope and its mandatory status made it a fulcrum for police reform in the nineteenth century which would continue throughout the period. It shaped the relationship of police forces both in counties and boroughs until after the First World War. All counties were required to set up a police force. The Home Office created Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary (HMIC) to assess the ability of each force and police its award of the annual HMIC Certificate of Efficiency. This was expected to have a positive influence so that best policing practice should permeate throughout. The way that the police evolved and reformed their methods is discussed in Tennant in relation to Cheshire, which borders both the Manchester and Salford force areas. Areas of reform includes several elements, notably organization, governance, practices, powers and numbers.⁸ The award of this Certificate of Efficiency after inspection was important to the Watch Committees of both Manchester and Salford. It brought with it a sizeable government contribution to policing costs and it also informed the ratepayers of the two areas that their Watch Committees were doing their work to a national standard.

⁷ Bittner, *Functions of the Police*, p. 12

⁸ M. Tennant, 'Enterprise, Experimentation and the State: Industrialisation and the Cheshire Constabulary, 1790-1860' (unpub. PhD, Keele University, 2010), p. 263

The 'inspection' by HMIC was conducted on an annual basis but did not appear to be onerous. The *Manchester Courier* reported in 1893 that for the annual inspection of Salford police, the whole of the force of 276 men and officers, were on parade. These, plus those on sick leave and headquarters staff, gave a total strength of 330. The Inspector Sir Herbert Croft (Bart) met with the mayor, aldermen and many councillors and looked at the books, cells, stores, parade room and detective staff. The men were put through a number of exercises and at the conclusion Sir Herbert Croft expressed pleasure with all he had seen and the general efficiency of the force.⁹

Yet it would not have been difficult to obtain the Certificate of Efficiency. The Inspector concentrated on numbers employed, the ability of the policemen to drill, the ability of the police force to keep adequate books, the capacity and cleanliness of the cells and an examination of the detective staff. HMIC often acted via influence rather than diktat. In 1880 the Hon. H.G. Legge, an Inspector of Constabulary, expressed concern that 25 out of 196 men in the Cumberland and Westmorland force were acting as assistant relieving officers which occupied 50 percent of the time they should have been on police duties.¹⁰

HMIC had the responsibility to report their findings to parliament on an annual basis. There was a commitment from the Home Office to contribute one quarter of the cost of wages and uniforms. Local ratepayers retained a lingering concern about the potential erosion of local, and the possibility of an element of centralised, control. The issue of local versus centralised control and the attempts at police consistency is discussed in Mawby.¹¹

Whilst the County and Borough Police Act of 1856 had been of great significance there was other legislation that had an influence on Chief Constables and policing

⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 7 April 1893, p. 2

¹⁰ Emsley, *The English Police*, p. 83

¹¹ Mawby, 'Models of Policing', p. 20

in the later stages of the nineteenth century. HMIC produced annual reports to parliament and one of their recommendations, oft repeated, was to reduce the number of provincial police forces with reference to the small forces which were inherently inefficient. It was expected that the Police Expenses Act of 1874 would recommend this amendment. Instead it increased the Exchequer contribution of 25 percent of the cost of pay and clothing to 50 percent. This surprising omission was rectified in the Local Government Act 1888 which required boroughs with a population less than 20,000 people to amalgamate with their county force. Because of this legislation, the number of independent borough forces reduced from 220 to 181.¹² This act of 1888 was followed two years later by the Police Act of 1890 which provided police officers with the right to a pension after 15 years' service.¹³ This was of major significance as it gave a measure of security to what previously had been an insecure occupation. This contributed to the concept of policing as a 'career' as opposed to a 'job'. The job of a policeman remained unremittingly onerous and throughout they were regarded as the 'servant' of either the county magistrates or borough Watch Committee.

It has previously been stated that the terms and conditions that a policeman had to work with were harsh. Critchley notes that 'once enrolled, the policeman embarked on a way of life that demanded almost unremitting hard work performed under conditions of severe discipline, in exchange for a weekly wage that left him, particularly the married man with a family, near the breadline'.¹⁴ The rates were set at the level of skilled agricultural labourers whilst working seven days per week and only two shift patterns.

¹² Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales*, pp. 46–47.

¹³ Stallion and Wall, *The British Police*, p. 12.

¹⁴ Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales*, p. 150.

2.3 Economic depression

Lancashire and particularly the cotton industry were particularly prone to economic fluctuations in the nineteenth century. Even before the onset of 'the Great Depression' (1873-96) economic hardship was not uncommon in the cotton trade. It had first been experienced as a result of the American Civil War in 1861 and in 1862 of the 29 mills in Salford, 15 were on short time and three had stopped work in their entirety.¹⁵ As Greenall has said, the area suffered one of the worst depressions of the century and by February 1884, 40,000 workers were out of work in Manchester and Salford'.¹⁶ The Watch Committee or police force would have been aware of the crisis. Most if not all Chief Constables were members of, or associated with, local charitable organizations. For example, the Police Orphanage in 1889 noted as members, the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford, C.M. Wood and William Marshall. Wood was confirmed as treasurer. This charity was chaired by Manchester Alderman Hopkinson so at least C. Malcolm Wood would have been working with one of his Watch Committee employers.¹⁷ As has been quoted before (1.13) a SWC minute from 23 March 1886 noted. The Chief Constable reported at length that several members of the force had expressed a wish to open a Soup Kitchen for the distressed poor.¹⁸ Evidently the members of the police force, poorly paid themselves, understood the distress amongst their community.

2.4 The physical health of Manchester and Salford

Manchester had a population of c.22,481 in 1773 and by 1901 it was c.548,000. Salford, always approximately one half the size of Manchester, had experienced an increase in population in a similar period to 223,000 inhabitants. By 1901 the

¹⁵ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, his table 4, p. 155.

¹⁶ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 231-232.

¹⁷ GMPMA, Archive Box A24, C. Malcolm Wood, minute dated 4 June 1889

¹⁸ SWC, 23 March 1886

combined populations of Manchester and Salford equated to c.750,000 people. Immigration, sanitation, water and gas would be a major factor in local policing.

The public health conditions under which the police carried out their work were poor. Sanitary conditions in Manchester and Salford in the nineteenth century were appalling. Contemporaries such as Engels (1820-95),¹⁹ and historians such as Redford,²⁰ and Greenall,²¹ refer to the towns of South East Lancashire generally and singled out Manchester and Salford as the most abominable of places. Writing in 1844, Engels described the area around Long Millgate near the Church that is now Manchester Cathedral on the border of the two towns: 'Right and left a multitude of covered passages lead from the main street into numerous courts and he who turns thither gets into a filth and disgusting grime... which contains unquantifiably the most horrible dwellings which I have yet to be held'.²² The circumstances of public health and sanitary conditions generally, and in Manchester and Salford particularly, are noted in Trevelyan, S. Simon and Bullock.²³ Manchester and Salford were growing at an explosive rate and what sanitary arrangements were being made – if any at all – could not possibly keep up before the end of the century. In the 'Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Salford' statistics show deaths per thousand population increased year on year from 24.6 deaths in 1861 to 30.5 deaths in 1868.²⁴ The statistics for Manchester were almost identical: the figures were 31.5, 32.8, and 30.5 per thousand population in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s respectively.²⁵ It took considerable efforts to make any inroads into the situation. Every drain in Manchester discharged into the rivers. The Rivers Irk and Medlock had long since been merely 'common sewers' and 'the River Irwell was the hardest worked and foulest stream

¹⁹ Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class*, ed. McLellan

²⁰ Redford, *History of Local Government*

²¹ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*

²² Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class*, pp. 60-61.

²³ Trevelyan, *English Social History*, pp. 418, 467, 501 & 514; S. Simon, *A Century of City Government*, pp. 171-174; Bullock, *Salford 1900- 1914*, p. 43

²⁴ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, 'Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Salford' (1902), p. 164

²⁵ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 124.

in the world'.²⁶ A Medical Officer of Health was appointed for Salford and several Improvement Bills were subsequently enacted. This gave Salford the power to build sewage works, demolish overcrowded buildings, and create building regulations that would eventually lead to the cleaning up of the borough. Although this was a recognition that something needed to be done it was merely a start. In 1900, only Preston and Blackburn had a higher rate of infant mortality than Salford.²⁷

In Redford's study of Manchester and Salford there are 93 references to water in the index in volume 2 alone.²⁸ Subsequently detailed investigation into Manchester and Salford and the provision of clean water generally can be found in Ritvo, Hassan, and Sheard.²⁹

As Manchester and Salford grew so the need for water increased and there was continuing development in terms of pipelines and reservoirs for decades. Several of the adjacent townships were in negotiation during the late 1870s and Manchester assumed responsibility for areas such as Bradford, Harpurhey and Newton Heath in 1882. At this time, extra water supplies were being found in the Lake District and piped from Thirlmere.³⁰

In the late Victorian period, Chief Constables, Watch Committees and town councils were required to provide a variety of services for a rapidly increasing population. In many functions, it proved beyond them. It was beyond them both in terms of the imagination and funding required. Private enterprise in relation to these utilities, such as sanitation, water and drainage in Manchester and Salford, could not cope with these demands.³¹ Municipal enterprises had proved very useful for the police commissioners in providing for the requirements on a town-

²⁶ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol.2, p. 283.

²⁷ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 162-172.

²⁸ Redford. *History of Local Government*, Vol 2.

²⁹ Ritvo, 'Fighting for Thirlmere'; 'Manchester versus Thirlmere'; *The Dawn of Green*; Hassan, *The Seaside*; Sheard, 'Water and Health';

³⁰ S.D. Simon, *A Century of Government*, p. 353

³¹ S.D. Simon, *A Century of Government*, pp. 349-356

wide scale even if only those who qualified for the police rate would contribute. A further example, this time in Salford, relates to the provision of gas to the town.³² It is not a subject related to public health but was a utility and provides an example of the necessity for municipalities to assume responsibility for such operations when private enterprise could not invest to provide safe town-wide facilities. It is also an example of how municipalities could fall foul of technically qualified experts. The new engineer appointed in 1875 was Samuel Hunter, 'highly esteemed by all who knew him, but personally was more impressive than any of his predecessors'.³³ Yet he was eventually arrested, and at his trial and under examination, both members of the Salford Gas Committee and the council were discovered to have taken Hunter at face value and that no real attempt to provide executive management had taken place. The Gas Committee eventually resigned.³⁴

2.5 Manchester Police and Dugdale

There was a similar struggle in the late nineteenth century between the MCWC and its Chief Constable. Chief Constable Wood (in post 1881-1898) had been put in an awkward position by members of the Watch Committee who appointed an Inspector, William Bannister, to the rank of superintendent, overruling the expressed wish of the Chief Constable. There appeared to be a conflict of interest amongst Watch Committee members who were associated with the drink industry. They obviously saw in Bannister someone who would protect them from any objective, on behalf of the Chief Constable, to bear down on the excesses of drunkenness and its associated vices. Bannister was protected from the Chief Constable on several occasions much to the detriment of the reputation of the Chief Constable. Such was the disquiet in Manchester on the part of an ill-informed council that an official inquiry had to be established. The ensuing Dugdale inquiry report concluded in favour of the Chief Constable and the Watch Committee was forced to accept that the appointment of officers and subsequent management

³² Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 193-211

³³ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 194.

³⁴ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 202-203.

and discipline of the force be left in the hands of the Chief Constable. That the Watch Committee wanted to be rid of the affair is confirmed by their allowing Wood to resign early (1898) whilst allowing him to receive a pension on the basis that he had retired after working his full term. There was still a tension between a democratic Watch Committee and an independent police force. This was especially true when either there was a new Chief Constable in post or a new Watch Committee had been appointed.³⁵

2.6 The Irish in Manchester and Salford

The conditions under which the Irish in Manchester and Salford lived is covered by Busted.³⁶ Ireland and the Home Rule issue were rarely far from the newspapers. The Irish Republican Brotherhood (or 'Fenians') planned and publicized what would now be described as terror attacks. Few were attempted but the threat was enough to provoke state action. The *Manchester Guardian* noted in 1881 in relation to Irish nationalism that 'people in Salford are in a state of great alarm'.³⁷ The same newspaper on the following day confirmed that actions had been instigated by Chief Constable Wood in the interests of public safety, particularly after the murder in 1867 of Manchester police sergeant Brett during a successful escape from a police van transporting Irish nationalist prisoners.³⁸ 28 men were subsequently arrested and three were publicly hanged at Salford Gaol. This instance gave rise to the 'Manchester Martyrs'. Irish nationalism generally is discussed in Comerford and in Manchester and Salford is covered in Kidd; Swift and

³⁵ Redford, *History of Local Government*, Vol 3, pp. 8-16.

³⁶ M. Busted, *The Irish in Manchester c.1750 – 1921* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016)

³⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 31 January 1881, p. 8

³⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, 'The Fenian Agitation in Manchester and Salford', 1 February 1881, p. 5

Gilley, and Newsinger. The 'Manchester Martyrs' are discussed in Busted, McNamara, Rose, and McGill and Redmond.³⁹

A Fenian bomb exploded at a barracks in Salford in 1881. A seven-year-old boy was killed and 5,000 rifles destroyed.⁴⁰ The minutes of the MCWM refers to 'Fenian disturbances and purchase of explosives'.⁴¹ The same minutes noted that the Chief Constable of Manchester was ever vigilant in these matters because 'Manchester has been for many years the Head Quarters of Fenianism though because of the vigilance of the police, not even an attempt to commit an outrage has occurred'. The Home Office wanted to make police aware that Fenians were seeking to purchase explosives and reminded the Watch Committees of their responsibilities and powers on such matters. There was also a memorandum from HM Chief Inspector of Explosives advising them of what to look for. The *Manchester Guardian* in 1883, under the title 'Fenianism in Manchester and Salford', noted the existence of secret societies and the production of nitro-glycerin and emphasised that activities of the police in the two towns have prevented any such illegal operations.⁴²

Such was the complex environment that the police operated in that further potential for trouble came with the arrest in 1889 of prominent MP, Mr. W. O'Brien (1852-1928). He was in Manchester to garner support for nationalism amongst the Irish populations of Manchester and Salford.⁴³ The minutes of the MCWM of 21 February 1889 refers to the arrest. It is confirmed when the *Manchester Guardian* used extracts from Manchester police officials, Inspector Caminada and

³⁹ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 173 – 174; Comerford, *The Fenians in Context*; Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*; Newsinger, *Fenianism in Mid-Victorian Britain*; Busted, 'The Manchester Martyrs'; C.McNamara, 'The Execution of the Manchester Martyrs'; Rose, *The Manchester Martyrs*; McGill and Redmond, *The Story of the Manchester Martyrs*,

⁴⁰ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 182.

⁴¹ Minutes of the MCWM, 19 April 1883.

⁴² *Manchester Guardian*, 30 April 1883, p. 8

⁴³ P. Bull, 'William O'Brien M.P: The Metropolitan and International Dimensions of Irish Nationalism', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol.27 Issue 2–3, 2009, pp. 212-225

Superintendent Hicks and quotes verbatim from the MCWM minutes about the search for, arrest and subsequent deportation of O'Brien.⁴⁴ The Chief Constable was unanimously praised for his action by the Watch Committee.⁴⁵

2.7 Contemporaneous legislation

National government in the latter part of the nineteenth century was becoming more active in passing legislation. One such was the Education Act of 1870. This act gave the opportunity for each child to have an elementary education. It also had major implications for policing authorities. The statistics collated by both Manchester and Salford Chief Constables over the latter two decades of the nineteenth century indicate that there were many instances of the police bringing recalcitrant parents before the courts.

Huggins writes about the war waged by those in the Victorian period who virtuously campaigned against vice and its resultant behaviour. He acknowledges that the meaning of 'vice' changed over time. By the Victorian period 'vice formed a key part of the imagination... something regularly thought about and under constant surveillance'.⁴⁶ The Licensing Act of 1870 was designed to combat vice and had a similar effect as the Education Act of 1870 on the workload of police in Manchester and Salford. The spiritual and moral welfare of the population combined to create open conflict with those who represented the drink trade and Chief Constables were in the middle of this conflict. From the 1860s onwards militant temperance organizations with political, not merely educational, objectives intervened in the municipal politics of many towns.⁴⁷ Understandably, the drink trade responded by organizing its own representation, and many members became

⁴⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 25 February 1889, p. 8

⁴⁵ MCWM, 21 February 1889

⁴⁶ Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp. vii-viii

⁴⁷ Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 35

local councillors themselves. In many towns, the drink trade provided a significant proportion of local council members, with the resultant conflict of interest. In Manchester, it was a major factor in the affair that generated the Dugdale inquiry whilst in Leeds, the proportion of the council drawn from the drink trade rose from 7.8 percent in 1872 to 16.9 percent in 1902. In Exeter, it was 22.9 percent in 1871 and in Newcastle under Lyme it was more than 20 percent in the later decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ The Licensing Act 1870 meant that magistrates would expect reports from the police when applications for new or renewal of licenses were made. The police, whose significant role was maintenance of public order, saw at first hand drunken behaviour and the problems that drink and prostitution caused. The numbers proceeded against for the offence of drunkenness were significant. In Manchester in 1880, 9,279 offences were recorded for this class out of a total of 23,232, or 40 percent. The Chief Constable's reports indicate that in Salford in 1890 the equivalent numbers were 3,006, and 6,362, that is, 47 percent of offences.⁴⁹ There was inevitable conflict between a Chief Constable in the performance of his duties and members of a Watch Committee, some of whom represented the interests of the drink trade.

This was also a time during which changes were made to increase the numbers of men who were eligible to vote. Electors now voting in municipal elections elected those councillors who made up the Watch Committee. The Watch Committee employed the Chief Constable. So, any change in voting patterns could directly affect the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford in their relationship with their employers. Garrard writing about Salford noted that 'even the most economically and socially substantial candidates were having to supplement their customary declarations of celebrity and integrity with more specific appeals and pledges'.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, pp. 35-37.

⁴⁹ Table 30

⁵⁰ J. Garrard, 'Leaders and Politics in Nineteenth Century Salford: A Historical Analysis of Urban Political Power' in *Salford City Politics – Research Series*, ed. Michael Goldsmith (Salford: University of Salford, 1967 – 1970)

2.8 The Annual Reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford 1880 - 1900

At the end of the municipal and consequently the Watch Committee year, the chairman of that committee published a comprehensive report that outlined the activities of his committee. The major content of this document was a report by the Chief Constable delivered to the Watch Committee of the respective borough. The Chief Constable would have been directed by his employer, the Watch Committee, to prepare this document for inclusion with their own report.

The Chief Constable was an employee of his Watch Committee and the report would have required their approval before being published. As Steedman has pointed out, the Chief Constable was 'only the senior officer of a body of men that the Watch Committee of a town council had absolute power to select, direct and dismiss'.⁵¹ Watch Committees appointed their employees and would not be pleased if they felt their authority was in question. A precedent was set when in 1851 the Salford Chief Constable, Stephen Neal (in post 1848-1852), published his Annual Report independently. At a subsequent Watch Committee meeting the minutes record that 'it is the opinion of this Committee that Mr. Neal has taken an unwarrantable liberty in publishing his Report without sanction of the Committee'.⁵² In April of the following year at a Special Meeting of the Watch Committee, Chief Constable Neal was dismissed.⁵³ There had been at least one other influence upon the contents of the report: The Home Office had specified the content of the statistical tables as a result of the County and Borough Police Act of 1856. This legislation provided for a government grant from the Home Office for those Watch Committees that successfully passed their inspection conducted by HMIC. Provision of relevant information would have been part of the qualification

⁵¹ Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, p. 43

⁵² SWC, 20 November 1851.

⁵³ *Manchester Guardian*. 23 June 1852, p. 3

process. There would have been a considerable local and national influence upon the activities and priorities of Chief Constable.

In examining the contents of the Annual Report of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford, the objective is to elicit the priorities given or assumed by the senior policeman. The Report of the Chief Constables was a document prepared by them for consumption by their respective Watch Committees and in the case of those prepared by the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford in 1880, was in three parts. Initially, a narrative and selected table, secondly, an 'index to criminal statistics' and thirdly, a whole body of statistical tables.

This narrative and the extracted statistical information are in the form of what would now be described as an 'executive summary'. This would have been information which the Chief Constable would wish to bring to the attention of the reader of the document. The Chief Constable would have done this for one of two reasons - the first would be to paint either or both himself and his police force in a most favourable light or, secondly, to bring to the attention of the Watch Committee those items that formed the basis of any of their policy requirements. It can be anticipated that the 'executive summary' provided by the Chief Constable would give an insight into those areas considered important by the politicians. The report prepared by the Chief Constables would have been presented to each member of the Watch Committee and subsequently to the full council, the local magistrates and HMIC.

There is no indication from the Minutes of the respective Watch Committees that the Watch Committee exerted any influence upon the style or content of the report by the Chief Constable, although Emsley, Howard Taylor, David Taylor, Gatrell and Haddon, Williams and Tobias have highlight the selectivity of criminal statistics produced in this period.⁵⁴ This thesis will examine these reports by the

⁵⁴ Emsley, *Crime, Police and Penal Policy*; H. Taylor, 'Forging the Job', pp. 113-35; H. Taylor, 'The Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics of England and Wales 1914-1960', pp. 5-28 ; H. Taylor, 'Rationing Crime: the Political Economy of Criminal Statistics

Chief Constables on a decennial basis from 1880 through to 1900 with a view to note how the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford reported that their area of responsibility had changed (if at all) over the period.

2.8.1 Manchester Chief Constables' Annual Report – 1880

The annual Chief Constable's report is dated 21 October 1880 and appeared in the Watch Committee Minutes and the book of the 'Manchester Council Proceedings'.⁵⁵ It covered seven printed pages and is a précis of the document that accompanied it. This document, 'Criminal and Miscellaneous Police Returns' contained approximately 46 pages of statistical tables.

The criminal and police statistical tables contain information relating to the policing of the city of Manchester. These statistical tables were an amalgamation of information that would have been required by HMIC, a compendium of information as collected by the Manchester police statistical department and information of interest locally. The information included in the Annual Report of the Chief Constable is a précis of this information. It is not evident why the Chief Constable included the statistics in his preamble but it could be assumed that he has extracted from the compendium of tables that which is of immediate interest to his audience, that is, the Watch Committee. It is a reasonable assumption that his introduction to his Annual Report is a form of 'executive summary' and is information that is of foremost interest to his employers. The following is taken from this report.

since the 1850s', pp. 569-590; D.Taylor, *The New Police, & Policing the Victorian Town*; Gatrell and Haddon, 'Criminal Statistics', pp. 336-39; Williams, 'Counting Crimes and Counting People'; Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society & Nineteenth-Century Crime*.

⁵⁵ Manchester Central Reference Library, Archives+. Minutes of the Manchester Borough Council Watch Committee (MCWC), 17 October 1880. Also appears in the Proceedings of the Manchester Council for 1879-1880

Apprehensions in Manchester in 1880

In 1880, 20,256 persons were apprehended [not charged or convicted], being an increase of 1,599 or 8.5 percent on the previous year. The number proceeded against by summons was 5,413 being 140 less than the preceding year. The numbers of indictable offences committed were 4,415 being 103 less than the previous year. For these indictable offences 1,024 persons were apprehended, 605 of whom were committed for trial and 419 were discharged. Under the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 which came into operation in 1880 the magistrates could deal summarily with cases that previously could only be dealt with as indictable charges. As a result of this new legislation the justices could ask a defendant to choose between trial by jury or to be dealt with there and then before justices. Most elected to be dealt with immediately. This drastically affected police statistics. The Chief Constable reported that this resulted in the number of committals for trial being reduced from 678 in 1879 to 605 in the present year. Those convicted for larceny had increased from 882 to 1,010. The number of persons appearing before magistrates summarily was 24,645, 7.3 percent more than the previous year.⁵⁶

Table 9 below makes reference to principal offences. The number of those appearing before magistrates summarily is the gross total (25,669) minus indictable offence (1,024) which equates to 24,645. It is difficult to compare year on year statistical reports of this kind because of the continuing increase in population.

⁵⁶ Gross total of 25,669 proceeded against in 1880 minus 1,024 indictable offences

Principal Offences in Manchester in 1880

Table 9: Classification of the Principal Offences for which persons were proceeded against before the Magistrates for 1879-1880

Year	1879	1880	%Change
Indictable offences	1,245	1,024	-18
Assaults	1,857	1,940	4.5
Breaches of the Peace	1,142	1,065	-6.7
Drunkenness	8,596	8,815	2.5
Offences under the Licensing Act	338	342	n/c
Wilful Damage	205	204	n/c
Prostitutes	1,645	2,432	48
Stealing or attempting to steal under the Summary Jurisdiction Act 1879	1,010	1,200	19
Police and Local Acts	3,241	3,917	21
Vagrant Acts	1,092	1,498	37
Other Offences	3,839	3,232	-15.8
Gross Total	24,210	25,669	6

Source: Manchester Chief Constables Annual Report 1880.

In 1880 of those apprehended 62.8 percent were males and 37.1 percent were females.

Table 10: The ages of those arrested

The ages of those arrested	No of Offenders	Number as a percentage of total
Less than 10	85	0.4
10 to less than 16	874	4.3
16 to 20	2,620	12.9
20 to 30	7,569	37.3
30 to 50	7,143	35.3
More than 50	1,965	9.7
Total	20,256	

Source: Manchester Chief Constables Annual Report 1880 p.282

Prostitution in Manchester in 1880

Huggins shows how police used their legal powers to control prostitution but would only act when there existed a 'temporary' local focus. He suggests that 'urban police orders often instructed constables to ignore the phenomenon if they were not disorderly or being indecent'. As has been discussed, the numbers involved were an unreliable indication of activity. There was a decline in convictions after 1885 but this could merely have been down to lack of police activity. There was a disparity in reporting and definition. In 1863 Durham (population 14,000) had 74 prostitutes whilst Salford (population 103,000) had 100 and Rochdale (population 138,000) 125 prostitutes.⁵⁷ None of these statistics had any degree of reliability.

Table 11: Prostitution in Manchester 1871 - 1880

Those proceedings under the heading of prostitution for the 10 years are as follows

Year	Offences
1871	1,450
1872	1,319
1873	1,401
1874	1,369
1875	1,361
1876	1,258
1877	1,576
1878	1,607
1879	1,645
1880	2,432

Source: Annual Report of the Manchester Chief Constable 1880, p.282

The number of proceedings against prostitutes remained relatively constant during the 1870s. However, there was a significant increase in proceedings in 1880. This was 68 percent more than in 1871 and 48 percent more than in 1879. It is unlikely that there was an increase in prostitution in Manchester but the presentation of

⁵⁷ Huggins, *Vice and The Victorians*, pp. 129-130

statistics implies that a decision had been made to instruct the police force to highlight this 'offence'.

Vice of this sort usually went hand in hand with drink-related offences but these statistics indicate that the incidence of drunkenness had decreased by c.17 percent since 1875. The number of persons taken into custody and charged with drunkenness in 1880 was 9,297 or 40 percent of the total number arrested.⁵⁸ 31 percent of those arrested for drunkenness in 1880 were women. In addition to these, 2,628 were drunk whilst being arrested and charged with other offences. It is also of note that those proceeded against for 'vagrancy' was higher to the tune of 38 percent. An arrest pattern of this sort in which a significantly higher proportion of one offence was recorded is an indication of a change either in policy or in personnel. There was a concerted effort to deal with these offences.

The Chief Constable's report notes that the number of brothels known to the police in April 1880 as 290. The number of prostitutes was 700 (509 residing in brothels and 191 residing in houses not known to be brothels). The total population residing in brothels was 765. The report provides a comparative analysis of prostitutes and brothels in the city of Manchester for the twenty years beginning 1860. The numbers of prostitutes and brothels changes remarkably little over this extended period.

Robbery in Manchester in 1880

The tables give comparative statistics for the years 1871 - 1880 but only the years 1875 and 1880 are compared in table 12 below.

⁵⁸ Table 30

Table 12: Robberies committed in Manchester (as far as is known to the police). 1875 & 1880

Year	1875	1880	%change
Burglary and Housebreaking and breaking into all other the premises.	528	765	44.8
Robbery from the person with violence	49	45	-8.0
Larceny from the person	736	959	30.2
Embezzlement and larceny by servants	396	302	-23.7
Larceny in dwellings and all other premises	2,806	2,885	2.8
Other Offences	954	1,069	12
Totals	5,469	6,025	10.2

Source: Manchester Chief Constable. Annual Report 1880

The number of robberies was 6,025 being 5.8 percent more than the previous year (1879) and an increase of 4.7 percent on the average for the last 10 years. The value of property stolen was £17,147 (14 percent over 1879) whilst property recovered was £4,444 (or 25 percent) of that stolen. The average number of robberies per year for the previous five years was 5,753 and the average number of robberies for the last ten years was 7,909 per year. These numbers would indicate that robberies in 1880 was currently running at a higher rate than in previous years but was significantly lower than the ten-year average.

As far as is known to the Police

The statistics relating to crime and public order offences only relate to those that came to the notice of the police. Statistics relating to crime were somewhat dubious, and inconsistent at best, because individual crimes lacked definition and could be misinterpreted, not only by different police forces, but by each officer in each force, division, station and shift.⁵⁹ Published crime statistics were approved by the employers of police forces - the local political representatives - who might be

⁵⁹ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, pp. 21-55

loath to paint themselves in a bad light. Crimes also regularly went unreported and uninvestigated.⁶⁰ As today the police are not always the most popular of civic representatives and in the nineteenth century it could have been that the police force was not recognized as being competent or were not trusted. Tightly knit societies preferred to exercise control over their own communities.⁶¹ Local communities did not always involve the police in their disputes. That only 25 percent of stolen property was recovered in 1880 must have been cause for concern in policing circles. These figures were published and could hardly have given the local population confidence that reporting crime would result in prosecution and the return of stolen cash or goods. Roberts, describing Edwardian Salford, exemplifies the point about the lack of public trust in the police. He discusses not merely a lack of confidence in the police but working-class mistrust in a system which appeared to them as oppressive. 'I don't recall a single prosecution, strict public silence saved miscreants from the law', he added, 'one spoke to a "rozzar" when one had to and told him the minimum.'⁶²

Miscellaneous offences in Manchester in 1880

The Annual Report of the Chief Constable contains a compendium of statistics recorded under a 'miscellaneous' heading. Contained within this group are statistics which relate to the activities of the police force which are not related to criminal activity but which would have been a heavy call on the time of individual policeman.

The report indicates that in 1880 there were 475 public houses in Manchester (five fewer than the previous year). As a result of the 1870 Licensing Act, the activities of the licensed trade became regulated by magistrates and police had responsibilities

⁶⁰ Archer, 'Mysterious and Suspicious Deaths', pp. 12 – 14

⁶¹ Banton, *The Policeman in the Community*, pp. 1–3

⁶² R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum Salford Life in the first Quarter of the Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971; repr.1974) p. 44, p. 100

to ensure order. In 1880, 59 offences were reported and heard by magistrates, of which 35 resulted in a conviction. Other than public houses there were 2,131 premises that were licensed for the sale of alcohol in nineteen categories. A significant activity conducted by constables was to test the locks of premises. In 1880, 6,027 premises were found to be insecure at night. 1,222 persons were given assistance by the police having suffered some incidence of accident or sickness. The police found 3,321 lost children and restored them to their parents. 2,948 persons were reported by the police for nuisance; 2,342 were fined and 606 cases were dismissed. There were 224 lodging houses in Manchester, 1,252 peddlers' certificates were issued and 23 refused. There were 829 licensed brokers and 174 pawnbrokers within the city.

The Police force of Manchester in 1880

The complement of the police force is not commented upon in the Chief Constable's Annual Reports. He merely confined himself to the comment that 'the strength of the police was maintained'. He does however highlight various elements that are dealt with in considerable detail, both in the 'Budget Estimates' and the tables that accompanied the report. In his executive summary the Chief Constable wants his Watch Committee employers to be aware that 41 officers had resigned, 16 were dismissed, 13 were superannuated and four officers died in the period. The average number of days that his officers took as sickness was 23. Although no further comment is made about these figures relating to absence it must have been of some concern to all parties that each man was losing more than three weeks per year to sickness. The expenditure by the Police Department was £73,788 and the government grant contribution towards the cost of the police force was £33,385. The Chief Constable was also at pains to bring to the attention of the Watch Committee that the balance in the superannuation fund was £4,115 with, during the year, £32,469 paid out. His force had 160 superannuated officers.

2.9 The Annual Report of the Salford Chief Constable for 1880

It is of some note that when the *Manchester Guardian* in 1880 published an article reporting on the Salford Chief Constable's statistics where the style of reporting is merely to publish the statistics. There is neither comment upon the numbers nor narrative about the area.⁶³ It appears that Chief Constables in the late nineteenth century were respected and their reports did not occasion great scrutiny.

On 26 October 1880, the Chief Constable of Salford W.L. Marshall submitted his Annual Report.⁶⁴ The most immediate difference from that produced by the Manchester Chief Constable is that there is an overall summary of the state of crime in Salford which is broken down into the three townships i.e. Salford, Pendleton, and Broughton. He compares the statistics for 1880 with the statistics for the previous year 1879.

Table 13: Total Number of Persons proceeded against in Salford 1880

	1879		1880	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total Apprehensions for Indictable Offences	203	88	222	118
Total Apprehensions for Offences determined Summarily	3,251	1,285	3,560	1,654
Apprehensions made by other Forces	11	4	7	4
Apprehensions made for other Forces	47	8	64	14
Total proceeded against by Summons	1,071	328	1,327	394

Source: Salford Chief Constables Annual Report, dated 26 October 1880, SWC minutes.

Employment Status, Nationality and Literacy in Salford in 1880

Of those proceeded against 4,027 registered themselves as unemployed with 1,449 having an employed status. 4,096 were English 1,072 Irish, 147 Scottish, 86 Welsh

⁶³ *Manchester Guardian*, 19 November 1880, p. 6

⁶⁴ Salford Chief Constable's Annual Report, dated 26 October 1880, SWC minutes.

and 75 foreigners. 1,936 were illiterate, 3,279 could read and write imperfectly and 261 could read and write well.

Table 14: Robberies reported to the police in Salford 1879-1880

	1879	1880
Number of robberies reported	1,018	1,180
Value of property stolen	£2,316	£2,500
Total amount recovered	£1,936 (83.5%)	£1,704 (68%)
Amount recovered by other forces	£34	£20
Amount recovered for other forces	£999	£232

Source: Salford Chief Constable's Annual Report, dated 26 October 1880, SWC minutes.

Table 15: Committals to the Assizes in Salford 1879-1880

Attempt to murder	1
Feloniously Wounding	3
Manslaughter	3
Concealment of Birth	1
Bigamy	4
Arson	1
Burglary	4
Receiving Stolen Goods	1
Forgery	1
Uttering Counterfeit Coin	1
Total	20

Source: Salford Chief Constables Annual Report, 26 October 1880, SWC minutes.

Table 16: Committals to the Sessions in Salford 1879-1880

Unlawfully Wounding	13
Indecent Assault	1
Sacrilege	1
House and Shop Breaking	16
Robbery and Larceny from the Person	32
Simple Larceny and Larceny in dwelling houses	65
Larceny by Servants	15
Attempts to Steal	1
Embezzlement	4
Receiving a Stolen Goods	8
Fraud	15
Attempted Suicide	5
Attempting to Injure Machinery in Motion	2
Incorrigible Rogue	1
Total Committals to Sessions	179

Source: Salford Chief Constables Annual Report, dated 26 October 1880, SWC minutes.

Drunkenness in Salford in 1880

2,093 persons had been convicted of the offence of 'drunkenness' in 1879-1880. 1,488 were males and 605 were females. Of these 686 could neither read nor write, 1,267 could read and write imperfectly, and 140 could read and write well. In the late nineteenth century, the problems of alcohol and drunkenness were heavily debated topics in Westminster.⁶⁵ The Licensing Act of 1870 was a consequence of this debate. The Act was widely supported by the temperance movement and was widely opposed by brewers who set up the National Trade Defence Fund to protect

⁶⁵ Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians*, p. 59

themselves. The statistical evidence has similar problems to those for the subject of prostitution. Was there any local focus on the subject, who was doing the counting and what of definitions did they use? This leads historians to remain sceptical and can draw limited conclusions. Huggins quotes Sheffield in 1874 with 240,000 people reporting 1,112 prosecutions whilst Rochdale (64,000) had 1,046 prosecutions. It is worthy of note that the Chief Constable of Rochdale, Samuel Stevens (in post 1869 – 1881) was a strong supporter of the temperance movement.⁶⁶

Licensed Trade in Salford in 1880

The licensed trade in Manchester and Salford had been growing in the nineteenth century. This is discussed in Woodman, who writes ‘the emergence of beerhouses in the early 1830’s altered the number of drinking establishments in Manchester quite significantly’.⁶⁷ In 1880 there were 123 public houses in the borough with only seven convictions during the year with penalties amounting to nearly £18. Police had a duty to visit public houses on a regular basis to ensure compliance with licencing acts. Seven convictions appear few so either their inspection regime worked well or police were not successful in bringing successful prosecutions. There were 1,041 beer houses in the borough, eleven more than the previous year. A beer house is defined in the Chief Constable’s Report as ‘houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors of any kind in any way other than under alehouse licenses’.⁶⁸ Proceedings have been taken against 105 of these with 78 convictions obtained. Police appear to be more successful in their actions against beer houses.

The Police Force in Salford in 1880

The Chief Constable says nothing in his preamble about the numerical strength of the police force or its efficiency. He however does bring to the attention of the

⁶⁶ Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians*, pp. 59-60

⁶⁷ Woodman, ‘Radical Politics and the Role of the Public House’ , p.19

⁶⁸ Salford Chief Constable Annual Report, 1880, p. 315

Watch Committee that the detective department of his force consists of one superintendent, six sergeants and eight constables. Of the fifteen detectives, eleven are in Salford, two are in Pendleton and two in Broughton.

Comparing Manchester and Salford in 1880

The report of 'apprehensions' for Manchester provides statistics of the number of persons apprehended during the year and provides a comparison with the previous year 1879. The report then provides further detail relating to those proceeded against by summons, proceeded against by indictable offence and assigns significance to the 1879 Summary Jurisdiction Act which changed the way that magistrates could operate and which influenced the number of committals and convictions. The number of proceedings by magistrates increased substantially.

Whilst the effect of the Summary Jurisdiction Act was not referred to in the report by the Salford Chief Constable, the statistics reflect an even greater number of proceedings than in the Manchester report. Proceedings by magistrates increased by c.30 percent over 1879. A further difference reported by the Salford Chief Constable which would have been of interest to his Watch Committee was that the incidence of offences was recorded by gender. The gender split in Manchester was only mentioned as a proportion of total 'arrests'. Manchester however prepared a useful table which shows the age range of those arrested. This has no parallel Salford.

Manchester highlights the number of robberies committed and reported to the police. This was slightly more than the previous year and only slightly more than the average for the previous 10 years. Only 28 percent of that stolen was recovered. Salford provided a similar breakdown of robberies, their value and the amount recovered. The Chief Constable would have noted that c.68 percent of the goods stolen were recovered.

Manchester provides a breakdown of 'Principal Offences', which includes indictable offences, assaults, breaches of the peace, drunkenness, willful damage and prostitution plus various offences relating to public order. Over the period 1875 to 1880 two categories under 'principal offences', vagrancy and prostitution, have percentage increases that are outside the scope of any 'success rate' for any other offence. Vagrancy increased by 67 percent and prostitution increased by 79 percent. This could not have happened unless a policy change had been instigated with this class of offence targeted. Salford does not provide any information of the type provided in the previous section for Manchester. This lack of information is not explained. Salford does highlight 'committals' to both assizes and sessions, only for 1880, although it records the aggregate increase over 1879. For a list of committals to assizes and sessions refer to Appendix 4.

Manchester and Salford reports both highlight statistics related to the licensed trade. Both highlight the number of public and beer and wine houses and the offences and penalties which ensued. It is of some interest that in Salford there is a published analysis of the literacy of those who were convicted of drunkenness. Of the c.2,000 people convicted only 140 could read and write well.

Both Chief Constables provided a paragraph about their police force. Both merely highlight that the force has been maintained in a steady state. The Salford Chief Constable highlights the Detective Department and names the detective superintendent. The Detective Department is not mentioned within the Manchester Report but the Manchester Chief Constable alerts his Watch Committee of the parlous condition of the superannuation fund.

2.10 Manchester Chief Constable's Annual Report for 1890

The Report has been obtained from the Manchester Proceedings of the Council 1890-91.⁶⁹ As with previous reports it comes under the auspices of the Watch Committee. The Watch Committee report is under the hand of John Mark, the mayor of Manchester, who was to be under such pressure during the Dugdale inquiry later in the decade; this will be discussed in chapter 4. The Chief Constable's annual report is included verbatim. Dated 18 November 1890, it is again under the hand of the Chief Constable Wood and its contents are similar to previous reports with updated statistics. The Chief Constable and his employers were obviously comfortable with the style of reporting and the contents therein. The Watch Committee minutes do not record any debate about the style of reporting nor of any suggestion about that which is required to be reported. It is understandably the case that the Chief Constable would have submitted his report either to the Watch Committee or the chairman of the Watch Committee for approval and comment about the contents of the report. Any discussion or debate about this submission was obviously behind closed doors. These discussions are not recorded- merely the outcome.

The Annual Report records that the number of indictable offences reported to the police was 1,775, some 450 more than the previous year. This increase is shown under the heading 'larceny simple'. Of these 349 persons were arrested, 105 were discharged, 244 committed to trial and of these, one was sentenced to death, 27 were sentenced to penal servitude, 137 were imprisoned, nine fined, 59 were acquitted and two died in jail with nine awaiting trial.

The offences dealt with summarily by justices was 21,890 (down 2,437) with 13,904 arrested and 7,986 proceeded against by a summons

⁶⁹ Manchester Council Proceedings, Watch Committee Report, Annual Report of the Chief Constable, pp. 90 - 95

Table 17: In Manchester, total number of indictable and summary offences 1890

Indictable offences	349
Summary offences:	
Assault	1,416
Breaches of the peace	775
Drunkenness	6,102
Offences under the licensing act	345
Wilful damage	155
Prostitution	1,001
Stealing or attempting to steal under the Summary Jurisdiction Act 1879	995
Police and local acts	4,696
Vagrant act	921
Other offences	5,484
Gross total	22,239

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Watch Committee Report, Annual Report of the Chief Constable, pp. 90-95

Total number **arrested** were 14,253 (13,904 summary and 349 indictable arrests) of which 9,691 were males and 4,562 females.

Prostitution in Manchester in 1890

The Chief Constable reports in his compendium of statistics that the number of brothels known to the police in April 1890 was four.⁷⁰ Whilst this indicates activity on behalf of the police it is difficult to believe that members of the Watch Committee considered this an accurate number. The number of prostitutes was 239. These numbers are considerably down on the same for 1880. Pressure applied to reduce this situation had obviously had an effect. There could also be circumstances that have been commented upon in this thesis, for example, by

⁷⁰ MCP, 1890-1891, p. 104

changing the definition of the terms used or by counting in a different manner it is possible to publish numbers which appear to tell a story that readers of the Chief Constable's report in 1890 wished to hear. The following table shows the 'success' of the police in this area over the decade.

