Locating crime and criminality in Edwardian London

Kallum Dhillon

University College London

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Signed declaration

I, Kallum Dhillon confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signature...........Kallum Dhillon...............   Date.....04 May 2015.......

Kallum Dhillon

Abstract

This research offers a unique exploration into criminal activity on the streets of Edwardian London by mapping the locations of crimes and defendant addresses, revealing local-scale spatial patterns that hitherto have been lost from or hidden in archives. Focusing on an area (known as the Westminster Police Court area) in Central, South West London during the periods 1901-1902 and 1911-1912, the aim of the study was to investigate how crime and defendant addresses were spatially distributed, assessing temporal changes to patterns and the relationships with neighbourhood characteristics. Court, newspaper and census records were cross-referenced, with the resulting data mapped using a Geographic Information System (GIS) and findings investigated further or contextualised using additional archival sources. The maps produced reveal that the majority of crime was located on major thoroughfares, creating a distinct main street/back street dualism, which was consistent across both study periods. However, not all crime types exhibited this trend and there were some which showed spatial variation over time. Those committing offences within the study area were found to be living locally, concentrated in six generally working class neighbourhoods – most committing crime at distances up to a kilometre from their place of residence. But the maps also highlight areas where crime and/or defendants were absent, reflecting or relating to various features of these city spaces. In addition, data collected allowed for a quantitative assessment of crime and defendants to be conducted, as well as a separate analysis of crime committed on railways (in stations, goods yards and train carriages in motion) – a field neglected by crime historians. The study concludes with a detailed 'biographical' examination of four streets in the study area, allowing the quantitative and spatial assessment of criminal activity to be interpreted alongside information on the social, economic, cultural and environmental characteristics of each street space.

Acknowledgements

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I am extremely grateful to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for funding this research, giving me the freedom to spend many months exploring the historical collections of various institutions, which undoubtedly has been the most enjoyable part of the research process. During those months, I met (in some cases, worked with) many archivists, librarians or information professionals who were always welcoming and enthusiastic to help in my quest to uncover geospatial information on Edwardian London crime and criminals. Lastly, I am truly grateful to my family, who have had to endure both the positives and negatives attached to the challenge of completing a PhD thesis.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

In January 2011 crime maps for England and Wales were released online to the public. The website (www.police.uk – see Figure 1) provides visitors with "...up-to date, accurate information on what is happening in their area so they can challenge the police, and get involved in the policing of their area" (Home Office, 2011:5). It means that anyone is able to zoom in on their street address and discover how many crimes were reported on or near to that street. Every crime reported since December 2010 can be viewed, and it is even possible to download the data for analysis should someone wish to do so. The site has received some 60 million unique visits since its launch, with 586 million visits in total and on average 150,000 people visiting the site per day (Home Office, 2012; 2013; 2014), which suggests that the public are either just curious about these maps and where crime occurs in their local area, or perhaps are utilising this tool for a real purpose.

There is no doubt that crime maps provide a fascinating, simple to use and easy to understand glimpse into this social phenomenon. After all, informing people
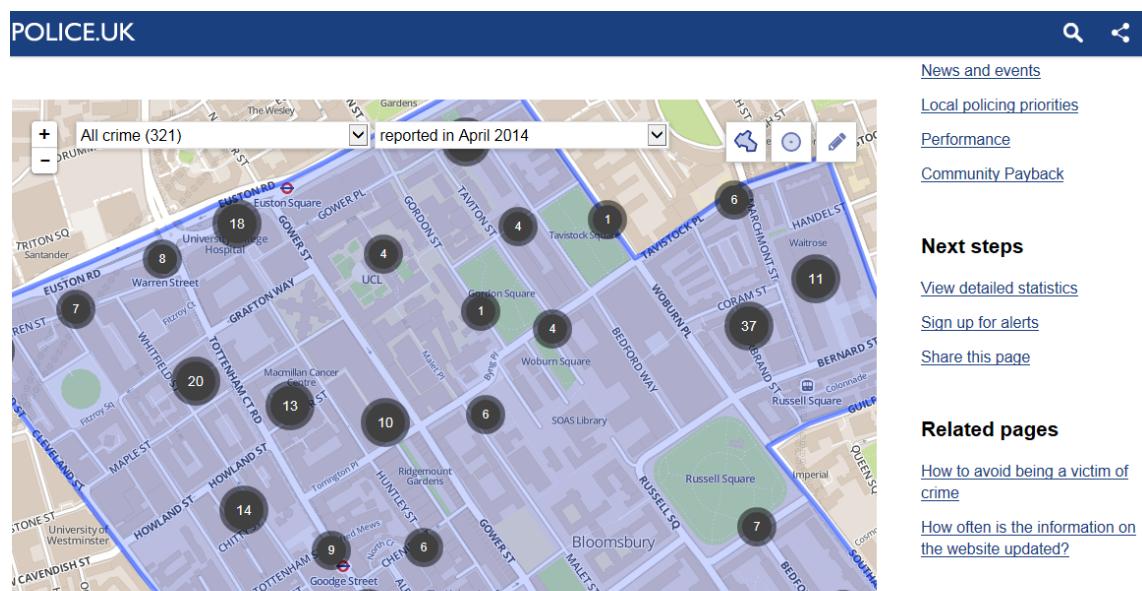
Figure 1 – Police.uk crime mapping available to the public. The above screenshot shows the results when 'Gower Street, London' is searched for on the site. It is possible to zoom further into the map to examine how many crimes were committed on individual streets, or parts of streets.

Source: police.uk (2014a)

about local crime rates by stating that it is higher or lower than the national average may be a useful statistic; but when the data behind these overall figures is mapped at the street level, the figures become more meaningful or even personal. For instance, people may wonder why there is a sudden increase in police patrols in their neighbourhood, or why the police were called to an address on their street – crime maps may aid in giving some implicit explanation for such occurrences. But using crime maps in such a way may in turn help people to make decisions about whether to visit other areas or even move home. The maps alert people to the crime risks to themselves, their family/friends or their property if they were to visit or move into a neighbourhood. Similarly, this information is invaluable for businesses deciding where to locate a new office or outlet – they would not want to suffer financial loss through the direct or indirect effects of crime. For other businesses, such mapping/data becomes an integral part of their daily operation or service provided. For example, property valuers and insurance companies use such information to determine the value of properties or insurance premiums since crime can have an influence on both. Thus, all of this shows that crime mapping has a variety of uses (and this is not even mentioning the way in which the police and academics in crime science utilise crime mapping to combat or aid in combating crime). In short, crime mapping has the power not merely to fascinate or satisfy curiosity, but also to influence decisions, opinions and understandings about society, which could lead to any number of wider implications or repercussions.

Just as maps are useful now to explore and understand crime, so maps of historical crime may also help us to better understand society in the past, and could also aid in reinforcing our understanding of crime in the present. Historical geography crime mapping studies are important and useful for a number of reasons, the most obvious being that they offer "...a geographical perspective upon the past" and in doing so make "...a distinctive contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the past..." (Baker, 1997:240). As Thane (2009:143) argues "...historical evidence should help us to place contemporary issues in context". Continuing, Thane discusses how modern day fear of crime is greater than ever before due to public attitudes and media reports of crime;

but that such fear is irrational when comparing contemporary crime levels with those of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. In addition, historical geography enquiries into spatial crime patterns enable contemporary crime theories to be tested and can also reveal whether concentrations (or 'hotspots') of illicit activity have changed over time. As Rogers (1989:314) argues "more studies of long-term trends of crime and criminal law are needed before a necessarily complex theory of crime can be advanced...". But it should also be remembered that researchers investigating crime in the past have access to a wealth of information that academic researchers of present day crime do not. Information such as the personal details of the criminals, victims and witnesses, as well as the specifics of the offence (including exact locations) are not publicly available for crimes committed recently, but are generally available for those that occurred 100 years ago, for instance. This means historical geographers can research crime to far higher degrees of detail, which may perhaps allow them to uncover patterns that have hitherto been hidden.

Historical mapping of criminal activity is therefore useful to contextualise or enhance studies of modern day crime, as well as improving our understanding of the spatial patterns of crime in the past. Yet for historical geographers, historians and perhaps also genealogists, such mapping (as well as the underlying data used to create it) offers far more than gaining overall impressions. One only need look at the ways in which social mapping of other phenomena, such as poverty, mobility, disease, ethnicity and even the spaces or events described in fiction, have been used to develop hypotheses, arguments or explanations concerning 19th- and early 20th-century cities (see for instance Green, 2010 on poverty; Pooley and Turnbull, 1998 on mobility; Gregory, 2008 on infant mortality; Moretti, 1998 on mapping fiction). Such mapping exercises demonstrate the power of maps as visualisations to stimulate ideas, arguments and debates about society in space. On the other hand, it can be argued that "...power is captured in and communicated through maps to assert command and control of territory and socio-spatial relations", but also that "...power is bound up in the very creation and use of maps; and how mapping practices are used to resist and contest the exercise of power over space" (Kitchin, Dodge and Perkins, 2011:388). When such debates are

considered, they raise questions about the dangers of social mapping exercises and highlight the need to reflect on how they are produced, portrayed and thus interpreted (which, as Harley (1989) says, is a necessary part of any academic investigation). Warning aside, taken together, all of these aspects of mapping the past explains why a historical geography investigation into the spatial patterns of crime is important to conduct (arguments for this will be expanded further in following chapters of this thesis). Hence, my research seeks to uncover the local-scale spatial patterns of criminal activity in London for the Edwardian period – an area of research that has yet to be explored in any great detail.

Research focus

The aim of my research is to investigate the spatial distribution of crime and criminality in Edwardian London. It endeavours to create as comprehensive a spatial picture as is possible to produce, of where crimes occurred and where defendants (i.e. those accused of committing crime) lived, at the street scale. To achieve this, spatial crime/criminal data for the periods 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 was extracted from a range of archival court, census and newspaper records. Together, these sources were combined and mapped using a Geographic Information System (GIS), in order to answer the following research questions:

1. Where were crimes and defendants located in Edwardian London?
2. Did patterns of crime and defendant residences in the Edwardian city change between or within the time periods 1901-1902 and 1911-1912?
3. Was there a relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of local areas and the spatial patterns of criminal activity?
4. How did the configuration of the local built environment influence the spatial patterns of criminal activity?

The first research question involves describing how locations of crimes and addresses of defendants were distributed across the streets of the Edwardian city, whist temporal changes to these patterns and aggregate crime or offence figures are addressed by research question 2. But in order to understand these

patterns and any changes over time, other factors independent of crime need to be examined. Hence research questions 3 and 4 look at the social and economic structures in local neighbourhoods as well as the physical built environment to see how these may have influenced or shaped crime patterns. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the purpose of these last two questions is not to establish causal factors of crime, but instead to examine relationships or links.

The research questions and the rationale for choosing them will be discussed at length in Chapter 3 using existing literature to justify why they warrant investigation. Chapter 4 will then detail the sources and methodologies used to address the aim of the thesis, with findings being discussed in subsequent chapters. Crime patterns are discussed in Chapter 5, including spatial distributions whilst Chapter 6 focuses on the defendants, their life, background and where they lived. These are complemented by a discussion on mobility and its association with crime (Chapter 7). The final analytical chapter examines crime and offenders through a series of local case studies of specific streets. But before progressing further, it is essential to provide the reader with some background information concerning the Edwardian period and crime in London during that era, as this helps to contextualise the chapters that follow. These are the themes that will be addressed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 – Background

This chapter will set the proposed research in a historical context, discussing life in Edwardian Britain and London. The purpose is not only to give the reader an understanding of what was going on in Britain/London during that period, but also to illustrate why Edwardian London is an interesting period and place in which to study historical spatial distributions of crime. It will explain what referring to 'crime' meant in theory and practice during that era, and ends in an examination of previous research that has been conducted into early 20th-century crime in London. This final part will highlight how there is a distinct lack of any in-depth investigation into Edwardian London crime specifically, with only a handful of recent attempts that focus on one crime type, but over an extensive period of time. Altogether this strengthens the argument for research that focuses on criminal activity in early 20th-century London, allowing arguments for a spatial approach to such a study to be made in subsequent chapters.

The Edwardian period (1901-1914)

It is often argued that the Edwardian era was both a 'golden age' and an 'age of accumulating crisis' (Read, 1982:14). Indeed,

> in retrospect the Edwardian age has acquired a golden glow, a sort of Indian summer before the horrors of the Great War, but in fact it was a time of turbulence and increasing tension (Fox, 2010:12).

For the wealthy, it is true to say that it was a 'golden age', when "large numbers of businessmen enjoyed sharply improved standards of living and indulged in bouts of consumer spending that approached the spectacular" (Heyck, 2002:9). But with this came hardship for the less fortunate "...and a heightened sense of jealousy between classes of society, each eager to extract a maximum advantage" (Brooks, 1995:1). It was a period when "...real wages started to drop, in some cases year by year – a 13 per cent fall in seven years according to a 1913 Board of Trade survey" (Read, 1982:17), and the mean cost of living increased during the period (Gazeley, 1989:215). Connected to these problems was a heightened sense of industrial militancy amongst the working classes.

Davidson (1978:571) argues that "from the standpoint of the late Victorian and Edwardian governing classes, the most disturbing feature of the 'social problem' was the breakdown of British industrial relations". There was certainly much industrial unrest during the latter part of the period – "between 1910 and 1914, industrial unions mounted mine and railway strikes, a general strike in Liverpool, as well as transport strikes in London and Dublin" (Lees and Lees, 2007:164). Add to this, the political protests of both the suffragettes and Irish Nationalists, and there was a whole host of threats to the maintenance of social order. O'Day (1987:xi) even argues that the latter would "...spark off the largest civil disruption in the British Isles since the seventeenth century". The period was therefore a period of uncertainty and unease – "British cities were not placid places, particularly in the early twentieth century, when economic troubles, strikes, suffragette demonstrations, and Irish nationalist campaigns coincided" (Lees and Lees, 2007:165).

In London, much of this was going on whilst the city and its population were undergoing constant change. A brief examination of population figures reported in the 1911 census report shows that the number of people residing in London grew substantially between 1901 and 1911. The population of Greater London rose from 6,581,402 people in 1901 to 7,251,358 people in 1911, a 10.2% increase; although this growth was mainly concentrated in the suburbs where there was an overall 33.5% increase in population (Vision of Britain, 2009). This expansion outwards has been linked to the development of transport systems:

> ...London remained a low density city, where small towns in several counties coalesced via seemingly endless lines of single family houses along new streets and highways. Mass transit made possible suburban residence for workers as well as middle-class families (Lees and Lees, 2007:137).

Buses, electric trams, underground and overground railways connected the suburbs to the heart of London allowing people to commute in, out and within Central London, in order to get to work or to frequent the leisure and entertainment districts. This is illustrated by commuting statistics – White (2008:15) states that "journeys on public transport in Greater London numbered

935 million, or 142 per head of population, in 1901. They nearly doubled to 1,813 million, or 250 per head, in 1911" – the population was thus truly in constant flux, moving from space to space across the city.

But parts of the population were not only 'physically mobile', but also socially mobile. The expansion of London outwards along the new transport routes gave parts of the middle and working classes the opportunity to enhance their social standing in society. The middle class aspired to live in the new spaces of the suburbs so as "...to quit what they perceived as rapidly growing, often overcrowded, dirty and dangerous town and city centres..." (Clapson, 2003:53). For the 'respectable' working class, the suburbs provided the possibility of living in more salubrious accommodation, and to get away from those narrow, winding streets full of overcrowded, insanitary buildings that formed London's inner city slums. This was in part facilitated by the London County Council (LCC) clearing these slum areas and building new estates across the city, including in the suburbs. Wohl (2009:259) states that "...the LCC cleared away more than fifty-eight acres scattered throughout London, in Bethnal Green, St Pancras, Strand, St Luke's, Southwark, Holborn, Poplar, St Marylebone, Deptford, Greenwich, and Westminster", whilst Yelling (1982:299) notes the construction of "...large suburban estates at Norbury, Tottenham and Tooting". This together with other construction of housing in the suburbs meant that:

> working-class areas stretched to Walthamstow and Tottenham in the
> Northeast, Stratford and West and East Ham in the East, and Woolwich in
> the Southeast; moving south to Crystal Palace, Wandsworth and Tooting
> and round to Acton and Harlesden in the West (German and Rees,
> 2012:154).

Thus, with London's growth outwards came greater movement into and out of the city, as well as the opportunity for social mobility. Nevertheless, for those at the lower end of the social scale, life in the city was far from easy – "the extreme gap between penury and ostentation, between the East End of London and the West End, was an unavoidable social fact" (Hynes, 1968:54). The new LCC estates did not re-house all those that had been evicted by slum clearance (Wohl, 2009:261) – the poorest were instead forced to live in areas adjacent to

the clearance areas, in conditions even more unfavourable to those cleared. Whilst at the extreme opposite end of the social spectrum, the wealthy continued to live in the grand splendour of the West End squares. Overall, Edwardian London was therefore a dynamic place, with its built and social fabrics changing throughout the period. Altogether this and the wider events occurring in Edwardian Britain suggest that the period provides a complex, but interesting context in which to investigate crime[1].

Defining Edwardian crime and criminality

Before progressing any further, it is important to unpick what the term crime meant in Edwardian Britain. But there is great difficulty in doing so since there are a number of ways to define it, given that there are not only many types, but also many reasons for its existence. In its broadest sense, it is "...behaviour which violates the criminal law, behaviour which 'if detected, would lead to prosecution in a court of law or summarily before an accredited agent of law enforcement'" (Emsley, 2010:2). From a traditional criminology perspective, criminality may be defined as: "...the willingness to use force, fraud, or guile to deprive others of their lives, limbs, or property for personal gain" (Walsh and Hemmens, 2008:5-6). Walsh and Hemmens (2008:6) suggest that there is a scale of criminality ranging from 'saint to sociopath', and that every individual in society is somewhere on this scale. In other words every individual has the ability to commit criminal behaviour, but only some do and even then, there are variations in the degree to which people break the law. But these are perhaps rather functional definitions that do not take into account the complexities of the phenomenon:

> ...definitions of crime and other forms of deviant acts are subject to alteration, and are in any case likely to vary between the courts, law enforcement agencies, and various groups within society. These definitional problems acquire an even greater complexity when crime in

[1] There are also practical methodological reasons why the Edwardian era was chosen as the time period for this thesis as will be explained in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

the past is considered (Sharpe, 1988:125).

It would therefore be illogical to only use legal definitions to define crime in the past – crime means far more than this within society.

In the early 20th century, clearly there was a legal definition for crime, but it is the way in which the public viewed illegality that exemplifies what 'crime' meant during that period. Put simply, it is important to understand how crime was socially constituted through societal norms and values. During the Victorian period, explanations for criminality centred on an individual's weak moral codes, behaviours and ideals, resulting in their inability to control any desire to commit crime. It was thus believed that these individuals formed a distinct 'criminal class', "...who committed crime because it suited their preference for a hedonistic life avoiding respectable labour..." (Emsley, 2003:442). They were thus a threat to the rest of society meaning direct deterrence and discipline were deemed necessary to protect the public at large. However by the Edwardian period, these views had changed with criminals perceived "...as less threatening and less responsible for their behaviour..." but instead were seen as "...a social wreckage and stepchildren of nature, rather than wilful enemies of society" (Wiener, 1990:12). As Godfey and Lawrence (2005:113) state "attention gradually shifted...from the will/culpability of the individual criminal to the hereditary influences or environmental factors which shaped his/her destiny" – meaning criminality began to be linked or connected to the way and setting in which individuals were brought up, as well as hereditary conditions in families. It was thus viewed that "...most criminals were 'the victims of oppressive social conditions', deserving sympathy and assistance..." (Petrow, 1994:103). So it was still believed that criminals lacked the strong moral values that the rest of society abided by, but the underlying causal factors of criminality were now partly put down to the historical social and environmental background of the individuals. But all of this is merely a reflection of social attitudes, understandings and beliefs about crime and criminality amongst the public. These understandings and beliefs are social constructions, meaning that they were produced and shaped by offenders and public at large, but also those in authority who had the power to influence public opinion. This included those

making speeches at political meetings, as well as those giving religious sermons, but especially the press.

The Edwardian newspaper press played a role in creating opinion in society, meaning they wielded great power in shaping understanding of crime. Clearly, this role had been going on long before the early 20th century (perhaps as far back as the 18th century), but with the development in the late 19th century of a greater range of newspapers, by the Edwardian era the industry was well established at keeping the public 'informed'. There was a broad range of newspapers on offer to the public, such as the so-called 'penny dreadfuls' that were priced so as to be within the reach of all strata of society. The 'penny dreadfuls' "...specialised in circulating sensational tales of crime and adventure often including descriptions of low-life degradation and slum deviancy" (Law, 2000 in De Venanzi, 2008:206), thereby stirring up in the readers' imaginations perceptions about crime and deviance in society. Indeed, it was the way in which newspapers described incidents using powerful, strong adjectives of shock and horror to create fear, but also awe and fascination:

> headlines regularly resorted to adjectives such as "shocking," "horrible," or "fearful," and actual incidents could be presented as an "outrage" or a "scandal" if the criminal description (say, a rape or an assault) was either too indelicate or too mild to convey sufficient levels of sensation (Rowbotham and Stevenson, 2005:xxvi).

Even highbrow newspapers such as *The Times* and *The Telegraph* dedicated columns to reporting trials at the courts in a rather sensational manner. But all of this served to heighten the public understanding and knowledge about crime, aiding to shape their opinions of what was morally acceptable behaviour. The power to inform the public and shape opinions about crime was therefore in part, in the hands of the owners and editors of newspaper firms.

When it came to enforcing the law in London, it was the Metropolitan Police that held the discretionary power to decide which acts warranted an arrest. Their jurisdiction stretched far into the suburbs of Greater London, excluding the City of London which had its own police force as it still does today. Figure 2 shows the area that it was responsible for and how this was split into 21 police

Figure 2 – Metropolitan Police Divisions in 1910. The map shows the area that the Metropolitan Police was responsible for during the Edwardian period.

Source: Saunders (2007:28-9)

divisions, with a separate division for patrolling the River Thames. Within the divisions, policemen (women were not employed by the force until 1919) patrolled on fixed beats that were precisely measured and timed meaning officers had to keep to the times stipulated. It is the police on the beat who were responsible for maintaining law and order on the streets and using their discretionary powers of arrest to apprehend those breaking the law. Detectives were employed to aid beat policemen in catching the more organised criminal or to seek arrests for serious crimes that required collection and piecing together of evidence. But there were also other branches of the police that were established prior to and during the Edwardian period – this "...included the establishment in 1885 of a Special Irish Branch, renamed the Special Branch, a fingerprint bureau in 1901, a detective training school in 1902, and a police training school" (Ball and Sunderland, 2001:409). Each of these would have served to create a far more 'modern' police force able to apprehend criminals efficiently.

Those individuals arrested and charged (referred to as defendants) were sent to one of the city's Police Courts (the equivalent of the modern day Magistrate Court) that had jurisdiction over the location in which the crime was committed. There were 15 Police Courts in London, each covering areas that were different to the Metropolitan Police divisions (Figure 3) and trials were held every day of the week (apart from Sundays and public holidays). At the courts a stipendiary magistrate would deal with offenders and had the option to "...dismiss the charge, send the accused for trial at the quarter sessions or the Old Bailey, or, in certain instances, rule on the guilt and punishment of the accused himself [all magistrates were male during the Edwardian period]" (Davis, 1984:312). Usually, it was the more serious crimes that required trial before a jury which meant referring the offender onto the higher courts. In London this was the Old Bailey (or Central Criminal Court) and the County of London sessions courts, which held trials less frequently than the police courts (monthly or less often rather than daily). Those sentenced to a term of imprisonment were then sent to any number of prisons across the UK. Thus this structuring of the criminal justice system in London (which is not dissimilar to the modern day system) enabled offenders to be caught, prosecuted and punished in an efficient
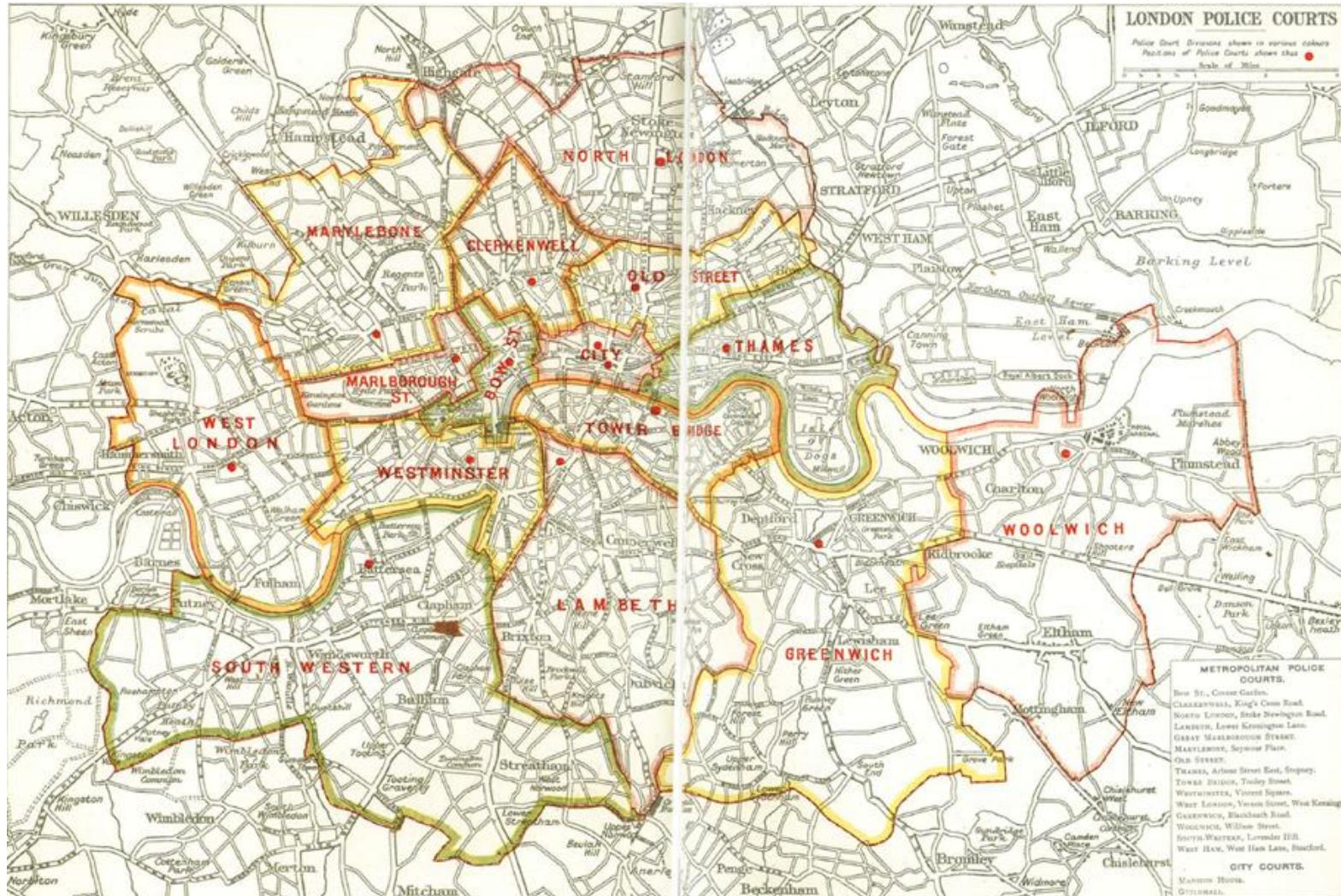
Figure 3 – Metropolitan Police Court areas during the Edwardian period. Each court (denoted by a red dot) tried crimes that were committed within their jurisdiction. Note that only 14 courts are plotted – West Ham is not marked, but is included in the map's list of courts.

Source: Saunders (2007:38-9)

manner.

With regards to the numbers of criminals dealt with by the system during the period, the official crime statistics suggest that there was an overall decline in the number of offences in England. Indeed, "for all its labour troubles and social unrest, Edwardian England was in a criminal sense a less violent place than the England of the..." mid-Victorian period (Gatrell, 1980:293). Studies examining the published statistics have concluded that overall crime was declining during the period before the First World War:

> ...generally contemporary Victorian and Edwardian commentators thought that things were getting better, and two leading criminologists could subsequently reflect on the years of diminishing crime before the First World War under the heading 'The English Miracle' (Emsley, 2005:19).

Taylor (1998:22) adds further weight to this assertion, arguing that "...in the Edwardian years the [crime] rate is still a third lower than it had been in the mid-Victorian years". Focusing on London specifically, "there was a sustained and marked reduction in housebreakings, burglaries and minor larcenies between 1890 and 1930..." (White, 2008:266). It is also reported that crime involving "...violence against the person fell steadily between the early 1890s and 1910..." (White, 2008:266). In addition, Gurr (1981:311) states that there was a "...continued irregular decline in rates of homicide" between 1869 and 1931. Altogether, these trends suggest that crime in London was declining during the Edwardian period, although it should be noted that comparing crime rates between London and the rest of the country reveals that the former had a higher rate.

Although these statistics provide us with an understanding of the crime rates in Edwardian Britain, they should be viewed with a critical eye and illustrate the need for other types of research to be carried out (such as that being proposed). As Gatrell (1980:339) argues, the official statistics "...are among the most unwieldy of sources available...as well as the most treacherous if interpreted uncritically". "The initial problem with the judicial statistics is that of the 'dark figure' of those crimes that were never reported" (Emsley, 2003:439), or those that the police decided never to record as they deemed it inappropriate

to do so. This means that there will always be many crimes missing from the statistics, and this 'gap' in recording widens at each stage of the criminal justice system for a number of reasons. Indeed, statistics are available from the police, courts and prisons, but each would offer a differing picture of reality. This is because constituent parts of the justice system acted as filters, with the police determining who to arrest and therefore who to send to court; the courts would then decide whether individuals brought before them were guilty/not guilty and whether they should be sent to prison; and thus the prison system only received individuals that the courts sent them. These filters are therefore reflected in the statistics produced by each of these parts of the criminal justice system, implying that police statistics would provide the most accurate picture of crime – given that they are the least 'filtered'. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that "...on occasions, the police may have manipulated the crime figures to their own ends..." (Emsley, 2003:440), adding another layer of doubt to figures. There is one main reason why crime figures may have been manipulated – funding (Emsley, 2003:440). But Godfrey (2008) questions whether budgets were in the minds of the policemen on duty at that time – such

> ...ideas accord very well with the 'new managerialism' that has captured police forces today, but do not easily translate to what we know of police practices in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Godfrey, 2008:179).

In summary, as Muncie (2001:30) puts it "the only certainty is that the crime statistics are but a pale shadow of the total volume of illegality". Clearly, the official statistics can only provide the overall trends, and there are many debates surrounding their reliability. They also lack the ability to create a spatial picture of crime, especially at scales below the county level, illustrating that statistics alone cannot reveal the entire picture of crime in Edwardian London. This is why studies using a variety of other sources are required in order to not only further our knowledge of crime in the early 20th-century city, but also to serve as a method of scrutinising and validating the official statistics. But for the Edwardian era, there has been a distinct lack of any extensive research into London's crime for the period as the next section will now illustrate.

A review of previous research on Edwardian London crime

Recently, there have been a number of published studies that touch on Edwardian London crime. However they only give brief or passing mentions to the Edwardian period. Most of these studies examine specific types of crime, but over extensive time periods so that they are unable to do justice to the intricacies of crime patterns/trends/phenomena during specific time periods[2]. For instance, Meier's (2011) work on property crime in London, which encompasses burglary, shoplifting, robbery, confidence tricksters and drug smuggling, covers the period from 1850 to the present day. Similarly, London's burglars are the focus of Moss's (2013) thesis which covers a period of almost 80 years (from 1860 to 1939). Terrorism in Victorian and Edwardian London has also been examined by Webb (2012), Laite (2012) has investigated London's prostitution from 1855-1960 and work by Slater (2012) investigates street disorder in London from 1905-1939 – street disorder meaning "...any breach of the peace occurring on the streets" (Slater, 2012:62). There are also a number of studies that touch upon crime in the city such as Cook's (2003) book on homosexuality (illegal in England until 1967). Even those studies focussed on towns or cities outside of London cover extensive time periods, such as Godfrey, Cox and Farrall's (2010) investigation of Habitual Criminals in Birkenhead and Crewe which extends from 1869 to 1940; or Davies' (1991) study of street betting in Salford during 1900-1939. All of these studies do demonstrate how there has been a wide variety of research into various types of crime in the past, but usually for periods that extend to years prior to, and beyond 1901-1914. Admittedly this enables comparisons to be drawn over time and enhances our understanding of how crime, criminals, police and punishment has evolved. Yet in covering such long time periods, these studies limit the degree of detail or analysis which they can offer to the Edwardian period. Add to this those studies that view historical crime from the police's

[2] I acknowledge that there is a wealth of literature examining London's crime that does not touch on the Edwardian era, but instead is placed in time periods before and after the period (such as Houlbrook, 2005 on inter-war homosexual acts; Slater, 2010 on inter-war prostitution; Gray, 2010 on Victorian vice; Andersson, 2013 on late Victorian street crime). Some of these may be referred to in later chapters, but as this thesis is restricted to the period 1901-1914 it is this literature that is felt to be of most relevance to help explain or contextualise this research.

perspective, but again encompassing long time periods (e.g. Emsley, 2001; Clapson and Emsley, 2002; Shpayer-Makov, 2009 etc), and it can be argued that there is a real lack of any focus specifically on Edwardian London crime. Hence, confining this research to the Edwardian period provides greater scope to investigate crime and its relationship with other features of the city at a micro scale.

However, it should also be noted that published autobiographies or memoirs of people living in Edwardian London solve some of the issues discussed above, and especially those written by policemen/detectives or sometimes even criminals (e.g. see Shpayer-Makov, 2011:390-4 for a list of police memoirs; and Arthur Harding's criminal career is told in Samuel, 1981). They can provide an insight into crime/criminality, detailing the tactics used by police and offenders, as well as their associations with local people in neighbourhoods. However, such publications are limited in geographical scope, focussing perhaps only on the areas that they often frequented. Additionally, such accounts reflect the opinions of the individuals who wrote them and there is also the possibility that these were doctored in a way so as to make aspects more dramatic than they were in reality. So although they focus on Edwardian London crime, the accounts are limited in a number of ways and it is therefore important that they are supported or corroborated using other information based on wider analysis. The proposed research may therefore also contribute towards this.

Chapter 3 – Research questions and research locale

The previous chapter discussed society, crime and policing in Edwardian London, providing context for the proposed research, but also highlighting why it is an interesting period to examine. Moreover, the review of previous research into Edwardian London crime highlighted the need for a study that focuses on that period specifically so that patterns/trends may be examined in detail. This chapter will explain the approach that this study will take, explaining why a spatial analysis of crime and defendant addresses is warranted. To be clear, this research refers to the act or incident involving wrong-doing as the 'crime', but will also utilize specific offence terms such as 'drunk and disorderly', 'theft', 'illegal gambling' and others (a glossary of terms and their definitions as used in this research is provided at the back of this thesis). The individuals apprehended for offences are described as 'defendants' given the difficulty of distinguishing between individuals found 'guilty' and 'not guilty'[3]. The term 'criminality' was discussed in the previous chapter and is used rather colloquially to refer to general unlawful behaviour for which individuals were arrested. There are also times when the phrase 'criminal activity' is used which encompass both the 'crime' and 'defendant'. The first section of this chapter will demonstrate the importance of location when studying criminal activity, thereby justifying why a spatial approach is needed, and briefly describes the geographical extent of the research (i.e. the 'study area'). The chapter will then explain the rationale behind the selection of the research questions (see Chapter 1), placing them within the context of existing research and therefore highlighting how they may assist in advancing academic knowledge of early 20th-century London crime. In doing so, it will strengthen the argument for a spatial approach as well as highlighting the need to complement this with some quantitative analysis. The final section offers the reader a broad overview of the specific geographical area of London under investigation – an area that had a varied social and physical character that arguably means findings can be applied to the entire Edwardian metropolis. Altogether, this chapter should

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[3] It is not possible to distinguish between individuals found 'guilty' and 'not guilty' of offences due to the way in which sentences were recorded in the primary source used for this research. This will be explained further in Chapter 4 and is outlined in greater detail in Appendix 1.

explain to the reader the overall approach to this study and why the specific research questions have been chosen.

A spatial approach to the study of Edwardian crime and criminal residences

The previous chapter discussed how crime, criminals and criminality were defined during the Edwardian period and in the process, demonstrated the links between the three. But each concept is inextricably linked to the others by a common factor – location. "Crime has an inherent geographical quality. When a crime occurs, it happens at a place with a geographical location", but equally the offender "...must have also come from a place...this place could be the same location where the crime was committed or is often close to where the crime was perpetrated" (Chainey and Ratcliffe, 2005:1). Aspects of spaces and particular places have characteristics that can either promote or prevent crime and criminal behaviour. But to think that space and place merely have a deterministic role to play is rather simplistic.

As has already been established, during the Edwardian period, criminality was attributed to moral characteristics caused by either hereditary or environmental factors (meaning the setting or the way in which the individual was brought up). Clearly, the environment (be it social, economic, built etc) varies over space, creating areas that foster criminality and/or acts of crime. But unpicking the components that create the 'environment' helps to explain this further. Bridge and Watson (2003:374) argue that public spaces in cities should be viewed as "...constituted by difference and inherently unstable and fluid", meaning that there are a great variety of heterogeneous spaces in cities such as London that are constantly in flux and change, never stationary. But what creates these distinct differences is the street furniture, buildings and people that reside in or frequent spaces – these all create opportunity for action including crime. The way in which people use city spaces is crucial – "...the daily rhythms and movements of cities routinely code and divide city space..." (Allen, 1999:61). Furthermore, these distinctions form peoples' perceptions about spaces and the specific places within them: "places in these terms are fusions of human and natural orders and are significant centres of our immediate experience of the

world" (Relph, 1976:141 in Herbert, 1989:3). This suggests that spaces (and the places that are within them) are ascribed varying meanings by different people because of individuals' perceptions of and experiences in those spaces/places. Altogether this means that crime or the opportunity to commit crime is one aspect that can therefore play a part in forming individuals' (potential victims or criminals) impressions of a space or specific place. But this in turn is dependent on the various components that create a space or place that is distinct from others. In an Edwardian context, taking a deliberately simplified approach, a space that for instance is a busy shopping thoroughfare may be perceived by criminals as an opportunity to pickpocket or steal from shops without being caught (the crowds offering the ability to hide and blend in, making it harder for police to find them). Conversely, a street containing few shops, that is not crowded but which is frequently patrolled by police may be seen as offering fewer opportunities for criminals to successfully commit a crime. In both cases it is the characteristics of the spaces that shape the criminal's decision and therefore whether crime is committed in that location[4]. Additionally, criminals also have to decide whether to commit crime within or beyond their own neighbourhood (Allen, 2011:16) and therefore how far to travel. This in turn, may be determined by how well criminals know spaces inside and outside of their local area – "...a constricted knowledge of space limits the opportunities for crime open to an individual" (Rengert, 1989:166). However, all this assumes that offenders act rationally, making calculated decisions when instead "...much crime is committed on impulse, given the opportunity presented by an open window or unlocked door, and it is committed by offenders who live from moment to moment..." (Home Office, 1990 in Tonry, 2011:745). But even when this is the case, it may be argued that the correct environmental conditions within a space attract an individual's attention, perhaps leading to a crime being committed. Hence, the entire process behind committing crime involves a series

[4] These scenarios are simplistic and do not for instance take into consideration individuals who committed an offence unintentionally e.g. drunkenness. There is not necessarily the same decision or planning process involved in such offences. An individual may have visited a public house for a drink, but unintentionally overindulged and was later picked up by the police. In this case, space plays a different role in that it is the existence of leisure spaces (pubs) on streets that create an environment conducive for attracting people and generating drunken behaviour.

of implicit or intuitive (sometimes conscious) spatial decisions and so by mapping crimes, such decisions may be revealed. In addition, spaces with high concentrations of criminal activity may be identified, allowing those spaces to be investigated in detail to explain the high concentrations. Conversely, areas with low crime concentrations may also be identified and contrasted with the high concentration areas. All of this demonstrates how space is such an integral component of crime, helping to explore why it occurs, meaning that a spatial approach to the study of Edwardian crime and criminals in London is not only appropriate, but also important. Furthermore, it should be noted that in the field of criminology, theories linking crime/criminality to space to explain spatial patterns encompass many of the aspects mentioned above. Some of these are discussed in brief later to aid in justifying research questions 3 and 4; however because they have been formed from studies of modern day crime/criminality, they are not entirely applicable to historical studies (given that historical archival material never presents a complete picture of the past).

This research examines the spatial distribution of criminal activity within an area of Central, South West London encompassing Chelsea, South Kensington, parts of Westminster, Lambeth and Battersea – the area within the jurisdiction of the Westminster Police Court (or WPC), which will be described in greater detail later in this chapter. Since this research is spatially orientated in approach, naturally the research questions (outlined in Chapter 1) are geographically focussed. They not only ask about the spatial distribution of criminal activity within the WPC area (research question 1), but also investigate any temporal changes to spatial and quantitative patterns (research question 2), as well as seeking to explore their relationships with the social, economic and environmental characteristics of the WPC area (research questions 3 and 4). The following sections present justifications for choosing to investigate each, outlining the previous work that has been carried out and explaining how my research seeks to complement and add to this literature.

Research question 1: where were crimes and defendants located in Edwardian London?

The importance of space in relation to crime and criminal behaviour has been established, but little is known about the spatial distribution of both in the Edwardian city[5]. Previous research has focussed on where criminals lived, rather than on where crime occurred meaning that it is not known which specific areas were 'hotspots' for crime. During the 19th century, Mayhew's (1861-1862) descriptive study of London poverty (which included maps of crime in Victorian England and Wales) gave some idea of where crime occurred. The descriptions were used by Tobias (1967:131) to locate streets considered to be rookeries (areas where criminals lived) around the borders of the City of London (Figure 4). It is however, by no means a comprehensive study and relies on the subjective descriptions noted down by Mayhew. It could also be argued that Charles Booth's 'Maps Descriptive of London Poverty' provides a London-wide picture of criminality at the level of the street (Figure 5). These maps were produced by collecting data from a number of sources including walks with policemen on their beat. "Each street was assigned to one of seven colours, ranging from the black of the 'lowest class. Vicious, semi-criminal' to the gold of the 'Upper classes. Wealthy'" (Dennis, 2000:105), and the inclusion of a class described as "the lowest class which consists of some occasional labourers, street sellers, loafers, criminals and semi-criminals..." (Booth, 1892:37) offers an impression of where the police believed criminals lived. Thus similarly to Mayhew's survey, it provides a subjective spatial picture of criminality, perhaps only reflecting where known repeat offenders lived or where a policeman constantly encountered trouble and does not necessarily provide any indication of where crime occurred. Two versions of this map were produced in 1888 and 1898-1899, but after these, the next attempt to map the location of criminals in London only came in the 1920s. This was when Burt (1925:73) produced choropleth maps of juvenile delinquency at the parish/borough level for 1922 and 1923 (Figure 6). Yet the spatial distribution of criminality in the period between 1898 and 1922 has been overlooked by researchers.

[5] The 'Edwardian city' in the context of this research being London and more specifically the WPC area as discussed earlier.

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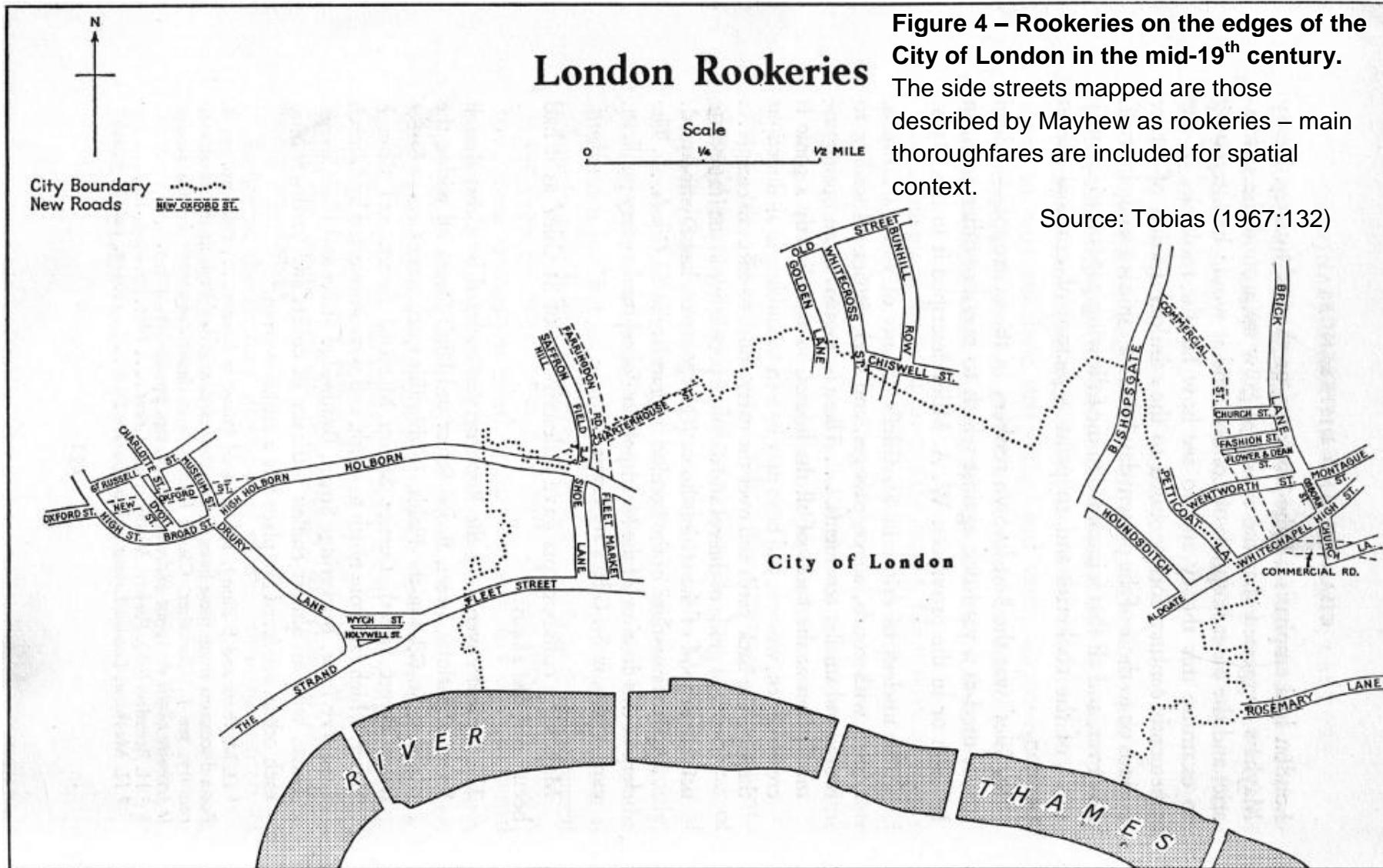
Figure 4 – Rookeries on the edges of the City of London in the mid-19th century. The side streets mapped are those described by Mayhew as rookeries – main thoroughfares are included for spatial context.

Source: Tobias (1967:132)

Figure 5 – Excerpt from Charles Booth's (1898-1899) poverty map. The above shows a small section of Charles Booth's 1898-1899 poverty map illustrating how the buildings in each street were colour coded to classify their inhabitants into social classes (the colours correspond to the key). The map is centred on an area just south of the Houses of Parliament.

Source: (LSE Library) Charles Booth Online Archive (2014)
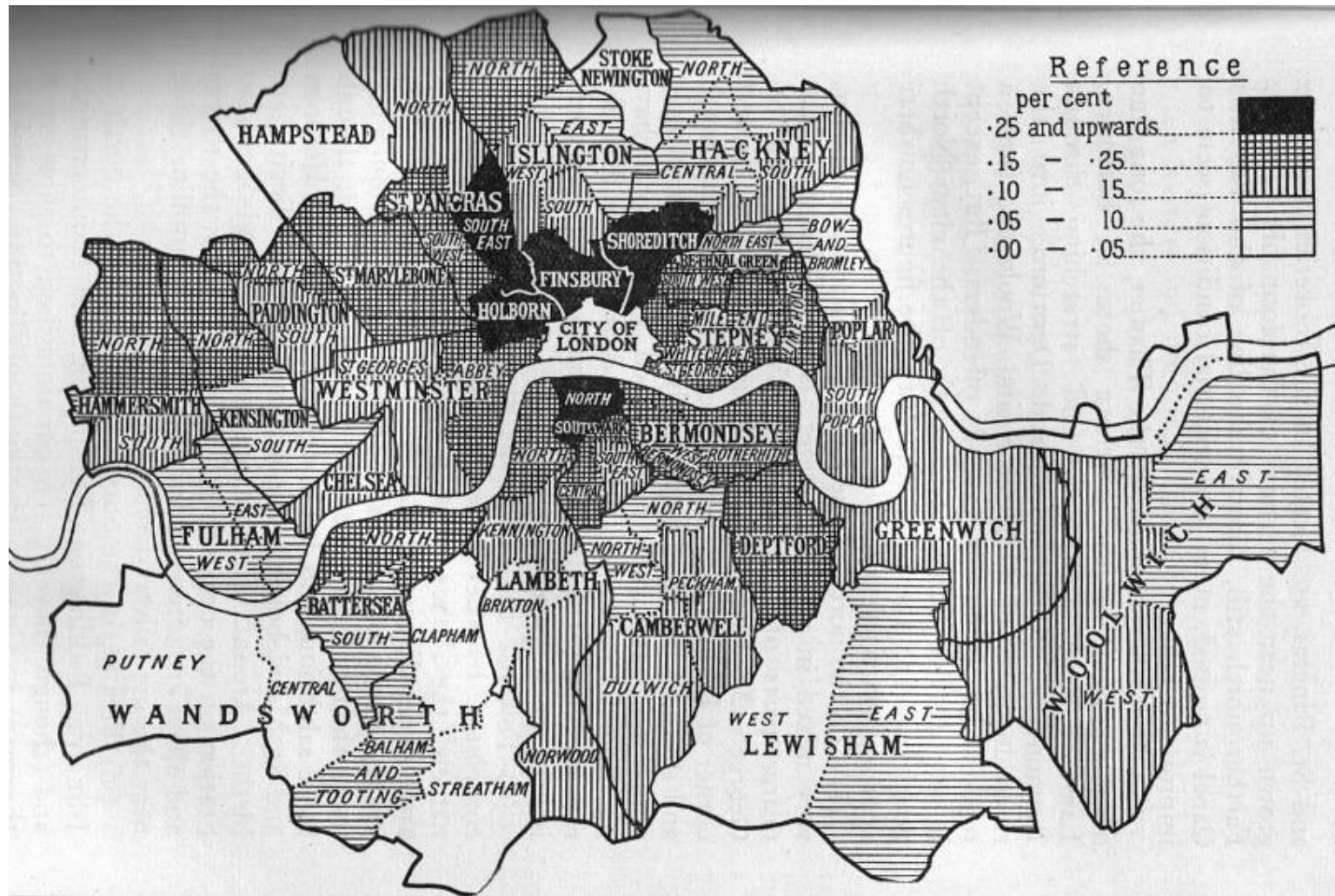
Figure 6 – Local incidence of juvenile delinquency in London (1922-1923). The addresses of juvenile delinquents were obtained with the ratio of reported cases to the total number of children calculated and mapped to electoral districts.

Source: Burt (1925:73)

If the spatial distribution of criminality for the Edwardian era has been overlooked by researchers, then it can be argued that the historical spatial distribution of crime has been almost entirely neglected. In the 19th century, data published by the judicial system was mapped at the English county level (Chainey and Ratcliffe, 2005:81), and Glyde (1856) statistically examined which Poor Law Union areas and towns in Suffolk had the greatest number of criminals and crimes. But the location of crimes in London were never investigated – only Mayhew's (1861-1862) work gives some indication of which Metropolitan Police divisions had the greatest number of offenders. The reason for this may be the lack of any official reporting of crime for these spatial units of analysis at the time, or the loss of such information in the past. For example, the annual 'Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis' reported figures for each crime type at an aggregate London-wide level, with only arrests for drunkenness broken down into figures for each police district (see Reports of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for 1901-1914). Possibly the first local-scale analysis of crime and offenders for London was conducted by Morris (1958) who used data from Z Division (Croydon) charge books to map crime location and criminal residences in 1952. He used a dot map, with each crime or criminal residence being georeferenced as accurately as possible on the street network. The resulting maps were then used to identify areas with high concentrations of crimes and criminals, allowing Morris to link these to the social background and built environment of areas. However, the study only covers one small part of South London, and so it is difficult to extrapolate from these results to make assumptions about crime/criminality in the entire metropolis. For a London-wide picture of prostitution in the Edwardian period, Laite's (2012) book provides the reader with dot maps (Figure 7) showing how the spatial patterns of arrests for soliciting prostitution changed at various points during the period 1903 to 1953 in each Metropolitan Police division. They suggest that generally "...the West End of London was the epicentre of commercial sex in the metropolis in the decades after 1885" (Laite, 2012:79). However, the dots on Laite's maps are not the actual locations of cases of soliciting prostitutes – they are randomly placed meaning that the maps are little more than Metropolitan Police divisional area maps rather than a micro-scale analysis. But by piecing together evidence from reports, memoranda and notes

Figure 7 – Laite's (2012) maps of arrests for soliciting prostitution in London's Metropolitan Police Districts (1903-1916). Numbers of arrests are plotted at random within the boundaries of each police division, concentrated near to police stations or in areas where prostitution was believed to be rife – meaning the maps do not show specific locations. Furthermore, the original maps published in the book are no clearer than those reproduced here and it might be argued that use of choropleth maps would have provided a much clearer, less ambiguous representation of the data.

Note: Laite's book also contains a map for the period 1950-1953.

Source: Laite (2012, map plates)

made by policemen, she suggests that within C Division's area, solicitation occurred mainly in "...Piccadilly Circus, and the streets surrounding it: the lower part of Regent Street, Glasshouse Street, Denman Street, Coventry Street...and Shaftesbury Avenue" (Laite, 2012:79). Mapping aside, more generally, there are written accounts such as those included in Mayhew's or Booth's surveys that provide us with an idea of where crime was perceived to be rife in London. But these are subjective, and although cross cutting of these various sources can help to validate accounts, there may still be inaccuracies. Moreover, their spatial coverage may be limited – many parts of London that were crime ridden may have been missed out. Hence, a quantitative, spatial assessment of crime that is much more comprehensive in approach would help to further validate these qualitative sources.

In addition, all of the previous studies for London examine criminal activity either at the administrative boundary level, or at the level of the street/neighbourhood (with the exception of Morris's study). Only those conducted from the mid-20th century onwards focus on the individual incidents of crime, and ever since then studies at the local or micro scale have increased in number. This is because it has been argued that aggregating data into higher geographic units of analysis (such as at the neighbourhood level) distorts the realities of the picture at the local-scale (such as at the individual level) – a concept known as the ecological fallacy. The ecological fallacy is when "...an ecological [group] correlation is almost certainly not equal to its corresponding individual correlation" (Robinson, 1950:357), and this means "... that any spatial analysis of crime at the neighbourhood level is at high risk of committing the ecological fallacy" (Andresen and Malleson, 2011:59). This is why this study proposes a street level assessment, mapping incidents of crime and defendant addresses locally rather than aggregating to construct higher units of geographic analysis.

Perhaps what makes this dearth of historical street level crime and criminal address mapping for London even more apparent is the existence of such research for other towns and cities across Great Britain. For example, locations of suspected brothels, arrests of prostitutes and their addresses in mid-19th-century Cambridge have been mapped by Howell (2009) offering a glimpse into the geographies of the sex trade (Figure 8). Similarly, the locations of arrests of
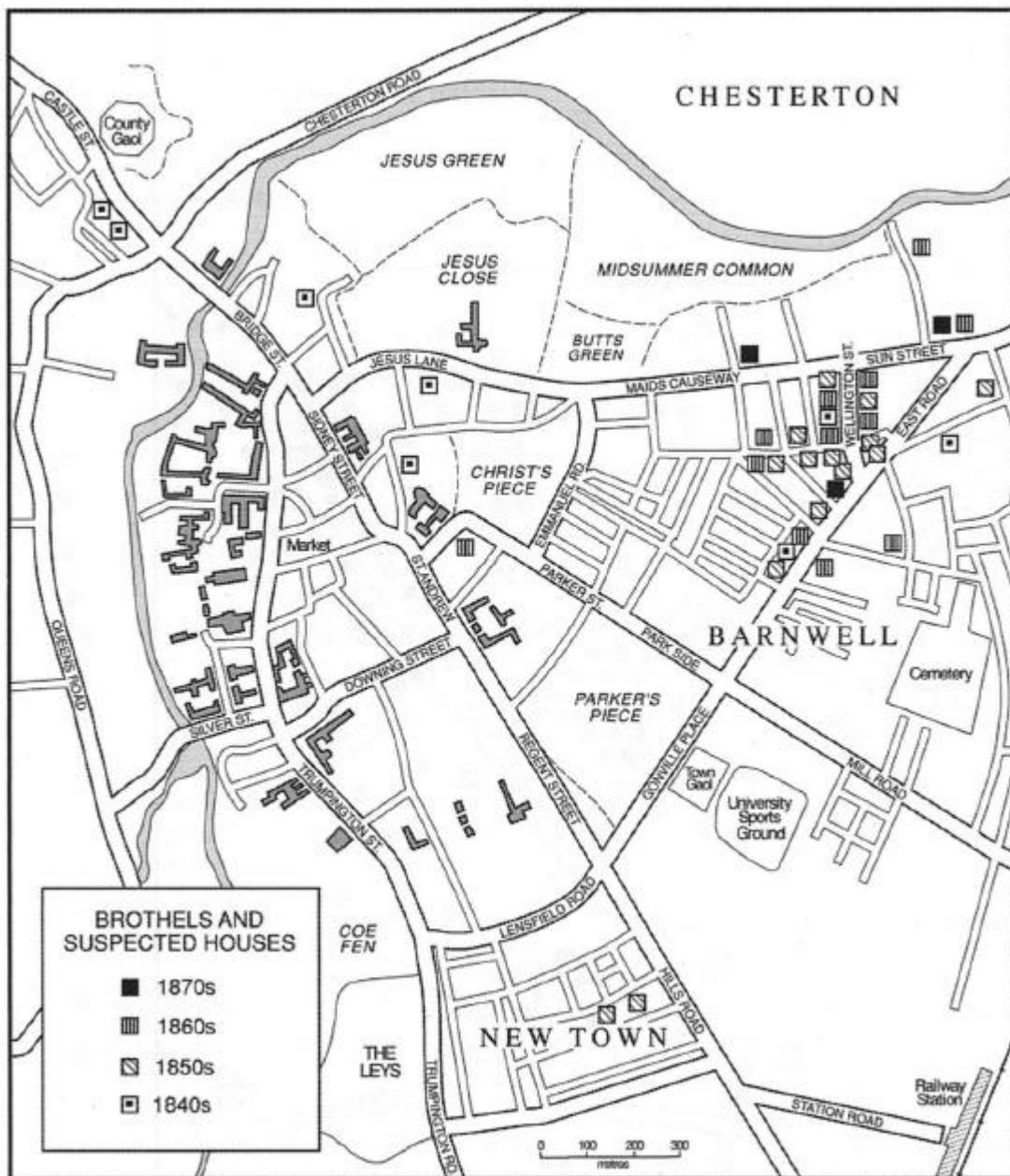
Figure 8 – Brothels and suspected houses in Victorian Cambridge (1840s-1870s).

Source: Howell (2009:123)

prostitutes in 1918, 1922 and 1926 was hand-drawn onto the street network of central Liverpool by Chamberlain (2012) illustrating how solicitation was greatest in the main leisure or entertainment districts of the city (Figure 9). This was also found to be the case in early 20th-century Edinburgh (Figure 10) where prostitution appeared to move towards the central business/entertainment districts (Settle, 2013:234). Taking a different perspective, Smalley (PhD in progress) has mapped the locations of crimes mentioned in newspaper articles published in the *Illustrated Police News* during the 19th century (Figure 11). Although being more of a reflection of journalists' selectivity in reporting (to 'sell news') rather than a complete, accurate representation of crime across the country, it does at least begin to uncover 'where' crime was located. Similarly, cases of drunkenness and fighting in Birmingham's public houses were examined by Bramwell (1984) using local newspapers. Pub locations and addresses of offenders or witnesses were mapped together to show linear distances travelled (Figure 12). Lastly, Godfrey, Cox and Farrall's (2007) study of criminality in Crewe produced a rather complicated map portraying offences committed during 1880-1940 (Figure 13). Added to these are studies of cities in other countries, most notably in the USA (see for instance Johnson (1979) on mid-19th-century Philadelphia; Shaw (1929) on 1920s Chicago, as well as others from the 'Chicago School', but also the work of Gilfoyle (1992) which maps 19th- and early 20th-century New York brothels – Figure 14). Even Hong Kong and Gibraltar have had their 19th-century brothels mapped (see Howell, 2009). There therefore appears to be an imbalance in the focus of academic research, with London ignored not only by researchers of the Edwardian period, but also by those studying other historical periods. But even the British studies cited here are 'half-hearted' in their attempts to visualise spatial patterns since the mapping tends to be subsumed into a much larger piece of research, becoming lost amongst other findings. Furthermore the methodological and visual sophistication of some maps (although offering interesting findings) are somewhat crude which limit what they can offer (most notably in the cases of Godfrey, Cox and Farrall, 2007 and Chamberlain, 2012). This is perhaps partly because the use of GIS software to create maps has often been viewed with suspicion by historians for being too scientific (Ayers, Nelson and Nesbit, 2013:204) and this is compounded by beliefs that GIS is "...a complicated tool

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Figure 9 – Arrests of prostitutes in Liverpool (1918).

Source: Chamberlain (2012:192)
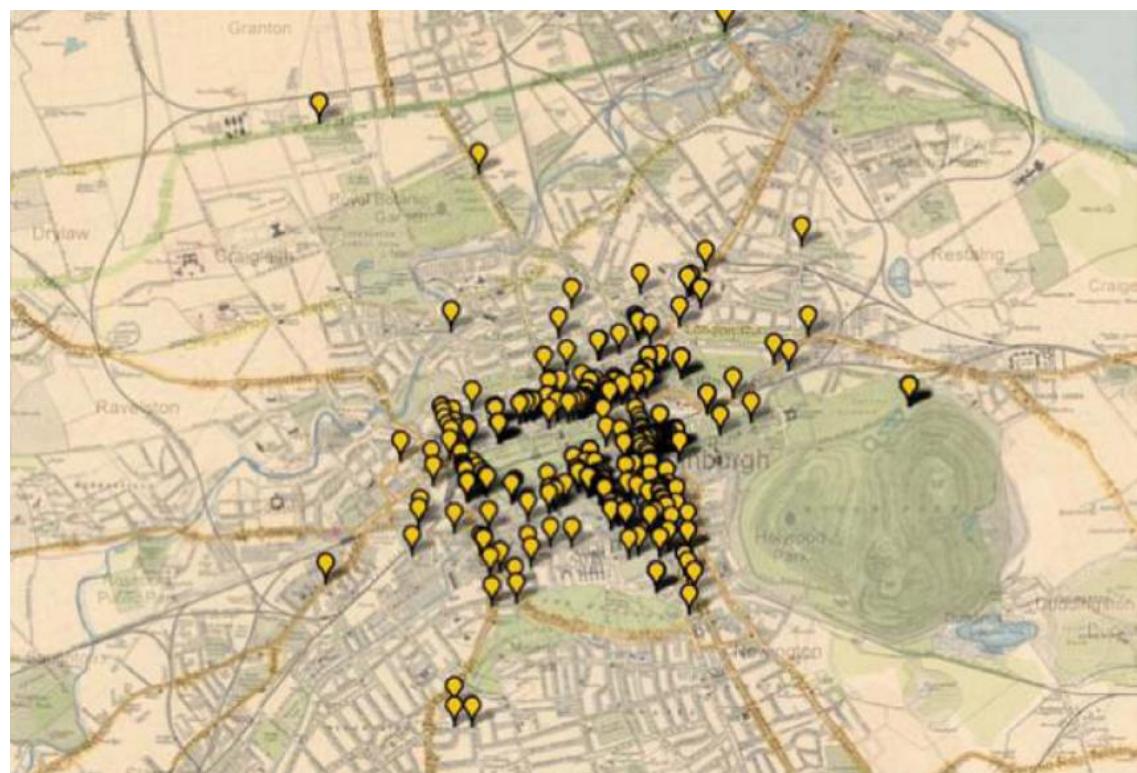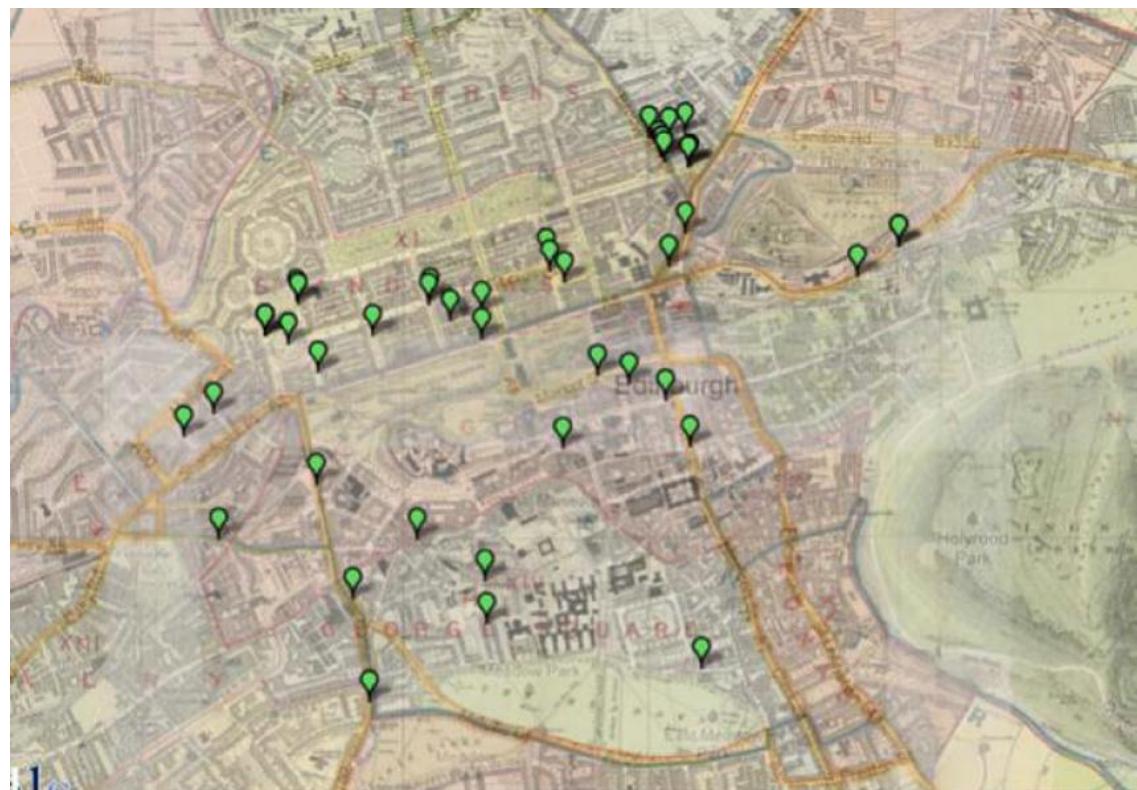
Figure 10 – Location of prostitutes soliciting in Edinburgh in 1903 (top) and 1911 (bottom). Settle collected a sample of data from the Edinburgh Burgh Court records, mapping the locations where women were apprehended by the police for importuning (solicitation).

Source: Settle (2013:238 and 239)

Figure 11 – Spatial distribution of crime locations reported in the Illustrated Police News (1867-1900). Smalley took a sample of newspapers (papers from March and September at six year intervals) and extracted crime locations reported to produce the above map. Circles denote the greatest concentrations which are all cities.

Source: Open University (2014a)

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Figure 12 – Patterns of linear distances between offenders' or witnesses' homes and pubs in Birmingham (1855-1857).

Source: Bramwell (1984:20)
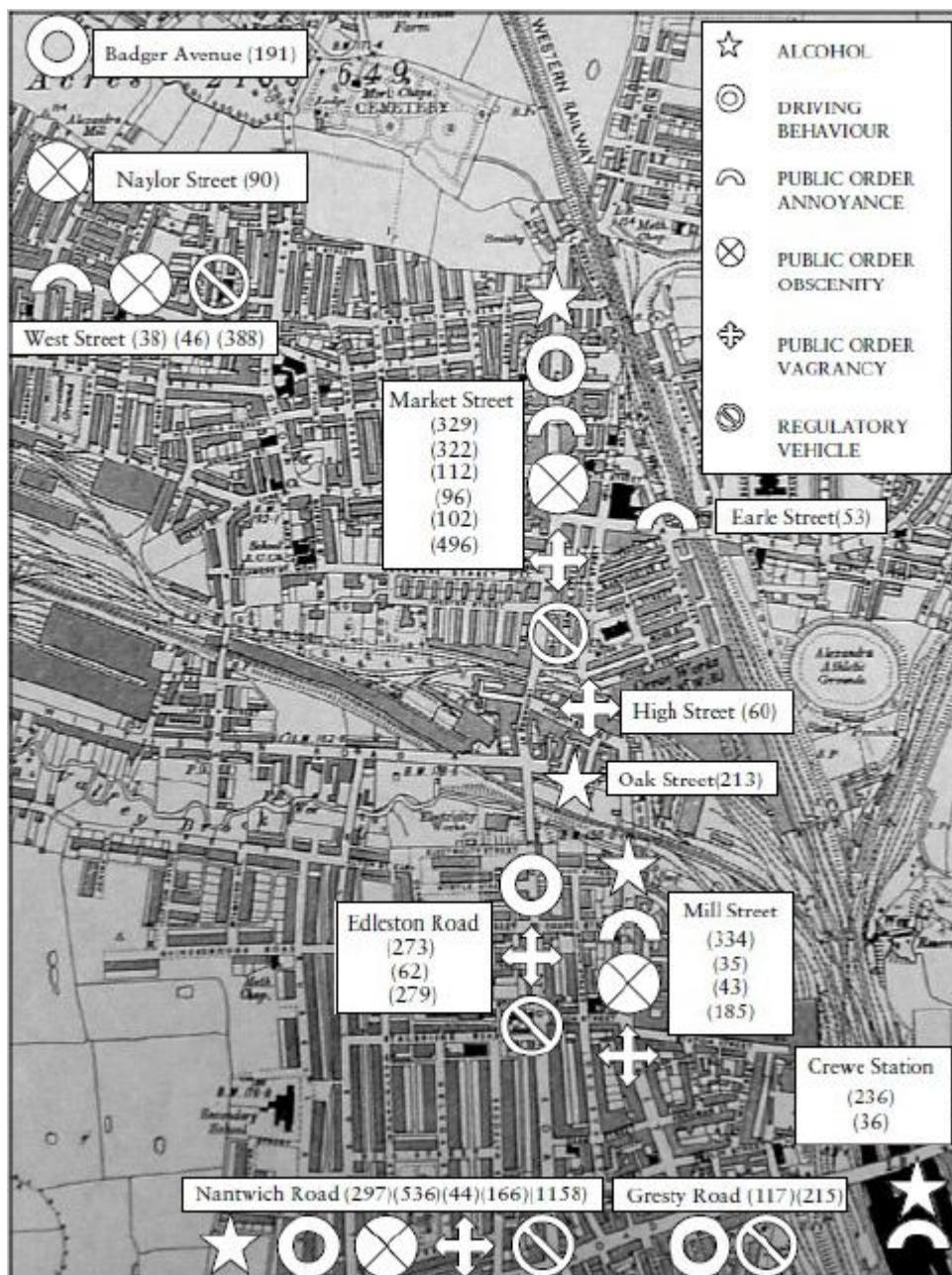
Figure 13 – Main locations for various offences in Crewe (1880-1940).

Source: Godfrey, Cox and Farrall (2007:52-53)
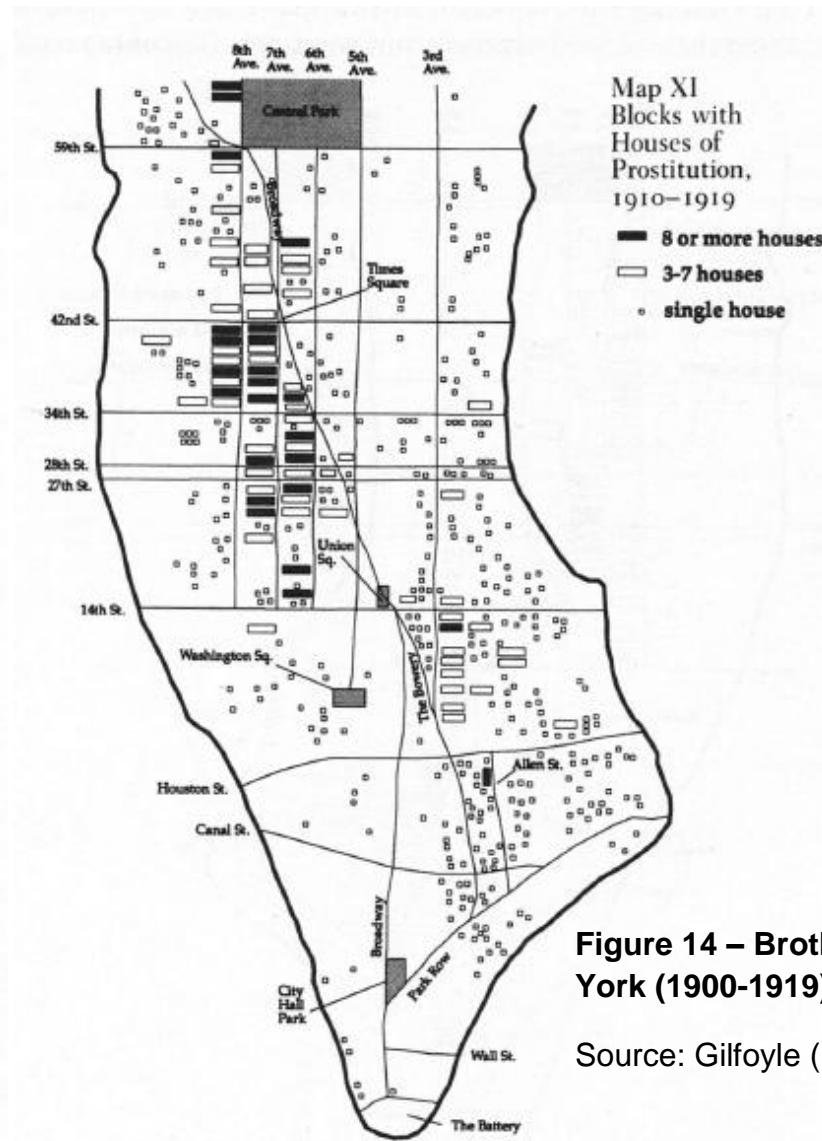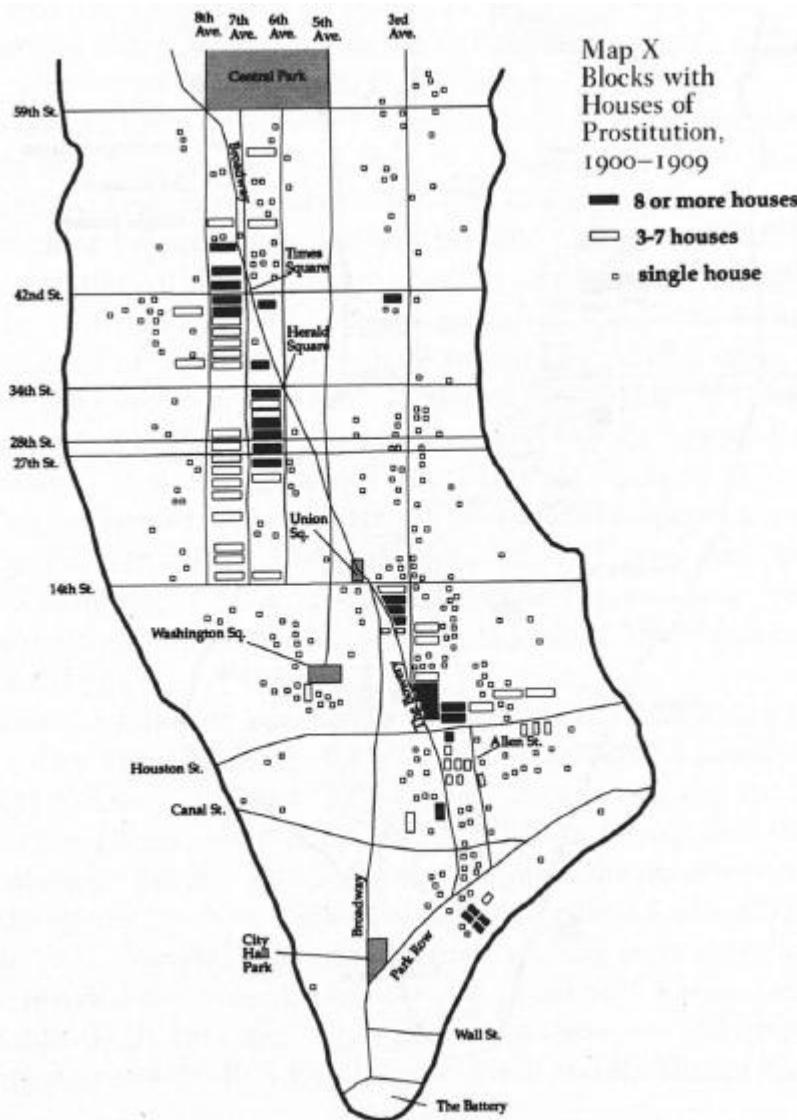
Figure 14 – Brothels in New York (1900-1919).

Source: Gilfoyle (1992:201-2)

best left to others" (Rodger, 2011). Yet if GIS had been employed in these studies, readers would have been offered a far superior ability to interrogate and explore the underlying data visually. In many ways research question 1 seeks to introduce 'cartographic rigour' into the study of historical crime geography by using a GIS to map data to the streets of the Edwardian city.

To summarise, we know little about the local, micro-scale distribution of criminal addresses in the Edwardian era, and even less about where crime was historically spatially concentrated. Previous research has mainly focussed on the criminal residence, mapping numbers at a higher level of spatial analysis (ward, parish or borough level). The studies reviewed above also confirm that the period of time from 1900 to 1921, including the Edwardian era, has been largely neglected by crime historians and social scientists researching crime in London. Hence, research question 1 seeks to fill the void in academic knowledge by mapping incidents of crime and defendant residences (associated with the WPC area) at the local-scale of the street. By doing so, it will uncover where crime was concentrated and where defendants lived. The research question is therefore as much about evaluating sources and methods used to create crime mapping as it is to identify the spatial patterns of criminal activity.

Research question 2: did patterns of crime and defendant residences in the Edwardian city change between or within the time periods 1901-1902 and 1911-1912?

Chapter 2 explained how Edwardian London was in constant flux with people moving in and out of areas, commuting from place to place, all facilitated through various forms of transport that interconnected the city. This constant movement and also perhaps the slower change to the built environment will have had implications for patterns of crime and criminal residences in London during that period. This is therefore the focus of research question 2 which investigates if patterns of criminal activity (both spatial and quantitative)[6] varied

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[6] Spatial meaning the geographic distribution and quantitative referring to the number of offences or defendants.

between decades, but also at finer temporal scales such as monthly/seasonally, daily and hourly. It should be noted that changes to spatial patterns of *crime* and *defendant addresses* will only be examined between the two decades being examined (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). In contrast, quantitative *crime* trends will also be assessed seasonally, daily and diurnally. This is due to the nature of the sources and data created (discussed further in Chapter 4), but also the practicalities of producing at least 86 maps depicting spatial crime patterns for every hour, day of the week and month for both time periods being studied. As established earlier, a variety of factors produce distinctly different spaces in cities such as London and it is temporal changes to these factors that can alter spaces and influence where or when crime and criminality occurs. What follows is an explanation of this, along with a brief review of literature on how temporal changes in the city impact on the patterns of criminal activity.

The long term, decadal changes to the social and built fabric of London will have impacted upon patterns of crime and location of criminal residences. This is because the long time span offered the ability for changes to the built fabric of spaces to occur, populations to migrate in or out of neighbourhoods, police to alter their patrols or catch and imprison persistent offenders. As Berk and MacDonald (2009:972) argue:

> the distribution of crime in time and space can be explained by differences across neighbourhoods in poverty, residential stability, and ethnic heterogeneity that, in turn, affect the development of common values and maintenance of informal social controls.

However, each of these aspects of the city take time to change spatially – for instance the demographics of a community cannot change daily, but are more likely to vary gradually over many years. Similarly alterations to the physical environment of streets where construction or building work is carried out may be a lengthy process. It is these gradual, longer term changes that may influence where crimes occur, as well as where criminals live, although there is conflicting evidence from previous historical research to suggest this was the case. For instance, examining location of criminal addresses, Burt's (1925:73) study argued that in 1922-1923 inner city areas (namely Holborn, Finsbury and

Shoreditch) housed the greatest number of juvenile delinquents, and that if these areas are examined in Charles Booth's 19th-century surveys "...the correspondence between the darker ['criminal'] areas upon either [map] sheet will be immediately apparent". This implies that despite there being a 22 year time gap, criminals (or at least juvenile offenders) in 1922-1923 were still occupying the same areas that they were living in during the late 19th century. However, the two map sheets are not entirely comparable due to their difference in scale – Burt's map is at the parish/borough level, whilst Booth's maps are at the level of the street – rendering such comparisons crude and lacking detail. This also means that it is impossible to assess whether finer changes to neighbourhoods (such as migration or slum clearance) had any impact upon the local levels of criminality. Furthermore, Booth's mapping of the 'criminal class' would have (as implied) included criminals of all ages given that information behind the mapping came from policemen's knowledge; whereas Burt only examined juvenile delinquency (which would involve a different range of crimes to those committed by adults). Nevertheless, Brantingham and Brantingham (1984:300-1) describe how rookeries in Whitechapel persisted, but also expanded during the 19th century "...because of the immigration of criminals from other parts of the metropolis as urban renewal schemes and the construction of new roads to ease traffic congestion pulled other rookeries down". They also cite the findings of Wallis and Maliphant (1967:255) who found that Stepney and Shoreditch had 19.33 and 19.92 young delinquents per 1000 people which were the third and second highest rates across London in 1961 (see Figure 15). This would imply that locations of criminal addresses remain stable over decades, yet the fact that the Whitechapel rookery expanded (attributed to rookeries elsewhere being cleared) highlights change at a local level in different neighbourhoods. Indeed, if the notebooks of Charles Booth's poverty study are examined they highlight local, street level changes in where criminals were believed to reside between 1888 and 1898.

Studies documenting decadal changes to spatial patterns of crime are few in number – unsurprising given the gaps shown by the assessment of literature for research question 1. There are for instance only two historical studies of crime in British cities and both concern prostitution in time periods either side of the

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Figure 15 – Distribution of delinquent rates in London (1961).

Source: Wallis and Maliphant (1967:252)

Edwardian period. Chamberlain's (2012) study of inter-war prostitution in Liverpool (see Figure 9) showed how, at a street level, activity remained stable in some areas whilst in others disappeared. Similarly, local trends were found by Howell (2009) in mid-Victorian Cambridge, with brothels converging on one area of the city, whilst those in its suburbs vanished (see Figure 8). Both illustrate that in the case of prostitution, there were decadal spatial changes. There are also contemporary studies that examine decadal trends in the years between the 1980s and early 2000s, but it is acknowledged that these are not fully applicable to Edwardian London (given that they are studies of crime in US cities). Spelman (1995) examined the origin of 911 calls coming from schools, housing projects, subway stations, parks and playgrounds in Boston, Massachusetts over a 3 year period; Groff, Weisburd and Morris (2009:61) investigated juvenile crime in Seattle at the block level over a 14 year period from 1989 to 2002; as did Groff, Weisburd and Yang (2010) but over a 16 year period from 1989 to 2004. These studies found changes at local levels rather than widespread alterations across the city and thus reaffirm the importance of examining localised trends. But none of these studies (historical or contemporary) examine London – it is not known whether similar patterns occurred in early 20th-century London and how (or if) the patterns for different offence types changed. Hence a study of decadal spatial changes to crime patterns within the Edwardian WPC forms part of the focus for research question 2 – a comparison of overall spatial patterns between 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

City spaces do not only change over long time periods such as decades. There are far more subtle changes during the year, through seasons, on a daily and diurnal basis that can all influence the number of crimes committed. Seasonal changes in the weather have been argued to alter the behaviour of individuals and therefore impact on crime statistics. For example, according to criminological theory "...pleasant temperatures encourage individuals to spend more time outside the home, increasing opportunities for criminal victimisation" (Cohen and Felson, 1979 in Hipp et al, 2004:1334), suggesting that the weather prompts peoples' routines to change, offering greater criminal opportunity. Yet surely the same may be said for poor weather conditions of winter months when

there may have been fewer witnesses to a crime, improving the chances of a criminal successfully evading arrest. In addition, there is also much evidence to suggest that Bank Holidays during the year such as Christmas brought more people out into public spaces (irrespective of weather) and created opportunity for crime. The novelist George Gissing for instance noted how on Bank Holidays it was customary for people:

> ...to rush in crowds to some sweltering place, such as Crystal Palace, and there sit and drink and quarrel themselves into stupidity...places like Hampstead Heath and the various parks and commons are packed with screeching drunkards, one general mass of dust and heat and rage and exhaustion (Gissing, 29 May 1882 in Gissing and Gissing, 1927:116).

This may seem an exaggeration, but it is well documented how the term 'hooligan' was coined in 1898 resulting from "...an excessively rowdy August Bank Holiday celebration in London when hundreds of people appeared before the courts on charges of assault, drunkenness and assaults on police officers" (Pearson, 2006:6-7) – implying holidays were always a 'rowdy' affair. Although there have been no historical studies examining seasonal variation of crime patterns, Semmens, Dillane and Ditton (2002:798) state that previous contemporary "...criminological research has indicated that criminal offending varies with the seasons", and there is a wealth of literature that discusses this using quantitative techniques (see Baumer and Wright, 1996 for a comprehensive summary). Research is therefore required to ascertain how overall charges varied from month to month, during the seasons within the Edwardian city.

Patterns of crime detected have also been found to vary from day to day across the week. Beckingham (2012) calculated the average number of arrests for drunkenness for each day of the week during the period 1891-1915 and found variations, with significant increases on Saturdays (Figure 16). Similarly, in 1926 "...Saturday represented the day in which the highest proportion of arrests [for prostitution] were made, with this day accounting for 21% of all arrests made in the year" (Chamberlain, 2012:190). Yet both these studies centred on Liverpool, focusing on specific offence types and failed to discuss or explore trends in any
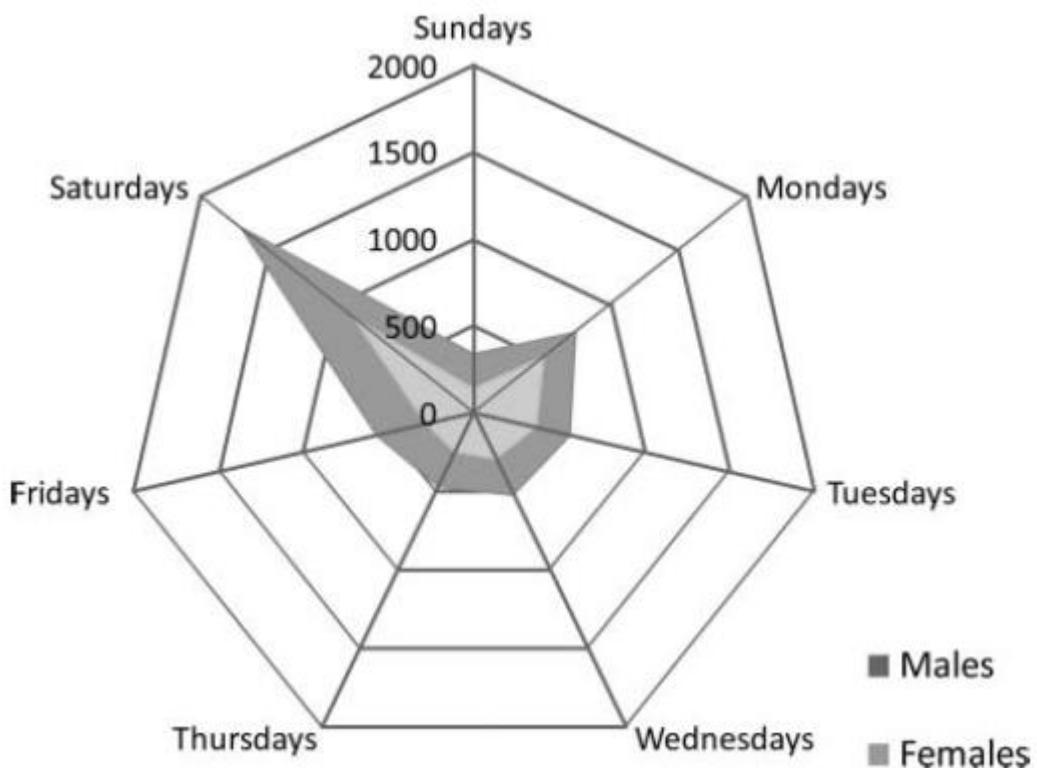
Figure 16 – Average number of arrests for drunkenness by days of the week, October 1891-December 1915 in Liverpool.

Source: Beckingham (2012:657)

detail. Hence, using the charge dates of WPC offences, this research will examine how the pattern of overall offending varied across the week. However, academics have also found that the pattern of offending may vary throughout the day. For example, an analysis of official statistics shows that in Edwardian London, incidents of burglary occurred the most from 2-4am, whilst housebreaking was greatest from 7-9pm (Graph 1)[7]. Equally in the 21st century, the night hours bring people out to pubs and bars meaning that "most recorded alcohol-related crimes occur...at night..." (Bromley and Nelson, 2002:239). Beckingham's (2012) study of drinking in Liverpool during 1890-1915 confirms this, finding that arrests for drunkenness were greatest in the evening from

[7] Both burglary and housebreaking involved the breaking and entering into (or out from, after having committed a felony within) a dwelling house with intent to commit a felony. The difference between them was the time of day when the offence was committed – burglary being at night (9pm-5:59am) and house breaking during the day (6:00am-8:59pm) (MEPO 8/18, 1900, p.210-11).
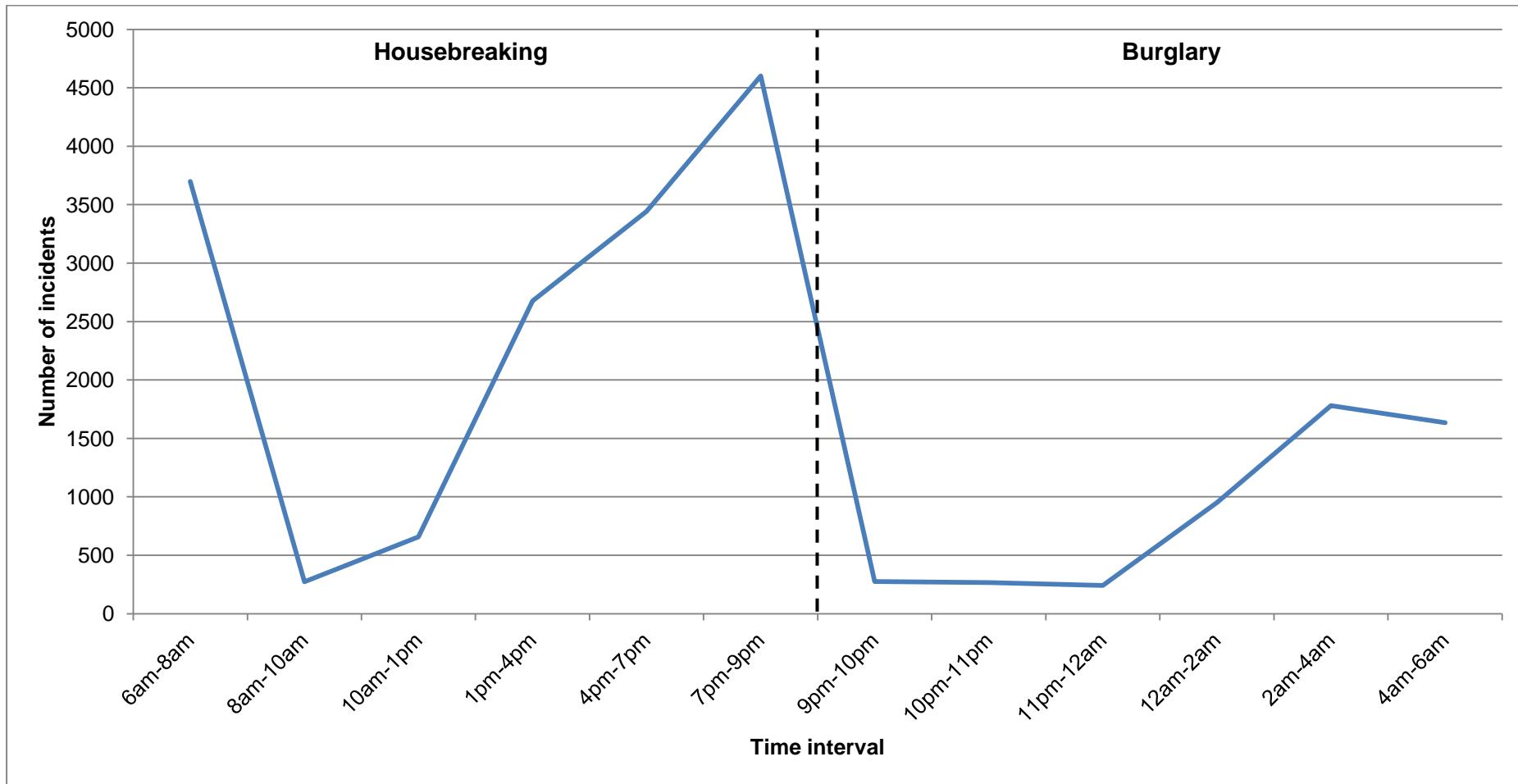
Graph 1 – Total number of incidents of housebreaking and burglary in the Metropolitan Police region in each time interval (1901-1912). Figures have been calculated from the annual returns for housebreaking and burglary in the Metropolitan Police Commissioner's annual reports.

6pm-midnight (Figure 17). Admittedly these examples come from literature discussing either contemporary or early 20th-century crime in another city, meaning that they may not necessarily be applicable to Edwardian London society. Furthermore, much of the contemporary research charts when crime occurs throughout a 24 hour period in order to help 'combat' or 'fight' crime today (e.g. Nelson, Bromley and Thomas, 2001, Ratcliffe, 2002 etc.) – meaning that they have a different research approach. But as there have been no previous studies of diurnal changes to crime trends for Edwardian London it is plausible that these types of assertions hold true for the past, but need to be investigated to confirm this. Thus, another part of research question 2 is to uncover diurnal changes to charge figures, linking these to the daily rhythm of city life[8].
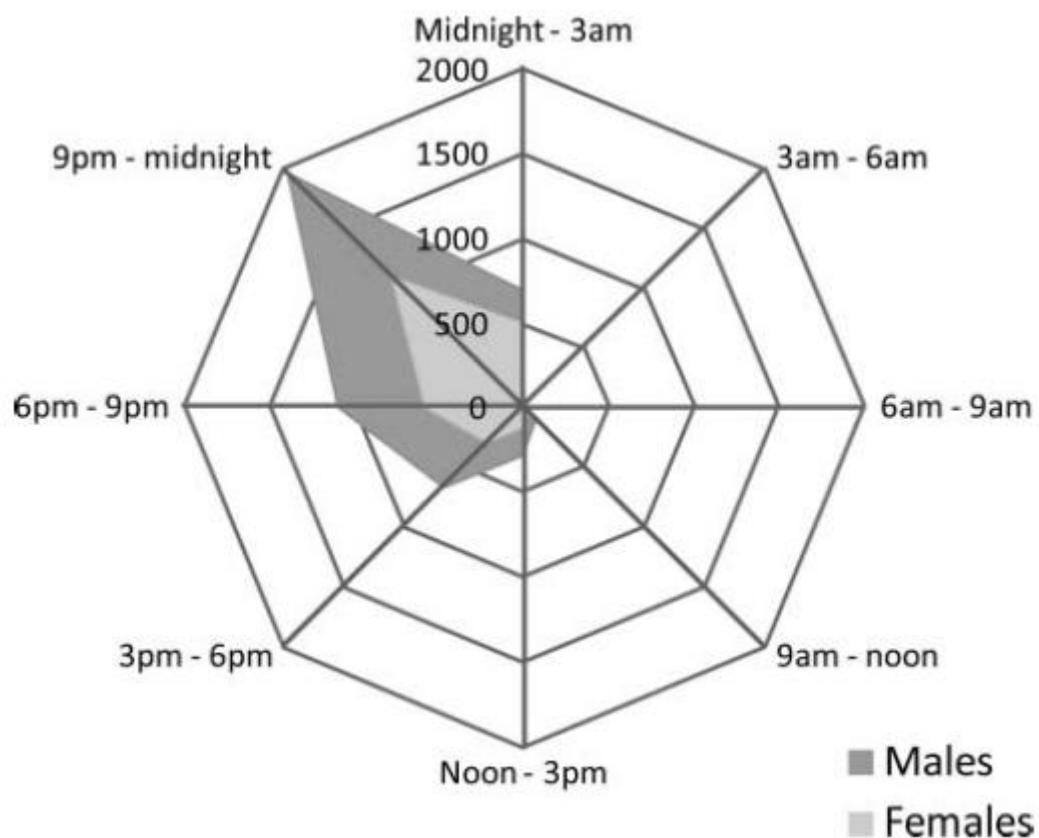
Figure 17 – Time periods of arrests for drunkenness, October 1891-December 1915 in Liverpool.

Source: Beckingham (2012:657)

[8] This research uses the charge times rather than the actual time a crime was committed (due to the nature of the data). The charge time refers to when an arrested individual had been taken to the police station and formally charged (see Chapters 4 and 5 for details).

Research questions 3 and 4: socio-economic status, the local built environment and criminal activity

Mapping crime and where defendants lived provides us with an understanding of the spatial distribution of these phenomena. But the reasons for these patterns need to be examined as there are conflicting theories explaining why crime occurs in some places over others. Furthermore, if decadal temporal changes are found, the mapping can only show the differences – data for other phenomena need to be used to contextualise findings and perhaps allow a discussion of why the differences occurred. Thus, research questions 3 and 4 examine the socio-economic status of inhabitants and the built environment of WPC neighbourhoods, both of which have been widely attributed by academics to be part of the reason why crime occurs in certain spaces. The purpose is not to offer *explanations* for why crime or criminality occurred, but rather to examine certain 'factors' that may have been *related* or *linked* to the patterns.

Before advancing further, it should be stressed that there are other factors that are known to have influenced spatial patterns of illicit activity. Social controls of neighbourhoods, friend and family (social) networks of association, perceived criminal boundaries in space, security and policing have all been argued to influence spatial patterns (see Evans, 1995:91; McGloin and Kirk, 2010:209; Williams, 2012:311); but for historical periods it is difficult to examine these due to their absence in archival records. But that is not to say these will be discarded and form no part in interpreting spatial patterns. As will be shown, these factors are partially tied to the social status of inhabitants and the built environment of areas; but they are also linked in part to the underlying archival material being used. For instance, a defendant's social network may be revealed if those that he/she associated with were also offenders – if they were all caught by the police, links established between them, tried at court and recorded in the archival records then part of social networks can be uncovered. Furthermore, locating a defendant's address helps to suggest the type of individuals they would have encountered on a daily basis, thereby giving an impression of the community they lived in. The communal controls can also be approximated using all this information as well as documentary evidence from accounts produced at the time. However, aspects such as physical security of

buildings and beat policing cannot be investigated due to the lack of archival records detailing these issues.

Research question 3: was there a relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of local areas and the spatial patterns of criminal activity?

The socio-economic character of the local area is an important aspect to consider when interpreting the spatial distribution of criminal activity. But before establishing this link, it is important to explain what socio-economic status meant in the Edwardian era. It can be summed up as an individual's social standing in society determined by social conventions, norms and practices. The way in which individuals behaved, the choices they made on how to live their life and future aspirations are all part of what determined status in society – these served to determine how 'respectable' an individual was. As Ross (1985:40) states "respectability was attached to fairly specific behaviours, possessions, and associations which functioned symbolically to indicate both moral excellence and social status". But in order to maintain social status, apposite spending power was required which was determined by occupational or household income. Gourvish (1979:22) states that "...we should expect the fortunes of workers to vary with their relative levels of skill, scarcity values, and the nature of technological and organisational change in each industry", meaning that occupations could determine status in society. Hence, socio-economic status is a complicated concept involving occupational income, but also social conventions and notions of 'respectability'. It is therefore important to consider when investigating the spatial distribution of crime and defendants, as it would have influenced where people lived in Edwardian London, but also the spaces they frequented during their leisure time.

Indeed, cities exhibit spatial differentiation in socio-economic status across neighbourhoods. Masterman (1907:11) commented on how there was a contrast "...between the lives of the rich and of the poor, of their complete separation not only in sympathy and feeling, but in actual geographical aggregation", and as was discussed in Chapter 2, Edwardian London was divided into socially different areas. But this only described the general pattern

at a high level – it is the local segregation in communities that demonstrates the micro geographies of social status, and therefore its links with crime. For instance,

> the neighbourhoods and communities of North Lambeth were carefully categorised as 'good' or 'bad', as much by the inhabitants as by police and other authorities. They took on a collective identity, a collective standard, internal and external, against which others were measured (Chamberlain, 1989:19).

This is most apparent when reading an account from a woman who grew up in New Cross at the turn of the century. Although being in South East London (rather than in Lambeth or another part of the WPC area), it sums up the spatial segregation of status at a local level:

> we all had our districts, and the very fact that you lived at New Cross meant you were someone better than people who lived in Deptford. I mean, the Deptford people would in their way think themselves someone who was better than those that came from the other side of the river. Anyone the other side of the river were rough people. You imagined so. Now I've heard of people who lived at Islington who were quite respectable and lived in nice houses, but at the time, the general impression was in our district, well, there were more working class people and likely to be more pub crawlers, dancing on the pavements when the public houses shut...in New Cross, you were that little bit much higher and you wouldn't do that sort of thing in the street...You were made to know your districts in London...but the districts kept themselves socially apart (quote from Rose Trinder in Winstanley, 1978:163).

But it is even argued today that socio-economic status distinctions were being played out within individual streets of Edwardian London:

> even single streets were divided by their inhabitants into 'rough' and 'respectable' ends, distinguished both by physical features such as bay windows, and by presumed differences in social behaviour, and residents would frequently demonstrate improvements in their economic status by

moving to slightly better accommodation in the same or an adjacent street (Johnson, 1988:34).

Much of this seems rather superficial, based on perceptions of others, yet it clearly created distinct divides over space and this would have had implications for where criminal activity occurred.

The link between spatial patterns of crime, criminals and social status for the Edwardian period is complex. Generally, both crime and criminality were associated with areas of low socio-economic status – certainly in the early 20th century "crime was closely associated with the poorer areas of the urban environment, and criminality was usually located in the lowest social strata" (Lawrence, 2011:14). This was perhaps the result of long established societal beliefs concerning the poor working classes living in areas designated as 'slums'. Koven (2004:183) states that there was "...a long history of Victorian and Edwardian social reporting in Britain that imagined the slums of London...as sites of physical and social disorder". These areas were believed to be places where "...crime, prostitution, disorder and sedition were...thought to lurk...hidden from the gaze of the well-to-do, and when left to fester in this 'nether world', could suddenly break out and threaten" (Stedman Jones, 1974:463). It is well documented how describing working class areas in this way established a 'discourse' for these parts of the city (see Stedman Jones, 1971), and in doing so served to increase social divisions. Such communities could therefore be viewed as separate from those surrounding them, and perhaps (when considering the social segregation in London highlighted by the accounts above) were viewed as such by other, more respectable communities living in nearby streets. In addition, some communities had poor relations with the police – as an Edwardian commentator put it:

> 'Tis as police they'm bad, an' right down wicked liars sometimes. Barring being policemen, they'm mostly nice enough. But there's no trusting o'em, not the best o'em, if they can get hold of anything that they thinks, like, 'll carry...That's why us don't think nort the worse of a chap what's been to chokey [prison]; an' that's why 'tis, you take notice, that if anybody of our sort calls in the police, w'er they'm right or wrong, 'tis ten to one the

neighbours turns against 'em (views of Wooley and Wooley expressed through the words of the fictitious Perring family in Reynolds et al, 1913:93-94).

This illustrates that some communities would never trust the police, meaning they would not inform them of who was committing crime in their area, even if they were a witness or had evidence to prove the guilt of an individual. Ill-feeling towards the police would also have been created in some parts by their approach to policing communities. Clapson and Emsley (2002:123-4) note how police would inflict punishment on people from areas considered 'rough', partly to sustain a sense of superiority. For instance in some parts of Battersea this was said to be customary, but meant police were not safe walking these areas alone for fear of attack (Thompson, 1971a:2000int225). Criminals may therefore have been able to exploit this distrust/dislike of police, living amongst these communities safe with the knowledge that they would not be 'grassed' upon by their neighbours. But the above account also implies that victims of crime living in such a community would not have used the police to report the offence (adding to the 'dark figure' of crime) – instead taking it upon themselves to get revenge, which in turn may have come to the attention of the local policeman on the beat. Yet it would also have been the case that individuals were scared of reporting their neighbours to the police, fearing reprisals if they did so. All of this suggests that areas of low socio-economic status were attractive places for criminals to live and to commit crimes. Moreover, it implies that criminal activity was greatest in areas of London containing the lowest strata of society, whereas wealthy or respectable areas would experience little offending. But all of this is theoretical, based upon opinions and assumptions – these assertions have not been validated, and in reality it is possible that the spatial configuration of crime and criminality in the Edwardian WPC area was far more complex.

In Chapter 2, it was argued that criminality could occur in anyone and that certain characteristics of individuals led them to commit crimes. This implies that criminality was not confined to one part of the social spectrum, meaning that criminals will also be found beyond the lowest in society. This is supported by the fact that a whole suite of crimes was associated with those in the highest strata of society, namely 'white-collar crime' – defined as "...crime committed by

a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation" (Sutherland, 1949:9)[9]. This as Robb (1992:4) notes would not include "...work-related crimes such as larceny by domestic servants or the theft of building materials by construction workers...because they were carried out by lower-class persons". These examples highlight how criminality could occur amongst the more 'respectable working class'. But there were also specific crimes committed by individuals from all parts of the socio-economic spectrum. For example, Meier (2011:68) argues that shoplifting was committed by women of all backgrounds, and it should also be remembered that crimes related to being drunk would also span a much wider spectrum than simply the lowest in society. In addition, many streets would not house a homogenous group of individuals, but instead a mix of people from varied social backgrounds (as the accounts from the period suggest). So even in a street housing respectable people, it is possible that a criminal lived among them. Furthermore, with individuals in constant flux within cities, and the police trying to catch offenders, criminals/crime could easily have been displaced to 'respectable areas'. All of this suggests that the relationship between socio-economic status and criminality is not altogether so straightforward. On one hand, it indicates that social status cannot be used to explain criminality across space. But unpicking these debates further does also suggest that particular crimes were associated with specific social strata. However, these alternative views as to how socio-economic status influenced criminality (and therefore its spatial distribution), highlights the need for greater investigation into these issues.

Finally, it is also important to consider the daily mobility or movements of offenders since this may affect the distances travelled before crimes are committed. The majority of contemporary studies argue that the distances travelled by criminals are short (Chainey and Ratcliffe, 2005:103), suggesting crimes are committed in their local neighbourhood – reflecting the arguments

[9] It should be noted that white-collar crime often lacks any specific location. For instance if it is associated with the stock markets the crime may involve lots of people (some knowingly, others unknowingly), but the crime is perpetuated through the links/exchanges between them. This makes these crimes very different to crimes occurring on streets that usually have an identifiable location. Consequently, this research was unable to map such white-collar activity.

made above. However, Weatherburn and Lind (2004:23) argue that "...motivated offenders do not necessarily commit all their offences in their own neighbourhood and, therefore...neighbourhoods with large numbers of motivated offenders will not always have higher crime rates". Furthermore, if these assumptions are applied to the socio-economic milieu of Edwardian London then there were a whole host of possible locations (or targets) for criminals to commit crimes. This is because the spatial picture of socio-economic status (which can be assessed to some extent from Booth's poverty map) indicates that at the local micro scale, streets of 'criminal' inhabitants co-existed with streets nearby that housed the wealthy:

> From Bedford Square to Drury Lane is about 400 yards, and Booth's map shows it descending from red to black in that short space. Likewise, in Westminster, Booth shows splashes of black and dark blue just a couple of hundred yards from the Abbey and the seat of government...in a few blocks we pass from the red-gold of Cavendish and Hanover Squares to the dark blue of Soho (Whitfield, 2006:169).

With such varied strata of society living in close proximity to each other, offenders would have had a variety of opportunities and could commit crimes such as theft in spaces or housing frequented by a number of different socio-economic strata (both near and far from their own place of residence). In criminology, this decision process of who and where to target is summed up by Rational Choice Theory which argues that "...people will make rational decisions based on the extent to which they expect their choice to maximise their benefits (profits) or minimise the costs (losses)" (Akers, 2001 in Cote, 2002:285). Hence, targeting wealthier areas or locations frequented by individuals of a higher socio-economic status could reap greater rewards if the crime being committed was theft or burglary for instance.

All of this shows how socio-economic status influenced and was shaped by spatial patterns of crime and criminality. Research question 3 therefore seeks to investigate the relationship between the spatial configuration of crime and defendants and the socio-economic characteristics of neighbourhoods in

Edwardian London. But clearly, other factors need to be considered and examined to better interpret the spatial patterns.

Research question 4: how did the configuration of the local built environment influence the spatial patterns of criminal activity?

People inhabit and frequent spaces in the city, altering the daily dynamic of what happens within them. But it is the built component of the environment (or built environment) that facilitates what happens within these spaces and which can influence where criminal activity occurs. The 'built environment' comprises of

> ...built forms, which are defined as building types (such as dwellings, temples, or meeting houses) created by humans to shelter, define, and protect activity. Built forms also include, however, spaces that are defined and bounded, but not necessarily enclosed, such as the uncovered areas in a compound, a plaza, or a street (Lawrence and Low, 1990:454).

Edwardian London's built environment contained a variety of built forms – a cursory glance at an Ordnance Survey map from the period illustrates this most clearly (Figure 18). From the leisure spaces of pubs, tearooms, restaurants and theatres to the shops, department stores, warehouses and factories of commerce, as well as the residential areas, transport hubs and streets themselves – each was a vital component of the city's built environment, constituting and shaping activity in local areas. It could therefore influence where and also how much crime was committed. Yet, as the literature reviewed for research question 3 implied, it may also have determined which spaces in the city criminals inhabited. The following discusses the relationship between crime, criminality and the built environment, unpicking the complex inter-relationship and thereby justifying the need for research question 4.

The relationship between crime, space and the built environment may be summarised as follows:

> ...crime takes place in particular locations, and the characteristics of those locations in terms both of their general settings and their specific attributes
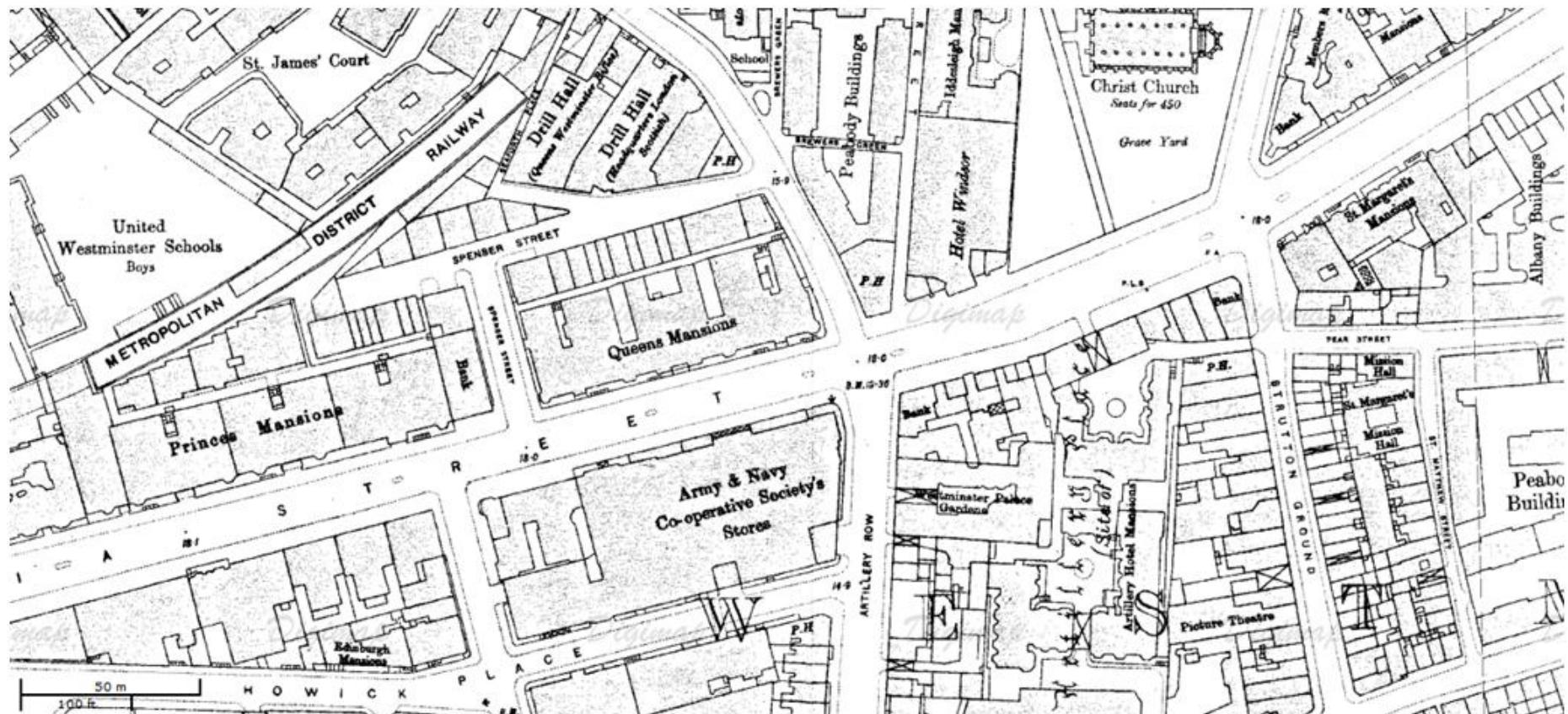
Figure 18 – The varied buildings and spaces of Edwardian London from above (1916). Within this small section of map (centred on Victoria Street) there is a department store, a hotel, banks, pubs, mission halls, drill halls, school grounds, a church, a picture theatre, model dwellings, apartment housing and part of the Underground Railway.

influence very considerably the crimes that do (and don't) take place there (Schneider and Kitchen, 2007:1).

This suggests there are a number of aspects of the physical built form of spaces that create an appropriate environment to generate or deter criminal acts. One might consider the 'general setting' to constitute the land use i.e. recreational, commercial, governmental, transportation and residential property constructed on sites to create spaces; but also the street along which these land uses were located. However, the 'specific attributes' might refer to a more detailed investigation of spaces which examines the condition of buildings (both internally and externally) and the facilities within. But the quote from Schneider and Kitchen also hints at how spaces attract particular types of offence. Land use, the street network and building conditions/facilities will be unpicked here to show how each might affect where crime occurred and offenders lived.

Kinney et al (2008:62) state that "the distribution and clustering of different land uses is thought, on theoretical grounds, to play an important role in where and when crimes occur" and this is because land use alters the way in which spaces are used. For instance, areas with high numbers of establishments selling alcoholic beverages (pubs, beerhouses and bars) could be argued to both generate and attract criminal behaviour. Certainly during the Edwardian period, the relationships between pubs, drink, drunkenness, immorality and crime were drawn:

> the pub seemed to demoralise drinkers in several ways. It made them drunk; drunkenness weakened their resistance to crime and vice; and the pub brought the immoral and the criminal together... (Kneale, 2001:53).

It illustrates that pubs not only created drunkenness, potentially resulting in drink related crime, but also attracted criminals, offering them the opportunity to, for example, trick drinkers or pick their pockets. Furthermore "the idea that alcohol and drunkenness affected surrounding public and private spaces seems to have been widely held..." (Kneale and French, 2008:237) which is why the locations of premises selling alcohol were mapped by various parties during the 19th and early 20th centuries (the maps implying that high concentrations of public houses in areas resulted in greater social problems including crime).

Similarly, land given over to commercial premises such as shops and department stores attracted a different sort of offender – the shoplifter. Shops (particularly department stores) acted to fuel a 'consumer society' as they created "...a spectacle, displaying goods and fuelling new desires" meaning shopping became "...a matter of choice, impulse, and decisions of the moment" (Abelson, 1989:78). Although this was good for business, attracting customers and generating sales, for some the temptations on offer were too great. As Meier (2011:9) argues those "...who shoplifted demonstrated a desire to participate in consumer society; they stole not simply to survive but also to perform their aspirations for social mobility". Altogether, these examples illustrate the importance of land use in creating activity, crowds and movement within the city, which in turn could influence whether crime was committed.

The street networks of cities have also been shown to influence where crime occurs – as Hillier (2004:31) states there is "...a very strong correlation between layout type [of the street network] and all kinds of crime...". This is because of the way in which street networks determine access to spaces, allowing movement across the city (Beavon, Brantingham and Brantingham, 1994:115)[10]. For instance, research has suggested that "...streets that are most integrated – and therefore with more natural movement – are often safer than the more broken up spaces..." (Hillier and Sahbaz, 2005:452). This means streets that were more connected may have offered greater safety or were less likely to become crime locations. The reason for this is (as Daunton (1983) argues about Victorian cities such as London) that open street layouts enabled greater regulation of public spaces through 'natural surveillance'. In other words, wide, open spaces provided a greater ability for people to survey and watch the space, including the police. On the one hand this might deter offenders, but if these were also the streets on which pubs, shops and theatres were located, then they may also have experienced high numbers of crimes (as suggested by the examples provided earlier). Moreover, better surveillance offered by the

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[10] A form of computational analysis known as space syntax "...is concerned with systematically describing and analysing streets, squares and all open public space as a continuous system...to measure how well connected each street space is to its surroundings" (Vaughan, 2008:6). It is research based on this form of analysis that has highlighted how street networks influence peoples' movements across cities and can be said to affect how safe spaces may be.

design/layout of such streets would no doubt have enabled police to detect a greater number of offences. In contrast, enclosed 'mazes' of narrow, winding streets such as those forming the rookeries or slums of London in the 19th and early 20th centuries could be difficult to 'police' offering opportunity for criminals. Indeed, Brantingham and Brantingham (1993:4) argue the rookeries allowed criminals to live "...in relative safety from police, venture forth to commit crimes in nearby target areas, and disappear safely back into the rookery's physical maze when police gave chase" – meaning that the labyrinth of enclosed streets offered a place to live, hide, plan, commit crime and escape from police. Moreover, it could be argued that such street networks aided in fostering a sense of a community separate from the surrounding, wider neighbourhood, thereby promoting a socially segregated area and attracting greater criminality. Yet, surely the police would have kept a closer watch on these neighbourhoods – Davis (1989:70) for example notes how the slum housing of Jennings Buildings in 19th-century Kensington was policed far more heavily due to the widely held belief that it was home to offenders. Hence, criminals may have decided to move to other neighbourhoods for fear of being apprehended. Altogether this illustrates how (in theory) the street network could promote and prevent criminal activity due to the way in which the network acted as a facilitator of movement and surveillance in the city.

Examining the built environment at a much finer level exposes other ways it may have influenced where crime, but also criminal residences were located, and relates to the socio-economic status of individuals. For example, the condition or quality of housing could aid in creating distinct social divisions between and within neighbourhoods (as the quote from Johnson (1988:34) suggested in the previous section). Consequently, areas with poor quality housing (in a bad state of repair) were likely to accommodate those who had limited income, but also those who were not necessarily concerned about their outward appearance and notions of 'respectability'. This (as discussed for research question 3) may have served to create distinct, separate communities, which in turn offered a place for individuals of a criminal nature to hide. Hence, "the economic situation of many lower working-class workers...ensured that they lived in poor housing stock, sometimes with neighbours who relied on theft

to provide an income" (Godfrey, 2014:9). It was therefore the living conditions and thus the quality of the built environment that has been argued to determine where criminality thrived. Part of the purpose of research question 4 is to investigate how this 'theory' played out in space at a local level, seeing whether the built environment assisted in creating social differentiation and determining where criminals resided. A discussion of the spatial distribution of crime and criminal addresses can therefore involve an examination of the socio-economic characteristics and built form of local areas. Each have been shown in, admittedly rather abstract terms, to either attract or repel illicit activity in a variety of ways, meaning that it is important to test these 'theories' especially within the historical context of Edwardian London. By examining both, linking them to the information describing where crimes were committed as well as where defendants lived, it will be possible to interpret the spatial patterns identified.

As briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this study focuses on a part of Central, South West London (the jurisdiction of the WPC area), since it is impossible to address all the aspects of the research questions for the entire London area (both in terms of available archival sources to consult and the practicalities of time). Clearly this limits investigations to a small part of the city and may give the impression that this is merely a local history study. However the final section of this chapter provides a brief examination of the characteristics of the area, illustrating how varied it was socio-economically, but also environmentally with a range of land uses, spaces and architectural/physical conditions.

The Westminster Police Court (WPC) area

The jurisdiction of the WPC was described briefly at the beginning of this chapter, but nothing has been said about the court itself, as well as the general character of the area. The court itself was located on a strip of land between Rochester Row and Vincent Square (Figure 19), co-located with one of 'B' Division's police stations where it had been since 1846 (Figure 20). No accounts of what it was like to visit the court survives, however a description of walking
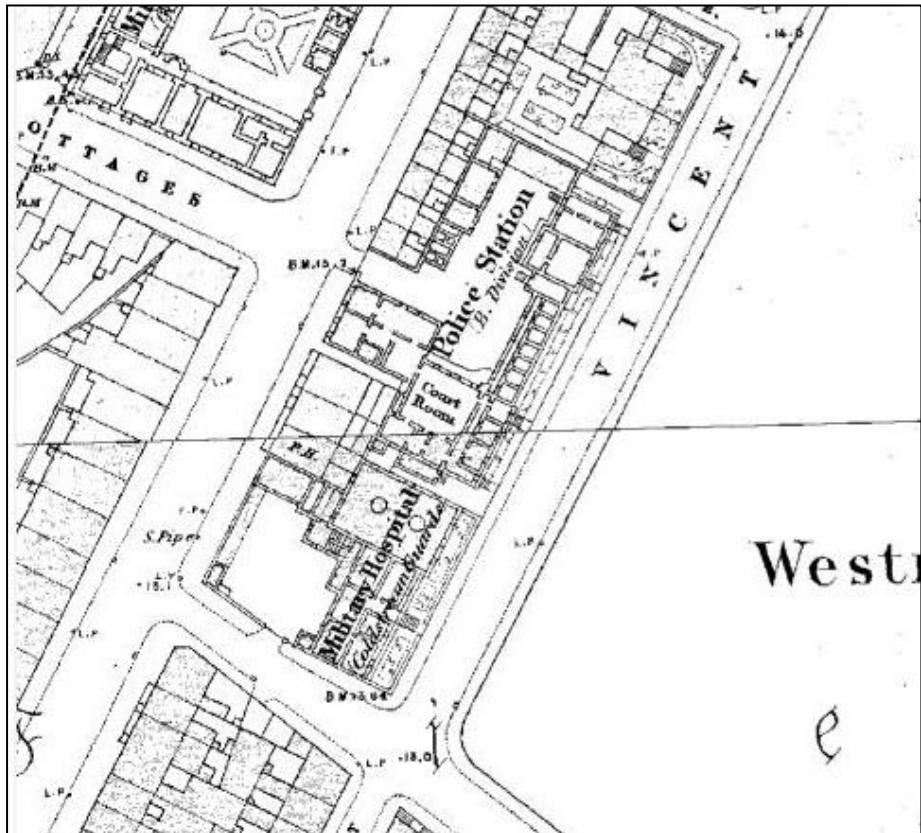
Figure 19 – The WPC on a map. The maps show the position of the court between Vincent Square and Rochester Row in Westminster. The left map is from 1871 and allows us to examine the internal layout of the court as well as the adjoining police station. The map to the right is dated 1895.