Table 18: Brothels and Prostitution in Manchester 1883 – 1890

Year	Number of Brothels and houses of accommodation known to the police	Number of prostitutes known to the police
1883	277	538
1885	125	361
1890	6	239

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Watch Committee Report, Annual report of the Chief Constable, 1890 – 1891

Prostitution was a subject that caused great consternation in Manchester. The authorities in Salford seemed to treat the subject with considerably less importance. The *Manchester Guardian* reported a meeting of The Young Men's Christian Association in Peter Street, Manchester.⁷¹ Amongst the members on the platform and the audience were, from Manchester, the Bishop of Manchester, the mayor of Manchester, the Chief Constable of Manchester plus several aldermen, councillors and clergy. From Salford were the Bishop of Salford, several council members including Mr. Elkanah Armitage who had industrial holdings in Salford and resided in Manchester, and several members of the clergy including the Rev. Canon Stowell (after whom a Salford church was later named). Amongst the other many dignitaries were Mr. C.P. Scott, later editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. Under the headline 'Social Immorality' the article describes an address by Miss Ellice Hopkins entitled 'The prevention of the degradation of women and children'. Miss Hopkins urged those present to take action to reduce the evil that was prostitution and the need of both women and girls to have to resort to it and to place before the magistrates those owners of brothels who profited by the trade.

⁷¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 23 January 1883, p. 8

The Chief Constable of Manchester 'promised his hearty support for the resolution'. The meeting closed with the signing of a memorial addressed to the Watch Committees of both Manchester and Salford: 'we believe that public opinion is now ripe for the adoption of strongly repressive measures'. Those present constituted a very powerful audience with the power to change any policies adopted by the authorities in the two towns. The Watch Committee and Chief Constable of Manchester were indeed spurred into action and the annual reports of the Chief Constable of Manchester highlighted this class of offence thereafter.

There appeared to be several bodies which had as their objective women's protection. The *Manchester Guardian* reported a meeting in 1885 under headline 'Protection for Women and Girls' in the Manchester Town Hall.⁷² This gathering was convened by the mayor of Manchester in compliance with a 'numerously and influentially signed requisition.... for giving expression to the views of the citizens....'. The list of attendees at the meeting including the presiding officer, the mayor, the Bishop of Manchester and many aldermen and councillors from both Manchester and Salford. Such were the sentiments raised that the Rev. J. T. McGaw advocated the insertion in the resolution of a provision for the use of the lash in certain cases. This subject created great interest and pressure to be seen to act upon the authorities. The Chief Constable reports that the number of prostitutes was 361 (112 residing in brothels and 249 residing in houses not known to be brothels). These numbers are lower than the same statistics for 1880.⁷³

The authorities in Salford appeared more reticent in bringing the statistics in relation to prostitution to the fore in 1885 and whilst contained within the statistical reports, no further comment was deemed necessary.⁷⁴ The Manchester police arrested 1,733 prostitutes, 885 were charged with drunkenness and disorderly conduct in the streets and 848 for accosting wayfarers. Police also closed down 168 brothels and 20 houses of accommodation.

⁷² *Manchester Guardian*, 28 July 1885, p. 8

⁷³ *MCP*, Annual Report of the Chief Constable of Manchester 1885

⁷⁴ Salford Chief Constables Annual Report 1885

The performance of the Manchester police force in relation to prostitution

The issue of the success or otherwise of the Manchester police must be discussed in terms of what became known as the Dugdale inquiry which will be discussed in chapter 4. It is sufficient to highlight the statistics reported by the Chief Constable in his report of 1889, which shows a marked decrease in the number of brothels and prostitutes in the city. Press cuttings from *The Police Review and Parade Gossip* (1897) provide a summary of the proceedings to convey to those members of the police force not involved in what has happened and its ramifications.⁷⁵ The *PRPG*, which commenced publication in 1893,⁷⁶ was a newsheet for policemen below the rank of inspector but was not an official publication. Its purpose was to review policing matters as it related to junior ranks with relevance outside their local force which would not normally come to their attention. It also provided explanations of the implication of new legislation and therefore could have performed an informal training role. It reported that the performance of the Manchester force came under scrutiny when a superintendent was alleged to be involved with undesirable elements in the Manchester 'vice trade'. Chapter 4 will provide more detail.

William Bannister was an inspector of police with 'D' Division of the Manchester police force when a vacancy for superintendent of that division arose. Four inspectors were nominated by the Chief Constable for interview by the Watch Committee; Bannister's name was not one. The Chief Constable was at pains to suggest that he could not be held responsible for the actions of a member of his force that he would not have appointed. Despite this Bannister was appointed Superintendent of 'D' Division on 1 October 1882.

⁷⁵ GMPM, *The Police Review and Parade Gossip (PRPG)*; The Dugdale Inquiry, DE/1, 23 July 1897, p. 351

⁷⁶ C. Emsley, 'The Birth and Development of the Police' in *Handbook of policing*. ed. Tim Newburn, (Cullompton: Willan, 2nd edn., 2008), p. 80

The PRPG contained a statement that ‘in 1888 there can be little doubt that Superintendent Bannister was sending warnings to certain brothels when they were being watched’.⁷⁷ By 1893 Bannister’s association with brothel owners was well-known to the Chief Constable and Bannister was asked to resign. The Watch Committee was asked to ratify the decision of the Chief Constable but ‘unfortunately the Watch Committee did not adopt this report but by a majority decided that he should be reprimanded and “be continued” in his office. This added to the belief that this superior officer had powerful friends in the Watch Committee’.⁷⁸ In 1893 it was reported under the heading ‘The Shepley Street Houses’ that a police constable spoke to the owner of several disorderly houses to warn him that should he continue he would be reported. The owner told this to Bannister who immediately transferred the police constable to another beat.⁷⁹ Instances of this nature mean that reports about success or otherwise of the Manchester police should be treated with caution.

Drunkenness, Robbery, Juveniles and Inquests in Manchester in 1890

The number inebriated when arrested consisted of 52 percent males and 48 percent females. Even quoting this imbalance in favour of women Huggins, concludes that ‘women were less likely to drink than men and played an important role in church-related temperance movements. But women got drunk too, and in significant numbers’.⁸⁰ Police arrested 5,955 for drunkenness and summoned 147 in 1890- 6,102 persons. 777 were discharged, 196 jailed, 5,129 fined. For being drunk in charge of horses or conveyances 433 were arrested and 443 prostitutes were arrested for being drunk and disorderly in the street. The Manchester Chief Constable’s Annual Report for 1890 contains an extensive analysis of those arrested for drink-related offences for the ten-year period 1881-1890. It has been

⁷⁷ GMPM, *PRPG*, p. 352

⁷⁸ GMPM, *PRPG*, p. 352

⁷⁹ GMPM, *PRPG*, p. 352

⁸⁰ Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians*, p. 61

written before that councillors could have become elected officials because they wished to represent a trade body or an element of society. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that a Manchester councillor Mr. S. Chesters Thompson brought up a matter in the full council about two Manchester policemen who knocked upon the door of a public house outside normal hours and managed to get themselves served with refreshments. The landlady of the house, who was one of his constituents, was subsequently served with a summons. Mr. Thompson was reported to have said that 'on a certain Sunday morning two men called at a public house belonging to a firm that he represented'.⁸¹ There was an obvious conflict of interest in this case but this was not mentioned.

Robbery with violence was limited to one case in 1890, seven in 1885 and 31 in 1881. These constitute very low figures for a city the size of Manchester and for a period that had a reputation and propensity for violence. The total number of robberies reported was 2,845 with a value of £5,674. Recovery was made in 1,028 cases with a value of £2,020 and 1,337 were arrested.

751 juveniles were arrested of whom 278 were charged with felonies, 473 with other offences, 29 were sent to reformatories, 160 were sent to industrial schools and 135 were whipped under the supervision of 'medical gentlemen'. The report notes that these numbers were almost identical to those published for the previous year. 3,335 lost children were restored to their parents.

The coroner conducted inquests on 844 persons (98 on children under twelve months who were found dead in bed).

⁸¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 10 November 1888, p. 4

Licensing in Manchester in 1890

There were 488 pubs in the city with 2,094 beer and wine houses. The report was signed by Chief Constable Wood (in post 1881-1898). In the latter years, he had had a troubled relationship with his employers which culminated in the Bannister affair (as discussed in Chapter 4). An article in the *Manchester Guardian* helps us to understand what happened in relation to police statistics in the 1890's. It discusses a resolution passed in the full council which asks the Watch Committee to reduce their estimates by £2,000 per annum, the result of which would have been fewer policemen. The police statistics indicate falling crime numbers but the article attributes this solely to the introduction of the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879. Before that date, justices had no option but to send every case, however small, to be tried before a jury. The article discusses the crime statistics and concludes that this reduction relates only to serious crime, and notes that the Chief Constable's statistics indicate that far from the numbers being lower than previously, which was the presumption behind the request from the council, 'the general volume of cases dealt with by the police of the city is greater today than it has ever been'.⁸²

2.11 Salford Chief Constable's Annual Report for 1890

The Annual Report of the Chief Constable of Salford for 1890 was not included in the minutes of the SWC. There are several empty pages with every indication that it was intended to include the appropriate pages into the report. It would appear that the clerk to the SWC failed to revisit that 'minute'. The report by the Chief Constable for the year 1889 has been examined in its stead for completeness.⁸³ The report, dated 15 October 1889 had been prepared under the name of the Chief Constable Marshall who prepared the reports for 1880 and 1885 and all were in the same format.

⁸² *Manchester Guardian*, 31 January, 1893, p. 9

⁸³ SWC, Annual Report of the Salford Chief Constable, 15 October 1889.

The most immediate difference apparent from the earlier report is that those statistics which had to be broken down into the three townships – Salford, Pendleton and Broughton, are not present. This shortened the report considerably. It is apparent that the Watch Committee had instructed the Chief Constable to aggregate his report at municipal level. There was obviously no need for this breakdown of the statistics, which meant that the preamble to the report of the Chief Constable was now condensed into three pages of print. However, the accompanying index to the criminal and miscellaneous tables refer to 65 different statistical tables. Such is the familiarity with the content of the report that it is unnecessary to identify and comment upon the numbers; these have been dealt with at length in earlier chapters. In 1889 in Salford 4,834 persons were apprehended and 1,364 crimes and robberies were reported to the police. The value of the robberies totalled £4,229 with £3,369 recovered, a remarkable 80 percent recovery rate. 244 people had registered their premises for the keeping of gunpowder and mixed explosives, an increase of 24. Two of these licenses were for the emerging Manchester Ship Canal Company and for the mine works at Pendleton Colliery. There had been six proceedings in relation to breaches of the Explosives Act of 1875, four of which were for selling explosives to children under the age of thirteen. Other numbers that would require some comment are those that exhibit a high degree of change from the previous year. Such numbers would include the 'Committals to the Assizes' which at 47 had increased by 27 over 1888 and the 'Committals to the Sessions' at 77 had decreased by 12. 2,704 Salfordians had been convicted for the offence of drunkenness, an increase of 585. The remainder of the document relates to the Watch Committee activities other than that relating to policing. Any comments relating to costs or complement of the police force have been left for the tables which are contained within the Statistical Returns - however again the Detective Department has been singled out for mention separately. Salford had a sizeable population in 1890 and the numbers quoted above are very low in relation to this size of population. The subject of police statistics, underreporting and the 'dark number' has been discussed at length in the introduction to this thesis.

It is interesting to note what spurred the SWC into action. In Manchester, as we have seen earlier, memorials were received from important charities and pressure groups that had recruited the great and the good of the area to support their causes. Salford councillors and aldermen plus local clergy had always been invited to join in with such condemnatory activities. The SWC minutes contain memorials of a far less colourful stripe.

The minutes of the Watch Committee contain letters from residents requesting that action be taken and one such which serves to exemplify the type of memorial received in Salford. One, a local resident, Mr. F. Peate, of 15 West Clewes St. complained that 'roughs' congregated near his house on Sunday evenings. The committee instructed the Chief Constable to deal with the matter.⁸⁴ In another matter, in November 1891, the SWC received a deputation of five citizens representing 173 residents of Tatton Street in Salford. They were complaining of the actions of nuisance caused by 'certain shopkeepers', who were trading on Sundays and who were shouting at each other using 'abominable and disgusting language'. Again, the Chief Constable was asked to investigate.⁸⁵ In September 1892 a letter was received from Mr. Oldham of the Clifton and Kearsley Coal Company who was having to deal with annoyances caused by 'persons frequenting Gaythorn Street who were using the area for immoral purposes'.⁸⁶ It would appear from minutes contained in the respective Watch Committee minutes that when those who wished to influence matters in the locality brought serious issues to the attention of the authorities in Manchester, not Salford. Salford appears to be becoming a backwater.

⁸⁴ SWC, 9 December 1890

⁸⁵ SWC, 24 November 1891

⁸⁶ SWC, 12 September 1892

2.12 Manchester Chief Constable's Annual Report for 1900

In 1897, as a consequence of the Dugdale inquiry, Manchester appointed a new Chief Constable, and it was he who prepared the Annual Report in 1900. Manchester, its council and its Watch Committee had endured a very difficult period which saw a public inquiry into its policing efficiency and the subsequent resignation of its Chief Constable; see Chapter 4. These new members of the Watch Committee needed time to acquaint themselves with matters but the matter would receive special attention. The meeting on 22 November 1897 was a 'special' meeting devoted to this issue.⁸⁷ The committee, detailed by the minutes of this meeting, had been provided with all previous documentation up to 31 October 1897 and the advice of the town clerk dated 21 January 1897. A series of resolutions were passed, which ratified the previous Watch Committee's response to the 'Dugdale Report' in respect of the 'D' Division.

2.12.1 The appointment of the new Chief Constable

At the meeting of the appointed Sub-Committee on 24 March 1898 it was recorded that six candidates had been selected for interview. At that meeting Robert Peacock was appointed at £800 per annum subject to City Council approval. This approval is pasted into the minutes of the meeting of 7 April 1898,⁸⁸ and Robert Peacock was sworn in as Chief Constable of the City of Manchester at the meeting on 14 April 1898.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ MCWC, 22 November 1897

⁸⁸ MCWC, 7 April 1898

⁸⁹ MCWC, 14 April 1898

There are several things that these minutes of the MCWM make evident. The Lord Mayor of Manchester had written to the Home Secretary about the issues arising from the Dugdale inquiry which indicates the utmost seriousness with which this subject was being taken by both parties. The circumstances at the end of the nineteenth century were such that Manchester had a vacancy for a Chief Constable as the previous incumbent had not proved equal to the task of leading a large city police establishment. The recommended improvements to the police force and particularly to the 'D' Division had been accepted in their entirety by the MCWM and would require a very confident, experienced professional policeman to implement them. It was also apparent from the list of applicants that Manchester was regarded by professional policemen as a very significant position, which attracted a high calibre of potential post holders. It is also of some moment that the Chief Constable of Salford submitted his name. Salford was a large and important borough with a large population and a significant policing role but the Salford Chief Constable thought it such a significant increase in status that he was happy to put his name forward. It was in these circumstances of increased responsibility, improving methods and enhanced professionalism that the new Chief Constable of Manchester, Robert Peacock submitted his annual reports. He was a career policeman who served the Manchester force for 28 years from 1898-1926 and was knighted for his service to policing in Manchester.⁹⁰ The 1900 report was Peacock's third.

The following information is extracted by the Chief Constable as worthy of including in his report to the Watch Committee. He begins by outlining indictable offences reported to police, numbering 1,705, which constituted a decrease of 887 (34 percent) over the previous year. Mr. Peacock also reports that a decrease of 892 on 1898 was recorded. Crime reported to the police in Manchester in the latter

⁹⁰ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/97954>, Peacock, Sir Robert, by Joanne Klein; 10.1.2018

years of the nineteenth century was dropping; this is commented upon by Gray.⁹¹ This report compiled by Peacock indicates that there were 1,705 indictable offences reported to the police in Manchester in 1900. Such a figure for a population of approximately 500,000 people is remarkably low and tells us something about the faith the population had in the policing authorities, the willingness of the authorities to record a type of offence that they were ill-equipped to deal with and the lack of opportunity for a predominately working-class population to commit a more serious type of crime. The decrease as published in the Chief Constable's report was comprehensive and particularly as a result of a reduction in burglary and housebreaking (-67), breaking into shops (-55) and simple and minor larcenies (-558). 1,705 cases were reported with 1,751 persons apprehended. Those proceeded against by summons numbered 32, all of whom were male. Those apprehended were 1,319 men and 432 females. Those proceeded against for indictable offences numbered 1,783 with 296 committed for trial (sessions and assizes), 21 to industrial schools and 1,466 dealt with summarily under the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879.

Of the non-indictable offences 12,055 were arrested plus 8,213 summoned before justices. This totals 20,268 of which 14,673 males and 5,595 females. This constituted an increase of 768 over 1899 and was due in large part due to offences under local acts, by-laws and prostitution.

Within Manchester there were 80 persons apprehended for keeping brothels (14 male and 66 females). Chief Constable Peacock was at pains to explain that of those premises identified, 'in most cases the houses are no longer used as brothels'.⁹²

⁹¹ D.G. Gray, *Crime, Police and Punishment in England, 1660 – 1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016) pp. 80 - 84

⁹² MCP, 1900 – 1901, Watch Committee Annual Report, Annual Report of the Chief Constable of Manchester, 25 January 1901, signed by Robert Peacock, Chief Constable, p. 476

2.12.2 Disposal of Persons charged before Magistrates in Manchester in 1900

Table 19: Disposal of Persons charged before Magistrates in Manchester in 1900 for both indictable and non-indictable offences

Committed for trial	296
Discharged indictably	127
Cases withdrawn	25
Dismissed	707
Discharged under Summary Jurisdiction Act 1879	2,475
Committed to Industrial School	145
Convicted Summarily	18,084
Otherwise disposed of	192
Total	22,051

Source: Manchester Chief Constable's Annual Report, 1900

Of those convicted summarily 2,158 were imprisoned and 63 juveniles were sent to reform schools and 132 whipped. Even by the turn of the century whipping of juvenile offenders was a normal punishment.

2.12.3 Committed for trial in Manchester in 1900

296 people were committed for trial at the Assizes or Sessions (258 male and 38 female)- the results of which are represented in table 20.

Table 20: Committed for trial at the Assizes or Sessions in Manchester, 1900

Awaiting trial	16
Acquitted	59
Sentenced to death	1
Penal servitude	
5-10 years	6
1 to 5 years	84
Less than 12 months	124
Discharged on sureties	6

Source: Manchester Chief Constable's Report 1900.

2.12.4 Arrests for all offences in Manchester in 1900

13,806 persons (9,110 males and 4,696 females) were arrested by police for all offences during the year. 5,827 people were arrested in the streets for being drunk and disorderly and 236 proceeded against by summons making a total of 6,063, an increase of 30 on the year before. Many had been arrested previously for drunkenness. 4 had been arrested between 80-90 times, 3 had been arrested 90-100 times, 2 on 100-110 times, 2 on between 120 and 130 occasions, 1 on 143 times and 1 on 154 occasions. The level of detail relating to arrests for drunkenness is noteworthy including information about the day (Saturday to Friday) on which the individual was arrested, plus the time of day.⁹³ Sections of the population of Manchester were being arrested for drunkenness at all hours of the day, Saturday through to Friday throughout the year. The information relating to the time and day upon which offences took place is comprehensive but the reasons why such information was collected and its subsequent use remains opaque.

2.12.5 Persons summarily tried and convicted in Manchester in 1900

Table 21: Age and sex of persons summarily tried and convicted in Manchester

Age	Male	Female
Less than 12 years	50	1
12 to 16	264	16
16 to 21	1,062	180
21 to 30	2,172	1,205
30 to 40	1,721	1,245
40 to 50	1,020	644
50 to 60	496	191
60+	253	131
Total	7,038	3,613

Source: Manchester Chief Constables Annual Report 1900-1901⁹⁴

⁹³ Table A of the report of the Chief Constable on p. 475

⁹⁴ Manchester Council Proceedings, 1900 – 1901, Watch Committee Annual Report, Annual Report of the Chief Constable of Manchester, dated 25 January 1901

The split of male to female summary offenders has a significance. More than 30 percent of offenders were females. For a discussion about women in the justice system see chapter 3 and in particular 3.10 and 3.11.

2.12.6 Robberies in Manchester in 1900

1,535 robberies were reported to the police totalling £5,903 in value and £3,742 recovered (63 percent of value). There were 1,323 apprehensions and 1,622 arrests. The number of robberies over the previous year was down by 834 cases and of 1,723 or 54 percent on 1898. As has been detailed previously, offences reported or crimes committed is not a reliable number. The Chief Constable was reporting that whilst the population of Manchester continued to increase year on year, the number of policemen employed by the city was increasing but only to account for the assimilation of out townships, yet crime was decreasing markedly.

2.12.7 Offenders in Manchester in 1900

587 juveniles (under 16 years of age) were arrested which were split - 531 males and 56 females. Arrests for those under ten years of age were - 55 males and 12 females. Between 10 – 16yrs there were 476 males and 44 females. 66 were committed to reformatories and 89 sent to industrial schools. 132 juvenile offenders were whipped and 2 sent to prison. The remainder, 301, were either fined or discharged. The report notes that a police surgeon was present for every whipping.

2.12.8 Public and Beer Houses in Manchester in 1900

There were 492 pubs in the city and 2,415 beer and wine houses. There were 72 reports against publicans and 272 reports against beer and wine housekeepers. The report extends to eleven pages of information relating to 'public and beer houses' which is indicative of resource expended by the policing authorities. The police

conducted 9,033 visits to public houses with 36,223 visits to beer and wine houses, of which 200 cases were prosecuted with 131 convictions. At the annual 'Brewster sessions' the police objected to 79 license renewal applications of which the justices upheld 33. The Chief Constable's Report contains a schedule of each application and the decision arrived at by the justices. The police continued to expend a considerable amount of time and effort controlling this activity. The number of prosecutions, convictions and license refusals indicate a lack of success in policing terms.

2.12.9 Nuisances reported by Police in Manchester in 1900

Under the auspices of the Medical Officer of Health, the police reported 1,057 cases of nuisance of which 410 'drains and soughs' and 510 'defective pavements' needed attention. There are 15 classes of 'nuisance' categorised. Other nuisances in Manchester in 1900 (see Table 22) included:

Table 22: Other classes of nuisance and their number for Manchester in 1900

Ash pits and Closets requiring attention	53
Houses or Rooms filthy or insanitary	6
Stagnant Water or Drinking Troughs filthy	3
Urinals filthy	7
Yards and Passages filthy	22
Premises dilapidated	1
Houses overcrowded	1
Animals filthily kept	0
Manure or refuse improperly placed	3
Trades producing nuisances	0
Streets filthy or unswept	25
Smoke nuisances	2
Other	13
Total	136

Source: Manchester Chief Constables Annual Report⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Manchester Council Proceedings, 1900 – 1901, Watch Committee Annual Report, Annual Report of the Chief Constable of Manchester, dated 25 January 1901

It can be seen from the above that the Watch Committee took their responsibilities seriously but only to varying degrees. Drains, soughs and pavements received considerable attention. Overcrowded houses, stagnant water, filthy drinking troughs or manure or refuse improperly placed received little attention. These latter categories had the potential to generate public health problems whilst defective pavements would seem to be a much less serious problem to the health of the population. However, the middle classes, those who were paying the rates, would have seen problems caused by poor drainage and pavements.

2.12.10 Miscellaneous offences in Manchester in 1900

1,021 inquests were performed on bodies including 106 children found dead in bed. Licenses were approved for 720 marine store dealers, 782 peddlers and 208 pawnbrokers.

The Detective Department received 10,911 enquiries from other forces, each of which had to be responded to. This required a significant bureaucracy. For the enforcement of the Common Lodging Act, one inspector and one constable had been assigned and spent their whole time on this duty. They visited such premises constantly. Within Manchester there were 185 of this type of property. The police found 7,403 insecure premises and 159 persons locked in to premises requiring assistance. 2,605 people had either an accident or illness in the street which necessitated police help, and 4,117 children were found by the police and returned to their parents. The police dispensed 1,454 doses of diarrhoea medicine. 768 policemen held the St John Ambulance certificate. Warehouse keys kept by the police at £1 per annum numbered 1,537 and the police pound at one time or another in 1900 contained 537 dogs, 118 horses and 32 'others'. 408 hand carts/coal wagons were found in the street.

2.13 Salford Chief Constable's Annual Report 1900

The Report for the year ending 1900 is missing so that dated 31 January 1900 is being used here to complete the period 1880-1900.⁹⁶ It was compiled by Chief Constable Hallam (in post 1898-1908) and remains true to the style and content of its predecessors. The report points as usual to the many tables produced subsequently, with those statistics of significant interest highlighted. It can be deduced that this specific information was that required and expected by the employers of the Chief Constable and thus that was considered important with those who elected local politicians in Salford. The total number of people proceeded against for offences of a criminal nature was 7,441 which equated to a 10 percent reduction on the previous year. In 1899 the number of apprehensions for indictable offences numbered 463: 127 apprehensions for females and 336 for males. The number of apprehensions for non-indictable offences was 3,644, 73 percent for males and correspondingly 27 percent for females. The number proceeded against by summons in 1899 was 3,334 and the clear majority, 82 percent against men. Of the 4,107 apprehended 2,233 (54 percent) were out of work; 3,118 stated they were English, 624 Irish, 135 Scotch, 66 Welsh and 164 foreigners. Of these only 148 were literate.⁹⁷

923 crimes and robberies were reported to the police and the value of property stolen £1,474 with £1,003 (68 percent) recovered. Of these 923 crimes and robberies reported to the police, 150 were found doubtful by the 'detective force' and were not included in the main body of statistics. There were 15 committals to the assizes and 75 committals to the sessions, including two 'incorrigible rogues'. 2,560 people had been convicted of the offence of drunkenness of which 672 were females. Of these 2,560 only 105 were literate. 119 juveniles were apprehended.

⁹⁶ SWC, Report of the Chief Constable, 31 January 1900. Whilst dated 31 January 1900 it appears in the SWC on 16 October 1899

⁹⁷ SWC, Report of the Chief Constable, 31 January 1900.

Of those miscellaneous activities that were conducted by the police force, 3,803 communications were received from other forces and dealt with by the detective staff. The number of alehouses was 112 with 899 beer houses, with proceedings against nine and five convictions obtained. 283 people had registered their premises for the storage of gunpowder and two certificates have been granted for keeping dangerous explosives for private use. Five persons had been proceeded against for breaches of the Explosive Act of 1875. The *Manchester Guardian* published an article in relation to a contemporaneous Salford Chief Constable's Annual Report. The article appears to have been copied verbatim from the report. The reporter had either read the Annual Report and copied it directly or had been briefed by someone who had a copy of the report to hand. The newspaper concentrates on an 'increase in women drunkards', stating that 'five females were convicted as habitual drunkards and sent to an inebriates' home'.⁹⁸

There was a commonality of experience between the two areas at the end of the nineteenth century. The epithet 'shock city' was shared between Manchester and Salford but the major changes to population and growth of industry were largely over by the period 1880 -1900. Still significant population growth, a large Irish community, and poverty and disease were endemic. The problems of provision of utilities were common to both which eventually required the incorporation of out-townships. This increased the population of both areas putting further pressure on elected representatives and employed officials. Salford had a troubled relationship with its two smaller partners, Pendleton and Broughton, and the incorporation pains were only relieved by the pressing needs of providing effective sanitation and public health. It took nearly half a century to mature but in the period under scrutiny, this had been overcome. Manchester had similar problems and for the same reasons. Manchester extended its borders in 1885 to include Rusholme, Harpurhey and Bradford; in 1889 Newton Heath, Blackley, Moston, Clayton, Openshaw, Kirkmanshulme and Gorton; and in 1904 Withington, Chorlton-cum-

⁹⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, 3 February 1903, p. 12

Hardy and Didsbury. The out-townships joined together because individually they could not deal with the sanitation issues.⁹⁹

Salford had split initially from Manchester- unofficially in 1792 and by statute in 1828 – and was invited to discuss joining together with Manchester in 1880. It was proposed to create a town that could solve some of these issues together. A formal group was set up to consider this proposal under the title Joint Executive Committee of the Amalgamation of Manchester and Salford, which produced a report in October 1888 but nothing came of these discussions.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford and highlighted the changing environment in which they operated. Complex local and national factors combined to make the job of a Chief Constable challenging. These diverse circumstances including the development of the role of the policeman, changing legislation, economic depression, poor infrastructure and Irish nationalism. These factors would have made the role difficult to perform.

It has been seen that the issues that confronted the two areas in 1880 were common to each. Both Chief Constables produced their reports containing an executive summary, an 'Index to Statistical Tables' and the complexity of comprehensive 'Tables' contained therein.

The reports were prepared by senior policemen whose role it was to police their respective towns. So, it is of great interest to read the, often subtle, differences and emphases that they place on what should be very similar facts. As has been seen, both Manchester and Salford had three Chief Constables over the period.

⁹⁹ S. Simon, *A Century of City Government*, pp. 120-123.

¹⁰⁰ S. Simon, *A Century of City Government*, pp. 126-127

Manchester employed Captain William Palin (1857-1881), Charles Malcolm Wood for much of the period (1881-1898) and Robert Peacock (1898-1926). The SWC employed William Marshall (1880-1890), Cmdr. Charles Scott (1890-1898) and John Hallam (1898-1908). As the century progressed the calibre of the individual who assumed the role became greater and by the end of the period they would have had considerable policing experience prior to employment as the Chief Constable of either of these two important towns.

The reports for 1880 contain comparative statistics and indicate that the way that these two bodies fulfilled their roles differed. The Manchester reports highlight principal offences which aggregated all indictable offences and included assaults, breaches of the peace, licensing offences, willful damage, prostitution and vagrancy. These latter two categories generated considerable activity within the MCWM and their police force. In 1880 the Manchester Chief Constable singled out prostitution in a table of statistics which shows the incidence of this offence for the previous 10 years. He will have used this table to show the success of his force in dealing with this offence effectively - no doubt because that was what was required of him by his employers. It has been shown how the local press engaged in the matter. An example of the pressure exerted on the Watch Committee to reduce the incidence of vice can be seen from an article in the *Manchester Guardian* from 1883: under the heading 'The Manchester Watch Committee and Disreputable Houses'. The Committee was exerted to use their powers vigorously.¹⁰¹

In Salford, prostitution and vagrancy assumed no such imperative. The Chief Constable draws out slightly different information from his statistical returns. He wants to highlight different categories – apprehensions both for summary and indictable offences and the employment status, nationality and literacy of those proceeded against. He highlights robberies and stolen goods recovered - no doubt because of the success of his force in this area. He also pays attention to

¹⁰¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 9 February 1883, p. 6

committals to both assizes and sessions. The total apprehensions in Salford for indictable offences in 1880 numbered only 340. The population of Salford in 1880 was approximately 185,000 people so either Salford was a law-abiding community or the Salford police were not set up to deal with the more serious category of crime.

The Annual Reports of the Chief Constables indicate what happened in the two geographical areas. There are no numbers reported in Salford in the Chief Constable's Annual report for either prostitution or vagrancy. Salford between 1880 and 1900 grew from c.175,000 to c.225,000 people yet in many of the statistics quoted the activity of the police force remains the same. In several important areas, for example, indictable offences, the numbers recorded fell in population terms. Thus, it could be concluded that the success of the police in Salford in relation to the head of population improved. It is evident that the police force in Salford had little interest in, capability for, or focus on more serious criminal behaviour. It is of course possible that the statistics are not necessarily recording a complete story. From the reports of the Chief Constable the conclusion can only be that their role related to public order. An analysis of the Manchester force reveals a not dissimilar picture. In 1880 the number of indictable offences reported was 4,415 and in 1900 was 1,705. As with the Salford police report it is evident that in absolute terms the records of the Manchester police show a decrease of offences in most areas and a significant reduction in other areas. Again, as with Salford the more serious crimes, for example indictable offences, only 1,705 were known to the police in a city with a population of nearly 550,000 people. The numbers of offences quoted above for both Manchester and Salford are low. It could be assumed therefore that the authorities were employing their police to ensure public order and provide a deterrent against law breaking just as much as bringing offenders before the courts.

Considering the scale of activity of both police forces, the reports of both Chief Constables are brief and, understandably, inform us about the areas the police forces concentrated upon. It is undoubtedly the case that what the police

concentrated upon was that which their paymasters, the Watch Committees and their electorate, wanted them to deal with. The reports are brief but also consistent. The wording of the reports are, in most instances, identical to those that preceded them. Over the period 1880 – 1900 little changed in the way that the Chief Constables reported on their brief. Little changed in the way that they expressed themselves. They policed their respective areas in terms of assaults, breaches of the peace, stealing, drunkenness, prostitution, vagrancy and nuisance throughout the period.

It could be concluded that in Manchester and Salford policing meant maintenance of public order. The reports of the Chief Constables show that the Watch Committees were quite content to receive submissions that did not vary throughout the period. It is apparent that little was required in the way of inventiveness or innovation. Over the period there had been no indication that the police changed their focus, attitude or methods. Neither is there any indication from the two Chief Constables of the introduction of technology or improving ways of identifying or catching criminals. 1880-1900 appears to constitute a period in which crime and criminality reduced per head of population in the two towns. Both Chief Constables would have been subject to no little pressure from their employers, the Watch Committee, to produce a set of crime statistics that they could have been satisfied with and portrayed their town in a good light. It has also been seen that the police and policing authorities would have been brought under pressure by a range of memorialists who would come together to highlight individual offences that had exercised the consciences of ratepayers – prostitution and vice are examples of this. Both the police and authorities would have experienced pressure of a different nature from HMIC and their own police officers to respond to the changing nature of policing itself. By the late nineteenth century policing was changing, the expectations placed on police by their communities were different and policing itself was maturing, but the requirements of the Watch Committee changed little. There is little evidence of any dynamism on the part of the participants in local policing. No longer was becoming a policeman merely a response to the adverse economic conditions in which an individual would enlist

when times were hard and move on when economic conditions improve. Policing was becoming more a career and less a job.¹⁰² The next chapter will examine how policing changed over the period.

¹⁰² Emsley and Clapson, 'Recruiting the English Policemen', p.283

Chapter 3. Policing, Crime, Criminality and Criminals in Manchester and Salford

This chapter will compare crime and criminality in Manchester and Salford from 1880–1900. It will identify the classification and number of offences reported to the police in Manchester and Salford in the period. It will concentrate on those offences which were recorded by the two policing authorities to identify areas of commonality, and to determine areas in which their experiences were different.

This analysis is conducted by using contemporaneous, primary data published by the policing authorities of Manchester and Salford. The analysis will examine the strength of the two forces and consider which Watch Committee set up their force to provide the better means to combat crime. Two subsidiary subjects arise out of these analyses, the identification of women as actors in criminality in both towns and the absence of data relating to gang warfare in late Victorian Manchester and Salford.

Offences will be discussed in three separate categories – the numbers of ‘Indictable Crimes’, the incidence of ‘Indictable Crimes that were dealt with summarily’, and those offences that were ‘proceeded against summarily’ before justices. Emsley defines cases heard summarily as simpler cases heard before borough magistrates in police courts, and Indictable offences as more serious cases which were heard by legal professionals.¹ It is intended to break these categories into their individual components and compare them individually for the two boroughs. As the nineteenth century progressed, dispensation of the law became increasingly the province of such legal professionals and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 had provisions to separate the borough administration (town council) from the judiciary (the magistrates). It was a feature of the period that town councillors were appointed as

¹ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, pp. 13-14; Emsley, ‘Crime in 19th Century Britain’, *History Today*, April 1988, vol.38(4), p. 40

borough magistrates although their activities were supervised.² Reporting of crimes to the authorities became more common as the police became more accepted and their success generated an expectation that such a report would result in police action. The increasing use of statistics as a tool meant that such information could be viewed as more accurate at a time during which there was an extension in the use of summary justice.

The authorities were able to proceed against many more offenders as a result of the Juvenile Offenders Acts of 1847 and 1850, the Criminal Justice Act of 1855 and at the start of the period under discussion, the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879.³ These statutes had a significant effect on the number of cases brought before the courts and made the imposition of justice swifter. In many cases, where previously an indictable case would be tried at quarter sessions, the accused would have the choice of having the offence tried summarily. If this option was chosen, the summary trial could begin immediately without the alleged malefactor having to wait up to three months in prison until the next court sitting. The court sat locally which made prosecution cheaper and statistics show that many accused chose to be dealt with in this manner. This method had the effect of markedly increasing the number of summary cases.⁴ The Criminal Justice Acts of 1855 and the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 also had a material effect on sentencing policy. Where previously a jail term had been imposed, the court could now administer a fine and the statistics show that in the case of a conviction for petty thieving a whipping could be administered.⁵

² Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p. 13

³ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 19

⁴ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, pp. 132-133

⁵ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 136

3.1 Comparing Manchester and Salford

The two towns had a contiguous border and there was significant 'cross border' migration during the course of any one day with many people living in Manchester and working in Salford and vice versa. However, the two areas were of different size and population so, where appropriate, a simple method of indexing will be employed to ensure as far as possible that whenever comparisons are drawn between the two towns the result will be of significance.

Much of the information which will help to provide answer to the above questions is contained in the 'Manchester Council Proceedings' (MCP) for 1900. It contains overall information for Manchester over the previous two decades which will be used for comparative purposes.⁶ Table 'C' in MCP in 1900 gives the number of crimes committed and persons proceeded against for both indictable and non-indictable crimes for the previous twenty years and also details of the size of Manchester in acres and population. The latter statistic will be of importance when detailing crime and criminality per head of population. This can be directly compared with the same index for Salford. It will then be possible to compare and contrast the state of crime in the two towns.

3.2 Population growth

Tables in the MCP indicate that the area and population of Manchester over the twenty years changed greatly. In 1881 the population was 341,508. In 1891 the population and acreage were 505,368 and 12,788 respectively. By 1900 the acreage of the town was 12,911 and the population was estimated to be 548,768 people. This indicates that whilst the geographical size of the town remained more or less the same the population had increased by 8.5 percent within one decade. By 1900 the number

⁶ Manchester Council Proceedings, 1900 – 1901, 20 March 1901, p. 477

of people per acre was 39.5, this being much lower in the newly attached suburbs and higher in the more central districts. The population had increased by c.50 percent from 1880 to 1900. This increase and rate of increase over such a short period would have proved to be a major civic challenge.

In 1891 the crime statistics had not changed greatly over 1881 with 24,574 people proceeded against. The comparative statistic for 1900 was 22,051. However, the number of Indictable crimes reported had changed absolutely from 4,095 in 1881 (population, 341,508) with 1,884 crimes in 1891 and 1,705 in 1900 (population, 548,768). There was a similar reduction in non-indictable offences reported and a decline in the numbers apprehended versus those summoned over the two decades. In 1881, 18,499 Mancunians were apprehended and 4,733 dealt with summarily. By 1900 these numbers had changed to 12,055 apprehended and 8,213 summoned during the year.

This seems to point to several conclusions. The numbers can lead to speculation that the Detective Branch either was more successful or that 'after the crime' detection was being relied on to a greater extent. The number of non-indictable crimes per head of population had declined and the numbers apprehended had decreased. By the end of the nineteenth century crime rates generally had declined substantially. Gatrell records this factual position and attempts to explain the reasons for this phenomenon. Population levels were increasing dramatically and industrialisation, and therefore employment, was progressing. Gatrell notes that societal progress meant prosperity for many but that '30 percent of the population, perhaps half the working classes, lived below the poverty line'. The organs of the state, the police and the courts, religious intensity and moralising agencies all bore down. For whatever reason criminality declined though the reasons defy proof, writes Gatrell,⁷ Was it, as has been discussed

⁷ Gatrell, *Crime and the Law*, pp. 333-337, at p.337

by Reiner simply a function of 'labelling', the way that offences were reported?⁸ Or could it be that the areas became better policed in terms of numbers and efficiency? Whilst the police themselves were unloved by the working class, 'the nineteenth century saw the forging of a modern and generally effective technique of order keeping'.⁹ That said, Emsley notes that the working class could also be the victim of theft and more and more they began to use the services of the police.¹⁰ Police were more respected and there was a greater expectation that crime would be investigated and perpetrators brought to book.

Comparative end-of-year data for Salford was published by the Salford Watch Committee. The three townships that made up Salford, - Salford, Pendleton and Broughton - had merged into a municipal borough in 1853 and in 1888 became a county borough.¹¹ In common with many industrial areas in the nineteenth century, it had grown explosively. At the end of the previous century Salford had a population of 4,765. By 1900 the percentage increase was beginning to slacken and the population was 223,418.¹² The population of Salford had increased by 30 percent over the two decades.

3.3 Indictable and Non-Indictable Crimes in the two Boroughs.

This chapter will draw on the tables of 'Crime and Miscellaneous Statistics' as published by the two Watch Committees over the latter two decades of the nineteenth century. It is intended to compare a variety of returns by the two police

⁸ Reiner, *Crime, The Mystery*, p. 159, pp. 176-178

⁹ Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary', pp. 481-509, at p. 496; Woolnough, 'The Policing of Petty Crime', ch.7

¹⁰ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p. 245

¹¹ Greenall, 'Local Government in Salford' , p. 6

¹² SWC, *Annual Reports of the Chief Constable*.

forces under the two categories of serious offences, indictable crimes, and less serious offences, non-indictable crimes. The nature of crimes committed will be compared and 'offences against the person' and 'offences against property (with and without violence') will be highlighted. The statistics demonstrate that these are the most prevalent of the indictable crimes committed and they are the three main categories contained in the reports over the two decades for both police forces.

Less serious cases were tried 'summarily' and some of these offences, for example, 'assault', and in particular 'assault against constables' will be discussed. There appears also that type of offence which exercised people locally such as 'prostitution', offences under the Poor Law Act and 'vagrancy'. Consequently, there was an increase in the statistics relating to these offences. These will be highlighted and compared. Thus, the number of persons convicted compared with those apprehended will be important, as will the type and length of sentence, age and sex of the 'criminal'. This chapter is concerned with the number and types of crimes being committed in Manchester and Salford. The analysis of police activity and performance in the nineteenth century is important in understanding the role the police were expected to perform. The data that the Watch Committees directed their police forces to collect tells us what the civic authorities wanted the police to concentrate upon. It can also provide an indication of who they thought needed policing.

Those 'indictable crimes' dealt with in this chapter are the most significant examples of those included under Class I (offences against the person) and includes murder, manslaughter and wounding. Class II lists offences against property, with violence (this includes burglary and housebreaking, and breaking into shops and warehouses). Class III lists offences against property, without violence and includes larceny from the person, larceny by servants, embezzlement and simple larceny. In the report for 1900 there are three further classifications; Class IV, 'malicious Injuries to property'; Class V, 'forgery and offences against the currency', and Class VI, 'other offences not included

in the above classes'. The reports for 1880 and 1890 do not provide gender classifications although the same crimes are listed.

3.4 Police Strength in the two Boroughs.

The MCP provides an estimated strength of the police force over the two decades. In 1881 there were 847 men in the Manchester force, in 1890, 880 and in 1900 there were estimated to be 1,001 policemen employed. These numbers will be significant when comparisons with Salford are attempted. The nativity of policemen in Manchester was consistent throughout, with approximately 80% of English extraction, 10% Irish and 5% each for Scots and Welsh.¹³

Table 23: Costs of policing in Manchester and Salford

Manchester	1881	1891	1900
Population	341,508	505,368	548,768
Policemen	847	880	1,001
Population/Policemen	1:403	1:574	1:548
Net Cost of Policing	£40,001	£42,522	£55,379
Cost per policeman	£47 4s 6d	£48 6s 4d	£55 6s 4d

Salford	1880	1890	1900
Population	171,727	216,830	223,480
Policemen	300	300	330
Population/Policemen	1:572	1:722	1:677
Net Cost of Policing	£16,947	£18,404	£19,594
Cost per policeman	£56 10s	£61 7s	£59 7s 7d

Source: *Manchester Council Proceedings* 1900.¹⁴ Salford Chief Constable's Annual Report. 1880, 1890 and 1900

¹³ MCP, 1880 – 1900

¹⁴ The population statistics for Manchester are published in the *Manchester Council Proceedings* for 1900. Those published for 1881 and 1891 are from the census returns whilst those for 1900 are, as noted in Table C , p. 477 an estimated figure from the 'Register-Generals returns'.

It is anticipated that the numbers of policemen per head of population will be a contributing factor in the success or otherwise of the policing effort. Table 23 for both Manchester and Salford relate to the 'net cost of policing'. To provide an example of those deductions from the actual gross cost of policing the 1880 Manchester estimates can be used. Actual costs were £74,052. The police force 'earned money' as a result of their licensing activities and at times could charge for the policing of local events. In 1880 the Manchester police earned £250 as a result of providing licences to marine store dealers; £10 for the registration of premises under the Explosives Act; £250 from the provision of peddlers' certificates; and £340 under the 'miscellaneous' heading. By far the greatest 'income' came from a government subsidy which in Manchester in 1880 amounted to £33,200. As the nineteenth century progressed Her Majesty's Government became increasingly interested in providing centrally defined standards in an attempt to improve policing nationally. They used a combination of inspections by HMIC which would award or withhold a Certificate of Efficiency. This certificate brought with it a subsidy for cost incurred on pay and uniforms of policeman. The gross cost of the Manchester police force in 1880 was reduced by the subsidy of £33,200 to a net cost to the ratepayers of Manchester to a figure of £40,001.

In Manchester, the population over two decades increased from 341,508 to 548,768 (c.60 percent) and the number of policeman rose from 847 to 1,001 (c.15 percent). The ratio of policemen to population was 1:403 in 1881, 1:574 in 1891 and 1:548 in 1900. In Salford, the population increased from 171,727 to 223,480 (30 percent). The police establishment was 300 in both 1880 and 1890 and increased to 330 (10 percent) by 1900. In 1880 police strength was one policeman to 572 residents, worsening to 1:722 by 1890, recovering marginally to 1:677 by 1900. In Manchester at one policeman to 403 residents in 1880 the number of policemen could be regarded as impressive but the statistics relating to the number of offences indicate that in 1880 crime was substantial. As the incidence of crime reduced the proportionate number of policeman worsened to 1:548 in 1900. Thus, Manchester had substantially more

policemen per head of population than Salford throughout the period. Manchester's policing costs were also more favourable than Salford. The cost of policing in Manchester in 1880 was £47 per policeman increasing to £55 by 1900. Salford's equivalent costs were £56 in 1880 and £59 in 1900. However, the costs per resident in both boroughs were not dissimilar, refer Table 3. Salford spent less, proportionately than Manchester, so their costs of policing per resident was cheaper. The cost per resident in Manchester in 1900 was 2s and Salford at 1s 9d.

The statistics recorded in both Manchester and Salford are in line with national trends as detailed by Emsley.¹⁵ Emsley quotes the Recorder of Birmingham who complained that statistical comparisons were of limited use because 'crime in Sheffield, Leeds and Birmingham was taken to have a very different meaning from what it had in those who made the returns for Liverpool and Manchester'.¹⁶ Gatrell has shown that up to the mid-nineteenth century there was a steady increase in crime and in particular theft and assault, while in the later nineteenth century his qualified conclusion is that crime rates declined in real terms.¹⁷ This declining number of crimes can be compared to the great increase in population. Crimes in terms of both number and crimes per capita declined sharply. However, the numbers of policemen employed by Manchester continued to rise – 847 in 1881, and 1,001 in 1900. Inspector Jerome Caminada of the Manchester police force acknowledged this dilemma and does not stint in pointing to his own part in recommending reducing numbers employed. He writes that Sir John Harcourt had written a pamphlet in March 1899 recommending a reduction in police force numbers. Sir John was a prominent member of the Manchester Council and a senior member of the Watch Committee. The preface to his pamphlet reads in part 'it is now some time since I promised in the city council that I would call attention to what I consider to be the excessive numbers of police constables employed the city'.

¹⁵ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p.32

¹⁶ Emsley, 'Crime in 19th Century Britain', p. 41

¹⁷ Gatrell and Haddon, 'Criminal Statistics', pp. 336-337

Caminada says that he had written 12 reports at the request of the Watch Committee since 1897 outlining inefficiencies. Such was the persuasive argument put forward by the two men, a senior councillor and a high-ranking policeman, that by 1900 the strength of the Manchester Police Force had been decreased by 37 posts.¹⁸ Reference will be made to the memoirs of Detective Superintendent Caminada who served in the Manchester force for all the years covered by this thesis. It is acknowledged that these memoirs will not be entirely impartial. However, his is not a third-party account and there is every reason to believe that he took an active part in the instances chronicled. Although written with the benefit of hindsight, he would have had access to an archive of police reporting.

3.5 Criminology in Manchester and Salford – Indictable Offences

This next section will deal with serious crimes committed in both Manchester and Salford. These were tried at quarter sessions or assizes by legal professionals. The crime statistics for both boroughs indicate that (with the exception of simple larceny) there were considerably fewer indictable crimes committed than non-indictable offences. The statistical presentation of the numbers of direct crimes and the way they were disposed of varies very little over the period 1880 to 1900 so the incidence of crime and the sentences imposed can be compared. What is not easy is determining if, and how, attitudes to crime generally and individual offences particularly, might have changed over the period.

A range of indictable offences have been chosen and the incidence of these will be charted at the beginning of the three decades 1880, 1890 and 1900. The crimes have been highlighted because they reflect the majority of indictable crimes committed during this period. What was happening to crime, the police and the population over the period? The range of offences which are to be compared are:

¹⁸ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol. 2, pp. 500 – 508

- Murder
- Manslaughter
- Wounding
- Burglary and Housebreaking
- Housebreaking
- Breaking into Shops
- Larceny from the Person
- Larceny by Servant
- Embezzlement
- Simple Larceny

Daniels looked at ‘indictable crime’ committed in Salford in the period 1844-1880 and concluded that ‘Salford police were not equipped to deal with “indictable crime”’. In 1880 in Salford only 676 indictable crimes were recorded from a population of 171,000 people. This equates to two indictable crimes per Salford policeman’.¹⁹ It is possible to chart indictable crimes over the next two decades and compare the same instances in Manchester and Salford. It will be possible to determine if indictable crime became more prevalent and detectable in these two boroughs by the turn of the century.

3.6 Offences against the person

The number of inhabitants of Manchester had increased by c.60 percent in two decades. The numbers of policeman had increased by 18 percent over the same period. The equivalent figures for Salford were 30 percent and 10 percent. The table (Appendix 5) indicates that over these two decades, offences against the person,

¹⁹ Daniels, ‘The Watch Committee’. pp. 55-56

murder and attempts to murder, manslaughter and wounding were low and changed little. In 1880 there were six murders, (Salford, one), in 1890 were seven (Salford indicated their statistic by recording a blank); and in 1900 there were two (Salford, one). Manslaughter recorded seven, five and six in the same years (Salford, two, one and four) and the offence of wounding was six, ten and eight occurrences respectively (with Salford recording one, eight and one). Thus, in aggregate in Manchester there were 19 crimes in 1880, 22 in 1890 and 19 in 1900. (In Salford, the same numbers were four, nine, and six). The number of crimes reported to the police in these three years are remarkably low for two cities which in aggregate had three quarters of a million inhabitants. The populations were increasing sharply so 'crimes against the person' as a percentage of the population indicate a reducing crime rate. In 1880 the number of 'offences against the person' in Manchester equates to one crime for every 17,974 people, 1:22,971 in 1890 and 1:28,883 in 1900. The same numbers in Salford are 1880, 42,932, 1890, 24,092, and 1900, 37,236. There are such distortions in these numbers that little can be concluded other than few of these crimes were recorded for such large populations.

In 1880 the police recorded six murders in Manchester, and four people were apprehended and committed for trial. One was acquitted, one received a jail term of five years or more, one a term of between one and five years and one was awaiting trial at the time that the statistics were produced the end of year.²⁰ In 1890, seven murders were recorded; four persons were apprehended one of whom received a

²⁰ Note on sentencing policy. For comparison purposes and for Indictable crimes the Manchester sentencing policy has been used for both Boroughs. The Salford statistical returns indicate that slightly different imprisonment periods were used as follows.

- 15 yrs and above 12yrs.
- 12 yrs and above 10yrs
- 10 yrs and above 7yrs
- 7 yrs and above 3yrs
- 2 yrs and above 6mths
- 6 months and under

death sentence. In Salford in 1880 one murder was committed, one male was apprehended and he received a 15 year or more jail sentence. There are no incidences of murder in 1890 and in 1900 there was one murder with one female apprehended. She was later discharged.²¹ The incidence of manslaughter in Manchester was equally low. In 1880, seven were committed, in 1890, five and in 1900, six. In Salford two instances of manslaughter were recorded in the year to 1881, one in 1890 and four in 1900.

The above indicates the limited number of instances of murder and cases of manslaughter recorded by the police in Manchester and Salford in the period 1880-1900. In this thesis the concept of the 'dark number' and the lack of reliability of statistics has been discussed at length and Archer has attempted to delve further and provide an explanation. His conclusions are that the authorities were suspicious that on many occasions a crime had been committed but that limited evidence coupled with a lack of experience and competence in interpreting what evidence was available prevented proceeding to prosecutions in many instances. Social norms, such as deaths from 'fair fights' worked in favour of male suspects and in cases of deaths resulting from domestic violence the reputation, or lack of reputation, of a wife would be taken into consideration. Many deaths of those from the lower strata of society, for example infants, strangers, foreigners, prostitutes, the Irish, alcoholics, vagrants and lunatics would attract limited police interest. Archer's paper concludes that in the later decades of the nineteenth century 'most murders and suspicious deaths went uninvestigated by the police'.²² The incidence of 'wounding' in Manchester were similarly few – six in 1880, ten in 1890 and eight in 1900. In 1890, ten offences were

²¹ This figure is a combination of three classes of offence as defined in the statistical returns,

- a. Murder (of persons aged above 1 year)
- b. Murder of infants (aged under 1 year and under)
- c. Attempted Murder

²² Archer, 'Mysterious and Suspicious Deaths', conclusion

committed and fifteen people were apprehended, one of whom was female. The number of 'wounding' crimes in Salford were similarly low (1880, one, 1890, eight and 1900, one).

Throughout the period Manchester had a population of c.500,000 and Salford c200,000 people. The numbers of crimes against the person (as far as was reported to the police) were remarkably few and the sentences awarded, with the notable exception of one death sentence, appear quite lenient.

3.6.1 Burglary

We saw earlier in this thesis how pioneering work by Lefevre, Rowan, Chadwick and Redgrave led to developments in criminology. Their work indicates that those involved in burglary and housebreaking were at the top of the criminal tree and that they frequently employed girls to do much work for them and would train them in their 'art'. They also employed the services of prostitutes to both keep lookout and to distract attention from the actual criminal activity. Emsley indicates that for the second half of the nineteenth century statistics nationally would seem to suggest reducing numbers of crimes relating to theft and violence, 'though housebreaking and burglary remain at a constant and thus at a proportionately greater level'.²³ It is possible that as suburbs expanded in the late nineteenth century there was a concentration of the criminal classes who remained in the slum areas around the city centres and who targeted the more prosperous areas, returning after a successful raid.

Inspector Caminada chronicled his attempts to apprehend an absconding burglar. The police in Manchester tracked down John Brown to a house in Weaste and managed to handcuff him and secure him for sentencing. It is interesting that Caminada's information took him to Weaste, which is in Salford, but did not prevent him from

²³ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p. 32

acting on the information. It would appear that the boundary between Manchester and Salford was no barrier to the Manchester detectives' thief taking.²⁴ Caminada offers a second example of this informal cooperation between the two forces. He writes of securing the assistance of a Salford police constable and entered a house in Cheetham Hill. Cheetham Hill is in Manchester but he managed to get assistance from a Salford policeman.²⁵

The number of indictable offences – burglary and housebreaking in Manchester and Salford for the years 1880, 1890 and 1900- are not substantial for populations in their hundreds of thousands. The numbers of persons apprehended for such crimes was low in both boroughs. In 1880 in Manchester, 243 crimes were recorded with 33 persons apprehended. In 1890 in Manchester, 105 crimes were recorded with six people apprehended and in 1889-1900, 111 crimes are recorded with 17 caught. Similar proportions were to be found in Salford. 51 crimes recorded in 1880 with 11 apprehended. 28 offences in 1890 with seven apprehended, and 48 crimes recorded in 1900 with only two apprehensions. The low apprehension rate is noteworthy.²⁶

The low reporting rate of crimes of 'burglary and housebreaking' in both boroughs is a surprise but there is a possible explanation. Even as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century it is possible that local communities could have dealt with these issues themselves. Churchill and Jones both refer to the instance of local action at the expense of official involvement.²⁷ It is not possible to identify the level of non-reporting. What is surprising is the very low rate of convictions once the case was heard in Court. Churchill indicates that the presence of the policeman quietened down the streets.: 'their presence was most tangible in the regulation of petty deviance and

²⁴ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, vol.1, p. 151

²⁵ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, vol.1, p. 53

²⁶ Manchester Council Proceedings 1880;1890;1900.

²⁷ Churchill, 'Crime, Policing and Control', p. 212; D. Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 111

disorder. They struggled, however, to make a decisive impact upon property crime'.²⁸ The statistics in relation to the incidence of crime and the rate at which convictions were successfully brought in Manchester and Salford lend credence to these observations.

3.6.2 Breaking into shops and warehouses.

The offence of 'Burglary and Housebreaking' is closely followed by 'breaking into shops and warehouses' in the crime returns and the statistics reveal almost the same story both in terms of number of offences reported and the low success rate. Whilst the experience of domestic homeowners could have been assuaged by police discretion and the return of stolen property, it is unlikely that shop or warehouse owners would be satisfied with such informal action. It is a reasonable assumption therefore that the numbers of break-ins into commercial property recorded would be a greater reflection of the actual number of offences committed. Table 24 indicates the numbers of crimes reported in this category.

In Salford in 1880 there were only 17 recorded offences in this category; 13 men were committed to trial of which four (31 percent) were acquitted. In Manchester in the same year there were 491 crimes with only 38 people (8 percent) apprehended, nine were discharged before they were brought to trial – only 29 actually appeared in court. In 1890, 29 offences were recorded as being committed in Salford with one person being apprehended and who received a 6 – 12 months' prison sentence. Whilst the success rate in Manchester in the same year was better than Salford only 37 people were apprehended for 116 offences recorded. Of those 37 people eight were discharged for want of evidence before they came to trial and five were subsequently acquitted. In 1900, two people were apprehended with 20 crimes recorded in Salford and in Manchester 159 crimes were committed

²⁸ Churchill, 'Crime, Policing and Control', p. 42

Table 24: Breaking into shops and warehouses in Manchester and Salford 1880-1900

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Offences	491	17	116	29	159	20
Apprehended	38	13	37	1	75	2
% caught	8%	76%	32%	3%	47%	10%
Tried	29	13	29	1	51	2

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Manchester and SWC Reports
Excludes those acquitted, those awaiting trial and those whose trial decision was 'other'.

The number of offences recorded in Salford was not great but consistent. The number of offences recorded in Manchester, particularly in 1880 indicates a high number which fell away sharply over the years. The number of perpetrators apprehended was inconsistent across both towns and surprisingly low. The insubstantial numbers who were brought to justice in both towns must have been an embarrassment to the policing authorities.

An example of a break-in into a shop in Manchester is provided by Inspector Caminada. He describes a burglary from a shop owned by Manchester Councillor Haworth. Thieves had taken a considerable quantity of cash and jewellery. Other policemen at the scene were convinced that the job had been done by the manager of the shop who had been 'robbed' of his shop keys whilst he was asleep. The inspector describes his own involvement in the case in colourful and heroic terms. He correctly identified the perpetrator and his location and set up an entry to his house. The inspector correctly identified the whereabouts of the proceeds of the robbery which were three feet down a hole in the perpetrator's garden, all to the astonishment of his police colleagues.²⁹

²⁹ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, vol 1, pp. 62- 70

3.6.3 Larceny

The offence of larceny was commonplace in late nineteenth-century Manchester and Salford. Larceny (a technical term for theft)³⁰ was further complicated by the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 which allowed the indictable offence of larceny also to be tried as a summary offence. Thus, for this offence there will be two entries in these pages. The first, below, relates to larceny that had been tried as indictable offences and the second – in a later section - relates to those offences that appear as simple cases and heard before justices. A further complication is that in neither 1880 nor 1890 does the Annual Report of the Salford Chief Constable make mention of ‘indictable Offences tried summarily’. The 1900 statistics for the borough of Salford do contain the distinction. Therefore, the section relating to Manchester will contain what appears to be two distinct types of crime which relate to the categories of ‘larceny’. Salford will only contain the statistics for larceny in the ‘indictable offences’ category for 1880 and 1890 but will have offences recorded in both categories in 1900.

3.6.4 Simple Larceny

There was a significant number of thefts reported under the category of ‘simple larceny’. In Salford in 1880 there were 203 offences, in 1890 there were 278 and this had almost doubled to 494 by 1900. In Manchester there were 2,121 recorded in 1880, 1,220 in 1890, and 1,533 in 1889-1900. In 1880 the number of simple larcenies recorded in Salford was 10 percent of that of Manchester. In 1890 the number recorded in Salford were 25 percent of those in Manchester. In 1900 the number of simple larcenies recorded in Salford were again 25 percent of that of Manchester. It is unclear why Salford’s instance of simple larcenies was increasingly in numerical terms. The number of cases of ‘simple larcenies’ that occurred in Manchester between 1880 and 1900 decreased by 25 percent. The number of ‘simple larcenies’ in Salford

³⁰ *Collins English Dictionary* (London; William Collins, 1979; repr.1981)

increased by 100 percent. As has already been noted the population of Manchester was increasing at a greater rate than that of Salford which makes the proportionate increase in Salford thefts requiring further research.

In 1880 Salford's 203 crimes recorded resulted in only 49 apprehensions (21 of whom were female). In the same year Manchester's 2,121 recorded crimes resulted in only 252 apprehensions (104 of whom were females). Of these 252 apprehensions only 158 were committed for trial. The situation by 1890 was similarly difficult. Of Salford's 278 offences committed only 26 people were convicted, of Manchester's 1,220 offences only 89 were sent for trial. The situation was different again in 1900. Of the 494 offences that were committed in Salford, 405 people were apprehended and 382 were tried summarily. Of the 1,533 offences committed in Manchester 1,039 people were apprehended.

In Salford in 1880 the 49 persons apprehended were tried indictably. In 1890 there were 29 indictable trials and only 17 indictable crimes tried in Salford in 1900. In Manchester, there were 158 indictable trials in 1880, 89 in 1890 and 96 in 1900.

In 1880 and 1890 there were a considerable number of 'simple larcenies' recorded in Manchester and Salford. The statistics record that those offences reported to the police, resulted in a very low apprehension rate in both boroughs. The numbers of apprehensions could reflect a lack of cooperation by the public.

Table 25: Larceny from the person in Manchester and Salford 1880-1900

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Offences	614	80	92	47	282	68
Apprehended	174	28	41	14	179	42
Males	68	11	9	6	80	22
Females	106	17	32	8	99	20
Committed for Trial	82	28	18	0	47	5

Source: *Manchester Council Proceedings*, Manchester and SWC Minutes

There is a popular impression created, particularly in fiction, that rapidly developing and industrialising towns the size of both Manchester and Salford, were rife with common thieves, pickpockets and women in public houses who selected drunks with the objective of dispossessing them of their valuables, and prostitutes who would prey on the unsuspecting. The subject of females and crime will be covered in depth later in this thesis referring to the works by Emsley, Phillips and Tobias.³¹ The statistics (Table 25) which relate to the numbers of thefts from the person as reported to the police do not reflect that impression. What the figures do reflect in common with the other indictable offences discussed in this thesis is that the numbers recorded are not high and that those recorded for 1880 are significantly in excess of 1890 and 1900. This decrease in crime rates as the century approached its close coincides with the views expressed by Gatrell, Lenman and Parker.³² It can be seen from the table that the numbers of thefts from the person as reported to the police were low for both Manchester and Salford with populations of approximately 500,000 and 250,000 respectively. The rate of apprehensions as described above was not great in 1880 and 1890 although there was a significant improvement in 1900. What is evident from the

³¹ Emsley, *Crime, Police and Penal Policy*; D. Phillips, *Crime and Authority*; Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*

³² Gatrell, 'Crime and the Law', ch.IX

figures is the very high proportion of females who were apprehended. Female apprehensions were significantly in excess of their male counterpart throughout the period in the two areas and time periods with the exception of Salford in 1900.

3.6.5 Larceny by Servant

The discussion above is related to the number of reported cases of 'larceny from the person' and the low incidence of offences in this category. This section will deal with theft from their employer by their domestic servants. There were only 21 cases reported to the police in Salford in 1880 and only one person was apprehended. In 1890 only two cases were reported to the police and again only one person was apprehended. In 1900, 44 cases were reported and 40 people were apprehended, 28 of whom were male and 12 females. The comparative figures for Manchester were 137 cases recorded in 1880 with 42 apprehensions, 75 in 1890, with 17 apprehensions and 179 committed in 1900 with 149 apprehensions. Underreporting of theft was rife, however the employers of servants should at least be able to identify the person who they suspected and that the servant would have little room to manoeuvre.

3.6.6 Embezzlement

It has been repeatedly pointed out in this thesis that the number of indictable crimes recorded and committed for trial was low. It can be assumed that members of the public felt little need to inform the policing authorities of the more serious crimes because they knew that the police displayed little in the way of successful prosecutions. Notwithstanding this, Jerome Caminada had no difficulty in outlining the successful outcome to several of the cases of fraud and embezzlement he managed to solve. In his memoirs, he recounts the 'Next-of-Kin Frauds' from 1882. A firm under the title of the 'Next-of-Kin Agency' temporarily hired prestige offices in Market Street in the centre of Manchester. For a down payment this agency promised to discover

land and property that had been bequeathed by far-flung and distant relatives. Having received the deposit little followed.³³ In another instance, Caminada recounts the case of a swindler who put an advertisement in a Manchester newspaper in March 1884. The swindler would agree to pay a substantial rate of interest for a £50 loan over a short period. Not surprisingly the swindler disappeared with the £50, never to be seen again.³⁴ There are many such cases outlined by the Manchester policeman as Caminada indicates his many successes. However, the statistics tell a slightly different tale. In 1880 in Salford there was one case reported with one apprehension resulting in a short jail term. Similarly, in 1890 there was one case reported with one apprehension which was subsequently tried summarily. In 1900 there were 12 offences committed, five males were apprehended, one was discharged and four tried summarily. There were similarly few cases in Manchester. 13 offences were committed in 1880, 16 males were apprehended, eight of whom were discharged. In 1890 there were seven offences and five apprehensions, two of whom were discharged. The remaining three were tried indictably, one of whom was acquitted. By 1900 there were more offences recorded indicating either that the local population were becoming more sophisticated in their criminality or that those who had suffered were more prepared to inform the police. However, there were still only 40 cases recorded with 40 apprehensions, one of which was a woman. The numbers by 1900 had increased over the previous two decades but were still considerably lower than would have been expected for a conurbation the size of Manchester and Salford.

Embezzlement or fraud (to convert money or property entrusted to one, fraudulently to one's own use),³⁵ was regarded in the late nineteenth century as white-collar crime and as such in a somewhat different light. White-collar offenders were not regarded as part of the 'criminal classes'. Emsley writes that when office-based clerical staff embezzled money from their employer it could be the employer who would be asked

³³ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol 1, pp. 102 – 125

³⁴ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol 1, pp. 126 – 135

³⁵ *Collins English Dictionary*, (London; William Collins, 1979; repr.1981)

questions. 'We can't for a moment dispute the right of merchant princes paying what salaries they deem fit to their clerks', declared a Manchester journalist, 'but we would ask, is the system of paying low salaries likely to conduce a high moral tone in the young men employed?'³⁶ Hewitt records the case of Payne who, in 1865 was the treasurer of the Manchester Relief Fund and who absconded with £2,400. *The Times* published an article which concluded that 'Payne had avoided prosecution because the law was simply not geared to cope with such a middle-class offence'.³⁷ White collar crime was conducted by the middle classes and as such was treated differently. Emsley quoted Mary Carpenter in her *Juvenile Delinquents* published in 1853. 'Working class children were imprisoned or even transported for petty theft whilst their social superiors would be let off with a stern warning'.³⁸

3.7 Indictable Offences tried Summarily

There are difficulties in making statistical comparisons between individual police authorities. There was an absence of definition, lack of standardisation of method and inconsistency between police stations let alone between police forces. An analysis of the Annual Reports of both the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford revealed that whilst the former dutifully collated those statistics relating to those indictable offences which are tried summarily, there is an absence of these numbers from the Salford returns in 1880 and 1890. They do appear in the 1900-1901 report of the Salford Chief Constable. The report indicates that there were only 317 appropriate cases in the year to 1900 and 372 offences recorded in 1901. It could have been that there were no such cases in either 1880 or 1890. It might have been appropriate to produce a note in the Report to the effect that no cases were recorded in Salford but it

³⁶ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p. 58

³⁷ Hewitt, *Capital of Discontent*, p. 92

³⁸ Emsley, 'Crime in 19th Century Britain', pp. 40-46 at p. 45

remains that there is an absence in 1880 and 1890 of any mention of 'Indictable Crimes tried Summarily' in the borough of Salford.

Three offences have been concentrated upon:

- Simple Larceny
- Larceny from the Person
- Larceny as a Clerk or Servant

In Salford in the year to 1901 there were other offences listed as 'indictable crimes tried summarily'. These were Embezzlement, Receiving, Obtaining goods by False Pretences, Habitual Drunkenness and Indictable Offences committed by Children or Young Persons. These latter have been excluded from any analysis because the incidence of these five offences committed, numbering 41, do not justify any discussion.

3.7.1 Simple larceny

In 1900 those committed for trial 'indictably' in Manchester for 'simple larceny' numbered 1,533 people whilst those who elected for 'summary justice' and were proceeded against numbered 944. In Salford in 1900 the comparable statistics were 493 and 382. It is apparent that 'simple larceny' was one of the classes of offence that kept the police and courts busy and that of these 'simple larceny' cases 50 percent were tried summarily. In 1900 there were a list of 12 separate offences that appeared in the Manchester list of 'indictable offences tried summarily'. They ranged from simple larceny, larceny from the person, larceny by servants and embezzlement which will be the subject of greater scrutiny later. The other offences were 'obtaining goods by false pretences', receiving stolen goods', 'endangering railway passengers', 'offences under the post office laws' and various offences committed by young

persons. This next section will deal with the first four because of the 1,360 offences in this category 944 were simple larceny – a very significant percentage.

In Manchester in 1880 there were 850 persons proceeded against in the category of simple larceny. There was no significant change in 1890 and 1900. The number of people proceeded against in 1890 was 729 and in 1900 was 944. There was a consistency in those convicted with 78 percent in 1880, 82 percent in 1890 and 81 percent in 1900. Sentencing policy changed little over the period – no sentence exceeded six months. A significant number were sent to both industrial school and reformatories. In 1900 a new sentence of ‘probation’ was handed down in 13 percent of the cases. A consistent punishment in both 1880, 1890 and 1900 was one of ‘whipping’ when 50, 120 and 100 offenders respectively were punished in this way. In Manchester in 1900, 766 people were convicted of simple larceny and tried summarily. Of these 427 (56 percent) were imprisoned. 100 of the remainder were whipped. In Salford in the same period 288 were convicted and 155 (54 percent) were imprisoned. 77 of the remainder were put on probation and six whipped.

3.7.2 Larceny from the person

In Manchester over the three time periods 177 people were proceeded against summarily in 1880, 105 in 1890 and 119 in 1900. The respective conviction rates were 76 percent, 70 percent and 58 percent. In 1890, 3 offenders in this category received a sentence of six months or more whilst the remainder were in the ‘14 days to 6 months’ category and the use of fines, industrial school and reformatories continued. In 1880 and 1890, five and four miscreants respectively were whipped. In Salford in 1900, 36 people were proceeded against, 11 were discharged and 25 convicted. By 1900 nobody was whipped in either Manchester or Salford.

3.7.3 Larceny by servant

This category is significant from an economic and sociological point of view because of the large number of people who were classed as 'domestic servants'. In Manchester 1880, 176, in 1890, 147 and in 1900, 165 servants were proceeded against for the indictable offence of stealing from their employer but were prosecuted summarily. Of these in 1880, 38 people were discharged. The number discharged in 1890 was 25 and 29 in 1900. Thus, between 20 percent and 30 percent of servants who were accused of theft from their employer were acquitted. The sentences imposed were in the same range as for 'larceny from the person' and 'simple larceny' but the use of whipping was more widespread. In 1900- 136 servants were convicted of larceny with 11 percent of them suffering whipping as a punishment. The situation was similar in Salford in 1900. There were 39 persons proceeded against. Of these, eight were discharged. Sentencing policy in Salford was similar to Manchester with most offenders receiving a short prison sentence. Two were sent to industrial school, two were fined and six were put on probation. The punishment of whipping was not used.

No comparison can be made between Manchester and Salford over the years 1880 and 1890 because Salford did not provide a record. In Manchester over the three periods there was little change in the number of offences recorded and proceeded with. In 1880, 850 people were proceeded against for simple larceny and 944 in 1900. 177 people were proceeded with in 1880 by the offence of larceny from the person, 119 in 1900. 176 servants were proceeded against 1880, 165 in 1900. The only change over the period was a very significant increase in population. However further research would be required to find out whether the number of servants employed and charged was commensurate with the increasing population. A comparison however can be made between Manchester and Salford in 1900 for the indictable offence of larceny which was tried in a summary court.

Table 26: Categories of Larceny between Manchester and Salford in 1900

1900		Manchester		Salford	
		Indictable	Summarily	Indictable	Summarily
Larceny	Simple	975	944	494	382
	Person	174	119	68	36
	Servant	149	165	44	39

Source: Annual Reports of the Manchester and Salford Chief Constables.

The initial conclusion that can be drawn from Table 26 is that the number of offences tried indictably is similar to the number of offences tried summarily for all three offences in both towns. The number of instances of 'larceny from the person' and larceny by servant' is considerably lower than would be anticipated from the large populations of Manchester and Salford. In Manchester in 1900, thefts that were recorded, and tried either indictably or summarily, totalled 1919. The comparable figure for Salford was 876. As with many of the other offences that have been discussed so far either the populations of Manchester and Salford were remarkably law-abiding or there was a significant instance of under-reporting of crimes and offences to the policing authorities.

3.8 Conclusion – indictable crimes

The foregoing has contrasted criminality in Manchester and Salford between 1880 and 1900. Its starting point was Daniels who showed that for 1844 to 1880 so few indictable crimes were reported to the police and recorded in the Annual Reports of the Salford Chief Constable that the Salford police force was not equipped to deal with this type of crime.³⁹ This chapter began by identifying the enormous population

³⁹ Daniels, 'The Watch Committee', p. 50

growth within the two areas of Manchester and Salford. This would have challenged any civic authority. The only caveat that can be employed to explain these statistics is that this enormous jump in population was not just about population growth but about the assimilation of various out townships incorporating into the borough. By contrast Salford's assimilation of out townships had already been completed by 1880. However, population growth was still occurring at a significant rate. The population of Salford increased by 30 percent over two decades.

Having concentrated upon the incidence of indictable crime, a more serious class of crime heard by legal professionals, two categories have been identified as worthy of discussion: offences against the person, and theft. These have been chosen because of their serious nature and because of their prevalence recorded within the statistics. The Annual Reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford contain a wealth of data relating to criminality within the two boroughs. The statistics as presented in this chapter indicate that the experience of these two neighbouring boroughs is broadly similar to other studies conducted and confirmed in other academic writing. There was a marked decrease in criminality between 1880 and 1900. However, it confirms the assertion in that despite this decrease the police had a great deal of difficulty getting to grips with theft and thieves.⁴⁰ Emsley has shown the significant part played by women in criminality generally.⁴¹ Fictional accounts of the period would indicate that this was a lawless violent period. However, the number of crimes reported to the police give lie to this as in Manchester in 1880, 1890 and 1900 there were six, seven and two recorded murders. In Salford in 1880 there was one, nothing recorded in 1890 and one in 1900. In 1880 in Manchester one of the people apprehended was female and in Salford in 1900 a woman was caught for the crime of attempted murder. In the three years 1880, 1890 and 1900 the instance of manslaughter amounted to 25

⁴⁰ Churchill, 'Crime, Policing and Control', pp. 106-124, at p.107 and p.124

⁴¹ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, pp. 99-95

offences committed in the two boroughs. Of the apprehensions generated by these 25 crimes, 9 people were discharged before they went to trial. The situation is very similar for the offence of wounding. 35 offences were committed in aggregate of the three years for the two boroughs. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the numbers of 'offences against the person' in the two large boroughs of Manchester and Salford for these three periods were low.

These statistics outline the various classes of indictable crime which come under the heading of 'theft'. Again, the numbers returned are remarkably low considering the areas in question and the populations associated with them. They do show that the numbers of crimes decreased over the period and the ability of the police to apprehend and convict improved. In 1880 in Manchester under the heading 'breaking into shops' 491 offences were recorded, 38 people were apprehended and 29 were committed for trial. By 1900 only 104 crimes were recorded, 75 people were apprehended and 51 were committed for trial. No explanation is provided for this decrease. For the offence of 'burglary and housebreaking' in Salford in 1880, 51 offences were recorded, 11 persons were apprehended and only 10 were tried. In Manchester in 1890 the figures were even worse: 105 offences committed, six apprehended and two discharged. By 1900 the number of offences increased to 44: 23 people were caught and 18 committed to trial.

The returns for 'Simple Larceny' buck the trend in Salford: 203 offences in 1880, 278 in 1890 and 494 in 1900. However, the police in both Manchester and Salford in 1900 appeared remarkably effective. In Salford 494 offences were committed and 405 people were apprehended. In Manchester 975 offences were committed and 1,039 were apprehended resulting in 758 convictions dealt with summarily, and 96 people committed for trial indictably.

It is clear, then, that in both boroughs the numbers of crimes recorded is low for such a large population. For the crimes recorded under the heading 'offences against the person' it is reasonable to assume that such crimes would come to the notice of the policing authorities. This being the case, it can be stated that Manchester and Salford were not violent communities. With those crimes which come under the heading 'theft' it is conceivable that there is considerable under-reporting although by 1900 there is evidence that the inhabitants had greater faith in their police forces. This could only have been as a result of residents providing more information to the police to aid their detection.

3.9 Summary Justice and offences tried Summarily

The class of offence under the title of 'summary justice' is given three quite distinct designations within the MCP dated 29 September 1881. In the title to the list of offences appears two phrases, 'offences determined summarily' which is followed by 'number of persons proceeded against summarily before justices', whilst the head of the table of offences is labelled 'offences punishable by justices'. It is indicative of influence from other sources that the table of summary offences is created in an identical format in that prepared by the Chief Constable of Salford. The Home Office had been involved in local policing for some time via HMIC and here is evidence of their influence. Unlike 'indictable crimes', the subject of the previous section the items here are classed as 'offences'. They are dealt with 'summarily' and are heard not by legal professions at the formal quarter sessions or assizes but by magistrates in local courts. The list of potential offences was extensive and in the table published in the MCP dated 1881 there appear 70 different categories and include offences under the 'Mutiny Act', 'nuisances and offences against health', 'Employers and Workmen's Act', offences against 'Weights and Measures Acts' and 'Factory Acts'. This section will deal

with a limited number of these offences and will concentrate on the three classes of 'assault', which appear as a major factor in offences of the day. Other offences that will be highlighted are those which tell us something about what happened in the period. Examples quoted will be offences against the Elementary Education Act and Poor Law Acts plus the perennial offences of vagrancy, drunkenness, prostitution and begging which exercised local ratepayers of both boroughs. These latter categories account for a significant number of offences committed. In 1880-1881 there were 15,535 offences dealt with by Justices in Manchester. Drunkenness accounted for 6,533 of these and prostitution for 1881, offences which in aggregate account for in excess of 50 percent of the total. This section will deal with the above in four separate categories:

- Assault
- Elementary Education Act and Poor Law Acts
- Drunkenness
- Vagrancy, and in particular, prostitution and begging.

3.9.1 Assault

Philips and Jones refer to the reputation of both male and female Irish who were amongst the most violent members of Victorian society.⁴² Manchester and Salford had very significant Irish immigrant communities.⁴³ The subject of females and violence is discussed in D'Cruze, Davies, Phillips, Emsley and Godfrey and Lawrence.⁴⁴ Emsley also notes that there were instances of women who treated their domestic servants and

⁴² Philips, *Crime and Authority*, p.149; Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p.99; D. Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 105

⁴³ J. M. Werly, 'The Irish in Manchester 1832 – 49', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, no.71 (March 1973), pp. 345 – 358

⁴⁴ D'Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage: Davies, 'These Viragoes'*; Phillips, *Crime and Authority*, Emsley, 'Crime and Punishment', pp. 11-12, chapter 4; and Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*, chapter 8

apprentices with physical aggression and who had to appear in the courts for their trouble.⁴⁵ Philips writes extensively about violent Irish offenders. Assault can be defined as: 'technically speaking, what is normally referred to as an assault is, in strict legal terminology, the offence of battery:

- A person is guilty of an assault if he unlawfully displays force against another in such a way that he creates in the mind of that other the belief that force is about to be used against him, provided he intended to create such belief.
- A person is guilty of battery if he intentionally uses unlawful force against another.
- An assault or battery which is not accompanied by aggravating circumstances is... a 'common assault'.⁴⁶

Within the category of 'assault' this thesis will look at three distinct offences. The first of these will be 'aggravated assault', which, in the 1890 report 'offences dealt with summarily', is classified as 'assaults, aggravated, on women and children'. The second relates to 'assaults on constables' and concerns the violence meted out to members of the police force. Significantly assault on the police is an 'offence' not a crime. The third category is 'common assaults' which relates to members of the public acting in a violent manner towards each other. Gray writes about the growing intolerance towards assault over an extended period.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Emsley, *Crime and Society*, p.99

⁴⁶ Philips, *Crime and Authority*, p. 262

⁴⁷ Gray, *Crime, Police and Punishment in England*, pp. 51- 84

3.9.2 Aggravated Assault

In the late nineteenth century, the number of offences reported to the police in this category are likely to be only a small fraction of the number of offences that actually occurred. Table 27 records that in 1880 there were 64 offences recorded in Manchester and only seven of those persons proceeded against were women. The same return for 1890 records that 36 people were proceeded against, a reduction of 45 percent. In 1890 only two of the 36 offences recorded were of women. In 1900 the split between males and females proceeded against does not appear. 43 occurrences are recorded which equates to a 20 percent increase over 1890 whilst still being only two thirds of the figure recorded for 1880. In each year a single percentage figure was discharged. The range of punishments covered six months+ to fines – although by far the majority of sanctions appear within the 2 - 6-month range. By 1900, 33 percent of convictions were dealt with by imposing a fine or a discharge with surety. It is a feature within the sentencing policy imposed by magistrates that a far greater reliance was placed on financial penalties in 1900 that had appeared in either 1890 or 1880.

In Salford of the three periods, 1880, 1890 and 1900 there were considerably fewer persons proceeded against. It is anticipated that this is because there were considerably fewer reported to the police as opposed to fewer offences being committed. In Salford in 1880, 5 people were proceeded against, in 1890, 4 people were proceeded against and in 1900, 6 people were proceeded against. In each year all of those proceeded against were convicted.

Table 27: Aggravated Assault tried summarily in Manchester and Salford 1880- 1900

Aggravated Assault	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Persons Proceeded Against	64	5	36	4	43	6
Convicted	56	5	35	4	41	6
Discharged	8	0	3	0	2	0
Percentage Discharged	13%	0%	8%	0%	5%	0%

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Manchester Chief Constable Annual Reports, Salford Chief Constables Annual Reports

Despite Salford having approximately one third of the population of the two boroughs they had considerably fewer offences reported in this category. As Table 27 shows in 1880 there were 69 cases of aggravated assault in Manchester and Salford; Salford had only 7 percent of the total. In 1890, they had 10 percent of the total and in 1900, 12 percent. The numbers of convictions could give an indication that only those that the authorities regarded as being successfully prosecutable would stand a chance of being recorded in the police statistics.

It is evident that after conviction sentencing policy was strict. In Manchester in 1880 all but two of the convictions resulted in a prison sentence of between two months and six months. In 1890, 25 out of the 35 cases convicted resulted in a similar sentence and in 1900, 11 out of the 41 cases convicted resulted in a prison sentence in excess of six months. The courts obviously regarded this as a serious offence and imposed sentences accordingly. 'Aggravated assault' then as now is domestic abuse and then as now most of these cases go unreported.

3.9.3 Assault on Constables

The members of the Manchester and Salford police forces suffered a significant number of assaults perpetrated against themselves although it can be assumed that many more would have occurred but went unreported. Assault on constables can be linked to the acceptance of the police by working class society. For a discussion of violence meted out to constables in the line of duty see Archer.⁴⁸ Table 28 indicates how those convicted were proceeded against. In 1880, 330 persons were proceeded against for assaults on the police in Manchester. In 1890 this figure had reduced to 222 but by 1900 the numbers have increased again to 307. In each year a number of perpetrators were discharged: 29 in 1880, 16 in 1890 but only six in 1900. Assaults on the police were also inflicted by females. 64 of those proceeded against in 1880 were women (18 percent). Thus in 1880 one in every five of 'assaults on constables' was perpetrated by a female. However, looking at prostitutes proceeded against in that year (1,881 offenders) and the numbers of females who were prosecuted for drunkenness- provides some comprehension of the violence that could be meted out to a policeman doing his job. Considering the seriousness of violence against the police it is surprising that the sentences imposed on offenders by magistrates was as lenient as appears from the returns. The maximum sentence in all three years was in the 3 – 6-month range. In 1880, 3 percent of convictions were in this range, 4.5 percent in 1890 and 7 percent in 1900. By far the greater percentage of punishments were either fines, or offenders 'discharged with surety' – 71 percent in 1880, 56 percent in 1890 and 56 percent in 1900. Policemen in Manchester might have felt somewhat unprotected by magistrates.