Source: Digimap (2014)

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Figure 20 – The court.

Source: The Illustrated London News, 10 January 1846, page 28

into the nearby Police Court in Lambeth offers a glimpse of what one might have seen:

> out of a long corridor thronged with policemen we turn into the waiting-room, where the prisoners, excepting some few who are in the cells, wait for their turn to appear before the magistrate. There is a long list on the wall, with the name of each prisoner and number of the officer who has charge of each case, and showing the order in which they will have to appear...Come to the cells. Down the corridor, past the gaoler's office, turn to the right. There they are, all in a row. It is afternoon, and they are pretty full. The prisoners have been reeled off by the magistrate, and some are going to prison and some are hoping for the coming of friends to bring the money for their fines (Holmes, 1902:17 and 20).

The area of London under the jurisdiction of the WPC was briefly described earlier in this chapter, but Figure 21 maps the boundary which illustrates how it encompassed a considerable portion of Central, South West London. Police from A, B, L and W Metropolitan Police divisions (whose jurisdictions covered parts of the WPC area – see maps in Chapter 2) would have arrested individuals committing offences within this area, charging them at the police station, resulting in the person being sent to the court (or in some cases, bailed on recognisances). There one of two magistrates would have tried the defendant, passing sentence that might find him/her guilty or not guilty. It is perhaps worth mentioning that during the course of the Edwardian period the jurisdiction of the WPC magistrate (or the WPC area) was curiously changed due to the campaign for women's voting rights. Since its creation, the WPC had shared part of its northern boundary with Bow Street Police Court along Great George Street, Parliament Square and Bridge Street (The London Gazette, 1840:2598). However, in 1908 suffragette protests in the vicinity of Parliament created difficulties for the police:

> it will be obvious that when any disturbance arises such as those recently engineered by the Suffragettes with the Houses of Parliament as the point of attack arrests are likely to be made in the areas served by both the Police Courts in question, with the result that Police witnesses and their
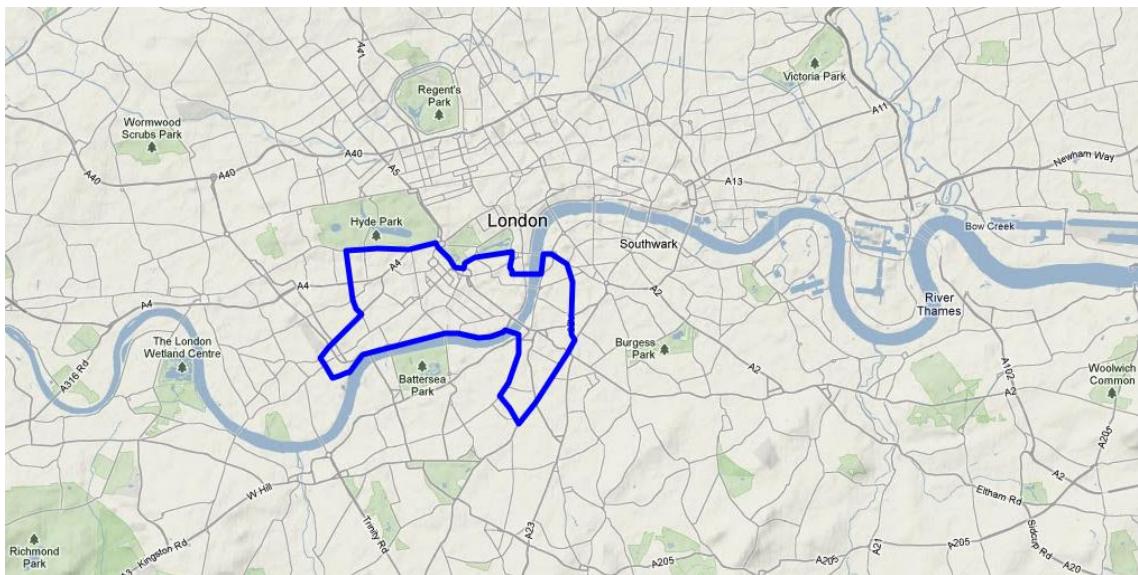
Figure 21 – WPC jurisdiction. Map showing the area enclosed within the WPC boundary (top). Map showing the WPC area in relation to London as a whole (bottom).

Note: the boundary drawn here was defined in February 1909. Prior to this, Parliament Square and streets surrounding Dean's Yard were included in the area.

Sources: Google Maps (2014); Post Office London Directory, Volume 2, Part 2 (1910:1972); MEPO 2/1220 (1909)

advocate may be required in two Courts to prove the charges arising in the same set of circumstances (MEPO 2/1220, 1908).

The result was a redrawing of the boundary, with the area north of Wood Street being handed over to Bow Street on 16 February 1909 (The London Gazette, 1909:1215). It should be noted that these boundary changes will be reflected in this study. The geographical boundaries have thus been defined – both for the WPC and this study. But what types of streets and spaces were contained in this area and who inhabited them?

Although covering a small part of London, the spaces within the WPC were just as varied as those across the city as a whole. Commercial areas such as Knightsbridge, Brompton Road, Fulham Road (Figure 22) and Victoria Street with their shops and department stores (Figure 23), although being smaller in scale when compared to the well-established areas of Oxford and Regent Streets, were nonetheless significant and important shopping districts. Bringing shoppers to these streets were various omnibus routes, but the area was also well served by several underground railway stations (Figure 24) and the large terminus at Victoria. These would also have brought workers to the area from places further afield or from other parts of Central London. But the WPC area was also home to some of the approximately 558,000 people in 1901 and 524,000 in 1911 that lived in Westminster, Chelsea and Lambeth (Table 1). Large parts of the area were thus residential, integrated with and filling gaps between the other land uses described. This would have included the large, grand houses of the upper and middle classes (Figure 25), as well as apartment housing, blocks of model dwellings and working class multi-let housing (Figure 26). Overall, this paints a picture of a varied physical topography within the area which was mirrored by the socio-economic character of residents.

Perhaps the best way of gauging how diverse the area's residents were socially is to examine the Booth maps from 1898-1899 (Figure 27). It is perhaps possible to identify clusters of particular social groups such as the wealthy, upper or middle class 'enclaves' of Belgravia, roads around Brompton Road and South Kensington. At the other end of the social spectrum were the working classes housed in areas of Lambeth, Vauxhall, Westminster and Chelsea.

	1901			1911		
District/ Area	Pop.	Male	Female	Pop.	Male	Female
Chelsea	73842	32828	41014	66385	28470	37915
Lambeth	301895	142760	159135	298058	142080	155978
Westminster	183011	84963	98048	160261	73449	86812
Total	**558,748**	**260,551**	**298,197**	**524,704**	**243,999**	**280,705**
County of London (total population)	4,536,267			4,522,961		

Table 1 – Demographic structure of the WPC area. The above figures show the population totals of areas that made up the WPC area, as well as the breakdown of this population by gender. Note that these are census districts and therefore only part of the population figures quoted would have fallen within the WPC area. Changes in census statistical reporting may account for the large population difference for Chelsea between 1901 and 1911. Overall population figures for the County of London are provided as a comparison, but show no substantial change in the overall population between the two periods.

Source: histpop.org (2007a)

Figure 22 – Photographs of Old Brompton Road (top) and Fulham Road (bottom). These photographs are believed to have been taken during the 1890s or 1900s.

Source: Kensington and Chelsea Local Studies (2013a)

Figure 23 – Peter Jones Department Store, Sloane Square (1900). Peter Jones was one of a number of department stores located within the WPC area.

<p style="text-align:right">Source: Kensington and Chelsea Local Studies (2012a)</p>

Figure 24 – Underground railway stations in the WPC area. Brompton Road (top) and South Kensington stations served the area. The photographs were taken in the 1900s.

Source: Kensington and Chelsea Local Studies (2013b)

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Figure 25 – Wealthy upper or middle class housing in the WPC area. Elm Park Gardens (top) is dated 1890s/1900s and the photograph of Albert Square was taken in 1912.

Sources: Kensington and Chelsea Local Studies (2012b); Lambeth Landmark (2014)

Figure 26 – Working class dwellings (1928). The photographs show cottages in Page Street (top) as well as those between Esher Street and Kensington Place (bottom).

Source: Watson (1993:136) from original photographs held at Westminster City Archives
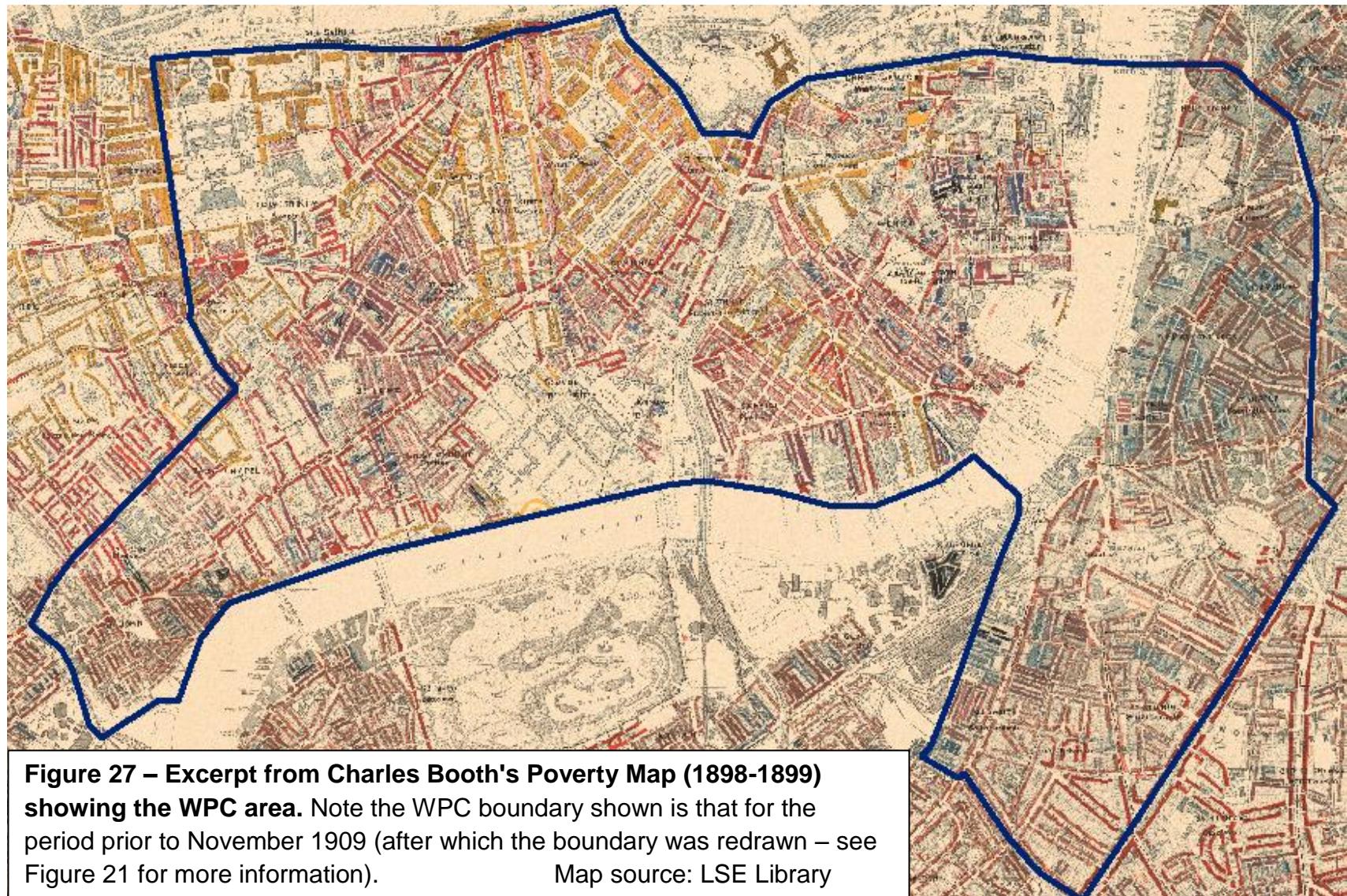
Figure 27 – Excerpt from Charles Booth's Poverty Map (1898-1899) showing the WPC area. Note the WPC boundary shown is that for the period prior to November 1909 (after which the boundary was redrawn – see Figure 21 for more information).   Map source: LSE Library

Despite concentrations of particular social classes, the 'patchwork' appearance of the map (with its assorted colours) shows that streets of differing social groups were co-located (just as any other part of the map). Furthermore, Graph 2 shows how streets in the area were classified by Booth showing that the full spectrum of social groups was 'represented' amongst the WPC population. Watson (1993:7) states that the neighbourhoods of Westminster and Pimlico housed "the respectable and the seedy; the grand and the humble, the opulent and the destitute..." – a description that perhaps applied to the entire WPC area.

It has been demonstrated how the area was diverse, with a range of physical and social settings thereby offering a perfect 'sample' region of London in which to study the patterns of criminal activity. But what do we already know about crime and criminals in the area from historical accounts? It is difficult to gain a quantitative perspective of this since, as alluded to earlier, police divisional areas did not match those of the Police Court rendering policing statistics irrelevant. Furthermore, annual statistics from London's Police Courts were never published. However, a glimpse of how many individuals were sent to the WPC may be obtained for 1886 (Table 2) and suggests the court had one of the lowest workloads in comparison to others in the city. Moreover, in 1900 a Home Office committee drew comparisons between courts stating "in some districts, such as Lambeth and Clerkenwell, the pressure of business is very great", whilst "...there are some Police Court districts, such as Westminster, where the business is comparatively light, and occupies only a portion of a working day" (Parliamentary Paper, 374, 1900). This might suggest the area experienced comparatively less offending than many other parts of London, but this may also reflect the size of the jurisdiction (in comparison to others), as well as the characteristics (e.g. social, economic and environmental) of the neighbourhoods within. There are a handful of written accounts that refer to neighbourhoods within the area and which therefore might offer a better insight into crime and criminals in the area. Local newspapers from the time often remarked on the workload of the WPC when reporting cases, making comments such as "an unusual number of charges, chiefly from the Lambeth district, have accumulated during the recess" and "a formidable list has to be got through this morning, the noisy element of Lambeth having been more than usually
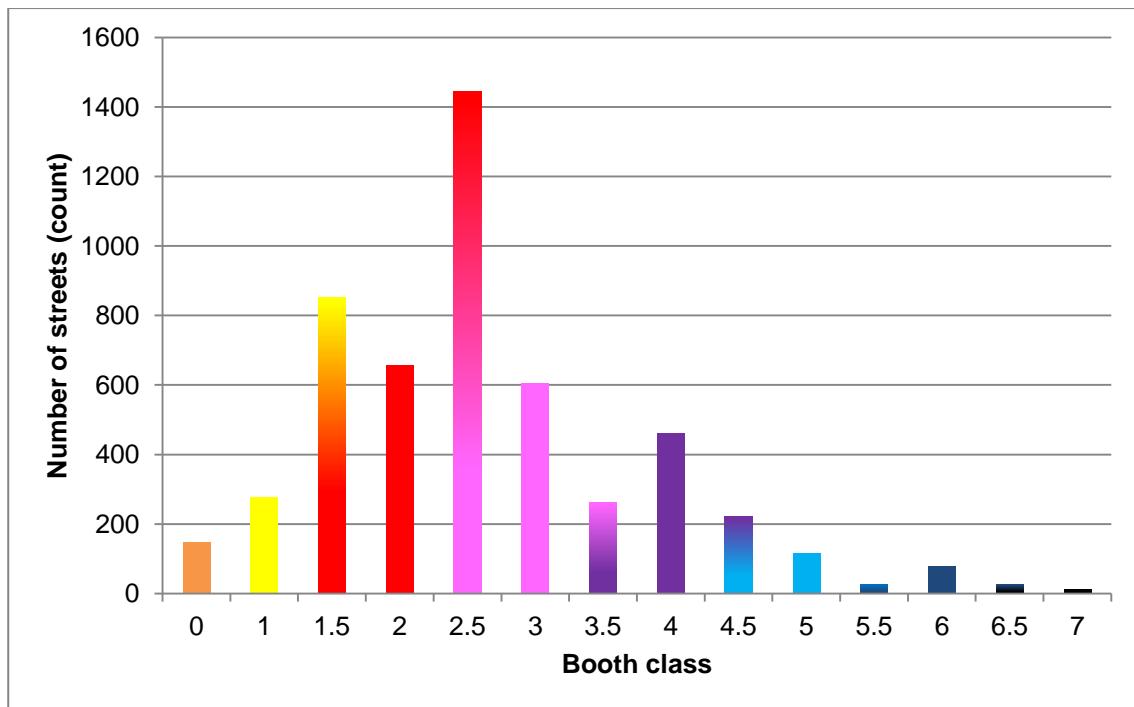
Graph 2 – WPC streets socially classified by Booth. The bar colours and numbers refer to Booth's colour coding system. '1' equates to 'Yellow', whilst '7' is 'Black' and '3.5' are streets coloured both 'Pink/Purple'. '0' refers to streets that were being constructed or demolished during Booth's survey and which were therefore not assigned a social category.

Court	Number of cases
Bow Street	9572
Marlborough Street	13945
Westminster	10197
Hammersmith	11659
Wandsworth	6605
Worship Street	16778
Clerkenwell	14644
Marylebone	14890
Thames	14282
Greenwich & Woolwich	17523
Southwark	12893
Lambeth	17991

Table 2 – Cases at London's Police Courts in 1886.

Source: MEPO 2/5807

turbulent" (West London Press, 17 May and 18 October 1901). This implies that police encountered the greatest trouble south of the River Thames; however these are accounts written by journalists making sweeping statements about the neighbourhoods south of the river (which only formed a small part of the WPC). They may simply have been playing upon the fears/beliefs of their readers north of the river rather than stating accurate facts. But others have been more specific in where they believed criminal activity was to be found. For instance, Burt's (1925:74) study argued that "around Victoria Station, as around Waterloo Station on the opposite side of the Thames, the streets and alleys are often of a criminal type" and likened them to 'rookeries' in neighbourhoods surrounding Kings Cross and St Pancras stations. The area around Victoria Station was also suggested by Laite (2012:81) to be a popular haunt for prostitutes, as well as the areas of Pimlico and South Kensington. These findings are supported by a rather exaggerated description from the period:

> ...West London boroughs contain streets and blocks of flats which are largely...occupied by kept women and prostitutes. In the south-west portions of Westminster, in Pimlico, Chelsea, West Brompton, and especially Fulham, the evil is plainly apparent (Mudie-Smith, 1904:94).

All of these claims require substantiation and none single out specific streets or neighbourhoods, but rather whole areas within the WPC region. Admittedly a cursory glance at Booth's poverty maps provides some suggestion of the 'worst streets' in the area – 14 streets were coloured black or barred black. But this was merely based on the impressions/beliefs of policemen and cannot be used alone to indicate where all offenders lived. This research will therefore assist in supporting some of these assertions.

This chapter has outlined the research questions to be answered, justifying the need for each by examining the existing (or lack of) research into the geographical distribution of crime and defendant addresses in Edwardian London. Chapter 4 will explain how these research questions were investigated using a methodology that cross-cut or cross-compared various archival sources, with the resulting data being mapped using a GIS.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

For the study of 21st-century crime, researchers have access to a vast quantity of information and data about offences, criminals, police and other aspects of society and environment, collected or produced by national and local government, private organisations and citizens. From official statistics and reports to academic research, surveys, media reports, pamphlets and the accounts/opinions/beliefs of ordinary citizens – there are numerous sources from which today's crime may be examined. And although some of these sources may not be available to researchers due to legal measures, there is much that is accessible and free to be interpreted and analysed by all who wish to do so. Similarly, in the early 20th century a large amount of information and data was collected by a range of actors concerning crime, criminals, policing and other aspects of society/environment. For instance, when a crime was committed on a street in Edwardian London, the police would record statements from victims and witnesses in their notebooks. This may have led to an investigation with the creation of a police file on the case, as well as an entry being entered in the local police station occurrence book. In cases where the public reported a crime directly at the police station, the information was recorded in the station's crime book. Once individuals had been apprehended for a crime, their particulars were noted down in the receiving station's charge book as well as on a form, which would have been used at the Police Court. At the Police Court, minutes of trials would have been taken by clerks, and a brief record of trials held on each day was recorded in the court register. Similar records were also created for cases referred onto higher courts (the County of London Sessions or Central Criminal Court), but also rather bulky case files presenting evidence to juries. If convicted, offenders may have been sent to prison where their details were recorded, and their facial profiles captured photographically. The prison may also have kept a file for certain prisoners containing information about their offence and time in prison. Added to this, crimes and/or criminals may have been included in more specialist records such as Special Release Notices, Police Gazettes and Police Informations (listing individuals apprehended and sought for crimes), Habitual Criminal Registers, Habitual Drunkard circulars, forensic records, Director of Public Prosecution

case files and Secret Service Bureau case files. External to all of this (although not unconnected) would have been newspaper reports, memoirs, personal diaries and correspondence, which, although being highly selective as well as (in some cases) limited in number, may have offered interesting and perhaps unusual information regarding crime, criminals and society. But there would also be the official statistics and reports generated by the authorities in London, as well as by social commentators or investigators. From this overview, it would seem that historians have a wealth of information to wade through in order to research crime in the early 20th century. Moreover, it suggests that historical geographers (or academics considering the spatial dimension of crime history) have access to vast quantities of spatial information to use in their research (given that many of these records would have contained locations of crimes, addresses of criminals and other geospatial information). But in reality, this is far from the truth.

An initial search for sources of geospatial information on crime

An assessment of archival holdings for all parts of the criminal justice system was conducted in order to establish sources which could be used to investigate the spatial distribution of Edwardian London's crime and its criminals. Records created by the Metropolitan Police, City of London Police, Thames Police, Central Criminal Court, Magistrates (Police) Courts, prisons, Director of Public Prosecutions, Security Service and Home Office were all searched for and inspected where possible. It was found that many of the records described above have either been lost or destroyed, perhaps because they were not believed to be of historical importance or due to the fact many records duplicate each other. Some records do survive, however not all could be used for this research. The results of the assessment will be discussed here briefly in order to explain why this was the case.

A number of sources of spatial information were found in the archives of the listed organisations, but were deemed unsuitable for this research. Firstly, London's police stations kept a log of crimes committed in their local area, with information such as the personal details of victims and offenders (including

residential addresses) and the location of each individual crime being recorded (Figure 28). However, many logs were disposed of in the past and the few that survive only cover parts of suburban London or the Home Counties – areas not covered by this study. Records of cases tried in court would also have contained spatial information for the crime, criminal and victim (along with insights into the lives of those involved). But the policy on retaining such files was limited, with only the Old Bailey case files for "...murder, sedition, treason, riot, conspiracy to affect political change as well as other trials of historic interest..." and "...a 2% random sample of other depositions" (TNA, 2014a) being preserved. Many of these cases would have been reported in newspapers, or elsewhere, although a large proportion of the 2% random sample may not be found in other sources. No case files seem to have survived for other courts in London such as the Police Courts. Criminals imprisoned were recorded by the receiving prison establishment, but since prisoners could be sent to any prison across the UK, as well as transferred between institutions, a study involving these records would be too time consuming to conduct. Moreover, prison registers would only supply criminal addresses for those sent to serve a sentence – those fined, let off after a period of remand, or found not guilty would be excluded, and there would be little spatial information concerning the crime committed by prisoners. Lastly, the records of the Home Office, Director of Public Prosecutions and Security Service were also inspected, but none of their records provided a comprehensive source of spatial information. Added to all of this was the lack of a catalogue or list of material held in some archives, resulting in organisations being unaware of the full range of their holdings. In one case, due to historical material being stored alongside more modern records, access was prohibited due to security concerns, meaning it was not known whether useful material (if any) survives. Hence, a vast amount of spatial data concerning Edwardian crime and criminals at the local level has been lost from (or maybe even hidden in) the archives.

Taken together, this assessment paints a bleak picture for researchers wishing to investigate spatial patterns of historical criminal activity. However, the assessment uncovered other archival material for the Edwardian period in London, which contains a wealth of spatial information. The Proceedings of the

Figure 28 – Metropolitan Police 'X' Division (Willesden) charge book (19th May 1929). Although not being an Edwardian charge book, this page gives some indication of what information charge books contained. Names, ages, occupations and addresses of offenders are given along with the charge (usually including a crime location) and details of the victim. There is also a wealth of other information such as the property the prisoner had, dates and times etc. It is quite certain that Edwardian books would have been just as detailed since an example from the 19th century has similar detail to the one shown here.

Source: Open University (2014b)

Old Bailey (Central Criminal Court), *The Times* newspaper, *The Illustrated Police News* and some Police Court registers all contain spatial data, and are accessible either online or at archives. These combined with Charles Booth's 1898-1899 poverty map, Edwardian census records, historical street directories and historical Ordnance Survey maps were used to explore crime and criminality in the Edwardian metropolis. What follows, is an in depth discussion of these sources, the methods used to collect data from them and how information from each was used to create one single geographic database of crime and criminals that could be visualised as maps.

Westminster Police Court registers

The registers of the Westminster Police Court (WPC) were the main source of crime information for this investigation (all other sources of information were used to augment data collected from this archival source). Particulars about each case tried before the magistrate were recorded by court clerks in large, bound volumes (the registers), which have been preserved at the London Metropolitan Archive (Figure 29). There are two parts to the register that were physically split into two sets of volumes:

> Part 1 contains the offences for which somebody was arrested and charged by the police. While these include the most serious criminal offences, such as robbery, theft and sexual assaults, arrests were also commonly made for minor public order offences such as drunkenness or begging in the street. Part 2 of the registers contains the offences originating by way of summons. In these cases there was no arrest but a formal complaint was made and the alleged offender was 'summoned' to appear at court (Donovan and Lawrence, 2008:121).

Within each part, cases tried are split into 'charges' and 'remands', the latter being the record of verdicts of cases that had been tried by the court at an earlier date (although the initial hearing also would have an entry in the charge section on the day it occurred with a verdict of 'remanded'). The registers are in date order, with each day having several pages listing 'charges' and 'remands' tried during that day. Recorded information for each case includes a case
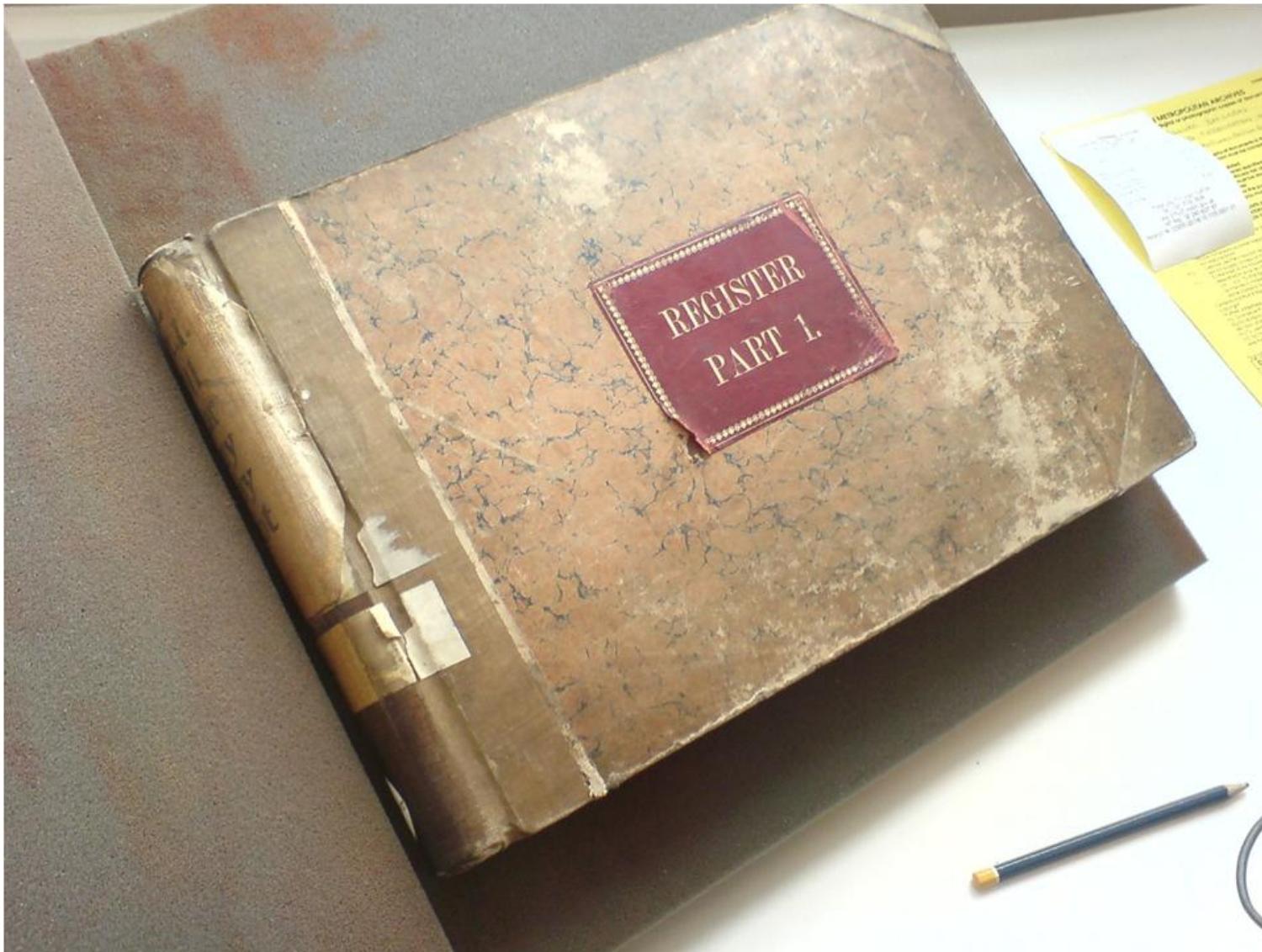
Figure 29 – An example of a Police Court register. This is a register for Lambeth Police Court.

Source: PS/LAM/A/01/015 (1911)

number, name of informant/complainant, name of defendant, occupation of defendant (select courts only), age of defendant, nature of offence/matter of complaint, crime date (select courts only, and provided if different to charge date, but not always included), time when charged at the police station (select courts only), time when bailed (select courts only and was noted if the police gave bail to the individual who was then expected to appear at the Police Court), minute of adjudication and magistrate adjudicating (Figure 30). In addition, the registers for Westminster, Bow Street and Marlborough Street contain varying levels of spatial information for crimes i.e. where the crime took place. Much of this information can also be enhanced by linking/comparing the registers with other archival sources such as newspapers or census records, so that incidents of crime and individuals involved may be explored in greater detail. The registers are therefore an invaluable source for an investigation into the spatial patterns of Edwardian London crime and criminality.

Although registers for several Police Courts contain spatial information, this study only used those created by the WPC (as was discussed briefly in Chapter 3). The crime location detail (usually the name of a street)[11] is far more comprehensive in these registers, with even petty offences such as 'drunk and disorderly' being assigned their location – no other Police Court seems to have done this. It is for this reason that the WPC registers were chosen and therefore defined the geographical limit to the study (see Figure 21 in Chapter 3). It should also be noted that only the Part 1 (police arrests/charges) registers were studied since the Part 2 (summons) registers contain limited spatial information (Figure 31). Although this reduced the comprehensiveness of the final maps produced, there was no way of obtaining the majority of the 'lost' crime locations for these registers from other archival sources. Most summons cases would not have been recorded in other sources such as newspapers since many concerned offences against local by-laws on building construction or education. Hence it was thought acceptable to exclude the Part 2 registers from this study,

[11] The WPC registers provide the name of the street in which a crime was committed – specific addresses or locations on a street are rarely stated. It should be noted that this restricts how crimes can be visually portrayed on a map since locations cannot be pinpointed with precision. Instead, crime can only be mapped onto the specific street segment in which the offence was committed. This is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Figure 30 – An example page from a Police Court Part 1 register. This is a register for Westminster Police Court.

Source: PS/WES/A/01/068, 22 January 1912

Figure 31 – An example page from a Police Court Part 2 register. This is a register for Westminster Police Court.

Source: PS/WES/A/02/023, 13 April 1911

despite the impact that this may have had on the final spatial patterns found.

Data was collected for the period starting on Tuesday 2nd April 1901 until Tuesday 1st April 1902, and from Tuesday 4th April 1911 to Wednesday 3rd April 1912 – in other words, data for one calendar year was recorded for each time period. The rationale for beginning each period from April onwards (rather than from January) was to provide a greater chance of locating defendants in the 1901 and 1911 censuses. As will be discussed in greater detail later, these censuses had to be used to locate defendant addresses because the Police Court registers do not record this information. But the registers provide criminals' personal information, which may be used to identify them in the census (and thus their address may be traced). If data had been collected for days before the census was taken, many defendants would not have been listed at their home address, but instead included in the census returns for police stations or prisons. In addition, collecting data for the day immediately after the census would also be affected in a similar way, because for both time periods/censuses, this day fell on a Monday. Police Courts were closed on Sundays meaning that on Mondays they had to deal with crimes committed on Saturday night, Sunday and Monday morning. Consequently, individuals detained on Saturday night and during Sunday would have been listed in the census as being in prison rather than at home. Thus by beginning data collection two days after census night, such occurrences were avoided. However, it should be noted that some of the data collected refers to crimes committed before the 2nd April 1901 and 4th April 1911, but this had no adverse impact on any part of the research.

The majority of information contained within the registers was manually transcribed and recorded into an Excel spreadsheet. But given that the registers contain some 6289 trials for 1901-1902 and 6598 for 1911-1912, a significant amount of time would have been required to record every detail. A solution to this problem could have been to collect a sample, perhaps taking data at intervals during a month or over a year. But this would have limited the ability to analyse temporal changes in spatial patterns of crime, as well as reduce the level of certainty regarding high or low spatial concentrations of crime. An alternative option was to exclude (from data collection) information that was of

little significance to the study, thereby allowing efficient use of time. This solution was far more favourable and therefore some of the registers' content was not recorded. The personal details of the defendant (name, age and occupation) were important for this study, not only to provide a context, but also to identify the individuals in the census (discussed later). But such information also aided in identifying repeat offenders or habitual criminals. The details of the crime including any names of the victim(s), goods stolen, value of goods stolen, date of crime (if different from the charge date) and multiple offences were also viewed as essential to the study, along with all spatial information regarding the offence. Finally, the specific charge dates and times, as well as bail dates and times were required to determine the time of day crimes were detected[12]. In short, none of this information could be excluded since it formed the core data to help answer the majority of research questions – thus for every crime in the register, these details were transcribed into the spreadsheet.

However, other pieces of information within the registers were deemed non-essential and could therefore be omitted so as to allow rapid, efficient data collection. The names of the complainant for example were not recorded – the overwhelming majority were police officers who had arrested the defendants. This information (including the officer's warrant number), although potentially interesting, does not help to directly investigate the spatial patterns of crime and criminality, so it was therefore excluded. But it should be noted that the police division to which the officer belonged was recorded since it aided in resolving the problem of multiple streets in the WPC area being assigned the same name. For example, there were two Esher Streets in the area (one in Westminster and another in Lambeth), but each street would have been policed by officers from different divisions – in this case, 'A' division for the street in Westminster and 'L' division for the street in Lambeth. The registers only record the street name, not the area it was situated in, and thus collecting the police division information aided in identifying which street the crime had occurred in (see Appendix 2 for further details). The division information also provided the ability to investigate how policing in the area worked, revealing how officers in

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[12] The bail date and time was included during data collection, but was not used during the analysis.

different divisions helped each other, as well as how police reserves were deployed. This aside, the registers also contain information on the cost of 'doctors fees' when an offender required medical attention – the information is of interest, but was not important for this investigation. In addition, the specifics of the sentence passed is difficult to decipher because offenders were often given more than one option (usually to pay a fine, or if they lacked the means to do this, they would be given 'hard labour'). Although the option not chosen was sometimes scored through (revealing which sentence the offender took) the deletions are not always obvious. This means that we are unable to ascertain the sentences served for each crime, making analysis tricky. Furthermore, many sentences were written in shorthand, for example hard labour is 'h.l.' or discharged is 'dis' (but others are not so simple to understand) and much of the writing appears to be written in a hurried nature, adding to the complexity of transcription. This increases the time required to record each crime, and much of the specific sentence detail could be incorrectly interpreted due to the challenges of deciphering the handwriting. As a result, the specific detail of the sentences were not recorded, but instead 'guilty', 'discharged', 'remanded', 'committed to superior court', 'committed to Central Criminal Court', 'ill', 'withdrawn', 'sent back' (for cases of desertion from the armed forces), 'sent to workhouse' and 'not guilty' were assigned accordingly to each crime entry on the spreadsheet. When an individual was remanded, the final verdict, when found in the registers' remand pages, was recorded in a separate column in order to retain the knowledge that the cases had been remanded. It was thought that this would be useful general information to understand how often cases were remanded at court. Altogether, this enhanced the efficiency of data collection and allowed attention to be focussed on recording essential information accurately and in a timely manner.

Despite these efforts, there are a number of problems with the registers that posed challenges during data collection. Firstly, it is important to consider a little further those cases that were remanded and for which a sentence was passed at a later date. As discussed earlier, the registers are split into 'charges' and 'remands' for each day, adding complexity to data collection. This is because the final sentence of a case where the criminal was remanded, was recorded in

the remands section on that date, meaning that its physical position in the register may be many pages away from the page that recorded the initial charge e.g. a case heard on 1st January will have been recorded in the register on that date with the verdict 'remanded', but a sentence may not have been passed until 8th January when it was recorded in the remands pages of the register for that date. Although the specifics of the verdicts were not recorded, it was important to ascertain whether the defendant was found guilty or not and therefore to record the verdicts of remanded cases. In order to achieve this and to resolve the problem, a process of back-recording verdicts was used as it is the most efficient way of collecting the data. When a remands page was encountered, the names of defendants listed on the page were searched for in the Excel spreadsheet containing all the data hitherto collected. This returned the initial trial information and enabled the verdict to be recorded. At times the search did not work (as sometimes errors in spelling occurred), but since the remand pages give the original trial date these problems were overcome by simply scrolling through the data for that date in the spreadsheet. Hence, these procedures allowed remand data to be collected and integrated with the charge data in the spreadsheet.

Nevertheless, further problems were caused by the way in which court cases for each month are recorded in the registers. Cases for each month are not recorded consecutively in the registers, but instead skip one month (the reason(s) for which are unknown). For example, a register may contain the cases for January, March and May, with cases for February and April recorded in a different register. To be efficient, it would have been sensible to collect all data contained within one register at a time, so as not to have to re-examine the same volume twice. But due to the issue with remands, it was not possible to do this since a defendant remanded in the middle or end of a month may have had their eventual sentence entered in the remands pages of the following month, as that was when a verdict was passed. Hence, for instance if all data was collected from a register containing January, March and May, information about remands for defendants remanded in the preceding months would need to be recorded separately. This information would then need to be integrated with the relevant charge information once collected, leading to a rather haphazard

method of data collection. Hence, data was collected from the registers in month order.

In addition, a major problem with the registers is that there are sometimes multiple entries in the charge pages for an individual who committed a series of offences in one incident and who had been remanded so that further police investigations could be conducted to identify further charges against the defendant. An example of this can be seen in the case of George Chapman who has two trial entries in the charge pages for the same offence of stealing from his employer Donald McGregor and Sons – once on 30th June 1911, and another on the 6th July 1911(PS/WES/A/01/065, 30th June 1911, trial 8 and PS/WES/A/01/066, 6th July 1911). At the first trial, he was charged with stealing £6/9/0 during the period 19/06/1911 to 26/06/1911, and the judge remanded him in custody. But he was then brought before the court again, this time further charged with stealing 250 pairs of boots valued at £80 from his employer during the period 31/03/1911 to 26/06/1911 (these offences taken together, the judge found Chapman guilty). This 'duplication' was unwanted since it would have distorted crime figures for particular streets if recorded as separate entries in the spreadsheet. Fortunately, identifying these instances was straightforward, since the offence descriptions begin with the word 'further' and verdicts are often recorded as 'taken at court'. When these were found, the defendant's name was searched for in the data collection spreadsheet and details of further offences committed by the individual were added to his/her entry in the spreadsheet. It should be noted that this was not the only form of duplication found within the register data – other forms of duplication were also identified, but will be dealt with later in this chapter.

Using these methods, 15 variables for 12,887 defendants tried at the WPC from 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 were successfully collected over a period of several months at the London Metropolitan Archives. Figure 32 shows a sample of the data for 1901-1902 illustrating the layout and format of the spreadsheet used, as well as the typical content. When compared with the actual pages of the registers, it can be seen that it is almost a complete reproduction of the original but with some omissions (e.g. complainant) and minor additions (e.g. remands). Once this data had been collected, it was then possible to consult other

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1	trial_date	id	defendant	occupation	age	year	offence	location	crime_date	charge_date	charge_time	bail_date	bail_time	sentence	after remand
2	04/04/1911	1	Emma Spear	(married)	45	1866	Drunk	Heman Street		03/04/1911	2:35pm		10:15pm	Guilty	
3	04/04/1911	2	Mary Jackson	(married)	28	1883	Drunk	Kennington Lane		04/04/1911	12:05am		2:55am	Guilty	
4	04/04/1911	3	Florence Lloyd	(married)	35	1876	Drunk	Stangate Street		04/04/1911	12:50am		7:15am	Guilty	
5	04/04/1911	4	Mary Ann Burnham Russell	(married)	35	1876	Drunk and disorderly	Edith Terrace		03/04/1911	11:40pm	04/04/1911	3:30am	Guilty	
6	04/04/1911	5	Annie Stanley	Dressmaker	32	1879	Drunk, disorderly and obscene language	Fulham Road		04/04/1911	12:15am		4:50am	Guilty	
7	04/04/1911	6	Harry Still	Motor cab driver	35	1876	Drunk and disorderly	Lupus Street		03/04/1911	7:30pm	04/04/1911	12:35am	Guilty	
8	04/04/1911	7	George Peckham	Liceneced messenger	63	1848	Drunk and disorderly	Ebury Bridge		03/04/1911	10:00pm		11:30pm	Guilty	
9	04/04/1911	8	Arthur Savage	Barman	53	1858	Drunk	Sloane Street		03/04/1911	11:10pm	04/04/1911	5:40am	Guilty	
10	04/04/1911	9	George Levett	Mechanic	60	1851	Drunk	Fulham Road		03/04/1911	9:10pm			Guilty	
11	04/04/1911	10	George Osborne	Labourer	40	1871	Insulting words and obscene language	Milmans Street		03/04/1911	11:20pm			Guilty	
12	04/04/1911	11	John McMahon	Labourer	29	1882	Drunk	Juxton Street		03/04/1911	7:30pm			Guilty	
13	04/04/1911	12	James King	Labourer	59	1852	Drunk	Berkeley Street		04/04/1911	12:10pm			Guilty	
14	04/04/1911	13	Albert Butcher	Bricklayer	38	1873	Drunk, disorderly and obscene language	Lambeth Walk		03/04/1911	5:00pm			Guilty	
15	04/04/1911	14	William Butcher	Labourer	30	1881	Drunk, disorderly and obscene language	Lambeth Walk		03/04/1911	5:00pm			Guilty	

Figure 32 – Excerpt from the WPC data.

sources to augment or enhance the Police Court register information. These sources, as well as the methods used to collect data from them, will now be discussed in turn, following the order in which they were examined.

<u>The Times newspaper</u>

The Times newspaper can perhaps be described as one of the staple sources of information for historical research, given its long history and coverage of a wide variety of subjects which illuminate past societies. It is therefore an essential source to consider when investigating Edwardian London crime. *The Times* was published every day of the week apart from on Sundays, and although *The Sunday Times* existed during the Edwardian era, it was run by an entirely separate organisation. In its 40,000th Edition in 1912, *The Times* provided readers with an insight into the inner workings of its production including an engraving depicting 'views of *The Times* printing office'. The article describes how the paper had 14 editorial departments "...known as Foreign, Home News, Parliamentary, Law and Police, Sporting, Court and Personal, Military, Naval, Ecclesiastical, Dramatic, Musical, Art, Finance and Commerce or City and Shipping" (The Times, 10th September 1912, page 25), with almost 2500 staff in total writing/contributing, producing and printing the paper. In the Law and Police department alone, 80 office staff and paid reporters were employed to generate content for these sections of the newspaper, either obtaining information first hand or sourcing it from other press organisations or agencies e.g. Reuters. This hub and network of crime news allowed the paper to publish reports on crime, courts and legal matters every day. Indeed, reports from London's Police Courts were published on a daily basis in a special column dedicated to news from these courts (Figure 33). In addition, columns for the Central Criminal Court (Figure 34) and County of London Sessions (Figure 35) were a regular feature when these courts were in session. There were also articles detailing coroners' inquests as well as reports on crimes recently committed, and comments/critiques on matters concerning policing, law and society. *The Sunday Times* also had similar columns devoted to the news from the various courts in London, as well as those in the rest of the country. In short, this suggests that *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* newspapers are

POLICE.

At WESTMINSTER, yesterday, the four young men, JOHN SINES, 18, THOMAS SNELL, GEORGE GLANFIELD, and PETER PLATT, charged with robbing Lady Carson, wife of the Solicitor-General, with violence, at Rutland-gate, were placed in the dock before Mr. Horace Smith on remand for final examination. The facts have already been reported. Before the prisoners were brought in front of the magistrate, Lady Carson, who was accompanied by Sir Edward, proceeded to the courtyard and identified one of the accused paraded with other men. Lady Carson gave further evidence. She said that out of five or six men in the courtyard she picked out Snell. Mr. Safford (chief clerk).—What part did he take in it? Lady Carson.—He was the youth who took the purse and forced my fingers back. I have no doubt about that. Walter Smith, railway detective at Victoria Station, stated that on Saturday afternoon he saw Sines and Snell in conversation loitering about the approaches to the station. Witness gave information to a constable, and the two prisoners, who gave false names, were apprehended. Police-constable 428 B, who assisted to take Snell and Sines into custody, deposed that the former remarked, "We never expected to be caught so easily; we may as well admit that we had the purse." Convictions for felony and other convictions were proved against Snell, Sines, and Glanfield. The magistrate said he did not want to hear anything about Platt, as the evidence against him was insufficient. He would be discharged. Platt accordingly left the dock. In reply to the usual statutory caution Glanfield made a long statement to the effect that he was with the other prisoners and another. They agreed to go to Rutland-gate "to get some pieces," and Snell, when he saw the lady coming towards them, said, "If she has got a purse I am going to have it." The others said, "All right." After Snell had snatched the purse, he gave it to Sines and they all ran away. On being asked what he had to say, Sines laughed and said, "Well, it was a great temptation." Snell volunteered the statement that they all agreed that they would have the purse if the lady had one. He said that they did not intend any violence. Mr. Horace Smith committed the three—Sines, Snell, and Glanfield—for trial to the Old Bailey for highway robbery with violence.

At MARYLEBONE, PHILIP SULKOVITCH, aged 22, a Russian subject, described as a painter, of Twine-court, Cable-street, St. George's-in-the-East, was charged before Mr. Curtis Bennett with burglariously breaking and entering the residence of Miss Genevieve Ward, actress, at Avenue-road, St. John's-wood, and stealing three daggers in cases, a silver ash-tray, two mosaic brooches, an Egyptian brooch, two gold charms, an ivory whistle, and a number of other articles, of the total value of about £100. Miss Ward said she was the last person up the previous night, and retired to rest at half-past 10. The doors and windows were then securely fastened. Between 4 and half-past she was awakened by the ringing of the front door bell, and on going downstairs she found that the house had been broken into by pushing out a nail that secured the catch of the drawing-room window and opening the lower portion. Among the articles she missed were all her curios, which were kept in two cabinets. A number of them had since been found, but the greater quantity were still missing. Apparently the thief or thieves had not gone beyond the drawing-room. Police-sergeant Henderson, 25 S, stated that about 2 o'clock that morning he heard an unusual noise coming from the rear of No. 26, Avenue-road. Accompanied by Police-constable 226 S he proceeded there, and after searching several gardens he found the prisoner crouching under some bushes by the side of a wall. Asked what he was doing there he made no reply. Witness searched him, and found upon him a dagger and a silver ash-tray; and on looking round the garden he saw several other articles that had since been identified by Miss Ward. An entrance to the house had been effected by forcing the drawing-room window with a blunt instrument. Police-constable Kempton, 348 S, spoke to finding a number of the missing articles on the lawn of No. 26, Avenue-road, at daylight. At this point the prisoner was remanded, as it was thought probable that other charges might be preferred.

Figure 33 – News from London's Police Courts in The Times. This is an excerpt from a daily column devoted to cases tried at the Police Courts. Another two cases at Marylebone, two each from Bow Street, Clerkenwell and Southwark; and one each from Worship Street and Marlborough Street were also reported in this column on that day.

Source: The Times, 24 August 1901, page 12

(Before Mr. JUSTICE WILLS.)

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS RUMLEY, 36, porter, was indicted for, and charged on the coroner's inquisition with, the wilful murder of Charles Richard Buckland.

Mr. Charles Mathews and Mr. Arthur Gill appeared for the prosecution on the part of the Director of Public Prosecutions; Mr. Clarke Hall defended.

In opening the case Mr. Mathews said that the question for the decision of the jury was the condition of the prisoner's mind at the time he committed the act. Evidence would be called for the defence to show that the prisoner was of unsound mind when he committed it and incapable of appreciating what he was doing. There had been no enmity or quarrel between the prisoner and Buckland, both of whom were employed at a repository in Pimlico. At 6 o'clock on the morning of the 13th inst. the prisoner and Buckland were walking along Westmoreland-street, Pimlico, when the prisoner suddenly stopped, drew a knife from his pocket, and stabbed Buckland in the neck behind the left ear. The wound was a deep one, the vessels of the neck being severed. Buckland died a few minutes afterwards. There was no motive for the act. The prisoner walked away, but was stopped by Police-constable Robertson. The prisoner made a lunge at the officer's stomach with the knife, which he still had in his hand. The officer parried the blow, closed with the prisoner, and, after a struggle, took the knife from him. The prisoner was taken back to the spot where Buckland was lying. Buckland, who was still living, was bleeding profusely from the wound, and the constable endeavoured to stanch the flow of blood. The constable asked him who had inflicted the wound, and he replied that the prisoner was the man who did it. Buckland shortly afterwards expired. Another police-constable, named Attridge, came up, and the prisoner was taken to the police-station. The prisoner said he had had a lot of trouble, his children having died. He became very violent and made a somewhat determined attempt to get away, saying that he wanted to go to his work. The prisoner was at the present moment quite sane.

MR. JUSTICE WILLS said there could not be a shadow of a doubt that the prisoner was not in a responsible state of mind at the time he committed the act.

Evidence was called for the defence to show that the prisoner was insane at the time he committed the act and consequently not responsible for his actions. The prisoner had suffered from fits, and, when 13 years of age, he attempted to cut his throat. He complained of pains in the head. He had four children, all of whom had died, the last child having been accidentally drowned. Since their death he had been very melancholy and had made attempts to commit suicide. He had on various occasions been strange in his manner. While he was in Holloway his wife went to see him, but he did not know her.

Dr. Bastian, F.R.S., who, at the request of the Treasury, had examined the prisoner for the purpose of ascertaining his mental condition, said he was of opinion that the prisoner was not of sound mind at the time he committed the act. He was of opinion that the prisoner committed it whilst in an automatic state following on a modified epileptic attack, and that he did not know the nature and quality of the act.

Dr. Scott, medical officer of Holloway, said he concurred in the opinion of Dr. Bastian that the prisoner was of unsound mind at the time he committed the act. The prisoner assured him over and over again that he had no recollection of doing it. He appeared to have no recollection of what took place.

The jury found the prisoner *Guilty* of the act charged, but also found that he was insane at the time he committed it so as not to be responsible for his actions.

MR. JUSTICE WILLS ordered the prisoner to be detained until his Majesty's pleasure be known.

Figure 34 – Trials at the Central Criminal Court reported in The Times. These columns tended to be devoted to one or two cases, offering much information on the trial and specifics of a case. This article details the one known case of murder committed in the WPC area during the study period.

Source: The Times, 26 July 1901, page 10

COUNTY OF LONDON SESSIONS.

The February general sessions for the trial of cases arising on the north side of the Thames were opened to-day, at the Sessions-house, Clerkenwell, before Mr. McConnell, K.C., Chairman, Mr. Loveland-Loveland, K.C., Deputy-Chairman, and other justices. The calendar contains the names of 122 persons charged with offences.

(*Before* Mr. McConnell, K.C.)

Arthur Markham, 55, described as a musician, pleaded " Guilty " to two indictments for stealing overcoats. Mr. Grain, for the prosecution, said that on December 14 the prisoner called at the house of Mr. William Graham, in Park-square-east, Regent's-park. Mrs. Graham had recently lost a valuable pearl necklace, which had been advertised, and the prisoner represented that he was a detective, and asked to see Mr. Graham. He told him that the necklace had been recovered, and was at Kennington-lane Police-station. The prisoner asked for a " tip," and Mr. Graham refused to give him one, but took him into the dining-room and gave him a glass of wine. The prisoner was allowed to let himself out of the house, and took the opportunity of stealing an overcoat from the hall. On December 21 he called on Colonel Vernon, who lived in Onslow-square, and pretended he had come about a brooch worth £100 which Mrs. Vernon had lost. There he stole another overcoat in the same way. He had also called on several ladies from whom jewelry had been stolen and who had recently given evidence at the Central Criminal Court on the trial of a man named Hobinstock, and had attempted to get money from them. He was arrested on January 18. Detective-sergeant Nicholls produced a long list of former convictions against the prisoner, beginning in 1868. After undergoing seven years' penal servitude for housebreaking and five years for fraud, he was sentenced to 12 months' hard labour in 1888 for stealing a quantity of furniture from Mr. Wilson Barrett. Next year he was sentenced to five years' penal servitude for stealing a ring. On his liberation, being a skilled violinist, he played for some time in a band under Herr Meyer Lutz, but in 1893 he was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for obtaining, in conspiracy with several others, a large number of pianos by means of forged orders. He was discharged on licence three months ago, and would now have to serve more than two years still unexpired of his last term. Since his liberation he had tried to get his living honestly, but some one wrote to his employer that he was an old convict, and he was dismissed. The prisoner was sentenced to 12 months' hard labour.

Figure 35 – News from the County of London Sessions reported in The Times. This case was originally tried at the WPC, but referred to the County of London Sessions and involved an individual stealing overcoats, as well as falsely representing himself as a Metropolitan Police detective.

Source: The Times, 5 February 1902, page 3

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both a rich source of information on crime in Edwardian London society and therefore were of potential use for this investigation. Both papers have been digitised and placed onto searchable online databases (known as The Times Digital Archive and The Sunday Times Digital Archive), meaning they can be easily accessed by researchers.

However, before progressing further, it is important to note that *The Sunday Times* was not included in this research since a large amount of time would have been required to collect data from it. Although the paper has been digitised, access can only be purchased via an institution (i.e. an institutional subscription), and neither UCL Library nor Senate House Library held one at the time of data collection. Admittedly, it would have been possible to view microfilm versions of the paper at the British Library, but this would have required a significant amount of time and effort meaning that it was impractical. Furthermore, if inclusion of this microfilm version of *The Sunday Times* had been considered further, then it would have raised the issue of whether local newspapers should also have been considered. The *West London Press*, *Westminster & Pimlico News*, *South London Press*, *South Western Star* and *City of Westminster Mail* all reported on WPC cases and although there are overlaps in reporting, each would have needed to be consulted in order to obtain all possible information. These papers are available on microfilm at various local council archives, however to collect data from them would have required a similar amount of time as that needed to consult the WPC registers. In light of these issues, it was decided to exclude *The Sunday Times*, as well as local newspapers from the study[13].

There are two approaches that could be used when collecting information from *The Times* to augment the WPC register data. One option is to use the search engine facility on The Times Digital Archive to search for the names of defendants, or 'Westminster Police Court', 'Central Criminal Court', 'Police Court' and other keywords or phrases. Since the paper had columns devoted to news from the Police Courts and Central Criminal Court, searches of these

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[13] Local newspapers were consulted for this research, but only to contextualise findings or assist in the study of crime and defendants in specific streets which is the subject of Chapter 8.

words could potentially return all columns with these headline titles. However, success is dependent on all relevant articles having full names, correct spellings or these keywords/phrases contained within them or their headlines – which may not be the case. Furthermore, it relies on the database behind the search engine (and therefore the transcription of the newspaper print) being error-free – which is certainly not the case. In addition, there are human errors such as spelling mistakes or factual errors within the articles, created when journalists wrote them. This would mean information such as names of individuals may be spelt differently to the name being searched for. Hence relying on performing searches to identify relevant articles contains many problems as a methodology. An alternative approach is to browse through each issue of the newspaper, identifying articles that relate to crime in the WPC area. Admittedly this is a slower method and requires close attention to prevent articles being missed, but there is a far greater chance of identifying relevant articles. The task is made easier by examination of the index of contents that was printed in each issue of the paper which categorises articles by subject/topic – thus articles relating to crime, courts and law can easily be found. It was therefore decided to use this second approach of browsing through each newspaper issue so as to achieve higher success in obtaining information.

I browsed through the newspaper issues for the two time periods included in the study (1901-1902 and 1911-1912) in order to collect data for the crimes tried at the WPC. Additionally, a month's worth of articles beyond each study period was also examined so as to find any articles related to cases remanded at the end of the study periods. It was often easy to find articles relating to the law courts since, as mentioned previously, entire columns were devoted to news from London's courts on a daily basis. Thus when these columns were encountered, the WPC articles were identified easily. But with the Central Criminal Court and County of London Sessions columns it was not so straightforward since reports on cases at these courts rarely (if at all) start with any defined geography such as 'in Westminster' or 'in Chelsea'. This meant that a different approach had to be used when trying to identify relevant articles in these columns. In some cases, the reports contained geographical information, embedded within the article, stating that the crime had occurred in a

building/street in Westminster, Chelsea, Kensington or Lambeth, but at other times there was no hint of geography other than that the crime had occurred in London. Yet even when a relevant specific geography was defined in the article, the individual(s) involved needed to be found in the WPC registers so that information from *The Times* article could be appended onto it. Thus, it was decided to not only rapidly scan through the article to find any geographic indicators, but also to identify the individual being reported on and then search for his/her name in the WPC register data. The latter technique was also used to find the relevant entry in the WPC register data, alongside which extra information from *The Times* articles could be added. This overall approach was also used where crime incidents had been reported, or where standalone articles on cases were found. Where relevant, other articles commenting on crime statistics, or policing, or crime within the area being studied was recorded in a separate Excel spreadsheet for potential use during the analysis and discussion of results. Altogether this methodology enabled relevant articles in *The Times* to be identified and information collected from them to augment the Police Court register data.

When articles were found, data was collected in columns appended to the WPC register data so as to integrate the data and help in the augmentation of information. Furthermore, creating one large database on crime and defendants reduced the need to join data during the post-data collection/pre-analysis stage of the investigation. Such joining of datasets is often complex, time consuming and prone to error, so a means of avoiding this process was seen as vital. However, there was a challenge in decided what data from *The Times* articles should be collected. Clearly, the primary purpose of consulting *The Times* was to obtain spatial information, but articles contain other vast amounts of interesting and intriguing information (as can be seen in Figures 33-35). However, due to time constraints, only the most vital of information was identified and extracted from articles. The defendant's name, age, occupation and crime were all recorded in order to provide a means of authenticating the relationship between the WPC register data and articles found. All spatial information concerning the crime location(s) and defendant's address was recorded as already mentioned. In addition, other useful details about the

defendant or case were recorded such as known associates (other offenders), family members, whether the individual had previous convictions and other details deemed to be interesting or useful for future reference. It is these types of detail that humanise the data, giving an insight into the lives of defendants and therefore aiding in generating explanations for findings. It was also thought that the verdict of the case (where possible) was useful to collect, especially when a case at the WPC was sent to the County of London sessions since there was no record of these verdicts in any other source consulted during this research (apart from in other newspapers). The final piece of information collected was the bibliographic reference for articles which provided a means of finding the original source of the information if required. All other information within the articles was excluded from data collection since it was not deemed essential for the study. Limiting data collection in this way meant a more rapid progression through the newspaper issues.

As with all archival sources, there were a number of difficulties encountered during the collection of information from *The Times*. Perhaps one of the biggest problems was the difference in structure and content of the court news columns between the two periods of study. In 1901 and 1902, the paper columns titled 'Police', 'County of London Sessions' and 'Central Criminal Court' had several reports under these headlines. By 1911, this had changed with the columns still in place, but journalists had introduced the use of sub-headlines or sub-articles (Figure 36), probably in an attempt to capture the reader's eye, especially since the size of the paper had grown to include supplements for finance, engineering and other subjects. But there also appears to be fewer reports from different Police Courts, with space instead given over to the sub-headlines and greater detail about the case. Overall, this made it far harder to find articles associated with the WPC and at times they were completely missed. Fortunately, the editors of the paper had made the decision to enhance the index (list of contents) and so any articles connected with 'law and courts' were listed under this part of the index. Hence, the index was often the first point of call when beginning to browse a new issue of the paper since it pointed towards pages that had the potential to harbour relevant information.

When browsing through the paper, another challenge that I encountered was

THE POLICE COURTS.

LEGAL DEFINITION OF A PISTOL.

At the Guildhall yesterday, before Mr. Alderman Roll, Mr. Charles Watson, of Cock-lane, Snow-hill, was summoned for having on September 12 sold by retail to Morris Frankelstein a pistol, he not being a person entitled to carry the same without a licence. It was explained that the article is of German manufacture and is called the "Dedles" (deadless) pistol. It is advertised as a weapon suitable for self-protection, as it is able to render unconscious the individual aimed at without inflicting any actual injury. It fires cartridges which contain a mixture of lycopodium, pepper, and snuff, with a small amount of gunpowder, and it is claimed that the owner of this weapon is under no legal obligation to take out a licence.

Chief-inspector Atkins said that on September 12 Morris Frankelstein went to the defendant's shop and purchased the pistol. The weapon was used, and the person who fired it was now in prison. The defendant argued that as the barrel of the pistol was 9½in. long it did not come within the meaning of the Pistols Act. The detachable tube was in fact as long as that, but as the firing point was 8¾in. inside, the view of the police was that it did come under the Act.

The defendant said that if he had broken the law he had not done so wilfully. Mr. Gamage took these pistols up after having been advised that they did not come under the Pistols Act.

The Alderman said he was clearly of the opinion that this pistol came within the meaning of the Act. The "length" of the barrel was the length of the open tube. He, however, imposed a nominal fine of 10s. and a guinea costs.

Theft of Priscilla Lady Annesley's Jewels.

At Westminster, before Mr. Hopkins, GEORGE ARTHUR WELLS, assistant engineer, of Stanlake-road, Shepherd's Bush, was charged with stealing jewelry to the value of £44 belonging to Priscilla Lady Annesley, of Wilton-place, S.W. There was a further charge against the prisoner of stealing a diamond and ruby pin the property of Mr. A. H. Darlot, of Victoria-road, West Kensington.

Mr. P. Conway appeared for the prisoner.

The prisoner, who is an electrician, was employed on certain work at Lady Annesley's house, and after he had left a diamond locket, several gold brooches, and other jewelry were missed from a bedroom. The circumstances of the theft from Mr. Darlot were of a similar character.

Detective-sergeant Woodward said the prisoner when arrested pleaded guilty to the thefts. He also said he had sent a letter, without signature, disclosing where all the jewelry was pledged. Consequently all the property had been recovered.

Lady Annesley asked the magistrate to deal leniently with the prisoner as she understood that he had long been out of work and had a wife and children.

Mr. Hopkins remanded the prisoner.

Figure 36 – Changes to the Police Court column in The Times. The use of sub-headlines would no doubt have caught a reader's attention.

Source: The Times, 5 October 1911, page 2

multiple articles reporting the same case. Put simply, *The Times* may have picked up on a particularly interesting case and followed its progress from the Police Courts to the County of London sessions or Central Criminal Court. It was beneficial to have several articles reporting one case since there was a greater chance of obtaining extra spatial information or detail regarding a case. Moreover, having several articles offered the chance to glean more about the individuals involved and whether they had previous convictions. Nevertheless, having more than one article did mean extra attention had to be paid to these cases so that additional details could be obtained and placed alongside information hitherto collected from other articles. The identification of multiple articles was achieved using several methods. Often *The Times* would 'back-reference' stating in an article that the particulars of a case had already been reported in a previous article, and would include the date of the issue in which that previous article had been printed – this therefore provided an obvious indication of the existence of multiple articles. It should be noted that 'back-referencing' also provided an additional aid in ensuring that articles were not missed when browsing through the paper. When 'back-referencing' was not used by the paper, the name of the criminal(s), victim(s) and details of the crime would often be distinct enough to mentally recall any previous article for the case. When memory failed me, it was clear when a previous article for a case had been encountered since its details were recorded in the data collection spreadsheet. Thus, there were no difficulties in identifying the existence of multiple articles for a court case, and details were recorded where appropriate, together with all article references.

Inevitably, during the process of data collection, information was found regarding cases tried at the WPC or connected with its jurisdiction for which no data had been found in the Police Court's registers. A total of 51 articles of this nature were found, the vast majority of which related to summons cases, which were not recorded in the Part 1 Police Court registers that were included in this study (they would have been entered in the Part 2 registers). They provide an indication of the type of summons cases the paper would select and these articles are perhaps the only surviving record of the geography of such cases dealt with by the WPC for this period (given that the location of these crimes

was not recorded in the Part 2 registers). There were also articles describing crime incidents that had occurred in the WPC area, but which were not in the registers since the crime was never put before the court. There are a number of reasons for this, such as that no criminal was caught, or that the case was settled out of court, or (in rare cases) that the individual committed suicide. But oddly, some of the additional articles found were cases brought to the WPC, yet there appears to be no matching record in the Part 1 register data collected. In some cases, the details cited in the articles were tantalisingly close to information recorded from the registers. For instance, an article was found concerning a Richard Skinner, 42, a carman, found guilty at the WPC on 17th April 1901 for 'exposing his 6 children' – the children were found in "...an outhouse off the Wandsworth-road...huddled together on the bare ground without a particle of clothing" (The Times, 17th April 1901, page 2). In the WPC register data, there is an entry for a Richard Skinner, 46, a labourer who neglected his children (Richard, 12; Louisa, 9; Charles, 5 and Arthur, 3 months), but we are not told where (PS/WES/A/01/026, 22nd October 1901, trial 19). Thus, the name of the defendant matches, as does his crime and his age and the occupation is close or similar, but the number of children neglected and the trial dates do not correspond. It is possible that this is one and the same individual, who neglected his children more than once, but there is no concrete proof of this and so it was not possible to assign the newspaper information to the register data. It is probable that other instances of a similar nature can be explained by this problem.

Using the methods described, it was possible to find 271 articles relating to 178 WPC cases (the higher number of articles reflects the publishing of multiple stories describing the progress of particularly interesting cases). This meant that the WPC register data could be added to using the information contained within the articles, often enhancing or extending the amount of geospatial information.

The Illustrated Police News newspaper

As well as *The Times*, this research obtained information from the paper known as The *Illustrated Police News* (IPN) in order to augment the WPC register data

further. The IPN was a paper produced once a week (every Saturday) "...that mimicked the more respectable Illustrated London News but gratuitously indulged in the most graphic depictions of murder and mayhem" (Peterson, 2011:83). Founded in 1864, it was "published in London by John Ransom and George Purkess..." and "...claimed to give attention to 'subjects ranging from gory murders to courtroom dramas'" (Reitz, 2009:303). Indeed, the paper "...collated sensational or unusual stories, often drawn from the London Police Courts, but also reports of mishap from elsewhere in Britain and the world" (19th Century British Library Newspapers, 2014), interspersing these reports with the liberal use of engravings illustrating the violent or shocking nature of stories (see Figure 37). But it also contained pages devoted to sports news, as well as ghost/crime stories and rather lewd jokes and songs. Priced at 1d, it was a paper aimed at a working-class reader containing, as the paper argued, "'all "news" sufficient to satisfy any man who has but a few hours a week to spare from his toil'" (Our Intentions, issue 1, page 2 in Reitz, 2009:303). It was therefore very much an early form of tabloid newspaper.

Given that the paper reported on all manner of crimes that were being tried at London's courts, it was seen as being an important source of information to consult in order to enhance the WPC register data. This was especially because each issue devoted an entire page to 'police intelligence' which detailed cases that had been tried at various Police Courts around London (Figure 38). It also included reports on coroners' cases and trials at the Old Bailey, as well as crime incidents that had occurred during the week. Clearly, the paper would have been highly selective about what it chose to report, and given that it was a weekly paper (rather than daily), it may be that cases reported were also in *The Times*. But as the paper was dedicated to crime, it was likely that it gave more detail compared with *The Times*, as well as reporting on cases that would not be mentioned in other papers. It is for these reasons that the paper was included in this investigation.

The IPN for the Edwardian period has not been digitised, but may be ordered to view on microfilm at the British Library. Thus, all 104 issues of the paper covering the study periods were examined manually by scanning through the

GHASTLY TRAGEDY AT BOW.

A WOMAN'S HEAD NEARLY SEVERED FROM HER BODY.

[SUBJECT OF ILLUSTRATION.]

A SHOCKING tragedy was discovered on Saturday in Venour Road, Bow, E. Venour Road is a quiet little thoroughfare lying between Canal Street and Burdett Road, and close to Mile End Road. It is inhabited by working people as distinct from the very poor who predominate in the neighbourhood, and 23, Venour Road is occupied by Mr. Samson Smith, an employé of the Mile End District Council. Mr. Smith left his house about ten minutes to six in the morning, going to work. When he returned to breakfast at eight o'clock his wife was dead, lying full length in the kitchen with her head nearly severed from the body,

Meanwhile Dr. E. A. Lightbourne, the divisional surgeon, had been sent for, but it was evident that life was extinct before he could render any assistance. Dr. Lightbourne ordered the removal of the body. By the side of the woman lay two clasp knives, alleged to be the property of Salmon. They were both covered with blood. There were signs of struggling in the room and splashes of blood on the furniture. Salmon, who had been living with the Smiths for some time, was recently told to find other quarters. This is supposed to have angered him, and made him especially bitter against his cousin, the deceased woman. He had written a letter to her, it is said, and this was delivered by the post about eight o'clock that morning. Salmon has the reputation of being a somewhat excitable man. Mrs. Smith leaves a little girl aged five. The house was the object of much interest all day, crowds assembling outside in the early part of the

husband of the deceased woman, who was the person to call witness, entered the room, and witness asked him who did it. He replied, " That man did it." Witness then said to prisoner, " Did you do it? " and he replied, " I did it, and I will swing for it." Witness then told him he would be arrested for murdering the woman, and to that he made no reply. Prisoner was conveyed to the police-station, and he made no reply to the charge. He was quite sober.

Dr. Edmund Arthur Lightbourne, divisional surgeon of police for Bow, deposed he was called to the house at 8.30 a.m., and found Lucy Smith lying on her back on the kitchen floor fully dressed. She was lying in a pool of blood, and on examining her neck he discovered her head was nearly severed from the body. All the blood-vessels of the neck were severed, also the windpipe. There were two knives on the floor beside her head, and both were covered with blood. They were the two knives produced. One was a white handle table knife, and the

conduct of Salmon. He used foul language, and brandished a knife, threatening to take their lives. Witness's wife had to run out of his way. At seven o'clock witness found him climbing over a fence into the back yard. Witness allowed him to occupy his bedroom if he promised to be quiet, and at his own request locked him in. The following morning the accused asked for the deceased, and witness told him she was out. She returned later, and Salmon immediately started nagging her, and again threatened to take their lives, saying, " I'll have Lucy, Sam and Minnie's " (the latter being witness's daughter).

The Coroner: This is a strange story. What does it all mean?

Witness: My wife has told me that he was jealous of her.

On Wednesday the accused came to the house again, but witness refused to admit him. He again said he would kill either witness or his wife. As he was leaving he said good-bye, and then asked if he might kiss

GHASTLY TRAGEDY AT BOW.

which was also hacked about in various places. Near the canal wall Constable Bensted was on duty, and he was called to the scene of the tragedy. A man named Samson Silas Salmon, cousin of the victim, was inside the house when the murder was discovered, and he was at once arrested. He was sitting by the side of the corpse, and made no attempt to get away. The constable asked Salmon if he knew anything of the murder. He is alleged to have exclaimed, " I did it. I suppose I shall swing for it." He was then taken into custody.

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day. At night all was still; a feeble light burned in the passage, but the rest of the house was in darkness. A dog was howling in one of the yards at the back.

ACCUSED AT THE POLICE COURT.

At the Thames Police Court, on Saturday, Samson Silas Salmon, aged 32, described as a labourer, having no fixed abode, was charged with the wilful murder of Lucy Smith, his cousin, aged twenty-six, the wife of Samson Smith, who is in the service of the Mile End Council.

During the hearing of the evidence the prisoner sat sideways, and looked very dejected. He is not a man of strong physique.

Constable John Bensted, 613K, stated at eight o'clock that morning he was called to 23, Venour Road, Mile End Old Town. On entering the back kitchen he saw Lucy Smith lying on her back, on the floor, in a pool of blood, and the two knives produced were by her side. The head was nearly severed from the body, beside which sat the prisoner on a chair, and he appeared quite calm. The

other was a black handle clasp knife. The cause of death was the severance of all the main blood-vessels of the neck, and death must have been almost instantaneous.

On that evidence, Mr. Dickinson remanded the prisoner.

THE INQUEST.

Some remarkable evidence was given at the inquiry held on Monday at the Limehouse Coroner's Court into the death of Lucy Smith, the wife of a road sweeper in the employ of the Stepney Borough Council, residing at 25, Venour Road, Canal Road, Bow. The woman was found murdered in the kitchen of her house on Saturday morning last. Samson Silas Salmon, a labourer, and cousin of the deceased, stands remanded on a charge of killing the deceased. The accused was not present at the inquest.

Samson Smith, the husband, who spoke in a very low tone, said that Salmon had lodged with them since last April, and slept in a back bed-room. On the 10th inst. witness had to seek police protection on account of the excitable and extraordinary

Lucy. He was allowed to do so, after which he cried. On Saturday morning witness reached home for breakfast about eight o'clock, when Salmon came to him in the passage and said, " Sam, fetch a policeman." Witness entered the kitchen, and saw his wife lying on her back in a pool of blood. Witness said, " What have you done it for ? " and he replied, " It is all through you." Witness then fetched the police, and in their

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POLICE INTELLIGENCE.

BOW STREET.

AN AMBITIOUS AMATEUR ACTOR.—James Bath, a respectably-dressed man, was charged with being disorderly. Police-constable 564 E stated that on Wednesday evening the prisoner persisted in making speeches just outside Exeter Hall. When remonstrated with he said he had as much right to make a speech in the street as General Booth had to speak inside the hall. A great crowd collected, and it became necessary to take the prisoner into custody. The prisoner said he was somewhat merry, and being an amateur actor, thought he would like to give a little performance. He was fined 5s. or five days' imprisonment.

THE JUVENILE ELOPEMENT CASE.—Benoit Legebeke, sixteen and a half years of age, was brought before Sir Franklin Lushington, on remand, for extradition, charged with abducting a girl named Adrienne Flameng, age fifteen, from her home at Brussels. The prisoner was arrested at Exeter, where he and the girl had been staying as man and wife. Last week he wore a jaunty air, and had an enormous silk tie, the bows of which nearly reached to his ears. On this occasion he looked pale, and his necktie hung loosely over his waistcoat. His hair, instead of being well combed as it was last week, fell over his forehead. He walked out of the dock in a weary way when told that as the papers relating to his case had not arrived, he would be further remanded for a week. It is said that the change in his manner and appearance is due to the fact that his sweetheart has been taken back to Belgium by her mother.

GUILDHALL.

A STAGE "M.P." ARRESTED.—Charles Uriah Ammonds, alias Riley, described as an actor, was charged, on a warrant, with deserting his wife and family whereby they became chargeable to the City of London Union. Detective-sergeant Fitzgerald deposed as to the arrest of the accused, who was a super at Drury Lane Theatre. At the time of arrest witness saw him on the stage taking the part of an M.P. in the House of Commons scene in "The Price of Peace." The arrest caused a considerable sensation. Mr. Brown, one of the relieving officers, deposed as to the admission of the prisoner's wife and children into the union, and to the non-payment by the accused for their support. The matter had been several times before the Court. The accused, who made no reply to the charge, was sentenced to two months' hard labour.

SOUTH-WEST LONDON.

"WHEN SHE ASKED FOR THE RENT!"—Benjamin Banks, aged thirty-nine, a labourer, living at 7, Seed Acre Court, Clapham, was charged, before Mr. Plowden, with violently assaulting Ada Steel, a woman with whom he had cohabited. The complainant said on asking him for the rent he knocked her down with a blow from his fist and kicked her round the room. Mr. Plowden: Has he assaulted you before? The Witness: Yes, I've had many a black eye from him. The police officer in the case said the woman had also been charged with assaulting the prisoner, but she was discharged, as he refused to prosecute. The woman was asked by his worship why she continued to live with a man who was constantly assaulting her. She replied that he would not leave her. Mr. Plowden: But you could leave him. It is an astonishing thing to me that two persons who were not married should live together simply for the pleasure of quarrelling. The man was committed to prison for three months with hard labour.

STRATFORD.

A DANGEROUS THROW.—Rose Soane, twenty-one, of 29, Royal Road, Custom House, was charged with assaulting Kate Burn, a barmaid at the Ferndale Tavern, Ferndale Road, Beckton. Mr. J. S. King defended. On Friday afternoon the prosecutrix and two friends went into the Ferndale Tavern and were served with three liquors, one of which was a glass of whisky. By and by the prosecutrix, in cleaning the counter, moved the whisky, and then, it was alleged, the prisoner made an insulting remark, and without further ado threw a water jug at Miss Burn. Then two glasses were thrown at her by the other women. The jug hit her on the head, and was smashed. The defence was an absolute denial of the throwing of the jug. The prisoner had been a barmaid at the house, and she stated that it would be impossible for her to throw the jug, as she had a bad hand. The prisoner's two friends declared that they saw no jug thrown at all, but the two barmaids were positive that the prisoner threw it. The Bench said they had no doubt about the case, and fined the prisoner 20s. and 10s. costs.

WEST LONDON.

STIFF AND COLD WITH FRIGHT!—Three young men, who gave the names of Joseph M'Williams, Thomas Reardon, and Walter Smythe, were charged, before Mr. Rose, with committing burglaries at houses at 262B and 262C, King Street, Hammersmith. The prisoners were originally charged with being suspected persons loitering in Shepherd's Bush Road, and M'Williams was found in the possession of the stolen property. In the burglary committed at the house of Ruth Thomas, a confectioner, at 262B, King Street, it appeared that the entrance had been made through the pantry window. Lillie Warren, a young lady who slept in the back room on the first floor, said at two o'clock in the morning of the 28th ult. she heard a noise at her door, and the striking of a match just inside. She saw Reardon enter, and said, "Who's that?" She heard voices just outside the door, and heard some men stumble into the drawing-room on the same floor. She did not give any alarm. Asked why, she said, "I was so frightened. I was stiff and cold, and could not move." In the next case Mary Helton, a stationer, of 262C, King Street, said between two and three on the same morning she heard her dog, which was lying on the bed, growling. There was a noise in the house, but she did not raise any alarm. The dog leaped off the bed, and ran about the room, but she did not let it out as she was afraid it would be killed. In the morning she found that the house had been entered through the pantry window, and a number of articles stolen. The prisoners were committed for trial, Reardon stating that he was never in the house.

A TROUBLESOME CHILD.—A little boy, named George Whitby Warren, only eight years of age, was brought up in custody, charged by his father, George Warren, a cellarman, residing in Coningham Road, Shepherd's Bush, with being beyond his control. Mr. Rose, who looked at the child placed in front of him, expressed an opinion that he was too young to be sent to an industrial school. He said it was not an agreeable reflection to find that a father could not keep a boy eight years of age under control. Babies in cradles would next have to be looked after. The father said he had been twice summoned and fined through the boy not attending school. On one occasion he brought his son before Mr. Plowden. The Magistrate: What did Mr. Plowden say? The Father: He told me to take him away and do the best I could with him. Mr. Rose agreed, and said the proper place for the boy was a truant school, and not an industrial school. He advised the father to consult the school-attendance officer with a view of sending the boy to a truant school. The boy was discharged, and left the court in the company of his father.

WESTMINSTER.

DISGRACEFUL ASSAULT BY A SOLDIER.—Walter Carruthers, twenty-two, a private in the 1st West Riding Regiment, was charged with assaulting Germaine Williams, a young Frenchwoman. The prosecutrix, whose face was badly discoloured, said that late on the previous evening the prisoner had wrongfully accused her of having insulted a comrade. She had merely laughed at the man, and said so, whereupon the prisoner dealt her a blow in the face. The Prisoner: She abused me and my chum, saying, "Here's some more of the —— in khaki." I only put up my hand to prevent her from striking me. Mr. Sheil: I can't possibly imagine that she knocked her head against your hand with such violence as to cause the injury she shows. A man like you ought to be ashamed of yourself. After hearing a police-constable, who witnessed the assault, Mr. Sheil sentenced the prisoner to fourteen days' hard labour.

A "HIRED ASSASSIN."

AT the Munster Winter Assizes on Saturday, Patrick Woulfe, a middle-aged labourer, was convicted for shooting with intent to kill Eliza Irons at Emla, co. Clare, on June 6.

The woman was wounded in the breast, and it was alleged that the accused had no quarrel with his victim or with her husband, and that he acted as a hired assassin.

Lord Chief Justice O'Brien said the theory of the Crown was established by the evidence, and he sentenced the prisoner to penal servitude for the term of his natural life.

Figure 38 – 'Police Intelligence' or news from London's Police Courts in the Illustrated Police News.

Source: © The British Library Board, The Illustrated Police News, 15 December 1900, page 10

microfilm. In addition, a month's worth of articles beyond each study period was examined in order to find any discussing cases remanded from the previous months. Each article in the paper had to be assessed to identify whether it related to crimes in the WPC area. This process was made a little easier by the paper's inclusion of news from London's Police Courts in their full page spread entitled 'Police Intelligence'. As Figure 38 shows, the layout of this page lends itself to rapidly finding articles about WPC cases. But for the majority of the paper, each article had to be briefly read to discover the location of the crime it was reporting on. This did not present too difficult a problem and it was found that one becomes accustomed to scanning through articles to find the spatial detail. Once relevant articles had been identified, a similar method to that described for the collection of information from *The Times* newspaper was used. However, when a WPC entry had already been assigned information from *The Times*, the addition of further information from the IPN became a problem. This was often because the IPN information could not add to that provided by *The Times* (i.e. there was no further useful information about the case in the IPN when compared with *The Times*). Furthermore, extra columns were not added to the WPC spreadsheet for the sole use for IPN information. Instead, the same columns created for recording information taken from *The Times* were used since it aided in the management of an already large spreadsheet containing in excess of 190,000 cells of data. In addition, given that, in some instances, extra detail would eventually need to be merged with the WPC register data, it did not seem sensible to add extra columns. Thus, when detail from the IPN was unique, it was added to the spreadsheet; but when information was the same as that already obtained from *The Times*, only the IPN article reference was recorded. This aside, there were many instances where the IPN reported on WPC cases that *The Times* had not and the article details were therefore able to augment the WPC register data.

Similar issues to that found when collecting information from *The Times* were encountered during data collection from the IPN. Multiple articles relating to a crime were found and dealt with using the same method as that for *The Times*. As with *The Times*, articles concerning crimes not listed in the WPC (Part 1) registers were found in the IPN – mainly summons cases. These extra cases

were recorded in a separate spreadsheet alongside those found in *The Times*. Finally, the style of the paper changed between the two periods of study, although this had little marked effect on the quantity of relevant articles or the way in which the paper was browsed for them.

In summary, using the methods described, information from the IPN was collected to augment the WPC register data. In total, 66 articles were identified as being related to 62 WPC trials, and although this figure constitutes only a small proportion of WPC cases, the information obtained (as with *The Times*) provided a more in depth insight into the crimes tried by the court. It should also be noted that an additional 23 articles were found relating to crime in the WPC area, but which were not contained in the data collected from the Part 1 registers.

Old Bailey (Central Criminal) Court Proceedings

The Old Bailey Court Proceedings are described by Shoemaker (2008:559) as "...a remarkable publishing phenomenon", that "...describe life on the streets and in pubs, coffee houses, workplaces, and lodgings; and they open a window onto the experiences of Londoners of all ages, classes, and backgrounds" (Hitchcock and Shoemaker, 2006:193). The Proceedings are a record of the trials held at the Old Bailey – all manner of crimes were tried at the court including those that had been referred from other courts (such as the Police Courts) so that offenders could be tried in front of a jury. Hence these historical records are important to locate many of the most serious crimes, helping to enhance the WPC register data.

The Proceedings have been digitised and may be searched, as well as viewed for free online (Figure 39). In total, there are 776 records for the period April 1901 to March 1902 and 795 records for April 1911 to March 1912. However, it was unnecessary to go through each of these records in turn since only those related to the WPC were needed. This caused some problem as the Old Bailey records were not geographically indexed when created, meaning there is no option to limit search results to specific geographies in London. It would

Figure 39 – Old Bailey Online.

Source: Old Bailey Online (2013a)

perhaps be possible to use the keyword search box as a means of finding records for WPC crimes – one would need to type in different locations such as 'Westminster', 'Chelsea', 'Lambeth' etc. But this method relies on there being references to a crime location in every record, which is certainly not the case as the Proceedings "...are not full transcripts of everything said in court, and many types of information were regularly omitted, notably details of defence cases and legal arguments" (Old Bailey Online, 2013b). Hence at times, a trial entry merely recorded the offence type, name of offender, name of victim and the sentence, providing no hint of where the crime took place. This meant that using place names or locations as a means of sifting through the Proceedings was impractical as material would easily have been missed. The solution was to identify WPC cases where the verdict was 'committed', 'committed for trial', 'committed to Central Criminal Court', 'committed to superior' or where there were blanks in this field, and then searching for the name of the offender in the Old Bailey records. The advantage of this was that the court records have been indexed by offender name, meaning that specific names may be searched for. In addition to the cases assigned the various verdicts listed, it was also thought important to include cases where the criminal was 'remanded' but for which no further information was given about what the final verdict was – i.e. it could have been possible that these crimes were passed onto the Old Bailey. A filter was applied to the verdict column in the Excel spreadsheet in order to identify the relevant cases which had a strong possibility of being included in the Proceedings. The same procedure was also applied to the remanded cases column, so that any referrals to the higher courts could also be included. However, the collection of additional information for WPC cases from *The Times* and IPN also needed to be taken into consideration when identifying cases to search for in the Old Bailey records. Some of this information included the final verdicts of WPC cases that had been passed onto either the County of London Sessions and/or Central Criminal Court. Hence the verdict column containing information extracted from *The Times* and IPN was also examined to identify cases that were likely to have entries in the Old Bailey records. By carrying out these procedures, only records relevant to the study were inspected, saving time and effort in reviewing all 1571 records for the study period.

The names of defendants were typed into the relevant fields in the search engine, with searches limited to the appropriate date range (1901-1902 or 1911-1912). Where a defendant was known by an alias (or several aliases) the keyword search field was used so as to improve the chances of obtaining a positive match. In many cases, a relevant record was found, but success was not always achieved. This may have been because the defendant was not sent to the Old Bailey for trial, but instead sent to the County of London sessions. Another explanation could be that the magistrate failed to record a verdict in the Police Court registers; or that the offender was sent to the workhouse or another institution, or failed to turn up at court. There is also the possibility that the case was not included in the published Old Bailey Proceedings. But it may also have been that errors were created during the collection of the Police Court register data – as highlighted earlier, it is no simple task to interpret the shorthand used to record verdicts. In a handful of cases, spelling errors in either the WPC register data or in the database underlying the Old Bailey Online search engine resulted in no results being returned for cases where there was a high level of certainty that it was sent to the Old Bailey for trial (i.e. it had been explicitly stated that the case had been sent to the Central Criminal Court). These difficulties were overcome by altering the spelling of names, or where possible, searching for the name of the defendant's victim, or where known, inspecting records near to the date of the Old Bailey trial (ascertained often from the newspaper report information collected). An example of this was the case of Frederick William Leeks (or Leekes), aged 41, a rate collector, who embezzled hundreds of pounds from his employer (the Metropolitan Borough of Chelsea) between 10/11/1900 and 30/04/1901 – the case was sent to the Central Criminal Court (PS/WES/A/01/023, 1st May 1901, trial 12). Moreover, an article in *The Times* recounts the trial at the Central Criminal Court on 29th June 1901 (see The Times, Monday 1st July 1901, page 16), meaning one would expect there to have been an entry in the Old Bailey Court Proceedings. However, searches for the individual's name returned no result, so instead, given that the trial was stated as being held on 29th June 1901, cases for embezzlement in June 1901 were searched for in the Proceedings. This returned two results, one of which was a trial for a 'Frederick William Leeks' on 24th June 1901 who had embezzled almost £2000 from the Guardians of the

Poor for the Parish of Chelsea and was sentenced to three years penal servitude (Old Bailey Online, 2013a: t19010624-439). The case exemplifies how three different variants of the defendant's surname caused difficulty in finding records, but also how this was overcome. This aside, it is also important to note that some individuals could not be found due to the fact that the Old Bailey Proceedings are not a comprehensive account of its daily work. Indeed, it is known that "certain types of cases were frequently omitted, or reported in only the most cursory form. Trials for crimes deemed relatively trivial, such as thefts of small value items, were reported very briefly in "squibs"" (Old Bailey Online, 2013b). Nothing could be done to rectify these omissions, and it is impossible to say how much of an impact it had on the data. In summary, the process of finding relevant records was complex, but by using a combination of techniques, it was possible to collect information so as to enhance the WPC register data.

The Old Bailey Court Proceedings contain a wealth of information about crime committed in London and therefore within the WPC area. As Figure 40 shows, much detail about trials may be found in the Proceedings, although as has been shown, not every case is given such a detailed account. This aside, data collected was restricted to any information not already obtained when sifting through the newspaper sources. The rationale for imposing this restrictive collection policy was to prevent duplication of effort, but also to improve the efficiency of data collection. Thus when the newspapers had failed to provide a report on a case that the Old Bailey Proceedings did record, the name, age, occupation and crime details were taken so as to provide a means of showing the link between the Old Bailey and WPC records. But more importantly any information relating to the crime location and the defendant's address was collected, as well as the judge's verdict and any other useful information (e.g. other individuals involved, relatives etc). Added to this, the specific website URL of the Old Bailey Online record was noted for future reference. Altogether this information was deemed to be sufficient for use in the study.

In total, 96 Old Bailey Proceeding reports were found to add to the WPC register data – some harbouring more detail than others. Clearly this does not account for the bulk of WPC trials, meaning that spatial information was still lacking in parts of the data where the Police Court registers, newspapers and

359. FRANK HERMES was *again* indicted with AGNES SCHMIDT (37) for breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Elvina Straker, and stealing a guitar and other articles, and 6 3/4 d., her goods and moneys. *Second Count:* Receiving the same. HERMES PLEADED GUILTY.

MR. PICKERSGILL *Prosecuted, and* MR. DRUMMOND *Defended.*

ELVINA STRAKER. I am a widow, of 17, Argyle Terrace, Brockley—on Thursday, March 20th, I went to bed about 1 a.m.—the house was properly secured—I was called about 7 a.m.—I went into the dining-room, and found the window open, and the room in great confusion—I missed three umbrellas, this locket, tablecloth, brooch, and guitar—this is my husband's umbrella, and this brooch, cross, and guitar my daughter's—these ribbons belong to the guitar.

CHARLES HAWKINS (*Detective Sergeant, W*). On March 25th I went to 1, Rupert Street, Soho, and when I had searched the place Schmidt arrived, wearing this chain and locket, and carrying this umbrella—I found these ribbons on the drawers, with initials on them—I showed them to her—she said, "My mother made them for me while I was in Germany"—I found a tablecloth and a brooch in the same chest of drawers—she said, referring to the brooch and locket, "*Gang* brought those home, and gave them to me; but my mother gave me those ribbons."

Cross-examined. I am certain she said that—she also said, "Me only ive with *Gang* one week"—she did not say that she had come from her mother's in Germany, and *Gang* had given her the things—she speaks English very imperfectly.

HERBERT SANDERS (*Detective, W*). On March 25th I was at Rupert Street—Schmidt came in between 8.30 and 9 o'clock—I told her I should take her in custody for being concerned with two men in custody in committing burglaries in the south of London, and that the sergeant had found the property there—she said, "Me only lived with *Gang* one week," meaning the prisoner Hermes; "he would go out of a night, and come home early in the morning, always with a parcel, which he always said he found in a public-house, and he make me a present"—I took her to the station—she was charged, and made no reply.

Cross-examined. She gets excited—you can understand her sometimes, and not at others.

Schmidt's statement before the Magistrate: "I did not know they were stolen."

Schmidt, in her defence, through an interpreter, stated, upon oath, that she had known Hermes two weeks as "Gang"; and had lived with him one week; that what she said to the detective about the ribbons was, "Gang gave them to me when I came back from Germany, from a visit to my mother," not that her mother gave them to her; that "Gang" gave her the other things, and she had no knowledge that they were stolen, as he told her that he was a night waiter and porter at a club, and that someone had left the umbrella at the club, and that on some occasions he found the parcels at a public-house; that he had the ribbons in his possession when she came from Berlin in the middle of March, where she had been for ten days; and that he did not say how he came by them; that she first met him at a concert where she used to sing, and knew him for two weeks before she went to Germany; and that a ticket from the Steamship Company for her box was found in her purse.

C. HAWKINS (*Re-examined*). I did not find a ticket in her purse relating to her box or to her journey to Germany and back, only two pawn-tickets.

SCHMIDT—NOT GUILTY.

Figure 40 – An Old Bailey trial. The above trial for housebreaking was conducted on 22nd April 1901. Note that Frank Hermes had already pleaded guilty to another housebreaking offence.

Old Bailey Proceedings all failed to provide location information. But since so many crime records have been destroyed, it is almost impossible to resurrect this lost information. Hence, the Old Bailey Court Proceedings was the final 'crime source' examined for information. What follows is an explanation of how information about the defendant (especially their address) was added to the data collected by using the 1901 and 1911 censuses.

The 1901 and 1911 censuses

The WPC registers contained no information about where the defendant lived – a crucial piece of information for carrying out research to respond to the research questions. In some cases, the Old Bailey Court Proceedings and newspapers had provided this information, but clearly the vast majority of cases still lacked any address information. However, using the personal details that are given for each defendant in the registers, it was possible to use the 1901 and 1911 censuses to obtain this information. Figures 41 and 42 show the breadth of detail contained in these censuses, including name, age and occupation which could be used to identify WPC defendants. The full name, age and occupation of defendants are normally provided in the WPC registers and these were used to identify the individuals in the census, cross-referencing/cross-cutting the two sources[14].

Both the 1901 and 1911 censuses have been scanned, transcribed and uploaded onto searchable online databases that require a subscription to access. Furthermore there are several variants of the same database, each with different algorithms behind the search engine. Previous research experience involving the use of these databases had allowed each to be tested to assess their ability in finding the correct individuals. It was found that 1901CensusOnline.com (owned by Genes Reunited) and 1911census.co.uk (owned by findmypast) were the best at locating individuals because their

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[14] It should be noted that this methodology of using defendant details from Police Court registers to obtain further information on individuals from the census was also used in a PhD thesis produced by Kerry Chamberlain in 2012. However, Chamberlain's use of the 1911 Census data is mainly for biographical studies of prostitutes and does not map their addresses.

[EXAMPLE]

III.

| Administrative County | Shropshire | | | | | | | | The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the | | | | | | | |
| Civil Parish of Shrewsbury, St. Chad | | Ecclesiastical Parish of Shrewsbury, St. George | | County Borough, Municipal Borough or Urban District of Shrewsbury | | Ward of Municipal Borough or of Urban District of Stone Within | | Rural District of _____ | | | | Parliamentary Borough or Division of Shrewsbury | | | Town or Village or Hamlet of _____ | |

Cols 1	2	3	4 5 6	7	8	9	10	11 12	13	14	15	16	17
No. of Schedule	ROAD, STREET, &c., and No. or NAME of HOUSE	Inhabited	HOUSES: Uninhabited (In Occupation / Not in Occupation) / Building	Number of Rooms occupied if less than five	NAME and Surname of each Person	RELATION to Head of Family	Condition as to Marriage	Age last Birthday of Males / Females	PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION	Employer, Worker, or Own account	If Working at Home	WHERE BORN	If (1) Deaf and Dumb (2) Blind (3) Lunatic (4) Imbecile, feeble-minded
4	7, Charlotte Street	1			John Smith	Head	M	58	Grain Merchant	Employer		Surrey; Godstone	
					Edith Do.	Wife	M	49				Scotland	
					Thomas Do.	Son	S	28	Clergyman (Church of England)			Surrey; Godstone	
					Robert Do.	Son	S	25	Solicitor's Clerk			London; Paddington	
					Jean Martel	Visitor	S	30	Wine Agent	Own account		France (French subject)	
					Ellen Roberts	Serv.	S	22	Housemaid—Domestic			Canada	
					Jane Edwards	Serv.	S	25	Cook—Domestic			Herts; Bushey	
5	1, Bird Lane (Hawthorn Farm)	1			George Wood	Head	Widr	52	Farmer	Employer		Hants; Basingstoke	
					Alan Do.	Son	S	28	Farmer's Son	Worker		Cambridge; Newmarket	
					Flora Do.	Daur	S	12				Do. do.	
					Ellen Do.	Aunt	S	71	Living on own Means			Ireland	Blind from Childhood
					Richard Webb	Serv.	S	24	Carter on Farm	Worker		Sussex; Chichester	
					Martha Jones	Serv.	S	20	General Servant—Domestic			Hants; Basingstoke	
	2, Bird Lane		Building 1										
6	3, Do.	1			John Cox	Head	M	46	Machine Minder (Cotton Mill)	Worker		Lancs; Oldham	
					Elizabeth Do.	Wife	M	40				Do. do.	
					William Do.	Son	S	22	Woollen Weaver	Worker		Yorks; Bradford	
					Sophia Do.	Daur	S	18	Cotton Spinner	Worker		Do. do.	
					Margaret Hall	Mt.-in-law	Wid.	74	Retired Laundress			Carnarvon; Conway	Imbecile
					Mary Cox	Sister	S	42	Tutoress	Worker	At home	Lancs; Oldham	
					James Smith	Boarder	S	26	Copper Miner	Worker		Germany (British subject)	
7				4	Walter Johnson	Head	Widr	30	Railway Engine Stoker	Worker		Northampton; Oundle	
					James Do.	Son		10 mo.				Isle of Man	
	4, Do.		Not in occupation 1										
8	5, Do.	1		3	Edward Martin	Head	Wid.	55	Shoemaker	Own account	At home	London; Newington	
					Hannah Do.	Daur	S	22	Dressmaker	do.	do.	Do. do.	
					Julia Do.	Daur	S	19	Shirtmaker	Worker	do.	Do. do.	
	Do.			2									
					End of the Ecclesiastical Parish of Shrewsbury, St. George								
					The next Schedule to be entered on the following page								
5	Total of Schedules of Houses and of Tenements with less than Five Rooms	4	1 1 2	2	Total of Males and of Females...			13 / 12					

Figure 41 – Example page from the 1901 census showing what information was to be collected and how it should be recorded.

Source: GENUKI (2002)

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Figure 42 – Example return from the 1911 census.

Source: TNA (2010)

search mechanisms limit search results to far more relevant records than other online census products. These were therefore used to search for defendant addresses. However, neither is available to access via a subscription (it is only possible to purchase credits to view a handful of records at a time – impractical when trying to identify 1000s of defendants). But it was possible to gain unlimited access to both databases in the reading rooms of The National Archives (TNA), and therefore time was spent at TNA using this free service to collect the defendant address data.

Before beginning the census searches, a decision had to be made as to what information should be included in data collection. As already discussed, the census contains a great deal of detail about individuals, their families and homes, not all of which was necessary to collect for this investigation. Tables 3 and 4 detail the content of each census and explain which elements were recorded as well as why others were excluded. Although both online databases have distinct differences, the overall approach of searching for defendants' addresses in both databases was similar. The full names and birth years of the individuals were manually typed into the search engine. It should be noted that although the birth year of an individual is not recorded in the WPC registers, it can be approximately calculated by subtracting the age of the individual from the year of the census (either 1901 or 1911). This means the birth years were not entirely accurate, since without knowing the exact birthday of individuals it was impossible to work out precise ages. However, it is common knowledge that ages stated in the census are often inaccurate so a precise age is unnecessary. Furthermore, the search engines contain the ability to incorporate a degree of flexibility into searches that use the birth year as a search variable. They do this by allowing search results to include individuals who were born up to a maximum of 5 years either side of the specified birth year (i.e. the birth date + or - 5 years). Hence, for all my searches, I requested that the results included individuals born 2-3 years either side of the birth year specified, thereby increasing the chance of finding individuals. In addition to the full name and birth year, it is also possible for both census search engines to limit searches to a specific geographic area such as 'London', 'Middlesex', 'Surrey', 'Kent', 'Essex'

Census information	Information recorded?	Justification
Address (House number and street name)	Yes	-
Inhabited or uninhabited	No	If a defendant is found residing in a house then it is inhabited by definition.
Number of rooms	Yes	Required to investigate living conditions.
Number of inhabitants	Yes	Required to investigate living conditions.
Names of inhabitants	Partial	Only the defendant's name.
Relationship to head of family	Partial	Only for the defendant.
Particulars of marriage	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Ages	Partial	Only the defendant's age.
Occupations	Partial	Only the defendant's occupation.
Employer, worker or self employed	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Birthplace	Partial	Only the defendant's birthplace.
Infirmity	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Number of children[*]	Yes	Provides some indication of home life.
Census reference	Yes	-

Table 3 – Information recorded and excluded during data collection from the 1901 census.

[*] This refers to individuals who were clearly identified in census returns as the sons or daughters of the offender. This is indicated by an individual's surname, relationship to the household head (i.e. 'son' or 'daughter') and position in the order of people listed as living with the defendant.

Census information	Information recorded?	Justification
Address (House number and street name)	Yes	-
Number of rooms	Yes	Required to investigate living conditions.
Number of inhabitants	Yes	Required to investigate living conditions.
Names of inhabitants	Partial	Only the defendant's name.
Relationship to head of family	Partial	Only for the defendant.
Ages	Partial	Only the defendant's age.
Particulars of marriage (including fertility questions)	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Occupations	Partial	Only the defendant's occupation.
Industry	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Employer, worker or self employed	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Working at home	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Birthplace	Partial	Only the defendant's birthplace.
Nationality	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Infirmity	No	This information was not required to achieve the research objectives.
Number of children (see Table 3 footnote for explanation)	Yes	Provides some indication of home life.
Census reference	Yes	-

Table 4 – Information recorded and excluded during data collection from the 1911 census.

or even more specific areas. But this option was not used since defendants could have been living in any part of the London area or even outside of it.

Using all the personal information of WPC defendants (collected from the WPC registers as well as from the newspapers and Old Bailey Proceedings), it was possible to positively identify individuals amongst the results returned by the census search engine. Census returns for individuals living in London were examined first because one would expect a London court to be dealing with those living within the city. That is not to say individuals living outside of London were excluded when searching for offenders in the census – all possible matches were considered to ensure that the correct address information for individuals was collected. However, the process of identifying criminals was challenging at times because it was often only names, ages and occupations that could be cross-compared with census search results. Consequently, offenders with common/popular names were at times impossible to identify in census returns – unless their age or occupation was unique, unusual or distinct in some way (or if other information about them had been obtained from newspaper or Old Bailey records). Similarly, where the WPC registers listed a female defendant's occupation as 'married' or 'prostitute' it was often difficult to identify them amongst census returns – unless they had distinct names or additional details from other sources offered alternative forms of identification. But perhaps most frustrating was when the census search engine returned two or more individuals with names, ages and occupations identical to that of the WPC defendant being searched for. In these cases, it was impossible to determine which census return related to the WPC defendant and therefore no address (or other census details) could be recorded. Despite these challenges, in total, 1608 addresses of the 6289 individuals tried at the WPC in 1901-1902 (26%) were obtained, whilst 2072 addresses were collected for the 6598 individuals tried at the WPC in 1911-1912 (31%).

Charles Booth's Maps Descriptive of London Poverty and preparations for mapping crime locations

Other archival sources were consulted in order to assist with the exploration of spatial patterns of crime locations and defendant addresses. Charles Booth's Maps Descriptive of London Poverty is one such source that, as was discussed in Chapter 3, may be used to assess social conditions of areas studied. It was therefore used as the base mapping onto which the crime data was mapped or overlaid, enabling neighbourhood (and street) social conditions to be compared easily with WPC crime locations and defendant addresses. The Booth map is available for free online via a London School of Economics (LSE) website which allows all parts of the map to be viewed and locations compared to a modern map. However, the site does not allow the map to be downloaded for use in GIS software such as ArcGIS (which was the software selected for use in this research to map crime locations and defendant addresses). Instead, this can be obtained directly from the LSE, who were able to provide a stitched TIFF of the map (i.e. each section of the map had been joined together to form one image). However, this was not geopositioned to a location on the Earth's surface – a problem if any meaningful geospatial analysis was to be conducted. The specific process of geopositioning the Booth map is described in Appendix 3 since it is quite a lengthy technical process and may only be of interest to some readers.

It was briefly noted in a previous section that the WPC registers usually only record the specific street in which a crime was committed. This therefore limits the way in which crime locations may be visually depicted (or georeferenced) onto Booth's map. For instance, a possible option would be to plot all crime incidents as points along respective street segments, distributed either randomly or at equal distances along the road. However, this approach would make comparison between streets or neighbourhoods difficult (with each point having to be counted to calculate how many incidents occurred on streets). An alternative approach is to map crime onto the WPC area street network, with each street in the network represented by a line that is colour-coded based on the total number of crimes committed. This not only allows crime on each street

to be compared easily, but also offers the ability to view the data alongside the socio-economic information on Booth's map. It was therefore decided to map the crime location data onto the WPC area street network. However, to achieve this, the WPC's street network needed to be digitised from Booth's map using ArcGIS (to create vector data[15]) so that crime figures could be mapped onto the network.

Having georeferenced Booth's map, it was possible to construct vector data for the WPC street network. However, before doing this, it was important to demarcate the WPC boundary to ensure that only the street network for the area was digitised. This boundary information was obtained from a number of sources including historical directories, The London Gazette, but also Metropolitan Police files (see MEPO 2/1220 for example, but also various versions of Metropolitan Police General Orders – see MEPO 8/5, 1899; MEPO 8/7, 1910; MEPO 3/1777, 1905-1910). The polyline tool in ArcGIS was used to draw the boundary in a new shapefile layer, overlaid onto the map (see Appendix 3 for information on the storage and structure of GIS data). Separate layers were created for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 to reflect the changes in boundaries (as noted in Chapter 3). The street network of the Booth map was then traced using the polyline tool and its associated editing tools/features. Each time a street segment was created, its name was added to a column in the attribute table corresponding with the segment. At times, it was difficult to read the Booth map street names, or unclear as to whether a street existed due to the distortions created when the map was digitised (usually when back streets, lanes and courts were encountered). Furthermore, Booth map street names may not have reflected those used during the periods of study (and there may have been differences in a street's name between the two periods). In order to resolve these issues, historic 1:2500 Ordnance Survey maps, available on Digimap's Ancient Roam service, were consulted throughout the

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[15] Real world geographic features may be represented in a digital computer as vector data which can be read by GIS software. The data comprises of point, line and/or area/polygon features which are used to represent objects geographically positioned on the earth's surface (see Longley et al, 2011:87-89 for further information). In this case, vector data representing the WPC street network as line features needed to be created using ArcGIS and Booth's map was used to do this – the street network depicted on the map being traced using tools in ArcGIS.

process of creating the vector street network data. This ensured that changes in street names were found and included in the attribute table. In addition to this, an extra field was created to record the socio-economic class Booth assigned to the street (see Table 5) which would allow correlations to be made between crime and socio-economic status during the analysis. But where a street was under construction or had been demolished when Booth was conducting his survey, the street was assigned a '0' in the attribute table. Once complete, a copy of the shapefile was made to form the basis of the 1911-1912 street network. It should also be noted that the WPC street network of 1901-1902 was not identical to that of 1911-1912. As already stated, the boundary of the area changed meaning Parliament Square was excluded in 1911-1912, but there were also more subtle changes within the area itself. For instance, Hindon Road had merged with Wilton Road and therefore no longer existed by 1911-1912. It should be stressed that such minor changes to street names/configurations

Number assigned to GIS data	Colour Booth assigned to street
0	Not assigned (street demolished or under construction at time of survey).
1	Yellow
1.5	Yellow/Red
2	Red
2.5	Red/Pink
3	Pink
3.5	Pink/Purple
4	Purple
4.5	Purple/Light Blue
5	Light Blue
5.5	Light Blue/ Dark Blue
6	Dark Blue
6.5	Dark Blue/ Black
7	Black

Table 5 – Numbers assigned to each of Booth's colours for use in the GIS.

were few in number and were identified by using the relevant Ordnance Survey mapping from the period. Historical directories were also used to corroborate changes. Once completed, the length of each street segment was automatically calculated (in ArcGIS) which was used to create maps depicting the number of crimes per kilometre of street (discussed in Chapter 5). In total there were 965 and 945 streets in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 respectively.

Data cleansing, rationalisation and restructuring for geographic analysis

The creation of datasets from archival sources comes with numerous problems (some already discussed), but often the greatest challenge is transferring the information into a format that can be used for analytical purposes whilst retaining the essence and detail of the records accurately. Working with the combined WPC register, newspaper and census data (referred to hereafter as the WPC data) posed a number of challenges requiring the data to be cleansed and rationalised to introduce consistency. Furthermore, the WPC data was structured identically to the registers themselves in that each row was equal to a trial. This structure was inadequate to carry out geographic analysis (i.e. to map the data) since, for example, an individual may have been tried for committing a series of offences at multiple locations. This would result in all the locations being within one cell of a row which a GIS is unable to handle – the data therefore needed to be restructured. Hence, the process of data cleansing, rationalisation and restructuring will now be discussed in detail since each had an impact on the final results of this research.

Some work was required to restructure the data to make it geographically orientated as opposed to being trial orientated. Hence, any offence which lacked a location was removed from the dataset since this could not be mapped. Creating a geographically orientated dataset also meant that each row in the spreadsheet needed to contain one street name where a crime incident occurred rather than several locations describing numerous offences committed by an individual. To achieve this, data entries were split to separate the locations and respective offences into several rows. The name, age, occupation, charge time, verdict and any other particulars were copied into

these new rows in order to retain the link between the defendant and the offence/location. Although data collected from the various other sources (newspapers and Old Bailey records) had been recorded alongside the WPC register data, it was important to migrate some of this information into the WPC register data columns in order to fill 'gaps' or augment specific entries. Copying this detail across into the relevant columns ensured they were included in the main analysis of data.

The most complex challenge involved dealing with the variety of duplication within the WPC data, inherited from when the WPC registers were created. This needed to be removed because retaining them would artificially 'inflate' the number of offences committed on a specific street segment, thereby distorting reality. There were various types of duplication found within the registers meaning they were also within the data collected. For instance, there may be more than one entry in a register for the trial of an individual who committed an offence. This occurred when the individual failed to turn up for his/her allotted trial, either because they skipped bail or they were too ill to be tried. The entry in the verdict column of the register will state 'no appearance' and means that if the individual was eventually tried, another entry would have been added to the register on the appropriate date. Consequently the data contained several entries for an individual being tried for the same offence which occurred at the same location, date and time. These duplicate entries were removed with only the entry containing the final trial with a verdict being retained. Another form of duplication resulted from there being more than one individual tried for a specific crime i.e. multiple offenders committed an offence at the same location, date and time. On one hand, it could be argued this form of duplication should not be excluded, as legally, each individual committed an offence. Moreover certain offences required more than one individual to successfully commit an illegal act e.g. sexual intercourse in public. Conversely, the actions of the collective group of individuals, at the same time, date and location could be said to amount to a crime incident. It is this technical differentiation between 'offences' and 'incidents' that alters how this form of duplication is viewed; however this study took an approach based on the latter argument (multiple individuals creating a crime incident) and these entries were duly removed.

Identifying this duplication was often straightforward since individuals would be tried one after another, their offences would be specific (e.g. 'obstructing PC James Jones') at the same location, charged at the same time, but also there may be references to the other offender(s) (e.g. 'with George Sharwood (in custody) stealing from bakers barrow 4lbs loaf of bread'). Nevertheless, there were other instances where offences were not so unique/specific and did not contain references to other defendants. Instead, only the offence, location and charge time were identical which implied the defendants were picked up by the police at the same time and place. On one hand, there was no way of knowing whether the offences were connected, but given the number of common details, there was a high probability that they were related. Furthermore, if they were to be retained, they may have artificially inflated figures for streets, whereas removing them from the data would prevent this. Admittedly there may not have been any link between some of these offences, but it was believed better to take a cautious approach and remove all identifiable forms of duplication. Hence, various Excel functions and formulas were used to remove entries from the dataset. The impact of all these cleansing/restructuring activities on the data is summarised by Table 6, which highlights some considerable reductions in the number of cases (although it should be noted that it is difficult to compare the various figures due to the impact that different aspects/processes of data cleansing and restructuring had on the overall dataset).

Year	Before cleansing	After cleansing	Duplication	Non locations	Exclusions
1901-1902	6289	5163	621	271	290
1911-1912	6598	5270	686	526	160

Table 6 – How the data was affected by data cleansing and restructuring. Note that exclusions refer to crimes where locations were ambiguous (e.g. 'Chelsea'), those that could not be found/deciphered, some located outside the WPC area and those where the street name was assigned to multiple streets in the WPC area (see Appendix 2). It should be noted that the sum of the duplication, non locations and exclusions figures does not equal the difference between the before and after cleaning figures. This is due to the effects of restructuring the data.

Rationalisation of the data involved introducing some consistency to it by categorising offences, classifying occupations into socio-economic classes, assigning individuals to age groups and grouping charge times into 1 hour time periods. It was essential to conduct this process as it enabled the data to be simplified in a way that would facilitate its analysis – it would be impossible for example to generate any meaningful statistics from the 'raw' descriptions of offences. Table 7 shows the 19 crime categories which were used to classify each of the offences. This system of categorisation was devised by acquiring an extensive knowledge of offences committed during data collection, but also through detailed examination of offences once all the data had been collected. Categories used by authorities (such as the Metropolitan Police) during the period for reporting statistics in annual reports were also consulted to help inform decisions about how best to categorise offences. It would not have been suitable to use modern day crime categories as they would fail to reflect the nature of Edwardian laws constituting what an offence was. Hence, the formulation of a broad set of categories, tailored to the Edwardian WPC offences, that could allow a robust, sensible analysis to be conducted was deemed to be the best approach. It is worth pointing out here that although a category for desertion was created, the WPC registers do not record a location for cases involving soldiers or sailors deserting from the armed forces. This is because the offence was not committed on the streets of the WPC (where they were apprehended). Hence, all cases of desertion were removed from the data during the cleansing process and are therefore not discussed in this research. This aside, as can be seen from the list of categories, it could be that an individual committed a string of offences at a specific location/time meaning the overall incident might fall into more than one category. For instance, Elizabeth Gorman was charged with assaulting PC George Dean by kicking him on both legs, plus being drunk, disorderly and using obscene language on Albert Embankment (PS/WES/A/01/023, 11 July 1901, trial 3) – this charge is both a drink related offence and assault. Where necessary, offences were therefore placed into more than one category. Nevertheless, in some instances there was a danger of assigning too many categories to specific offence types. Appendix 4 describes these instances and explains how they were resolved, as well as the rationale behind the decision. It should also be noted that in a handful of cases,

Category name	Crimes to be placed into category
Drink related crime	All crimes that involve the individual being described as 'drunk'. Includes drunk in charge of children or goods; drunk and disorderly; drunk, disorderly and obscene language; drunk and indecent; drunk and indecent manner/behaviour.
Theft (other than from a specific building)	Stealing from individual's person; pickpocket; attempting to steal from an individual; possession of goods supposed stolen; stealing and receiving; receiving stolen goods; handling stolen goods.
Theft from a place	Breaking and entering; attempted breaking and entering; stealing from premises; found on enclosed premises; shoplifting.
Assault or violence	Assaulting members of public or the police; threatening behaviour; threatening language; threats whereby individuals go about in fear of GBH; manslaughter; murder; attempted murder; armed with offensive.
Damage to property	Breaking doors; breaking windows; damaging property; and any other crime involving the damage of property.
Fraud	Forging and uttering; embezzlement; fraudulently obtaining food on credit; falsify books; obtain goods or money by false pretences; falsely represent self as a policeman; acting as a pedlar without a licence.
Illegal gambling	Betting; running a betting house; permitting premises to be used as a betting house; obstruction by betting; playing games that are associated with gambling; playing game with money and dice; loitering to bet.
Sexual offences	Having sexual intercourse in public; indecent exposure; indecent assault; rape; acts of gross indecency; attempting to procure others; behaving in an indecent manner.
Prostitution	Soliciting prostitution; living off the earnings of prostitution; permitting premises to be used as a brothel; assisting in the management of a brothel; prostitute behaving in a disorderly manner.
Begging	Begging; placing self in public place to beg and gather alms; wandering abroad without any visible means of subsistence.
Suicide	Attempted suicides by whatever means.
Obstruction to justice	Obstructing police in their duty; attempting to rescue others from police custody; failing to pay maintenance/bastardy arrears; breaching recognisances; individuals subject to and in breach of Prevention of Crime Act 1871; alien in breach of expulsion order; escape from reformatory/inebriates home.
Cruelty	Cruelty to animals and children.
Public nuisances	Disorderly conduct; obscene language; abusive language; obstructing footway/carriageway with barrows; playing games (football, cricket); throwing missiles; riding bicycles to the danger of pedestrians; fighting; causing a crowd to form; urinating on street; children beyond control of parents; refusing to quit premises.
Vehicle offences	Driving furiously to the danger of the public; driving recklessly; driving and crashing into street furniture or other vehicles; driving furiously and inflicting GBH; drink driving; crimes in transit on the road; driving without a licence.
Railway crime	Fare evasion; refusing to quit railway premises; stealing from railway goods yards; stealing from railway luggage; assaulting railway staff; trespassing on railway; begging; attempted suicide; stealing and receiving; pickpocket; annoying passengers; loitering on station premises; crimes in railway carriages.
Workhouse crime	Abscond from workhouse; neglecting/refusing to perform allotted task whilst workhouse inmate; running away and leaving family chargeable to the parish; refractory conduct whilst workhouse inmate; destroying clothes whilst workhouse inmate; damaging property of workhouse; assaulting other inmates or staff at workhouse; making false statements in order to obtain relief; assaulting people in workhouse.
Desertion	Any desertions from the armed forces.
Miscellaneous	Abortion; bigamy; suspected person loitering with intent.

Table 7 – Categories used to classify WPC crimes. Please note that this is not an exhaustive list of crimes.

the same offence was committed more than once as part of a single crime incident e.g. several policemen were assaulted by an individual. It was decided not to count such offences more than once because, although there may have been more than one victim, the offences were part of a single crime incident (committed at the same time and place). This ensured that categorisation was conducted in a manner consistent with the restructuring of the data, which as discussed earlier, focused on crime 'incidents' as opposed to 'offences'. Altogether this enabled the offences to be categorised and this is generally how they are referred to throughout Chapters 5-9 of this thesis.

To assist in analysis, consistency was introduced into the data for certain variables. For example, register charge times are given to the nearest five minutes, but this degree of accuracy was too high for conducting meaningful analysis. Instead charge times were grouped into one hour time frames. Similarly, the ages of offenders (stated in the registers) were grouped to allow for easier demographic investigation. It was also important to assign each individual their gender so that crime statistics could be generated showing any divisions. This was achieved by using the defendant's first name as an indicator of sex. The occupations of defendants were also made comparable through categorisation, enabling analysis to be conducted. Armstrong's (1972) occupational classification was used to categorise jobs into varying skill levels, which would therefore imply the amount of income generated (see Appendix 5 for more details on the classification). It was necessary to make some adaptations to the scheme to take into consideration individuals who stated their occupation was 'prostitute', 'married', 'widow', 'student', 'unemployed' and 'pensioner' – categories were therefore added for each since they could not be placed into existing categories. Lastly, the charge dates were used to assign each trial with a day of the week and month – the former to allow an examination of charges throughout the week and the latter for seasonal/monthly variations.

Once the data had been restructured, rationalised and cleansed it was possible to visualise the data as maps using the GIS. The Excel spreadsheets were added to ArcGIS as new layers. To 'append' the spreadsheet data to the street

network within the GIS, the 'join tables' function was used. This required a common entry to be included in both the spreadsheet and street network – in this case the street name was used. The validation facility helped to ensure there were no mismatches or data excluded as a result of the join. Once the join was confirmed it was possible to visualise the Excel data on the street network, applying colour and symbology as appropriate.

Georeferencing and mapping defendant addresses

A further process of cleansing the data was required to map the defendant residences. This was because an address had not been obtained from the census for every defendant listed within the cleansed dataset and it was therefore necessary to remove these entries to ensure they were excluded during the georeferencing process. Furthermore there was an additional duplication issue within the data created by the presence of repeat offenders. Although the knowledge of where repeat offenders lived was important to map (and thus did not need to be removed from the dataset) it was essential to identify these in order to treat them differently when georeferencing. This was achieved by simply reordering the data and other Excel functions to identify and mark the repeat offender addresses. They could thus be visualised differently on the final maps. It was also important to mark those individuals found to be detained in institutions such as workhouses, police stations and prisons. This was to prevent these 'addresses' from being mapped as they failed to reflect the 'true' residence of offenders. That is not to say these addresses do not reflect the circumstances of the individuals, but they would generate false impressions of the spatial distributions of the places offenders resided and thus needed to be excluded. The final task of preparing the data was to assign each address with a unique identifier (to help maintain a link between the data and attribute fields within the GIS).

Defendant addresses were mapped using the point construction feature in ArcGIS to plot addresses onto Booth's map, with a new layer being used for each time period (thereby keeping them separate to aid data management and analysis). Georeferencing each defendant's address was carried out manually

with each point being placed at or near to a central position within the street. It would have been possible to place the point on the exact house on a street, but this would have required a considerable amount of time as several historical sources would need to be consulted to identify the correct position. A central position was thus the best option, although when several defendants lived on a street, the points were placed at approximate equal distances along the length of street whilst endeavouring to position them as close to the street's centre as possible. This reduced the possibility of points overlapping and obscuring each other, thereby improving the visualisation of the final maps. Plotting the addresses of those who lived within the WPC area was easy as the digitised street network assisted in finding the road quickly. Those that lived beyond, in the rest of London, required some research using multiple sources to find the streets on Booth's map. Table 8 lists these sources as well as how and why they were used to assist during georeferencing. Inevitably some addresses were not found, but there were also 342 located beyond the extent of Booth's map in London's suburbs, the Home Counties or further afield – these were

Source	Source type	Information/help offered
A to Z of Edwardian London by Saunders (2007)	Book	Provided an Edwardian 'A-Z' of London with index to streets and accompanying maps.
Charles Booth Online Archive	Online	Street names could be searched amongst the notebooks and examining on Booth's map.
Digimap Ancient Roam	Online	Provided historical Ordnance Survey town plans for the period allowing specific areas to be inspected.
Historical Directories of England and Wales (Post Office Directories)	Online	Streets may be searched for and any intersecting/adjoining streets are listed, helping to locate the general area.
Historical Streets Project	Online	Lists of streets for census districts may be searched which also provide names of adjoining streets.