In Salford, the numbers of assaults on constables was lower than in its sister borough although in proportion to the size of population. In 1880 there were 50 persons proceeded against, in 1890 there were 79 and in 1900, 47. The majority of those

⁴⁸ Archer, *The Monster Evil*, pp. 51-61

proceeded against in Salford throughout the period were convicted with relatively few being discharged. As with Manchester the numbers of persons proceeded against who were female was substantial – 17 percent in 1880 and 9 percent in 1890. As with Manchester a significant proportion of those who appeared before the courts were merely fined – 33 percent in 1880, 41 percent in 1890 and 50 percent in 1900 - and as with Manchester, Salford policemen might have thought that the courts felt little need to protect the constabulary.

Table 28: Assaults on Constables in Manchester and Salford: How proceeded against, 1880, 1890 and 1900

	1880		1890		1900	
Sentence	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Convicted	330	47	222	79	307	50
6mths-3mths	9	1	10	10	21	2
3mths-2mths	19	0	10	7	15	2
2mths-1mth	31	18	38	6	47	9
1mth-14days	36	8	35	21	48	11
<14days	1	5	5	3	3	1
Fined	234	15	124	32	173	25

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Manchester Chief Constable Annual Reports, Salford Chief Constables Annual Reports

Table 28 might indicate that the incidence of attacks on the police was decreasing but that would have been little consolation to any constable who was attacked. A police investigation noted that each officer in London was injured every two years.⁴⁹ Jones also quotes the experience of PC 318 who in 1882 was hit in the face by a woman before a mob physically assaulted him, knocking out four of his teeth.⁵⁰ Early in his career PC Caminada reports one of his formative experiences. In his first week on the

⁴⁹ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 124

⁵⁰ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 123

beat he was accosted when, without warning, a pedestrian struck him on his nose. His assailant ran away and some little time later whilst Caminada was back on his beat, stepped out of the shadows and hit him again on the ear. The attacker was convicted in court and received a fine of 10s 6d and 5s costs.⁵¹

3.9.4 Common Assaults

Common assault is unlawful force by members of the public upon each other and was a very significant proportion of all offences dealt with by justices. Common assault was a misdemeanour and was tried summarily, only the most serious cases would reach the assizes of quarter sessions.

The MCP records that 1,423 such persons were proceeded against in 1880 in Manchester whilst the same figure for 1890 was 1,140 and in 1900, 1,185. This appears to be quite a significant number but what is surprising is that in 1880 and 1890 (the only two years in which the split is recorded) are the number of female offenders, a subject dealt with in greater depth later in this chapter. 45 percent of common assaults proceeded against by police in 1881 were women and in 1890, 40 percent. The number of those proceeded against who were subsequently discharged also reveals how much work was put in by the police that proved fruitless. In 1880 32 percent were discharged, 25 percent in 1890 and 10 percent in 1900. Whilst these figures are high it does appear that the police were learning how to proceed and perhaps when not to proceed. As with other classes of assault there was a leniency in sentencing policy. In 1880, 1,423 people were proceeded against, 964 were convicted, 459 were discharged. Of the 964 convictions 820 were fined or discharged on some form of surety. In 1890, 1,140 offenders were proceeded against, 853 were convicted, 285 were discharged and 85 percent of those convicted were fined or discharged on

⁵¹ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol. 1, pp. 22 – 23

surety. In 1900, 90 percent of those convicted for common assault received a financial penalty. Assault was such a common occurrence that only in the most severe cases was it regarded as an imprisonable offence.

The experience in the borough of Salford was similar. In 1900 there were 463 persons proceeded against with 530 in 1890 and 572 in 1880. In Salford in 1890 and 1880 the number of females involved in 'common assault' was high. In 1890 of the 530 proceeded against 40 percent were females with the same percentage in 1880. Females in the boroughs of Manchester and Salford had a great propensity for aggression. Again, as with its sister borough, the rate of those proceeded against whom were discharged was significant. In 1900, nearly 30 percent of those proceeded against were eventually discharged and the figures for 1890 were 30 percent and 1880, 25 percent. It can only be assumed that 'common assault' must have been difficult to prove because the police did not appear to learn how to achieve a conviction in many cases.

Common assault in both Manchester and Salford appears to have been regarded as a low level offence. In Manchester throughout the period between 85 percent and 90 percent of those convicted were fined or were released on some surety. The experience in the Salford courts was similar with between 80 percent and 84 percent receiving a financial penalty. Throughout the whole period only two people received a custodial sentence in excess of three months and that was in Salford in 1880.

Table 29: Common Assault tried summarily in Manchester and Salford: 1880-1900

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Proceeded against	1423	572	1140	530	1185	463
Convicted	964	427	853	371	867	329
Discharged	459	145	287	159	121	123
Fined/discharged with surety	820	359	720	296	776	270
% fined of those convicted	58%	63%	63%	56%	65%	58%

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Manchester Chief Constable Annual Reports, Salford Chief Constables Annual Reports

3.9.5 Offences as a result of the Elementary Education Acts

The Education Act of 1870 introduced an element of compulsory school attendance. Parents and guardians who did not ensure that their children attended school on a regular basis committed an offence. Godfrey notes that there were bodies other than local authorities who were active in bringing prosecutions under this legislation, for example the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (formed 1884) was particularly active.⁵² Jones writes that society had established a link between crime and control and that much legislation was enacted to combat ills in society. Kidd discusses the role played by Manchester in the agitation for a local system of public and elementary education.⁵³ The Education Act of 1870 was not without its problems and its detractors. Barber details the example of Leeds in financing the initiative. In

⁵² Godfrey, *Crime in England, 1880 – 1945*, pp. 42 – 44

⁵³ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 133 – 134

1875 the local precept on the borough rate was £13,000, by 1880, £49,000 and by 1896, £81,500.⁵⁴

Statistics provided by the Chief Constable of Manchester within the MCP indicates the involvement of the police with schooling and attendance. In 1880 there were 950 Mancunians proceeded against under the heading 'Elementary Education Acts, offences against' – 945 of whom were convicted. 821 of these were males and 124 were females. Of those convicted all suffered a financial penalty. The situation had deteriorated by 1890 when 2,840 were proceeded against, 84 percent of whom were men. Only 11 of these cases were discharged whilst 2,409 were convicted. 1,721 offenders were fined and 1,107 incurred other unspecified punishments. By 1900 the number of persons proceeded against returned to the 1880 levels – 1,140 with 952 convicted. Each of those convicted were fined and 124 children were sent to industrial schools. In Salford in the same period found a similar situation prevailed. In 1900, 374 people were proceeded against, 316 of whom were convicted: 207 received a financial penalty and 109 were sent to industrial school. In 1890, 89 people found themselves in the courts and all but three were convicted: 83 of whom were fined. In 1880, 189 were charged and 187 convicted whilst 186 received a financial penalty. These statistics do not indicate serious non-attendance at school as required by the Elementary Education Act in either Manchester or Salford but do indicate that when non-attendance was reported the authorities would have little compunction but to advise the police who would place parents and guardians before the courts. It also indicates that the police had considerable extra work to accomplish. It is likely that non-attendance was a bigger issue than these statistics indicate if only because of the truancy that went unrecorded.

⁵⁴ Brian Barber, 'Municipal government in Leeds 1835 – 1914', in *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City*, ed. by Derek Fraser (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982). p.104

3.9.6 Drunkenness

Table 30 details the prevalence of drunkenness as a proportion of all summary offences. In Manchester in 1880 there were 9,297 people proceeded against for the offence of drunkenness, in 1890, 6,102 and 1900, 6,033. In 1880 in Salford 2,480 cases of drunkenness were dealt with, in 1890, 3,006, and in 1900, 2,684. The number of offences in Salford were approximately one half that of its sister borough. This is almost exactly in line with the breakdown in relevant populations.

Table 30: Drunkenness as a percentage of Summary offences 1880-1900

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Drunkenness	9,297	2,480	6,102	3,006	6,033	2,684
Total Summary Offences	23,232	6,620	21,890	6,362	20,268	6,207
Drunkenness as %	40%	37%	28%	47%	30%	43%

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Manchester Chief Constables Annual Report, Salford Chief Constables Annual report.

Table 30 gives some indication of the problem of drunkenness within the two boroughs. When the question about what the police in Manchester and Salford were to concentrate upon the inevitable conclusion is that public order offences and the offence of drunkenness were significant. The problem in Salford seems to be marginally greater than that of Manchester. The figures are comparable, but for all three periods 40 percent or 50 percent of all summary crime in Salford related to drunkenness. In Manchester, the statistics indicate a slightly smaller problem but for

all three periods 30 percent or 40 percent of all summary crime in Manchester was caused by the same issue.

There is also a similarity in the number and extent of females proceeded against for the same offence. In both 1880 and 1890 approximately half of all offences of drunkenness were committed by women in both boroughs. The sentencing policy adopted by the justices was almost entirely a financial penalty and when a custodial sentence was handed down it was invariably numbered in days not months.

Drunkenness was decreasing in terms of numbers and per head of population as the period wore on but this could have been as much about how the police chose to deal with drunkenness than a real decrease in cases. Drunkenness forms a substantial contribution in much of the literature dealing with late nineteenth century policing, crime or culture. It is dealt with by Griffin, Best, Tobias, Jones, and Godfrey and Lawrence.⁵⁵ Drunkenness is now, and was then, associated with leisure, although in the nineteenth century drink was consumed in large quantities at work, as described by Philips writing about industrial work in the Black Country: 'the hot and exhausting work of the colliers, ironworkers and glass workers require them to replace the moisture sweated out with some liquid and beer was the easiest, safest and most pleasant way of doing so'.⁵⁶ Best noted that some workers were still being paid in beer and that '1876 saw the alcohol consumption per head of population momentarily rise to an all-time peak..... each national individual consuming 34.4 gallons of beer'.⁵⁷ The Rev J.W. Horsley was chaplain at Clerkenwell Prison from 1876-1886 and noted the part played by drink in the life of petty criminals having obtained statistics from the Marylebone police court:⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Griffin, *Libertys Dawn*; Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*; Tobias, *Nineteenth Century Crime*; Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*; Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*

⁵⁶ Philips, *Crime and Authority*, p. 34

⁵⁷ Best, 'Mid-Victorian Britain' 1851-1875', p. 240

⁵⁸ Tobias, *Nineteenth-Century Crime*, pp. 13-14

Monday,	59 charges, of which 49 for drunkenness.
Tuesday,	29 charges, of which 20 for drunkenness
Wednesday,	23 charges, of which 22 for drunkenness
Thursday,	9 charges, of which 7 for drunkenness
Friday,	23 charges, of which 15 for drunkenness
Saturday,	11 charges, of which 11 for drunkenness

The Rev Horsley is quoted again in Tobias writing about the 1880s that 'our prison population rises with prosperity and the consequent power and getting drunk'.⁵⁹ Tobias writes that towns and cities increased their population manyfold during the period with populations swelling from Ireland and the surrounding agricultural countryside: 'we can easily accept the contemporary view that many turned to drink and many abandoned the effort to look after their children'.⁶⁰

It must also be noted that the proportion of females who appear in the statistics for the offence of drunkenness was increasing. In Manchester in 1900 the number of offences is not split by gender but in 1880 (9,297 offences) 6,533 were male offenders and 2,764 females or 30 percent. In 1890 (6,102 offences) 4,016 were men and 2,086 women, an increase of 34 percent. Phillips has pointed out that 'some contemporaries claim to discern, with horror, the emergence in the large towns of a breed of aggressive, violent, drunken, lawless women'.⁶¹ Wilson notes that 'drink was an obvious narcotic to numb the hell of Wapping life'.⁶² The subject of drink and inebriation is also discussed by Briggs in his study of Middlesbrough. He notes the work

⁵⁹ Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, pp. 151-152

⁶⁰ Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, p. 166

⁶¹ Phillips, *Crime and Authority*, p. 149

⁶² Wilson, *The Victorians*, p. 365

of the wife of a Middlesbrough industrialist who notes that 'the public house was the main social institution and drunkenness was its most common offence'.⁶³ Manchester was no different. Manchester had 3,031 licensed victuallers and beer house keepers in 1892. This equated to one for every 167 inhabitants. It is not a surprise that Manchester was the home to the UK Alliance, a body of temperance reformers campaigning for the prohibition of the sale of alcohol.⁶⁴ Penalties for the offence of drunkenness were in the main financial. It must have only been for the severest offence, where there was evidence of repeated drunkenness, that custodial sentences would be inflicted. In 1880, of the 9,297 people proceeded against in Manchester 996 were discharged. Of the 8,301 convicted 8,156 received a financial penalty and 145 were imprisoned. Even so they were only locked up for one month or less (1.7 percent). The circumstances were very similar in 1890 and 1900. In 1900 6.5 percent of the 5,130 convicted received a custodial sentence.

Drunkenness was a very common offence in Manchester and Salford between 1880 and 1900. The statistics above indicate that this offence consumed between 30 percent and 40 percent of the activities of the two police forces. If one is attempting to use the statistics that were published by the Watch Committees of the two areas to answer the question 'what were the police set up to do?' - the answer must lie, in large part, in policing the towns of male and female drunks and inebriates. After the 'Bannister affair' the relationship between the police and the drink trade changed. The *Manchester Guardian* in 1899 reported on a meeting of the MCWC under the heading 'Manchester Brewers and the Police'. A deputation of local brewers had asked to be allowed to visit the Watch Committee. On that occasion the brewers said 'that they wished to assure the Committee.... that they fully recognised the desirable change that had come over the state of public affairs, and not only wished to be associated with

⁶³ Briggs, *'Victorian Cities'*, p. 267

⁶⁴ Kidd, *Manchester*. pp.131 – 132

that change, but also to carry out the reasonable desires and wishes of the Watch Committee'.⁶⁵

3.9.7 Offences against Poor Law Acts

Police authorities were concerned with maintaining order and policemen were also heavily involved in policing the Poor Law Acts. Many Poor Law unions including Manchester and Salford cut back their proportion of paupers on outdoor relief to less than 30 percent of their total paupers relieved.⁶⁶ The intention to reduce outdoor relief was successful and none more so than in Manchester in the latter two decades of the nineteenth century. The Manchester Board of Guardians introduced the 'Manchester Rules' which were especially strict in relation to reducing out-relief.⁶⁷ Even so workhouse practices were interpreted differently. Lees quotes the workhouse authorities in Salford which required discipline from its inmates but 'retreated from that of disgrace and minimum standards'.⁶⁸ The facilities of the Poor Law Union in Salford were tested as never before or after as a result of the cotton famine which resulted from the American Civil War. As noted in s.2.3 in January 1862 only 131 of the 218 companies in Salford were on full time and of the 29 cotton mills, 11 were on full time, 15 on part time and 3 had ceased work entirely.⁶⁹

The police were involved in bringing charges against persons who committed offences against Poor Law Acts. In 1880, 1890 and 1900 the same three categories of offences appear in the Chief Constables report under the heading 'Offences Determined Summarily before Justices'.

⁶⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, 24 November 1899, p.10

⁶⁶ Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 265

⁶⁷ Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester', p. 54

⁶⁸ Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*, p.262

⁶⁹ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, his Table 4, p. 155

The three offences were 'neglecting to maintain family', 'misbehaviour by paupers', and 'stealing or destroying workhouse clothing'. Of these, that of 'neglecting to maintain family' caused the authorities, to intervene most often. In Manchester in 1880, 327 people were proceeded against 15 of whom were females. Of these 327, 25 percent were discharged with 242 convicted. 111 of these who were convicted received a sentence described as 'other'— they did not receive a custodial or financial penalty. The remainder were imprisoned for between 14 days and six months. In 1890, 306 people were proceeded against with 279 being convicted. 183 received a penalty under the 'other' category and 81 were imprisoned for less than one month. In 1900, 140 people were charged of which one third were discharged. 73 received a short prison sentence. The circumstances in Salford could not have been more different. Whereas Manchester, in 1880, proceeded against 327 people, the corresponding statistics for Salford was 26. In 1900 the Manchester figure had dropped to 140 but the Salford statistic equated to five persons proceeded against. Whilst the numbers of offences of 'neglecting to maintain family' are low in relation to other summary offences, the numbers associated with Salford are a small fraction of those associated with Manchester. This could only indicate that either the population of Salford were sufficiently prosperous not to require relief, that Salford Guardians had a better grip on the requirements of the Poor Laws than Manchester, or that the Watch Committee of the borough of Salford did not regard this offence as one that they wanted their police force to be involved.

3.9.8 Vagrancy

The Poor Laws created a residualist system.⁷⁰ They made no attempt to alleviate poverty but stepped in as a system of last resort to prevent the worst that poverty could inflict. The intended recipients of a small fund of resources were orphaned children and the elderly who had no means of providing for themselves in times of

⁷⁰ Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*, pp.14 – 16

distress. The unemployed could find themselves the recipient of Poor Law funds but the intention of the legislators of the Poor Laws was that when there was no work to be had the parish would set work for those that were unemployed. Outside of times of distress those who found themselves out of work were regarded as idle and workshy for whom relief was not available. Able-bodied men and women needed to look after themselves.

Such was the attraction of industrial centres and the availability of paid work that those 'on the tramp' headed there in search of employment. The explosive growth in towns which attracted those without work from not only neighbouring agricultural counties but from Scotland, Wales and Ireland has already been discussed. There were factors which exacerbated the problem, noteworthy of which were the 'cotton famine' of the 1860s and the major economic downturn of the 1880s. 'To many Victorians the "vagrant" was the most glaring affront to the trinity of work, respectability and religion. He was the epitome of self-indulgence, lacking in both industrious habits and independence'.⁷¹ Settled communities found vagrants to be at best disconcerting. They were inherently suspicious of those they assumed would be a drain on their communal resources and fearful of potential danger. The Victorian period valued respectability. Jones writes that the North West was one of several areas that particularly attracted tramps and vagrants.⁷² Those 'on the tramp' were likely to be attracted to areas offering potential work. In Manchester, in 1890, nearly 2,000 people were proceeded against under the Vagrancy Act and there are eight categories under which those involved were charged:

⁷¹ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 178

⁷² Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 181

- prostitutes drunk, and drunk and disorderly
- prostitutes accosting wayfarers
- begging
- having no visible means of subsistence et cetera
- having implements for Housebreaking etc.
- found in enclosed premises for unlawful purposes
- frequenting places of public resort, etc. to commit felony
- other offences under the Vagrancy Act 1824.

With the exception of ‘other’ which defies description the categories under which offences under the Vagrancy Act are reported were prostitution and begging which will be discussed in the next two sections.

3.10 Prostitution

Walkowitz writes that the term ‘common prostitute’ is understood to mean a job which involved the sale of sex for money. In the Victorian era policing authorities expended a considerable amount of resources dealing with this issue but prostitution was a vague legal concept and one in which the formal control by the police was limited. Policing authorities could do little to deal with prostitution itself but were more concerned to keep it out of the common gaze.⁷³ During the latter two decades of the nineteenth century there was considerable pressure exerted on the Chief Constable of Manchester by moral and religious pressure groups. The Watch Committee had to respond. In Chapter 2, which discussed the annual reports of the Chief Constables, we identified actions taken by the Manchester police in this area – up to and including amending the definition of a brothel so that in succeeding years there were fewer and fewer houses of ill-repute appearing in the statistics. It should

⁷³ J.R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution in Victorian Society, Women Class and the State*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

also be noted that whilst considerable pressure was exerted on the Manchester Chief Constable, the minutes of the SWC and the statistics published by the Salford Chief Constable indicate that this subject received considerably less attention in the smaller of the two boroughs.

There could be several interpretations of this seeming lack of interest placed in the subject in Salford. One reason could simply be that the subject did not rise to prominence in the council forums. It could be that the nightspots for the two areas were common. The area known as Deansgate in Manchester, which had a most unsavoury reputation, was merely yards away from the boundary between the two centres. If this is so, then Salford could have unconsciously exported their problem into Manchester. Inspector Jerome Caminada writes that 'the neighbourhood of Deansgate also was the rendezvous of thieves and was a hotbed of social iniquity and vice. The women of the locality were of the most degraded class, and their chief victims were drunken men, collier lads and country 'flats', who they picked up and rifled with impunity.'⁷⁴ Heffer writes about overcrowding and unhygienic living conditions in which vice proliferated. He indicates that the factory system itself put young girls into a position in which they became targets for mill owners. These young girls had no choice but to succumb as the alternative was dismissal: 'most of the towns whores had started there'. In Manchester, 'three quarters aged between 14 and 20 employed in factories were unchaste'.⁷⁵ Wilson writes about late Victorian London where 'the pubs of the parish doubled as brothels for the sailors..... who crowded the cobbled streets and there were frequent fights.... about the girls with whom they were keeping company'.⁷⁶ There was more than a whiff of hypocrisy involved. The attitudes of mill owners themselves, who pontificated on the subject, were partly the cause of the degeneration of women into the vice trade. He quoted the 'righteous employers' in

⁷⁴ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, vol. 1. p. 16

⁷⁵ Simon Heffer, *High Minds: the Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain*, (London: Windmill, 2013) p. 86

⁷⁶ Wilson, *The Victorians*, p. 365

the mills of Macclesfield, near Manchester, who would dismiss mill hands for one false step. He contrasts this with Manchester mill owners who had a much more liberal attitude.

The statistics published by the Manchester Chief Constable as outlined in Table 31 indicate that in 1880, 1,881 females were proceeded against of which 168 (9 percent) were discharged. In 1890 the numbers proceeded against declined to 1,001 (880, or 53 percent less). Of these 195 were discharged. By 1900 the numbers had increased slightly from 1,001 to 1,131. In 1880 of the 1,713 convictions 1,369 (80 percent) received a financial penalty with 287 (17 percent) of those convicted and sent to jail for between 14 days and one month. The statistics in percentage terms are similar for 1890 and 1900. Whilst the number of convictions were approximately 50 percent less than in 1880, c.85 percent received a financial penalty and c.10 percent were locked up for between 14 days and one month. Whereas in 1880, 1,881 persons were proceeded against in Manchester, and only 45 cases appeared before the Salford courts. In 1890 the comparative figures were Manchester 1,001, Salford 50. And in 1900 Manchester proceeded against 1,131 prostitutes but there were only 84 in Salford.

A reading of the *Manchester Guardian* and MCWM minutes of the period 1880 to 1900 reveal many memorials on the subject of vice, be it prostitution or drink. An example of the representations from moral pressure groups was entered into the minutes of the MCWC dated 29 November 1888. Previously, 29 October the Manchester Brewers (Central Association) and the Licensed Victuallers Association of Manchester and Salford had appeared before the Watch Committee, and on the 29 November it was the turn of the Church of England Temperance Society, Manchester Diocesan Branch. The Temperance Society was informed that the Watch Committee 'fully recognised the fact that the work of the memorialists for the public good is seriously hindered, minimised and thwarted by the harmful vice of intemperance among the people'. The

minutes record that the Watch Committee referred the matter to the Justices of the Peace and also sent a copy of their reply to the papers. On 13 December the Church of England Temperance Society wrote in reply to the Watch Committee and stated that 'the executive rejoices to receive the encouraging words of sympathy and approval'. Prostitution was a subject much discussed by those who wish to ameliorate the condition in which many women found themselves. The *Manchester Guardian* reported on the annual meeting of the Manchester and Salford Asylum for Female Penitents at a meeting which was attended by the Bishop of Manchester presiding, and with the treasurer, Mr. John Rylands. The report of the committee praised 'the quiet and unostentatious work of benevolence whereby it endeavoured to raise the fallen and prepare them for a better life'.⁷⁷ Such a prominent report in the major local newspaper and under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Manchester would have had great influence locally, particularly with Watch Committee members. A further example of this type of memorial addressed to the Manchester Watch Committee is entered into the minutes dated 19 August 1893. Under the heading 'Illegal Beer and Wine Cellars'. The Manchester and Salford and District Temperance Union had written to draw attention to the 'illegality of the various notorious cellars and dives in the City' for the sale of beer and wine for consumption on the premises. The memorial was signed by the President Mr. W.B.A Axon, the Hon Secretary, Mr. Edward Field, T.P. Adfin, Financial Hon Secretary, and E. Dawa-King. The address given was 21 Cross St Manchester.

There is an absence of similar memorials appearing in the pages of the Salford Committee minutes.

⁷⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 22 June 1881, p. 3

Table 31: Prostitution and Drunkenness as a percentage of Summary offences in Manchester and Salford

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Drunkenness	9,297	2,480	6,102	3,006	6,033	2,684
Prostitution	1,881	45	1,001	50	1,131	84
Total Summary Offences	23,232	6,620	21,890	6,362	20,268	6,207
Drunkenness as %	40%	37%	28%	47%	30%	43%
Drunkenness and Prostitution as %	48%	38%	32%	48%	35%	44%

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Manchester Chief Constables Annual Report, Salford Chief Constables Annual report.

It can be seen that the two offences of drunkenness and prostitution occupied the time of the two borough police forces to a great extent over the period under analysis. There were times, for instance Manchester in 1880 and Salford in 1890 where 50 percent of their police time was taken up with these two offences. In the latter two decades 1890 and 1900 Manchester had made considerable inroads – but only to the extent that they had reduced the problem from nearly 50 percent to in excess of 33 percent. These two offences, prostitution and drunkenness, was a scourge in the two boroughs. Manchester seemed to want to do more about it.

The appearance of women in the data relating to crime has been a regular feature of the historiography particularly in Manchester and Salford. Each historian indicates that nineteenth century criminal statistics have to be treated with care. Even modern, current data needs interpreting with circumspection. Nothing has subsequently changed to make the reporting of criminal statistics any less suspect as is noted in

Gray, Bardsley, Birchall, Evans and Jamieson, Heidensohn, Silvestri, Marissa and Crowther-Dowey, Silvestri, Walklate, and Zedner.⁷⁸

Carlen and Griffen conclude that women's crime is as a result of straitened circumstances and poverty. Even when in employment, 'to make matters worse the income that women could earn from all this effort was meagre'.⁷⁹ This is countered in Archer, who argues that prostitution and female drunkenness were rife in Liverpool and the same names appeared before magistrates regularly.⁸⁰ Coleman and Moynihan introduce the concept of 'the dark figure as a woman',⁸¹ which complements Feeley and Little who argue that the role of women in crime has been declining consistently prior to the late Victorian period.⁸² Studies in criminology reveal that crime is historically seen as a male preserve and the role of women has been seen as peripheral.⁸³ Zedner quotes the rate of summary convictions between 1857 and 1892 and concludes that female crime made up a consistent 17 percent of summary offences.⁸⁴ Turner confirms this in her study of Stafford 1880-1905. She notes that women only ever made up between one fifth to one third of prosecutions and thirty percent of female prosecutions were for drink related offences.⁸⁵

Local criminal statistics can be used to identify the involvement of women in crime in Manchester and Salford in the late nineteenth century. The Annual Reports of the

⁷⁸ Gray, *Crime, Police and Punishment in England*; B. Bardsley, *Flowers in Hell*; Birchall, 'The Carnival Revels of Manchester's Vagabonds'; Evans and Jamieson, *Gender and Crime*; Heidensohn, *Women and Crime*; Silvestri and Crowther-Dowey, *Gender and Crime*; Walklate, *Gender and Crime*, and *Gender, Crime and Criminal Justice*; L.Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*

⁷⁹ Carlen, *Women, Crime and Poverty*, p. 137; E. Griffin, *Liberty's Dawn*, p. 104

⁸⁰ Archer, *The Monster Evil*, pp. 116-117

⁸¹ Coleman and Moynihan, *Understanding Crime Data*, p. 11

⁸² Feeley and Little, 'The Vanishing Female', pp. 719-758

⁸³ Evans and Jamieson, *Gender and Crime*, p. 1

⁸⁴ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, p. 34

⁸⁵ J. Turner, 'Summary Justice for Women: Stafford Borough, 1880 – 1905', *Crime, History and Societies*, Vol.16, no 2 (2012), pp. 55-77, s. 10

Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford published by the respective Watch Committees have been used to make a comparison both between the three decennial points and between the two towns.⁸⁶ It has been possible to access the data for the two earlier years in which the gender split is available for both areas. This has not been possible for the latter period when the information was not published. In 1900 data published for 'indictable crime' has been made available with those apprehended split between male and female, however for those offences proceeded against summarily the gender split is not available for either Manchester or Salford. That both towns report in this way indicates that a government agency such as HMIC has indicated that this split is unnecessary. It has been commented upon before in this thesis that the number of indictable offences reported in Manchester and Salford in the late nineteenth century is surprisingly low and an example of this is that in Manchester in 1880 there were only seven recorded instances of manslaughter. For these seven instances three females were apprehended. In 1890 the statistics indicate that five crimes of this type were recorded with one female caught. In 1900 figures were six crimes and two females apprehended respectively. In Salford in 1900 there were four instances of manslaughter but those apprehended included three women. The *Manchester Guardian*, reported in 1893, the alleged manslaughter of a child by her mother in Ancoats. The mother was a rag picker earning very little wages and had to pay for child care. The child became ill and the mother could not afford to obtain medical attention. The child died. The judge commented on the woman's desperately poor circumstances. The prosecuting counsel and the judge decided not to press the case further. The accused was a woman, the circumstances were such that poverty and neglect combined to cause the death of a child. It would have been unlikely that a male defendant would have been treated so leniently.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Annual Reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford. 1880. 1890 and 1900.

⁸⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 15 July 1893, p. 9; Barry Godfrey, Stephen Farrall and Susanne Karstedt, 'Explaining Gendered Sentencing Patterns for Violent Men and

In the class of offence – wounding – there were 36 reported crimes for both towns over the three years. Five females were apprehended. For the ‘indictable’ offence of ‘burglary and housebreaking’ in Salford the number recorded were, per capita, remarkably few. The phenomenon of underreporting has been discussed in the Aims and Introduction to this thesis. Alongside are the reportedly low clear up rates. In Salford in 1880, 51 crimes in this category were reported to the police and of the 11 people apprehended 36 percent were women. In 1890 the same proportion of women equalled 27 percent. In Manchester, there were proportionately more reports although still low for the number of residents. In 1880, there were 243 crimes recorded with 33 apprehensions, only nine of which were female. In 1890 and 1900 fewer burglaries were reported but only two females were caught - one in each year.

It is apparent that there are indictable crimes that females did not commit. Women do not appear in the statistics for ‘breaking into shops’. 741 instances are recorded for both towns over the three periods. Only 13 females were apprehended – none in Salford. 90 ‘embezzlement’ offences overall are recorded with only two women appearing in the data. However, in excess of 50 percent of those apprehended in Manchester and Salford in 1880, 1890 and 1900 for ‘larceny from the person’ were women. Jones has concluded from a study in Merthyr Tydfil that this class of offence was commonly committed by prostitutes stealing from their clients.⁸⁸ Women are major players in the category of ‘simple larceny’- theft. It is evident from the data collected by the Chief Constables of the two towns and published by the respective Watch Committees that women have a very substantial place in those apprehended for serious crime which involves stealing. However, Heidersohn notes that women

Women in the late Victorian and Edwardian Period’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 45, (2005) pp. 696-720, p.699

⁸⁸ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, pp. 107 - 108

overall commit crimes which are not as serious as those committed by men and have a low participation in criminality.⁸⁹

As has been pointed out earlier the role of the police in late nineteenth-century Manchester and Salford was heavily biased towards regulating the activities of those committing offences against public order or nuisance, these were crimes tried 'summarily'. As such the numbers of offences are considerably greater than those recorded for indictable crimes. It is also noted earlier that the breakdown of offences into males and females was not required in 1900 in published material. However, in 1880, 17 percent of those proceeded against for 'assaulting constables' in Salford were women, in 1890 the same figure was 14 percent. In Manchester, the corresponding figures were 18 percent and 15 percent. For 'common assault' in 1880 in Salford, 38 percent of those apprehended were women and in 1890, 41 percent. In Manchester in 1880, 45 percent were women and in 1890, 40 percent of those proceeded against were female. Anecdotal evidence has pointed out that assaults committed by women were often drink-related, for example, brawls between women outside pubs, or assaults committed by prostitutes resisting arrest for seeking to defend their patch from rival trade.⁹⁰

The same proportion of women occur for the offence of 'drunkenness' and 'offences against local acts' over the two towns and for the two time periods. The offence of drunkenness was considered to be one of particular downfall. 'Victorian writers on female crime frequently abandoned objective assessment in favour of emotional outbursts and moral censure'.⁹¹ Not surprisingly offences for prostitution are overwhelmingly female. Birchall describes 'monkey parades' in Oldham St in the centre of Manchester in the late Victorian period and one can see just how easy it would have

⁸⁹ F. Heidensohn, *Women and Crime*, p.2

⁹⁰ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, p. 34

⁹¹ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, p. 28

been for a local girl to get herself into 'trouble' with the potential to lose her position and have to turn to prostitution to keep herself. 'Under immediate scrutiny was the sexual morality of young female working class paraders, with their behaviour in this very public arena was seen as highly inappropriate and shocking'.⁹²

For the offence of 'begging' in Manchester and Salford women consistently account for between one quarter and one third of those proceeded against. The policy of the police in Manchester appears to have been less lenient than Salford as evidenced by the numbers apprehended. In Manchester in 1880, 814 were apprehended (Salford, 73); in 1890, Manchester, 541 (Salford, 31); and in 1900 Manchester 376 (Salford, 59). However, for both towns and for both periods the percentage of women beggars equated to c.20 percent.

Data relating to crime collated for the periods 1880, 1890 and 1900 in Manchester and Salford seem to be at odds with the conclusion which appears in the historiography that women were involved little in offences dealt with summarily. It is evident from the statistics published for Manchester and Salford in 1880, 1890 and 1900, that women were, consistently, a very significant proportion of those apprehended and proceeded against. There are offences under which women have no presence (aggravated assault, offences against Poor Law Acts) just as in the same way there are offences where men have no involvement (prostitution) but it is not easy to conclude that women were vanishing from the criminal statistics in late Victorian Manchester and Salford. What can be confirmed from the historiography is that women had a significant presence in crime that involved theft, and as Bardsley has pointed out, 'most crime committed by women is of an intensely practical, logical nature, carried out 90 percent of the time because they cannot find an alternative way of making enough money.'⁹³

⁹² Birchall, 'The Carnival Revels of Manchester's Vagabonds', p.230

⁹³ Bardsley, *Flowers in Hell*, p.6

Female offenders are discussed by other contributors in the historiography of crime and includes Godfrey, Williams and Lawrence⁹⁴ and Godfrey and Lawrence who emphasise that in Victorian legal circles female crime was perceived as being more to do with feminine perversion and that although there was real stigma attaching to females who entered the realm of the courts, they were usually treated with greater leniency than their male counterparts.⁹⁵

Police, prison and court data show that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Stafford magistrates overwhelmingly imposed small fines or short prison sentences on women coming before them. The offending trajectories of the repeat female offenders in Stafford show that for most of them such punishments either had little or no deterrent effect. ⁹⁶ Godfrey and Lawrence also note that in the workplace women could escape reporting to the police if they offered sexual services instead⁹⁷ and Emsley notes that police constables made the assumption that any female out at night, and alone, was engaged in prostitution.⁹⁸

Women were not only the perpetrators of crimes as detailed above. They were also the victims of crime – particularly crimes of a sexual nature. Much of this type of crime, male sexual crime against women – went entirely unrecorded. D’Cruze notes the absence of this type of violence in court records: ‘I have no cases of sexual violence brought by Irish women, despite their presence as a significant minority in the urban population of Lancashire and Cheshire’.⁹⁹ Manchester and Salford had very considerable concentrations of Lancashire’s and Cheshire’s urban Irish. Sexual

⁹⁴ Godfrey, Williams and Lawrence, *History and Crime*

⁹⁵ Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*, pp. 142-144

⁹⁶ J. Turner, ‘Punishing Women, 1880–1905’, *The Howard Journal*, Vol 50, no 5 (2011), pp. 505–515

⁹⁷ Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice*, p.157

⁹⁸ Emsley, *The Great British Bobby*, p. 132-133, Emsley, *Crime and Society*, pp. 92-96

⁹⁹ D’Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage*, p. 2

violence, particularly that located in the domestic context, was not perceived as a matter for the public courts. Communities would have developed their own system of redress.

By the late nineteenth-century Manchester and Salford, in common with other densely population areas, were experiencing a significant amount of low level crime from gangs of young men whose modus operandi appeared to be to seek confrontation with locally based like-minded gangs. In common with these male dominated gangs would be young women who wanted to be more than just the girlfriends of these violent young men but also to indulge in violence and cruelty themselves. The subject of these male-dominated gangs and the young women who wanted to be seen as an integral part of these activities will be discussed in chapter 3.11.

3.10.1 Begging

Begging is defined as 'soliciting for money, food etc., especially in the street.' The dictionary defines a beggar as 'one who has no money and resources: pauper and who lives by begging'.¹⁰⁰ Tobias quotes Fielding: 'there is not a street in [Westminster] that doth not swarm with beggars'.¹⁰¹ Many criminals began their long road to criminality by starting out as juveniles begging in the streets and progressing to more serious crime as they grew older and 'the same division obtained amongst the girls as the boys'.¹⁰² Tobias also notes the case of the beggar Ellen Reece, a 24-year-old prisoner in Salford Gaol, who having become known in her Manchester locality moved to Liverpool, until the Manchester police had forgotten her'.¹⁰³ The problem for the authorities with beggars was that vagrants, tramps and beggars were also habitual

¹⁰⁰ *Collins English Dictionary*, (London: William Collins, 1979; repr.1981)

¹⁰¹ Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, p. 23

¹⁰² Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, p. 67

¹⁰³ Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, pp. 69-70

thieves and Tobias quotes a Poor Law inspector who estimated that two thirds to 95 percent were in this category.¹⁰⁴ Jones writes that offences in the area of begging were governed by the Vagrancy Act of 1824, the terms of which were widened as the nineteenth century progressed; 'the rate of such committals under the Vagrancy Act owed much to police and Poor Law committees. Thus, an increasing number of authorities in the Northern Counties instructed their police to keep roads clear of all vagrants'.¹⁰⁵ Prosecutions for begging reached high levels when the economic conditions were unfavourable, which held especially for the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s in particular. Prosecutions also reached high levels as the police and Poor Law authorities became more active. The authorities went to great lengths to hide begging from their ratepayers and the ratepayers were in no hurry to acknowledge the problem

Hidden from the view of the higher ranks by piles of stores, mills, warehouses, and manufacturing establishments, less known to the wealthy neighbours - who resided chiefly in the open spaces of Cheetham, and Broughton and Chorlton (in Manchester and Salford) – than the inhabitants of New Zealand or Kamtschatka. Ardwick [in Manchester] knows less about Ancoats [Manchester] than it does about China.¹⁰⁶

Jerome Caminada writes about the begging on the streets, and whilst he acknowledges the great poverty in late Victorian England he also warns of those who were professional beggars and who manufactured circumstances to prey on the charity of their fellow Mancunians. There were times when work was scarce and when even those who were 'respectable' but who lived very close to the economic line could turn to lives of criminality out of desperation. There were also those who are described by Caminada as 'sailors' or 'colliers', none of whom

¹⁰⁴ Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, p. 73

¹⁰⁵ Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*, p. 199

¹⁰⁶ EP Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, pp. 355-356.

had seen a ship or a mine. He describes how the Chief Constable instructed him to stop begging, who he calls 'street cadgers'. He quotes the example of 'Soldier Mary Ann' who with a child in her arms accosted strangers as they left a theatre or restaurant. She would ask for alms and would not allow her mark to pass by without them providing a contribution. Mary Ann would hire a young boy from his family and have him impersonate a baby. Caminada described how when Mary Ann was approached by the police she immediately dropped the boy and ran. She then departed the city for another to continue her profession. She returned when she and her practices had been forgotten and started again.¹⁰⁷

Begging was a lucrative profession in the large cities of late Victorian Britain. In Manchester in 1880, 814 persons were proceeded against as a result of their 'begging' activities. 650 males and 164 women were involved. Of these 575 were convicted and 239 were discharged. The majority of those convicted received a short custodial sentence of 14 days or less. 104 were jailed for less than one month and 33 received a financial penalty. 12 were sent to an industrial school and one to a reformatory. In 1890, 541 people were proceeded against, 91 of which were women. 138 were discharged and by far the greater sanction was a short sharp 14 day prison sentence. By 1900 the numbers proceeded against had declined to 376 with 236 convicted. The predominant sanction was that of a short prison sentence, 208 of whom received a sentence under one month. 11 people were jailed for three months, three were referred to an industrial school and three were fined.

Those persons proceeded against in Salford for the offence of 'begging' were considerably fewer than those in Manchester. In 1880, there were 73 offences, 22 percent of whom were female. Of these 73, 32 were discharged. In 1890 there were 31 offences recorded and in 1900, 59. In each year a considerable proportion of those that the police took before the courts were discharged. Both in Manchester and

¹⁰⁷ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol. 1 pp. 166 – 170

Salford the courts imposed a short jail sentence of between 14 days and one month. In Manchester in 1880, 33 cases received a financial penalty. How those convicted of the offence of 'begging' could pay a financial penalty is moot.

Table 32: Begging: Manchester and Salford 1880 - 1900

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Offences	814	73	541	31	376	59
-Male	650	57	450	24	-	-
-Female	164	16	91	7	-	-
Convicted	575	41	403	24	236	50
Discharged	239	32	138	7	140	9
1 mth-14 days	104	10	132	5	94	7
14 days<	411	30	234	18	114	41

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Annual Reports of the Manchester and Salford Chief Constables

3.10.2 Offences against local acts and bye laws

Offences against local acts and bye laws were, in terms of number, a very significant element of the work done by policemen in the Manchester police force. Offences against local acts and bye laws are a very nonspecific title and requires some definition. Mention is made of 'Local Police Acts' and appear in the *Constable's Guide* (1882) and given to each member of the Manchester police force.¹⁰⁸ The definitions appear under the section 'Extracts from General Orders', listing 'certain offences against local acts', viz:

¹⁰⁸ *Constables Guide* (Manchester: Manchester Constabulary Force, 1882), p,22

- Moving wheelbarrows and coal wagons
- Sliding
- Throwing orange peel
- Bowling hoops
- Playing whiptop on the footpaths
- Playing Shinty and Peggy
- Flying kites
- Throwing missiles in the Street
- Breaking streetlamps
- Damaging pillar letterboxes

The *Constable's Guide* proceeds to tell policemen that if any complaints about the above are received from a member of the public about a member of the force that it would be regarded by the Chief Constable as 'neglect of duty on the part of the Officers and Constables on duty... and will be treated accordingly.' Page 24 of the *Constable's Guide* also contains a paragraph under the heading 'Abstract of Offences and Penalties under Local Police Acts' which relate to the committing of Nuisance. The list, arranged alphabetically, covers examples of such nuisances:

- Baiting, bear, badger or any of that animals in the streets
- Bonfires, making in Street
- Carpet, Mat, Class, rugs etc. – shaking, beating etc. in streets between 8 PM and 8 AM
- Night soil, emptying or removing without a licence from the Council.

Table 33 provides details of these offences and how dealt with. In Manchester in 1880, 2,485 people were proceeded against for offences against local acts and bye laws. 20 percent of those, 573, were females. 2,042 were convicted and 443 were discharged.