Table 8 – Sources used to locate addresses beyond the WPC area. Note that full references for these sources may be found in the bibliography.

therefore excluded. During the georeferencing process it was necessary to complete various fields in the attribute table – the unique ID assigned to the address in the Excel dataset was recorded in the table, as well as the class Booth assigned the street (using the number system shown in Table 5).

Data analysis

Once both the crime and defendant data had been cleansed, georeferenced and mapped, it was possible to conduct various forms of analysis to help address the research questions. The data offered a variety of opportunities to examine crime and defendants from a quantitative perspective. From the number of specific offence types being committed to whether defendants lived in overcrowded housing[16] – the possible combinations were numerous and it should be stressed not every avenue has been discussed in this thesis. It would be impractical to detail the precise procedures carried out to analyse each variable within the dataset, but generally, functionality within Excel such as sorting, filters, pivot tables and various formula were used to assist in the creation of figures. ArcGIS was also used to help perform basic 'spatial' analysis on the data – for instance, since the crime location and defendant address was collected, it was possible to calculate the distances at which offenders travelled from their home before committing an offence. It should be stressed that this was not the journey to crime which would map the routes taken by individuals. Instead it is the straight line (Euclidean) distance between an address and crime location that was calculated. This was calculated using the eastings and northings of both locations (this can be automatically generated in ArcGIS for both addresses and the centre point of a street segment) subtracting one from the other and using trigonometry to work out the distance. The result was the Euclidean distance that illustrated how far the defendants committed offences from their place of residence.

It is important to briefly discuss the trial verdicts here as these were not taken

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[16] The Victorian definition of overcrowding (two or more persons per room) was used here. To perform the calculation, information on the number of rooms and number of inhabitants of those rooms was taken from the census.

into consideration during the analysis i.e. those guilty were not separated from those found not guilty. This decision was made due to doubts over the reliability of WPC register verdict information discovered when cross-referring them with those stated in local newspapers. In many instances, where the registers stated an individual was 'discharged' (implying they were 'not guilty') the account of the trial in local newspapers suggested that the individual was 'guilty' but had been let off for having a good character (yet there is no doubt that they were guilty of an offence)[17]. It is possible that this was the result of magistrates using powers granted to them by either the Probation of First Offenders Act (1887) or Probation of Offenders Act (1907), which allowed first time offenders to be released on recognisances, with or without sureties, promising to maintain good behaviour (see Mair and Burke, 2012:21-29 for a detailed discussion). The registers would therefore state the individual was 'discharged', but fail to note that this was the first time they had been caught offending. In addition, remanding individuals in custody may also have been deemed to be adequate 'punishment' for a minor offence, with 'discharge' being the trial verdict. Appendix 1 provides greater discussion of discrepancies found, but overall it suggests that the register verdicts are unreliable (for the purposes of identifying guilty and innocent offenders) and therefore were not taken into consideration during the analysis. Moreover, Table 9 shows that the number of individuals 'discharged' was low and is therefore unlikely to have had any significant impact on final results. The sources and methodologies used to address the research questions and overall aim have been outlined in this chapter. The results of the analysis and a discussion of findings are provided in the following four chapters. Chapter 5 explores crime both quantitatively and spatially, whilst Chapter 6 offers the same analysis but instead for the defendants. The seventh and eighth chapters are different in that they focus on more specific aspects of the data collected. Chapter 7 examines the movement of defendants across the city, as well as crime committed on railway premises (which could not be mapped to the street network as is discussed in that chapter). The final analytical chapter takes

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[17] Note that when an individual was genuinely found 'not guilty' the verdict recorded in the WPC registers was 'dis' meaning 'discharged'. Appendix 1 offers some examples of such cases which were reported in local newspapers.

Verdict	1901-1902	1911-1912
Committed for trial	105	74
Discharged	654	293
Entered in error	2	5
Guilty	4022	4765
Ill	-	3
Illegible	9	-
No appearance	292	65
No prosecution	1	-
Not guilty	10	3
Sent back	2	-
Sent to infirmary/asylum	1	3
Sent to workhouse	23	15
Remanded	37	43
Withdrawn	5	1

Table 9 – Verdicts of WPC trials in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

the reader on a 'tour' of four streets in the WPC area to investigate social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of the communities that lived there, allowing the streets' crime and offender statistics to be interpreted and contextualised.

Chapter 5 – Crime in the WPC area

The previous chapter outlined the methodologies used to collect and analyse data on crime and defendants in the WPC area. What follows are a series of chapters discussing the results of the analysis, with findings interpreted using existing research and other supporting historical sources. This chapter will provide a discussion of the general crime statistics within the WPC area, examining the temporal changes and beginning to unpick the factors which may have influenced specific types of criminal activity. This will then allow the spatial patterns of crime to be explored. It should be noted that the aim is not to undertake a detailed investigation of each crime type or to provide an exhaustive description of crime on every street across the area. It is to highlight the overall trends, locate interesting or unusual anomalies and, more importantly, to demonstrate how the archival sources used (most notably the WPC registers) may be exploited further by future researchers.

The pattern of crime throughout the year

Examining the monthly trends in overall charge numbers, Graph 3 shows how numbers fluctuated during the year, generally remaining within the region of 370-500 charges each month. There were small peaks in the months of May,
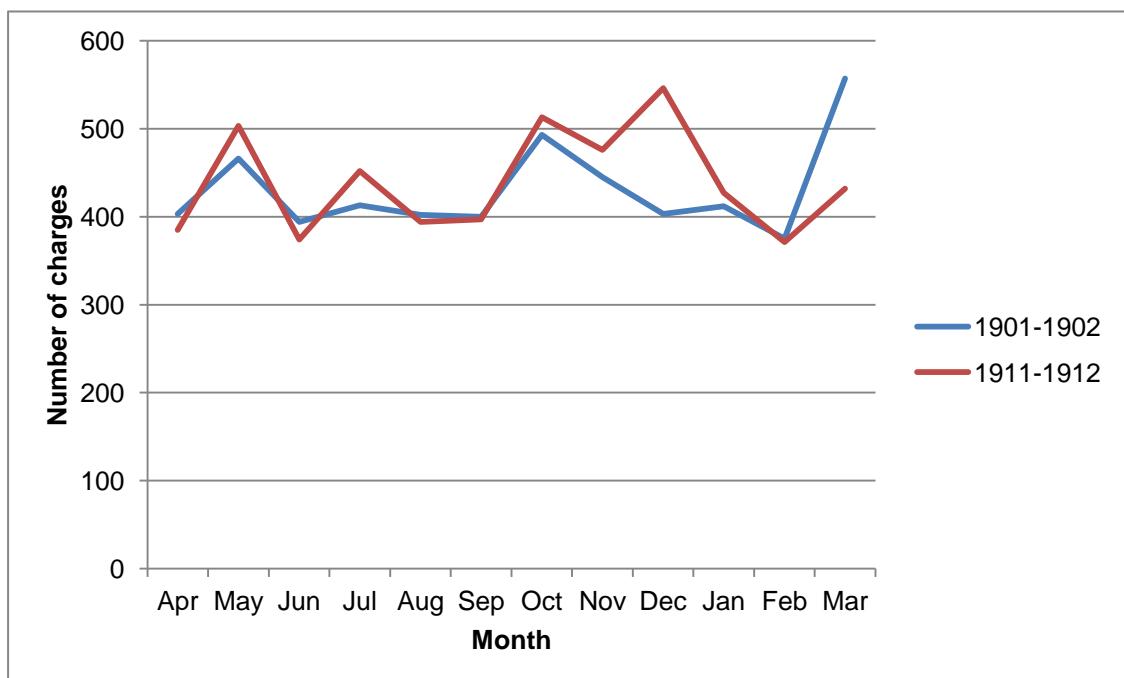
Graph 3 – Number of charges per month during 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

July, October and March, but also lower numbers in June, August, September, November, January and February. These fluctuations are consistent in both periods of study, although at times those for 1911-1912 are a little more pronounced due to the higher number of offences overall in that period. However, where the two periods differ is during the month of December when, in 1901 crime continued to fall from previous months, whereas in 1911 there was a sudden increase (to the highest figure for that year – 527 charges). If crimes are categorised into the groups described in Chapter 3 and figures for each category in the months of November and December 1911 are examined (Table 10), it can be seen that the biggest contribution to this spike in December 1911 was drink related crime (increasing by 72). Clearly December was a period of celebration, bringing with it the "...popular drinking culture of the festive season" (Armstrong, 2011:762) and therefore potentially greater consumption of alcohol. But this would have applied to both 1901 and 1911, meaning it does not explain why there was such a marked difference in the charge figures.

One factor could have been changes to the population, although as shown in Chapter 3 (page 82), the population of the County of London as a whole had not changed substantially by 1911. Another possible explanation could have been the changes in overall economic prosperity – as discussed in Chapter 2, during the Edwardian period there was a drop in real wages combined with an increase in the cost of living (Read, 1982:17; Gazeley, 1989:215), meaning that in December 1911, a greater proportion of individuals may have turned to drink to forget the economic difficulties they faced. However, many historians argue that such economic problems caused consumption of alcohol to remain static or fall (which would surely have affected drink related crime figures). Hornsey (2003:569) for example argues that "the early years of the 20th century heralded an economic depression, which resulted in wages remaining static, and the demand for beer remaining, at best, the same". Moreover accounts from the time argue, for instance that "for many years past the fluctuations in consumption of alcoholic liquors have followed very closely the rise and fall in general trade of the country" (Wilson, 1912:2), with consumption rising when trade increased and falling when trading dropped. In addition, it is also argued

Crime category	November	December	Difference
Drink related crime	310	382	72 ⬆
Theft (other than from a specific building)	8	5	3 ⬇
Theft from a place	8	6	2 ⬇
Theft total	16	11	5 ⬇
Assault or violence	23	27	4 ⬆
Damage to property	2	1	1 ⬇
Fraud	5	12	7 ⬆
Illegal gambling	4	2	2 ⬇
Sexual offences	2	3	1 ⬆
Prostitution	14	31	17 ⬆
Begging	72	61	11 ⬇
Suicide	4	1	3 ⬇
Obstruction to justice	8	5	3 ⬇
Cruelty	12	9	3 ⬇
Public nuisances	44	34	10 ⬇
Vehicle offences	11	17	6 ⬆
Workhouse crime	7	9	2 ⬆
Miscellaneous	2	3	1 ⬆

Table 10 – Number of charges for each crime type during the months of November and December 1911. Note that these figures reflect crime incidents categorised meaning an incident may fall into more than one category.

that the falling consumption of beer during the 1900s was perhaps a result of changing leisure practices, with people spending time on pursuits such as sport, music halls, museums, travel etc, rather than on drinking in the pub (Jennings, 2012:81-82). As Burnett (1999:127) states "many working class families were moving closer to the norms and life-styles of the lower middle classes...heavy drinking and drunkenness were not now 'respectable'...". Altogether, this would imply that consumption should have been lower in December 1911 when compared to 1901 and therefore the potential for drink related crime reduced. Instead, as my results show, drink related crime was higher in December 1911

and indeed official Metropolitan Police statistics suggest that as a whole, arrests for drunkenness were far higher at the end of the Edwardian period than at its beginning. As Inwood (2005:385) states the police arrests for drunkenness increased "...from about 25,000 in the 1880s to 30,000 in the early 1890s, about 50,000 between 1900 and 1910 and over 70,000 in 1913 and 1914".

On the other hand, these arguments can be interpreted differently. Clearly Christmas could have been an exception to these suggestions of lower consumption, with individuals deciding to celebrate despite economic difficulties, or to simply forget about their personal problems. But if drinking habits (lower consumption) and attitudes to drunkenness had changed by 1911, this may not only have served to reduce overall drunkenness/drink related crime, but could equally have heightened the public's and police's awareness of the problem. In other words, there may have been changes in policing practices as overall public opinion or attitudes towards drunkenness changed – the police making greater effort to clamp down on drink related crime by December 1911 due to changes in attitudes. But even if police arrested an individual, they may not necessarily have been sent to the Police Court – there may have been insufficient evidence to prosecute the individual. Related to this may also be decisions on where to patrol, but as no sources survive which show how police beats were altered over time, it is impossible to say whether this had any impact on these figures. Moreover, it is difficult to obtain a proper sense of the rationale behind decisions made by the police since accounts from policemen patrolling the area do not survive. However there are suggestions "...that the practicalities of policing drunkenness weighed more heavily on the ordinary policeman on the beat than moral considerations" (Petrow, 1994:217) – was arresting a drunk worth the trouble and bureaucracy when more serious offences were being committed?

In summary, the numbers of charges brought before the WPC during both study periods seem to be similar. Charges fluctuate throughout the year, with peaks in certain months and fewer charges in the intervening months. However, the charges brought before the court in December differed between the two periods with a large increase in 1911, but a decline in 1901. Drink related crime contributed the most to this increase in 1911 meaning it was the primary cause

of the difference. This increase in drink related crime has been attributed to a number of factors involving both changes in society's norms and beliefs on drinking/drunkenness, as well as how the police reacted to these changes.

<u>The pattern of crime committed throughout the week</u>

Daily patterns of charges for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 (Graph 4) indicate how there was little difference between the two periods, with charges peaking on a Saturday, dropping on a Sunday, increasing slightly but remaining constant during the early part of the week and then dipping by mid-week. The Saturday peak is to be expected as it was a day of leisure – or at least half a day of leisure since many had to work in the morning (it should also be noted that Saturday was also the weekly pay day) (Parratt, 1998:28 & 46). Hence, it was the afternoon, but especially the evening on Saturdays when individuals had time for leisure, altering behaviours and the atmosphere on the streets:

> ...on a Saturday night, when the streets will seem full of every happiness that is known to tired people in their leisure hours. Every road and every public-house and shop is full of busy people. Gramophones and
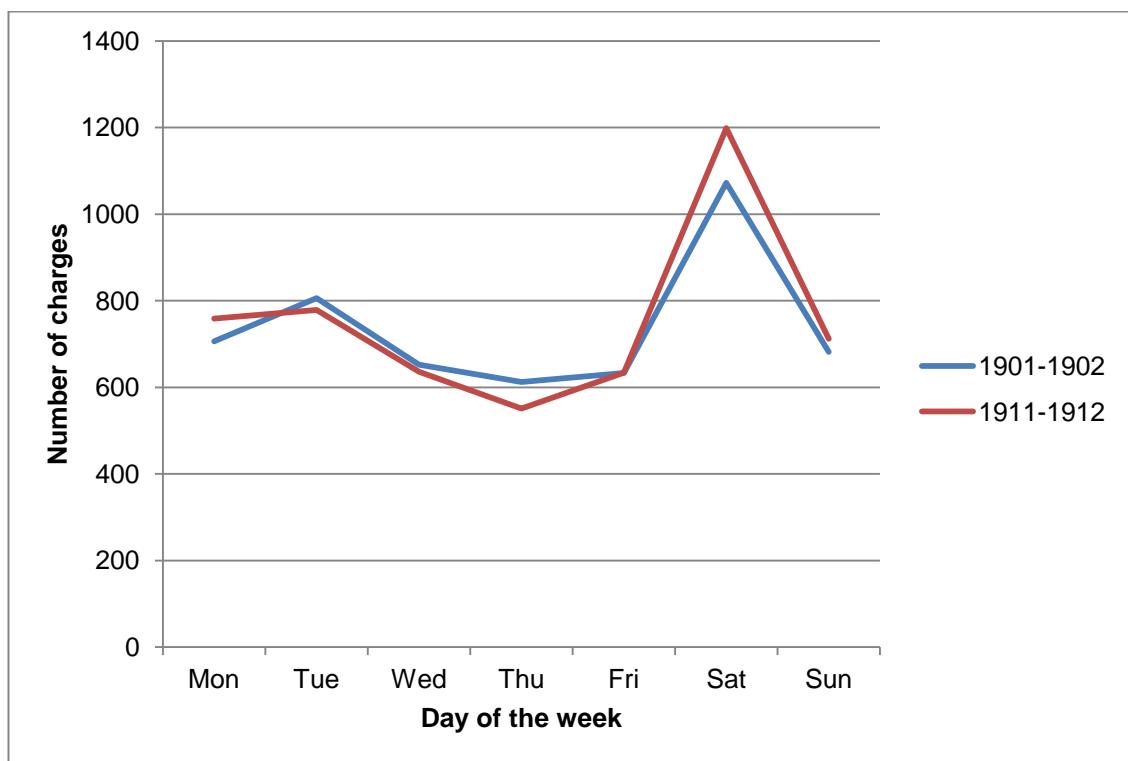
Graph 4 – Charges during the week in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

costermongers fill the air with noise. There is much to buy and see and talk about. A score of different pleasures, that may be obtained for twopence, assail the passer-by (Paterson, 1914:1-2).

Taken together, this meant that there were opportunities for all types of crime to occur. Shpayer-Makov (2011:215-216) even states that "in the years leading up to the First World War, there were still streets that policemen refrained from entering on Saturday nights, even in pairs, because of the danger", suggesting that the police perceived Saturdays (particularly in the evenings) as a time when crime became a greater problem in the city. It is possible that the number of policemen patrolling the streets on Saturday evenings was higher in order to cope with any increases in criminal or immoral activity – facilitated perhaps through the use of the Police Reserves who were policemen chosen for their "...ability, smartness and good conduct..." who normally performed "...special duties in connection with public meetings, processions, &c..." (The Police Code, 1912). From the data collected, there is certainly evidence to suggest that greater use was made of the Reserves on a Saturday (see Graph 5). If there
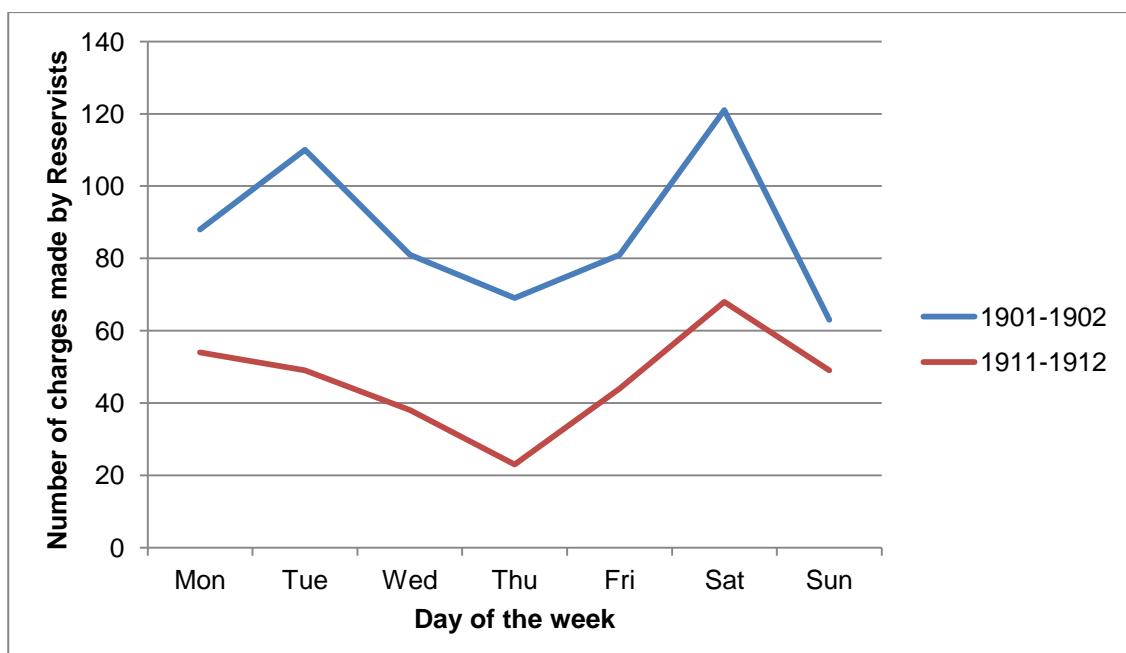
Graph 5 – Number of charges made by Police Reservists in the WPC area during the week. The graph shows how many charges were made by Police Reservists during the week, from which it can be inferred that there was a greater use of the Reserve on a Saturday compared with the rest of the week.

were larger numbers of police on the beat, together with a greater amount of crime to detect, there would inevitably have been more charges made on a Saturday. But even if police numbers were not significantly increased on Saturdays, those policemen on duty would have had to deal with a greater number of offences compared with duties on other days of the week since it was a half day 'holiday' for most employees.

It is however intriguing that Sunday did not exhibit similarly high numbers of charges. Like Saturdays, Sundays were for most workers a day of rest and thus a time for leisure. But there are a number of factors which may have reduced the likelihood of crime occurring. Firstly, religion may have played a part in curbing immorality on the streets especially on Sundays. Indeed it can be argued that:

> ...strict religious rules were not merely enforced by magistrates and the police, but that individuals were expected to submit (by the sheer pressure of civic, community and family culture of the period) to enforce puritan behaviour upon themselves (Brown, 2006:44).

Thus keeping Sunday as a day of contemplation may well have meant there was less likelihood of individuals being involved in crime as either a victim or a criminal. However, there is some evidence to suggest that church attendance in urban areas of Britain dropped considerably in Edwardian Britain (see Field, 2013) and there were certainly concerns voiced about attendance in West London at the time (see Mudie-Smith, 1904:93). Thus religious beliefs may not have been on every individual's mind on a Sunday, but for some the Church may have steered them away from indulging in excessive drinking for instance. Despite this decline in churchgoing, Sundays were still seen as a day of portraying oneself as a respectable individual, through for example the wearing of smart clothes (the 'Sunday best') as one account of South Londoners in 1911 suggests:

> It is [Sundays] a day for better clothes, for starched collars and bright boots, whether they be black or yellow. The mother, with a sense of bitter pride, will not allow her family to stray into the main streets should a week

of depression have ended in the pawning of their Sunday clothes (Paterson, 1914:25-26).

The observance of such traditions perhaps helped to ensure that individuals behaved in a more refined manner – the 'Sunday best' acting as a straitjacket, determining individuals' behaviour and steering them clear of immorality. For many the wearing of the 'Sunday best' was to spend time in the company of family: "...Sunday was becoming a day consecrated to family visiting and entertainment, often involving domestic music-making on piano, accordion, or mandolin" (Searle, 2004:536). Moreover, the activities which different classes of society were engaged in on Sundays also served to promote respectable behaviour:

> the rich had turned the Saturday-to-Monday into the long weekend, enlivened by the motor car. The middle class was using golf and tennis to turn Sunday into a holiday. The respectable members of the working class made 'Sunday tea' in the 'front room' a major social ritual (Wigley, 1980:159).

Thus the wealthy were away from the city, the middle class engaged in leisurely but healthy pursuits of playing sport and the working class stayed indoors. It should also be noted that the Sunday newspaper would also have encouraged people to stay indoors to relax and be entertained – Sunday papers tended to be more sensationalist in content than the daily papers, thereby attracting larger readerships (Williams, 2010:119). In addition, there were greater restrictions on public house opening hours on Sundays, with pubs opening later and closing earlier when compared with the rest of the week:

> at one half-hour after midnight on week days – except Saturday, when they close at midnight sharp – and at eleven o'clock on Sundays, the public houses shut their doors. On Sundays, the saloons are open from one o'clock in the afternoon until three, and from six o'clock in the evening until eleven (Flynt, 1903:449).

These restrictions on Sunday pub trading may have had a positive impact on reducing drink related crime, as well as the opportunity for criminals to target

victims. But it should also be remembered that Sunday was followed by the beginning of the working week meaning it is also possible people self regulated, for fear of being arrested (and thus being unable to work the next day to earn a living). Altogether, these factors would have contributed to there being fewer opportunities for crime to occur on a Sunday and therefore charges would have dropped as shown.

Nevertheless, as Graph 4 shows, numbers did not fall back to levels during the middle or end of the week. From Sunday to Tuesday, charges remained high perhaps reflecting a 'backlog' of charges for crimes committed on the Saturday i.e. some cases may have required further evidence gathering or offenders were yet to be caught resulting in a 'backlog' of work. For instance, on Saturday 2 November 1901, the dart board (valued at 6/6) from The Crown public house on Tufton Street, Westminster was stolen. The police needed time to investigate the offence further, gathering evidence, interviewing any witnesses and identifying potential suspects. Finally at 11:45pm on Monday 4 November 1901, William Allen (aged 22, horsekeeper) was charged and sent to the WPC the following day where he was remanded in custody – perhaps more evidence was required after this initial trial (PS/WES/A/01/025, 5 November 1901, trial 24). In addition, if the charge days on which individuals arrested on warrant are examined (Graph 6), in the case of 1901-1902, it can be seen that the majority of charges occurred in the early part of the week (most notably on a Tuesday).
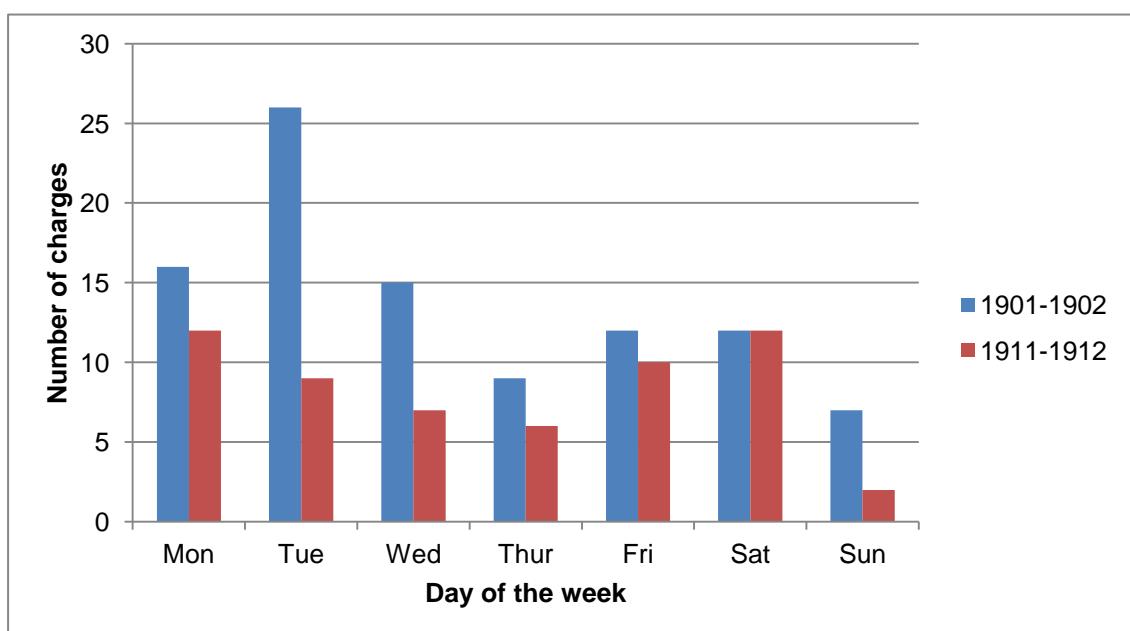
Graph 6 – Charge day for individuals arrested on warrant.

The issuing of a warrant implies that in these cases, the police had carried out some investigation to gather evidence in order to apply for an arrest warrant. All of this would have taken some time and given that officers had so many crimes to deal with at the weekend, it may not have been possible to apprehend individuals sought until the beginning of the week. This perhaps partially helps to explain why there was a small peak in the number of charges on a Tuesday in 1901-1902 i.e. these 26 charges of individuals arrested under a warrant contributed to this peak.

But it should also be remembered that the work of the criminal and policeman was not time limited meaning crimes committed in the final few hours of a day may not have been detected (or the criminal was not apprehended) until the early hours or later of the following day. This may also explain why numbers dropped on a Sunday to still relatively high levels when compared to mid-week figures – a high number of drink related offences on the Saturday, reflecting a 'drinking culture' on that day (as discussed earlier) meant intoxicated individuals may have been picked up on the Sunday. In fact, approximately 69% of people charged between midnight to 1:59am on Sundays during both time periods were for drink related offences. Yet perhaps the most likely cause of there still being high numbers of charges on a Sunday, but also particularly on a Monday and Tuesday, was that individuals were trying to forget the drudgery of work life (the dull, monotonous work of the clerk is well documented for instance – see Attewell, 1989) and perhaps indulged in drink or other leisure activities on these days to achieve this (the result being more possibility of offences being committed and therefore higher charge numbers on these days). From Wednesday to Friday charges dropped probably as it was during the working week when many individuals could not afford the time and money on leisure activities and therefore there were fewer opportunities for acts of criminality to occur. Additionally, the evenings of these days of the week were perhaps not considered to be times of leisure, but instead times to plan leisure/entertainment for the coming weekend. Furthermore, any weekend 'backlog' of police charges would have been cleared by this point in the week, helping to accentuate this mid-week drop.

In summary, it was the weekend that saw the greatest number of charges, especially on a Saturday when the combination of leisure time, and the fact that this was pay day for many, meant that there was more opportunity for crime to occur. Consequently the charge numbers increased dramatically and remained high into Sunday, but also during the early part of the working week. This was perhaps not only due to a backlog in police work, but also the fact that individuals still had money remaining after the weekend and utilised it for leisure as a means of escaping the monotony of the working week. It was only by mid-week that the charges dropped and remained constant until Saturday came round again.

The rhythm of crime during the day and in the night

The number of charges made by the police during the 24 hours in the day for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 is shown in Graph 7. There are some interesting aspects of the graph to note, such as the extremely low number of charges in the 2:00am to 7:59am time frame in contrast to the high numbers between 9:00pm and 1:59am. During the daytime hours, charges steadily increased through to the early hours of the next day. As with the daily patterns discussed earlier, these general trends over the 24 hours appear to be consistent in both periods of study. But before explaining the reasons behind these trends, as well as the curious 2:00pm peak that only occurred in 1901-1902, it is important to split these 24 hour cycles into their constituent daily trends. This is necessary because the motions, activities and life of the city and its citizens differed throughout the week (as discussed in the previous section), which could easily have impacted upon when policemen detected crime. Thus, the hourly number of charges over the week is shown in Graphs 8 and 9. Although difficult to decipher, they show that the general trends of Graph 4 applied to the entire week (the numbers vary, but the trends are similar).

Nevertheless, charges on Sunday afternoons and evenings warrant some exploration since in both periods, there was a sudden peak from 4:00-4:59pm, after which numbers dropped between 5:00pm and 6:59pm, but began to increase into the evening and night. The 4:00-4:59pm peak was more
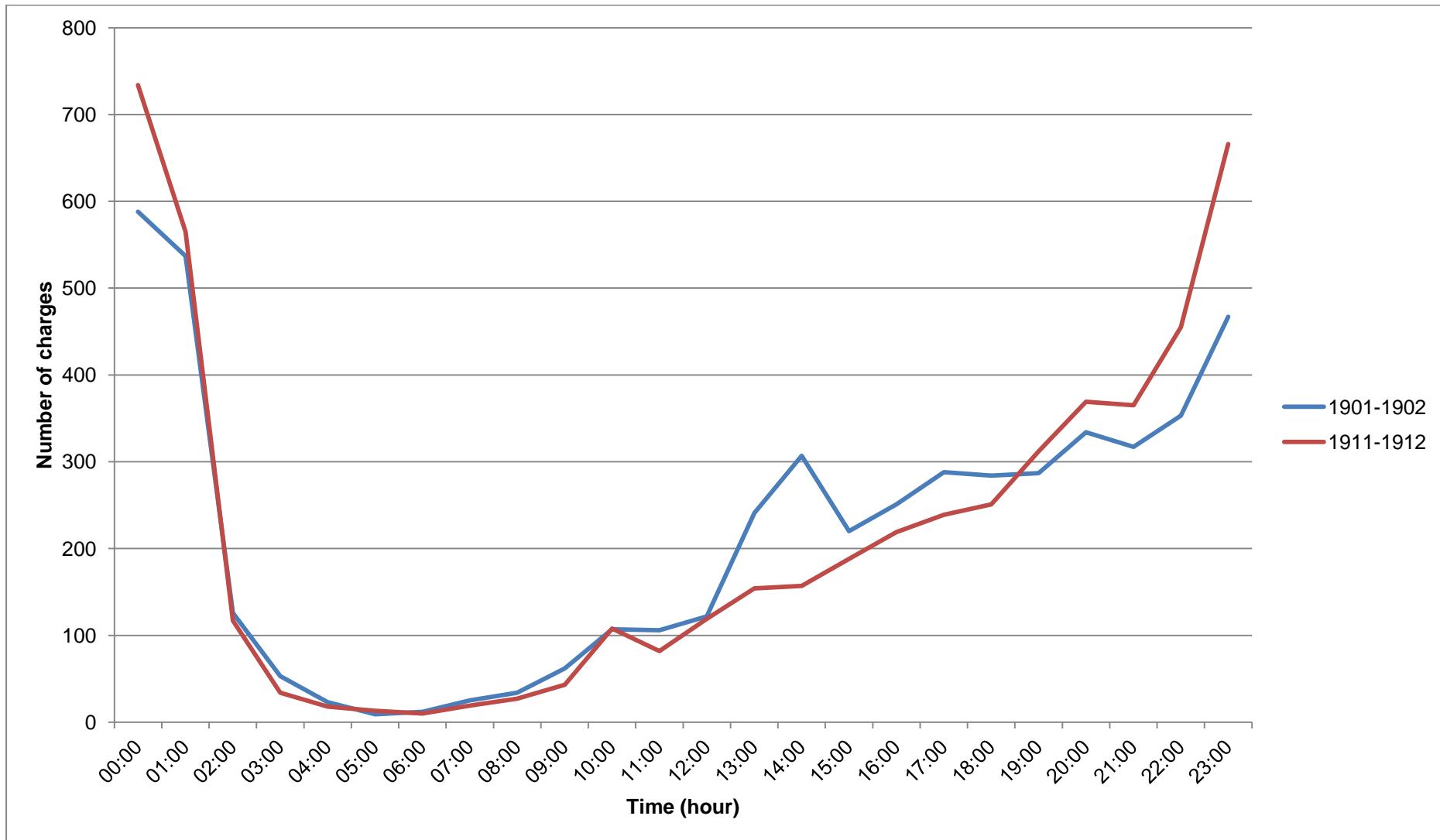
Graph 7 – Charges during 24 hours for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.
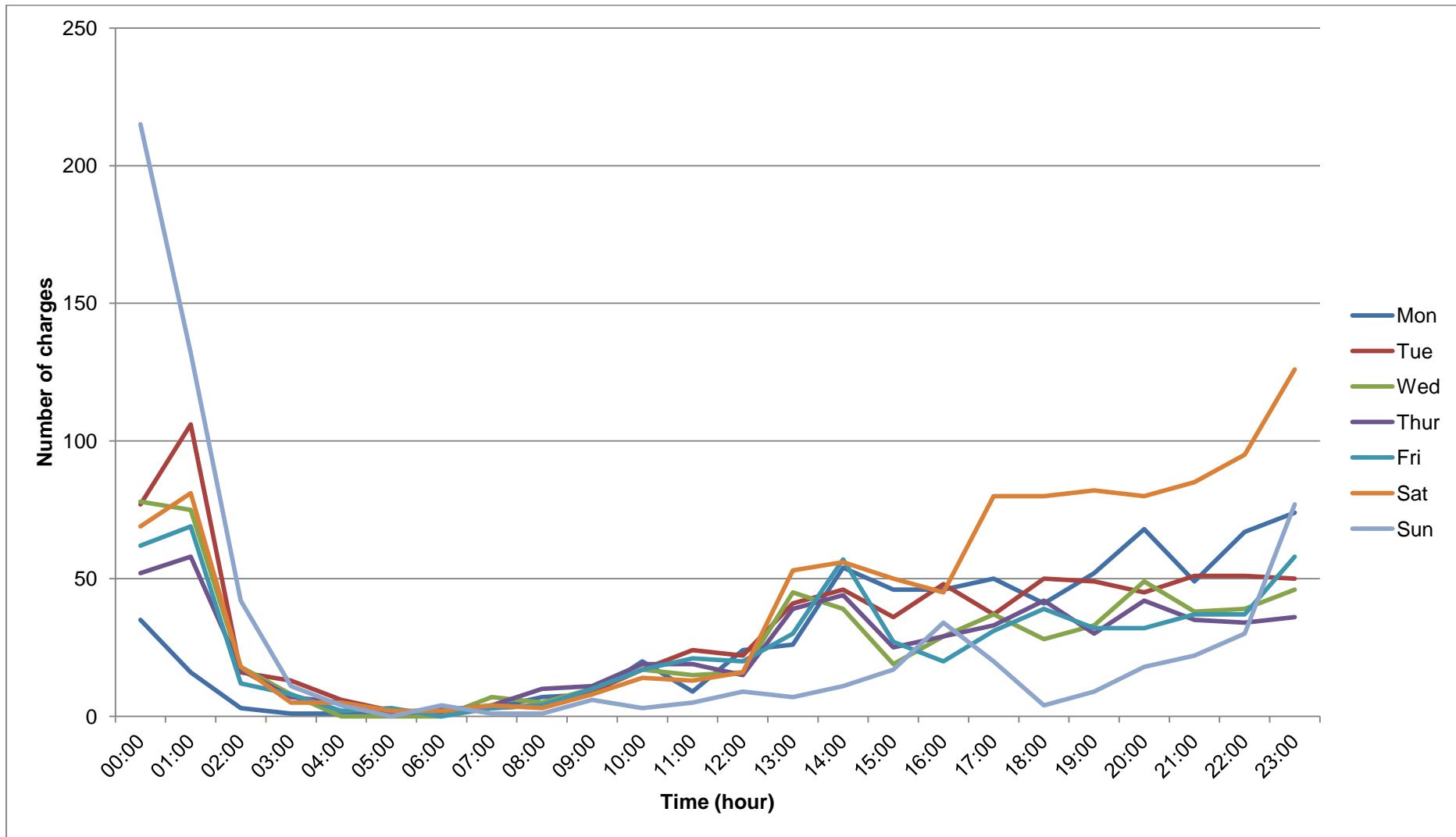
Graph 8 – Charges over the 24 hours of each day of the week (1901-1902).
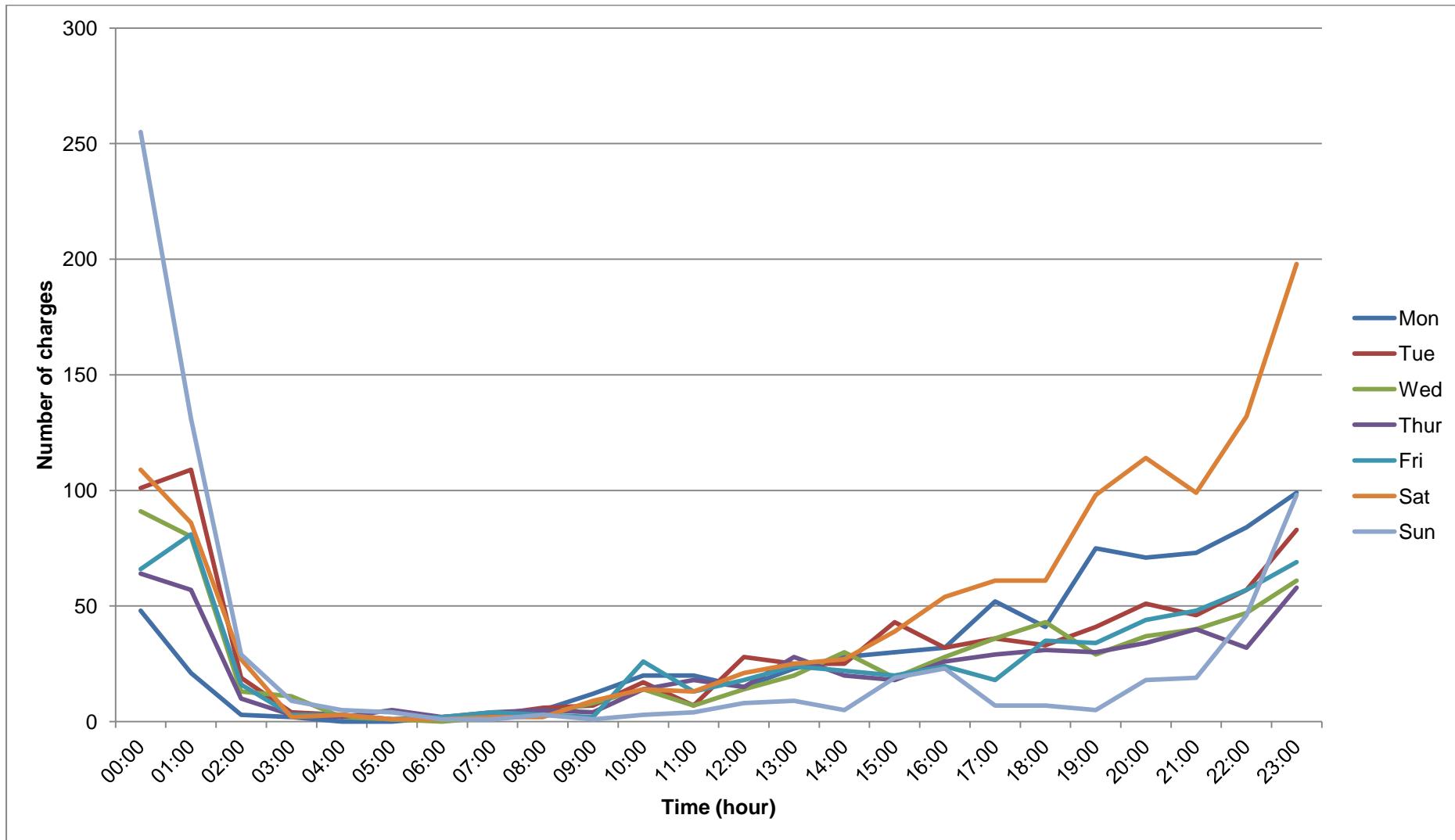
Graph 9 – Charges over the 24 hours of each day of the week (1911-1912).

Crime category	1901-1902	1911-1912
Drink related crime	7	5
Assault or violence	1	4
Illegal gambling	6	5
Sexual offences	1	0
Prostitution	0	0
Begging	6	5
Suicide	0	1
Public nuisances	13	4
Vehicle offences	2	1
Total number of charges	**34**	**23**

Table 11 – Charges from 4:00-4:59pm on Sundays for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. The table shows the offence types which were committed and excludes crime categories for which no offences were committed. Note that the 'total number of charges' figures reflect the number of crime incidents. They are not the sum of the crime category figures since incidents may be placed into more than one category (this applies to all similar tables in this chapter).

pronounced in 1901-1902 (34 offences, from 17 the previous hour), although there was still a slight increase in 1911-1912 (23 offences, from 19 the previous hour). Breaking down these offences into crime categories (Table 11) reveals no particular offence caused the 1911-1912 increase. This suggests the peak was merely part of the fluctuation in charges throughout the day. Conversely, the 1901-1902 charges were predominately associated with public nuisance offences such as 'wilfully and persistently' obstructing the public passenger footway with a barrow (i.e. street selling), playing football in the street and disorderly behaviour or obscene language. It is interesting to note that each of these offences involved noise – which the residents and businesses in Westminster were not all pleased to have on their streets as a petition from 1910 suggests:

> We, the undersigned, being residents, or occupiers of offices, in the city of Westminster, desire to direct the attention of the Mayor and Corporation to the nuisance caused by the loud and frequent shouting of costermongers, coal-hawkers, newsboys, and other street traders, and also by organ-

grinders. These altogether unnecessary noises are not only disturbing to private residents and business people, but they tend to greatly depreciate the value of house property in the localities in which they occur. Your petitioners trust, therefore, that requisite steps will be taken to obtain, and maintain, reasonable freedom from unnecessary street noises throughout the city of Westminster (Street Noise Abatement Association in The Times, 3 October 1910, page 3).

The residents certainly would not have wanted such noises outside their houses on a Sunday afternoon which, as discussed earlier, was supposed to be a time for quiet, leisurely pursuits – for children to be with their family, not playing on the streets. Furthermore, Bijsterveld (2001:44) argues that in early 20th-century Europe noise was "...first and foremost conceptualised as the disturbance of social hierarchy" and that "its dissolution was...sought for...by taming the people and by creating a new rhythm in city life". In this instance, taming was carried out by the police removing the noise of the street sellers (but also the local council issuing licenses to pedlars) or the noisy children playing football, thereby making streets quiet, pleasant places to stroll down. But for the street vendor it was important to sell whatever goods remained at the end of the day, especially since many appear to have been selling perishable goods. For instance, Carlo Lentene (58) was picked up three times by police for persistently causing obstruction with his ice cream barrow in Hutton Road and Princes Road, Lambeth – the ice cream or ices were not going to last into the next day, given the crude refrigeration technology of the period (PS/WES/A/01/025, 9 & 23 September 1901, trials 16 and 30). Having established that weekday and weekend trends were similar, it is now possible to discuss the fluctuations in charges over the 24 hour cycle (Graph 7), doing so by taking a glimpse into the daily rhythms, activities and movements of the city through the eyes of the police.

The city was beginning to stir at 6:00am when the day duty policeman left the station to start his beat. At this time of day, the traffic (both vehicular and pedestrian) was light, with workers on their way home after a night shift, whilst others were setting off to begin the day's work. But with each hour that passed, the streets became busier as the rush hour progressed. When turning into

Kings Road for instance, the policeman would have encountered a busy scene with omnibuses, carts and vans driving slowly along the road, pedestrians crowding the pavements making their way past the shops, pubs, restaurants and offices that had perhaps just opened. Thus a policeman's beat may have started quietly, but as the city began to wake, the rhythm and motion of the streets increased and meant that by 10:59am police across the WPC area had charged in excess of 100 people (Table 12). But what offences would they have detected during these first few hours of their day? The growing numbers of people on the main thoroughfares would have offered the professional pickpocket numerous targets, using the crowds to hide and work (Andersson,

	1901-1902		1911-1912	
Crime category	**Weekday**	**Weekend**	**Weekday**	**Weekend**
Drink related crime	60	11	50	14
Theft (other than from a specific building)	9	2	4	2
Theft from a place	27	13	3	2
Assault or violence	18	2	9	5
Damage to property	5	3	7	0
Fraud	5	1	2	0
Illegal gambling	0	1	2	1
Sexual offences	0	0	2	1
Prostitution	1	0	0	0
Begging	5	1	8	2
Suicide	4	0	0	1
Obstruction to justice	2	0	3	0
Cruelty	7	3	31	6
Public nuisances	5	1	7	2
Vehicle offences	3	1	2	1
Workhouse crime	59	9	55	5
Miscellaneous	1	0	0	0
Total number of charges	**194**	**46**	**170**	**37**

Table 12 – Charges from 6:00-10:59am during weekdays and weekends for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

2013:115-9). But with shops opening and people waking up to find they had been burgled, the policeman might also be called to any number of places to investigate where other thieves had been at work, arresting those apprehended. Meanwhile on the street, cruelty to animal-drawn traffic caught the attention of the policeman. It is curious that a higher number of cruelty offences were detected in 1911-1912 than in 1901-1902 (Table 12), especially since traffic statistics suggest horse-drawn vehicle numbers were declining, being replaced my motorised transportation (Emsley, 1993:358). Indeed, successive traffic surveys for Westminster demonstrate this (Table 13) meaning one would have expected cruelty charges in 1911-1912 to reflect this trend. However, if there were fewer horse-drawn vehicles on the WPC streets, there was perhaps a greater chance of ill-treatment being detected.

Vehicles observed by type	1903	1908	Change	%
Horse-drawn carts and wagons	20600	24600	+4000	+19
Horse-drawn carriages, cabs and omnibuses	76500	45200	-31300	-41
Cycles	7500	13000	+5500	+73
Motor vehicles	1250	39000	+37750	+3020
Total	**105850**	**121800**	**+15950**	**+15**

Table 13 – Results of traffic surveys in Westminster. The table shows how at the beginning of the Edwardian period, horse-drawn vehicles dominated traffic. However, by 1908 the presence of motor vehicles had increased by 3020%.

Source: Buchanan (1970) in Law (2010:60)

Additionally, changing public attitudes towards animal cruelty and the authorities' response to their demands for action may also have influenced charge numbers. Certainly during the Victorian period, campaigns for animal protection had grown perhaps linked to the sentiments/emotions associated with the keeping of animals as pets in the domestic sphere (see Howell, 2000; 2002). Furthermore, during the Edwardian era several pieces of legislation (such as the Protection of Animals Act, 1911) were enacted, which advanced the protection of animals including horses (Ryder, 2000:95). This perhaps

compelled the police to show that they were able to tackle cruelty, resulting in higher prosecutions by 1911-1912.

It was however drunk individuals that took up most of the policeman's time on his morning beat since licensed premises were open 19.5 hours a day (Royle, 2012:281). Some individuals awoke and visited the pub when it opened at 5:00am (Flynn, Ritchie and Roberts, 2000:11), drinking alongside workers who had just finished their night shift. Hence as the morning progressed, there would have been a high number of drink related offences detected by police. But perhaps after charging several drunk individuals at the police station, the officer was called to a nearby workhouse to deal with just as many unruly individuals. After breakfast inmates or casuals were assigned tasks for the day (to earn their workhouse meals) (Green, 2006:147), but some protested by refusing to work. In some cases, inmates destroyed their clothes or attacked workhouse staff. For example, Sarah Till (37, pauper inmate) was arrested for assaulting the labour mistress Sarah Smith at the Princes Road Workhouse, Lambeth (PS/WES/A/01/024, 6 August 1901, trial 6). In other cases, individuals would cause disorder by fighting each other or damaging property, whilst some individuals managed to escape and run away, thereby stealing workhouse clothes (since they were the clothes worn during escape) and sometimes leaving their family behind – for instance, Walter Hambridge (39, a labourer) was arrested on warrant, charged with absconding from St Lukes Workhouse, Chelsea and leaving his 2 children behind (PS/WES/A/01/023, 25 May 1901, trial 17). For the remainder of the morning charges remained constant reflecting perhaps the point at which the city began to settle into a slightly quieter, working rhythm.

The lull was however short-lived, since from midday onwards activity and movement in the city increased once again with workers on their lunch break creating more work for our policeman (who was expected to eat his lunch on duty (Martin and Wilson, 1969:22)). But in 1901-1902 from 12:00-2:59pm there was far greater criminal behaviour to detect (as the 'spike' in Graph 7 shows) and when categorising charges it appears drinkers, as well as gamblers were the main cause (Table 14). Workers visiting pubs in their lunch hour could easily have overindulged, whilst others liaised with bookmakers to bet on the

	1901-1902		1911-1912	
Crime category	**Weekday**	**Weekend**	**Weekday**	**Weekend**
Drink related crime	153	47	140	41
Theft (other than from a specific building)	14	8	11	5
Theft from a place	54	6	16	1
Assault or violence	23	9	17	9
Damage to property	4	1	1	1
Fraud	1	2	9	2
Illegal gambling	186	61	31	6
Sexual offences	4	0	1	1
Prostitution	1	1	0	0
Begging	19	6	50	21
Suicide	8	0	11	0
Obstruction to justice	3	0	1	0
Cruelty	23	3	32	6
Public nuisances	27	17	25	8
Vehicle offences	17	1	9	3
Workhouse crime	13	1	4	2
Miscellaneous	2	0	1	0
Total number of charges	**518**	**152**	**335**	**95**

Table 14 – Charges from 12:00-2:59pm during weekdays and weekends for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. As can be seen, in 1901-1902 illegal gambling and drink related crime contributed the most to the number of charges during the 12:00-2:59pm timeframe. Note that charges for thefts and public nuisance offences were also high at this time. Figures for 1911-1912 have also been provided for completeness.

afternoon's horse races or football matches. The policeman would easily have caught the drunk, but catching the bookmaker required far more effort as Figure 43 shows. The reason for this greater lunchtime betting activity in 1901-1902 will be unpicked and discussed in detail later; but perhaps what it implies is the changing ways, values and attitudes of society at this time of day during the Edwardian period. After lunch, the tempo of criminal activity continued to rise steadily into the afternoon and evening (Table 15) with people finishing work and children being released from school. Rather than going directly home, workers instead visited public houses, others might visit shops, whilst children played in the streets. Yet this created opportunity for crime to occur (deliberately, unintentionally or spontaneously) and thus the policeman encountered drunks, thieves, beggars and individuals being violent (amongst other offenders) during his afternoon/evening walk on the beat. But during the final hour of his shift, it appears the number of offenders apprehended began to rise across the area, continuing to do so throughout the night and into the early hours of the following morning. It should be stressed that this would not necessarily be the case for the weekday, but more likely for Saturday evening (as Graphs 8 and 9 show).

At 10:00pm, day duty police officers completed their working day and were replaced by their night duty colleagues. According to the Metropolitan Police statistics, 60% of the total number of policemen in the entire force was posted to night duties (Metropolitan Police Annual Reports, 1901-1912). This meant that there were greater numbers of police on the beat from this time onwards (who were fresh and therefore potentially more alert compared with day duty men ending their shift), perhaps allowing greater numbers of crimes to be detected. No reasons are given in the Annual Reports as to why staff numbers were spilt disproportionately in favour of the night duty, but the Metropolitan Police Chief Inspector James Berrett stated his preference of working "...the more difficult night shift, as 'there was a better chance of finding thieves and, more particularly, of pulling up people carrying stolen property'" (Berrett, 1932 in Shpayer-Makov, 2011:92). This suggests that there was greater potential for apprehending offenders at night.

On leaving the police station, the night duty policeman would have experienced

Police officers George Fendley and Charles Speull kept observation (in plain clothes) on 18 Chesterfield Grove, East Dulwich, suspecting that its occupant, James Toms, was carrying out illegal bookmaking. In most cases, Toms opened the door, although on several occasions a woman was seen admitting men into the house. Betting slips and money were often seen to be exchanged and sometimes the officers were able to report on what was written on the slips e.g."1/- Bakerloo win any back stakes on Chawbaco. [signed] H.D." (Bakerloo and Chawbaco being horses). Below are the details of the surveillance conducted including how many men were seen going to the house:

PC Fendley's observations	PC Speull's observations
Date: 20/09/10 Time: 12:00-12:20pm Observation: 9 men entered the house	Date: 20/09/10 Time: 11:00-11:30am Observation: 4 men entered the house
Date: 21/09/10 Time: 11:15-11:35am Observation: 6 men entered the house	Date: 21/09/10 Time: 12:20-12:40pm Observation: 7 men entered the house
Date: 22/09/10 Time: 1:00-1:25pm Observation: 8 men entered the house	Date: 22/09/10 Time: 11:20-11:40am Observation: 9 men entered the house
Date: 23/09/10 Time: 1:40-2:00pm Observation: 7 men entered the house	Date: 23/09/10 Time: 1:00-1:20pm Observation: 9 men entered the house
Date: 24/09/10 Time: 1:00-1:30pm Observation: 9 men entered the house	*PC Speull did make observations on 24 and 27 September, but pages describing them are missing from his report.*
Date: 27/09/10 Time: 11:20-11:45am Observation: 7 men entered the house	

Figure 43 – Police surveillance report on illegal bookmaking. Although this is a case in East Dulwich, similar surveillance would have taken place within the WPC area. Note that all dates/times are reproduced in full here (no dates/times are excluded).

Source: MEPO 2/1379 (1910)

	1901-1902		1911-1912	
Crime category	**Weekday**	**Weekend**	**Weekday**	**Weekend**
Drink related crime	705	323	733	340
Theft (other than from a specific building)	44	9	13	3
Theft from a place	132	33	29	10
Assault or violence	76	49	80	35
Damage to property	20	7	10	0
Fraud	10	3	16	6
Illegal gambling	7	33	4	15
Sexual offences	2	4	7	1
Prostitution	7	1	6	1
Begging	60	27	125	52
Suicide	9	2	4	5
Obstruction to justice	4	3	11	8
Cruelty	15	1	25	4
Public nuisances	89	49	91	50
Vehicle offences	70	37	33	22
Workhouse crime	37	12	5	6
Miscellaneous	3	0	6	3
Total number of charges	**1291**	**593**	**1198**	**561**

Table 15 – Charges from 3:00-8:59pm during weekdays and weekends for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

a different atmosphere and mood within the city compared to his colleagues on the day shift –

> ...the gestures of children dancing, the turning arm of the organ-grinder under the flaring gas lamp, the rippling effect of light from windows reflected in the Thames, the passing of shadowy figures in the curling, shifting mist (Winter, 1993:65).

This would have created a 'night-life' within the streets, with people inhabiting the restaurants, pubs, theatres and cinemas that were scattered across the WPC area. This would have been most evident on Saturday evenings; however this time of day was a slightly different affair for some working class women:

> ...Saturday afternoon and evening was the time to find housewives out in their element in neighbourhood markets and shops, often till ten or eleven o'clock at night, buying the food for Sunday dinner, and thoroughly enjoying the opportunity for chaffing, bargaining and gossiping (Parratt, 1998:46).

But still, these women were part of the 'night-life' of London, keeping shops/markets open late because they drove this demand or need and as the photograph in Figure 44 shows, they aided in creating an air of busyness in the streets.
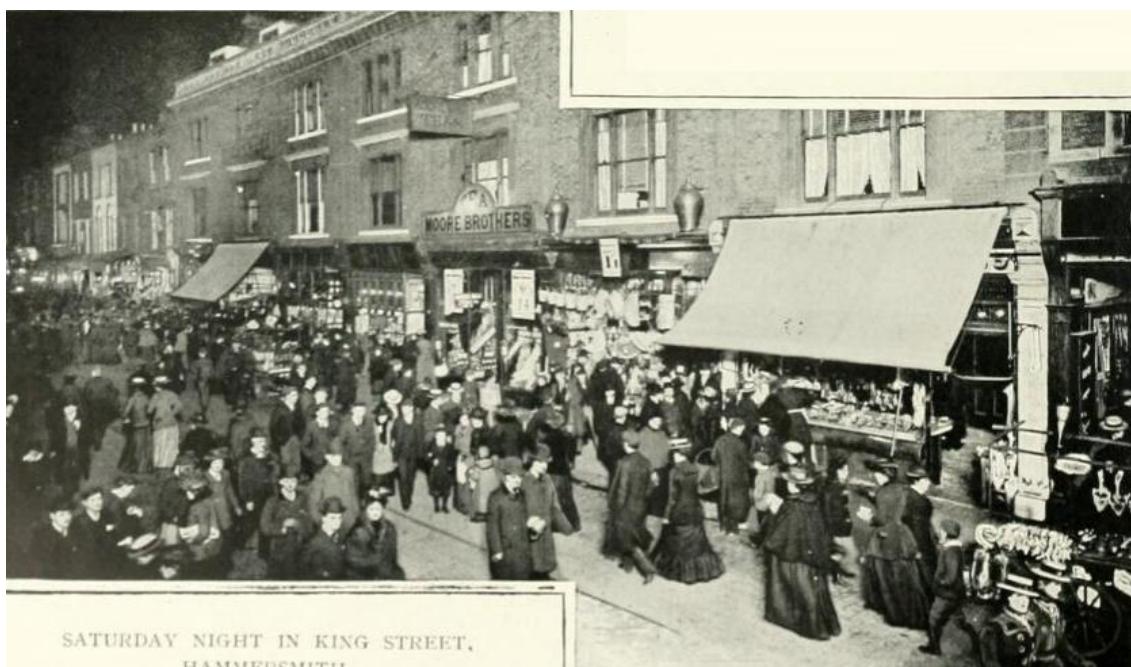
Figure 44 – Shopping on a Saturday night in King Street, Hammersmith.

Source: Adcock (1902:378)

The leisurely mood or atmosphere within the streets was thus reflected in the type of offences the policeman would encounter during the rest of the evening (Table 16). Drunkenness, begging, public nuisances and vehicle offences were amongst the most common charges at this time of day. But the officer also had to deal with illicit activity associated with Edwardian 'night-life' – prostitution. During the daytime, few or no prostitutes were arrested, but during the evening when the city became a place of leisure and entertainment, prostitutes were soliciting on the streets creating a problem for the police. The problem was so bad that in 1901, over 8500 residents in Westminster signed a petition calling for the authorities to do something about the problem that scourged their streets at night (Daily Telegraph, 18 December 1901 in MEPO 2/8835). Hence, throughout the night and into the early hours of the following morning, the number of prostitutes arrested would have risen. However, the policemen had the far more serious offence of assault to tackle as it appears an individual was most likely to be assaulted during the evening hours. In some instances the police officers themselves were the victims. For instance, on Tuesday 5 September 1911 at 11:15pm, George Blanin (aged 30, labourer) was charged with assaulting PC's Arthur Russell and Rayner Swan, as well as damaging one of the policemen's trousers (to the value of 14/-) but was also drunk, disorderly and used obscene language (PS/WES/A/01/066, 6 September 1911, trial 17). In many instances, intoxicated individuals became restless, agitated and angry, violence being the result. But there would also have been individuals who were intent on violently assaulting others, either to steal valuables, or for personal revenge. Thus the city at this time of day can be seen in two ways: "...on the one hand...as celebration, as the place of pleasure and entertainment, and on the other...as the place of terror, of threatening danger" (Schlör, 1998:10).