95 percent of those convicted were either fined or discharged having given some sort of surety. Offences in this category increased in both 1890 and 1900 at a time when the statistics for criminality was on a downward trend. In 1890, 4,253 people were proceeded against, of which 810 were women. 579 of the people proceeded against were discharged and of those convicted the overwhelming majority (97 percent) received a financial penalty. In 1900, the number of persons proceeded against had increased to 4,898, and 494 were discharged. Of those convicted 100 percent received a financial penalty. The experience in Salford mirrored that of Manchester.

Table 33: Offences against Local Acts: Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Offences	2,485	1,302	4,253	1,312	4,898	1,551
Convicted	2,042	1,150	3,674	1,091	4,404	1,384
Discharged	443	152	579	221	494	167
Fined/surety	1,948	1,117	3,573	983	4,404	1,377

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Annual Reports of the Manchester and Salford Chief Constables.

3.11 Criminality and Gang Culture in late Victorian Manchester and Salford

Gang culture was a scourge that did not appear in the crime statistics. It is a feature of the historiography of crime that the subject of organised gangs of youths was regarded as a new phenomenon in the late nineteenth century. Regular reports in the newspapers of the time highlighted their activities and individual gang members were often brought before the courts. Duffy and Gillig ask 'is gang formation a legitimate and understandable response to poverty, marginalisation and oppression?'.¹⁰⁹ If yes, then gangs and gang membership would not have been a new phenomenon in the late Victorian period because poverty, marginalisation and oppression had always been a

¹⁰⁹ Duffy and Gillig, *Teen Gangs: a Global View*, preface, p. x

feature of life. What was perhaps new was the massive growth in industry, the insecurity of employment and its concomitant unemployment coupled with the engine of publicity provided by contemporary publications.

Whilst these newspapers provide much comment it is difficult to determine quite what was meant by the term 'gangs'. A definition of the type of gang association that is referred to in this thesis is suggested by Morash:

Members recurrently congregate outside their homes and primarily with each other; they see themselves as having rights to a 'territory' in proximity to their homes and this meeting place; they are structured partly according to age, have a well-defined leadership, and they engage in a wide variety of activities together'.¹¹⁰

Miller, Deuchar, Maguire, Goldson, and Brotherton, provide a fuller discussion of this subject.¹¹¹ Deuchar notes that 'gangs were mainly men but females were involved, albeit on the fringes, and often used to deflect the police. Girls were important for the gangs without playing a predominant role'.¹¹² Alexander Devine, who pioneered the Lads' Club movement in Manchester and Salford in the late Victorian period points out that gangs in the two towns, known as 'scuttlers', 'were drawn overwhelmingly from the 14 to 19 age group'.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Morash, 'Gangs, Groups and Delinquency', pp. 309-335

¹¹¹ Miller, *One of the Guys*; Deuchar, *Gangs, Marginalised Youth*; Maguire, *Street Crime*; Goldson, *Youth in Crisis?*, D. Brotherton, *Youth Street Gangs*

¹¹² Deuchar, *Gangs, Marginalised Youth*, p. 64

¹¹³ Davies, 'Youth Gangs', pp. 349 – 369, p.349

The subject of youth crime and gangs in the late nineteenth century is detailed in Gray, Humphries,¹¹⁴ and gender violence between 1850 – 1950 in D’Cruze,¹¹⁵ whilst the subject relating specifically to the problem of gangs, hooligans and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford is dealt with by Davies,¹¹⁶ and Gooderson.¹¹⁷ Neighbouring Liverpool, had its own gang, the High Rip gang which is discussed in Archer.¹¹⁸

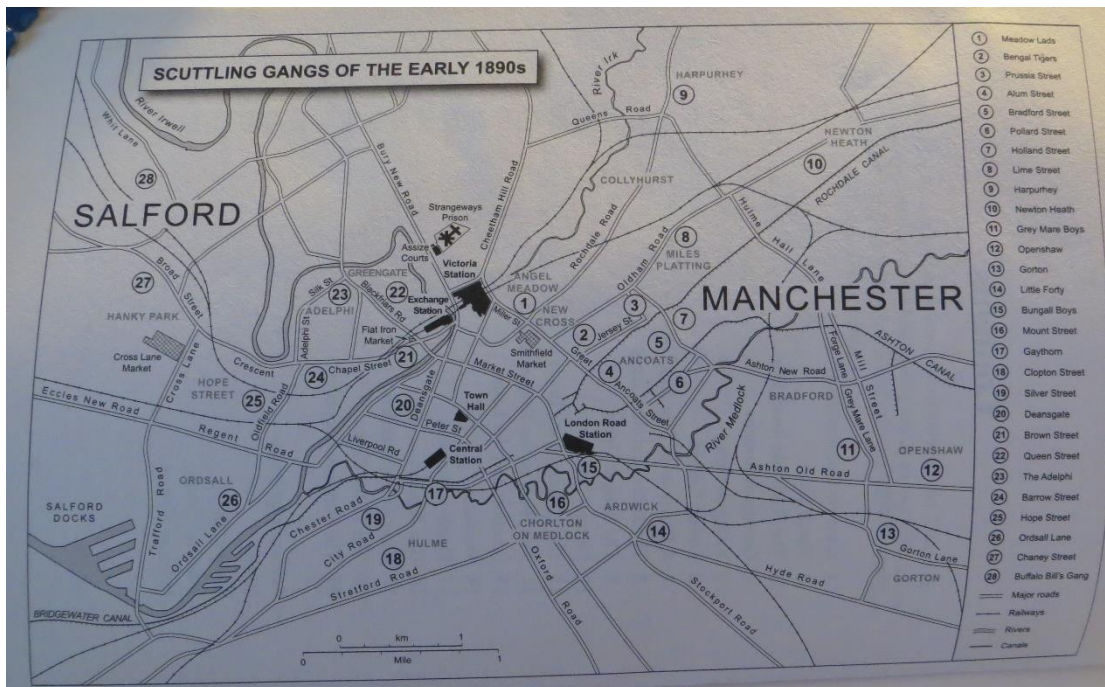


Figure 2: The location and names of Scuttling gangs in Manchester and Salford¹¹⁹

Humphries quotes from the *London Echo* of February 1898:

¹¹⁴ Gray, *Crime, Police and Punishment in England*, pp.37-41; S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*

¹¹⁵ D' Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage*; S.D' Cruze and Louise A. Jackson, *Women, Crime and justice in England since 1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

¹¹⁶ Davies, 'These Viragoes'; Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester*

¹¹⁷ P. Gooderson, 'Terror on the Streets',

¹¹⁸ J. Archer, *The Monster Evil*, pp. 104-111

¹¹⁹ Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester*, p. 9

no one can have read the London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds papers and not know that the young street ruffian and prowler with his heavy belt, treacherous knife and dangerous pistol is amongst us. Not one tenth of the doings of these young rascals gets into the press, not one half is known to the police.¹²⁰

Every large town had its 'gang' problem with its recreational violence and it would only take a moment to comprehend that these towns encompassed poverty, high population density, and were either highly industrialised or major port areas. A letter to *The Times* dated 30 May 1884 is entitled 'Underground London'. The letter discusses the fate of the London poor. 'Many localities are the haunts of large gangs of lads and girls who spend half the night in the streets and give much trouble to the police'.¹²¹ An article in the same newspaper under the heading of 'Street Ruffianism' contains the report of 'another death caused by gangs of ruffians known as hooligans'.¹²² The activities of these gangs were wide and varied and could very easily turn from boisterous into something entirely more serious. Even *Punch* made reference to youths involved in such activities: 'experience teaches that a sober citizen traversing the highway unfavourably known as the Kingsland Road, is liable to be tripped up, robbed and thumped senseless by organised gangs of Kingsland roughs'.¹²³

Pearson names 15 different gangs emanating from London plus the 'Grey Mare Boys' from Bradford in Manchester, and the 'High Rip' gang from Liverpool.¹²⁴ Humphries identifies the 'Peaky Blinders' from Birmingham, the 'Black Hand' gang from Bristol,

¹²⁰ Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*, p. 174

¹²¹ *The Times*, 30 May 1884, p. 10

¹²² *The Times*, 13 October 1900, p. 7

¹²³ *Punch*, 18 October 1890, p. 189

¹²⁴ Pearson, *Hooligan: a History of Respectable Fears*, p. 82-83, 98

and the 'Anderson Redskins' (Skins) from Glasgow.¹²⁵ Both historians discuss the prevalence of gangs in Manchester and Salford. The historiography indicates that gang 'warfare' was prevalent in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and whilst the fighting was real and at times vicious there was little indication that they resorted to armed conflict until very late in the century. However, when gangs started to use weapons things became very serious: 'some delinquent gangs possessed a wide range of dangerous weapons, such as spiked knuckledusters, sharpened bicycle chains, knives, razors, coshes and pistols'.¹²⁶

The appearance of girls in crime and criminality has been stated before. Whilst females at times were involved with the gang culture they were on the periphery. As gang members got older females used their influence to get their menfolk to relinquish their membership.¹²⁷ Humphries has interviewed many who had been gang members and has only been made aware of one all-girl gang. The 'Check Skirt Gang' of Paddington indulged in theft from shops in the West End of London. The feature of this gang was that they dressed alike in check skirts and blue coats.¹²⁸ Emsley provides a guide to gender and crime and Andrew Davies discusses the involvement of teenage girls as participants in youth gang violence in Manchester and Salford in the late nineteenth century. Factory work and the leisure time and economic freedom that it provided allowed young unmarried girls a level of independence they had not be able to achieve previously. There were two employment routes for these young girls – factory work and domestic service.¹²⁹ Domestic servants did not appear amongst those charged in relation to street violence. They had little money and even less independence. The historiography provides ample evidence that young women had an involvement in youth gang violence in the late nineteenth century and, although there was

¹²⁵ Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*, p. 174

¹²⁶ Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*, p. 192

¹²⁷ Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*, p. 179

¹²⁸ Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*, p. 186

¹²⁹ Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, Ch.4; Davies, 'These Viragoes', p. 78

undoubtedly a gender sentencing disparity, they were still prevalent in the courts. Local magistrates were unwilling to convict young girls of affray and even when there was ample evidence they would likely to receive more lenient treatment.¹³⁰ Davies has provided court statistics relating to those who faced criminal charges for scuttling offences in Manchester and Salford between 1870 and 1900: 93.7 percent of those appearing were men and 6.3 percent were females.¹³¹ Caminada of the Manchester police indicates in his memoirs that being the girlfriend of a 'scuttler' gave her vicarious prestige. The 'scuttler' would have no compunction about threatening her with his knife and 'strange to say she respects him for it. She would even go so far as to perjure herself in court to provide him with a false alibi'.¹³² Where the boys' involvement was that of a masculine 'tough' or 'rowdy', female involvement was characterized as that of a 'vixen', a 'virago' or an 'amazon',¹³³ that is a far more negative connotation.

The *Manchester Guardian* provided an initial indication of this gang phenomenon in 1873 headed 'The Scuttling Nuisance'.¹³⁴ John Rooney, who was described in the article as a 'diminutive urchin', was charged with scuttling. Police Constable McCormick said that on Wednesday evening he saw the prisoner and about 40 or 50 other lads scuttling in Chester Street. The policeman had cautioned the prisoner on previous occasions for several similar offences. In reply to the presiding magistrate, Inspector Partington said that the scuttling nuisance was increasing in the neighbourhoods of Hulme and Chorlton on Medlock (in Manchester) and an additional force of police had to be kept in the locality in consequence'. This court appearance was reported by the *Manchester Guardian* in March 1873. Scuttling – which is the word which particularly denotes youth gang violence in Manchester and Salford in the

¹³⁰ Coleman, and Moynihan, *Understanding Crime Data*, p. 11

¹³¹ Davies, 'These Viragoes', p. 75

¹³² Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, pp. 404-406

¹³³ Davies, 'These Viragoes', p. 88

¹³⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 28 March 1873, p. 6

late nineteenth century – was already a serious issue to the police considerably earlier than this date as is evidenced by the police inspector's comments.

Scuttling in Manchester and Salford has been dealt with in detail by Andrew Davies, and Gooderson.¹³⁵ In 1885 after a fight amongst Manchester scuttlers that ended with a fatality Mr Justice Willis noted that 'life in parts of Manchester was as unsafe and as uncertain as amongst a race of savages'. The judge went on to say that 'Manchester and two other towns enjoyed an unenviable reputation for crime of this kind'. The two other towns referred to were Liverpool and Salford.¹³⁶

The *Manchester Guardian* attempted to define scuttling:

It is surprising how few people, outside of the police and those residing in neighbourhoods where the outrages occur, know what 'scuttling' was. In the first place the 'scuttler' is not a thief, nor does he aspire to be a highwayman: he does not 'scuttle' for any dishonest purpose. A 'scuttler' is a lad, usually between the ages of 14 and 18, or even 19, and 'scuttling' consists of the fighting of two opposed bands of youths who are armed with various weapons.¹³⁷

Caminada wrote about the scuttling outrage in Manchester where the police received no credit for getting involved from the public but by getting involved the policeman was highly likely to be seriously injured. Caminada leaves the reader in no doubt that he is in considerable fear of the scuttler who went to violent lengths to prove his mettle to his fellows. The threat of or actual imprisonment was of no deterrent – in fact it made him heroic in the eyes of his gang and in many instances, those

¹³⁵ Davies, 'Saturday Night Markets', *Leisure, Gender, and Poverty*, Davies, 'Youth Gangs', Davies, 'These Viragoes', pp. 72-89; Gooderson, 'Terror on the Streets',

¹³⁶ Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester*, p.168

¹³⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 5 September 1890, p. 8

imprisoned will seek out their gang within hours of their release and generate further scuttles as a form of retribution.¹³⁸

On 29 August 1890, the *Manchester Guardian* reported a special meeting of the city justices at the city police court to discuss the scuttling nuisance. It was recommended that corporal punishment should be instigated against juvenile scuttlers and a deputation was elected to visit government representatives.¹³⁹ Only a very short time later the deputation from Manchester and Salford visited the Home Secretary in London. They were requesting additional powers to deal with the 'scuttlers' and the letter in the *Manchester Guardian* was sympathetic with their failure because 'they had to admit that there was no legal definition of the offence in question and that they were unable to frame one'.¹⁴⁰

The *Manchester Guardian* article above dated 1873 indicated that 'scuttling' was well known to the police from much earlier. Davies charts its demise to the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁴¹ The end of scuttling was brought about by a combination of things: by determined action by the police in targeting the leaders of the gangs and bringing them into the courts, by the courts issuing exemplary punishments and by the police themselves who would be quite prepared to issue their own form of instant justice. An article dated 1898 for the *Manchester Guardian* submitted by 'a Wanderer in the Slums' indicates that 'scuttling is dying out – that is to say 'scuttling' as it used to be known, with its somewhat elaborate observances and dress manner and organisation. I would not venture to say that the motives which prompted it fully ceased to exist or are even like to do so'.¹⁴² However, it could have been the

¹³⁸ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*, Vol. 2 pp. 404 – 406

¹³⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, 29 August 1890, p. 7

¹⁴⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, 16 December 1890, p. 9

¹⁴¹ Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester*, p. 289

¹⁴² *Manchester Guardian*, 5 February 1898, p. 7

emergence of several social interventions that were developed at the end of the century had a profound impact. The identification of the lack of opportunities for the youth of the day to blow off steam and energy by Alexander Devine and the subsequent creation of Lads' Clubs appears to have been important. Giving teenagers something to do other than wander the streets looking for trouble was a constructive solution. An editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1900 indicated that the work of the clubs, which began without preaching but plenty of sensible recreation and with the provision of safety valves like boxing, but their existence in Manchester has already nearly killed 'scuttling'.¹⁴³ It is instructive to compare Figure 2 with Figure 3. The location of the 'scuttling' gangs and the Lads' Clubs is almost identical which gives some weight to the conclusion that the clubs were instrumental in the decline of gang violence in Manchester and Salford. The development of the cinema provided these same people with an alternative amusement and the determination of the two local authorities in Manchester and Salford to demolish those parts of the boroughs which, by their overcrowding and lack of sanitation, created living conditions which bred a less than salubrious inhabitant. Similarly, the Boer War at the culmination of the nineteenth century generated an outlet for boys in their teens to join the colours. Scuttling did erupt spasmodically during the early years of the century but the First World War brought the activity to an abrupt halt. After that the phenomenon of 'scuttling' passed into myth and legend. With the hindsight provided by historical examination scuttling can be seen as a passing menace, but it blighted the lives of two generations of inhabitants of Salford and Manchester.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ *Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1900, p. 7

¹⁴⁴ A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester*, ch. 19, *The Vanishing Scuttler*

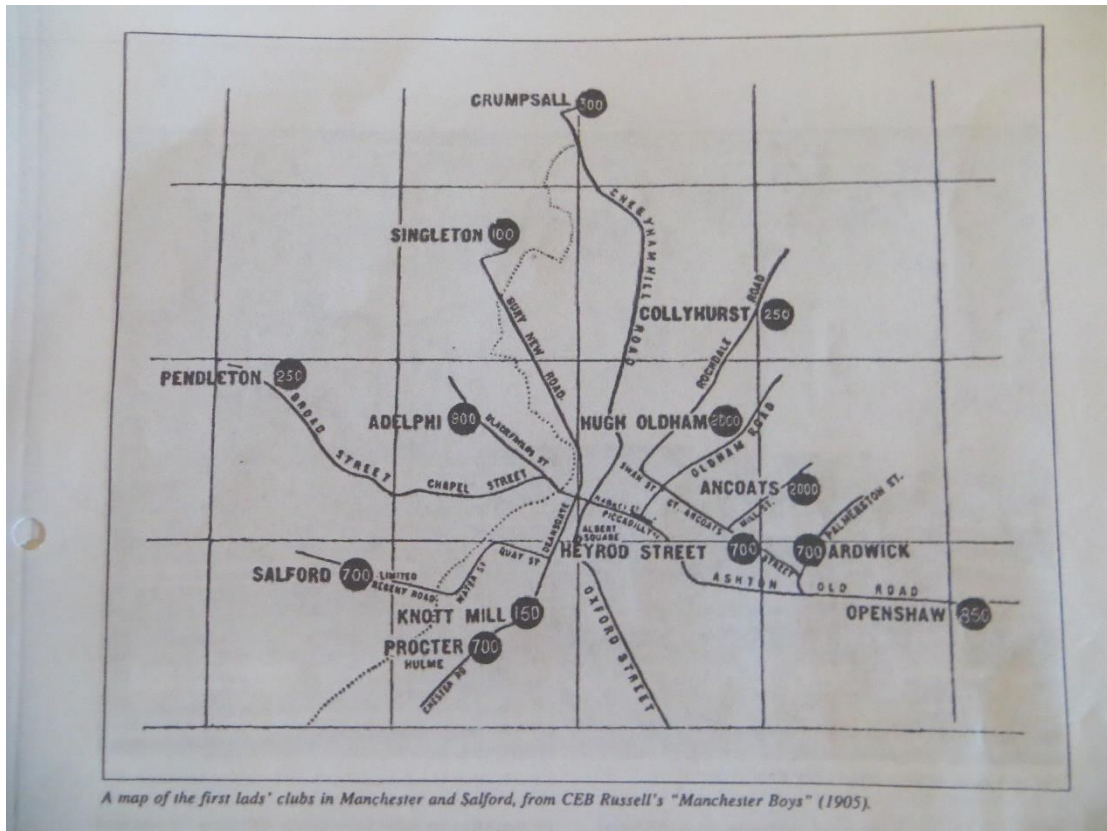


Figure 3: The location of Lads' Clubs in Manchester and Salford.¹⁴⁵

The minutes of the Manchester and the SWCs, the Annual Reports of the two Chief Constables and the statistical analyses and crime figures produced by the two policing authorities rarely mention scuttling yet it exercised the correspondence to and the newspaper editorials throughout the period. The official bodies were remarkably unforthcoming on the subject. It is possible that the authorities were embarrassed by their inability to counter this phenomenon. If one were to judge this issue by official note, then the inescapable conclusion is that it barely existed.

¹⁴⁵ Russell, *Manchester Boys*, p. 1

3.12 Concluding remarks

The objective of this chapter has been to compare the levels of criminality in Manchester and Salford between 1880 and 1900. The first element related to the more serious class of crime, that being 'indictable crime' and 'indictable crimes that were tried summarily'. The conclusion that was reached was that despite the population of Manchester and Salford increasing dramatically, indictable crime decreased both in number and per capita. That said, 'larceny' (theft) bucked the trend and was increasing. These two industrialising towns had a very small number of reported crimes. Offences involving violence was not high. The numbers of women involved in criminality was significant. That the numbers of Indictable crimes were low seems to be indicative of two things. At the start of the period there appears to be a lack of faith in the police forces of the two boroughs and their ability to apprehend and prosecute perpetrators. The increase of crimes and offences reported to the police at the end of the period and the successes of the policing authorities seem to be part of a virtuous circle. The police becoming increasingly effective which created a greater appreciation of their function in the population, which in turn gave them the confidence to give more co-operation, the result of which were more crimes and offences being reported.

Table 34 gives an indication of the areas in which the police forces of Manchester and Salford were active between 1880 and 1900.

Table 34: Prostitution, Drunkenness and Offences against Local Acts as a percentage of Summary offences in Manchester and Salford

	1880		1890		1900	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Drunkenness	9,297	2,480	6,102	3,006	6,033	2,684
Prostitution	1,881	45	1,001	50	1,131	84
Local Acts	2,485	1,302	4,253	1,312	4,898	1,551
Total Summary Offences	23,232	6,620	21,890	6,362	20,268	6,207
Drunkenness as %	40%	37%	28%	47%	30%	43%
Drunkenness and Prostitution as %	48%	38%	32%	48%	35%	44%
Drunkenness and Prostitution & Local Acts as %	59%	58%	52%	69%	60%	70%

Source: Manchester Council Proceedings, Manchester Chief Constables Annual Report, Salford Chief Constables Annual report 1880-1900

Approximately two thirds of their activity were directed at three offences; drunkenness, prostitution, and offences against local acts and bylaws. In Salford, they had the problem of excessive drunkenness and an inability of the local population to adhere to local bye laws. In Manchester, the problem was prostitution. In each of these three categories it is likely to have been pressure brought to bear by members of the public canvassing their local councillors who in turn formed the policy of the Watch Committee. This pressure was translated into the operational policy of the Chief Constable. The authorities had to expend considerable effort in dealing with both crimes and offences and at the same time had to deal with their own internally

generated issues similarly brought to light by members of the public. The next chapter will examine mismanagement, corruption and scandal within Manchester and Salford 1880-1900.

Chapter 4. Financial mismanagement, corruption and scandal 1880 – 1900

4.1 Introduction

The thesis is an analysis of the performance of policing in Manchester and Salford in the final two decades of the nineteenth century. It is about the police, but it is also about the changing environment in which the police had to operate. The largest influence were the democratically elected representatives - local councillors- from whom came that body of men known as the Watch Committee. They were elected at regular municipal ballots. It is received wisdom that councillors were dedicated men who gave of their time freely for the benefit of their constituents. But there appeared to be a range of motives for becoming a councillor that did not always chime with this perception. The amount of time and effort required to fulfil the demands of running a large borough meant that only a very few could afford to take on the role. Not all were as competent as they might be and some would have found the time commitment difficult to balance with their other activities. Some were there because they could be first in line when council contracts were awarded or to protect their vested interests.

This chapter will examine the issues of mismanagement and corruption facing Manchester, its council, its Watch Committee and its police force. It will form two case studies. The initial study will look at how the Dugdale Inquiry unfolded from the perspective of the Inquiry and its participants. The second study will look at the same issues but from the perspective of the Watch Committee and how they dealt with it. The central issue will be policing in Manchester.

This chapter will also deal with contextual issues which are examples of the environment in which local councillors operated. One of these instances is from the Salford council in which incompetent and inept councillors allowed one of their

technocrats to bamboozle them for many years. The latter instances relate to those councillors who formed the Watch Committee in Manchester.

The MCWM had set up a police Superannuation Fund and it very quickly became obvious that this fund was in a financially unstable state. The members of the Watch Committee were provided with a report in 1878, written by one of their own members, councillor, later alderman, Goldschmidt, which highlighted its condition, and the minutes of the Watch Committee are littered with comments about the state in which the fund was operating. Over a period of 20 years no initiatives were taken to do anything. The final example is of a police officer who was selected and appointed against the wishes of his Chief Constable and was protected by the Watch Committee for so long that the Manchester council had to report itself to the Home Office to understand the circumstances and turn the situation around. Such was the seriousness of this latter situation that two archives have been used in an effort to fully understand the circumstances and ramifications of an issue that caused major embarrassment not only to the police force, the Watch Committee but also to the ratepayers of Manchester. The same circumstances have been analyzed from two perspectives. Initially there is an analysis of the minutes of evidence of the inquiry conducted for the Home Office by Commissioner J.S. Dugdale Q.C. (May/June 1897), hereafter the 'Dugdale Proceedings' and secondly the report he provided to the Home Office (June 1897) hereafter the 'Dugdale Report'.¹ The second section looks at the same subject by extracting information from minutes of the Manchester Watch Committee, 1896 to 1898, to understand how the Watch Committee came to terms with these embarrassing revelations and how they proposed to convert the recommendations into constructive improvements. Only by looking at these two outputs can we begin to understand how those not associated with the police or the

¹ 'Dugdale Proceedings'; 'Dugdale Report'

Watch Committee attempted to ascertain and air the many issues involved. But first we will consider the culture of financial mismanagement in Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900.

4.2 Financial Mismanagement

As the nineteenth century wore on, the organization of the police became more professional. Legislation stopped small boroughs creating their own police forces and compelled smaller forces to merge.² The 'job' of a policeman began to take on the role of a career as opposed to a stop gap between economic downturns. The Police Act of 1890 was a significant step in this because for the first time a pension for a policeman became a right not a privilege.³ Pensions could be denied to an officer by a Watch Committee even if he had served the appropriate time and had made his contributions.⁴ Police authorities established their own pension funds, administered locally, and not a few of these schemes got themselves into financial difficulties.⁵ HMIC regularly drew attention to the state of these funds but little was ever done to remedy matters. The argument was about who funded the costs. Local government was adamant that the government should pay a contribution. No progress was made until the Police Act of 1890 when it was conceded that the Home Office would provide a contribution to be paid to local funds.⁶

Both Manchester and Salford had established a superannuation fund for their police forces. The minutes of the Watch Committee over the period indicates that Salford

² Stallion and Wall, *The British Police*, p. 12; The Municipal Corporations (New Charters) Act of 1877; The Local Government Act of 1888

³ Stallion and Wall, *The British Police*, p. 12; W.H. Hewitt, *British Police Administration*, (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1965), pp. 165 – 1920

⁴ Stallion and Wall, *The British Police*, p. 12

⁵ Emsley, *The English Police*, p. 204

⁶ Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales*, pp. 168-171

maintained a fund that was well administered and solvent. However, the Manchester police superannuation fund and its financial management had become a major cause for concern. Mis-handling of this fund had caused the finances to be at serious risk but very little had been done to remedy the situation even though the problem had been reported to the Watch Committee over many years. At the Watch Committee meeting on 19 April 1888 a printed report by Alderman Goldschmidt was discussed; Goldschmidt had already made recommendations 10 years previously. Goldschmidt's report stated that despite previous warnings the deficit was getting worse and drastic action needed to be taken. The fund would soon be exhausted. The deficit would need to be paid from borough funds or from the rates. However, the Town Clerk of Manchester had reported that this could not be done under existing legislation and that a future Act of Parliament would have to be passed to enable such a requirement.⁷

It was reported at the Watch Committee meeting on 26 April 1888 that central government had indicated that it would not introduce any legislation towards a Police Superannuation Bill at any time soon and the town clerk would be asked to introduce a clause in the next Manchester Improvement Bill.

This subject was not discussed again until the meeting of 15 September 1888 when, without explanation, it was resolved that the reports and information about the police Superannuation Fund, all of which had been presented to the Watch Committee previously, should be printed and circulated to members of that Committee. The committee was in no better position to provide a solution and no further information had been provided. At the Watch Committee meeting on 20 September 1888 a statement of account which ran to a fifty-six page pamphlet was presented to the Audit Committee. It was again resolved to print and distribute to all full council members and the press. No recommendations were discussed. The decision to send it

⁷ MCWM, 19 April 1888

to the press smacks of desperation. The full council sent the report back to the Audit Committee with an instruction to report back on several superannuation modifications.

It was recommended that the council obtain the necessary parliamentary powers to effect the amendment. So, despite all the discussion and debate little of any substance had been achieved and certainly nothing which would have any material effect on the health of the fund. At the next full council meeting the Watch Committee was informed that that portion of the report relating to the council seeking parliamentary powers should be 'expunged' from the report. Six months later an Audit Subcommittee report had described the subject of the Police Superannuation Fund and its condition.⁸ The Audit Sub Committee had accepted the Chief Constable's recommendation relating to the entitlement to a pension for policemen under specified conditions and also accepted a new rate of contribution by policemen towards their eventual pension. The Watch Committee regarded the financial position of the Superannuation Fund as unsatisfactory and presented three alternatives for discussion at the Committee:

- 1) Accept the new scale of contribution and continue to receive these into the Fund. This would have the effect of balancing the books in the current year but would not help to change the overall situation in the medium-term. It would leave at the Fund 'with the certainty of an early and annually increasing debt'.

- 2) The city of Manchester, via the rates, should contribute an amount annually to gradually improve matters. The contribution required from the city was estimated to be £5,000 per annum for 30 years.

⁸ MCWM, 25 April 1889

- 3) The third method would be for the corporation to take over the Superannuation Fund, its capital and income, and for the city treasury to pay for police pensions.

The Sub Committee recommended the third alternative. The report was accepted on 25 April 1889 and it was resolved that the proposal would be put to the full council on behalf of the Watch Committee. The minutes of the meeting two weeks later note that the mayor, chairman, deputy chairman and the Chief Constable had been requested to attend a meeting with the Home Secretary.⁹ That meeting took place on 23 May 1889 at which the Manchester deputation asked the Home Secretary:

- Whether it was the intention of the government to bring in a Police Superannuation Bill
- If not, whether the government would support the MCWM in bringing a private bill for the superannuation of police officers.

The Home Secretary indicated that current business in the House prevented the first being achieved but he would support Manchester in introducing any Local Act.

At a Watch Committee meeting on 4 July 1889 an extract from the meeting of the full Council (3 July 1889) was read which accepted the Chief Constable's proposals with the caveat that the age of retirement for policemen be increased and that a proposed bill be drafted and submitted to the council for approval. At the Watch Committee meeting on 3 April 1890 it was noted that the Sub-Committee looking into the draft clauses of the proposed bill was adjourned and on 17 April 1890 it was noted that the draft clauses on the proposed police Superannuation Bill would be presented to the Home Office. This subject does not reappear until 10 July 1890 when it was minuted that the proposed bill had been considered by the Association of Municipal Corporations and that after an amendment, police superannuation be made a charge

⁹ MCWM, 16 May 1889

upon the local rates. The Association wished to propose that local police authorities had the opportunity to award pensions which distinguished between policemen who had been zealous and those who had not. Later in the month a petition was read at the Watch Committee meeting signed by 738 members of the Manchester police force to the effect that:

- Manchester police force pensions should be paid at the same rate as Metropolitan officers because their work was similarly onerous.
- Pensions should be paid after 25 years' service irrespective of age because after 25 years policemen are no longer able to perform their duties.

This memorial was referred to the Audit Committee.¹⁰ The Watch Committee on 25 September 1890 accepted the memorial from their policemen and determined that the two pension conditions be approved – one for policemen who would be serving officers on or before 31 October 1890 and one for subsequent appointees. In the former case, no age limit would be adopted and an officer completing 25 years' service could be superannuated. In the latter case 25 years' service and 50 years of age would be necessary. This would be important for current officers as many had joined in their teens which meant that they would be entitled to superannuation on or in certain cases before their 45th birthday. These conditions became Manchester's provisions on the Police Act of 1890. Subsequently it was noted on 9 October 1890 that a letter was presented to the Watch Committee from the officers and men of the Manchester City Police Force,

that the warmest thanks and deepest gratitude of the whole of the Manchester Police Force be accorded and expressed to the Chairman and Members of the

¹⁰ MCWM, 24 July 1890

Watch Committee for the adoption of the most liberal scale of pensions provided by the Police Act 1890.¹¹

The next mention of police superannuation was made almost 12 months later – 4 June 1891. On the requirements of the Police Act of 1890 the balance of the police superannuation fund - arrangements were to be made by the town clerk for the Fund to be transferred to the mayor, chairman and deputy chairman of the Watch Committee who were to be appointed trustees of the Police Pension Fund. On 3 September 1891, it was resolved to transfer the remainder of the capital of the Pension Fund to the new trustees. After this date, there was only an annual reference to the subject. It was merely the receipt of the government contribution to the Pension Fund.

At a meeting of the Watch Committee on 16 July 1896 – 5 years later- a request was made to the Committee that the Watch Committee, town clerk, city treasurer and Chief Constable should obtain such information as they think necessary on the subject from other towns in regard to such funds.

After nearly twenty years of abortive discussion this subject was finally laid to rest. This is an indication that unqualified councillors seriously mismanaged police pension arrangements and the superannuation funds that were established to provide benefits for those policemen that had retired.

4.3 Corruption involving Salford and its Councillors

Private enterprise could not cope with the demands of civic developments and it was left to municipal authorities to invest money that had been raised through police rates to provide large scale developments. Municipal enterprises had proved very useful for

¹¹ MCWM, 9 October 1890

the Police Commissioners in providing for the requirements on a town- wide scale even if only those who qualified for the police rate would contribute. Greenall has written extensively on this subject.¹² This is neither a police nor Watch Committee issue but is provided as an example, from Salford, of financial mismanagement, scandal and corruption. Manchester had a scandal which consumed the policing authority. Salford had a similar set of circumstances which related to the provision of a utility, but scandals they both were.

Salford had established its municipal gas works under the Police Commissioners as early as 1831. It had been bought from its private-sector owner and had injections of local authority capital to expand it so that it catered for a rapidly growing population. It could then begin to generate profits for the commissioners to reinvest for municipal benefit. As such it was an immensely valuable operation. The operation was transferred into the ownership of the incorporated council in 1844 and was managed for the local authority by the gas engineer. The post holder was a very important municipal official. The councillors, who were not party to the Gas Committee, expressed concern particularly about those officials who, because of their technical expertise, had to be relied upon. As Greenall writes, 'they had had officials who had been their masters and dictated what had been done'.¹³ They accused both the gas engineer, Samuel Hunter, and the Gas Committee of being more aware of their own interests than those of the town or their customers. 'Was the council master of its committee or the committee master of its council?'¹⁴ Hunter was held in the highest regard by the Gas Committee 'but not to put a finer point on it he bedazzled them'.¹⁵ Hunter had grown rich by awarding contracts to his preferred suppliers. Such was the level of corruption uncovered that the Gas Committee eventually resigned.¹⁶

¹² Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 193-211

¹³ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 195.

¹⁴ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 196.

¹⁵ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, p. 198.

¹⁶ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*, pp. 193-211, at p.210

4.4 The Dugdale inquiry

As with the Salford council and its gas engineer there was a similar struggle between the MCWM and its Chief Constable. He had been put in an awkward position by members of the Watch Committee who appointed an inspector, to the rank of superintendent, overruling the Chief Constable. There appeared to be a conflict of interest amongst Watch Committee members who were associated with the licensed trade. They obviously saw in the inspector someone who would protect them from any objective to bear down on the excesses of drunkenness and its associated vices. He was protected by the Watch Committee from the Chief Constable on several occasions, much to the detriment of the reputation of Chief Constable C. Malcolm Wood.

The Chief Constable did not present the inspector to the Committee as a candidate for the post. Alderman Mark, chairman of the Watch Committee, who was instrumental in the appointment, defended his promotion.¹⁷ It was pointed out at the Dugdale inquiry by one witness who said that 'Alderman Mark had an interest in the liquor trade and should never have been a member of the Watch Committee, much less its Chairman.'¹⁸

Such was the disquiet in Manchester on the part of an ill-informed council that an official Inquiry had to be established. This became known as the Dugdale inquiry.¹⁹ The

¹⁷ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 96

¹⁸ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 98

¹⁹ 'Dugdale Proceedings'; 'Dugdale Report'

eventual report concluded in favour of the Chief Constable. The Watch Committee was forced to accept that management and discipline of the force should be left in the hands of the Chief Constable. The Watch Committee obviously did not like losing these powers and Wood resigned his post in 1898. That the Watch Committee wanted to be rid of the affair is confirmed by their allowing Wood to resign early whilst allowing him to receive a pension on the basis that he had retired after working his full term. There was still tension between a democratic Watch Committee and an independent police force and this was especially true when one or other of the parties was new, where one party wanted to establish a position of influence over the other and where an amicable cooperative relationship remained to be established.²⁰ Friction between a Watch Committee and a Chief Constable could occur and would have been referred to the Home Office. The Home Office generally found in favour of the Chief Constable.²¹

4.4.1 Superintendent Bannister

The minutes in 1893 unexpectedly contained an entry headed 'Superintendent Bannister'.²² They referred to a previous inquiry without further detail although it is the commencement of a scandalous period for the Manchester police force that ended with the resignation of William Bannister, the Home Office Inquiry, the resignation of the Chief Constable and changes in the Watch Committee.

Each of the Divisions of the Manchester Police Force during the period 1880-1900 would have been led by a Superintendent. The force had five divisions. 'A' Division policed the City Centre and was based at the Town Hall. 'B' Division operated in the Ancoats area of Manchester, 'C' Division was in the Ardwick and Longsight townships, Superintendent Bannister's 'D' Division covering Hulme and Chorlton-on-Medlock. 'D' Division headquarters were adjacent to Chorlton-on-Medlock Town Hall.

²⁰ Redford, *History of Local Government*, Vol 3, pp. 8-16.

²¹ Emsley, 'Police Politics', pp. 19 - 20

²² MCWM, 2 February 1893

'E' Division was in Manchester Town hall and consisted of the Chief Constable, Detective staff and Court Officers.²³ The geographic location of 'D' Division is shown in figure 4.

Such were the circumstances surrounding the conduct of Superintendent Bannister that the Home Secretary had become involved to the extent that he had instituted formal proceedings prior to awarding Manchester their Certificate of Efficiency and the associated grant towards police costs. The Manchester Council had itself requested that the Home Secretary establish a public inquiry into allegations relating to their police force.²⁴ The instigators of the controversy were a number of 'memorialists', who had informed the council of their concerns. (A memorial in this context being a written statement of facts submitted to a government or authority in conjunction with a petition).²⁵ Mr. Dugdale's opening statement indicates that these memorials were in the possession of the commissioner and they would form the basis of his inquiry. The notes, however, do not mention who these memorialists were, but a Mr.H. Shawcross, legal representative, is included in the introductory page as 'appearing on behalf of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Union', and a Mr.R.B. Batty, Solicitor, appeared on the half of 'certain memorialists'.²⁶ Bannister had resigned over the issue after a previous inquiry. He was regarded as being at the heart of the problem and was extensively referred to during the inquiry, yet he was neither called to give evidence nor was represented. The terms of reference for the inquiry were confined to the discipline and efficiency of the Manchester police force and the awarding of the annual grant that is made after having been given the Certificate of Efficiency by HMIC.²⁷ Whilst the inquiry into the conduct of Superintendent Bannister had been dealt with before and proceedings concluded it was inevitable that this would be referred to

²³ Mr. Duncan Broady, Curator, GMPW; www.victorianpolicestations.org

²⁴ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 1, p. 1

²⁵ *Collins English Dictionary*, (London; William Collins, 1979; repr.1981)

²⁶ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 1, p. 1

²⁷ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 1, p. 3

exhaustively during the Inquiry. Bannister was at the heart of the subject of the discipline and efficiency of the force.

The actual scandal that Superintendent Bannister was involved in should have been a purely local affair. He was living with the owner of a series of brothels in the worst area of Manchester. This was common knowledge amongst the Manchester police force and particularly the members of the 'D' Division.²⁸ Superintendent Bannister was head of that division. Bannister subsequently faced an internal inquiry and was asked to resign. At the meeting on 2 February 1893 and after the internal inquiry the recommendation put to the Watch Committee was that Bannister should be dismissed. This was put to the vote amongst the members of the Watch Committee, who by a considerable margin recommended that he should not be dismissed but should be severely reprimanded. The reason for the Home Secretary instigating an inquiry was that the Bannister case generated a series of questions that went much further than the case itself. Bannister had been appointed by the Watch Committee against the recommendation of the Chief Constable. The Watch Committee exerted power over the police force but ceded accountability for its behaviour and effectiveness to the Chief Constable without giving him the responsibility for recruiting, promoting or disciplining those that he employed. Bannister suborned the whole of his police division. He routinely refused permission for any officer who had the courage to seek an interview with the Chief Constable.²⁹ It appears that Bannister had been acting in this manner for many years but that the Chief Constable had no idea that the 'D' Division was operating in this way. The Watch Committee appeared to be implicated in many of these issues because in Bannister they had a senior member of the force who would prevent the force from enquiring too deeply into those areas such as vice, liquor and licensing in which members of the Watch Committee had

²⁸ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 3, p. 9

²⁹ Redford, *History of Local Government*, vol. 3, p. 12

personal involvement. Thus, the efficiency and discipline of Manchester police force was effectively compromised.

At the Dugdale inquiry some information was provided about Superintendent Bannister. He had been recruited into the Police Force in 1871 and was promoted to the rank of sergeant in 1875. In 1880 he was promoted to the rank of Inspector and by 1882 had been appointed superintendent.³⁰ His progress within the force appeared remarkable. Bannister was one of the newer inspectors and when a vacancy for a superintendent came along he was appointed to the position even though he was not on the list recommended by the Chief Constable. It appears that Bannister was strongly recommended to the Watch Committee by its chairman, Alderman Bennett, against the protests of the Chief Constable.³¹

Bannister was evidently a very confident man who felt he was untouchable. He had been reprimanded by the Watch Committee in February 1893 but in December 1895 he was back in court as plaintive in the case of an alleged defamation. The Rev. John Kelty had reported to the Watch Committee that Bannister had been seen drunk in the company of two women. Kelty, who was the secretary of the Manchester branch of the Church of England Temperance Society, was accused of slandering Bannister at a meeting with the Watch Committee. Bannister was cleared of any wrongdoing. The importance of this case is that Bannister was exonerated in 1893. Significantly is neither for the Watch Committee, nor the most senior members of the police force, did any alarm bells ring about this senior policeman. It also tells something of the character of and support for Bannister. He was either regarded in the highest possible esteem by his employers or was providing them with additional services and thereby immune to charges of this kind. He obviously felt untouchable because of his powerful

³⁰ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 1, p. 5

³¹ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 96

connections and thought that he would find himself protected should charges be laid against him.³²

4.4.2 The Council petitions the Home Office

Considerable pressure had been put upon the council in Manchester after several years of inappropriate activities alleged against their police force and the lack of any desire on the part of the Watch Committee to deal with the matter.³³ This pressure had become so serious that the Manchester City Council itself petitioned the Home Office to conduct an Inquiry into its own Watch Committee. This inquiry was established under a commissioner, Mr. J.S. Dugdale, Q.C. who received his terms of reference from the Secretary of State of the Home Office on 25 April 1897:

I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that he has received from the Town Council of Manchester a memorial asking him if you would institute a Public Inquiry into certain allegations respecting the police of that city and I am to say that he would be glad if you will enquire into the alleged facts referred to in the memorials and documents submitted by the Council and the City of Manchester as bearing on the discipline and efficiency of the force.³⁴

The content of these memorials highlighted several things in relation to the methods of the police force which were in the public domain and which were bringing the force into disrepute. The inquiry was to look deeply into discipline and efficiency of the city police force in Manchester. An unfavourable report into these factors would have dissuaded the Home Office from allowing the annual grant towards the cost per policemen by central government. Another factor at play here would have been an uncomfortable feeling, if not outright suspicion, amongst non-Watch Committee

³² *Manchester Guardian*, 7 December 1895, p. 9

³³ The Bannister Case being an example

³⁴ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 1, pp. 1-2

councillors that the circumstances referred to must have been condoned by senior members of the Watch Committee. These circumstances of the affair were not new. They had been going on for several years and possibly for the whole of the 1890s. The Watch Committee had been aware of these issues for years and had actually exonerated the participants.³⁵ It is therefore of some note that no representatives of the Watch Committee were called before Mr. Dugdale nor were their interests represented by counsel. Similarly, HMIC was conspicuous by its absence. The inquiry had been instigated by the Home Office whose officials, HMIC, had certified the efficiency of the Manchester police force, annually, over all of the previous years.

4.4.3 Memorialists

The only memorialist to be named as such and represented at the Dugdale Inquiry by counsel was the Manchester and Salford Temperance Union. This Union was at the heart of the proceedings that took place in front of Commissioner Dugdale and was no small player in local affairs. The *Manchester Guardian* reports an annual business meeting of the Union which took place in Manchester in 1897. The size of the Union is indicated by a report indicating that there were 75 societies affiliated as well as 125 honorary advocates, whose business was 'carrying out the principles of the Temperance Reformation'. The article further reports a public conference that was held that same evening which was addressed by Mr. R. B. Batty. His firm of solicitors had instructed the Union's barrister and who also appeared at the Dugdale Inquiry representing 'certain memorialists'. These were left unnamed. In the ensuing discussion, Rev Kelty took part and prescient petitions were endorsed. The first was that any person involved in the sale or manufacture of intoxicants should be prevented from acting on a Watch Committee. A second memorial was to be presented to the

³⁵ MCWM minutes, 2 February 1893

members of the Manchester council members that 'in consequence of the recent disclosures there was much anxiety in the public mind as to the possibility of illicit relations between the police and the liquor trade'. The memorial also highlighted the enhanced role of the police in enforcing the licensing laws and that those involved in the trade should be disbarred from the Watch Committee on the grounds of conflict of interest.³⁶

As indicated Kelty had had a prior altercation with the Watch Committee, the Chief Constable and Superintendent Bannister. In May 1895 Kelty was presented with information that in that year the superintendent had been discovered inebriated and consorting with two prostitutes. Kelty enquired of the police and was informed that his information was correct. This information was passed to the Chief Constable who informed the Watch Committee. The committee instigated an inquiry and had those allegations been proven the officer would have been immediately dismissed. At the Watch Committee inquiry those who had previously given information contradicted themselves and the Watch Committee were left with little alternative than to dismiss the allegation. Such was the confidence of Superintendent Bannister that he brought an action for defamation against Kelty. The judge in the case completely cleared Bannister and indicated that Bannister 'did not have a stain on his character'.³⁷ Bannister had achieved his objective. He was both exonerated and his position in society and in the police force was immeasurably strengthened.

4.4.4 The Dugdale Report of the inquiry

Commissioner Dugdale had sent his report to the chairman of the Watch Committee of the city of Manchester on 16 July 1897. It came from the Home Office and the letter accompanying it indicated that the Secretary of State expected the contents of the

³⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, 19 January 1897, p. 5

³⁷ 'Dugdale Report', p. 10; *Manchester Guardian*, 20 July 1897, p.12

inquiry would be noted and recommendations acted upon with particular reference to the 'D' Division.³⁸ Dugdale's recommendations run to 19 printed pages and whilst not enumerated in any way, informs the Home Secretary of the particulars of the identified issues and his recommendations.

It was undoubtedly in the minds of the various memorialists that one particular division of the city police was at the heart of the matter. After the litigation brought against Kelty, it was not a matter of any conjecture about the identity of the major players in what was to unfold. However, the inquiry became a retrospective investigation because the main protagonist, Superintendent Bannister, had resigned his position shortly before the inquiry took place. What followed was centered around the activities of the ex-superintendent and how his position and connections enabled his activities to continue for so long. Had Bannister not resigned before, the inquiry would have been a much different affair and the recommendations would have been much more pointed. Bannister having left his post made Commissioner Dugdale's task much easier. The recommendations will be identified later as will the response from both the Chief Constable and Watch Committee but there is nothing contained therein that remained contentious. What is disappointing is that for all the witnesses who were interviewed, and the evidence to the proceedings being nearly 1000 pages long, those at the heart of the matter had no involvement. Superintendent Bannister was not involved in the inquiry and most mystifyingly not one member of the Watch Committee was called upon to give evidence. On many occasions in the testimonies and indeed in Mr. Dugdale's report it is stated that Mr. Bannister could not have got away with his nefarious activities if he had not had friends within the Watch Committee who provided him with a measure of protection.³⁹

³⁸ 'Dugdale Report', Letter to the Chairman of the Watch Committee from Mr Kenelm Digby at the Home office, 16 July 1897, p.1

³⁹ 'Dugdale Report', p. 8-10

Such was the overwhelming influence of Bannister on the whole proceedings that after a brief introduction the Commissioner provided a half page potted biography of the ex-superintendent, describing how his name was not on a list of inspectors prepared by the Chief Constable for consideration for promotion to superintendent and how the Watch Committee selected Bannister themselves. In this short analysis Dugdale encapsulated the issue in its entirety. The Chief Constable was in the position subsequently of being responsible for the performance of a policeman that he did not want and the Watch Committee had promoted to a position of responsibility for their own purposes.⁴⁰

The commissioner outlined in chronological order the instances where Superintendent Bannister had transgressed. The first instance occurred as early as 1884- only two years after he was appointed to this senior role. The police received complaints about the existence of public and beerhouses that promoted brothels and prostitution. The police could prove these activities existed after a summons was taken out against a beer house keeper who made a complaint against the police officer concerned. Bannister upheld the complaint and reported the policeman to the Chief Constable. This proved to be an attempt to discredit the officer, which could have caused the case to be dismissed in court. It was suspected that the beerhouse keeper had been advised by Bannister to pursue this course of action.⁴¹ The action against the beerhouse keeper was upheld in court and the officer involved wanted to go before the Chief Constable in an attempt to exonerate himself. Superintendent Bannister refused permission. Dugdale concluded that this was an opportunity taken by Bannister to discredit the officer and that Bannister was 'privy to the affair' involving the beerhouse keeper.⁴² The testimony provided to Dugdale highlights a second instance which proved the unreliability of Bannister and it again concerned the same policeman, Inspector

⁴⁰ 'Dugdale Proceedings', p.58; 'Dugdale Report', pp. 2-4

⁴¹ 'Dugdale Report', pp. 2-4.

⁴² 'Dugdale Report', p. 5

Burroughs. In 1885 Burroughs had come across bad conduct by one of his constables and reported it to the superintendent. Instead of dismissing the constable, Burroughs found himself at the wrong end of Bannister's actions. Burroughs was immediately transferred to an outlying police station in a very quiet spot where little responsibility was required. The inspector felt that as a result of merely doing his duty as an active policeman he was moved to the margins of police work.⁴³

Bannister's activities continued unabated and he was providing information to houses of ill repute with which he was associated.⁴⁴ In 1888 two plain clothes officers provided him with information about houses in Devonshire Street. The significant addresses identified by Dugdale can be found on the map of 'D' Division in Figure 4 at the end of this chapter. On having this information Bannister redeployed the two officers. They defied him and maintained watch in Devonshire Street. This generated enough information to obtain warrants but before they could be served the protagonists had fled the scene.⁴⁵ In the same year the same two officers watched a house in Rosamund Street. They witnessed considerable activity and reported to Superintendent Bannister. After having made the report they returned and saw Bannister enter into the house and shortly after a furniture van arrived and removed the furniture. Mr. Dugdale concluded that it was Bannister who ordered the house to be cleared and that he was the man who was providing information to brothel keepers. He also concluded that many officers were aware of Bannister's activities and had become disenchanted.⁴⁶

A similar set of circumstances occurred in 1889. A house in Wilmot Street was being watched and on the first night there was plenty of traffic which pointed to the house being of bad character. This was reported by the officers concerned and on the second

⁴³ 'Dugdale Report', p. 5

⁴⁴ 'Dugdale Report', p. 5

⁴⁵ 'Dugdale Report', p. 6

⁴⁶ 'Dugdale Report', p. 6

night a servant was stationed at the window warning people off. During 1891 the keeper of the house in Wilmot Street was involved with a second house in Upper Brook Street and whilst it was being watched a lady, Emily Greenwood, arrived in a cab with Bannister. When this was reported to the superintendent he did not ask who was in the cab with Greenwood and the case was dropped. None of the above cases were followed up by the officers.⁴⁷ In 1892 similar instances to the houses in Devonshire Street, Rosamond Street, Wilmot Street and Upper Brook Street occurred but in the Dugdale inquiry it achieved a much greater notoriety. Two officers were watching houses in Shepley Street after police had received complaints. Many prostitutes and their customers appeared at the houses but after PC Bloomfield reported this to Bannister the activity stopped abruptly. Information was obtained from the keeper of the houses that she was aware that the police were about to intervene. Mr. Dugdale's report comments on any subsequent police activity in Shepley Street that 'no doubt, information had been given as previous cases'.⁴⁸

4.4.5 A Sub-Committee of the Watch Committee

The notes of the Inquiry show that Bannister made little effort to conceal his interest in the darker side of life in Manchester. In the early 1890s Bannister was intimately associated with the keeper of the Falstaff Inn in Hulme and was seen staying there to the extent that witnesses thought that he was the landlord. After complaints, a sub-committee of the Watch Committee investigated. The members of the sub-committee agreed to recommend to the Watch Committee that Superintendent Bannister should be asked to resign but the Watch Committee rejected this and decided that he should only be reprimanded. The comment in the 'Dugdale Report' is that 'a more lamentable miscarriage of justice could not be encountered'.⁴⁹ It could only be concluded from this

⁴⁷ 'Dugdale Report', p. 6

⁴⁸ 'Dugdale Report', p. 7

⁴⁹ 'Dugdale Report', p. 8

that Bannister was being protected by his influential friends on the Watch Committee. A criticism of the policemen within the 'D' Division is contained in the pages of the report, but who amongst the career policemen would have voiced their concerns when they were aware that those that should have taken action against him were precisely those who provided him with an umbrella of respectability?⁵⁰ When next the Watch Committee minutes came before the full council this decision was questioned but without further investigation.

4.4.6 Defamation and Hubris

In the notes to the Inquiry it is stated that in 1895 the Rev. John Kelty had been given information that Superintendent Bannister was consorting with the type of person a senior policeman should have avoided socially.⁵¹ Kelty investigated, questioned serving policemen, and was told that the information that he had been given was correct. He reported this to the Chief Constable and received a letter from the chairman of the Watch Committee, Alderman Mark indicating the truth of his findings. Those policemen who had provided him with the information repeated the same in front of the Chief Constable. Again, the Watch Committee investigated but on this occasion the policemen who had given Kelty the information and had repeated it to the Chief Constable denied that they had made the statements. This denial meant that the Watch Committee had no alternative but to dismiss the case. Mr. Dugdale's conclusion contained within his report was that 'I have no doubt that Smith [the officer who providing the original information to Kelty] did make those statements and if they were true they would no doubt have involved the instant dismissal of Superintendent Bannister'.⁵²

⁵⁰ 'Dugdale Report', p. 13

⁵¹ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 8, pp. 548 - 549

⁵² 'Dugdale Report', p.10

4.4.7 Julia Davis

Bannister was associated with a Julia Davis. She was the licensee at the Falstaff Inn and she was the woman who caused Bannister to be investigated by the Watch Committee in 1893. Because of her reputation it was anticipated that the licensing authorities would not renew her license. It appears from evidence given to the inquiry that Bannister both instructed his officers to find a way of getting a witness out of the way and gave them money to give to the witness both for bribery and expenses.⁵³ At this point, any objection to the renewal of the license became moot for lack of evidence. It is noticeable that the solicitor representing those objecting to the renewal of the license was Mr. Batty, a solicitor at the Dugdale inquiry who represented 'certain memorialists'.

4.4.8 Sergeant Henscoe

Sergeant Henscoe was assigned to the area of Manchester in which Bannister was conducting his extra-policing activities in 1896. Henscoe set out to improve the situation that he knew to exist. He did this without the knowledge of Bannister.⁵⁴ After watching illegal activity in Shepley Street evidence was gathered and a warrant was obtained for the arrest of the principal perpetrators. Dugdale in his report states that 'there is no doubt that Bannister gave Taylor [one of those for whom the warrant had been issued] information and got him out of the way'.⁵⁵ At this point Bannister took the warrant from Henscoe to help Taylor disappear. The case came before the city police court at the end of November 1896 and the magistrates on hearing the circumstances reported the matter to the Watch Committee. Bannister obviously understood the position in which he found himself and without further ado resigned

⁵³ 'Dugdale Report', p.11

⁵⁴ 'Dugdale Proceedings', pp. 63 - 65

⁵⁵ 'Dugdale Report', p. 12

his position. At the end of the year the Watch Committee met and rejected Bannister's request for a pension on the grounds that he had not given 25 years' fit and proper service.⁵⁶

4.4.9 Out of the Control of Police Management

The Dugdale inquiry had discovered that throughout his police career Bannister had been involved in activities inconsistent with his policing role and it had been proven to Mr. Dugdale that it was Bannister upon whom the majority of the blame for the poor reputation of the Manchester city police rested. As a direct result of his activities over many years he bears the brunt of criticism for the poor morale and efficiency of the 'D' Division and the inquiry would have been of much greater interest had Bannister not resigned. That Mr. Bannister was out of the control of the management of the police force was obvious and Mr. Dugdale turned his attention to the performance and abilities of those who should have been in a position to provide a check on his conduct. This is the element of the 'Dugdale Report' that is both surprising and disappointing. Bannister was a superintendent of police for upwards of 20 years and certainly in the latter half of this period it was common knowledge amongst his fellow officers and the men of the 'D' Division that his activities and liaisons were nefarious. Bannister was a bad appointment in the early 1880s and the Chief Constable was aware of all the incidences that are chronicled in the inquiry. The Chief Constable was appointed to a Watch Committee sub-committee that recommended asking for Bannister's resignation. After all of this the Chief Constable made no move on his own behalf to do anything about the position of one of his pre-eminent officers to the extent that the discipline and morale of one of his four operational divisions was affected to a major degree. It is therefore of some considerable surprise that Mr. Dugdale in his Report indicates that 'I therefore consider that the Chief Constable is absolutely free from

⁵⁶ MCWC, 24 December 1896

blame in the matter'.⁵⁷ The Chief Constable Mr. C. Malcolm Wood appears to be, in retrospect, a very fortunate man not to have been singled out for a significant portion of the blame. It is similarly astonishing to discover that the Watch Committee also escaped any censure and this Committee were amply supported in a mere three-and-one-half-line paragraph that absolved them of any responsibility.⁵⁸ The Watch Committee was the body that appointed Bannister when he was a junior Inspector. It was the Watch Committee that protected Bannister throughout and most obviously when the sub-committee appointed in 1893, and which recommended his dismissal, was overruled at a full meeting of the Committee. It was mentioned on several occasions and particularly in the Report by Mr. Dugdale that the superintendent could not have succeeded in their activities unless 'he had friends on the Watch Committee'.⁵⁹ The Watch Committee escaped the Inquiry without blemish!

4.5 The Dugdale Inquiry Recommendations

The recommendations outlined in his report are relatively insignificant in the light of the very difficult situation that the Manchester council found itself, considering the length and depth of the inquiry and the seniority of the commissioner. The fundamental cause of the issue, Bannister, had resigned. Had Bannister remained in post Mr. Dugdale's task would have been much more difficult. The commissioner decided to absolve the Chief Constable and the members of the Watch Committee and as soon as he came to this conclusion all responsibility was conveniently heaped on the ex-superintendent. He presented six recommendations which were not difficult for the Chief Constable to implement, but even these simple things caused some controversy.

⁵⁷ 'Dugdale Report', p. 13

⁵⁸ 'Dugdale Report,' p. 13

⁵⁹ 'Dugdale Report, 'p. 3

4.5.1 Officers borrowing money from the men

There was, reportedly, a practice of officers borrowing money from their subordinates. Mr. Dugdale regarded it as an insidious practice. This came to light when retired Inspector Burroughs gave his evidence. The commissioner regarded this practice as 'injurious and should be stopped if it still exists'.⁶⁰

4.5.2 Privileged Communication

In 1889 the Chief Constable was informed by letter that several houses in Manchester were being used as brothels. These houses were in 'D' Division. Superintendent Bannister was given the letter, which he then proceeded to show to the owners of the houses which were the subject of the complaint. The commissioner was surprised that the letter had not been treated as a confidential document and a matter of privileged communication. It was not discussed that Bannister was protecting his friends in the vice trade, but that assumption is not without merit.⁶¹

4.5.3 Inspection of Public houses

The inquiry was made aware that the inspection of public houses was necessary and that because of the number of such institutions and the number of officers employed it was impossible to provide inspections as often as required. There had been no examples of bad practice discussed at the inquiry. After some debate at the inquiry this subject was largely glossed over and so an inclusion in the recommendation is surprising and perhaps overzealous.⁶²

⁶⁰ 'Dugdale Report', p. 16

⁶¹ 'Dugdale Report,' p. 17

⁶² 'Dugdale Report', p. 17

4.5.4 Retired Policemen as Licensees

Public houses and beer houses were at the heart of much work of the police and the licensing authorities. It was not an uncommon practice for a police officer having retired on a police pension to apply for and be granted a license and become a publican in the area in which he had been a serving policeman. The commissioner regarded this as undesirable and referred it to the licensing justices.⁶³

4.5.5 Annual Statistics

The suppression of brothels was of considerable interest to the Watch Committee of Manchester and the Annual Report of the Chief Constable makes much of the reducing numbers in this area. However, it would appear that some of this 'success' could be down merely to the definition of brothels and the subsequent keeping of statistics. It was the practice to only include in the statistics those houses which the police had sufficient evidence to proceed against. The statistics quote these under the heading of 'suspected brothels' leaving aside those that were 'houses of ill fame'. Those which the police had not sufficient proof, were not in the statistics. Not surprisingly the current statistics were therefore much reduced. Mr. Dugdale recommended removing the word 'suspected' or preferably the use of a more refined definition.⁶⁴

4.5.6 The Chief Constable having full staff responsibility

The Commissioner made comment that those staffing matters like recruitment, promotion and discipline would be better to come under the responsibility of the Chief Constable. In terms of recruitment and promotion the affair of Bannister would not have occurred if the system recommended by the commissioner had been in place.

⁶³ 'Dugdale Report,' pp. 17-18

⁶⁴ 'Dugdale Report', p. 18

The Watch Committee had these responsibilities at the time and they recruited and appointed every member of the police force from Chief Constable to probationary constable, but they might not be the best qualified so to do. As the commissioner rightly noted the Chief Constable of the county force already has these responsibilities. However, the commissioner does not indicate that the legislation relating to a borough force differs from that relating to a county force. The legislation relating to a borough force places the responsibility in this area squarely in the hands of the politicians not the professionals.⁶⁵

4.6 What Commissioner Dugdale did not recommend

It is surprising that Mr. Dugdale did not deal with a suggestion made to him in evidence. This suggestion relates to the composition of a Watch Committee and conflict of interest. It was suggested to Mr. Dugdale that any member of the council who might profit from his membership of the Watch Committee should be disbarred from putting his name forward for membership of that committee. There was a suggestion that many councillors were also members of the licensed trade and they put forward their membership of the Watch Committees because of the influence of the police and the licensing authorities. With the benefit of hindsight this seems like a most unfortunate set of circumstances with which the commissioner failed to deal. This suggestion also appeared in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*.⁶⁶

The foregoing has described instances in which the local elected representatives of Manchester and Salford had proved to be incompetent and at times the willful protectors of vested interests. In Manchester, the Watch Committee had established a Superannuation Fund to protect their policemen. However worthy their motives they misunderstood the complexities of pension funds. It proved beyond the capabilities of

⁶⁵ 'Dugdale Report,' p. 18

⁶⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January 1897, p. 12

the local administration to provide a solution. Only when national government intervened was the situation improved. Salford councillors proved to be equally inept when confronted by a technocrat whose knowledge proved too much for lay representatives to cope with.

The final element of this section is that set of circumstances that generated the inquiry. The Watch Committee had appointed a superintendent against the wishes of the Chief Constable. This superintendent proved to be a bad appointment for the police but not necessarily for those Watch Committee members for whom he was providing protection for their vested interests. This thesis provides an analysis of the proceedings and highlights the recommendations of Mr. Dugdale's report. These sources prove interesting reading even if their limitations are highlighted. That Bannister resigned prior to the enquiry robs it of some most interesting testimony. That Bannister was not called to give an account of himself is unfortunate. That the Watch Committee is not represented, is not called upon to answer pertinent questions and is eventually exonerated is, in the light of all that is said, most surprising. The next element continues to deal with the 'Dugdale Inquiry' but from the perspective of the members of the Watch Committee. Information is taken from the minutes of that Committee which rarely reflected discussion and almost never reflected the emotion at play in this most prestigious of council committees.

It is possible to 'listen' to the Watch Committee and their reaction to the events. The Inquiry must have caused them acute embarrassment not least amongst those members who had used Bannister to protect their interests. It would have been disturbing for those members of the Watch Committee who had no involvement with Bannister and little idea that a serving senior policeman was being used as such an effective tool by other Watch Committee members who they sat alongside week by week. It would also have been acutely embarrassing for the mayor of Manchester, non-Watch Committee members and ratepayers, who watched as the good name of

the city was challenged in the newspapers daily in detail. One *Manchester Guardian* editorial at the beginning of 1897 read 'the Manchester Police scandals will come up for further consideration at the meeting of the City Council next Wednesday , and the Council will have to make up its mind whether it is satisfied with the position in which the Watch Committee had left the matter or whether it is determined to probe to the bottom of rottenness which has been disclosed....'.⁶⁷ The only solace for non-Committee members was that finally this matter would be over and the police would be managed better after the proceedings were concluded.

It is possible to read the Watch Committee minutes and see how this inquiry unfolded in their minds and how they attempted to wrestle with the implications. Prior to the inquiry the Watch Committee were invited to resign but declined. During the inquiry Alderman Mark, the chairman of the Watch Committee, intervened and gratuitously insulted the lawyers acting as counsel at the inquiry. During the proceedings (17 June 1897), Mr. Batty, the solicitor appearing on the half of 'certain memorialists' offered the opportunity to Alderman Mark, to be examined and cross-examined about the many points been discussed at the inquiry. The commissioner, however, indicated that it would be no assistance to him in hearing from the Watch Committee. He stated that this would be outside his authority. Mr Batty persisted with his invitation to Alderman Mark who replied, 'may I say that I have no fear whatever of being put into the box, but I'm not going to subject myself to a number of junior counsel to be cross-examined!'⁶⁸ Alderman Mark, we discover from the minutes of the Watch Committee, later resigned from all Manchester council business but no explanation is forthcoming. It is of some note that the Commissioner was of the opinion that the activities of the Watch Committee were outside his terms of reference even though his brief was to inquire into the efficiency and discipline of the Manchester police force and the executive management of the force is provided by that Committee. The absence of

⁶⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January 1897, p. 4

⁶⁸ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 10, p. 39, p. 777

representation by the Watch Committee was condemned by Mr Sutton who represented the Home Office. 'It was scarcely paying due deferencethat they should come here unrepresented in a matter of such great importance not only to the city of Manchester were also the world'.⁶⁹ On the 11th day (18 June 1897) Mr Ray appeared on behalf of three policemen who were considered to be heavily involved and indicated that the Watch Committee were a 'contemptible authority'.⁷⁰ Manchester council refused to accept the Watch Committee actions proposed to implement the recommendations provided by Mr Dugdale. They wanted to wait for a new committee to be formed after the municipal elections before accepting what was essentially the same proposition. The new committee had lost a third of its composition and it is not unreasonable to conclude that those who are not reappointed to the Watch Committee were those that were or suspected of being most implicated in the scandal. Bannister subsequently applied for his pension after resigning after 25 years' service but his request was rejected. The Chief Constable suffered illness as a result of the Inquiry and the Watch Committee could not wait to pension him off. This was a tumultuous period in the history of Manchester. The following is a chronological exploration of how the period in 1897 unfolded.

4.7 Watch Committee minutes and a 'bad, bold man'

Superintendent Bannister is described in the 'Dugdale Report' as a 'bad, bold man'.⁷¹ Whilst that inquiry outlined his activities in relation to what became known as the 'Shepley Street affair' he had been the subject of previous Watch Committee investigations. There is an absence of detail but it refers to a previous inquiry with witnesses appearing. This related to his overt relationship with the female keeper of brothels in Shepley Street, in the centre of Manchester.⁷² Bannister was able to

⁶⁹ 'Dugdale Proceedings,' day 10, p. 70-71, pp. 808-809

⁷⁰ 'Dugdale Proceedings,' day 11, p. 31, p. 881

⁷¹ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 96

⁷² Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 97

convince the Watch Committee that he was innocent of these charges. At a later meeting of the Watch Committee in 1895 and again under the heading of 'Superintendent Bannister' a motion was put to the committee that a special meeting needed to be held for the purposes of considering charges against the superintendent.⁷³ The committee voted on the resolution with the result being that seven members of the Committee were in favour of the resolution and seven against. The Watch Committee Chairman Alderman Mark used his casting vote in favour of the motion. At a subsequent meeting the committee voted seven to six to schedule Wednesday, 9 October 1895 to hear the charges against Bannister.⁷⁴ At that meeting Councillor Samson gave notice of a motion that he would present when they next met – 'that the resolution of this committee of 19 September 1895 in regard to the charges against Superintendent Bannister be and is hereby rescinded'.⁷⁵ The motion was defeated with five for and nine against. The Lord Mayor announced that it was resolved that the hearing against Bannister would be adjourned to a date after 9 October 1895 to be fixed by the Watch Committee.

On 23 January 1896 reference was made to several letters between the Chief Constable and protagonists involved in the Kelty case, to wit the Rev. John Kelty and solicitors Batty, Ford and Buckley. The Chief Constable was concerned that statements made to the Watch Committee in discussion by himself had been leaked by a member of the Watch Committee. The Chief Constable wrote to the Watch Committee asking how and why his words were given to the opposition. The Chief Constable had had a difficult time trying to support Bannister in the Kelty case. It is of some note that the firm of solicitors mentioned as representing the Rev. Kelty was headed by a Mr Batty who appeared at the Dugdale inquiry on behalf of certain memorialists.⁷⁶ That the case Bannister versus Kelty had been found in Bannister's favour seems not to have

⁷³ MCWM, 19 September 1895

⁷⁴ MCWM, 26 September 1895

⁷⁵ MCWM, 26 September 1895

⁷⁶ 'Dugdale Proceedings', Day 1, p.1

deterred either Kelty or Batty in their endeavours to blacken the reputation of the senior policeman. During the Dugdale inquiry the identity of these memorialists was never mentioned however on 4 March 1897 a note appears in the Watch Committee minutes that an extract of the full council meeting of 3 March 1897 was read: These memorialists were: Manchester District Congregational Association, the Manchester Wesleyan District Council and the Council of Evangelical Free Churches in Manchester and Salford.⁷⁷

At the Watch Committee meeting on 3 December 1896 there appears a subheading referring to charges against Superintendent Bannister. The attention of the chairman had been called to the case of a disorderly house in Shepley Street after proceedings on 28 and 30 November 1896 at the city police court. The Committee were instructed to meet on 7 December to enquire into the matter. Superintendent Bannister was instructed to be there with all relevant documents. At the Special Meeting certain proceedings of the city police were discussed. Alderman Mark was in the chair and 21 Watch Committee members present. Also in attendance were three justices of the peace who were sitting at the city police court on the dates in November in question. At the outset Superintendent Bannister said that he had already resigned his position because the frequent attacks on him were ruining his health. The city court proceedings were discussed in relation to Shepley Street at which the non-execution of an arrest warrant was outlined and the relationship of Bannister and the Shepley Street occupant was heard. After discussion an amendment was tabled to the effect that:

- the resignation of Superintendent Bannister be accepted
- there should be an inquiry in the committee into the general fitness of Superintendent Bannister and the discipline of the 'D' division' before his resignation be considered
- Superintendent Bannister should be suspended

⁷⁷ MCWM, 4 March 1897

There were seven votes for and eight against so the amendment was not accepted.⁷⁸

There was a further amendment 'that the charge of impropriety withholding the warrant has not been proved to the satisfaction of the Committee and Superintendent Bannister's resignation be accepted'. Six votes were in favour and nine votes against which meant that this amendment was also defeated. Another amendment was discussed to the effect that 'in the opinion of this committee the warrant against William Taylor was improperly withdrawn from the hands of Sergeant Henscoe and that the Committee has ceased to have confidence in Superintendent Bannister and therefore accept his immediate resignation'. There were nine votes in favour of this amendment and six against which meant that it was accepted and that the committee resolved to accept Superintendent Bannister's resignation. The superintendent had considerable support even at this late stage.

On 10 December 1896, the Chief Constable indicated that Superintendent Hornsby had been placed in temporary charge of the 'D' Division,⁷⁹ whilst on 17 December 1896 the town clerk was asked to present a report to the Watch Committee in relation to the position of the Police Act of 1890 in relation to Bannister.⁸⁰ Although the matter was unspecified there are grounds to believe that the item under discussion was in relation to Bannister's pension. And on 24 December 1896 a letter was discussed written by the City Police Court Office Committee where the charges against Superintendent Bannister were discovered. The letter noted that 'Bannister was not entitled to receive the pension usually given 'for faithful service'.⁸¹

The Watch Committee report had been presented to the Manchester Council in the normal manner but the Bannister case had become a matter of interest to all

⁷⁸ MCWM minutes, 7 December 1896

⁷⁹ MCWM, 10 December 1896

⁸⁰ MCWM, 17 December 1896

⁸¹ MCWM, 24 December 1896

councillors. At the Watch Committee meeting on 7 January 1897 a full council minute is included to the effect that all Watch Committee business had been approved by the council with the exception of the Bannister case. The full council requested the Watch Committee to provide prints of all the evidence, letters and meeting notes to be provided to each member of the full Manchester council. The minutes then instructed the Watch Committee to provide similar to the press – however a note on this subject (21 January 1897) indicates that the town clerk had been advised by counsel not to do this! There is also a note prepared by the town clerk in relation to the Chief Constable. There was obviously some concern about the relationship of the Chief Constable and the Watch Committee in relation to staff matters. The town clerk had looked at the details of the Municipal Corporation Act of 1882 and his advice was that the Watch Committee retained power of appointment, suspension, dismissal etc., not the Chief Constable.⁸² The motion was debated in the Watch Committee on 21 January 1897 that they should apply to the Home Office for an investigation into Manchester police administration. The minutes of 4 February 1897 indicate that the full council had discussed and approved the decision of the Watch Committee in relation to ex-Superintendent Bannister and this was ratified at a special Watch Committee meeting on 17 February 1897– unanimously – and the minutes indicate that on 18 February all notes, correspondence, minutes etc. would be available in the town clerk’s office to which any council member could refer.

The minutes of 4 March 1897 record that a communication had been received from several memorialists requesting the Lord Mayor to press for a Home Office inquiry into the activities of the city police force. The memorialists indicated that the state of the police in Manchester was being discussed regularly and widely. These memorialists were those that appear in section 4.4.

⁸² MCWM, 21 January 1897

However, at the end of the meeting 6 May 1897 and after having discussed (*inter alia*) the accounts, defaulters, number of fires attended and juvenile hawkers and just before the discussion of 'capture of dogs' appear a note in correspondence between the Lord Mayor of Manchester, the Home Office and the Treasury. The note indicates that it was agreed to hold an inquiry into the Manchester City police force and that Mr. J.S. Dugdale Q.C. would be appointed Commissioner. By 20 May 1897 the Watch Committee had obviously decided to take the Inquiry more seriously. The notes of their meetings indicate that they had decided to meet every Monday at 10:15am at the Police Court and also to meet at the conclusion of the day's business and that they should be present during the inquiry. These meetings continued regularly thereafter although no discussions or resolutions are minuted. It should be noted that despite their obvious involvement the Watch Committee were observers not actors in the drama.

The committee continued its business and there are no more mentions of the inquiry or the subject of Bannister's pension until 22 July 1897, at which the report prepared by the commissioner Mr. Dugdale containing his findings which appear glued into the minutes. These had been provided under the signature of Mr Kenelm Digby of the Home Office dated 16 July 1897. At the meeting on 29 July 1897 the motion was put to the committee that after the 'Dugdale Report' had been published they should resign as a committee. For the motion were six including Alderman King, Councillors Boyle, Greenhow, E Holt, McCabe and Royce. Against were eight including Alderman Mark, Alderman Rushworth, Councillors Andrews, Copland, Mainwaring, Murray, Needham and Mishal.

The Committee then proceeded to instruct the Chief Constable to provide recommendations to improve the efficiency and morale of the 'D' Division. The recommendations written by the Chief Constable in relation to the inquiry were provided on 3 August 1897. The Chief Constable submitted his report dated 31 July in

which he accepts Dugdale's recommendations. He (the Chief Constable) was indecisive about the recommendation to let the Chief Constable make all decisions about appointments, promotions etc. It has already been stated that the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882 outlined the position between the Watch Committee and the Chief Constable – it is not the Chief Constables' decision to make. At the Dugdale inquiry he was quite firm about where the responsibility lay but did not follow this through at the Watch Committee.⁸³ He said that it is for the Watch Committee to make the decisions but that in reality the Chief Constable is the one making the decisions. One is left slightly confused about the Chief Constable's position as he clearly contradicted himself. However, what happened subsequently could provide some clue. The Watch Committee accepted the Chief Constable's recommendations.

4.8 The Chief Constable's Report, Watch Committee 3 August 1897

At the Watch Committee meeting on 29 July 1897 a resolution was passed instructing the Chief Constable to present a report, the subject of which was to recommend a course of action to render the 'D' Division of the Manchester city police force in an appropriately efficient condition. The response of Chief Constable is glued into the minutes of the meeting of 3 August 1897 and is dated 31 July 1897. He addressed the recommendations made by the commissioner in the order in which they were presented in the report. Each point is given a letter, that is A-K and each is given the page reference relating to the 'Dugdale Report'. To ensure that those reading his report should have no difficulty in understanding what the commissioner refers to, the points made in the Home Office sponsored report is repeated in red type.

The first of the points addressed (**Item A**, p.13) refers to the knowledge in the possession of the police inspectors about activities of Superintendent Bannister and

⁸³ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 9, p. 91, p. 729

their lack of courage in not informing the Chief Constable. The Chief Constable identifies the individuals involved – Inspectors Bailey, Holland, Henshaw and Dobbs. He reports that Dobbs was not a confidant of Bannister, Bailey had since retired and Holland had resigned. That left Henshall, and the Chief Constable is of the opinion that transferring and reprimanding him would be the appropriate course of action. Having been made aware of the long-standing and vicious influence of Bannister it would seem that the full weight of responsibility is being heaped on one inspector.

Item B, (p. 13) refers to the lack of courage displayed by sergeants and constables – particularly those who were employed on cases involving brothels. The Chief Constable named the policemen who had been referred to in the proceedings as Sergeant Cubberley and Police Constables Bloomberg and Beckinsale. Whilst the Chief Constable understood the significant influence that the ex-superintendent exerted over the officers it was, he reported, the right course of action to ask them to resign their position in the police force. Other officers involved but to a lesser degree, should not be asked to resign but should be severely reprimanded. Bannister had been a rogue officer for many years and his influence over his men was acknowledged by everyone at the inquiry. He had the power of advancement, transfer to good or bad duties and even dismissal – it would have been a very brave junior officer who would report his feelings to the Chief Constable particularly as any request to see the Chief Constable would have to be approved by the superintendent himself.

Item C (p.13). Mr Dugdale referred to the general efficiency of the 'D' Division in every respect other than the influence Bannister exerted over the vice and liquor trade. Bannister had now gone and a new superintendent – Buckley – was in post. The Chief Constable indicated that the efficiency of the 'D' Division had already improved but that the responsibility for further improvement now lay in the hands of Watch Committee. The Chief Constable 'very respectfully suggests' to his employers, the Watch Committee, that he had presented his recommendations and the fate of the

police officers involved lay with them. Superintendent Buckley had been involved in these recommendations and it was Buckley who was now responsible for delivering the efficiency of the 'D' Division. The Chief Constable was looking to see how the Watch Committee would respond to his report. If they took no action then bad apples would remain. It must have been very frustrating for the Chief Constable to have to read the recommendations emanating from Mr. Dugdale, translate them into an action plan and have to wait for the Watch Committee to approve them before he could begin to put the police force into a better state of affairs. It could not possibly have escaped his notice that there were members of the Watch Committee who could have been implicated in the affair of Bannister had Dugdale chosen to examine them. These men were now in a position to influence the way that the vice and liquor trade were to be policed in the future.

Item D (p. 14). Dugdale recommended that officers in the police force who were involved in the affair should be dealt with. However, he tinges his recommendations with an acknowledgement that there could be circumstances of which he is unaware. The Chief Constable acknowledged this point and indicates that he has taken the views of the commissioner into consideration when proposing to deal with the officers involved and the reorganisation proposed for the improvement of force.

Item E (p. 17). There had been an instance identified during the inquiry where a letter of complaint addressed to the Chief Constable had been passed to Superintendent Bannister who then showed it to the party being complained about. This led to a subsequent court case and a successful action for libel. The commissioner and the members of the inquiry were surprised that this letter had not be treated as a private and privileged communication. The Chief Constable reported that all correspondence of this sort was indeed treated as privileged, then as now. Unfortunately, this instance was another case of inappropriate action by Superintendent Bannister. The Chief Constable reported that he had had a 'Private and Confidential' stamp made to be

used in such circumstances. The Chief Constable reported that any officer who gave publicity to such correspondence would be responsible for a 'grave dereliction of duty'.

Item G (p. 17). At the inquiry, it had been alleged that the limited numbers of police officers employed and the numbers of licensed premises in Manchester meant that it was impossible to provide an appropriate inspection regime. There were 3,000 licensed premises involved. The Chief Constable reported his opinion that there was in place such a rigorous inspection carried out that there had been several instances in preceding years when overzealousness had been reported to the Watch Committee. Those carrying out inspections were usually in uniform. Mr Dugdale had recommended that more plainclothes activity might prove effective. The Chief Constable took note of this suggestion.

Item H (p. 17). Retired police officers who were in receipt of a police pension were not barred from successfully applying for a licence to be a publican. Should any beneficiary of a police pension commit misconduct then his pension could be forfeit. This effectively ensured his good conduct. Mr Dugdale was of the opinion that it was inadvisable for an ex-policeman to hold a licence for a public house in the Division in which he had served. This, he said, was open to abuse. The Chief Constable reported that there was no bar to this practice but he would in future report to the licensing justices if any such retired policeman applied for a licence.

Item I (p. 18) During the inquiry the success of the police campaigns against brothels and prostitution in Manchester was remarked upon. However, further discussion indicated that this 'success' was really a feature of the way that the statistics were recorded. Such was the strict definition of a brothel used by the police that the numbers which could be directed into this classification were very few. The inquiry

recommended that a more serviceable wording be applied. The Chief Constable accepted this without demur.

There is no Item J.

Item K (p. 18). At the centre of the inquiry was the influence exerted by the Watch Committee in the appointment of Superintendent Bannister against the wishes of the professional police management. Indeed, even at this time the Watch Committee took it upon themselves to approve all appointments, promotions, transfers and reorganisations. Mr Dugdale rightly pointed out that councillors in the Watch Committee had no method of determining the individuals who were best suited to become a police officer or those who should be preferred for advancement. At the inquiry, Mr Malcolm Wood, the Chief Constable, had been asked about the subject of staff recruitment and advancement. He replied 'I think that I ought to have all the appointments. I cannot be responsible for men appointed by the Watch Committee or anyone else. If I take a file of sergeants down to the Town Hall.... I guarantee that they would not know their names'.⁸⁴ The commissioner suggested that the model adopted by the county police was more efficient, where the professionals made these decisions. The legal position relating to the Watch Committee and their responsibilities was not discussed and the Chief Constable merely indicated that changes in this policy are in the gift of the Watch Committee and he will leave this point entirely to them. However, he does indicate that this is what happens now in practical terms. The Chief Constable then proceeds to propose several promotions and transfers which would make improvements to the 'D' Division. This point allows the Chief Constable the opportunity for making a real case for allowing him and his professional police colleagues to take responsibility for that element of police force management that they should have and that if they had that responsibility it would be to the benefit of the police force. That he did not take this opportunity is surprising and it could be one

⁸⁴ 'Dugdale Proceedings', day 9, p,91, p729

of several reasons why he does not take it. He might have been aware of the legal position in relation to borough forces which places staff responsibility in the politicians' hands and realised that this door was closed. He might have had discussions about this point with members of the Watch Committee who had offered him no support. He could have been in the position of having to respond quickly and not have the opportunity for discussion and did not want to offend his employers. He might also have been acutely aware that the Watch Committee saw the Chief Constable as responsible for the whole Bannister episode and he knew that he had few friends at the political level. What happened later might support this latter suggestion.

4.9 Debate about the report from the Chief Constable

A reading of the minutes of the meeting of the Watch Committee on 3 August 1897 indicates that the Chief Constable's report engendered considerable debate and that the approval of the report was by no means automatic. The motion to approve the report was voted on item by item. This special meeting was called and convened on 3 August 1897 to discuss the police inquiry and was attended by Alderman Mark in the chair, Aldermen Hopkinson, King, Lloyd, and Rushworth plus Councillors Andrews, Boyle, Edward Holt, McCabe, Mainwaring, Murray, Needham, Nichol, Samson and Sinclair. This was a meeting called to discuss a matter of pressing urgency on an issue that had been the most serious concern not only for the Watch Committee and its members, but also the Manchester city council and the ratepayers. Even so only fifteen members turned up out of those that were eligible. It was agreed that all previous minutes on the subject of the inquiry were accurate and approved. It was agreed that the shorthand notes of the inquiry should be printed in their entirety and forwarded to every member of the Manchester council. Such was the rancour at the meeting that even this procedural motion was opposed, but carried 6:3 with Alderman

King and councillors, Boyle, E.Holt, McCabe, Mainwaring, Needham in favour and Alderman Hopkinson and councillors Nichol and Samson against.