It is perhaps surprising to find that there were so few charges for betting offences during these hours, given that gambling was a popular form of entertainment (as implied earlier). This absence has to be viewed contextually in that it is likely much went on behind closed doors, in private spaces, hidden from the policemen patrolling the streets. Indeed, it is interesting to examine Metropolitan Police records which detail the surveillance of private premises believed to be gambling dens since they show illegal gaming did occur during

	1901-1902		1911-1912	
Crime category	Weekday	Weekend	Weekday	Weekend
Drink related crime	478	317	616	440
Theft (other than from a specific building)	18	7	14	4
Theft from a place	52	18	11	11
Assault or violence	64	57	63	49
Damage to property	19	5	7	5
Fraud	2	3	24	5
Illegal gambling	3	0	1	5
Sexual offences	4	0	16	5
Prostitution	13	9	48	19
Begging	21	5	70	34
Suicide	7	1	4	1
Obstruction to justice	13	4	8	9
Cruelty	6	0	4	2
Public nuisances	64	44	81	64
Vehicle offences	27	16	29	8
Workhouse crime	6	1	3	1
Miscellaneous	1	0	2	2
Total number of charges	**798**	**487**	**1001**	**665**

Table 16 – Charges from 9:00-11:59pm during weekdays and weekends for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

the evening/night (Figure 45 and 46). Interestingly, the surveillance and newspaper report also show that it was not only the working class who enjoyed illegal gambling – all individuals involved are described as wearing rather respectable, smart attire and almost all alight from a cab (or leave the WPC in a motor car). Moreover, Figure 47 lists the names and addresses of those caught in the Wilton Crescent raid – all appear to live in wealthy, fashionable parts of London, one even being the son of a baronet. Illegal betting was therefore going on but hidden, away from the eyes of the police and thus charges were not high during this time frame.

As the day ends and a new day begins, officers patrolling across the WPC region continue to apprehend an increasing number of offenders especially after 12:30am (or 12:00am on Saturdays) when pubs closed (Flynt, 1903:449) forcing drunk individuals onto the streets (unless they resisted, creating further work for the police). Once officers had dealt with these incidents, from 1:00am onwards their beats seem to have become rather quiet since there were few people on the streets during these hours (see Ridge, 1902:7). Conversely, with so few people on the streets, any lonely stragglers making their way home, workers, drunk individuals, the homeless and others, could be perceived as vulnerable to opportunistic acts of criminality. It is perhaps for this reason that charge numbers never dropped to zero during these hours of the morning. By 6:00am, the night duty officers were relieved by those assigned to the day duty and the whole cycle began again.

By going through the changes in charge numbers over the 24 hour cycle, it has been possible to grasp a deeper understanding of crime in the WPC area during the early 20th century. Admittedly, I have not endeavoured to explore every figure, trend or anomaly as there is insufficient space to deal with every nuance and it would be beyond the scope of the main objectives of this thesis (some will also be revealed and analysed from a spatial perspective later). However, those figures, trends and anomalies which have been discussed are the most important and interesting. It should be stressed that the figures presented are the times at which individuals were charged, not the time that they allegedly committed an offence or were arrested. Offenders were charged when they were taken to the police station where charge sheets were filled in. Thus the

Figure 45 – Surveillance on a gaming house. Please note that only four days of observations are detailed here (out of 9), but demonstrate when gaming activity occurred and the type of clientele involved. Similar cases occurred within the WPC area as Figure 46 shows.

Source: MEPO 2/1587 (1913)

"ONE OF LONDON'S LARGEST GAMING ESTABLISHMENTS": SEQUEL TO SENSATIONAL POLICE RAID IN THE WEST END.

Eighteen persons, all faultlessly attired, were brought up at Westminster yesterday as the result of a sensational raid made by the police upon a house in Wilton-crescent, Belgravia, one of the most fashionable residential quarters in London. It was described in court as "one of the largest gaming establishments in the Metropolitan Police district." Counsel said that when the police superintendent entered "one of the defendants, the man Grose, who was acting as croupier, had in his immediate vicinity counters representing no less than the sum of £9,880." (1) W. H. Grose, who, with Roy Mackay, was remanded. They were accused of being the principals and with keeping the establishment as a gaming-house. (2) Mrs. Mabel Powell, one of the women defendants. (3) Mackay. (4 and 5) Some of these who attended the court leave in a motor-car and some on foot. (6) A baccarat table arriving at the court.—(*Daily Mirror* and C.N.)

Figure 46 – Wilton Crescent gaming house. This case illustrates that police patrolling the WPC would have had to deal with gaming houses in a similar way to that described in Figure 43.

Source: The Daily Mirror, 18 December 1912, page 1

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RAID ON A BELGRAVIA MANSION.

Eighteen Men and Women Charged Under Gaming Act.

COUNTERS FOR £10,000.

Baronet's Son Among Those Bound Over at Westminster Court.

WINDOWS SHUTTERED.

Defendants in Unusual Case Drive Up in. Landaulettes.

"CHEMIN DE FER."

As a result of a raid on what was described as "one of the largest gaming establishments in the metropolitan police area," eighteen men and women appeared before the Westminster magistrate yesterday.

The raid was carried out on Monday night at 41, Wilton-crescent, Mayfair, by Superintendent Kitch and two inspectors, assisted by about twenty constables.

Charges of conducting the house for the purpose of unlawful gaming were preferred against:—

Roy Mackay (34), engineer, and
William Marshall Grose (32), merchant.

while three servants, George Platt, George Martin and Henry Johnson, were charged with assisting in the management.

The hearing of the charges against all the above was adjourned till Monday, bail being allowed in sureties totalling £1,000 for the first two and £40 each for the servants.

Three women and ten men—one of them the second son of a baronet created this year—were charged with frequenting the house for the purpose of gaming.

Their names, ages and addresses were given as follows:—

WOMEN.

Mabel Powell (32), Queen-street, Mayfair.
Emma Fuld (40), Grosvenor Mansions, Oxford-street.
Marjorie French (28), 14, Queen-street, Mayfair.
All three are married women.

MEN.

George Roch (37), 17, Draycott-place, Chelsea, no occupation.
Leo Ralli (28), Park-street, Park-lane, gentleman.
Melvill Ward (22), 27, Cleveland-row, St. James', no occupation, estate agent.
Morris H. Knight (26), Marlow, Bucks, no occupation.
Henry Stanton (34), Piccadilly, no occupation.
Rene Kann (52), Lancaster-gate, no occupation (French subject).
George Leonard Davies (59), Tisbury-road, Hove, no occupation.

All of them were bound over in £50 each to be of good behaviour and not to frequent a gaming-house in future.

Mr. Muskett prosecuted for the Commissioner of Police, and Mr. Arthur Newton defended.

A remarkable exhibit in the case was the gaming-table, which was brought to court on a truck.

The police also seized a large number of cheques, documents, etc., showing that persons of high position and means had attended the premises.

(Photographs on page 1.)

THE RAID DESCRIBED.

Most of the defendants drove to the court in taxi-cabs or landaulettes, and passed the time of waiting in chatting and laughing in the vestibule.

In court the women were courteously given seats in front of the men.

Mrs. French, the youngest woman of the party, appeared in a dark blue costume with a hobble skirt.

Mackay was wearing a grey lounge suit, with soft collar, and wore spats. Most of the other men had overcoats of fashionable cut, and one or two displayed diamond scarf pins and rings.

The premises in question, said Mr. Muskett, are situated at Wilton-crescent, and have been recently taken by Mackay furnished for a period of three months, and there can be no doubt that they were simply taken by that defendant, probably in conjunction with his co-partner Grose, for the purpose of carrying on an illegal gaming establishment.

COUNTERS REPRESENTING £10,000.

"To give you a fair idea of the magnitude of the game which it was manifest was carried on, it is only necessary to tell you that the various persons gathered round the table when the police superintendent entered had before them counters for the game of 'chemin de fer' representing no less than £813 in money.

"Grose, who was acting as croupier, had in his immediate vicinity, counters representing no less than the sum of £9,880.

"With such provision as that for unlawful gambling, it is no exaggeration to say that probably you have before you persons responsible for one of the largest gaming establishments now being conducted in the Metropolitan Police district."

Superintendent Kitch then gave evidence. He said that the raid was made a 6.50 on Monday night.

Detective-Inspector Bedford and himself entered together. He said, "I am a police officer," and rushed by and up the stairs, Platt being detained at the door.

Going upstairs, he came to the first floor, and here found a room fitted up as a large drawing-room, with a card table in the centre.

About twelve persons were sitting round the table, of whom eleven were playing. The windows of the room looking out upon the street were shuttered in such a way that it was impossible for any light to be seen through them.

The game of chemin de fer—a form of baccarat—was in progress, and Roch was acting as banker. In front of him was a shoe containing a number of cards which were drawn out for the purpose of dealing.

Witness said to the people present: "I am a superintendent of police, and have entered these premises on a warrant granted by the Commissioner of Police." He read the warrant to them, and they seemed to be dumbfounded and made no replies.

Mackay was brought upstairs from an apartment down below. He said: "I am the principal and will take the responsibility."

When Mackay was searched he was found to have a large number of cheques upon him representing considerable sums, and all of the people who had been arrested had a large amount of money upon them.

A good many counters were found in the room, representing values varying from 10s. to £100, and Grose had a large number of additional counters in front of him.

At the back of the room there were two tables upon which were displayed refreshments and quantities of wines and spirits.

Mr. Arthur Newton (cross-examining): Did you ascertain that both Mr. Mackay and Grose lived on the premises?—Yes, sir.

It's an ordinary gentleman's house, isn't it?—Excepting that alongside Mackay's bed he has a telephone fixed. (Laughter.)

That's not a very unusual thing. Did you regard it as suspicious? —I did.

Mr. Newton: That shows the official mind. Who went in first?—Police Constable McCooey.

Did he have a card printed "Charles Harris, Bachelor's Club"?—I don't know.

All the prisoners found there were obviously people well-to-do and in a good position in life?—I should say so; yes.

Witness admitted in answer to further questions that all the defendants were admitted to bail and surrendered yesterday morning.

THE RAIDED HOUSE.

Figure 47 – The raid on Wilton Crescent gaming house.

Source: The Daily Mirror, 18 December 1912, page 5

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time at which the individual was charged at the station was written on the charge sheet. These sheets were subsequently used to fill in "...a book [Police Court register] ready for use of Magistrates at 10 a.m. daily, where they sit at that hour, and the sheets are to be forwarded from Divisions in time to reach such Police Courts not later than 9.30 a.m." (MEPO 8/18, 1900:255). Hence, the times used reflect when the police charged individuals at the police station. Individuals may have been charged for crimes committed many hours, days or even months earlier and so the figures may not be a true reflection of the reality of when crime was being committed or detected. Nevertheless, the majority of crimes such as drunk and disorderly or public nuisance type offences would have been detected whilst the individual was in the process of committing the act. He/she would not have been charged until they had been taken to the police station, however it can be argued that this delay would not have caused major distortions to the figures i.e. inferences can still be made about when crime was committed and/or apprehended. Moreover the figures provide a sense of the work carried out by the police on the streets of the WPC during the 24 hour cycle – what they were experiencing. It should also be noted that higher numbers of charges for specific offence types during particular time frames are more likely to imply that those offences were occurring during those times of day (rather than at other times). They therefore, as has been shown, reflect and link to the daily rhythms and changes over the 24 hour cycle that London experienced during the Edwardian era.

Decadal changes

Decadal differences in overall charge numbers have been discussed, but there are some interesting changes to specific crime/offence types between the two periods of study that require examination. Table 17 shows the charges categorised by crime type for both time periods and it can be seen that over half involved individuals being drunk. Such high figures are consistent with previous studies, as well as figures often quoted at the time. For instance, politicians during the 1890s had suggested drink accounted for a significant proportion of crime in England – Randolph Churchill put it at 50%, whilst Lloyd George argued it could be associated with over 90% (Brown, 1973:384 & 394). Indeed,

Category name	1901-1902	1911-1912	% change (difference)
Drink related crime	3016	3352	11.14 ↑ (336)
Theft (other than from a specific building)	149	80	46.31 ↓ (69)
Theft from a place	420	114	72.86 ↓ (306)
Theft total	569	194	65.91 ↓ (375)
Assault or violence	452	390	13.72 ↓ (62)
Damage to property	85	41	51.76 ↓ (44)
Fraud	34	74	117.65 ↑ (40)
Illegal gambling	299	68	77.26 ↓ (231)
Sexual offences	25	93	272 ↑ (68)
Prostitution	98	228	132.65 ↑ (130)
Begging	179	467	160.89 ↑ (288)
Suicide	44	31	29.55 ↓ (13)
Obstruction to justice	43	65	51.16 ↑ (22)
Cruelty	69	132	91.30 ↑ (63)
Public nuisances	481	472	1.87 ↓ (9)
Vehicle offences	225	142	36.89 ↓ (83)
Workhouse crime	156	90	42.31 ↓ (66)
Miscellaneous	16	38	137.50 ↑ (22)
Total	**6360**	**6071**	

Table 17 – Number of charges for each crime type during 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. Note that totals for each study period do not reflect the actual number of crime incidents or WPC trials during the time periods. This is because incidents may fall into more than one category. The totals are provided for context to highlight how many incidents involved intoxicated individuals.

McWilliams (1983:133) states that statistics in 1877 showed that over 50% of crimes in London involved drink, which suggests that the assertions made by politicians were credible. On a visit to Lambeth Police Court, a Police Court missionary examined a list of the individuals being tried during the day and found that "'drunk and disorderly,' or drunk and something else, is appended to fifty out of the sixty names on the list" (Holmes, 1902:17), illustrating that the

WPC was not the only court to experience high numbers of drink related trials. Table 17 also shows that by 1911-1912 the numbers of these offences was 11.14% higher (or 336 more offences) when compared with the figures a decade earlier. This upward trend is consistent with the London-wide statistics cited in the Metropolitan Police Commissioner's Annual Reports for the Edwardian period. These state that the number of persons apprehended for drunkenness and drunken and disorderly conduct in 1901 and 1902 was 49,685 and 50,813 respectively (Metropolitan Police Annual Report, 1902:77); but by 1911 this figure was 60,780 and 64,743 in 1912 (Metropolitan Police Annual Reports, 1911:69 & 1912:69). These figures are not necessarily directly comparable as the method of calculating the statistics for these annual reports changed, however, they do suggest that the figures for the WPC conform to overall trends that the Metropolitan Police area were experiencing at the time – namely an increase in the number of these offences being detected. The reasons for these trends have already been discussed and so will not be repeated here.

After drink related crimes, thefts, assaults, gambling, prostitution, begging, public nuisances and vehicle offences all had relatively high numbers (above 200 offences a year) during one or both periods. But it is the temporal changes to charges for some of these offences that exhibit some interesting trends. The figures for theft (which includes pickpocketing, burglary and breaking and entering) warrant a little explanation since there is a stark contrast between the two periods, with total theft in 1901-1902 being 569, but only 194 in 1911-1912 (a 65.91% drop). It should be noted that this rapid decline in the number of charges is not a consequence of fewer thieves or a reduction in arrests for theft, but instead created by a difference in the recording practices of clerks at the WPC by 1911-1912. 306 thefts were assigned no location in the WPC registers for this time period and therefore had to be excluded from the study. For instance, on 28th April 1911 Albert Jones (alias Brewer), aged 24, a bookseller's assistant was tried for stealing and receiving £55 worth of paintings, including 4 Turners, 25 portraits and 2 engravings from his employer James Rimell and Sons (PS/WES/A/01/065, 28 April 1911, trial 15). But no location was recorded in the entry and there were no reports of the crime in other sources consulted. If

this crime had been committed in the period 1901-1902, the court clerk would have recorded the location of the theft. But by 1911-1912, recording practices had changed, perhaps because there had been a turnover of the court's staff, which meant this detailed spatial information was not included. Admittedly it would be possible to find the addresses of James Rimell and Sons' premises from trade directories, although there is no way of knowing whether the crime was committed on these premises or elsewhere (such as during delivery of goods). Moreover, in this case the premises of Rimell and Sons were located outside of the WPC area at 53 Shaftesbury Avenue and 39 Duke Street (Post Office London Directory, Part 3, 1915:1185) which adds weight to this possibility of a crime that occurred either elsewhere or even in transit, but within the WPC area. In other cases, the business may have had several premises within the WPC area and it would therefore be impossible to know which address to use as the crime location. For example, the Belgravia Dairy Company experienced two separate instances of milk thefts in 1911-1912. Examining trade directories shows that the company had several premises within and on the periphery of the WPC area, so the thefts could have occurred at any one of these locations. The company would have had numerous vans to obtain and deliver milk, so there is also the possibility that the thefts occurred during a delivery. Hence finding a location is almost impossible. This is further compounded where businesses owned vast swathes of land such as in the case of the London & South Western Railway (L&SWR) Company – amongst the 306 cases, there were a number involving thefts from the L&SWR and these could have occurred anywhere from station platforms to goods yards, warehouses or buildings owned by the company, and even from trains during transit. In addition to these 306 cases, a further 17 had been assigned locations which were either outside the WPC area, or could not be located due to insufficient spatial information. Taken together, these would bring the 1911-1912 figures for total theft to above 500, comparable to the 1901-1902 figures. This highlights how the process of cleansing the data can manipulate figures in an adverse way and therefore has to be taken into consideration when examining the decadal changes in charge numbers.

Other offences have perhaps more intriguing trends, unaffected or influenced by the cleansing process. Illegal gambling for example exhibits a sharp decline from one period to the next, with cases brought before the court falling from 299 in 1901-1902 to 68 in 1911-1912, a 77.26% drop. This high figure in 1901-1902 is unsurprising since gambling had been rife in late Victorian London:

> everyone from the City to the West End; the cabman who brought you from the railway station, the porter who took your hat, the man who sold you that copy of the special Standard, all bet (quote of a London club steward in Curzon, 1892:192).

In addition, a report by a House of Lords Select Committee in 1902 concluded that "...betting is generally prevalent in the United Kingdom, and that the practice of betting has increased considerably of late years especially amongst the working classes..." (Parliamentary Paper, 389, 1902:5). Furthermore, the WPC magistrate Horace Smith argued that betting led to other acts of immorality and crime: "'nearly every case of embezzlement I try has resulted from betting, and then to pay their losses they rob their employers'" (Parliamentary Paper, 370, 1901:4). It was also during this early part of the Edwardian period when society was becoming acutely aware of the evils of street betting amongst the working classes. This is perhaps partly the result of campaigns by organisations such as the National Anti-Gambling League (NAGL) which raised awareness of the social consequences of gambling. Thus, "as complaints from magistrates, pressure groups, and other commentators about street betting mounted, it became the subject of police attention" (Dixon, 1991:129) resulting in there being higher numbers of WPC cases in 1901-1902. Put simply, the police may well have been reacting to one of the popular crime topics of discussion at that time and were therefore being seen to be tackling the problem. But once other crimes were forced to the forefront of the public's and government's minds, these instead became the police's priority.

The decline in the number of cases of betting at the WPC by 1911-1912 is intriguing since, in the Metropolitan Police area as a whole during the periods 1905-1909 and 1910-1913, prosecutions for illegal gambling increased by 45% (Slater, 2012:69). Thus the figures in the WPC area do not conform to the

statistics for the rest of the city. There could be a whole range of reasons for this which may be connected to or be the result of the passing of the Street Betting Act of 1906. This stated that police could apprehend:

> any person frequenting or loitering in streets or public places, on behalf either of himself or any other person, for the purpose of bookmaking, or betting or wagering, or agreeing to bet or wager or paying or receiving or settling bets... (cited in Dixon, 1991:141).

The impact that the Act had on this part of London, may well have manifested itself differently to other parts of the city or the entire metropolis. It is possible that the Act may have deterred betting on the streets, resulting in there being fewer cases at the WPC by 1911-1912. However, most academics argue that the Act had little impact in reality (Miers, 2004:272). Indeed as Petrow (1992:67) states "in the short term arrests for street betting increased but street bookmakers took various precautions and by at least August 1909 police admitted that the Street Betting Act was virtually unenforceable". Betting was simply carried out in more private spaces or through hidden networks, which would have been hard for the police to infiltrate. For instance, an MP stated in the House of Commons that:

> ...since the passing of the Street Betting Act, a system has sprung up whereby men and women employed in factories are offered special facilities for betting, by means of bookmakers' agents employed in the works... (Mr Horatio Bottomley, MP for Hackney South in Hansard, 27 May 1907).

Workers could therefore continue to gamble without too much fear of being apprehended by the police – who would have found it extremely difficult to detect this betting occurring in the semi-private/public space of the factory. Illegal gambling also moved into pubs, shops and houses where police were less able to carry out surveillance on proceedings (the cases outlined in Figures 43 and 45 in the previous section perhaps illustrate the amount of work and effort required to detect such 'hidden' gambling in these private spaces). Others took a more secretive approach, with betting "...conducted through a network of agents and lookouts more or less under the eyes of the police..." (Runciman,

1997:252). In fact the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) remarked on how it had become increasingly difficult to detect street betting, arguing that:

> the bookmaker does not now, as in former times, frequent one particular street or place, but moves about. His touts are acquainted with his movements, and are thus able to direct his clients where he is to be found (MEPO 2/1449, 1911).

But the number of cases at the WPC may also have fallen as a result of policemen turning a blind eye to the practice of betting (Munting, 1996:204). It is argued that the Act was viewed as an attack on the working class (Munting, (1989:70), serving to generate dislike of the police. It may therefore be possible that policemen 'looked the other way' when encountering illegal gambling in order to maintain good relationships with the community that they served. There were concerns amongst the police that officers engaged in undercover work could be liable to engage in betting activities during the course of their activities, giving into temptation (MEPO 2/1419, 1913). Furthermore, numerous accounts from the time suggest that some policemen took bribes from bookmakers to allow them to continue their illegal trade: "I have often, since I have been Commissioner, received letters, sometimes anonymous and sometimes authentic, alleging that bookmakers gave money to the Police..." (Parliamentary Paper, 4156, 1908:89). In fact when Senior Detective Inspector Stock of B Division, was asked by a Scotland Yard Board looking into police practices on tackling street betting – "have you any experience of your own men having communicated information to bookmakers", he answered:

> I certainly have had suspicion of one or two men, and I am glad to say, they are not now in the service. One of them has since started a business as a bookmaker at Fulham (MEPO 2/1419, 1913).

Indeed almost all of the officers, constables and inspectors called to give evidence to the Board described an experience of attempted bribery by bookmakers suggesting that if the latter were trying to such an extent, they clearly must have made successes. It is impossible to say if or how this may have had an impact on prosecution figures, but it should be considered as a possible factor influencing the WPC figures. Taken together, each of these

elements may have served to reduce the number of betting offences tried at the WPC in 1911-1912, explaining why there was a stark contrast with the numbers for 1901-1902. But overall, as Thompson (1988:335) argues "periodic police drives against the street betting...did nothing to reduce the amount of gambling or convince ordinary people that it was a form of wrongdoing". Hence, for four decades after the Edwardian period, "...illegal street betting flourished via the 'street bookie' and 'bookie runners' who 'took bets' in back streets, street corners, pubs and factories and who became a common feature of urban life" (Jones et al, 1994:124).

Aside from betting, there was also a 161% increase in the number of cases of begging by 1911-1912. It is possible that this can be attributed to the changes in economic prosperity, with potentially greater numbers of individuals being forced into begging as a result of the downturn. Indeed, Rose (1988:138) states that "in 1900, a 'boom' year, begging and sleeping out prosecutions were 11,339 and 7,452 respectively, but in the depression years 1904-7...begging prosecutions shot up to 23,000-26,000 annually...". This is to be expected, given that individuals may have found it increasingly difficult to live and found begging was the only means available (other than facing the workhouse). There was therefore a greater possibility of the police arresting individuals for begging simply because there were greater numbers of beggars on the street by 1911-1912. This in turn may have led to the middle and upper strata of society increasing pressure on the police to tackle the problem. It is also argued that in the minds of the police, the poor were linked to a range of crimes as a study of police memoirs suggests:

> the policing of the poor – as demonstrated by arrest figures for vagrancy, begging, petty theft and minor public offences – claimed the lion's share of police activity and meant that the poor were obviously associated with many types of crime by the police (Lawrence, 2000:71).

This would have perhaps meant they were targeted for other crimes. Yet there could also be a social and moral dimension to the reasoning behind the police arresting more beggars – "policemen asked to speak 'frankly' claimed that more than half the homeless were 'deserving' charity" (Strange, 2011:251). Perhaps

they felt it was their duty to assist the poor as best they could in moving them off the street. On the other hand, beggars could be seen as easy targets for the police and therefore provided a means for police constables to increase the number of arrests they made to impress their superiors (Slater, 2012:69).

The arguments connecting begging to the general state of the economy in Britain may also clarify trends in the WPC data relating to prostitution and sexual offences. A higher number of prostitution cases were brought before the court in 1911-1912 (228) when compared to 1901-1902 (98) – a 132.65% increase. It should also be noted that the number of sexual offences tried at the WPC also appears to mirror this pattern – 25 cases in 1901-1902 compared with 93 in 1911-1912, a 272% increase. Admittedly, sexual offences cover a broad range of offences, although the majority concern individuals having sexual intercourse in public and may very well have involved prostitution. As suggested, the increase in prostitution cases may have been due to the overall economic decline during the Edwardian period – individuals or families perhaps found it a struggle to live and thus women turned to prostitution to obtain adequate funds to live (Bartley, 2000:7; Graham and Clarke, 2001:159). Furthermore, a commentator investigating the causes of prostitution a little after the Edwardian period states that:

> ...the army of prostitutes consists of shadowy figures who straggle through a hundred streets all over London or lurk in flats and houses in every quarter: who are often not even recognisably prostitutes, because they are also shop-assistants and waitresses and milliners and dress-makers, and have to keep up the respectable appearance which Society expects from these wage-earners (Anonymous, 1916:7).

This implies that even women regularly employed in skilled or semi-skilled professions found that they needed more money in order to help them to maintain an acceptable standard of living – prostitution could provide this extra income. Clearly it is impossible to know exact numbers of prostitutes who were soliciting in the streets of the WPC, or how these numbers differed throughout the Edwardian period – as White (2008:322) notes estimates for London range from 8000 to 80,000 in the early 1900s. Despite this uncertainty on the

numbers, this may be one possible explanation for the higher number of prostitutes being arrested by 1911-1912.

Conversely, perhaps it is not the figure for 1911-1912 that should be questioned, but rather the figure for 1901-1902. 98 cases in that year averages at around 2 cases per week, which might be considered a relatively low number given the large number of prostitutes in the city. This low number could be considered the result of guidance given to police officers – by 1900 "...the general police orders instructed officers who saw a woman they suspected of being a prostitute to formally warn or caution her once before they could arrest her" (Laite, 2012:77). These orders emerged partly as a reaction to a scandal that had occurred in 1887 involving the wrongful arrest of Elizabeth Cass, a respectable woman, on suspicion of soliciting in London. It is possible that the case affected the way that the police went about their observation of women on the streets. This may have therefore influenced the number of arrests made by the police resulting in a lower number of trials of prostitutes in 1901-1902. The higher figure for 1911-1912 could have been prompted by a number of factors. Firstly, Laite (2012:75) hints that there was an overall regime change within the Metropolitan Police as a result of the change in Commissioner, which she claims meant that the police gradually took a tougher stance on soliciting, thereby increasing arrests progressively throughout the period. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, it was during the early part of the Edwardian period when 8500 local residents within Westminster were calling on the local authorities to tackle the prostitution problem, which led to the local council sending a deputation led by the Duke of Norfolk, to speak to the Home Secretary, accounts of which were published in the *Daily Chronicle*, *Daily News*, *Daily Express*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Times*, *Daily Telegraph* and *St James's Gazette* (MEPO 2/8835, 1901). Westminster Council argued that the police were not making full use of their powers to tackle prostitution, stating that they were:

> ...of opinion that there should be more vigorous exercise of the powers already possessed by the Police...and if these powers are not sufficient, legislation should be initiated conferring upon the Police the additional powers needed to obtain the object in view (Westminster Council, 12 November 1901 in MEPO 2/8835).

Taken together, greater public pressure and changes to policing policies may have led to the higher figures by 1911-1912.

Before progressing further, it is important to consider one final factor that could help to explain why greater numbers of individuals were tried for betting, begging and prostitution in 1911-1912. The number of police available to be placed on the streets of Edwardian London should be considered, as clearly this would have a considerable impact on detection rates and thus the number of individuals ending up at the WPC. With regards to police numbers, Graph 10 shows the number of police employed in each Metropolitan Police Division covering the WPC area from 1901 to 1912. As can be seen, total numbers of police employed had increased steadily over the period (Graph 11) with several hundred more officers employed in each division by 1911 and 1912. However, it is highly unlikely that this had any real impact on the figures for betting, begging and prostitution prosecutions. This is because in 1910 the Police Weekly Rest Day Act was passed giving policemen a day off per week – up until then police only had two days of rest per month (Shpayer-Makov, 2002:216). The result was that "extra men had to be taken on to maintain normal levels of service..."
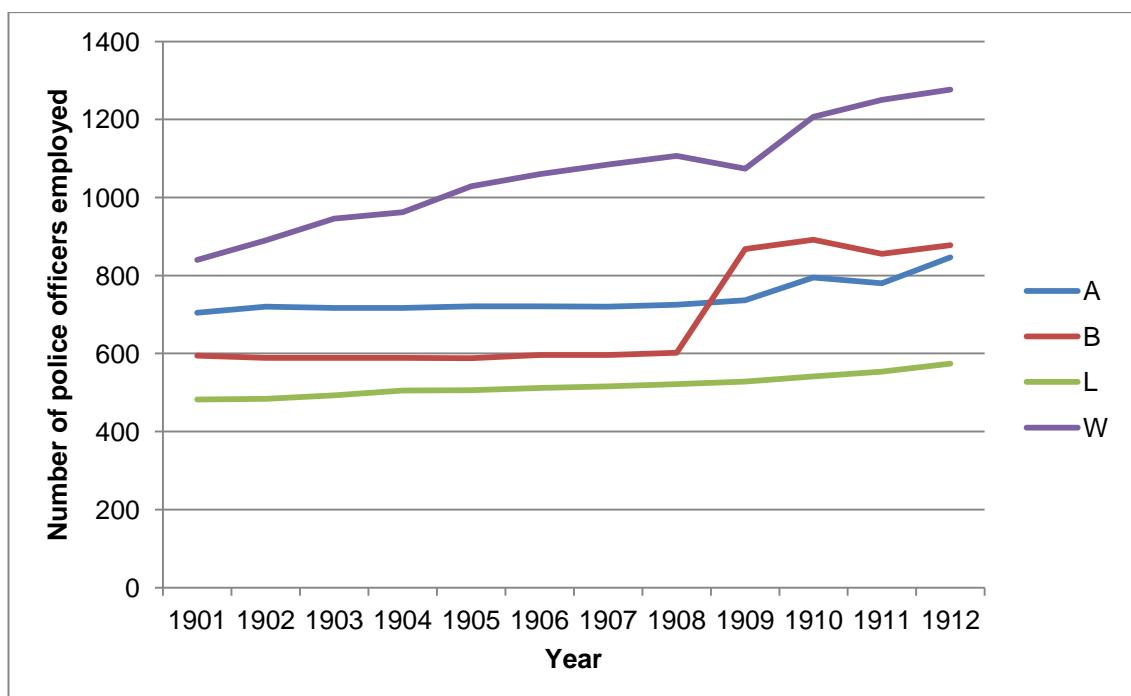
Graph 10 – Number of police officers employed in A, B, L and W Divisions (1901-1912).

Source: Metropolitan Police Annual Reports (1901-1912)
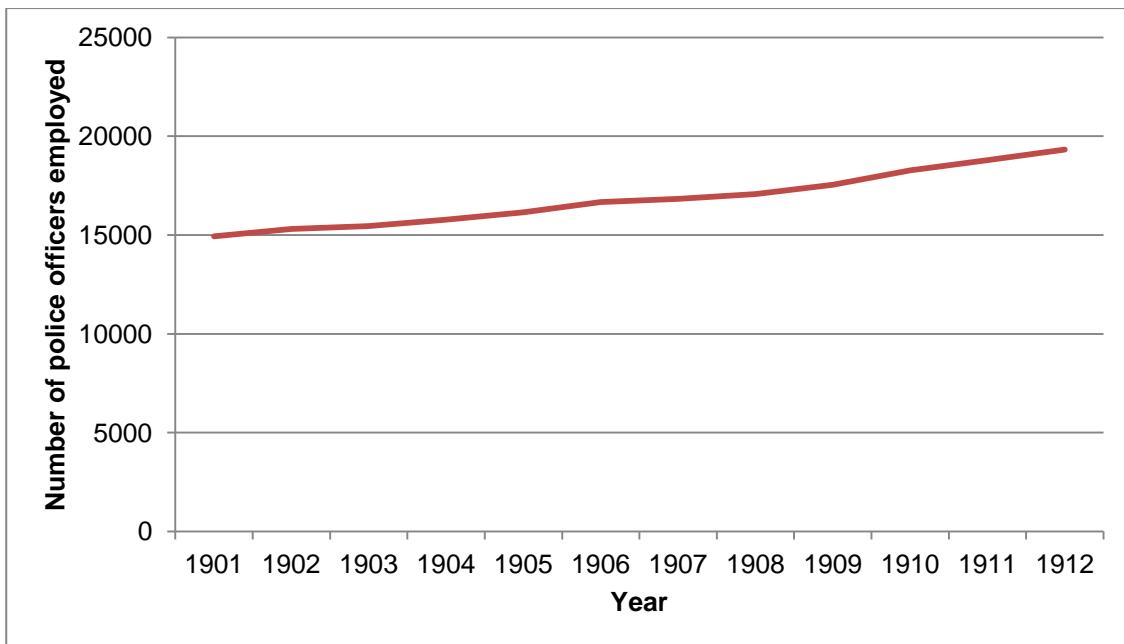
Graph 11 – Number of police officers employed in the Metropolitan Police (1901-1912).

Source: Metropolitan Police Annual Reports (1901-1912)

(Taylor, 1999:123), meaning that there were not necessarily greater numbers of policemen on the streets by 1911-1912. It is therefore unlikely that the changes in the number of officers available to the police had any significant influence on the number of crimes detected since there was no surge in officers on the beat at any given time during the period. This factor may therefore be discounted when considering possible reasons for higher numbers of betting, begging and prostitution offences brought to the WPC by 1911-1912.

The other crimes in Table 17 are either relatively low in number and/or remained at similar levels during both periods. For instance, suicide, obstructions to justice, assault and public nuisances fall into these criteria, with the last of these clearly remaining at a high level (given that the offences covered by this category range quite widely and are mainly petty street offences). In addition, the categories of railway crime and desertion have not been mentioned. A detailed examination of crime on the railway is the subject of Chapter 7, whereas cases of desertion are excluded from the study due to their lack of geographic information (as described in Chapter 4). Finally, the category of miscellaneous crime requires some discussion. As these are crimes which were impossible to place into any specific category, it is difficult to extract any

meaningful analysis of the figures as the individual offences are not comparable. For example, the majority were described as 'loitering for the purpose of committing a felony' which could have been any number of felonies from pickpocketing to assault and burglary – any crime covered by the Larceny Act (1861), Malicious Damage Act (1861), Offence against the Person Act (1861) and Vagrancy Act (1898) was included (The Police Code, 1912). It is therefore difficult to draw comparisons, or to contextualise figures for 'miscellaneous' acts in 1911-1912.

Altogether, these figures are interesting in themselves, confirming previous research or statistics generated at the time, but also illuminate unusual trends in the data. They provide an overview of the crime encountered at the WPC, showing how the numbers compared with the rest of London during both periods. It should be noted that explanations for the numbers of crimes brought in front of the WPC, as well as the difference in the figures between the two periods, are complex and it is impossible to describe all possibilities or quantify which factors were more important than others. Moreover, it should be stressed that I have not sought to find explanations for the trends, but instead endeavoured to offer a discussion that contextualises figures, unpicking debates or contrasting views on particular crime types. In addition, the figures alone do not allow the reader to understand how crime was played out across the area, within individual streets. In other words, how crime was geographically distributed and what may have influenced these spatial patterns – these questions are central to this research (research questions 1 and 2). Hence, these figures need to be visually portrayed in order to uncover the spatial distribution of crime across the WPC area.

Spatial patterns of crime

Figures 48 and 49 show the geographic distribution of crimes across the WPC street network in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. It can be seen that in both time periods it was generally the major thoroughfares where a high number of crimes (in excess of 101 incidents) were committed – these are listed in Table 18 along with their respective crime totals. Clearly these streets would have contained much activity, not only due to their importance as major routes for traversing the city, but also because many were centres of commerce or transport hubs attracting a large number of people. But with high numbers of people and commercial activity came the possibility of immorality, crime and vice. For instance, public houses and restaurants attracted people to these streets for refreshment, yet the sale of alcohol on these premises would have been one of the principal generators of drink related crime. In addition, "sited along major streets, department stores, with their vast and colourful displays of personal and household goods, beckoned with increasing seductiveness" (Lees and Lees,

Street name	1901-1902	1911-1912	% change (difference)
Albert Embankment	103	107	3.88% ↑ (4)
Brompton Road	114	85	25.44% ↓ (29)
Buckingham Palace Road	107	96	10.28% ↓ (11)
Clapham Road	91	155	70.33% ↑ (64)
Fulham Road	152	179	17.76% ↑ (27)
Kings Road	208	311	49.52% ↑ (103)
Lambeth Walk	130	80	38.46% ↓ (50)
Vauxhall Bridge Road	121	203	67.77% ↑ (82)
Vauxhall Cross	76	116	52.63% ↑ (40)
Victoria Street	195	360	84.62% ↑ (165)
Wandsworth Road	129	200	55.04% ↑ (71)
Wilton Road	216	110	49.07% ↓ (106)

Table 18 – WPC streets experiencing in excess of 101 crimes per year (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). Please note the table includes streets that had in excess of 101 crimes in one or both time periods. All are major roads in the WPC area and most were commercial, shopping centres or important transport hubs.
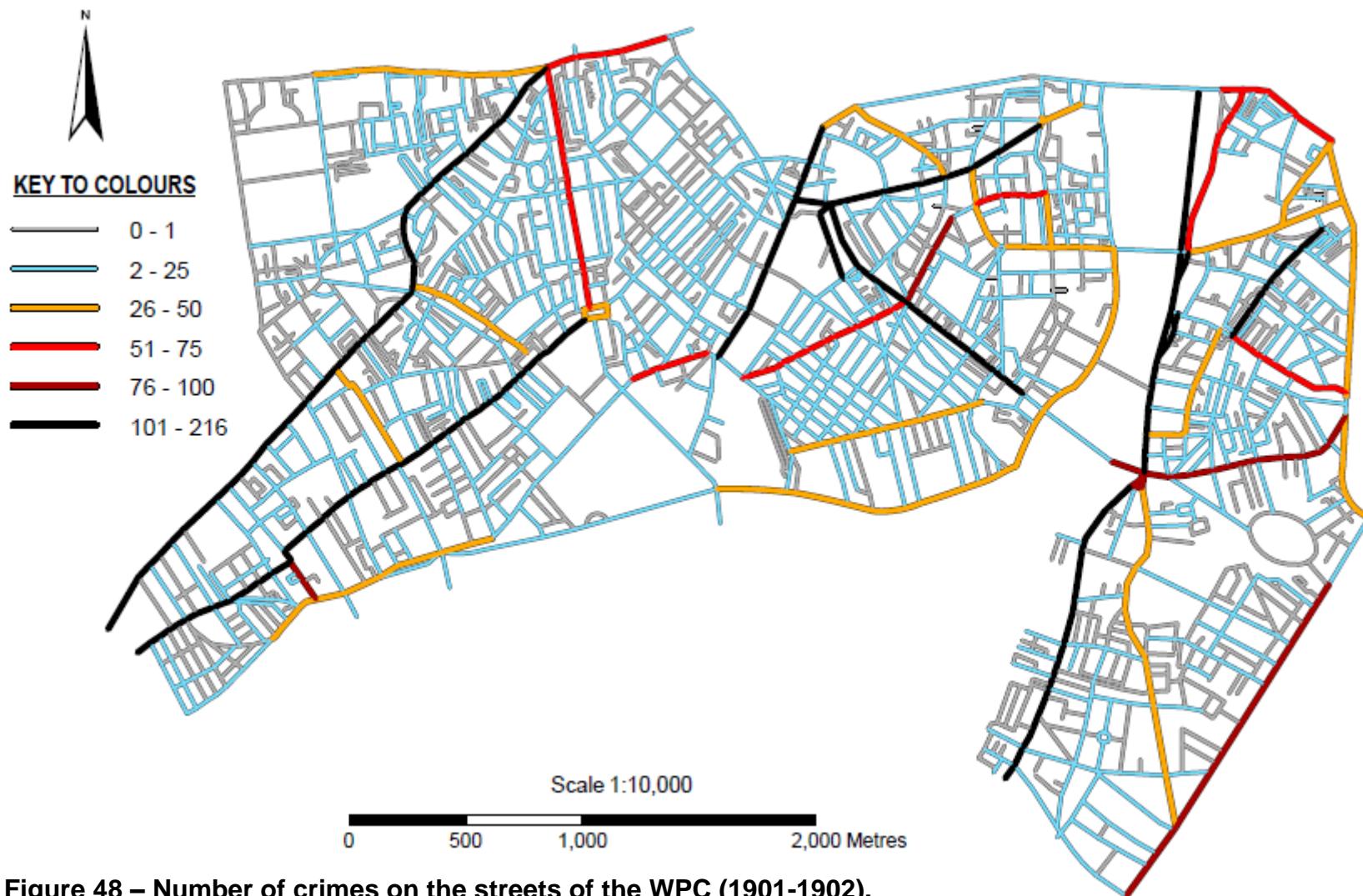
Figure 48 – Number of crimes on the streets of the WPC (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0 - 1
——	2 - 25
——	26 - 50
——	51 - 75
——	76 - 100
——	101 - 360

Scale 1:10,000

0	500	1,000	2,000 Metres
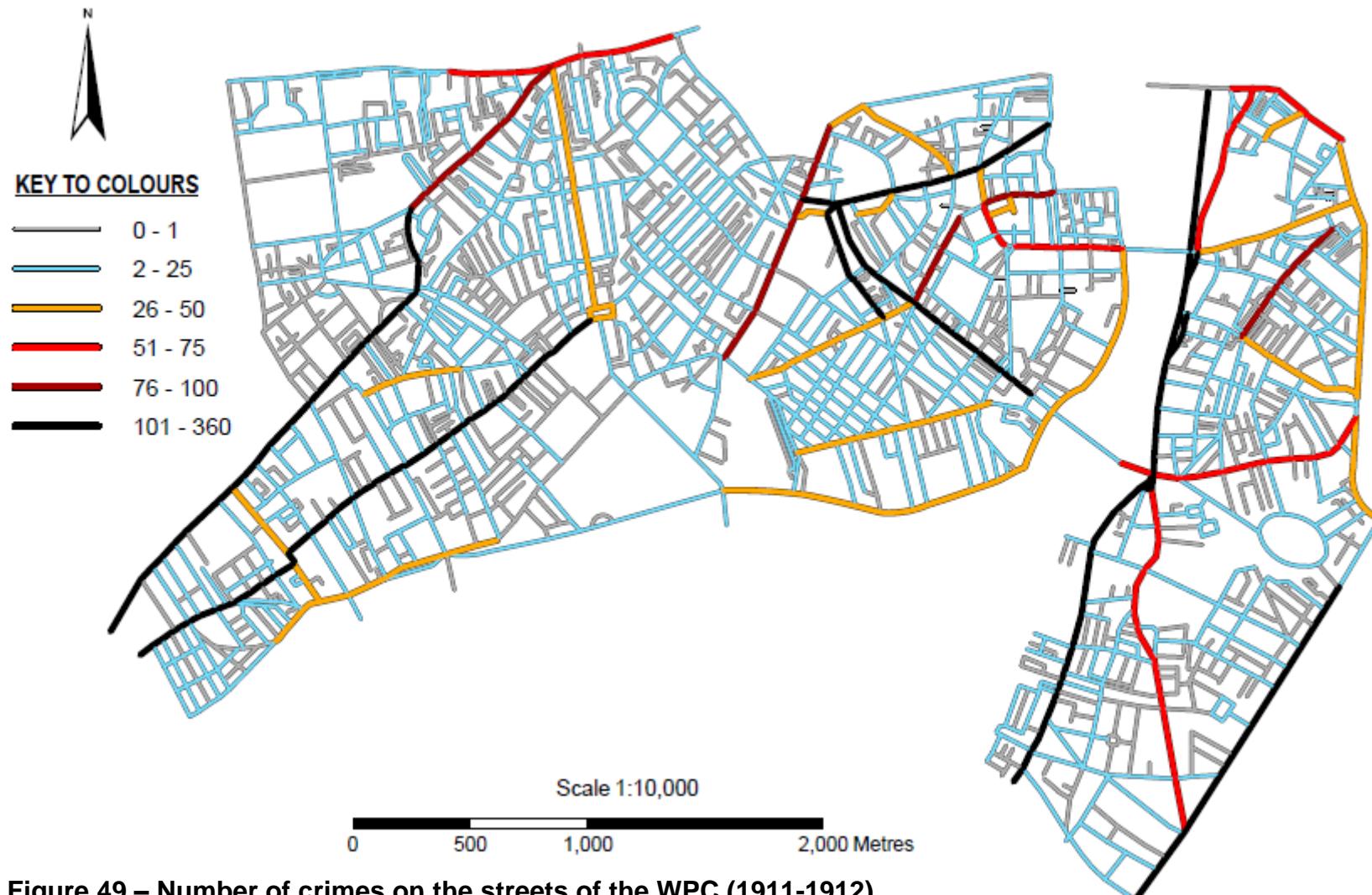
Figure 49 – Number of crimes on the streets of the WPC (1911-1912).

2007:224), which could also have tempted some into theft. Indeed, the department stores in Brompton Road or Victoria Street such as Harrods and the Army and Navy Store were often sites attracting shoplifting. Figure 50 illustrates one such case of a nurse shoplifting at the Army and Navy Stores and who appeared not to realise what she was doing, although the 'detachable pocket' concealed within her dress is rather suggestive! The selling of goods would also occur on the streets with mobile stalls or street sellers often causing obstructions to other traffic or pedestrians – an offence in its own right, especially if the individuals did not possess a licence to do so. But such street selling had the capacity to generate other, far more serious offences. Coffee stalls for instance were described by a Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in a similar fashion to how Brown-May (1996) found the authorities in Melbourne, Australia were discussing this form of street trade – that they were:

> ...distinctly responsible for much of the disorder in the streets in the early hours of the morning...they are the immediate resort of the idle loafers, the often more or less inebriated people, the rough and disorderly characters who, turned out of doors at the closing hour, find at the coffee stall yet another excuse for loitering, for finishing a noisy discussion, and even in some cases for lying in wait for a victim (MEPO 2/570, 6 November 1901).

It is difficult to assess the effect coffee stalls had on crime in the WPC's major thoroughfares since Police Court register offence descriptions lack information of this nature. But there were certainly a number of cases involving coffee stalls across London, including one in the WPC area in 1900 (see The Times, 30 November, page 14). Added to this was the fact that these main roads were highly accessible thanks to the many bus or tram routes running along them (see Figure 102 in Chapter 7), enabling people from further afield to visit the shops, restaurants, pubs and other leisure spaces lining these streets (an issue which will be explored further in Chapter 7). It should also be noted that many of these main roads had or were close to overground and underground railway stations including the terminus at Victoria – generating further activity in the streets and opportunity for criminals. All of these aspects of the major thoroughfares served to generate crowds of people and this in turn could enable

At WESTMINSTER, ISABEL SPENCE, 29, nurse at a military hospital, was finally examined before Mr. Sheil on charges of stealing boxes of Christmas cards, leather-bound diaries, and other miscellaneous goods, value £4 12s., from the Army and Navy Co-operative Stores, Victoria-street, Westminster. Mr. Frank Safford appeared for the stores to prosecute ; and Mr. Charles Mathews, instructed by Mr. Dutton, defended the prisoner. On an afternoon in Christmas week, when the stores were much crowded, the prisoner was observed in the stationery department by one of the female detective staff secreting boxes of Christmas cards, three at a time, under her cloak. The witness stated that she knew the prisoner by sight, having seen her steal a book on December 12, when she disappeared too quickly to be apprehended. This robbery was reported at the time to Mr. Allchurch, the house superintendent. On the 20th ult., when the prisoner was arrested, Tasker, one of the stores' detectives, asked her what she had taken. She replied, "Some Christmas cards." The witness said, "Anything else ?" and she answered, "One book." The prisoner was searched, and in a large linen bag or detachable pocket under her cloak were found 12 diaries, cards, &c., a mouth organ, and other property, all belonging to the stores, of the value of £4 12s. Detective-sergeant Watts said that on the way to the police-station the prisoner said, "I came up with the intention to buy, and I don't know what tempted me to take them." By Mr. Mathews.—The prisoner had on a long cloak. He believed the large detachable pocket was worn by the prisoner outside her dress. Mr. Allchurch, the stores' superintendent, describing the pocket as a pillow-case, said it was attached to the left side of her dress. When the books, &c., were taken from the pillow-case, the witness said, "How came you to take these things ?" The prisoner said, "Oh, for God's sake let me pay for them. If I am exposed I am ruined, and I will poison myself." He said, "But what did you want all these pocket-books and things for ?" She said, "To make presents to my patients." Mrs. Braham, the female searcher, said that the prisoner had over £4 on her when searched, and that the pocket before referred to was an Army pillow-case with a piece cut off one end. The witness added that the prisoner told her that she did not feel well, and that wherever she went she felt that she must take something. Mr. Sheil said he should commit the prisoner for trial to the Central Criminal Court. Mr. Mathews.—Is that the ordinary course ? I thought these cases went as a rule to the sessions. Mr. Sheil.—Not these sort of cases. Mr. Mathews.—I presume you will take bail, Sir. This young lady has borne the highest of characters. Mr. Sheil.—I will take bail, the prisoner in £100 and two sureties in £50.

Figure 50 – A nurse shoplifting at the Army and Navy Stores, Victoria Street (20 December 1901). Isabel Spence stole various goods including 12 diaries, Christmas cards and a mouth organ from the store during Christmas week (but was also seen stealing on 12 December 1901). At the Central Criminal Court, Isabel pleads guilty and was released on recognizances. It is interesting to note the use of a female store detective.

Sources: The Times, 3 January 1902, page 13 & 11 February 1902, page 15

crime to be committed. The most obvious of crimes that utilised the crowd was theft – as Andersson (2013:115) states "...pickpockets had to be well acquainted with how people behaved in large gatherings in order to use these situations and to develop a technique which would not get them caught". The description of the method used by two Italian pickpockets in Figure 51 shows how such individuals were able to utilise and pick from the crowds, working together to conceal their work. Thus all of these activities would collectively have aided to promote or attract criminality, meaning the number of crimes on these streets in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 would have been high.

Conversely, thoroughfares enabled society to self-regulate or police itself through the use of surveillance. Individuals could view and watch each other in the public space of the street meaning "...citizens could be active agents in the surveillance process while at the same time being subjected to the...gaze of the authorities..." (Croll, 1999:251). On seeing a crime being committed, they could alert a policeman on duty leading to a criminal being apprehended and arrested. Given the number of people using main streets, there was perhaps a greater chance of such apprehensions occurring (resulting in a higher number of crimes detected on these streets). But major roads would also have been well lit by street lights or by lights from the commercial/leisure spaces that lined them. This would have served to aid in the regulation of the street, either deterring crime or, perhaps as the figures suggest, allowing criminals to be watched and apprehended with ease. As Joyce (2003:110-111) argues, street lights maintained discipline: "...it was of course a means of surveillance, but more subtly than this of self-surveillance, because the very possibility of observation ensured the citizen's circumspection". On the other hand, some argue that the lighting of main streets served to promote and attract immorality (Dennis, 2008:133). Lighting extended the time people had to walk the streets in pursuit of leisure, thereby enabling individuals to traverse the city at night – the 'bright lights' tempting some into 'behaving badly' and offering opportunities for criminal activity to occur. It can even be argued that if lighting of main streets aided surveillance, then it would surely have helped criminals (Otter, 2008:194) perhaps to watch their victims from a safe distance or from the shadows of unlit side streets. The lighting of major thoroughfares was therefore an important

At WESTMINSTER, two Italians giving the names of CAPRITTI and ENRICO, with Soho addresses, were brought up on remand charged with attempting to pick pockets near Victoria on the occasion of the home-coming of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. There was a further charge against the prisoners of stealing a purse and contents, which included a soldier's letter to his sweetheart and a boot button. The prisoners were in the crowd near the railway station, and Detective-sergeant Watts and another officer named Robinson observed Capritti touching the pockets of females, whilst the other man covered his movements. The pair turned into a side street, and there one of them tore a letter into fragments and scattered them to the winds. The detectives collected some of the pieces, and arrested the prisoners. Capritti was wearing a macintosh with a slit so that his hand could slide through into a coat pocket. When the recovered pieces of the torn letter were put together, it was found that it was from a soldier to a young servant. Her name was missing, but she was traced through information given by the soldier, whom the police were able to identify. The girl gave evidence that she had her pocket picked in the Buckingham-palace-road, just before the prisoners were arrested, and that in her purse was a boot button—found in Capritti's pocket. The prisoners professed to have no knowledge of English, and, on being asked to plead, laughter was occasioned by the remark of Capritti, "We 'pinched' nothing." Though there were previous convictions, Mr. Horace Smith dealt with the prisoners by giving them each three months' hard labour. The magistrate also highly commended Detective-sergeant Watts for his resource and quickness, adding, "It is not the first time I have noticed the ability of that officer." Watts thanked his worship, and remarked that he was greatly assisted by his colleague, Robinson. Mr. Horace Smith.—My commendation applies to you both—in degrees.

Figure 51 – The work of Italian pickpockets in crowds on Buckingham Palace Road. The article retells how two Italians were caught pickpocketing in Buckingham Palace Road, near Victoria on the 9 November 1901 where crowds had gathered for the homecoming of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. By helping each other and using a modified macintosh, the two were able to steal a purse, money, 2 letters and a boot button from the pockets of people in the crowds. Interestingly, Enrico had only been tried on 2 November for attempting to pickpocket in Buckingham Palace Road and the fact that both had previous convictions suggest they were professional pickpockets.

Sources: The Times, 11 November 1901, page 3; PS/WES/A/01/025, 2 November 1901, trial 18 and 9 November 1901, trials 9 & 10

'environmental' factor in committing, preventing or detecting crime. Thus overall main streets could be both places of safety, yet also spaces of danger and disorder (Croll, 1999:267). It is therefore hardly surprising that from a temporal perspective, crime figures remained largely unchanged in the WPC's main streets.

Although these maps may visually portray the reality of the WPC data i.e. the total number of crimes committed on each street, they merely highlight rather obvious trends – namely, longer streets, which had greater links to other roads and which were major thoroughfares, had the highest number of crimes. Clearly such streets would present more opportunity for criminal acts to take place. There were more people concentrated on these spaces, providing opportunities for pickpockets, prostitutes and beggars; there were shops which attracted shoplifting and theft; but there were also more spaces within which to socialise bringing greater possibilities of drink related crime as well as other acts of immorality. Altogether this means that streets comparatively smaller in size, but which had relatively high levels of crime, are masked out of the visualisation because their crime figures were low in comparison to the large commercial thoroughfares. In order to bring these hidden trends into view, Figures 52 and 53 show the number of crimes per kilometre of street for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. When compared to the maps in Figures 48 and 49, it can be seen that there are some slight differences in the overall spatial patterns shown because the crime figures have been adjusted to factor in street length. Nevertheless, major thoroughfares are still highlighted as locations where high numbers of crimes were committed in both periods (this is to be expected for the reasons already described). But in addition to these thoroughfares, a handful of other smaller streets are also shown as having a high proportion of crimes relative to their length. It would be impossible to go through every one of these streets, or group of streets as there are too many to describe and investigate in detail. Moreover, a thorough investigation of specific streets is the subject of Chapter 8. However, there are one or two important general aspects to all four maps (Figures 48, 49, 52 and 53) which warrant further discussion, including how specific crime types contributed to overall patterns found.
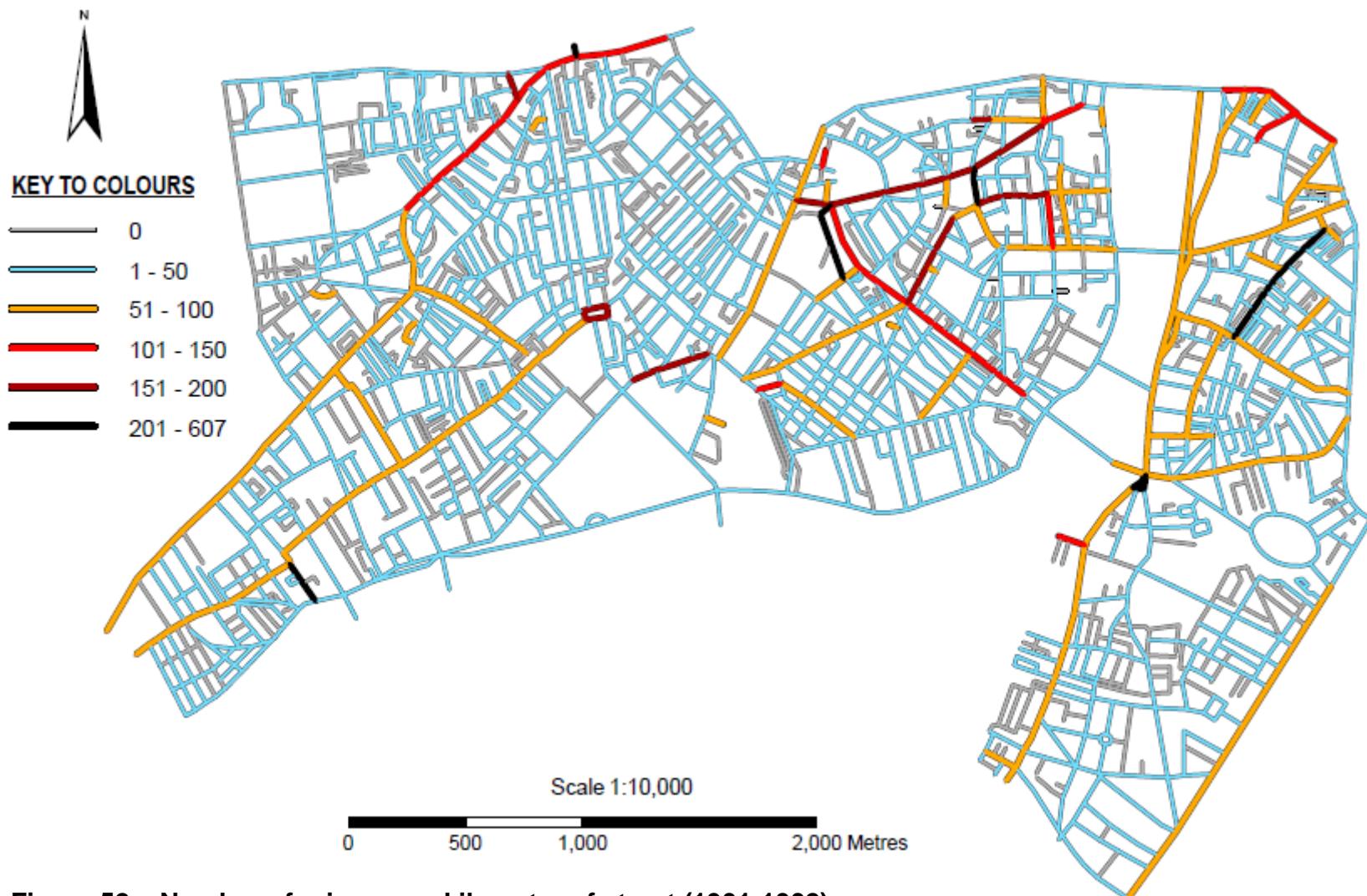
Figure 52 – Number of crimes per kilometre of street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

- 0 - 1
- 2 - 50
- 51 - 100
- 101 - 150
- 151 - 200
- 201 - 592

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres
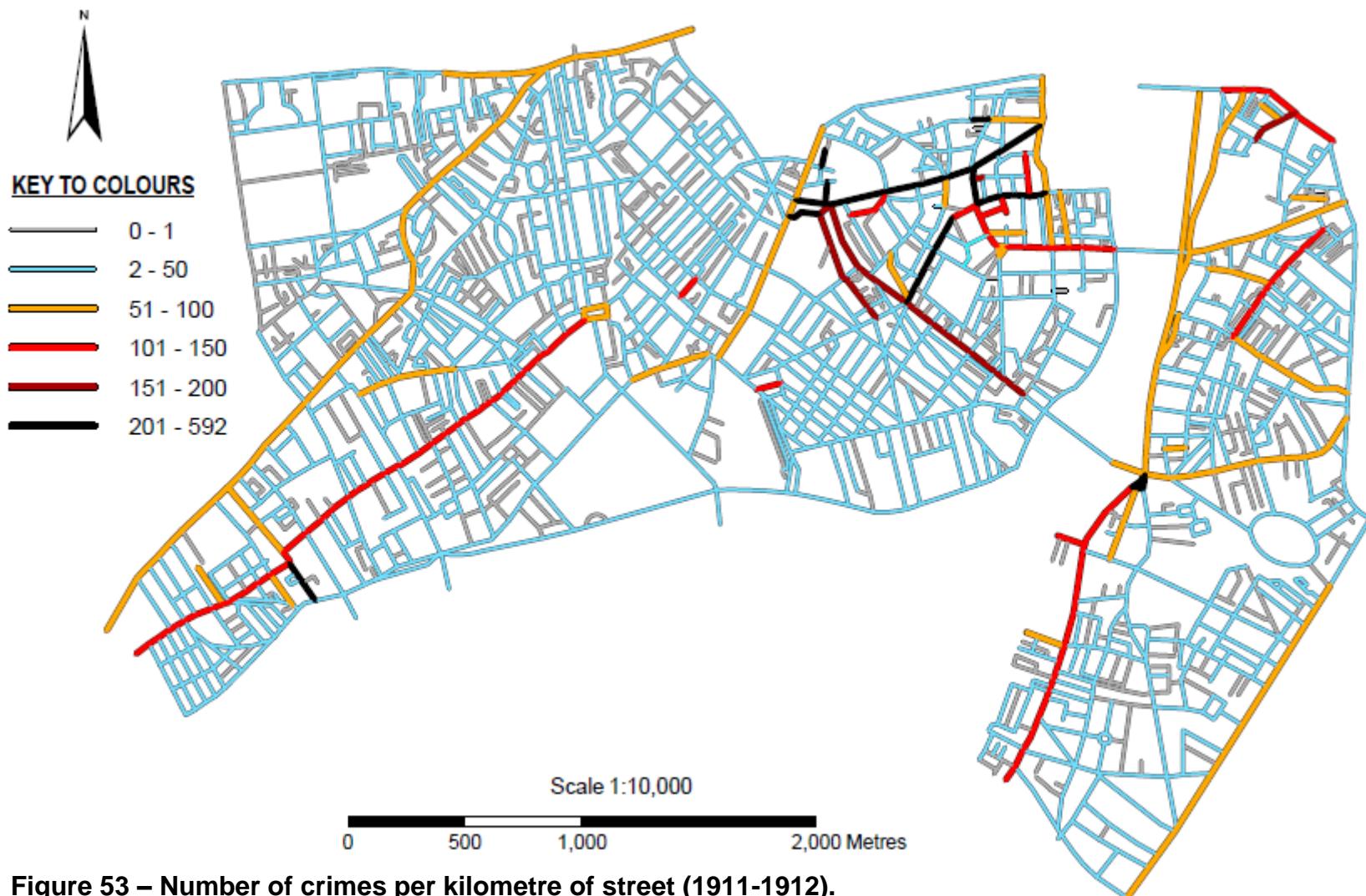
Figure 53 – Number of crimes per kilometre of street (1911-1912).

The maps highlight vast areas of the WPC region where crime was either absent or occurred in relatively low numbers in relation to street length and it is important to consider why this was the case. Generally they were streets bounded by the major thoroughfares (i.e. they formed networks of streets behind them) and appear to be mainly residential. This residential status is perhaps the crucial factor for there being little or no crime on these streets since there would have been considerably less opportunity for criminals or offending to occur. For instance, if Figures 52 and 53 are compared to a map showing the locations of licensed premises (Figure 54) it can be seen that there were few premises serving alcohol on streets where crime was absent or low in number. Furthermore if the number of drink related crimes per kilometre of street is mapped (Figures 55 and 56) it can be seen that greater numbers of these offences occurred where there were higher concentrations of public houses/licensed premises (Figures 57 and 58 overlay the data onto the map of licensed premises to assist comparison). Conversely where public houses were few in number such as in Belgravia, the number of drink related crimes was far lower and this area in particular was residential. Yet these maps in turn partially help to explain why there were small numbers of crimes on the residential back streets i.e. some were drink related offences. It is likely that drunk individuals would have strayed into the residential side streets, either to make their way home or because they were so intoxicated that they cared little about which streets they traversed. It should also be remembered that public houses were often (as Figure 54 shows) on street corners, at junctions with side streets and this would therefore have encouraged drunk individuals to wander into the residential side or back roads. In addition to drink related offences, one or two public nuisance offences may also have been committed in these residential side/back streets within a year (Figures 59 and 60). These maps also exhibit the distinct main road/back street 'dualism' with small numbers of public nuisance crimes in the residential back/side streets in comparison to the main thoroughfares and therefore further help to explain isolated incidents that occurred in residential areas. It is possible to link this partly to the drink related offences since some public nuisances (such as obscene language or disorderly behaviour) may have involved the offender being intoxicated meaning the spatial configuration of offences would have corresponded in part. But there
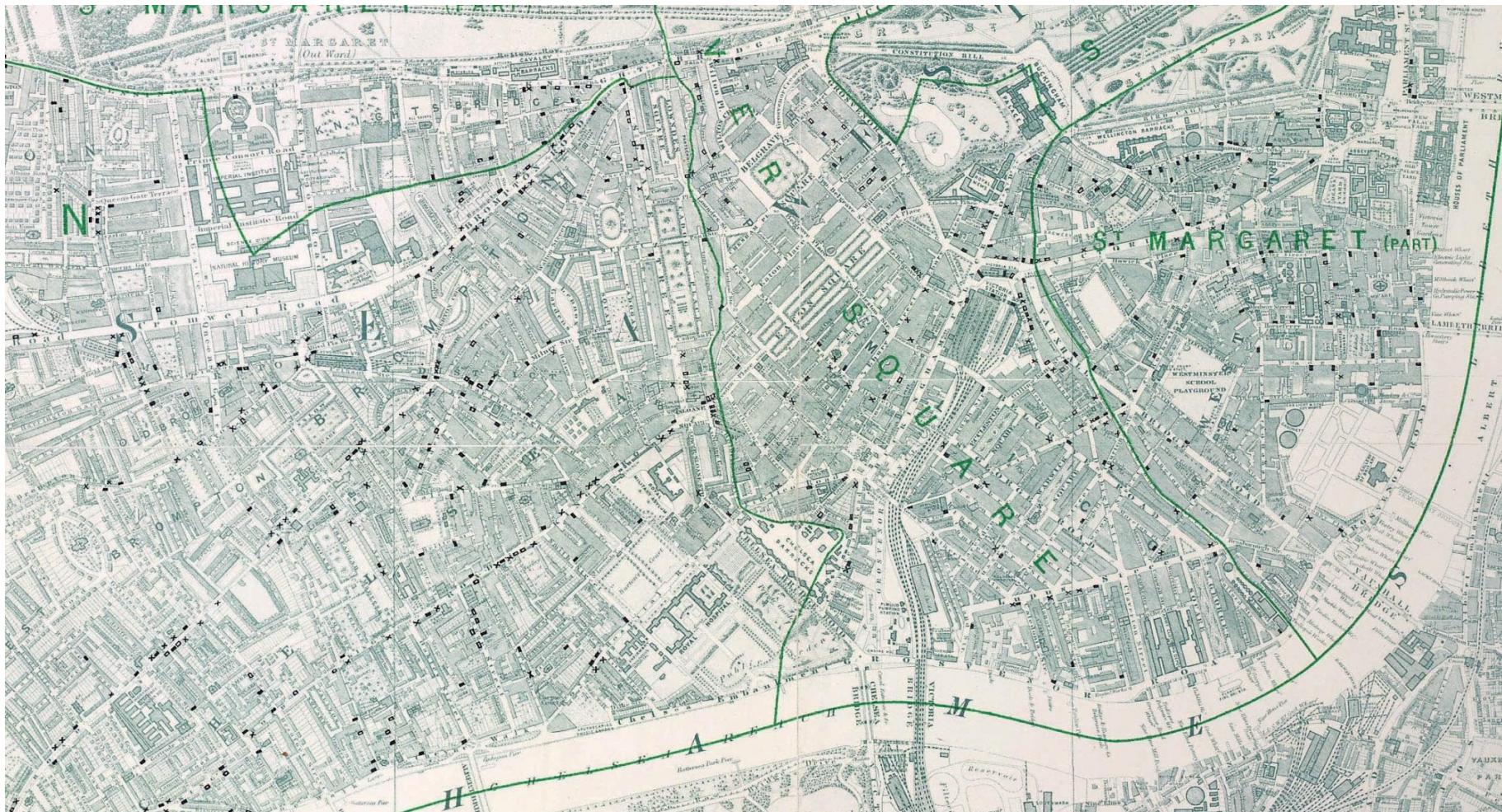
Figure 54 – Map of licensed premises in Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster (1903). The map shows the position of various different types of premises licensed to sell alcohol, with each site being denoted by a black symbol.

Source: © The British Library Board, Maps 3485.(178.)

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0
——	1 - 10
——	11 - 50
——	51 - 100
——	101 - 150
——	151 - 458

Scale 1:10,000

| 0 | 500 | 1,000 | 2,000 Metres |
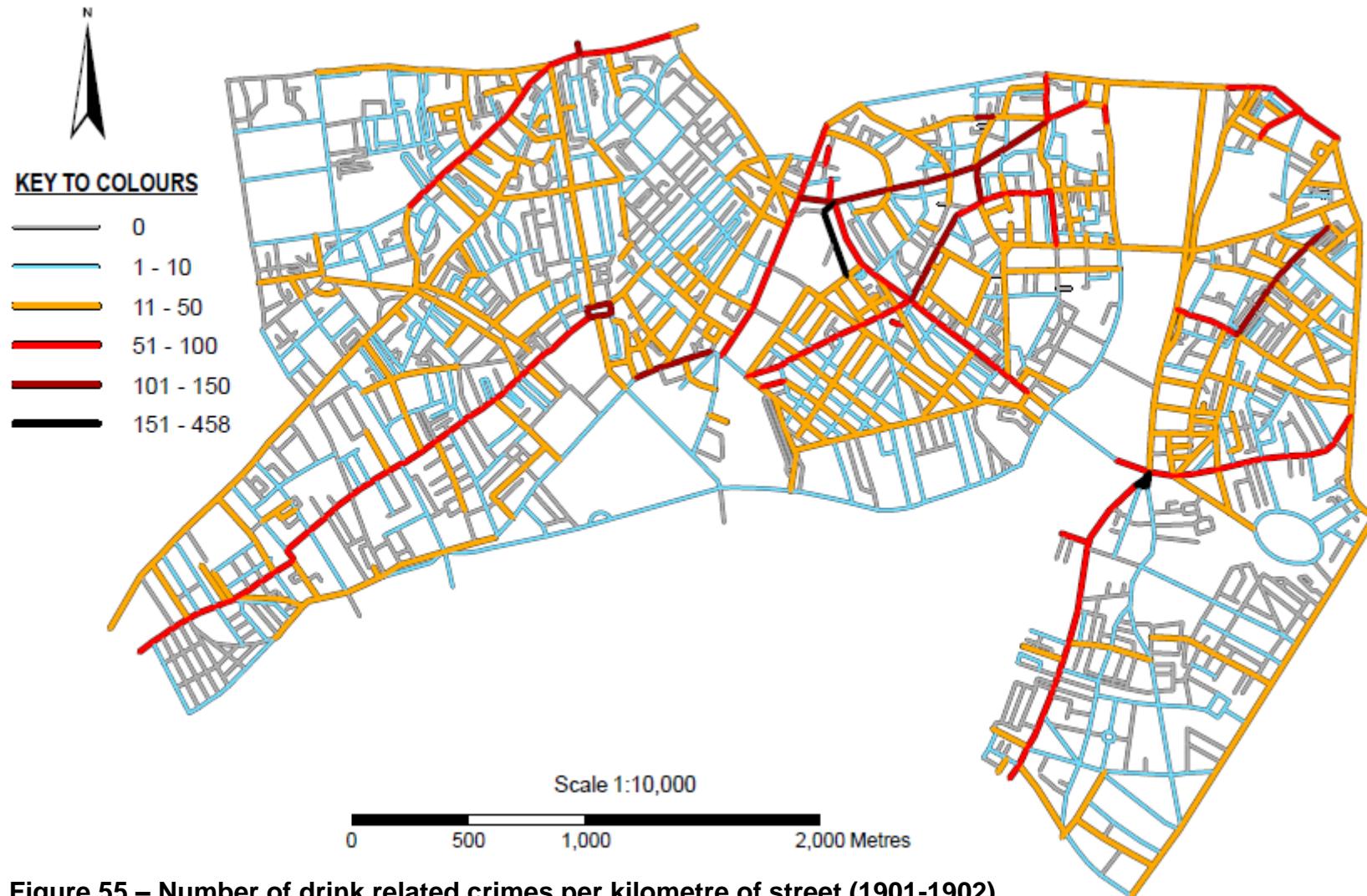
Figure 55 – Number of drink related crimes per kilometre of street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

	0
	1 - 10
	11 - 50
	51 - 100
	101 - 150
	151 - 418

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres
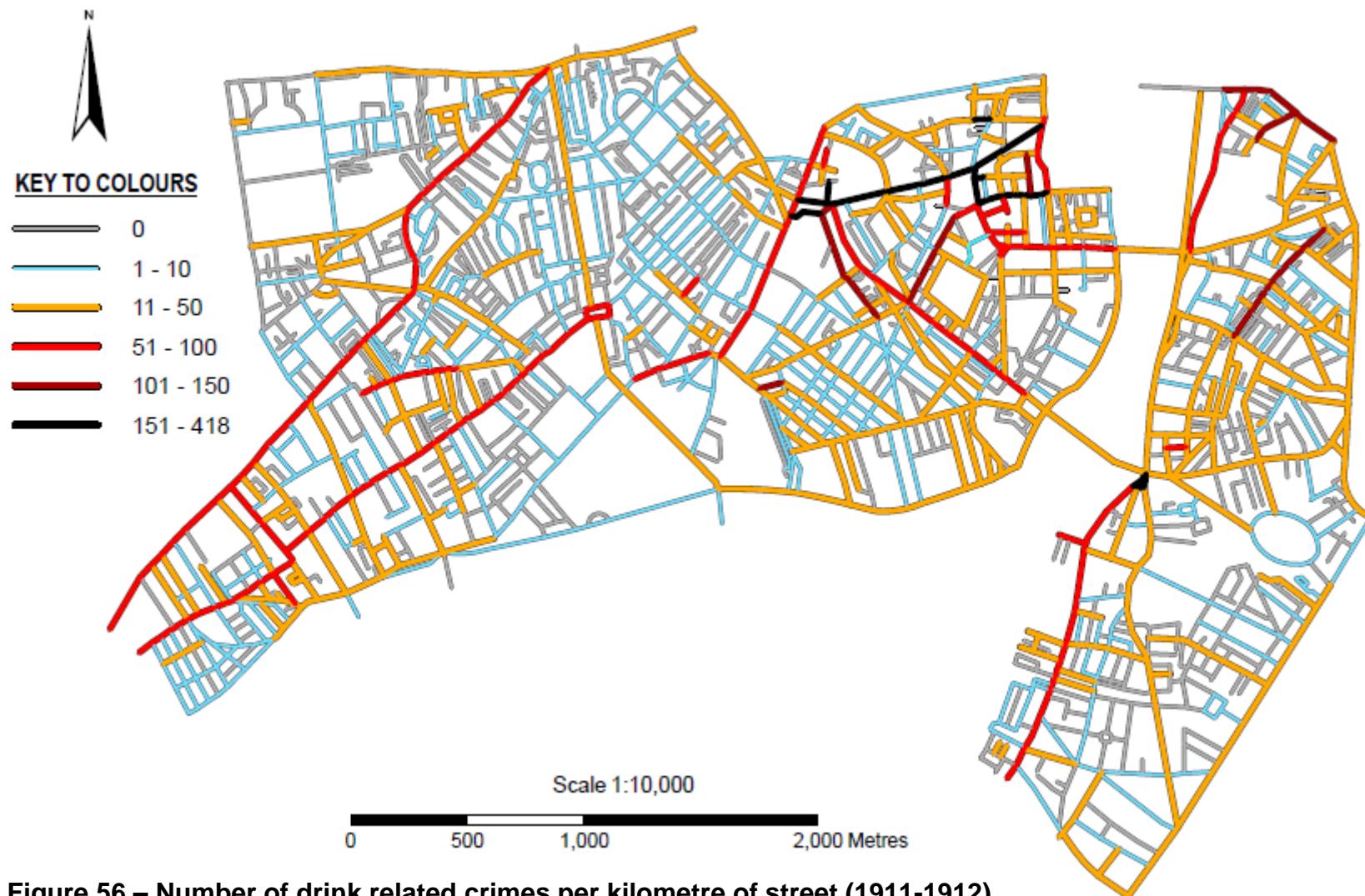
Figure 56 – Number of drink related crimes per kilometre of street (1911-1912).

Figure 57 – Drink related crimes per kilometre of street (1901-1902) in relation to the position of licensed premises. The map shows the position of licensed premises (denoted by black symbols) in 1903 alongside the distribution of drink related crimes per kilometre of street. See Appendix 3 for technical details on how this map was produced.

Note: for drink related crime, the key to colours is the same as that used in Figure 55, but with the colour blue replaced by green to improve viewing quality. No colouring is used for streets where no crime occurred.

Basemap source: © The British Library Board, Maps 3485.(178.)

Figure 58 – Drink related crimes per kilometre of street (1911-1912) in relation to the position of licensed premises. The map shows the position of licensed premises (denoted by black symbols) in 1903 alongside the distribution of drink related crimes per kilometre of street. See Appendix 3 for technical details on how this map was produced.

Note: for drink related crime, the key to colours is the same as that used in Figure 56, but with the colour blue replaced by green to improve viewing quality. No colouring is used for streets where no crime occurred.

Basemap source: © The British Library Board, Maps 3485.(178.)

KEY TO COLOURS

———	0
———	1 - 5
———	6 - 10
———	11 - 20
———	21 - 27

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres
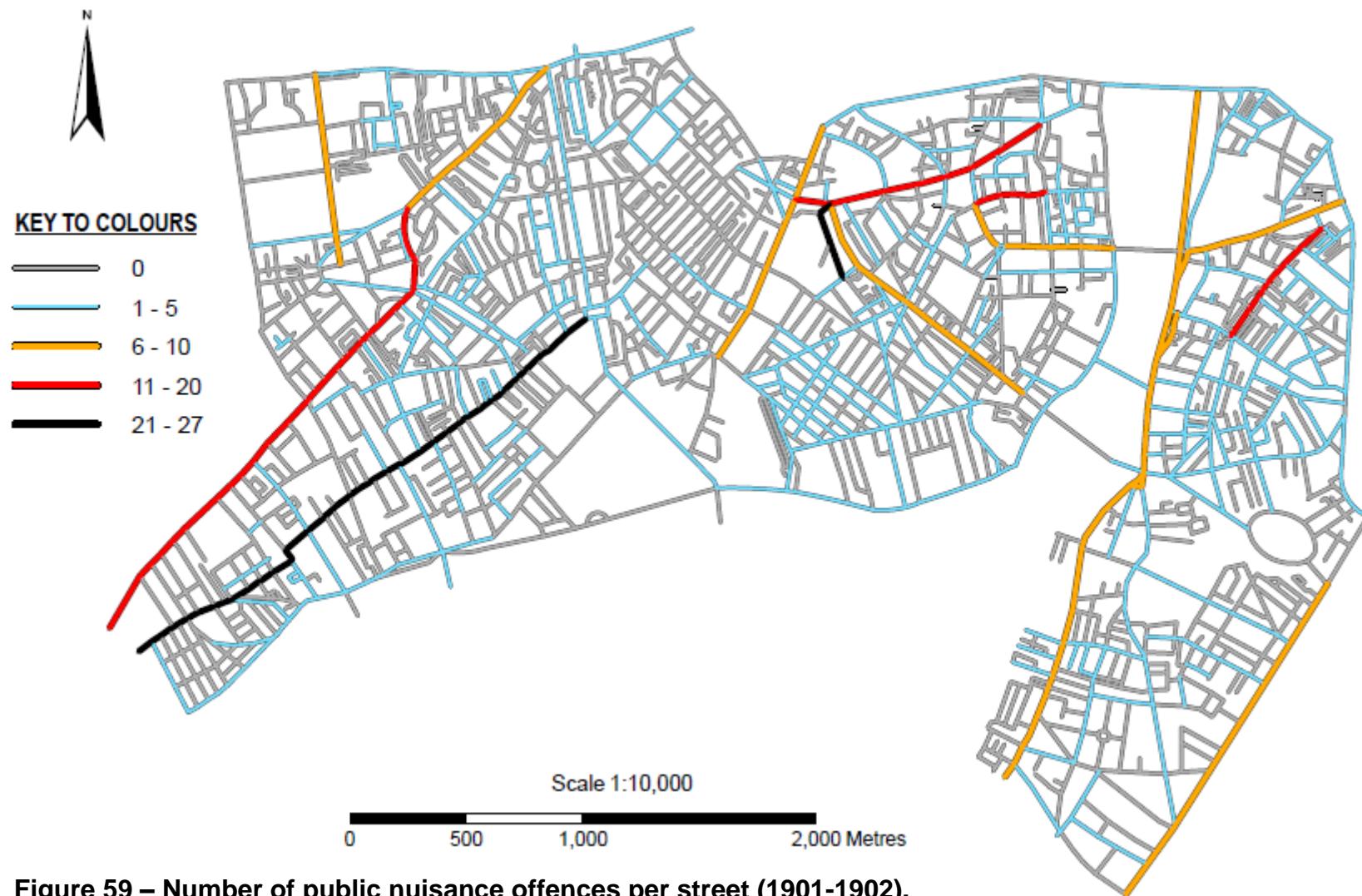
Figure 59 – Number of public nuisance offences per street (1901-1902).
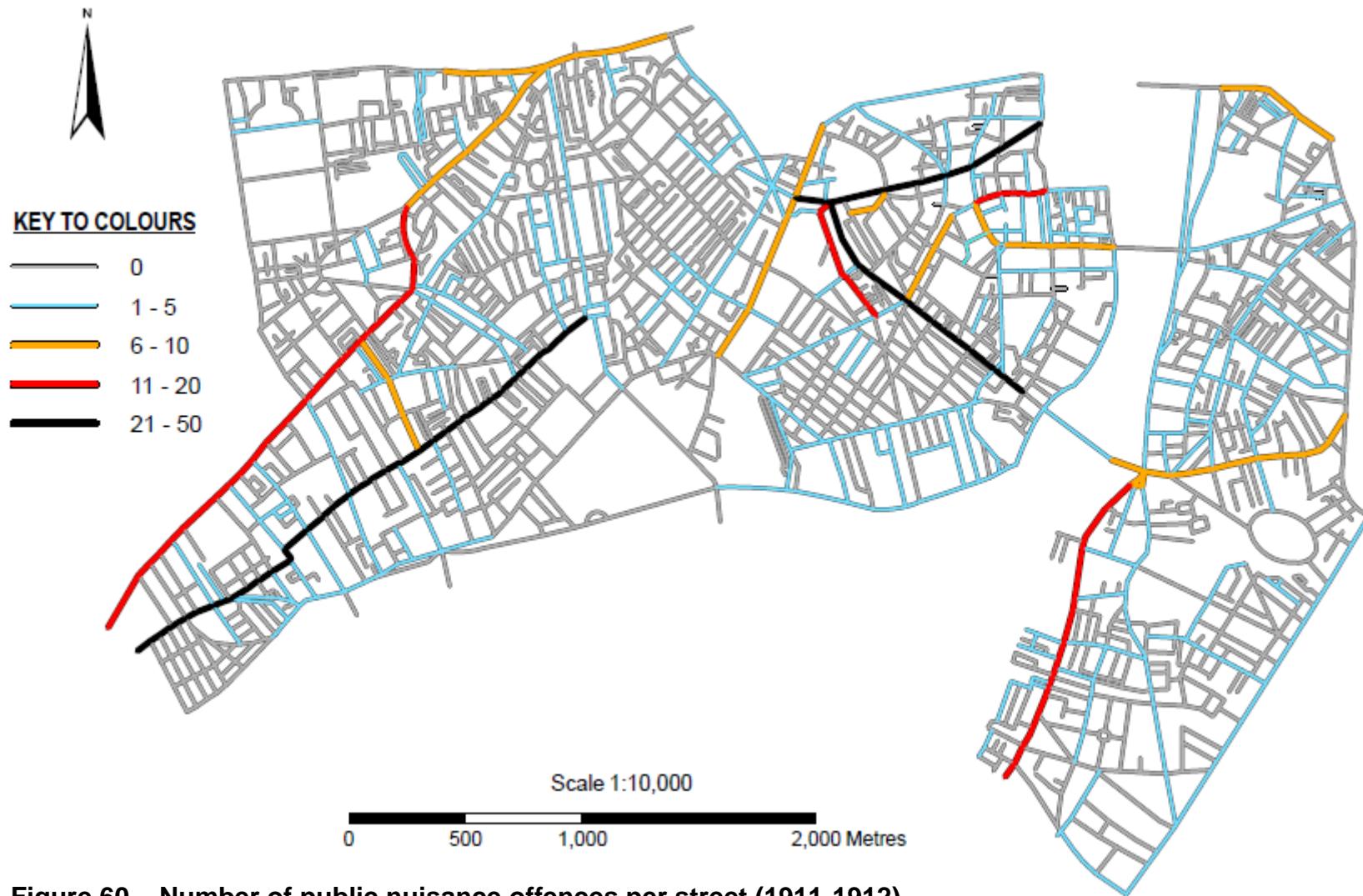
Figure 60 – Number of public nuisance offences per street (1911-1912).

KEY TO COLOURS

- 0
- 1 - 5
- 6 - 10
- 11 - 20
- 21 - 50

Scale 1:10,000

0 — 500 — 1,000 — 2,000 Metres

would also have been other isolated incidents involving children playing football or cricket in the streets and throwing missiles such as stones, endangering members of the public. Some of these may have occurred on main roads, but were more likely to occur in the side/back streets therefore adding to the overall number of disparate offences located in these residential areas. Conversely, costermongers or street sellers causing nuisance by obstructing the public footpath or carriageway with their barrow were more likely to be apprehended on busy main roads (since the sellers would have had greater potential to gain customers on these roads). Yet it is important to consider the response to these behaviours (playing games, shouting, drunkenness etc.) in the differing environmental settings of the main road and back/side street. Creating noise in a main road would have probably been drowned out by other activity (such as the sounds of vehicles and people) and therefore may have been considered less of a nuisance that could be tolerated or may not even have been noticed; whereas in a quieter side/back street the noise would have been much more of a 'disturbance', perhaps annoying residents and prompting the police to act. In contrast, drunk individuals on a main thoroughfare could be said to pose a greater risk to themselves or others due to the busy nature of the street (e.g. straying onto the road or knocking into people); whilst in a back/side street the risk was considerably lower. Such offences should be viewed as context specific which therefore helps to understand or contextualise the general pattern of total crime on the streets.

In addition to experiencing low numbers of drink related crime and public nuisances, residential back or side streets were naturally the targets of thieves or burglars and this would therefore have also contributed to the small but significant number of crimes in these streets (Figures 61 and 62). The most distinct areas targeted appear to be houses or premises in Pimlico and Belgravia, where entire networks of streets experienced burglary or breaking and entry. However, the maps show that main streets experienced the greatest number of thefts (both from individuals and from buildings) contributing to the main street/back street dualism. Just as thieves saw residential streets (especially wealthy ones) as areas of potential, so too did the beggar. The majority were arrested in the main thoroughfares (Figures 63 and 64) where the
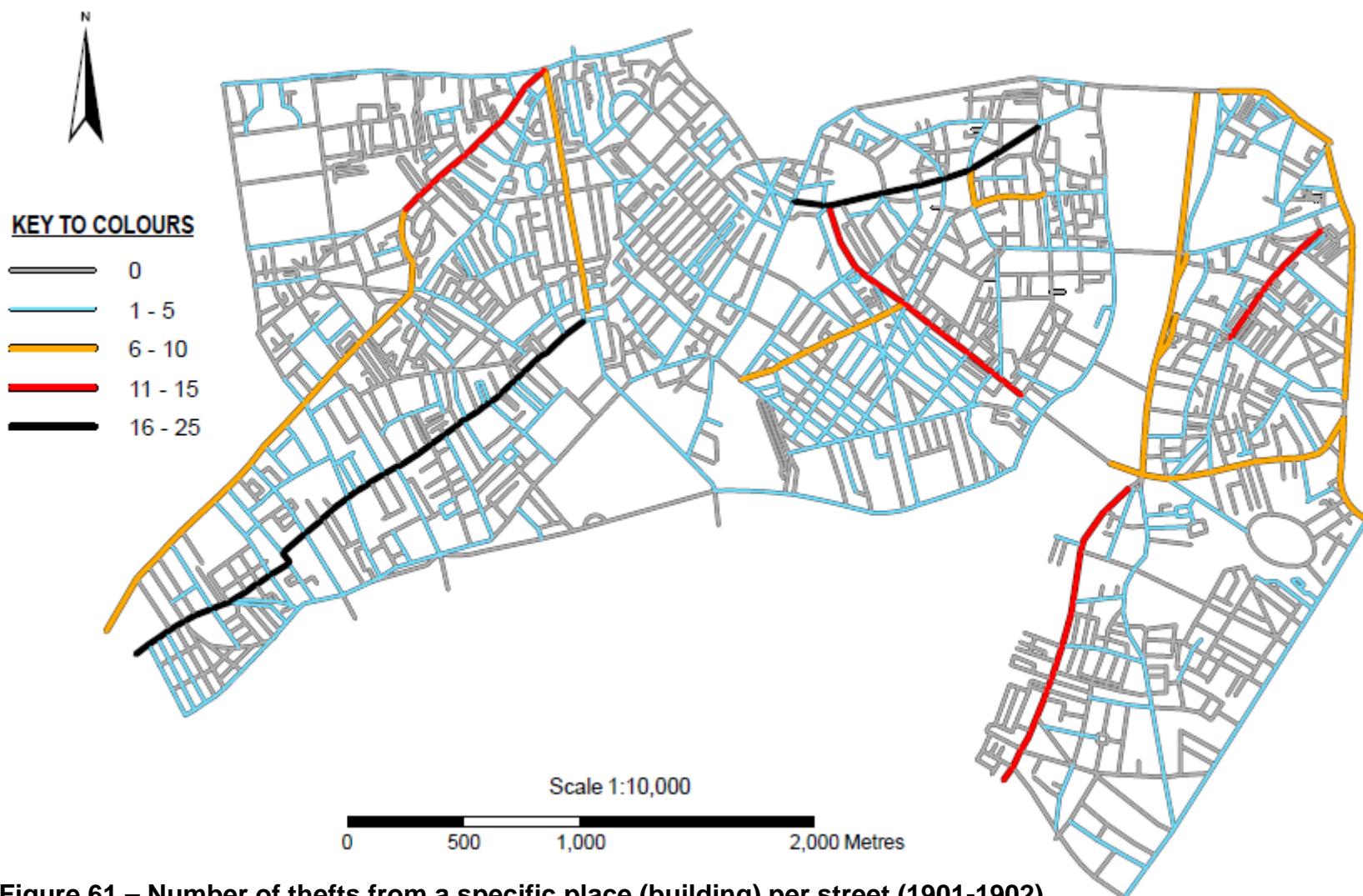
Figure 61 – Number of thefts from a specific place (building) per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

- 0
- 1 - 5
- 6 - 10
- 11 - 15
- 16 - 25

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0
——	1 - 3
——	4 - 6
——	7 - 9
——	10 - 12

Scale 1:10,000

| 0 | 500 | 1,000 | 2,000 Metres |
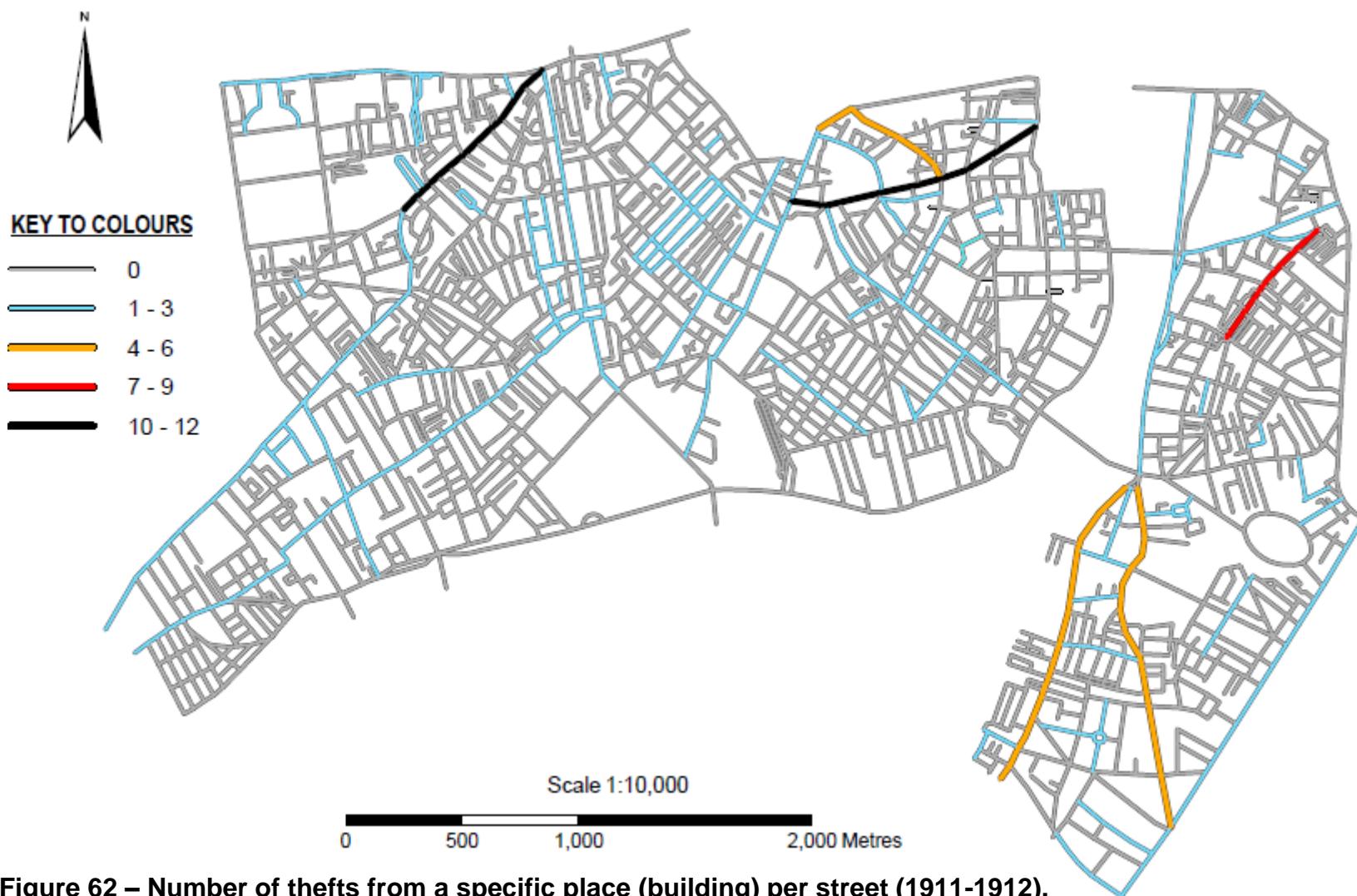
Figure 62 – Number of thefts from a specific place (building) per street (1911-1912).

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0
——	1 - 5
——	6 - 10
——	11 - 15
——	16 - 22

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

Figure 63 – Number of begging offences per street (1901-1902).
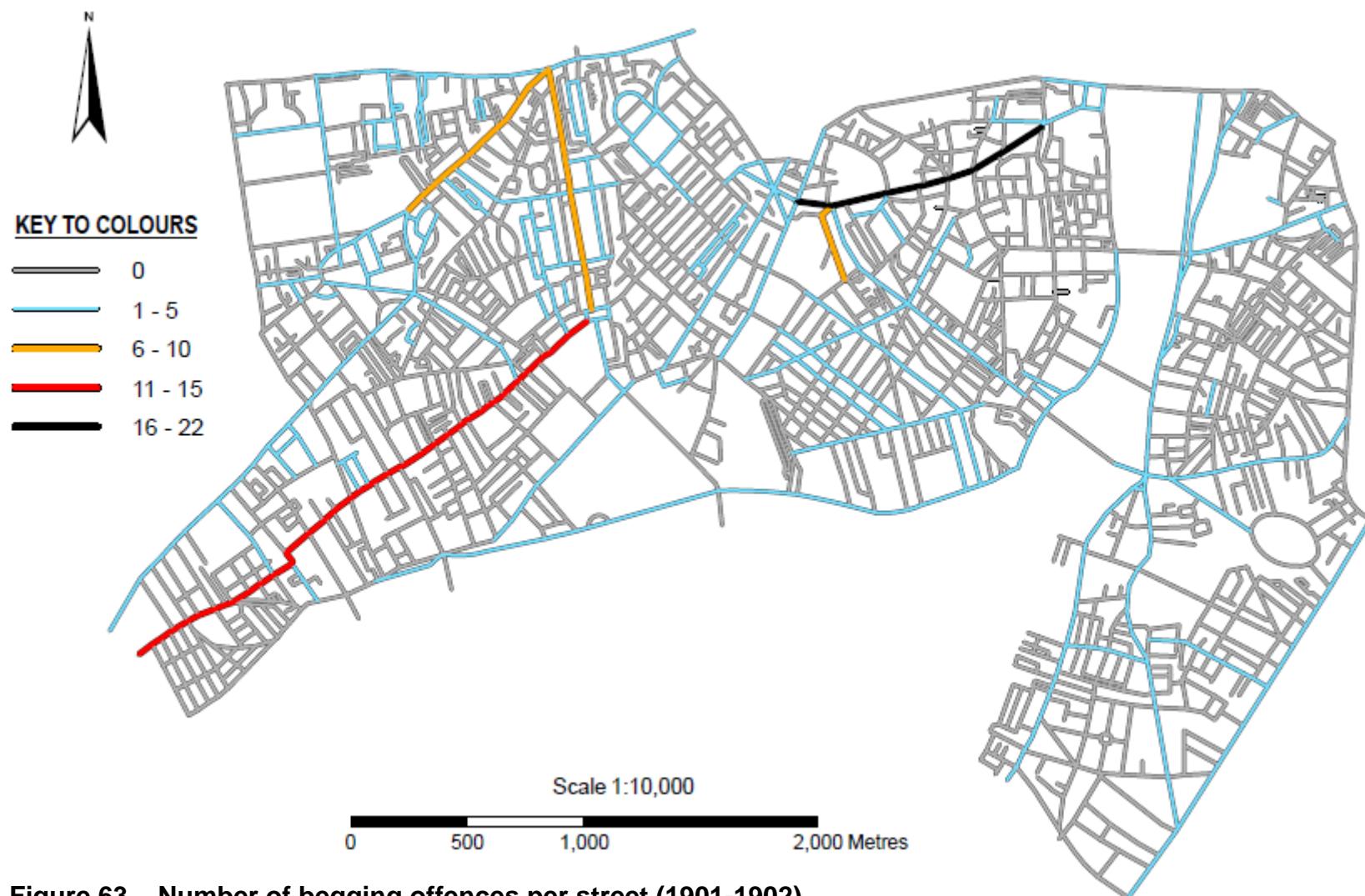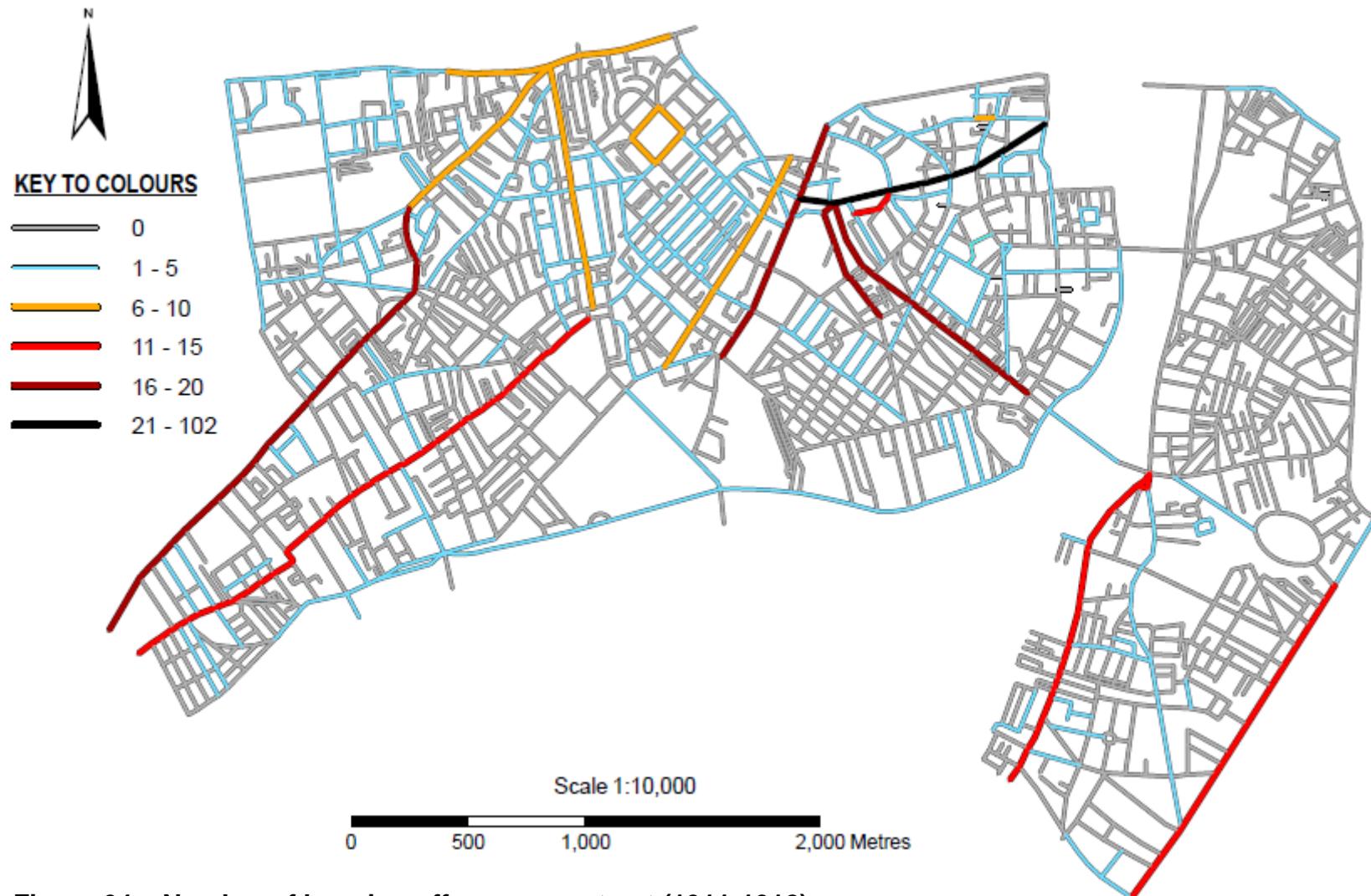
Figure 64 – Number of begging offences per street (1911-1912).

crowds provided a greater chance of obtaining money (but also meant the risk of police detection was greater). However, in both time periods, large numbers of individual incidents were located in the residential back and side streets, especially in certain wealthy parts of the WPC such as Belgravia and South Kensington. Yet, beggars were largely absent from the back/side streets of Lambeth and Battersea, but also less widespread in some parts of Westminster and Chelsea. Altogether this might imply that beggars preferred to specifically target the wealthier neighbourhoods, believing they had more hope of extracting money from rich pedestrians frequenting these areas. However, it is more likely that it was the wealthy residents that complained to the authorities about beggars on their streets and wanted the police to remove them. For example, in 1909 residents in another wealthy part of London objected to vagrants assembling near to their homes on the Victoria Embankment: "...the residents of Whitehall Court and the Hotels Metropole and Victoria strongly objected to these vagrants being permitted to assemble on the Victoria Embankment" (HO 45/14571, 1910). Thus when in 1910 the Church Army applied to the council for coke fire braziers to be placed on the Embankment on cold nights, the police of 'A' Division objected stating that it would "...attract a large number of these undesirables to this thoroughfare and serious complaints from the residents would result" (HO 45/14571, 1910). Wealthy WPC residents would have made similar complaints to the police and this may be why greater numbers were charged on the streets of Belgravia and South Kensington (incidentally, the council rejected the application for the fire braziers). Finally, it is worth noting the spatial pattern of assaults (Figures 65 and 66) which also exhibited and therefore contributed to the main street/back street dualism.

In summary, the number of crimes per kilometre of street illustrates how few roads in the WPC area experienced no crime, with main thoroughfares being the main sites of police arrests for a whole range of offences. However, it is the lower crime figures of the back streets/spaces that are of most interest since their interrelatedness with the main roads (physically, but also psychologically and socially) meant crime sometimes spilled into them. At other times, these streets were targets and as will be examined later, offered sanctuary for some offenders to commit offences.
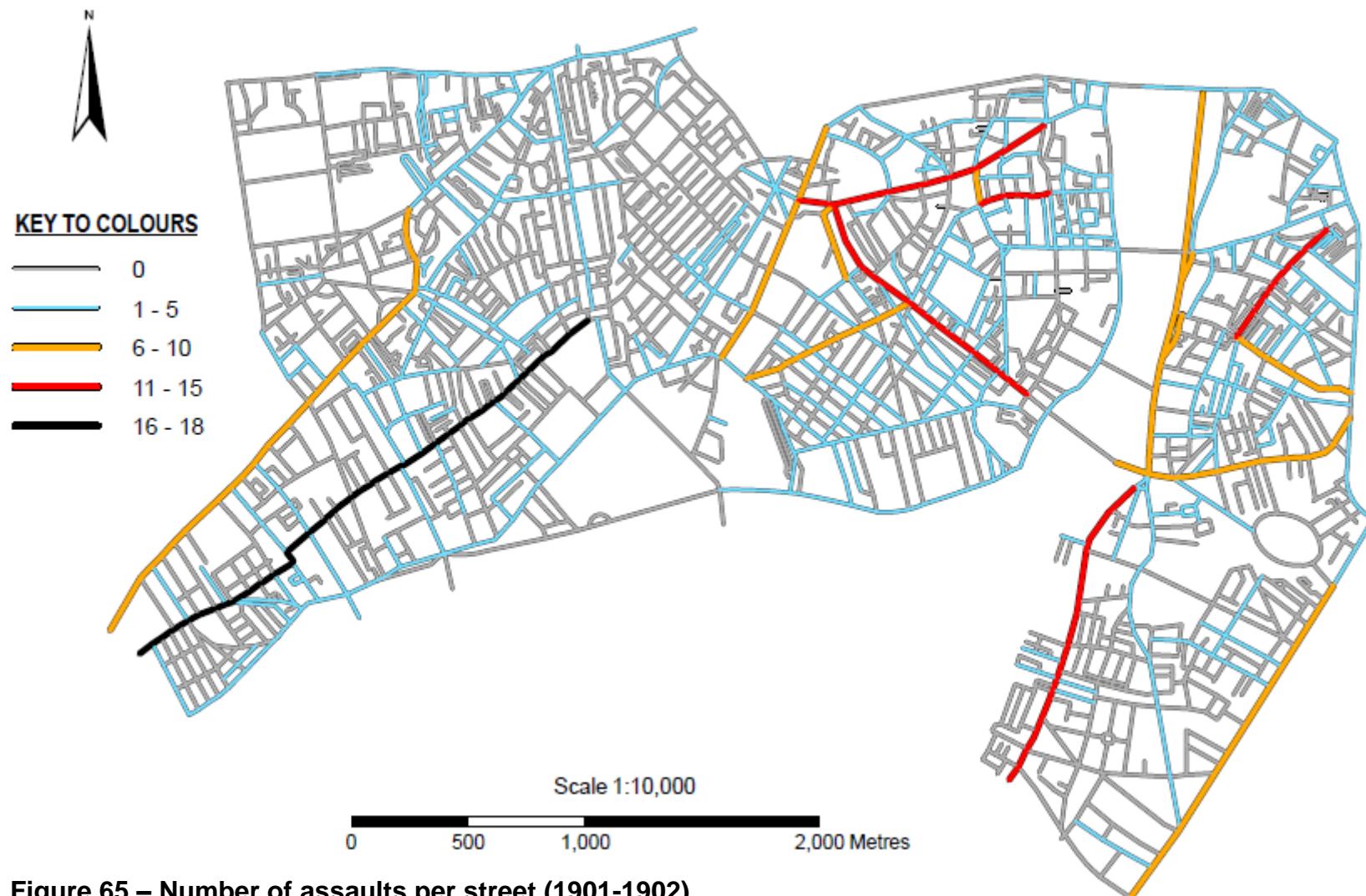
Figure 65 – Number of assaults per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0
——	1 - 5
——	6 - 10
——	11 - 15
——	16 - 19

Scale 1:10,000

| 0 | 500 | 1,000 | 2,000 Metres |
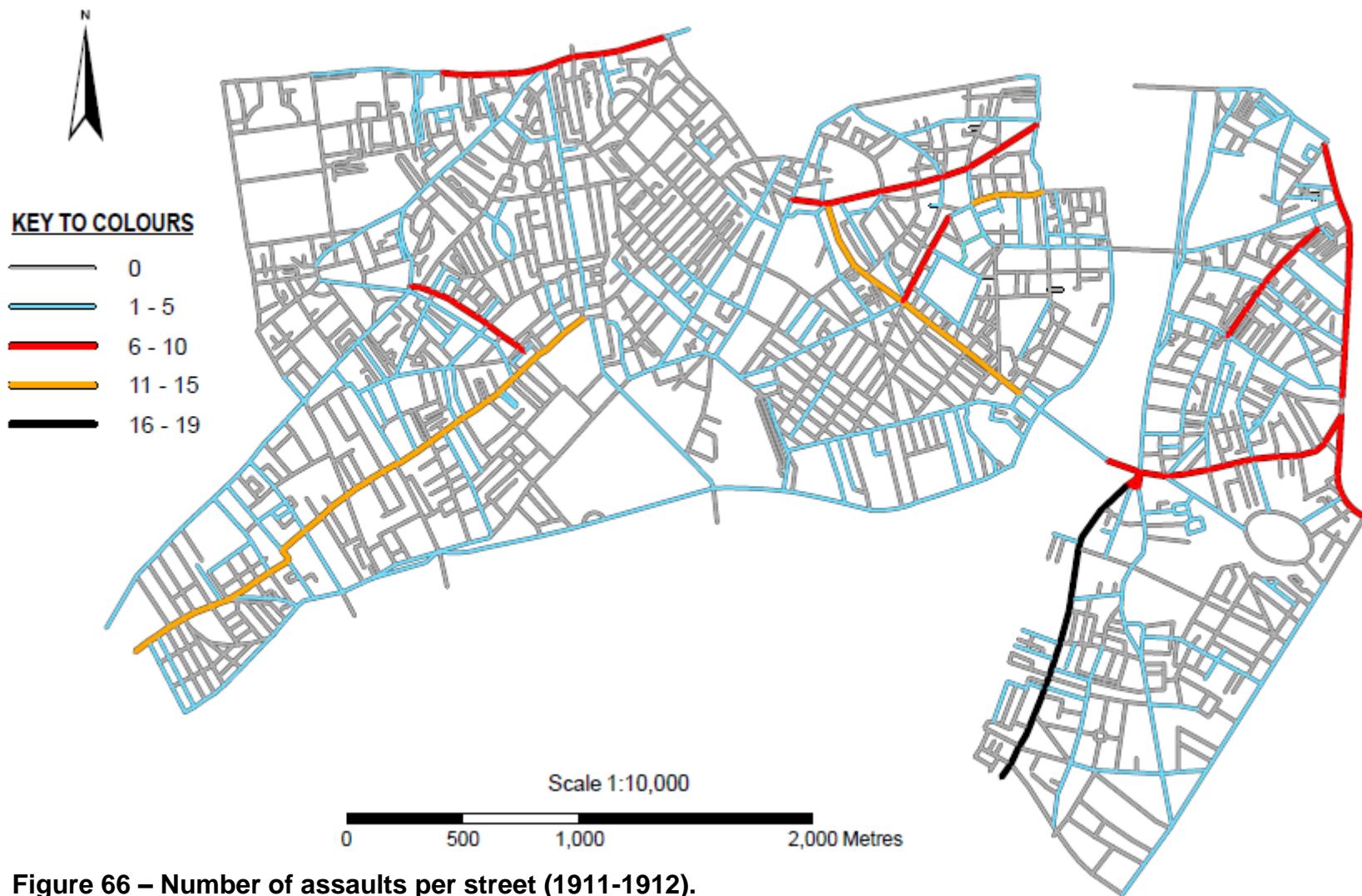
Figure 66 – Number of assaults per street (1911-1912).

Aside from these general patterns, there are a number of anomalous aspects or unusual spatial patterns that can be seen in the overall crime maps which will be explored briefly here. For example, in south west Chelsea there was one street in a residential area which contained over 200 crimes per kilometre of street in both time periods (Figure 67). Initially one could conclude that the street – Milman's Street, was a particularly 'bad' place where criminality was rife. However, if the land use either side of the street is examined on an Ordnance Survey map (Figure 68), it can be seen that a workhouse was situated on the eastern part of the road. It was discussed in an earlier section how workhouse inmates would often cause trouble for the authorities, refusing to work or fighting, often resulting in the police being called. Thus if the crimes for Milman's Street are broken down into categories (Table 19) it can be seen that almost all the offences were linked to the workhouse. In other words, it was the presence of the workhouse that generated a large number of offences thereby inflating the overall crime figures for the street. For instance in 1901-1902, 60 of the 75 crime incidents on the street (80%) involved the workhouse and 36 out of 49 (73%) in 1911-1912. In addition, there were several other poor law establishments in the WPC region (listed in Table 20) and in most of these cases it seems that the workhouse had a considerable influence on overall crime (most notably on Arthur Street in Chelsea where all crime on the street was workhouse related). Although the fact that the workhouse inflated crime figures in a street is not particularly striking, it illustrates the importance that specific street land use had on crime – without the workhouse, these streets would be similar to the numerous others nearby, probably experiencing relatively low crime. I have already discussed how the presence of commercial premises on main roads, as well as pubs or spaces of leisure/entertainment would have created greater opportunity for crime. However in those cases it is difficult to quantify how important these land uses were in influencing crime figures (since they would have attracted a plethora of criminal activity and offence descriptions lack adequate detail to conduct such a specific analysis); whereas because workhouse crime is associated with the specific workhouse space it is far easier to quantify the influence it had on overall crime for a street. In turn, this perhaps provides some indication of how the commercial, leisure and entertainment spaces or land use would have influenced a street's crime
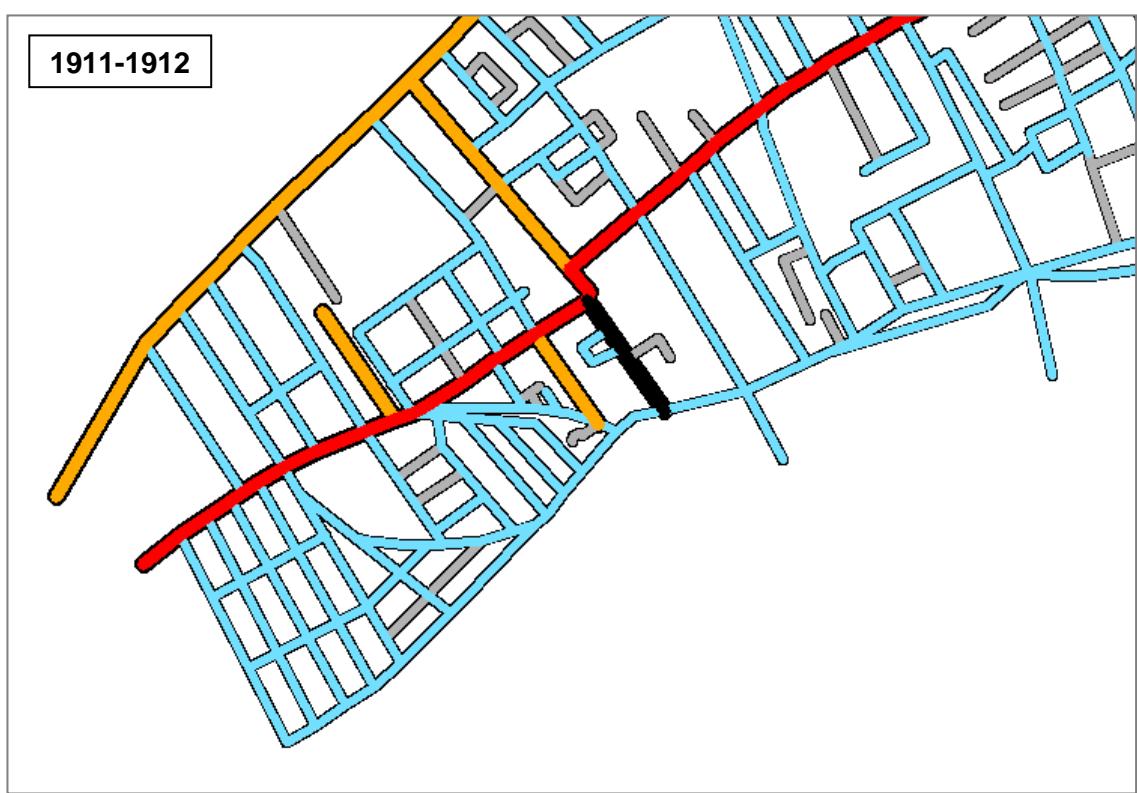
Figure 67 – Milman's Street, Chelsea. The maps are centred on Milman's Street – coloured black indicating that it had in excess of 200 crimes per kilometre of street in both periods (389 in 1901-1902 and 251 in 1911-1912).

Figure 68 – Ordnance Survey map of Milman's Street (1919). The map shows how although the majority of the street was residential, the casual wards of St Luke's, Chelsea were located on the eastern side of the street. The workhouse would have been a constant source of trouble for the police and the fact that 'B' Division's Kings Road Police Station was on the north-western corner of the street would have allowed them to respond to any disturbance rapidly.

Source: Digimap (2014)

Category name	1901-1902	1911-1912
Drink related crime	8	7
Theft (other than from a specific building)	1	0
Theft from a place	1	0
Assault or violence	1	3
Damage to property	2	2
Fraud	0	4
Begging	1	0
Obstruction to justice	0	1
Public nuisances	4	3
Workhouse crime	60	36

Table 19 – Types of crime committed on Milman's Street (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). Workhouse crime was the most common offence that occurred on the street and in fact the workhouse was the cause of several other crimes. For instance, all damage to property and fraud offences on the street were associated with the workhouse.

Street name	Workhouse name	1901-1902	1911-1912
Arthur Street, Kensington	St Luke's Chelsea	100% (30)	100% (17)
Fulham Road	St George's	36% (40)	2% (4)
Princes Road	St Mary's, Lambeth	45% (23)	36% (14)
Wallis's Yard	St George's	100% (3)	72% (18)

Table 20 – Workhouses in the WPC area and the number of crimes committed at the workhouse (workhouse crime). The figures show the number of workhouse crimes that occurred at each of the workhouses in the WPC area. The percentages are the proportion of the total number of crimes on the respective street that workhouse crime contributed. As can be seen, in most cases across both time periods workhouse crime was one of the largest (sometimes the only) contributor to crime on a street.

figures.

It has been shown how the residential nature of back and side streets resulted in there generally being less or no crime in large parts of the WPC area. However, there was one 'blank' area on the maps which was not residential – the streets in the north west of the WPC area were dominated by the presence of the Imperial Institute, Natural History, Science and Victoria and Albert Museums, forming the museum district of 'Albertopolis'. It is curious how this entire region experienced so little crime despite the attractions on offer. Tens of thousands of people journeyed to view exhibits at the museums each year – The Natural History Museum for instance received 417,691 in 1901 and 433,619 in 1902, increasing to 515,562 by 1910 (The Times, 5 August 1903, page 10; The Times, 23 August 1911, page 10). Thus collectively there would have been a considerable footfall within this part of Kensington creating ample opportunity for criminality, yet crime was low and there are several possible reasons for this. Firstly, visitors were not attracted to the streets, but instead the enclosed spaces of the museums and would have spent most of their time browsing exhibits. Clearly visitors fully engrossed in what was on show could be perceived as easy prey for thieves or tricksters. Yet, no instances of pickpocketing within the spaces of these museums occurred in 1901-1902 or 1911-1912. This is perhaps because the museums charged an entry fee, but presumably would also have had security guards which may have deterred offenders. Nevertheless, a case in 1900 brought before Marlborough Street Police Court involved an American visitor being befriended by a fraudster at the Victoria and Albert (V&A) Museum (Figure 69) suggests that some criminals were willing to try – presumably believing the crime rewards exceeded the expense. One would also have expected the museums to be a target of thieves wanting to steal the valuable objects on display in order to sell them onto collectors. Yet again there were no such crimes listed in the WPC registers for the study periods, although in 1900 a doorkeeper employed by the Imperial Institute stole ostrich feathers valued at £30 (Figure 70). In fact, the only WPC trial from the study period which directly involved a museum was that of Philip Conquest (33, labourer) who stole 2/- worth of lead from the V&A Museum (PS/WES/A/01/026, 9 October 1901, trial 25) – all the other crime attributed to

At MARLBOROUGH-STREET, EDWARD LONG, 50, who stated that he was a stockbroker, living in Bride-court, Ludgate-circus, was charged on remand before Mr. Fenwick with having been concerned with another man not in custody in stealing £35 in notes from Charles Dalmas, a farmer, of Coalsville, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., at present staying at Bedford-place, Russell-square. While the prosecutor was looking at some pictures in the South Kensington Museum on January 8 the prisoner accosted him, saying, "You are an American." Mr. Dalmas replied in the affirmative, and they got into conversation and had some drink together. An appointment was made for the following day at the Hotel Victoria, where the prisoner said he was staying. The appointment was kept, and, after a walk, they went into a publichouse in Pall-mall, where a man, who said his name was Patrick Fitzgerald, joined them. The three men went to the bar of the Bath Hotel, Piccadilly, where Fitzgerald told them that, through an uncle of his who had "struck oil" in Pennsylvania, he had been left a fortune of £180,000. He had only, he said, just come into the money, had some difficulty in getting it, and had just been brought to London by the "parish priest." Out of the fortune left him £10,000 was to be given to the poor of America, £10,000 to the "rest of the world," £10,000 to the lawyers, £5,000 to Ireland, £500 to the Pope of Rome, and £500 for the repose of the soul of his father who had just died. The prosecutor drank too much champagne, and, after he had done so, Fitzgerald said that he wanted two Americans to distribute the money to the poor of America, and suggested that the prosecutor and the prisoner should undertake the task. If, however, they undertook the work, they would have to show that they were responsible persons with confidence in him before the money was handed over. Long then left them " to get his money," and returned with what appeared to be a bundle of Bank of England notes. The prosecutor, having only £2 at the time in his possession, went to his lodgings and returned with seven £5 notes. They drank more champagne, and Long said, " Don't carry your money loose in that way," and gave him an envelope in which the notes were put. The prosecutor placed it in his pocket, but one of the men (the prosecutor could not remember which) asked him to produce it to show his confidence in them. Mr. Dalmas laid the envelope on the table. The men picked it up, went out of the bar, and left the prosecutor waiting " showing his confidence in them." He waited for two hours, and, finding that the men did not return, he went to Vine-street Station and informed the police of what had occurred. Warder Cook, of Holloway Gaol, now deposed that he was present at the Chester Assizes on July 27, 1891, when the prisoner, in the name of Vaughan, was sentenced to five years' penal servitude for house breaking, after other convictions for misdemeanour. The prisoner, in reply to the magistrate, said that he would reserve his defence, and had no witnesses to call. Mr. Fenwick committed the accused for trial.