The motion was then debated that 'this meeting be adjourned till the council had an opportunity of considering the minutes of the last meeting of this committee'. It is clearly minuted that the motion refers to the 'council'. It is not clear from the context whether this means giving the Watch Committee members more time or whether the intention was for the full council to be involved further. In the event the motion failed 4:8 with for: Alderman King, and councillors: Boyle, E. Holt, McCabe; and against were Aldermen Hopkinson, Mark, Rushworth and Councillors Andrews, Mainwaring, Needham, Nichol and Samson. Even at this early stage it appeared that there was a sizeable group of members who were prepared to oppose any progress.

The motion was then put that the report of the Chief Constable be presented under the resolution of the committee dated 29 July 1897. No vote was taken but the Chief Constable's report appeared in the minutes. The motion was put ' that the recommendations of the Chief Constable be marked and approved of'. There is no record of the content of any subsequent debate but the voting on this motion was approved 9:3 with Aldermen Hopkinson and Lloyd with Councillors Boyle, Needham, Nichol, E. Holt, Mainwaring, Samson and Sinclair for; and against: Aldermen King and Rushworth and Councillor McCabe. It is surprising that on such serious motions there were a number of abstentions. Indeed, on the motion that the Chief Constables report be approved only 9 voted for and 3 against, meaning that, excluding the Chairman, there were 2 attendees who did not vote. Even at this point, a motion of amendment to postpone the approval of the Chief Constable's report was discussed and was tied at 7:7 and it was only lost when the chairman, Alderman Mark, used his casting vote against the motion. Alderman Mark appears to have voted twice – once during the vote on the amendment and once as chairman using his casting vote.

Thereupon a further amendment was made to the effect that the Chief Constable's report be approved, but that Sergeant Cubberley, and Police Constables Bloomfield and Beckinsale should be transferred to another Division. The Chief Constable had accepted the opinion of Mr. Dugdale that these 3 officers were most involved with and implicated in the Bannister affair. His recommendation was that they should be asked to resign.⁸⁵ This amendment generated another split. It was lost 5:9.

There then next appears a series of resolutions the motions having been moved and approved:

The recommendation of the Chief Constable marked B be approved, with exactly the same recommendation for C, D, E, F, G, H & I and K. A motion was put after the Chief Constable had made a recommendation in his final section 'K' relating to appointments for 'D' Division and that these should be approved. An amendment was moved that these recommendations be postponed until a further report is prepared by the Chief Constable but this amendment failed 5:9. It was proving to be very difficult to get any form of consensus or agreement in this meeting. Every motion attracted amendments with a significant minority attempting to refer back to the full council. For the motion were Aldermen King and Rushworth with Councillors Andrews, McCabe, and Sinclair. Against the motion: Aldermen Hopkinson and Mark and Councillors Boyle, Holt, Mainwaring, Murray, Needham, Nichol and Samson.

In the event the Chief Constables report was approved by the Watch Committee in all respects and recommendations although there was considerable debate and disagreement throughout. Having read and digested the Chief Constable's recommendations it is difficult to find anything of any substance that could have generated such heat. The Chief Constable was in almost all respects at pains to follow

⁸⁵ Chief Constables Report p.2 (B. p.13)

through the recommendations provided by Mr. Dugdale. It is possible that the Chief Constable had lost the confidence of his employers.

4.10 Manchester Council

In August, the council discussed the Watch Committee's proceedings including the minutes of the discussion up to and including 3 August which included the recommendations provided by the Chief Constable.⁸⁶ After a complicated series of motions and amendments the Watch Committee proceedings and recommendations were approved, although even this decision was overturned very shortly after.

After the inquiry had been concluded and the 'Report' by the commissioner received in Manchester, events in the council chamber became rancorous. The debate occurred on 4 August 1897 and was reported at length and in some detail in the *Manchester Guardian* on the day after.⁸⁷ The newspaper devoted a full page to discussion under the heading 'The Police Scandal, Animated Discussion' and covered all six columns of very tight script. There was a full attendance of the Manchester city council and the 'Strangers Gallery' was packed. Alderman Mark, the chairman of the Watch Committee, proposed that the proceedings of the Watch Committee in relation to the Inquiry be approved by the council. However, no report had been made to the non-Watch Committee members who would be unaware of those discussions. The deliberations of the Watch Committee had gone on so long on the previous day that the shorthand notes taken had not been transcribed and printed in time for the council meeting. Alderman Mark requested the town clerk to read those minutes to the full council. The town clerk also read out the report by the Chief Constable in relation to his response to the inquiry. That report covered one complete column in the newspaper. This report contains recommendations A - K and each was debated by

⁸⁶ MCWM, 4 August 1897

⁸⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 5 August 1897, p. 3

the council individually and voted on accordingly. These recommendations were largely accepted. This is where the 'animated' discussion began. It is at this point that members of the council made efforts to assert their authority over the Watch Committee. The Watch Committee was a very senior body in the council structure so this action itself is telling.

At the meeting in August, a senior and long-standing member of the council, Sir John Harwood, complained strongly that the Watch Committee had received the report prepared by Commissioner Dugdale and made recommendations thereto. Initially the Watch Committee had refused the opportunity to act upon the initial complaints to the council and the council itself had to approach the government to establish the Inquiry. The report, said Sir John, belonged to the council and the council should have the right to respond to it. The Watch Committee had not been instructed by the council to report and the first order of business was for the council to consider its implications: 'their proceedings [the Watch Committee] could never be respected and could never inspire confidence'. A motion was proposed by Councillor McCabe who wanted those members of the Watch Committee who had not accepted the proposal to ask for Bannister's resignation in 1893 to resign. He could not, he said, get at those 1893 members so he wanted to get at the 'pachydermatous' [sic] majority of the Watch Committee. He moved that the committee as a whole should resign. This motion was rejected. Significantly Councillor McCabe had been and was a current member of the Watch Committee although he felt that no confidence could be held in that body and continued saying that he had had enough of this 'miserable business'. Mr. McCabe said that it was plain that Bannister was not fit for the job but he had friends on the Watch Committee and even in the previous December when they sat all day and heard shocking things about him, the Watch Committee had still voted fourteen to four for Bannister. McCabe said that members of the Watch Committee were dishonourable. Such was the determination of the Watch Committee that several

members spoke at the meeting subsequently and all said they would not resign and had nothing to apologise for.

Sir John Harwood continued his earlier criticism of the police and its management. He turned his attention to the Chief Constable and his apparent lack of knowledge of Bannister's activities. He (Sir John) maintained that everybody other than the Chief Constable knew about Bannister and that if the Chief Constable did not know then he should have known. What confidence could the public have in the Chief Constable? Alderman Southern suggested that he might propose a vote of censure on the Watch Committee. It is of some significance to hear the voices of members of the Watch Committee. Some were belligerent in their assertion of having done no wrong. Others were like Mr. Mainwaring who, whilst defending the committee, also indicated that he would not like to have another three years of anxiety and be made to feel that he was a confederate of Bannister. He criticized a fellow member of the committee 'a man of forty years standing in the Council who should have been ashamed to sit in secret and gain knowledge and not transmit it for the benefit of the Chairman'. Passions were running very strongly for and against with even Watch Committee members fighting amongst themselves. Voting on motions and amendments were taken with the result that on almost every occasion voting was split and won or lost by one or two votes out of the 80 present. Very little light and considerable heat had been the result.⁸⁸

On 19 August 1897, the minutes record that on 16 August the Chief Constable had started a six months' leave of absence and one week later – 26 August – the Deputy Chief Constable reported to the Watch Committee meeting that Sergeant Cubberley and Constables Bloomfield and Beckinsale wished to appear before the committee in support of their cases. The interview with the officers appears responsible for a change of heart within the committee because on 27 August 1897 – the day immediately after – and with Alderman Lloyd in the chair and ten members of the committee present, a

⁸⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, 5 August 1897, p.3

motion to withdraw those resolutions passed by the Watch Committee on 3 August 1897 was passed 8:3. For the motion: Aldermen King, Lloyd and Rushworth with Councillors McCabe, Mainwaring, Needham, Samson and Uttley. Against the motion were Alderman Crossfield and Councillors Andrews and Nichol.

From the wording of the motion it appears that everything decided upon on 3 August 1897 had been withdrawn although the context of the meeting only related to the three officers. It might have been, but it is certainly not clear, that the motion may be related to the decision to ask the three officers to resign. It was certainly the case when the town clerk reported to the Home Secretary in his letter dated 14 October 1897 that on 4 August 1897 the Manchester city council had declined to accept the Report. In a memorandum dated 1 September 1897 the Watch Committee had withdrawn the report with a view to its reconsideration. The letter referred to the question about the Chief Constable's resignation, his pension arrangements and delays due to the imminence of the municipal elections. On 12 November 1897 the Lord Mayor of Manchester, Robert Gibson, reported to the Home Office that a new committee (including several newly elected members) had been appointed and that a new method of electing chairmen of all Manchester council committees had been established.

The new Watch Committee appointed after the municipal elections was convened at a Special Meeting on 22 November 1897. It had been provided with copies of all correspondence, minutes, reports and recommendations that had occurred in relation to the inquiry by Mr. Dugdale. The matter was still unresolved after the decision of the council not to accept the Watch Committee's recommendation and the subsequent decision by the Watch Committee to withdraw their proposals. The members of the new Committee were in the position of looking at the problem again but in the light of all that had gone before. It is quite possible that the Manchester city council had not accepted the recommendations from the Chief Constable and its subsequent approval

by the Watch Committee, less because they disagreed with them and more because both members of the old committee and the Chief Constable were held jointly and severally responsible for the long-standing problems that had been identified. That the solutions provided by the new committee were very similar to that proposed by the old committee was not surprising – after all they were addressing the same issues. But the difference was that the previous Watch Committee chairman, Alderman Mark, had resigned wholly from council business and the membership of the Watch Committee had been refreshed by new blood. It has not been stated anywhere but it is likely that when a new committee was formed any councillor who had been tainted by the proceedings might not have been selected again. Whilst it remains unproven any councillor who could have profited by a conflict of interest might have been excluded from consideration. If that was a reason then the Dugdale inquiry would indeed have had a valuable outcome.

In determining who was ultimately responsible for the maladministration in the police force of the city of Manchester it is not difficult to arrive at a culprit and that would be Alderman John Mark. Mark represented St Andrews Ward on the Manchester City Council from 1877 to 1897; alderman in 1889, and mayor between 1889–1890 and 1890–1891 during which Manchester joined with several out townships to increase the area and population of the city. He also actively supported the city in its association with the Ship Canal Company. He resigned all his responsibilities under the city council at the conclusion of the Dugdale inquiry. The minutes do not conflate the two instances but there is a clear implication that such was the scandal surrounding the maladministration that Alderman Mark must, as a point of honour, have resigned his chairmanship and membership of the Watch Committee. He had been chairman of the Watch Committee between 1893 and 1897. He obviously felt so responsible that he vacated his illustrious position of alderman of the city of Manchester which took him many years of service to attain. The scandal appears to have been caused by a group of Watch Committee members using their influence to protect their vested

interests in the liquor and vice trades and utilising the services of Superintendent Bannister to achieve it. Alderman Mark might have been guilty by association and could be accused of poor management but he is unlikely to have been protecting his interests. He was a Quaker, a justice of the peace and a Knight of the Grecian Royal Order of the Saviour, he was the founder of the firm of John Mark and Co Ltd, tea merchants, family grocers and wine and spirits merchants of St Ann's Square in Manchester and Jermyn Street, London. He had commenced business in 1863. Mark resigned in 1897 because of the scandal. He is unlikely to have been involved in scandalous activities.⁸⁹

The meeting on 22 November 1897 provided a series of resolutions to finalise the response of the Manchester city council and which, if adopted, could be sent to the Home Office as the reply required by Whitehall. The minutes of the Watch Committee meeting on 18 November show that on 12 November 1897 the Lord Mayor of Manchester had written to the Home Secretary. He was informing the Secretary of State that the Dugdale inquiry was still an issue in Manchester and that a new Watch Committee had been appointed with members who had not been in the previous Committee. These new members needed time to acquaint themselves with matters but that the matter would receive special attention. The meeting on 22 November 1897 was a 'special' meeting which was devoted to this issue. The Committee had been provided with all previous documentation up to 31 October 1897 and also the advice of the town clerk dated 21 January 1897. A series of resolutions were passed which did not differ markedly from the previous attempts. The 'D' Division officers involved would be reminded that misconduct would be severely dealt with. Officers and men borrowing money from each other was a very bad practice and should stop. All letters and other communications should be treated as 'private and privileged'. Public houses would be visited by plain clothes officers. Retired policeman wishing to

⁸⁹ W.T. Pike, *A Dictionary of Edwardian Biography, Manchester and Salford*; (Edinburgh: Bell,1899), p.123.

hold a liquor license in a public house in their old division was bad practice and the licensing committee of the city justices would be made aware of any such applicant. Statistics would be redefined and improved. There were areas of difference from the Chief Constable Malcolm Wood's recommendations that after considerable debate had been approved by the previous Watch Committee. The new committee had been aware of the actions of those officers involved with Bannister – Cubberley, Bloomberg and Beckinsale. They were also aware that these officers had been open and honest at the inquiry. They however wanted to be less draconian than the Chief Constable and decided to reprimand the officers without asking for their resignation. The issue of where the responsibility for 'staff matters' lay had been heavily mentioned in evidence to the inquiry. However, the town clerk had provided advice that legislation left the responsibility for such matters firmly in the hands of the politicians and it was not theirs to cede to any other body. The third area of difference between the old and new committees was the later creation of a sub-committee of thirteen members being established whose responsibility was to improve the efficiency and morale of the 'D' Division. Notably, in addition to the Chief Constable and his deputy, six of this committee had been Watch Committee members prior to the municipal elections. It had been discussed at the inquiry that any policeman who wished to see the Chief Constable had to get permission from his superintendent. If that officer was part of the problem then the Chief Constable would never be made aware of the problem. Councillor Lambert proposed that any officer could have an interview with the Chief Constable or Watch Committee chairman and that interview would be regarded as private and confidential. It was however resolved that this be adjourned until the initial meeting in January 1898.

The Lord Mayor again wrote to the Home Office indicating the new Watch Committee resolutions in respect of the Dugdale Inquiry. He indicated that all the resolutions of the Watch Committee had been read and approved by the city council. The item in respect of interviews with the Chief Constable was resolved in the minutes of 6

January 1898 when the *Constable's Guide* was rewritten. The sub-committee looking into the 'D' Division improvement issued instructions on 13 January 1898 that any officer wishing to provide them with information could submit their name to the sub-committee chairman who had the power to offer and provide protection to any officer providing such information.

4.11 The Chief Constable – his pension and his retirement

On 12 August 1897, the Chief Constable Mr C Malcolm Wood was reportedly ill and had been seen by a doctor. He was suffering from 'insomnia' and 'debility' and had lost 28lbs in six months. In modern day parlance, it can only be concluded that the Chief Constable was suffering from a stress-related illness. He was relieved of his duties for six months for recuperation.

By 2 September 1897 it was noted that Manchester city council had reviewed the Watch Committee minutes and approved them with the exception of those relating to the police inquiry. The motion was made and amendments received to the effect that all minutes be approved in relation to the police inquiry with the exception of the response by the Chief Constable to the 'Dugdale Report' and that the Watch Committee be asked to discuss with the Chief Constable his retirement on full pension. On 9 September 1897, it was reported that the lord mayor, chairman of the Watch Committee and the deputy chairman had seen the Chief Constable and reported:

- That with regard to the state of his health the Chief Constable should resign as soon as his 20 years' service be attained, on two thirds' current salary.
- That the Watch Committee passed a resolution to the effect that his resignation was due to ill-health and they express their appreciation for long and valuable service.

This motion was accepted and that this should be given to the press.

The minutes of the meeting on 30 September 1897 contain a letter from the Home Office asking what steps have been taken to implement the Dugdale recommendations contained in the commissioner's report. On 7 October 1897, it was resolved to accept the Watch Committee's recommendations with the exception of that relating to the Chief Constable, his resignation and his retirement pension.

One week later at the meeting on 14 October 1897 a letter to the Home Office was discussed in relation to their deliberations about the Dugdale recommendations. The Lord Mayor had written to the Home Office indicating that the Chief Constable reported that all actions were being implemented. He also said that the next Watch Committee would report further after the municipal elections at the beginning of November. It is noted that the Watch Committee chairman, Alderman Mark, had resigned from all council offices. There was an ongoing correspondence between the town clerk and the Chief Constable about the state of the pension arrangements previously agreed. The town clerk was in a difficult position. He had to write to the Chief Constable informing him that what both parties had thought to be agreed beforehand in relation to his pension arrangements, were still to be the subject of further discussion.

By 11 November 1897 and after the municipal election a new Watch Committee had been appointed. The committee was largely the same as the previous year. With the exception of Aldermen Ashcroft, Hopkinson and Mark and Councillors Andrews, Estcort, Fitzgerald, Samson, Sinclair and Uttley the committee was composed of substantially the same people as in the previous year. However, on 18 November 1897 the new lord mayor of Manchester wrote to the Home Office indicating that the practice of electing all committees had changed. Instead of an informal arrangement to appoint the chairman and the deputy chairman a vote would be taken by the committee members and the new appointments would be made democratically. There had always been an element of change in the composition of the Watch Committee membership so a change of nine members was not unusual and perhaps not significant. What was significant is there did not appear to be any acceptance of any institutional responsibility nor acknowledgement on the part of individual culpability. The haste with which the Watch Committee wished to be rid of the Chief Constable is an indication that either they held him responsible or as politicians they had identified a scapegoat.

By 2 December 1897 a reply to the Home Office was sent which in almost all respects indicated that they had accepted and were implementing all Dugdale's recommendations.⁹⁰ However what they said did not wholly chime because:

- There was mention of a newly constituted committee but two thirds of the membership remained.
- They did not concede that the Chief Constable should have 'staff responsibilities'.

On 16 December 1897, this situation in respect of the Chief Constable was still outstanding and a sub-committee was appointed to deal with the issue, which

⁹⁰ MCWM, 2 December 1897

reported on 23 December 1897. Previous arrangements had not proved successful even though the Chief Constable was of the opinion that he had accepted a settlement. The sub-committee indicated that they would like the Chief Constable to retire on £500 pa. The Chief Constable said that his health had improved and he would be happy to resume his duties on 16 February 1898. One month later on 27 January 1898 it was reported that the Chief Constable had indicated that he would be prepared to resign on the £500 per annum pension that he had previously indicated was unacceptable. He resigned after 19 years' service. The pension scale indicated that he could resign at a minimum of £250 per annum and a maximum £500 per annum. That the Watch Committee agreed to allow him to resign on the maximum is an indication of how much they wanted to get rid of him. The Watch Committee also indicated that they would pay his further salary for three months which was his three-month notice period. At whatever cost the Watch Committee had their scapegoat and thenceforth could lay their finger on who they thought was the culprit.

On 13 January 1898, the Committee minutes record that the lord mayor again wrote to the Home Secretary indicating that as he has not received any further letter from the Home Office he now regarded the matter of the Dugdale inquiry closed. He also informed the Home Office of the resignation of the Chief Constable Mr.C. Malcolm Wood, the terms of the settlement and the impending recruitment of his replacement.

4.12 The appointment of the new Chief Constable.

At the meeting of the appointed Sub-Committee on 24th March 1898 it was recorded that six candidates had been selected for interview:

Mr. Philip S Clay – Chief Constable of Nottingham
Mr. Lumbly – Head Constable of Leicester
Mr. HB le Mesurier – Chief Constable of Portsmouth
Mr. Robert Peacock – Chief Constable of Oldham
Commander CJ Scott – Chief Constable of Salford
Mr. W Fell Smith – Acting Chief Constable of Manchester.

The candidates were informed that it was to be the Watch Committee who would make the appointment and they should appear before the committee at 10:30 AM the following day. At that meeting Robert Peacock was appointed at £800 per annum subject to city council approval. This approval is pasted into the minutes of the meeting of 7 April 1898 and Robert Peacock was sworn in as Constable of the City of Manchester at the meeting on 14 April 1898.

C Malcolm Wood (in post 1881-1896) had resigned and been replaced on an interim basis by his deputy Acting Chief Constable W Fell Smith and the Watch Committee later appointed Robert Peacock who up to that point had been Chief Constable of the neighbouring borough of Oldham. Robert Peacock's appointment was a departure for the Manchester force and larger borough forces generally. He had been a policeman for most of his working life having joined the Bradford police aged 19. Nine years later he joined Canterbury police prior to joining and spending six years in Oldham. It had been common to recruit a Chief Constable with a certain social background and a man who had joined the police force as a constable was unlikely to possess it. The Dugdale inquiry had demonstrated to the Watch Committee and the ratepayers of Manchester that their senior policeman needed considerable qualities to find the right course for their police force. One of these qualities was sufficient policing experience to handle the many challenges which would face him. A witness at the Dugdale inquiry commented on the unfortunate appointment of Superintendent Bannister. He thought

that 'the Watch Committees ruling with regard to the force was wrong at the very foundation of it. Promotion should be made according to seniority and record'.⁹¹ The appointment of Robert Peacock indicated that the Watch Committee had learnt something and his initial actions quickly improved the morale and efficiency of the whole force. He remained Chief Constable until retiring in 1926 when he retired after serving the Manchester police force for 28 years.⁹² Peacock however was not immune from attacks on both himself and his force from Manchester councillors. Manchester councillor Ross Clyne received a writ for slander against the Chief Constable but succeeded in claiming privilege. Ross Clyne then attacked him again over the refusal of the police to award a liquor license to Pitt Hardacre, the owner of a local theatre. Peacock was attacked on a personal basis. These charges were refuted and the Chief Constable exonerated but it was evident throughout that there was a sizeable council grouping that resented his growing position, power and authority within the police force.⁹³ The Chief Constable was merely a servant of the council and they did not want him to forget it.

4.13 Concluding remarks

The foregoing has been about the democratic process in the late nineteenth century in Manchester and Salford. Democracy throws up unintended consequences which, quite often, are down to the individuals who make up that body of men on the council. In an attempt to create a more professional police force and a career for individual policemen the MCWM introduced a Superannuation Fund which would benefit those men who joined the force at an early age and spent the rest of their working lives in the service of the Watch Committee. Experienced policemen were a valuable commodity and it was from here that supplied the ranks of sergeant, inspector,

⁹¹ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 98

⁹² Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 168

⁹³ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 108

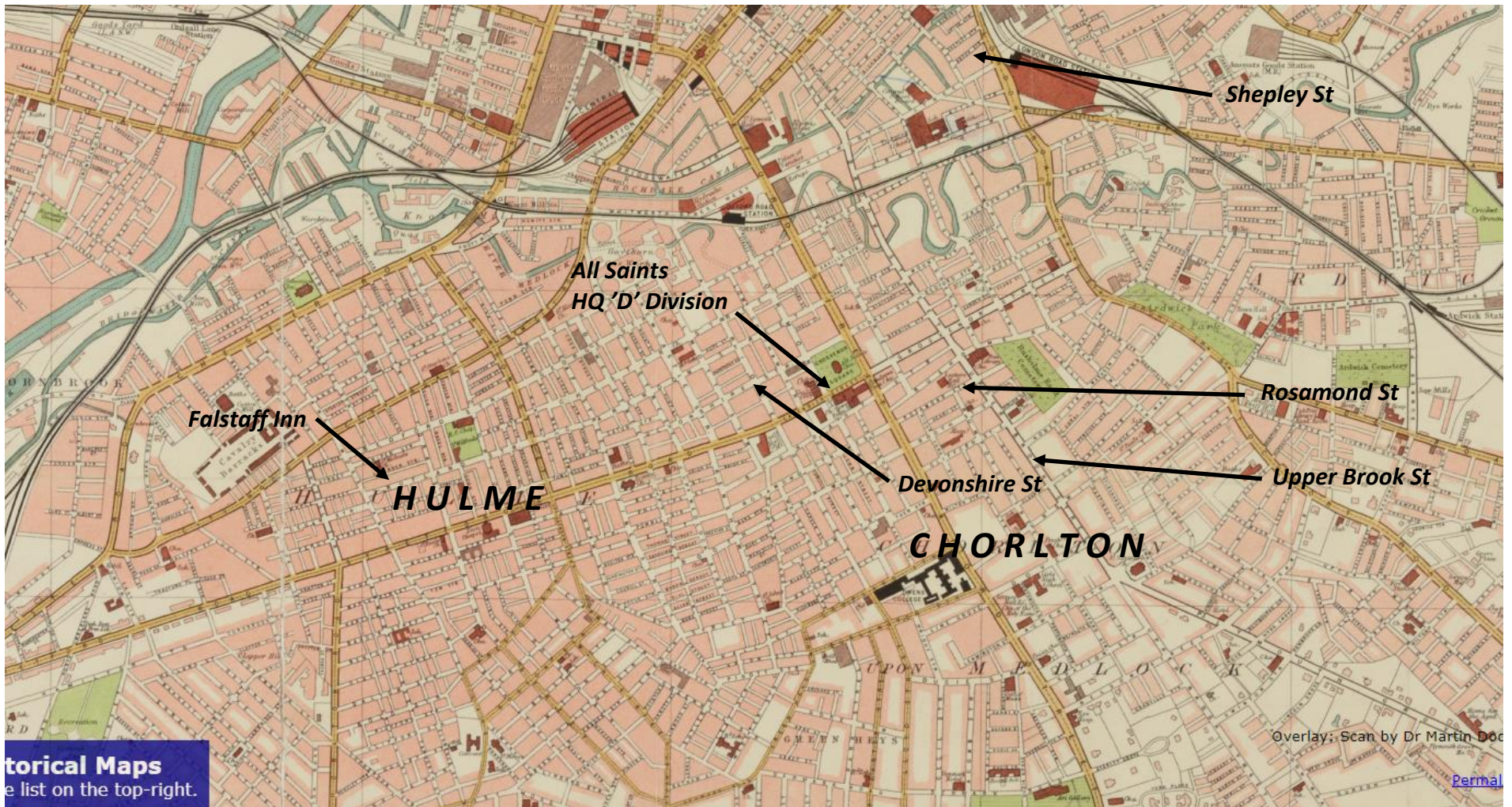
superintendent and even Chief Constable. The complexities of a superannuation fund were unknown to these councillors who did not seek professional help in running the fund. As a consequence, and very quickly, these funds ran into serious financial difficulties. These councillors simply were not competent to deal with the arrangements that they had set up. Their experience did not negate the idea for a need for pension funds for the benefit of their servants but it brought home to these small industrialists that this subject was a specialist activity. This was acknowledged when central government stepped in with their contribution which ensured the financial viability of this valuable employee benefit. The Salford councillors who ran one of the most complex and prestigious of committees– the gas committee – were similarly not competent to deal with the technicalities of their subject. They were inept, not simply in misunderstanding their subject, but also in their inability to handle the technocrat who managed the operation on their behalf.

There were members of the MCWM in the period 1880-1900 who had been elected democratically to the role of a councillor and had volunteered for their committee of choice– the Watch Committee, because they were protecting their interests. Licensing was a relatively new subject in this period and they wanted to be in a position of influence when licensing and the activities of the police force could have a detrimental effect on their liquor trade. They probably were unaware that their activities were at odds with their responsibilities because they might have thought that their responsibilities were as much towards their profession as to their constituents. Whilst they were looking after themselves they had in Superintendent Bannister a creature who in whatever capacity served them well. It took many years before the citizens of Manchester could counter their corruption but it was the Chief Constable who paid the price.

In Watch Committee meetings, the members continually voted against any activity or enquiry that would throw light on their murky practices. They struggled to come to

terms with the proceedings and recommendations in the 'Dugdale Report'. Even in the debates subsequent to the inquiry itself they were to be found pugnaciously insisting that they had not been involved in any activity they thought was at odds with their wider responsibilities. One outcome of the Dugdale inquiry was that the council had to wrest control of the police force from the Watch Committee whilst at the same time reconstituting the Watch Committee into a body with new blood. This new body would have an opportunity to manage the police force without the involvement of vested interests.

Figure 4: Map showing geographical location of Manchester Police 'D' Division in 1900 based on Hulme and Chorlton on Medlock. Shows significant addresses in 'Bannister' inquiry



Source: www.victorianpolicestation.org, Historical maps online; Mr. Duncan Broady, Curator, GMPPM

Conclusion

Introduction

There has been an absence of academic work that relates to provincial policing and little about policing in Manchester or Salford. This thesis has provided an enhanced perception of this subject. It is a contribution to the historiography of policing and provides a unique insight into the development of the policing function of two large provincial towns in the late nineteenth century. Research has been conducted from the perspective of the two policing authorities – the respective Watch Committees – and the Chief Constables. The thesis describes the issues with which they were confronted, the pressures brought to bear on elected representatives and the way that their ‘servant’, the Chief Constable, implemented the executive orders provided by this senior council committee.

Methodology

The methodology adopted has been to access the minutes of that council committee of the two boroughs of Manchester and Salford that constituted the police authorities. These committees, the Watch Committees - provided policy-making, executive management and oversight for several different functions, the prime and most important function being that relating to the borough police. The members of this committee were senior elected representatives, councillors. The annual report of the respective Chief Constables, and the statistics relating to policing, crime and criminality, have been used to describe, quantitatively, the activities in which the police were involved. Comparisons between the priorities adopted by the two boroughs and assigned by the Watch Committees to their respective senior policeman have been made where appropriate. Although the populations of the two towns

constituted the same type of people the priorities given to the police in some cases proved to be markedly different. These priority differences have been identified where possible.

Identifying those offences that occupied the resources employed by the police in Manchester and Salford gives an insight into the policies which were of importance to the policing authority. It can be deduced that elected officials would have been influenced by those who elected them and instigated action of which the electorate would have approved. The statistics prepared by the Chief Constable and published in his Annual Report have illuminated those offences upon which he was directed to concentrate. This thesis has provided an analysis of police performance in Manchester and Salford in the late nineteenth century so that the role they were expected to perform can be understood. The success or otherwise of the respective police forces of Manchester and Salford will give an indication of the abilities and capabilities of the two forces. It will tell about the type of offence that they were capable of dealing with and importantly those who the authorities wanted to be policed.

Location in the historiography

The latter quarter of the twentieth century saw an emerging historiography of policing, much of which has concentrated on the subject of the development of policing nationally as it changed from an 'old' model to 'new' policing after the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. There is very little historiography of the development of this subject which relates to the provinces, only a general description of policing in Manchester and a dearth of work which relates to the borough of Salford. This thesis is a contribution to fill this void.

The major contribution in terms of context, volume of work and content to the historiography is provided by Emsley; with significant contributions by Reiner; Joyce;

Steedman; Tobias; Godfrey; Godfrey and Lawrence; Gatrell; and Gatrell, Lehman and Parker.¹ Limited research has been conducted, and discussions about provincial forces can be found in Storch, who writes about northern England; D. Taylor, Middlesbrough; Welsh, Kingston-Upon-Hull, 1836-1866; David Jones, East Anglia, London, South Wales; Phillips, Black Country; Woolnough, Cumbria in the mid-nineteenth century; and Churchill, Leeds 1830-1890.² The difficulties surrounding use and misuse of statistics emanating from policing authorities can be found in Gatrell and Hadden; and Williams.³ This thesis will add to the historiography of policing in provincial towns. Contributions to the historiography relating to Manchester comes from Redford who includes a short chapter in his three-volume work on the history of Manchester; Hewitt who provides a general history of policing in Manchester; and Kidd who also makes mention of policing in his general histories of Manchester.⁴ The borough of Salford has had even less attention with Greenall who provides a passing reference to policing in Salford, and Daniels, who concentrated on the creation of the Salford police force after incorporation in 1844 and three ensuing decades.⁵ This thesis will provide

¹ Emsley, 'Police Politics'; *ibid*, *The Great British Bobby*; *ibid*, *Crime, Police and Penal Policy*; *ibid*, 'Crime and Punishment'; *ibid*, *Hard Men*; *ibid*, 'What did Policemen do'; *ibid*, *The English Police*; *ibid*, 'Crime in 19th Century Britain'; *ibid*, *Policing and its Context*; Reiner, *Crime, The Mystery; The Politics of the Police*; Joyce, 'the Transition'; Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*; Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society; Nineteenth-Century Crime*; Godfrey, *Crime in England, 1880 – 1945*; Godfrey and Lawrence, *Crime and Justice; History and Crime*; Gatrell, 'Incorporation and the Pursuit of Liberal Hegemony'; Gatrell, 'Crime and the Law'

² Storch, 'The Plague of the Blue Locusts'; *ibid*, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary'; D. Taylor, 'No Remedy', *Policing the Victorian Town; The New Police*; Welsh, 'The Reform of Urban Policing'; Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community*; Phillips, *A Just Measure of Crime*; Phillips, 'A New Engine of Power'; Woolnough, 'The Policing of Petty Crime'; Churchill, 'Crime, Policing and Control'

³ Gatrell and Haddon, 'Criminal Statistics'; and Williams, 'Counting Crimes and Counting People'

⁴ Redford, *History of Local Government*; Hewitt, *Capital of Discontent; History of Policing*; Kidd, *Manchester*; *ibid*, 'Outcast Manchester'

⁵ Greenall, *Victorian Salford*; Daniels, 'The Watch Committee'

significant additional material to the historiography of policing in Manchester and Salford.

The significance of Manchester and Salford

To anyone from outside the area Manchester and Salford were as one, indivisible. Such is the proximity of what in the early nineteenth century became two cities that moving from one to the other was not difficult and could happen without it being appreciated. Both areas were firmly located in the cotton industry and their populations could have worked in one borough and lived in the other. It is however significant that administratively they were separate entities, dealing with the same problems but maintaining a determined independence. This thesis has compared and contrasted criminality in Manchester and Salford between 1880 and 1900. Its start point was Daniels which provided research into the period 1844-1880 and concluded that so few indictable crimes were reported to the police and recorded in the Annual Reports of the Salford Chief Constable that the Salford police force was not equipped to deal with this type of crime.⁶ This thesis begins by identifying the enormous population growth in Manchester and Salford. The population of the two areas was still growing enormously and was a product of an economy that was still industrialising even though that period known as the 'Industrial Revolution' was coming to an end. In Manchester in 1880 the population was 341,508 – the population by 1900 was estimated to be 548,768 people. These figures indicate that Manchester's population had increased by 60 percent in two decades. This would have challenged any civic authority. It was into this environment that the Watch Committee had to operate. The only caveat that can be employed to explain these statistics is that this enormous jump in population was not just about population growth but about the assimilation of various stable out-townships incorporating into the borough for environmental reasons. By contrast Salford's assimilation of out-townships had already been completed by 1880.

⁶ Daniels, 'The Watch Committee', p. 50

However, population growth was still occurring at a significant rate. The population of Salford increased by 30 percent over two decades. The local authorities of the two towns had to create a policing response which would contain crime and criminality over the period 1880-1900. This thesis has analysed statistical material published by the two policing authorities to determine the response of the two boroughs and their success or otherwise. Due regard has been paid to the difficulties of deriving meaningful conclusions from statistics provided by policing authorities.

The late nineteenth century

The period chosen, 1880-1900, is one in which national government took an increasingly active part in the development of the country, and local government matured into a body that effectively managed the affairs of boroughs, towns and cities. During the latter part of the nineteenth century national government created the General Board of Health, the Local Government Act Office and the Local Government Board.⁷ These developments, coupled with legislation such as the 1872-1875 Public Health Acts and the 1870 Education Act transformed the powers under which municipal government could operate and which increased the responsibilities of local councillors and the police. These developments would have changed the municipal environment and would have had a significant influence upon the way that a councillor viewed the extent of his role and function. The period closes in Manchester after the Dugdale inquiry (1897) which exposed corruption amongst Watch Committee councillors and gave the Chief Constable more and enduring influence.⁸ Analyses of these national moments, as they related to and influenced policing in Manchester and Salford in the late nineteenth century has been conducted by use of both primary and

⁷ Fraser, *Municipal Reform*, p. 9

⁸ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 97.

secondary sources. This has helped place these moments in their local political, economic, social and industrial context.

Policing numbers

A significant figure which points to the determination of these authorities in combating crime was policing numbers. The number of policeman employed by the Manchester Watch Committee increased over the period: 847 in 1880, and 1,001, by 1900. In Manchester in 1880 there was one policeman for every 403 people. By 1900 this had degraded to 1 policeman to every 548 residents although this can be explained because Manchester was expanding and those out townships assimilated were less densely populated requiring less policing. The investment in or cost of policing per resident decreased from 2s 4d to 2s. In contrast, Salford policing complement remained at 300 officers in 1880 and 1890 and only increased to 330 by 1900. The population to policeman ratio was not as good as that of Manchester. In 1880 there was one policeman for every 572 inhabitants of Salford and by 1900 was one policeman to every 677 residents. However, the investment in policing or cost per resident was less than that of Manchester, 2s in 1880 and 1s 9d in 1900. The statistics in Tables 3 and 4 indicate that Manchester was better policed than its neighbour, if only numerically. Context in relation to the operation and success of the Manchester police force has been obtained by utilizing the memoirs of a very successful Manchester detective. Jerome Caminada was a serving policeman who joined as a police constable and retired as a detective superintendent. His memoirs contain much contextual information which has been used throughout this thesis.⁹

⁹ Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life*

Summary – indictable crime

This thesis has described the incidence of indictable crime in Manchester and Salford. Indictable crime was a serious class of crime and heard by legal professionals. Two classes of crime have been identified in the thesis as worthy of discussion: offences against the person and theft. These have been chosen because of the serious nature of the crimes and because of the prevalence of these crimes recorded within the statistics. The Annual Reports of the Chief Constables of Manchester and Salford contain a wealth of data relating to criminality within the two boroughs. The statistics as presented in this thesis indicate that the experience of these two neighbouring boroughs is broadly similar to other studies conducted and confirmed in other academic writing. There was a marked decrease in aggregate criminality between 1880 and 1900. However, it confirms the assertion in Churchill that despite this decrease the policing authorities had a great deal of difficulty getting to grips with theft and the significant part played by women in criminality generally (Emsley).¹⁰ Fictional accounts of the period would indicate that this was a lawless and violent period. However, the number of crimes reported to the police give lie to this. Appendix 5 shows that in Manchester for 1880, 1890 and 1900 there were six, seven and two recorded murders or attempted murders respectively. In Salford in 1880 there was one, none in 1890 and one in 1900. In 1880 in Manchester one of the people apprehended was female and in Salford in 1900 a woman was caught. In the three years 1880, 1890 and 1900 the instance of manslaughter in both areas amounted to a grand total of 25 offences committed, 18 of which were in Manchester. Of the apprehensions generated by these 25 crimes nine people were discharged before they went to trial. The situation is very similar for the offence of wounding. 35 offences were committed as an aggregate of the three years for the two boroughs, 10 of which were in Salford. It is difficult to

¹⁰ Churchill, 'Crime, Policing and Control', pp. 107,124; Emsley,'Crime and Punishment', pp. 11-12

escape the conclusion that the numbers of offences against the person recorded by the police in the two boroughs of Manchester and Salford for these three periods were low for an area containing upwards of 750,000 people.

An element of this thesis has concentrated on 'indictable' crime in Manchester and Salford. For both boroughs, the numbers of crimes recorded was remarkably low for a large population. For the crimes recorded under the heading 'offences against the person' it is reasonable to assume that such crimes would come to the notice of the policing authorities. This being the case it can be concluded that Manchester and Salford were not violent communities. For those crimes which come under the heading 'theft' it is conceivable that there was considerable under-reporting although by 1900 there is evidence that the inhabitants had greater faith in their police forces which is confirmed by the cooperation showed to the police in solving a far greater proportion of offences committed. This could only have been as a result of residents providing more information to the police to aid their detection.

Summary: non-indictable crime

Whereas indictable crime in Manchester and Salford during 1880 – 1900 is numbered in single figures or tens, non-indictable offences have more classes and have more numerous offences recorded by the police. Non-indictable offences are less serious than their counterpart and are dealt with by magistrates in local courts. The prevalence of numbers in these categories helps to identify what the police were directed to concentrate upon and what they were capable of doing. It is also possible from these statistics to identify who the authorities wanted to be policed. The thesis highlights several from an extensive list of non-indictable offences. To take one example, Table 31 relates to prostitution and drunkenness in Manchester and Salford 1880-1900. In Manchester in 1880, 23,232 summary offences were recorded. Drunkenness accounted for 40 percent on the total. The incidence of prostitution adds a further 8 percent to this number. Thus in 1880 approximately 50 percent of all

summary offences in Manchester were related to these two categories. Confirming this, in 1900 in Salford 6,207 summary offences were recorded by the police and 44 percent were in these same two categories. So, in both these neighbouring towns police activity was considerably biased towards non-indictable crime and the focus of their policing related to keeping the streets clear of inebriates and prostitutes. This is where the authorities directed their police to concentrate and this informs us about who was to be policed.

Observations

The conclusions that have been reached as a result of this study are, firstly, that both nationally and in Manchester and Salford the structures that underpinned the development of policing became increasingly mature and effective. Policemen and police forces became more experienced and more adept at interpreting their role and how they were expected to fulfill it. The Municipal Corporations Act 1835 (discussed in the introduction & 1.5) allowed towns to achieve boroughs status. The Counties and Borough Police Act of 1856 (introduction & 2.2) introduced HMIC which was the initial step in national police regulation. This generated an element of consistency in the way that Chief Constables and Watch Committees approached their roles. The Municipal Corporation (New Charters) Act of 1877 (4.2) made some headway into reducing the number of small Borough forces, the Local Government Act of 1888 (2.2) further helped with this and the Police Act 1890 (2.2) introduced the concept of pensions for policemen. This had a significant effect on the professionalism of the police when policing became more a career not merely a job during economic downturns.

Secondly, this professionalism was further evidence by those men who were appointed to lead police forces. Appendix 3 identifies those the appointed to the role of Chief Constable. Robert Torrens was Salford Chief Constable (1869 to 1880). He was a career soldier who had lived and worked in Australia and Canada. He was succeeded by William Marshall who had risen through the ranks of the Salford police force and

was appointed Chief Constable for 10 years commencing in 1880. On his resignation Charles Scott was appointed. Scott applied for this senior role having already had experience as Chief Constable of a borough force in Dewsbury. The requirements of a Watch Committee had changed. No longer was military experience required but professional policing experience at a senior level.

Manchester's experience was similar. Appendix 3 identifies three men who served as Chief Constable. William Palin (1857-1881), Charles Wood (1881 to 1898) and Robert Peacock (1898-1926). Palin was a career soldier in the Indian army, Wood spent most in life in India being employed in the Indian civil service and he was succeeded by Robert Peacock, a man who had joined the police as a constable worked his way through the ranks in Sheffield and became a Chief Constable in Oldham before moving to the very senior policing role as Chief Constable in Manchester. A senior policeman during the period under review needed the skills required to work with elected politicians. This was evidenced by Nott-Bower (1.9) who describes his difficulties working with Watch Committee members and their colleagues who were not members of that committee. Policing in this period became more complex as social legislation relating to education and public health and nuisance required the intervention of the police in areas that they were initially unfamiliar.

Thirdly, localism was an inherent element of the relationship (or lack of) between the two boroughs, at least at a formal level, and there is an absence of any recognition of policing in Manchester appearing in the Salford Watch Committee minutes and no mention of Salford in the Manchester Watch Committee minutes. Prior to the period under review, but significantly because it demonstrates its longstanding nature, the Salford Fire Superintendent had attempted an accommodation with his Manchester counterpart and had been formally admonished for his trouble (Introduction). There was a recognition of the water and sanitary problems that beset both towns in the late nineteenth century and a committee was set up to explore these two areas combining

to solve them. A proposal to put combination to a vote of the two populations was proposed but rejected at a Salford council meeting, (2.13). However, at an informal level there appeared to be considerable cooperation and whenever an issue needed considering and a body established to discuss them a pressure group or charity would include representation from both areas. The Manchester and Salford Ladies' Sanitary Association, the Manchester and Salford Womens' Citizens Association and the Manchester and Salford Trades Council are merely three such examples. Inspector Jerome Caminada of the Manchester police indicates how this informal cooperation worked when he pursued a suspect over the border into Weaste in Salford to catch a thief and on a separate occasion was helped in Cheetham Hill in Manchester by a Salford Constable (3.6.1).

Fourthly, if the success of the policing function is to be measured by falling crime rates then policing nationally and in Manchester and Salford proved to be effective. Gatrell and Hadden, and many other historians of crime, record this phenomenon but cannot provide a compelling reason for this apparent success (3.2). Similarly, the statistics of crime prove to be an unreliable indicator (Introduction & 3.6) whilst unrecorded crime, the 'dark number', render crime statistics merely as being in relation to police activity, not the rate of crime (Introduction & 3.10). What can be demonstrated through crime statistics is the effort expended by the police. In Manchester, in particular, the police tried very hard in combating the vice of prostitution. Much pressure was put on the Chief Constable of Manchester to eradicate this problem. That he responded in terms of policing effort is undeniable. That his success in this area remains moot is largely because the statistics he presents merely indicate the lengths he had to go to and the elasticity of definition he used. It is more useful to review these statistics in terms of trends and the acceptance that this remains what the politicians on the Watch Committee wanted their Chief Constable to publish.

Finally, politicians, and in unregulated times municipal employees, are in a position to wield power. In Salford, in the later years of the nineteenth century, Alderman Peter Gendall used his position to hire and also dismiss those Chief Constables that he did not like. There are oblique references in historical documents that at least two Salford Chief Constables left their position because Peter Gendall decided that they should go, (1.9). Peter Gendall was the leader of the Salford Ratepayers Retrenchment Association whose sole purpose was to ensure that any council activity that might have increased local rates payable, would be defeated. In the long-term Salford remained a less developed borough than Manchester largely because of failure to invest in the area (1.9). Similarly, in Salford in the 1880s, Samuel Hunter was appointed Gas Engineer. His technical ability and success in orchestrating the Gas Committee allowed him to award contracts for coal for the gas works and over many years enrich himself in the process, (2.4; 4.3). Hunter was eventually convicted of fraud and went to prison.

In Manchester in 1897 the council was reduced to reporting the activities of its own Watch Committee to the Home Office and asking for the government to conduct an investigation into the efficiency of the police force of Manchester. What was uncovered was an embarrassment to the city when it was discovered that for many years a superintendent of police, William Bannister, had been in the confidence of those Watch Committee members representing the liquor trade and who had himself protected brothel owners. Bannister protected his associates by warning them of impending police action and so minimising any damage to those he was protecting. He was successful for many years, which proved very embarrassing for the Chief Constable who professed no knowledge of Bannisters' activities. After publication of the inquiry, conducted by a commissioner from the Home Office, Bannister had resigned, the Chief Constable was forced to retire but the Watch committee initially refused to resign. Only after the next municipal elections was the composition of that committee changed but even then, some of the implicated members remained on the committee (4).

Reaffirmation of thesis objectives

The genesis of this thesis was the dissertation 'The Watch Committee of the borough of Salford 1844-1880' (Daniels). The conclusion arrived at was that the people of Salford were well served by their council committee that provided executive management of their policing function. This subsequent thesis has built on this by providing a comparison between the Watch Committees of Manchester and Salford. They are two neighbouring towns, who share a contiguous border, whose populations had significant interaction, who were dealing with similar problems and who reacted to the pressures upon them differently. It has been discussed that the statistics provided had been published by the respective Watch Committees and their Chief Constables. Both were capable of providing information that would place them and their function in the best light. The statistics are quite simply those deemed worthy of recording by the police- this is the initial caveat. The second, in a world in which the police were not the first recourse for the population, is that they contain only the numbers of offences that were reported to them. Indictable crimes reported to and recorded by the police were remarkably low for such a large population and the numbers of arrests and convictions thereon can only confirm the conclusion by Daniels that the police were not equipped to deal with this type of offence: either catching offenders or, if apprehended, bringing successful prosecutions. The prevalence of numbers which appear in categories of non-indictable crimes, and given the same two caveats as before, would indicate where the capacity and capability of the police lay. There is confirmation here that the police were employed by the middle classes to keep the working classes at bay.

That the respective local councils were successful has been proven. That both in Manchester and Salford there were dramatic instances in which the activities of local politicians and officials contributed to scandals has also been demonstrated. The two boroughs at an official level operated as distinct bodies with limited interaction. This is

made obvious by an almost complete lack of mention of the other borough in either of the minutes of the Watch Committee or Chief Constable's annual submissions. That there was a more pragmatic co-operation below executive level can be inferred from how porous the border became when suspected criminals needed to be pursued. Crime rates fell nationally during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the statistics produced in Manchester and Salford confirm the voracity of this. However further research will be required to identify why.

This research has made a unique contribution to the historiography of policing by successfully identifying crime rates and criminality in Manchester and Salford and providing further insight into the provision of provincial policing between 1880-1900.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

Remit and Powers assumed by the Salford Watch Committee

At a meeting of the Salford Council held on 9 November 1888 it was resolved that the Mayor, the ex-Mayor and 16 members of the Council should form a Committee with the mayor and the ex-mayor, eight aldermen and eight councillors.¹¹ Even at this late date the list of committee members still reflects representation from the three townships, Salford, Pendleton and Broughton. This grouping was to be designated the 'General Watch Committee' (any three to form a quorum), with all the powers given by law to such committee. The importance inherent in this committee mirrors that of its larger neighbour. It has a similar number of elected representatives forming the committee – which for a Borough approximately one half the size is of some significance. Eighteen Councillors formed this grouping and any forum that could count amongst its members, the Mayor, the ex-Mayor and 8 Aldermen indicates just how seriously its activities were taken. The business undertaken by the 'General Watch Committee' of the borough of Salford was extensive but had its activities- particularly the 'police'- monitored by the Home Office with significant monetary reward for exercising the function successfully. And lastly, but by no means finally, the Watch Committee spent considerable sums of money and those footing the bill would have more than a passing interest in its activities. The money they spent paying their policemen, all of who lived in the borough would have had a significant impact on the local economy. A significant number of councillors were 'in trade' and would have

¹¹ SWC, 9 November 1888

been in a very advantageous position to ensure that these contracts might come their way.

The minutes of this committee notes that the council delegated to this committee all the powers, authorities and discretions vested in or exercisable by the Council under or by virtue of the following Acts respectively namely; -

'The Police (Counties and Boroughs) Act, 1859.

The Gunpowder Act, 1860.

The Petroleum Acts, 1871 and 1879, and the Petroleum (Hawkers) Act, 1881 and any acts to be past for altering, enlarging, or amending the same.

The Chimney Sweepers Act 1875.

The Explosives Act, 1875.

The Destructive Insects Act, 1877.

The Weights and Measures Act, 1878.

The Children's Dangerous Performance Act, 1879.

The Explosive Substances Act 1883.

The Borough Constables Act, 1883.

The Riot (Damages) Acts, 1886.

The Police Disabilities Removal Act, 1887 the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887.

The Merchandise Marks Act, 1887

The Hawkens Act, 1888.

And also under or by virtue of the following sections of the Salford Improvement Act, 1862 namely: -

Section 128 (as to Weights and Measures).

Section 238 to 251, both inclusive (as to Constables, etc.)

Section 270 to 281, both inclusive (as to Fire Police, etc.)

Section 282 to 289, both inclusive (as to Places of Public Resort, etc.)

Section 290 to 323, both inclusive (as to Hackney Carriages)

Section 326 to 336, both inclusive (as to Brokers, etc.)

Section 337 (as to Sale of fireworks, etc.)

Under or by virtue of the Bylaws as to Hackney Carriages and the Drivers thereof, Omnibuses and Stage Carriages, and Carriage in the streets; Pleasure Boats on the River Irwell; and Bicycles and Velocipedes.

Under or by virtue of sections 50, 51, 52 and 55 of the Salford Improvement Act, 1867.

Under or by virtue of section 104 of the Salford Tramways and Improvement Act 1875, as to pulling down boards and placards.

And the Council hereby empower such Committee to do all such acts, matters, and things as may be necessary or incidental to the execution of the aforesaid powers, authorities, and discretions, keeping separate accounts of the receipts and disbursements, with reference to each department, of the business so committed to such Committee as aforesaid, and to complete all such business as has been committed by the Council to the General Watch Committee of the past year'.¹²

The Watch Committee organised themselves into eight committees. Like their Manchester colleagues the business of the Watch Committee was primarily that of the Police whilst sub-committees dealt with the other business. These would arrange their meetings to co-ordinate with the meetings of the Watch Committee who would

¹² SWC, November 1888

receive their reports. Ad hoc sub-committees could be created as can be seen from the list below. There was a standing sub-committee who were to oversee police stations, their upkeep, maintenance and purpose. Due to special circumstances two new police stations were in the process of being commissioned and a special sub-committee had been created just for the commissioning purpose.

SWC sub-committees:

Accounts and Police Clothing.

Stations

Fire Brigade

Weights, Measures and Petroleum

Hackney Coach

Band

Pendleton and Chapel Street Police Stations

Ambulance Corps.

In tandem with the respective local Improvement Acts the published authority under which the two Watch Committees operated indicate differences of approach – one Council with another. Both Watch Committees indicated that they would utilize the Explosives Act 1875, the Weights and Measures Act 1878, the Petroleum Acts 1871 to 1881, the Chimney Sweepers Act 1875 and the Riot Damages Act 1886. Manchester indicated that they will use the powers under the Prevention of Crime Act 1871, the Dogs Act 1871 and the Infant Life Protection Act of 1872. Salford meanwhile indicate that their remit will include the Destructive Insects Act of 1887, the Children’s Dangerous Performance Act 1879, the Explosive Substances Act 1883, the Borough Constables Act 1883, the Police Disabilities Removal Act 1887, the Merchandise Marks Act 1887 and the Porkers Act of 1888. What is not known is whether the powers under

which the two councils, as published, indicate a slightly different approach or scope to their operations or whether one Council was being slightly more fastidious than the other.

The first meeting of the 1879-1880 municipal year is representative of those meetings. The Salford Committee structure was confirmed for the year and representatives appointed to individual Committees. No doubt each senior representative would have the option and choice of each subcommittee of the Watch Committee to which they wanted to contribute. Alderman Gendall, by this point had been serving on the Borough Council Watch Committee for 35 years, was allocated to each one of the subcommittees – except the Police Band. Alderman Gendall as the senior representative of the SRRA¹³ would have wanted to have his opinion about every prospective purchasing decision.¹⁴ After 35 years his voice would have been influential within the Council and any Sub-committee.

The meeting on 11 November 1879 accepted notification all new invoices for services previously contracted and received receipts for any Police or Fire Brigade activity for which it was appropriate to charge. They could expect full payment, defer, postpone or indeed write off any amount as they considered appropriate.¹⁵

They received resignations, made appointments – such as for probationary constables, made promotions such as confirming the good performance of probationers and promoting them to the ranks of a Police Constable. They assumed responsibility for every member of the force, promoted every policeman from Constable to endorsing their choice of Chief Constable. As with their colleagues in Manchester it was only the latter that required ratification.

¹³ SRRA

¹⁴ SWC, 11 November 1879

¹⁵ SWC, 11 November 1879

At each meeting entries into the 'defaulters book' would be discussed and the whole range of sanctions could be applied by the Committee. The committee would be informed of gratuities received by the Police. They would give or withhold their permission a gratuity to be paid. The above indicates the import of their deliberations. As a counterweight to this and to indicate the minutiae of their discussions it was agreed at this meeting on 11 November 1879 that they discussed and gave approval for their Police Band to hold concerts during the winter months in each of the Salford Township Town Halls.¹⁶

The members of the SWC took their responsibilities seriously and nothing happened within their sphere of influence that they had not approved.

¹⁶ SWC, 11 November 1879

Appendix 2.

Powers and remit of the Manchester Watch Committee

The following is an extract from the minutes of the Manchester Watch Committee and details the remit of the Watch Committee for the year 1888-1889.¹⁷

Resolved.

That the following 18 members of the Council, viz: -

– who have respectively been duly elected such members, and now form part of the body of the Council be and they hereby are elected a Committee to be called the ‘Watch Committee’ for the ensuing year (any three of whom to form a quorum), with all the powers given by law to such Committees, and also with the power to carry out the police regulations contained in or incorporated with the Public Health Act 1875, or any local Act in force within the city, or an Act extending or amending such Acts respectively;-

Also to manage and transact such as and so many of the matters and purposes relating to the City fire engine establishment which the Council, by sections 115-122, both inclusive, of an Act of the seventh and eighth year of the reign of her present Majesty, 40, intituled ‘ An Act for the Good Government and Police Regulations of the Borough of Manchester’, section 20 of the Manchester Town Hall and Improvement Act 1866 and section 8 of the Manchester City Extension Act 1885, are directed and authorised to do and perform;-

Also, to manage and transact the several other matters and purposes having reference to the licensing and regulation of brokers or dealers in second-hand

¹⁷ MCWC, November 1888

goods and marine stores, required to be managed, transact, done, or performed by the 181st and following sections up to and inclusive of the 191st section of the said Act of the seventh and eighth year of her present Majesty; -

Also to carry out and enforce sections 25, 26 and 58 of the Manchester Corporation Act 1882, relating to places kept or used for public dancing, music, or of the public entertainment of the like and; -

Also to carry out and enforce within the City the provisions contained in the Prevention of Crimes Act 1871, the Dogs Act 1871, the Infant Life Protection Act 1872, the Explosives Act 1875, the Weights and Measures Act 1878, the Petroleum Acts 1871-1881, the Chimney Sweepers Act 1875 and the Riot (Damages) Act 1886; -

Also from and after the day appointed for such purposes under the provisions of the Local Government Act 1888 to direct and manage the powers and business to be transferred to and vested in the Council by that Act in respect of the following matters, namely; -

- (1). Licensing under any General Act of houses and other places for music and for dancing, and granting of Licenses under the Racecourses Licensing Act 1879 [section 3 (v)].
- (2). Weights and Measures [section 3 (xii)].
- (3). Matters arising under the Riot (Damages) Act 1886 [section 3 (xiv)].
- (4) Licensing of houses or places for the public performance of stage plays [sections 7 (A), s.28 (2)]
- (5) the Explosives Act 1875[Section 7 (B), s.28 (2)].
- (6). Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act [Section 3, (vii)].

And that the said committee shall have, and the Council here by delegate to the said Committee, all and the powers, authorities and discretion relating to the matters and purposes aforesaid which have been given to or are now we posed by the said Acts or any Acts extending or amending the same respectively, in the Council; -

And the said Committee are here by authorised to carry out the instructions given to the Watch Committee for the past year, or which may from time to time be given to the said Committee by this Council.

Such, then, was the authority of the Watch Committee that the membership is composed of very senior and influential elected members of the council. On this occasion for 1888-1889, 18 Council Members had been elected to the Watch Committee. The Mayor, Alderman Bennett was elected Chairman and the Deputy Chairman, Alderman King, the ex-Mayor. Three other Aldermen were committee members of which Alderman, Goldschmidt, had been Mayor previously. 12 Councillors were elected, most of whom were long serving members of the full Council and the Watch Committee. The remit of the Watch Committee was extensive and includes inter alia police regulation contained under public health legislation, the Fire Brigade, Weights and Measures, the local Manchester Improvement Acts of 1866 - 1888, licensing for second-hand goods, marine stores, public dancing, music or public entertainment. It also includes regulation of common lodging houses and to enforce within the City, prevention of crime, drug regulation, infant life protection, petroleum and explosives legislation, riots and in relation to the sweeping chimneys. What is not mentioned because, presumably, it relates to the law of the land, are responsibilities relating to criminal activities. The Watch Committee organised themselves into several subcommittees for the purposes of administering their role. These subcommittees were; -

(1) Audit, in which the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, three Aldermen and six Councillors formed the membership to examine all accounts prior to the same being submitted to the Committee for approval.

(2) Clothing, in which the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, one Alderman and four Councillors formed the membership.

(3) Weights and Measures and Petroleum in which the Chairman and Deputy Chairman were joined by six Councillors. Their role was to licence for the sale of distilled spirits, petroleum, mineral turpentine and other non-petroleum products.

(4). Lock-ups. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman were joined by six Councillors. Their business was providing and furnishing lock-ups and the City Jail.

(5). Fire Brigade. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman were joined by three Aldermen and eight Councillors.

(6). Horses and Prison Vans. That in the event of any horses being required for the purposes of the Committee Councillors A.E. Lloyd and Mark be authorised to purchase same.

The composition of the groups reveals that there was no subcommittee that dealt with the Police. The weekly minutes indicate that policing took up most of all matters dealt with in the meeting. Clearly the policy and management of the police was conducted by the Watch Committee as a whole every week and that the business of the various subcommittees were conducted in such a manner that they could report at the full Watch Committee meeting.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman were the appointed leaders of each subcommittee. Aldermen and senior Councillors were represented on both the Audit

and Fire Brigade subcommittees. So, for example, Alderman Goldschmidt, who had previously been a Mayor of Manchester dealt with policing matters via the Watch Committee and was a member of the Audit Subcommittee and also the Fire Brigade subcommittee. The Executive who was responsible to the Watch Committee for presentation of information to the Council, for answering questions which arose, for preparing draft budgets for all departments and for implementing decisions and managing the work of the departments was the Chief Constable. Other than the Chief Constable, Watch Committee members were elected and unpaid. The level of responsibility was significant and the amount of time required by these people would have been substantial. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman, being the Mayor and the ex-Mayor, would have been a feature of all full Council committees and Subcommittees. They must have been very hard pressed for time and as amateurs must have been able to call upon family income to fulfil their responsibilities. It would not be a surprise if the role of the Councillor or Alderman could only have been fulfilled by wealthy individuals who could devote the whole of their time to Council Business.

Appendix 3

Identifying the Chief Constables

Salford

The list provided, tables 9 &10, indicates that Salford had ten chief constables between the first, John Diggles in post (1844-1845) and at the end of the period John Hallam in post (1898-1908). The following provides some detail about those Chief Constables that were in post between 1880-1900.

Captain Robert Torrens (b. 1827 and in post 1869-1880)

Captain Robert Torrens had been appointed in 1869 at the age of 42. A printed sheet addressed to the Council of the Borough of Salford and signed by the Chairman of the Watch Committee Thomas Davies informs the Council that Torrens lived in Strangeways, Manchester was formerly a Captain in the 55th Regiment and later a Constable in the Gold Escort Militia of Australia. He then moved to Canada where he was Clerk to the Parliaments in Vancouver and subsequently Stipendiary magistrate in that Island.¹⁸ Captain Torrens resigned in 1880.

At the SWC minutes dated 23 December 1879 the Mayor of Salford submitted and read a medical certificate about Chief Constable Captain R. W. Torrens. Torrens had broken his arm and his medical certificate indicating that 'his general health was considerably deranged and debilitated'. A recuperation period of six weeks to 2 months in a 'warmer and more congenial climate' was recommended. A subcommittee was formed consisting of the mayor, Mr. Alderman Lee and Mr. Councilor Makinson

¹⁸ SWC, 24 May 1869

with 'full power to take such steps as they may consider desirable in the interests of the public service'.¹⁹ This seemingly innocuous note gives an impression to the reader that the Watch Committee had arrived at a conclusion and that these three gentlemen had been deputed to bring the matter to a head. That which was not confirmed in the written minutes was explained in an article in the *Manchester Guardian* in February 1880. The article relates to a meeting of the Salford Town Council under the heading 'The Chief Constableness'. The town clerk reported that the Chief Constable had tendered his resignation and the terms of his severance were discussed and approved. In answer to a question posed by a non-member of the Watch Committee, the Mayor replied that 'for some time they had not felt exactly satisfied with the way the police force was being controlled'. The Mayor expanded on this and was reported as saying that 'they (the Watch Committee) could not bring any particular charge against Captain Torrens except that they felt that he was scarcely strong enough to control the force in as efficient manner as they desired'. The *Manchester Guardian* report continued to say that the Watch Committee believed that 'the time had arrived when they should indicate to Captain Torrens that it would be desirable that the connection should cease'. Councillor Roper asked whether he was to understand that the Chief Constable had been asked to resign? The Mayor replied that 'the Council might put their own construction upon the matter'.²⁰

The minutes of the SWC dated 6 January 1880 contains the following.

The final item of business is a note from the town clerk who reported that the Chief Constable had placed his resignation in the hands of the committee. A certificate had been received from Dr. Poland, the senior surgeon at Guys Hospital. Chief Constable Torrens had broken his arm previously, which had been set a faulty position. Dr. Poland readjusted it and the Chief Constable would need a considerable period of recuperation. The minutes of the meeting on 6 January 1880 resolved 'that the

¹⁹ SWC, 23 December 1879

²⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, 5 February 1880, p.6

resignation of the Chief Constable be accepted and that as the injuries to his arm from which the Chief Constable is now suffering were received in the performance of his duty and taking into consideration his past services of ten years an allowance of six months salary be made by this Committee to him under the powers of Section 82 of the Municipal Corporations Act'.²¹

The subcommittee appointed at the meeting of 23 December 1879 had obviously worked very efficiently and speedily because at a Special Meeting of the Watch Committee on 14 January 1880 the town clerk reported that seven applications had been received.

Mr. J. W. Nott-Bower of Leeds
Commander Chowne of Bath
Captain Lodge R.A of Scarborough
Captain Orr of Greenock
Lt Colonel Parry of Weymouth
Major Teevan of Brighton
Captain Woodard of Guildford.

The above list is significant in that Mr. Nott-Bower had been a prominent policeman during this period and the other gentlemen all had significant military service. Subsequently Nott-Bower became the Chief Constable of Liverpool (1881 – 1902).²² Although not included in the above list superintendent William Marshall of Salford Police had indicated his interest in applying for a promotion to the post of Chief Constable of the Salford force.

William Marshall (1834 – 1903)

²¹ SWC, 6 January 1880

²² Stallion and Wall, *The British Police*, p. 119

Notwithstanding the list of applicants above, it was moved by Mr. Alderman Gendall and seconded by Mr. Alderman Davies that Superintendent Marshall of the Salford police be appointed as the Chief Constable of Salford on a salary of £400 pounds per year. The Watch Committee resolved that this appointment be recommended to the Council.²³

Such was the influence of these two senior Aldermen that no further mention is made of this appointment. The Watch Committee meeting dated 20 January 1880 contained a report from the Acting Chief Constable Marshall. Without any preamble, the meeting of 17 February 1880 is presented by a report from Chief Constable Marshall. No mention of any details relating to William Marshall appear in the Minutes however Marshall had been an applicant for the role of Chief Constable in 1869 when Captain Torrens was appointed. In May of 1869 a printed sheet had been circulated to the Salford Councillors outlining the applicants for the role in 1869. The Watch Committee Chairman Thomas Davies reported then that Wm. L. Marshall was 36 and lived in Salford. Already by 1869 Marshall had been 'twenty-two years in the service of the Corporation, eleven of which had been devoted to police duties'.²⁴ The Salford Weekly News reported that

'The Watch Committee of the Salford Corporation appear to have taken an obvious and probably judicious course in their choice of a successor to Captain Torrens, it cannot be said that they have chosen an untried man. Mr. Marshall, the new Chief Constable, has now veteran service in the borough and has risen from rank to rank until in 1872 he was made Chief Superintendent of police. The salary is liberal, and should, and I doubt not, command good and pure service.'²⁵

²³ SWC, 14 January 1880

²⁴ SWC, 24 May 1869

²⁵ *Salford Weekly News*, 17 January 1880, p. 2, col. 3.

Ten years later the minutes of the meeting of 29 October 1889 contain a note indicating that William Marshall had tendered his resignation. It stated that Marshall was 'incapable from infirmity of body to discharge the duties of his office'.²⁶ Marshall had written on that date to the 'Chairman and Gentlemen of the General Watch Committee' and had signed as Wm. Marshall, Your faithful and obedient servant'. It was accompanied by the appropriate form required under the Police Act 1859. In 1903, the Salford City Reporter provided an obituary for Mr. Marshall.

'Mr. William Lance Marshall, a former Chief Constable of Salford, died at his residence in Blackpool on Sunday. Mr. Marshall was born in Salford in 1834. For a time, he was employed as a clerk in the Town Clerks department in Salford and joined the Salford Police Force as a Police Clerk, with the rank of Inspector in 1858. In 1867, he was promoted to Superintendent and the Watch Committee appointed him Chief Constable in 1872'.²⁷

The meeting in December 1889 was presented with a list of 38 applicants for the vacant position. The list contained the name, age, address, occupation, experience and remarks about each candidate, 21 of the candidates recorded their experience as military. 12 had police experience, one was a solicitor, one a manager of a brewery and one was an 'assistant overseer'. The meeting selected six to meet the Committee, 5 of the 6 were serving Chief Constables of smaller forces and one was Chief Superintendent Donohoe of the Salford Police Force. The police force in Salford had matured to the point where the Watch Committee had determined to appoint a seasoned police professional. The requirements for the post were that their prospective Chief Constable must be able to show his police background. Amateurs however qualified need not apply.

²⁶ SWC, 29 October 1889

²⁷ *Salford City Reporter*, 3 January, 1903

Charles. T. Scott (1855–1926)

The man chosen to be the next Chief Constable of the Salford Police Force was Commander C.J. Scott who was the Chief Constable of Dewsbury.



Figure 5: Commander Charles T Scott.²⁸

The Sheffield Morning Telegraph provides an obituary for Commander Scott.²⁹ He was born in 1855 in Midlothian, Scotland. His grandfather was Ambassador to the Court of Persia. Scott was educated at Cheltenham and later joined the mercantile marine. He subsequently entered examinations for the Inspectorate of Schools, the Inspectorate of Factories, a medical examination and also the Royal Irish Constabulary. He gained a commission in the Indian Navy and later was appointed commander of the Governor's (Lord Lytton) yacht. On his return to England he joined the Devon Constabulary and

²⁸ Sheffield City Archives. *Sheffield District Who's Who* 1905

²⁹ *Sheffield Morning Telegraph*, 21 May 1926

after three years was appointed Chief Constable of Dewsbury. In 1889 Scott was aged 34, lived in Dewsbury and recorded his experience as Army and Police.³⁰ Ten years later a SWC meeting in October 1898 received an application from Scott to apply for the position of Chief Constable of Sheffield. That application was approved and the Town Clerk was directed to provide Scott with a warm testimonial. A copy of this testimonial is glued into the minutes dated 17 October 1898. It notes that he was 'an officer in whom they have the utmost confidence. He came to Salford with excellent credentials and a reputation which he has fully maintained'.³¹ Chief Constable Scott submitted his resignation letter on 28 November 1898. The same meeting 'thanked him for his valuable services'. Scott would be the Chief Constable of Sheffield until 1912. He progressed from commanding a small borough force in Dewsbury (1887-1889), to a large borough force at Salford (1890-1898) and finished as Chief Constable of a major city police authority, Sheffield (1898-1912). The obituary also notes that Scott resigned from the Sheffield force after investigations into the actions of several of his officers. Commander Scott died aged 71 years.

John Hallam (in post 1898 – 1908)

At the meeting, November 1898, the subject of Scotts successor was discussed. There appears not to have been an advertisement for the role and Deputy Chief Constable John Hallam was promoted to the position of Chief Constable of Salford Police at a salary of £400 pa.³² In January 1899 Chief Constable Hallam had submitted a report to the Watch Committee recommending promotions in the Salford Police in consequence of Commander Scotts' appointment to the office of Chief Constable of Sheffield. These recommendations were uniformly accepted. John Hallam would be the Chief Constable of Salford for ten years until 1908 when he retired due to ill– health. The

³⁰ SWC, 2 December 1889

³¹ SWC, 17 October 1898

³² SWC, 28 November 1898

Manchester Guardian notes that in 1908 Mr. Hallam was presented with an illuminated address framed in gold and was thanked for his thirty years association with Salford Police.³³

Manchester Chief Constables

W.H. Palin (1824 – 1882)

The list of Chief Constables of Manchester on page two indicates that Manchester had only six Chief Constables in post from the inception of the force in 1839. Only three of these men were in post during the period 1880-1900 and for seventeen of the twenty years C. Malcolm Wood was the incumbent. Captain W. Henry Palin was employed by the MCWM from 1857 until 1881.

³³ *Manchester Guardian*, 19 May 1908, p.4



Figure 6: W. H. Palin³⁴

Captain W. Henry Palin (1824 – 1882) was appointed Chief Constable of the City of Manchester on 4 March 1857 and an obituary of Captain Palin indicates that he died aged 58 on 10 July 1882. Captain Palin was the son of an officer in the Honourable East India Company's Army. He followed his father into the military and enlisted with the Indian Army as a cadet. His obituary indicates that until 16 he was educated in England then returned to India where he joined the 17th Bombay Native Infantry and became

³⁴ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 64 (7)

Adjutant, Paymaster, Quartermaster and Interpreter.³⁵ He learned several native languages including Hindustani and Mahratta. He arrived in England in 1856 as a consequence of his wife's poor health. He applied for role of Chief Constable of Manchester when the previous Chief Constable, Captain Willis, resigned and joined Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. There were, according to the Obituary '120 applicants for the post, he was shortlisted with two lieutenant colonels, five majors and two captains.³⁶

He was obviously a well-liked Chief Constable as the many testimonials published in *Momus* indicate. Among the many improvements Palin instigated was giving his policemen one day off per fortnight and the reduction of a policeman's shift from nine hours to eight hours.³⁷

Momus 9 May 1878 describes Palin as

No orator, his language is simple and unaffected; he is shrewd and keen; quick of apprehension, and remarkably just in his dealings with the faults and failings of those beneath him. He is liked by all who know him; and by throwing into his work a deep interest and by endeavouring to perform his duties to best of his ability; by an unflinching devotion to his duty to the service he has undoubtedly secured the respect and esteem of every citizen of Manchester; and let us add it is a privilege and a pleasure to publish our commendations of so good and tried a public servant.

³⁵ Greater Manchester Museum and Archives. Obituary, archive box A81, *Momus*, 9 May 1878 and obituary dated 1882 p.24, heading 'The Late Captain Palin'.

³⁶ Obituary 1842, p. 24

³⁷ Greater Manchester Police Museum, archive box A81, *Momus*, 9th May 1878 and obituary dated 1882 p.24, heading 'The Late Captain Palin'.

In April 1877 Palin was called to give evidence at a meeting in the House of Lords and his contribution is contained as an extract from the 'First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance', 19 April 1877 and the GMPMA has an extract from this report under the heading 'Minutes of evidence given by Captain W. H. Palin, Chief Constable of Manchester. 13 March 1877.'³⁸ Palin had been chief Constable in Manchester for 22 years.³⁹

C. Malcolm Wood (b. 1847 in post 1881 – 1898)

The person chosen to be Palins successor was C. Malcom Wood. Wood was born in 1847 to a military family being the son of the much-decorated Captain John Wood of the Indian navy, joined the Manchester Police Force as Deputy Chief Constable in February 1879 and was acting Chief Constable from 1 October 1880 to 1 March 1881 due to Captain Palin's indisposition. On the retirement of Capt. Palin, he was unanimously elected to the office of Chief Constable.

³⁸ GMPMA, archive box A81

³⁹ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 95



Figure 7: C. Malcolm Wood⁴⁰

Two publications extend to Wood great testimonials and both note that Wood had come close second to be appointed to the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police.⁴¹ Woods tenure as Chief Constable of Manchester was from 1881-1898, however it was defined by the 'Bannister affair' which is reported on in depth in chapter 4. More information about Chief Constable Wood will be found there.

⁴⁰ Hewit (1979), p.64 (8).

⁴¹ Greater Manchester Police Museum, Archive box, A62, C. Malcolm Wood, *Manchester Faces and Places*, 10 June 1890, vol.1. no. 9 and *The Police Review and Parade Gossip*, 9 January 1893.

C. Malcolm Wood was appointed to the position of Chief Constable of the Manchester Police Force after Captain W. H. Palin (1857-1880). Palin had been Chief Constable for 22 years and had retired as a result of increasingly bad health over many years. C. Malcolm Wood had been the Deputy Chief Constable in the last year of the previous incumbent. Wood was called upon to act in his place for most of this time because of the ill health of Captain Palin. Wood was only 34 years old when he assumed responsibility in Manchester. The *Manchester Guardian* in April 1881 reported on a Manchester Council Monthly Meeting. It was announced that Charles Malcolm Wood had been appointed to the office of Chief Constable at a salary of £600 per annum and the same article mentioned that a Mr. Robert Poole had been appointed Detective Superintendent at a salary of £200 per annum.⁴² The Detective Superintendent would have been the Chief Constables direct immediate subordinate. The same newspaper reported a considerable increase in the Chief Constables salary in June 1882. The salary was increased to £750 plus £50 for expenses and came with the unanimous recommendation of the full Watch Committee.⁴³ The considerable disparity in the level of remuneration indicates the difference in standing enjoyed by a Chief Constable in that period. Malcolm Wood was ill equipped for the position of Chief Constable of the force. He was the son of a civil servant and joined the Indian Civil Service upon leaving school and his only qualification for the job in England was his previous appointment as Assistant District Superintendent in the Sind Police in Karachi.⁴⁴ So that when he became Manchester's senior policeman he was very young, had no substantial background in policing, no experience in the British police and was a stranger to Manchester and the industrial North. It could have been that because of this serious lack of fundamental qualities that he had difficulties with his employer – the Watch Committee of the council of the city of Manchester. None of these

⁴² *Manchester Guardian*, 7 April 1881, p. 6

⁴³ *Manchester Guardian*, 8 June 1882, p. 7

⁴⁴ Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 96

difficulties was more apparent than when the Watch Committee appointed William Bannister as Superintendent of the 'D' Division in the Manchester Police. These difficulties will be discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

Sir Robert Peacock (1859 – 1926)

Chapter 4 of this thesis indicates that Chief Constable C. Malcolm Wood resigned as Chief Constable of Manchester after 17 years, in consequence of that inquiry. The Watch Committee then sought to appoint someone to succeed him. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* notes that they employed Robert Peacock (1859-1926) who would be in post for 28 years from 1898-1926. Peacock can be distinguished from his predecessors in that he had little education, no military experience and, with a brief interlude, was a professional policeman from 1878, aged 19, until he died in 1926.

He joined the Bradford Police in 1878 as a Constable and distinguished himself during the Fenian disturbances in that city which would help him to proceed to the rank of sergeant in Rotherham. In that force his duties brought him into conflict with two local politicians after which he resigned to run a pie shop in Sheffield although the attractions of policing meant that he quickly re-emerged and was recruited as Inspector in the Bacup police force in 1887. One year later, 1888, was appointed as Chief Constable of Canterbury. He had risen from Constable to Chief Constable in 10 years.

In 1892 he was appointed Chief Constable of Oldham and in 1898 Chief Constable of Manchester. Peacock was appointed in the wake of the 'Bannister affair' after the Dugdale inquiry, he inherited a force whose morale was at a low ebb and public confidence was not high. He set out to improve both which he did by combining

discipline and approachability. Perhaps its most, at the time, original innovation was to recognize that men were being heavily disciplined by police management when Constables had not been properly trained to meet the demands of jobs. He set out an extensive training regime and published it in a handbook as 'Police Constables Duties'. Peacock was not without his enemies. He came across several who did not appreciate his talents and two magistrates who had used their role to assist their friends in the licensed trade came up against him. He published their activities and they were forced to resign.

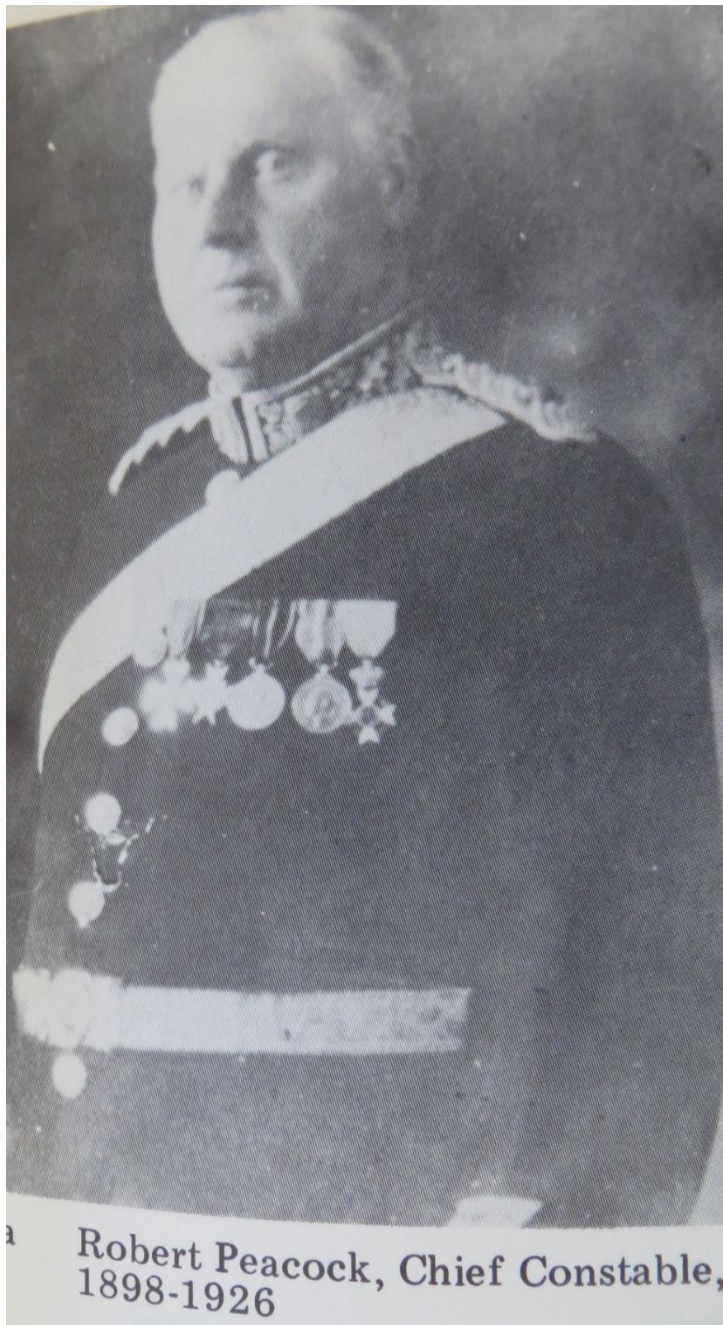


Figure 8: Sir Robert Peacock.⁴⁵

Peacock had many interests, all associated with his professional duties. He was involved with campaigns to help causes such as child protection, juvenile crime,

⁴⁵Hewitt, *History of Policing*, p. 128 (9a)

children employed in street trading and read a paper to the International Conference for the Protection of Children in 1902. In 1910 he was president of the 'Association of Chief Constables of City and Borough Forces' and he gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Divorce as a result of his professional experience. Contemporaries wrote of the 'Peacock Tradition of Policing' and the following note published in the ODNB is from the *Police Review* 11 March 1927:

The 'Peacock tradition of policing that as peculiarly distinguished the Manchester Force amongst the Police of the country. To define it is difficult, but its outstanding result was that no city in the country is that less sense of detachment between the Police and the public. Robert Peacock was knighted for services to the police in 1919 and died in Manchester in 1926.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Joanne Klein, September 2010.

Appendix 4

Salford - Committals to Assizes are under the heading

1. Attempts to murder
2. Felonious in Wounding
3. Manslaughter
4. Concealment of Birth
5. Bigamy
6. Arson
7. Burglary
8. Receiving stolen goods
9. Forgery
10. Uttering Counterfeit Coin.

Salford - Committal to Sessions were recorded under the headings

1. Unlawfully Wounding
2. Indecent Assault
3. Sacrilege
4. House and Shop breaking
5. Robbery and Larceny from Persons
6. Simple Larceny and Larceny in Dwelling houses
7. Larceny by Servants
8. Attempts to Steel
9. Embezzlement
10. Receiving Stolen Goods Fraud Attempted Suicide Attempting to Injured Machinery in Motion
11. Incurable Rogue.

Appendix 5

Indictable Offences in Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900

Indictable offences	1900		1890		1880	
	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford	Manchester	Salford
Population	548,768	223,418	505,368	216,830	341,508	171,727
Policemen	1001	330	880	300	847	300
Offences against person						
Murder and attempts to						
1 murder	5	1	7	DNA	6	1
2 Manslaughter	6	4	5	1	7	2
3 Wounding	8	1	10	8	6	1
Total	19	6	22	9	19	4
Offences per population	28,882.53	37,236.33	22,971.27	24,092.22	17,974.11	42,931.75
Offences against property						
1 Burglary and Housebreaking	111	48	105	28	243	51
2 Breaking into Shops	159	20	116	29	491	17
Larceny						
1 Larceny from the person	282	68	92	47	614	80
2 Larceny by servants	179	44	75	2	137	21
3 Embezzlement	40	12	7	1	13	1
4 Simple larceny	1,533	494	1,220	278	2,121	203

Source: *Manchester Council Proceedings* 1880, 1890 and 1900
Salford Chief Constables Annual Report. 1880, 1890 and 1900

Appendix 6

Definitions of Vagrancy

The historiography associated with the circumstances under which the Poor Laws operated, can be quite confusing with many associated terms being used generally, unspecifically and with an interchangeability of meaning. For the purposes of clarity, the next section will explain several terms in the way that they will be referred to, if at all, in this text. The terms that require some definition include Pauper, Tramp, Vagrant and Vagabond.

The *Collins Dictionary of the English Language* defines a pauper as (1) a person who is extremely poor, or, (2) a destitute person supported by public charity.⁴⁷ Therefore, a person who is assisted under the Poor Law legislation is a Pauper. The word tramp has several meanings including (1) to walk long and far, (2) a person who travels about on foot usually with no permanent home, living by making or doing casual work. For the purposes of this thesis the word will only be used in the connotation of those who were either are, or become unemployed, and leave their parish to walk from place to place in search of work i.e. 'on the tramp'. A vagrant is (1) a person of no settled abode, income or job, (2) a person who moves in an erratic fashion, purposeless. A vagabond is defined as (1) a person of no fixed home, (2) an idle wandering beggar or thief. For the purposes of this thesis a vagabond will be differentiated from a vagrant because of a propensity for criminal behaviour.

⁴⁷ *Collins English Dictionary*, (London; William Collins, 1979; repr.1981)