Figure 69 – A trickster at the Natural History Museum (or South Kensington Museum).

Source: The Times, 20 January 1900, page 3

At WESTMINSTER, WILLIAM BROWN, 53, of Brookville-road, Fulham, and AGNES SPARKES, 46, married, of Victoria-grove, Kensington, both well dressed, were on remand before Mr. Sheil, charged with being concerned together in the theft of ostrich feathers, value £30, from the Cape Colony section of the Imperial Institute, the property of the Cape Government. The male prisoner was employed as doorkeeper at the main entrance of the Institute. On the night of the 13th inst. Edwin Mitchell, a fireman, observed that the feather show case in the Cape Colony section had been opened and that two ostrich feathers were on the ground. The police were informed and as the male prisoner was going off duty they noticed the end of a feather protruding from under his waistcoat. He was searched, and 13 large feathers were found under his vest. He said, "My God, I am ruined. I do not know what made me do it." From information obtained, Detective Morgan subsequently went to the house of the female prisoner, a lodging-house keeper at Kensington. In reply to questions, she admitted an acquaintanceship with Brown and that he had given her ostrich feathers on several occasions—some of them as far back as 12 or 18 months ago. She gave up 14 fine feathers, all of which were identified by Mr. Atkinson, curator of the Cape Colony section. Inspector Hayter said the male prisoner had been a pensioner from the Navy since 1884, and, bearing the very highest of characters, he had been specially recommended for museum employment. Both prisoners pleaded "Guilty," the man, in tremulous tones, only begging for mercy. Mr. Sheil regarded the offence as a very bad one. Very likely the woman tempted the man, and she would have three months' hard labour. The man would have six months' hard labour.

Figure 70 – Theft of ostrich feathers from the Imperial Institute by an Institute employee.

Source: The Times, 21 December 1900, page 10

the streets of this region were either begging offences, barrows obstructing footways and some drink related crime. Perhaps another reason for this low crime figure concerns the other museum or visitor attractions in London and specifically those within/near to the WPC area. At the time the South Kensington district had become a little old fashioned, with newer attractions catching peoples' attention:

> ...by the end of the [19th] century public opinion was less satisfied with South Kensington. The National Gallery, thanks to its central situation, had ensured that anyone visiting London could easily approach to pay homage to the paradise of painting in Great Britain. But whilst visitors...flocked to Trafalgar Square, the South Kensington Museum appeared out of fashion and its situation 'inaccessible' to the mass of Londoners (Lorente, 1995:199).

Criminals may therefore have found richer pickings at more central, popular museums/galleries such as the new National Gallery of British Art on Millbank which opened in 1897 (Tate, 2014). However, the streets surrounding the Gallery also lacked significant numbers of crimes, indicating that being centrally located or being easier to commute to did not seem to influence crime numbers. But perhaps it is also important to consider the character or outward appearance of the thief, as opposed to that of the typical museum or gallery visitor. Although being an engraving, Figure 71 provides an impression of the type of individuals visiting the museums and galleries of London – almost every individual appears to be of a wealthy disposition. It is difficult to get a sense of what pickpockets looked like since such individuals were unlikely to be photographed willingly. Figure 72 shows some engravings that portray stereotypical images of pickpockets and perhaps are the best impression of what society thought such individuals looked like. If the poses/tactics are disregarded (which were probably more useful in crowded situations), the attire of the thief seems to be rather working class in style (distinctly different to the men in Figure 71). Furthermore, if the criminals worked in pairs the presence of such individuals would certainly arouse suspicion, unless they dressed and acted similarly to the typical museum visitor i.e. became 'gentlemen thieves'. Such differentiation was not such a problem in the space of the busy street

MATERIAL EXCLUDED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

Figure 71 – Visitors to the South Kensington Museum (Victoria & Albert Museum) (1871).

Source: Illustrated London News, Saturday 3 June 1871, pages 552-3

The inside pocket an easy job when the victim tries to read the paper.

Figure 72 – Stereotypical images of pickpockets in the Edwardian era.

where individuals of all classes were likely to encounter each other. Thus taken together these reasons may explain why this area of London experienced relatively few crimes.

Hitherto I have shown how some specific types of crime were distributed across the WPC area, but mainly to highlight the lower number of incidents in side/back streets in contrast to the major thoroughfares. But there are other offences which have not been referred to that exhibited interesting patterns, not necessarily conforming to the main street/back street dualism. The distribution of illegal gambling offences is shown in Figures 73 and 74. Although these crimes did occur along main roads, the maps suggest that the majority of betting activity took place within back and side streets. From a strategic criminal perspective this would be logical since the more exposed, open, crowded main streets would not have been an easy place to operate without alerting the police. Instead by working in the back or side streets, utilising some of the methods or tactics that were described in an earlier section (e.g. informants, lookouts, agents, codes, bribery), bookmakers could carry on with their business discretely. It is also possible that there was more opportunity for offenders to evade capture since (as the maps show) these back/side streets had many interconnections with other similar, small, short streets. There is also a distinct temporal change in the distribution of activity, with fewer individuals being apprehended by 1911-1912. This can be attributed to the Street Betting Act 1906 (discussed earlier) forcing bookmakers to work more covertly. Yet it is fascinating to see how much of the illegal gambling had disappeared from the area south of the Thames, with only a handful of individuals being caught in the back streets (in stark contrast to 1901-1902 where it appears betting was more popular than in places north of the river). Furthermore, by 1911-1912 the police were not detecting any offences in many of the major thoroughfares such as Kings Road, Knightsbridge, Brompton Road, Albert Embankment, South Lambeth Road, Lambeth Palace Road, Upper Kennington Lane and Clapham Road. Visually this illustrates how the Street Betting Act seems to have changed the presence of illegal betting activity on the streets of the WPC. That is not to say it was eradicated, but as discussed earlier, bookmakers may have turned to more private spaces away from the prying eyes of the police, who

KEY TO COLOURS

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Scale 1:10,000

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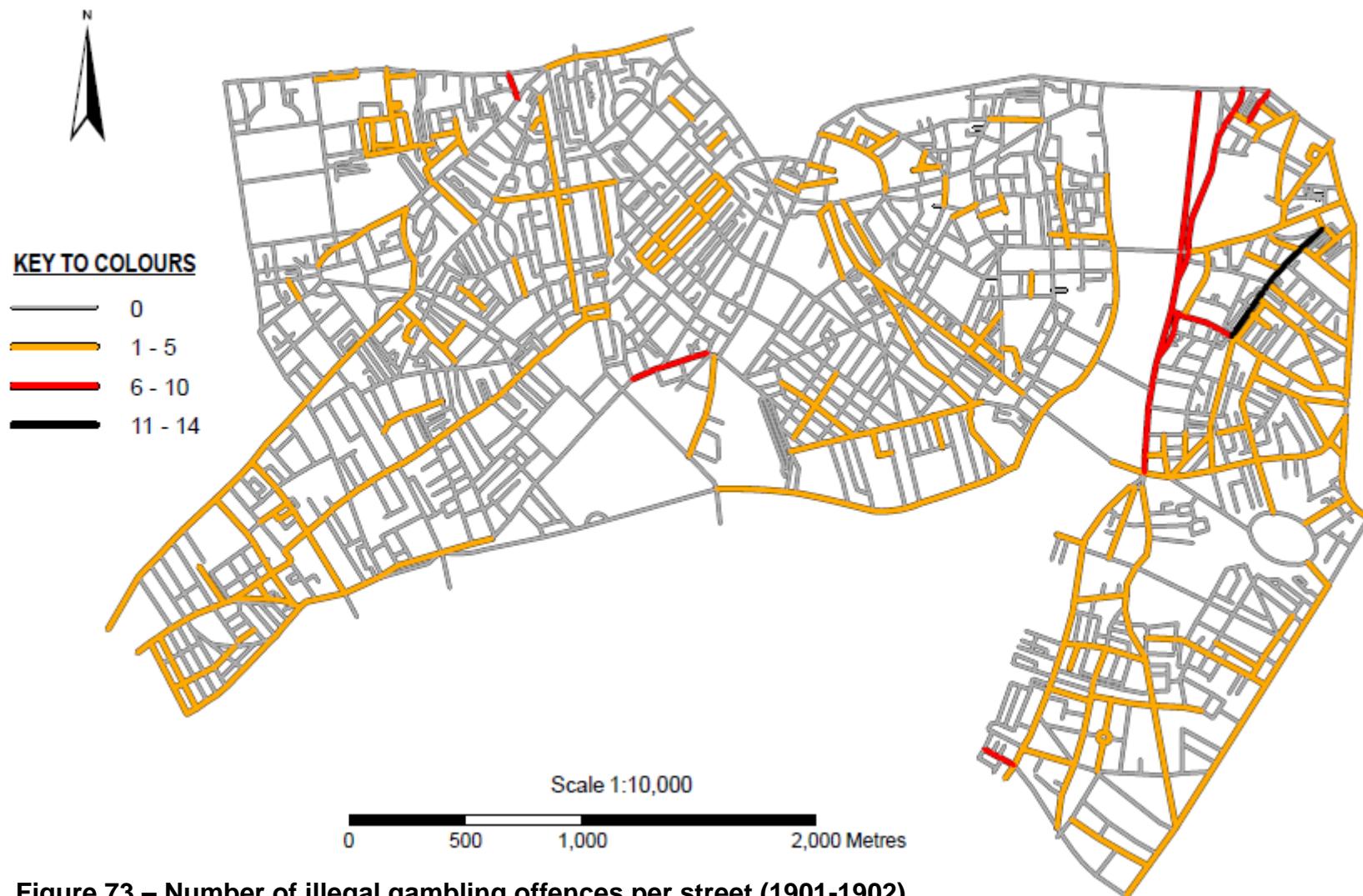
Figure 73 – Number of illegal gambling offences per street (1901-1902).
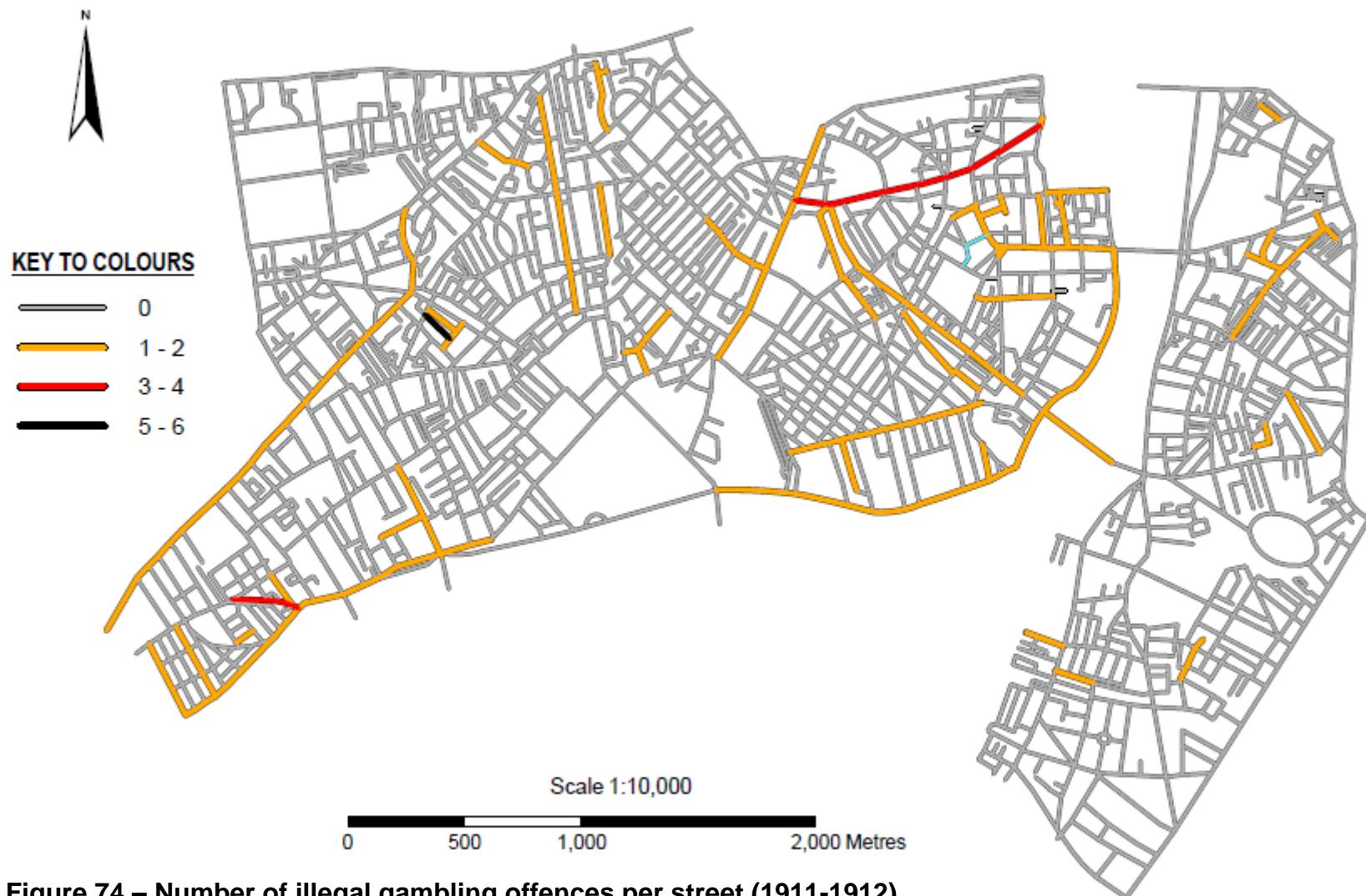
Figure 74 – Number of illegal gambling offences per street (1911-1912).

would have needed to utilise covert surveillance tactics to detect such crime (which was time consuming and resource intensive).

A similar spatial pattern can also be seen in the maps showing where prostitution offences were committed (Figures 75 and 76). However, in this instance there were also high numbers of offences on major thoroughfares as well as a peppering of arrests on side or back streets. This reflects the nature of prostitution – the movements made and spaces frequented by women would have mirrored this pattern. It is well documented how prostitutes would solicit for business on busy main roads (see Walkowitz, 1998; Slater, 2010; Laite, 2012 etc.) and many streets in the West End were cited during the period as being frequented by prostitutes. Indeed, it was generally argued that:

> ...in almost every town certain streets are known to be the haunt of women, and even a stranger can discover them for himself without trouble. Street solicitation usually very discreet; no nuisance in ordinary sense of term (Anon, 3AMS/B/16/15, c.1917).

This is perhaps why large numbers of prostitutes were arrested in Kings Road, Fulham Road and Vauxhall Bridge Road (amongst others) since these were most likely to be the areas where they solicited. Moreover, Laite (2012:81) states that the streets surrounding Victoria Station were well known places where women solicited. But as the maps show, isolated prostitution offences were found in back or side streets, behind the main thoroughfares. Once a woman had managed to catch the attention of a man (along a main road for instance), then she may have led him back to her lodgings or a brothel, which quite often were in back or side streets (alternatively, if a man already knew a prostitute then he would have gone directly to the lodging/brothel). Indeed, an anonymous account from the 19th century by a man named 'Walter' describes this whole process several times. In one instance, he describes accosting a woman in the busy thoroughfare of Regent Street (the Quadrant) at the corner of Beak Street, following her to Tichborne Street (which became part of Glasshouse Street) and then to her lodgings at "13 J...s Street" (Anonymous, 1888, Volume 3, Chapter 7). Based on the direction they went and maps of the local area, it is probable that the lodgings were in James Street, a side street

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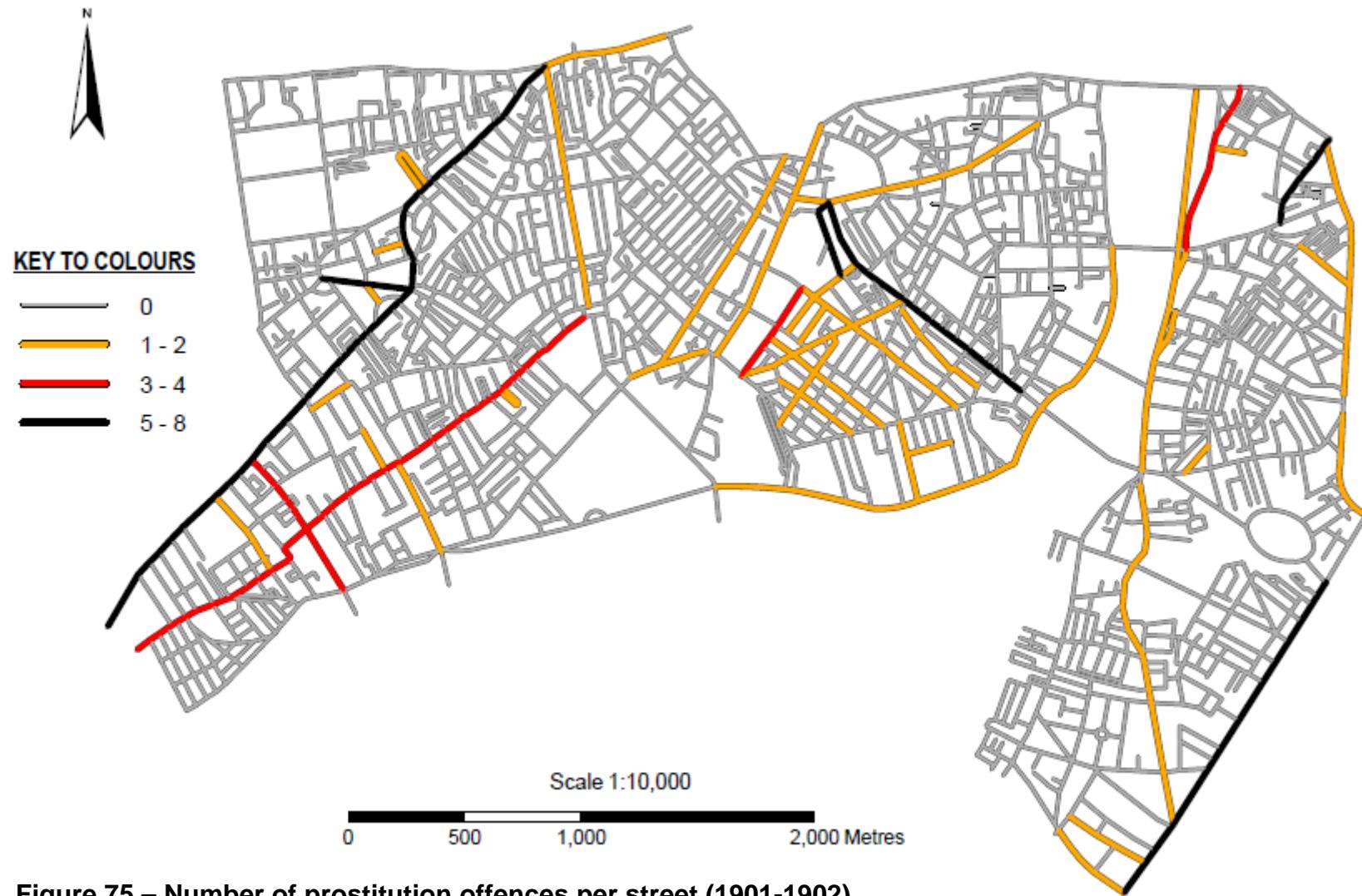
Figure 75 – Number of prostitution offences per street (1901-1902).
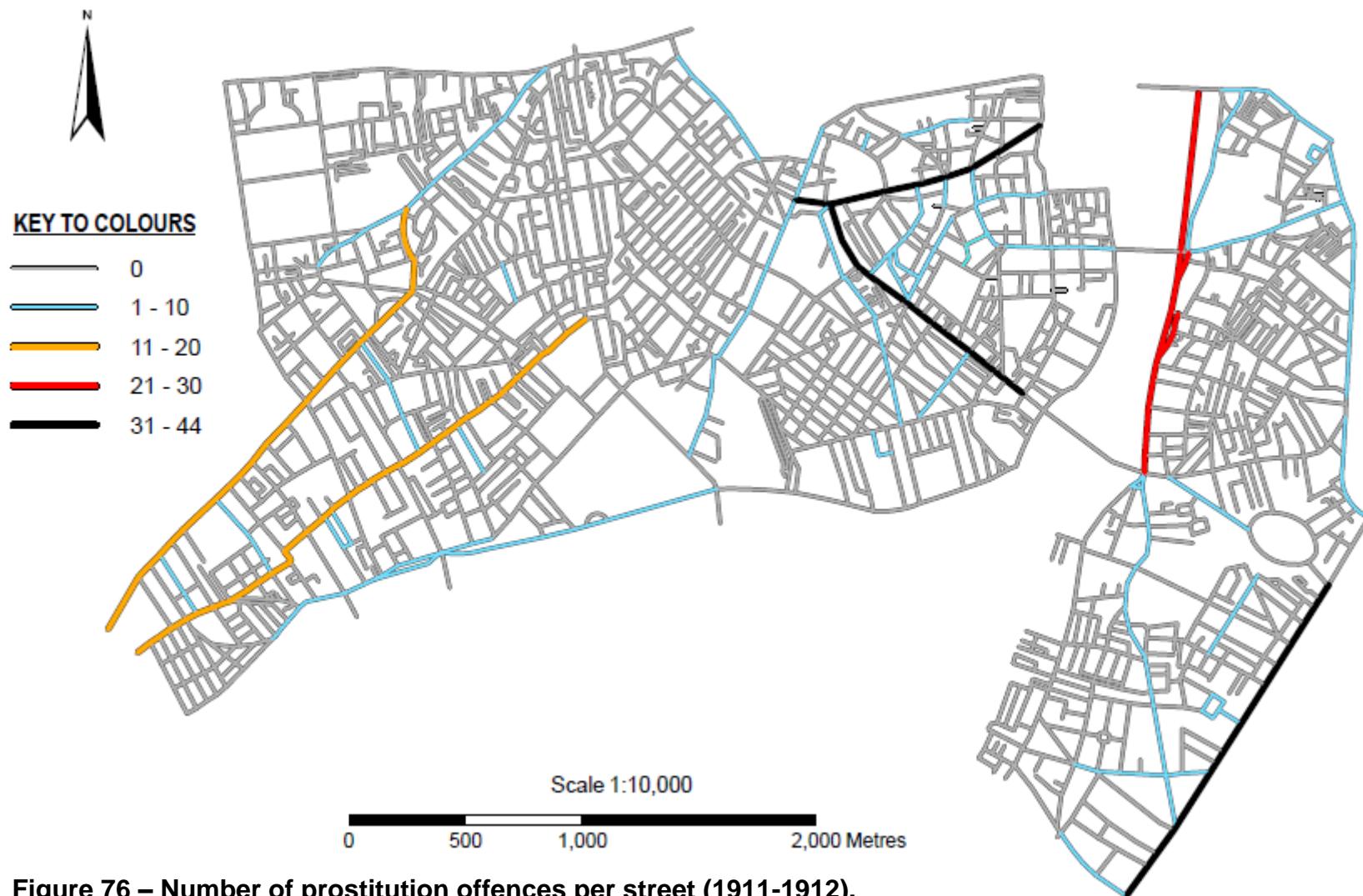
Figure 76 – Number of prostitution offences per street (1911-1912).

just off the Haymarket (Figure 77). By analysing the route taken by 'Walter' and the woman, it can be seen how soliciting or procurement would usually happen in the main streets or at the junction with side streets; but sex would occur in dwellings in the side or back streets, hidden from view meaning there was less danger of the police detecting the 'brothel'. As Figure 78 shows, the police had to conduct surveillance operations to positively identify 'disorderly houses' and thus the better hidden the establishments were, the less chance the authorities had of detecting them. Hence, the spatial patterns found in the WPC area reflect the movements of prostitutes through the city space, explaining the higher number of charges in main streets and the smaller number in back or side streets (many of which were police raids on brothels).

If Figures 79 and 80 are compared then it can be seen that there was some fluidity in where prostitutes were arrested (or where brothels were found and raided) just as Gilfoyle (1992), Howell (2009), Chamberlain (2012) and Settle (2013) found for New York, Cambridge, Liverpool and Edinburgh. For example, in 1901-1902 (Figure 79), the area south of Vauxhall Bridge Road was dotted with offenders being charged (many were brothels – Charles Booth's notebooks for the area confirm police knowledge of brothels/prostitution in these streets), yet by 1911-1912 there were just two brothel raids (Figure 80). In contrast, no arrests for prostitution occurred in the area north of Vauxhall Bridge Road in 1901-1902 (Figure 79), whereas a decade later there were a large number of arrests in these streets (Figure 80). Although only one of these was a brothel raid, it could be assumed that the presence of prostitutes in these streets indicated certain lodgings or dwellings nearby were used as brothels. Furthermore, if the spatial distribution of sexual offences is examined (Figures 81 and 82) a similar trend can be seen (most of these offences being individuals having sex in public, which might imply prostitution). It is also worth noting how Victoria Street saw an increase in the number of prostitution offences – the busy thoroughfare probably providing a good place for women to successfully solicit. It is impossible to say whether it was the same prostitutes, bullies and brothel owners in both these spaces (i.e. whether these individuals moved), but the change in charge distributions implies that offenders may have decided to react to the police raids. Put simply, the police were able to identify brothels and

2. Woman stops to look into a shop window
Here is where she stops and looks into a shop window. 'Walter' catches her eye, but is unsure if she is a prostitute (based on her 'steady, indifferent expression'). Then the account suggests she turns and retraces her steps.

3. Procurement
The woman crosses Glasshouse Street (Tichborne Street) and somewhere nearby stops at a shop window. Here 'Walter' asks her if he may follow her, which she agrees to.

4. Lodgings
The woman takes him to 13 J...s Street which was somewhere near to Tichborne Street – James Street would appear to fit. 'Walter' offers her 10 shillings, but she wants a sovereign.

1. Initial encounter
Somewhere along Regent Street (The Quadrant) 'Walter' took a fancy to a woman who was a prostitute. He follows her to the corner of Beak Street.

Figure 77 – The movements of 'Walter' and the prostitute from site of solicitation to lodgings. The map (dated 1896) shows the general path taken by both individuals and illustrates how prostitutes solicited in the main streets (Regent Street), but took their clients back to lodgings in back or side streets (such as James Street off Haymarket).

A brothel in Ealing

On 3 October 1906, the Town Clerk's of Ealing Borough Council sent a letter to the police stating they had received complaints from six residents in Grove Road and Grove Place that number 35 Grove Road was 'being used for immoral purposes' and requested police to investigate. The police therefore kept observation on the property from 5-7 October. Below is a summary of their observations. It should be noted that in some instances individuals were not seen arriving as they had entered the house prior to the surveillance time period, whilst others were not seen leaving as the officers had ended their surveillance for the day.

Two officers kept watch on the house, reporting that it was a 4 roomed private home, the owner of which was unknown. Their observations were as follows:

Friday 5 October (6:40pm – 10:55pm): 13 men and 14 women seen entering and/or leaving the house.

Saturday 6 October (12:15pm – 10:50pm): 13 men and 19 women seen entering and/or leaving the house.

Sunday 7 October (7:05pm – 10:30pm): 8 men and 10 women seen entering and/or leaving the house.

It was stated that: "women who use the house are prostitutes, and frequent Ealing Broadway and The Grove and when visiting the house accompanied by men, gain entry by means of a latch-key, others are admitted by a man and woman known as Mr and Mrs Phillips, both the appearance of foreigners, and when couples are about to leave, the woman will gently open the door, and look up and down the street to see if anyone is about. Three prostitutes use the house, 2 reside on the premises and one does not, the latter who is frequently followed by a man appearance of a German. Mr and Mrs Phillips have been seen shopping together, and on the night of the 6th instant were quarrelling outside the house when she was assaulted by her husband" (Sergeant H. Goodall, X Division).

On 8 October, the police believed they had sufficient evidence to prosecute and thus a warrant was obtained to raid the house and make arrests. On 10 October at 10:00pm the police executed the warrant and two women (aged 27 and 31, French Subjects, describing themselves as a 'hairdresser' and 'dressmaker') were arrested. These were the prostitutes – Mr and Mrs Phillips seem to have escaped.

The two women were brought before Brentford Petty Sessions, charged with keeping and managing a brothel. Both were sentenced to one month hard labour and were recommended to be deported.

Figure 78 – Surveillance on a brothel. The case above shows how the police carried out extensive surveillance on suspected brothels to gather evidence. One could imagine how difficult it would have been to identify such houses in neighbourhoods where prostitution was seen as 'the norm'. Although being in Ealing, similar cases would have occurred in the WPC area.

Source: MEPO 2/438 (1906)
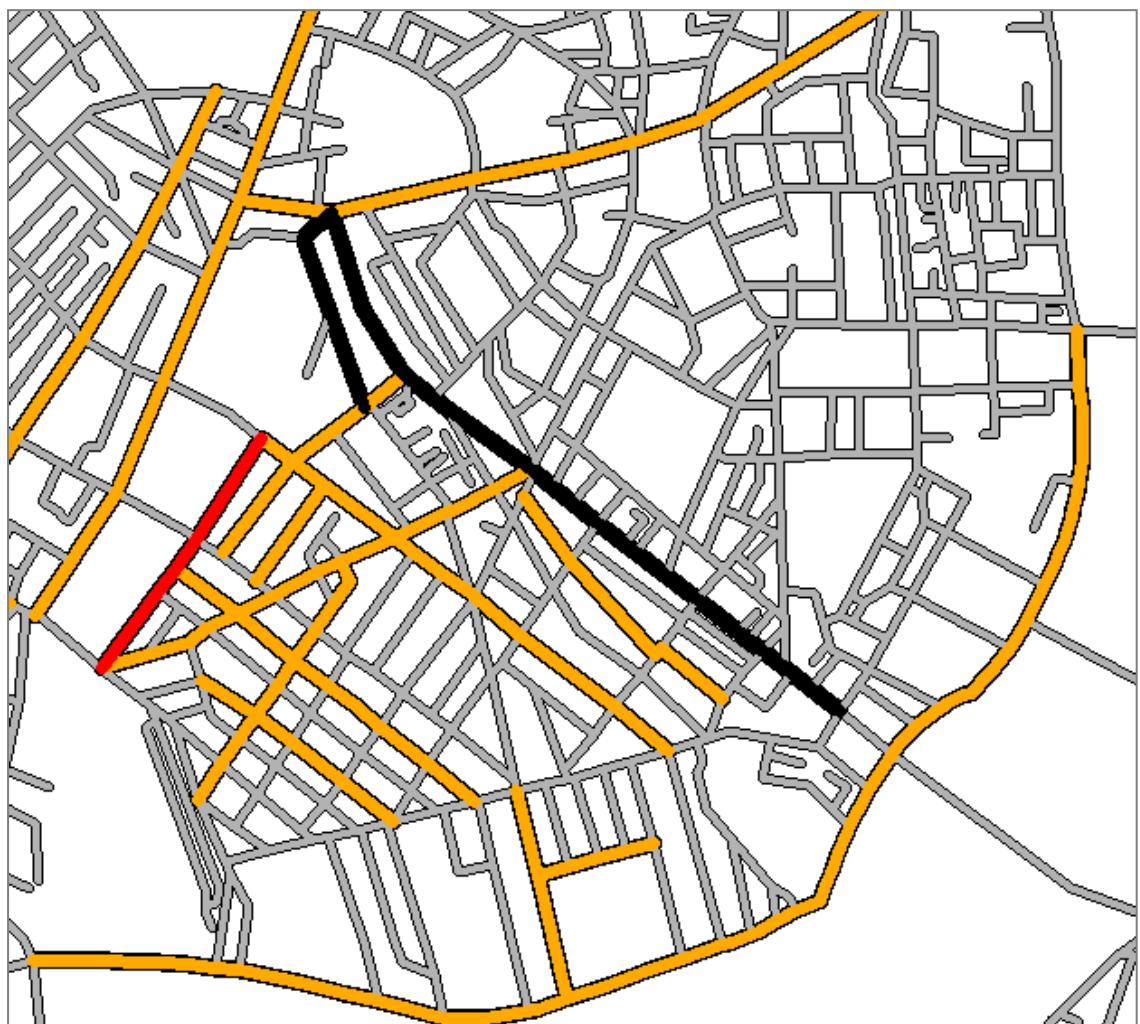
Figure 79 – Brothels and prostitution detected by the police south of Vauxhall Bridge Road (1901-1902). Note how no offences or brothels were detected in back streets north of the road (coloured black).

Figure 80 – Brothels and prostitution detected by the police north of Vauxhall Bridge Road (1911-1912). Note how greater activity was detected north of the road, but far fewer to the south.

Figure 81 – Number of sexual offences per street (1901-1902).

Figure 82 – Number of sexual offences per street (1911-1912).

KEY TO COLOURS

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- 4 - 23

Scale 1:10,000

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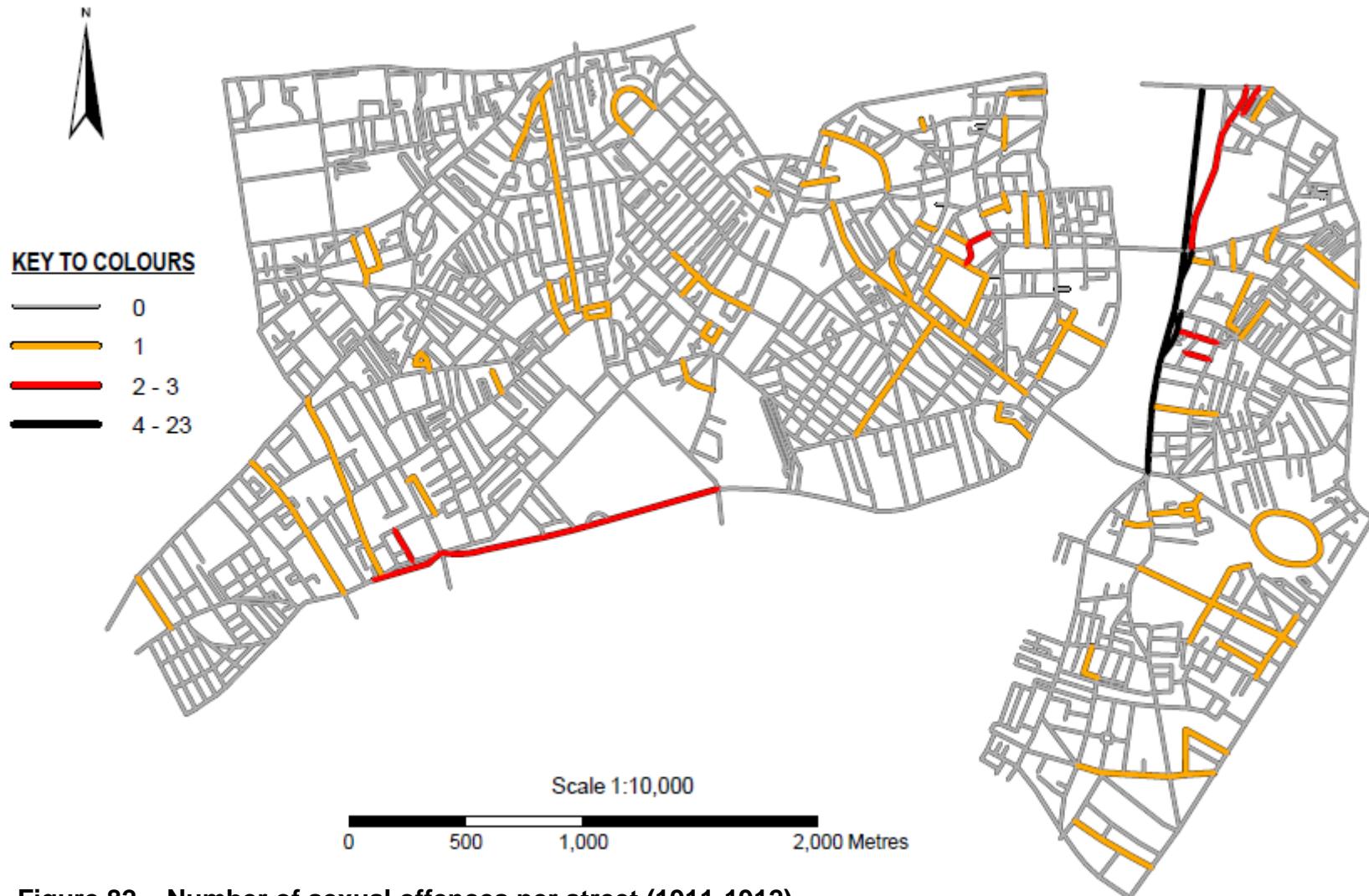
closed them down in the area south of Vauxhall Bridge Road resulting in the trade reacting, moving premises north to an area perhaps perceived to be less vulnerable to police surveillance. Certainly the police had evidence to suggest such movements occurred once they had carried out raids on specific brothels or areas. For example, after a raid on a block of flats (Gloucester Mansions, Cambridge Circus, Marylebone) in 1906 it was reported by Inspector J.R. Smith (C Division) that:

> ...the women who have been turned out of Gloucester Mansions have gone to other flats...and that is the usual practice with them, it is simply a matter of Police driving them from one place to another... (MEPO 2/429, 1906).

It could therefore be assumed that similar practices occurred amongst those involved in the prostitution trade in the WPC area, which would therefore aid in explaining this change in distribution between the two study periods.

The maps showing locations for attempted suicide paint a rather bleak picture of the metropolis (Figures 83 and 84). In the majority of cases, individuals appear to have taken advantage of the River Thames, either jumping from bridges such as Vauxhall, Lambeth and Westminster, or from the embankments lining the river, most notably Albert Embankment. It is here where the greatest numbers of individuals were picked up by the police for attempting suicide. This suggests suicide was heavily associated with the River Thames and research analysing art and literature from the 19th century highlights how it was common to portray individuals (particularly women) committing suicide by drowning (Reed, 2002:168). It is possible that such depictions in popular fiction and the arts may have given individuals ideas about how suicide should be committed. Furthermore, attempting to jump off a bridge or embankment into the Thames could be considered an easier method when compared to consuming a toxic substance or hanging. Conversely, bridges and embankments attracted large numbers of people, meaning attempting to jump into the river could easily generate a crowd of people. For instance, William Finney (28, professional swimmer) was charged with disorderly conduct for causing a crowd of c.1000 people to assemble on Albert Bridge to watch him jump into the river for

Figure 83 – Number of suicide offences per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

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Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

Figure 84 – Number of suicide offences per street (1911-1912).
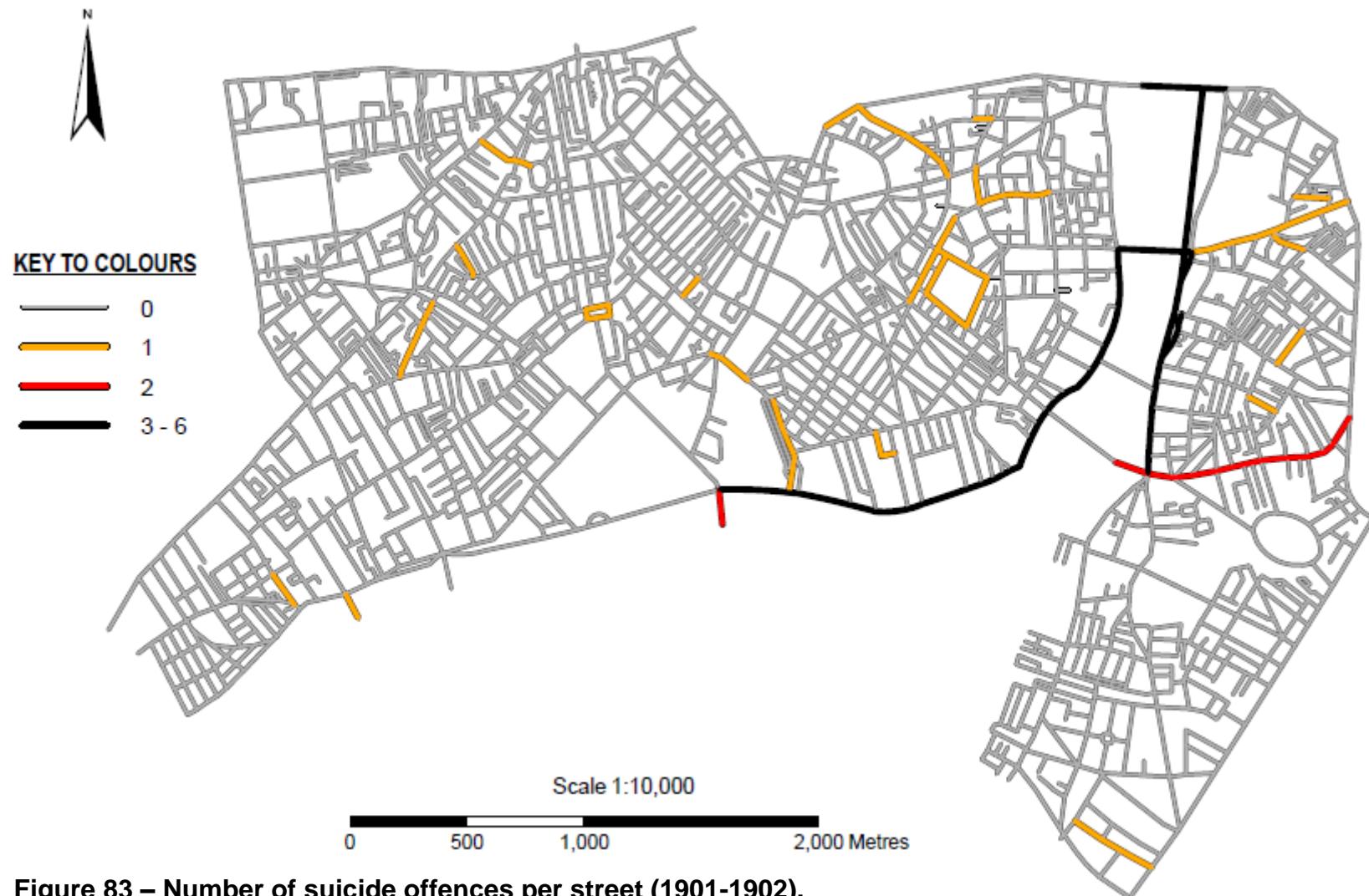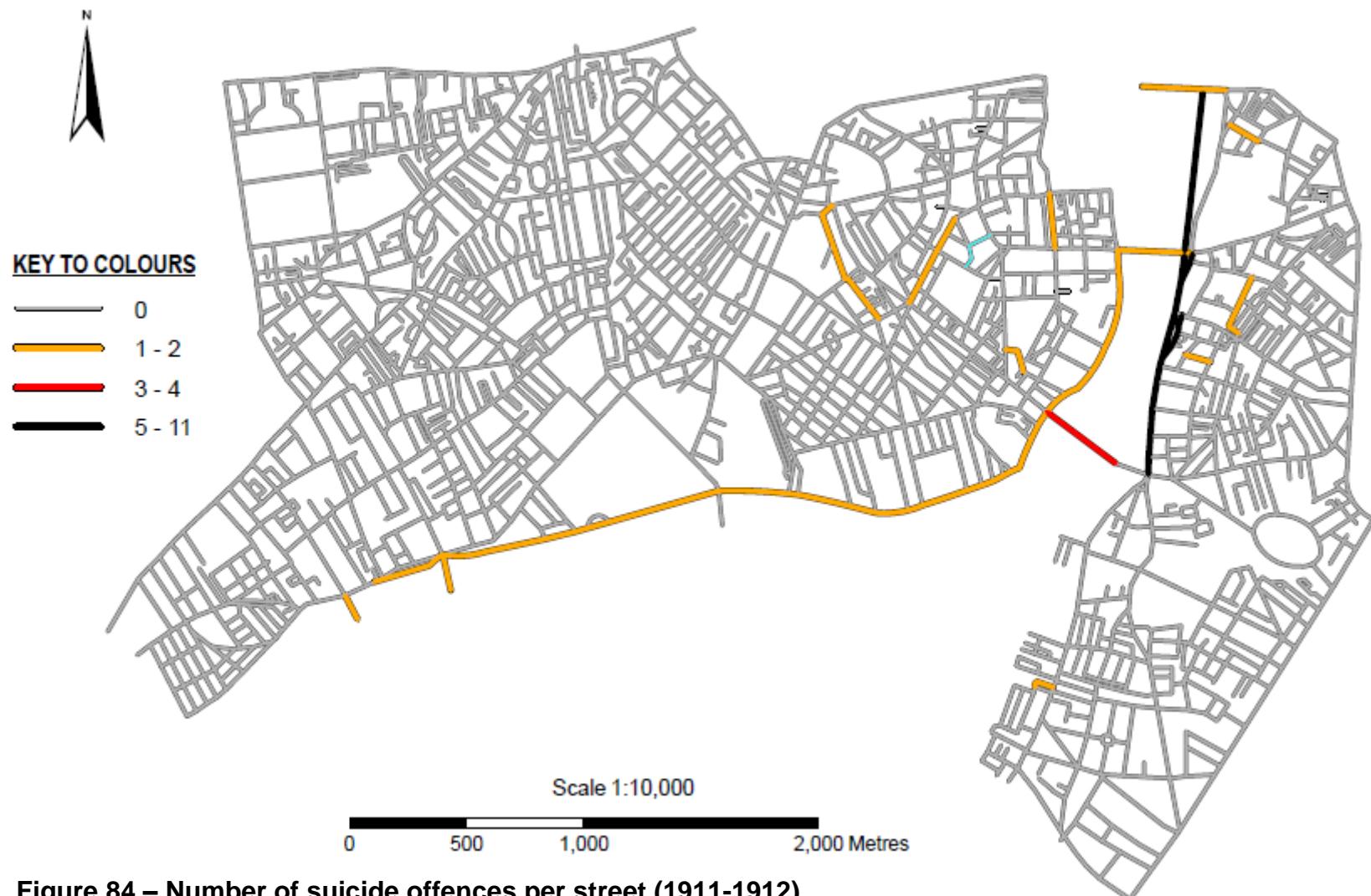
entertainment – something which he had done on several occasions before (The Times, 28 February 1902, page 13). It could therefore be argued that an individual trying to jump into the river may have hoped for some intervention by a passersby and that making an attempt might bring about some change to their personal circumstance. Clearly the motives for attempting suicide were varied – "...suicide attempt sometimes sprang from want and misfortune, sickness or despair; but also that it sometimes sprang from loss of self-control through drink, brawling or sheer moodiness, silliness or incompetence...", yet "...not infrequently it was a way of blackmailing family, friends, or lovers, manipulating the authorities, or softening up the charitable and gullible public" (Anderson, 1987:300). This may explain why there were so many individuals apprehended on the bridges and embankments since there would have been a far greater chance of police being alerted and intervening. Moreover, an entire police division (Thames or 'T' Division) was employed to patrol the river and it was said that much of their work involved "...searching for and dealing with the bodies of suicides, murdered persons, and persons accidently drowned" (Dickens's Dictionary of the Thames, 1885:206). Importantly, just as their land-based counterparts, the Thames Division police boats had beats to patrol on the river throughout the day and night. For long periods during the late Victorian and Edwardian period, short patrols were posted around the Houses of Parliament/Westminster Bridge, but there was also a patrol which took in Lambeth Bridge, Vauxhall Bridge, Whitehall Steps, Victoria Embankment, Waterloo Bridge and by 1908 it had been extended down to Battersea Railway Bridge (MEPO 2/3245, 1911). Steam, motor and row powered boats were used in combination (although documents suggest that rowing boats were gradually phased out during the early 1900s) and thus by having these river 'beats', there was a greater chance that any individuals jumping into the river could be saved. It is difficult to quantify how many WPC suicide cases 'T' Division were involved with, but one would have expected them to have provided support to their land-based colleagues when individuals were attempting suicide. Aside from the heavy concentrations along the Thames, peppered across the maps are isolated cases of suicide, where individuals were in a more private setting, usually a dwelling. Finding a common strand between each of these cases is difficult as each individual would have had differing personal reasons for

wanting to end their life. What these maps lack is the distribution of those who did successfully commit suicide, which would help to contextualise and perhaps highlight as well as support trends found here. Coroners' records could possibly help to produce such a picture, along with the ability to understand the personal lives of the individuals (e.g. if they had family, their association with places, occupations, children, marriages and so on) – but such a study is beyond the scope of this research.

For other crime categories, the spatial patterns are not so pronounced due to low numbers of these offences being committed. This was the case for frauds, damage to property, thefts (other than from a specific building), obstructions to justice and vehicle offences. Such low numbers resulted in only one or two offences at the most in an entire year being committed in individual streets, scattered across the WPC region. Consequently, there is some difficulty in producing any meaningful interpretation of these maps and they have therefore been placed into Appendix 6.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the general crime figures, dividing them into crime types and linking trends to the weekly and daily lives of London's population. Crime was greatest on a Saturday, coinciding with the half day of rest and pay day which enabled individuals to enjoy leisure and entertainment activities, resulting in more opportunity for crime to occur. Charges remained high on Sunday and through into the mid-week (perhaps reflecting potential backlogs in the justice system), but fell from mid-week to Friday when the 'cycle' began again. It was also shown how the rhythm of city life corresponded with different categories of crime, but also highlighted anomalies or unusual trends such as the midday spike in charge numbers. Where these crimes occurred has also been discussed, with overall patterns being identified and explained. Findings suggested that crime was greatest in the main thoroughfares of the WPC region, although particular offences exhibited slightly different, but distinct geographical distributions e.g. prostitution, betting and attempted suicide. From a temporal perspective, the general patterns of crime revealed little difference

between the two periods of study and generally it was at the local level of individual streets where minor changes in crime numbers occurred. The changes over time in individual streets or neighbourhoods will be discussed further in later chapters, as well as a more detailed analysis of why certain areas were more prone to crime than others. This in turn will connect crime distributions to that of defendant addresses and the defendants themselves. The next chapter will help to initiate this as it examines the demographic profile of WPC defendants and investigates where they lived in relation to the court's jurisdiction.

Chapter 6 – Defendants tried at the Westminster Police Court

Having examined the figures for crime in some detail, it is important to investigate the individuals who committed the offences. Aspects such as age, gender, occupation and social background of defendants all help to contextualise the crime data further. Moreover, they provide some insight into the motives of individuals when committing crime e.g. economic or social reasons. This chapter therefore investigates each of these characteristics of the defendants, linking them to the offences committed. However, this chapter aims to achieve more than this – it will uncover spatial patterns within the data[18] by examining where defendants resided (research question 1) and whether this changed over time (research question 2). Investigating these spatial patterns also enables the movements of defendants to be examined to some extent (discussed further in Chapter 7), helping to generate a better understanding of where crime occurred.

Demographic structure of WPC defendants

The age groups into which each of the defendants can be placed for both 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 is shown in Graph 12. There was little variation in the age of defendants between the two periods, with the majority being in the 20-29, 30-39 and 40-49 groups – consistent with statistics from the time. Moreover, the greatest number of defendants belonged to the 30-39 age group in both 1901-1902 and 1911-1912, which is similar to official police statistics for London as a whole (Graph 13) – although it should be noted that the official figures suggest greater numbers of individuals aged between 20-29 were being apprehended across London during 1901-1902. However, this mismatch is slight, with only an additional 76 defendants aged 30-39 sent to the WPC during that time period. Yet it is interesting to compare the WPC figures with the ages of the population for the metropolitan boroughs that formed parts of the WPC region. Graph 14

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[18] It should be noted that both Chapters 6 and 7 use various parts or subsets of the main 'cleansed, rationalised and restructured dataset' to produce figures in tables and graphs. To help readers understand how figures have been calculated, relevant tables and graphs in both chapters have been assigned a data source ID number. Appendix 7 lists the ID numbers and offers an explanation of which data these numbers refer to.
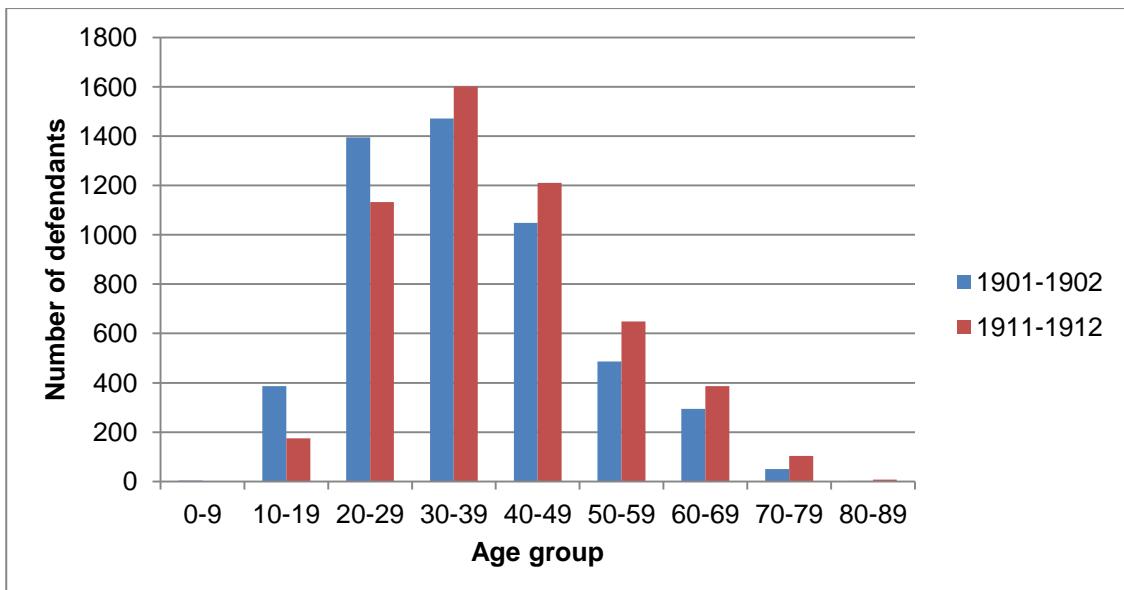
Graph 12 – Age of defendants tried at the WPC in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

shows the ages of residents of Chelsea, Westminster and Lambeth in 1901 (taken from the census report) and it can be seen that in all cases the 20-29 age group contained the greatest proportion of people (if the 0-9 group in Lambeth is excluded). One might therefore have expected the WPC figures to reflect this. However, WPC defendants did not necessarily live locally or within London (as will be discussed later) and so therefore the age distribution would not fully reflect those for borough residents. Furthermore, borough figures encompass populations living within and beyond the WPC jurisdiction so are not fully comparable. Thus the ages of WPC defendants may not have reflected overall population figures for the area, but were similar to the 'offender population' apprehended by the Metropolitan Police as a whole.

The sex of WPC defendants also exhibits a mismatch with official population statistics. Graph 15 shows the sex of defendants and highlights that only a third were female. When compared with census population figures for 1901 and 1911, this figure seems relatively low considering the boroughs (of which parts were within the WPC area) had a higher proportion of female inhabitants (see Table 1 in Chapter 3). However, such figures are consistent with those found by previous studies – for instance Jackson (2008:118) states that "...women tended to appear before the courts in far fewer numbers, constituting around
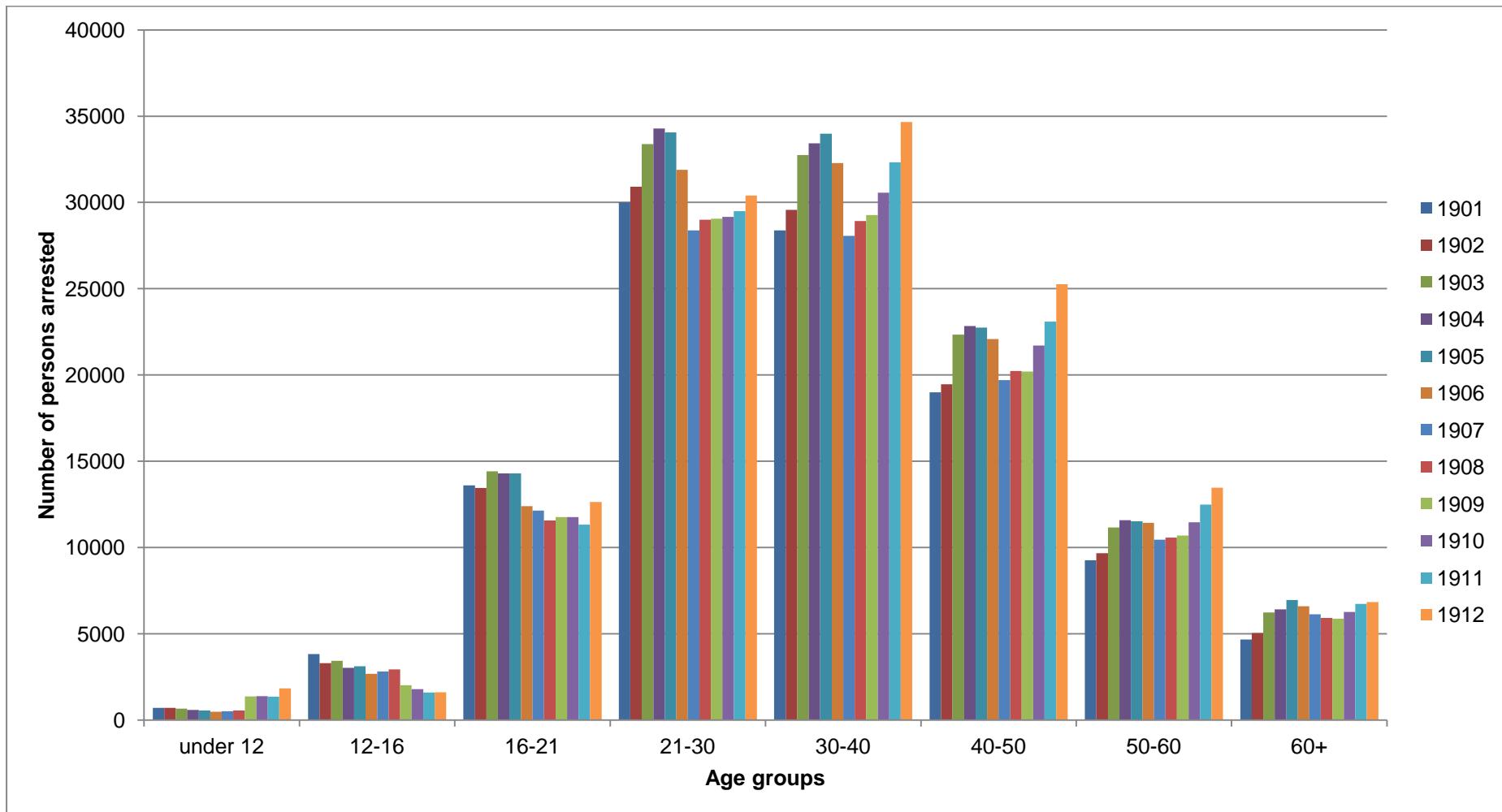
Graph 13 – Demographic structure of persons arrested and tried in London (1901-1912). The figures show the number of individuals arrested by the police and tried by magistrates at the courts.

Source: Metropolitan Police Annual Reports (1901-1912)
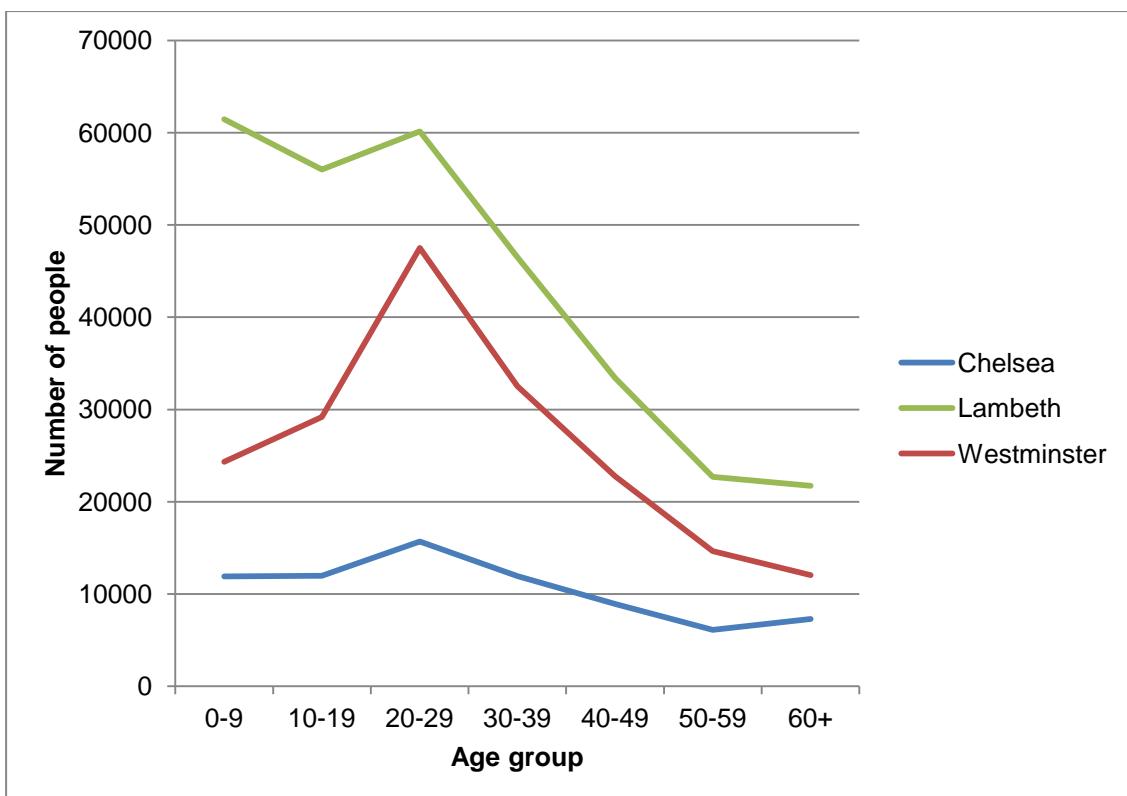
Graph 14 – Age of residents in the metropolitan boroughs of Chelsea, Lambeth and Westminster (1901). Note that equivalent figures for 1911 are not available.

Source: histpop.org (2007b)
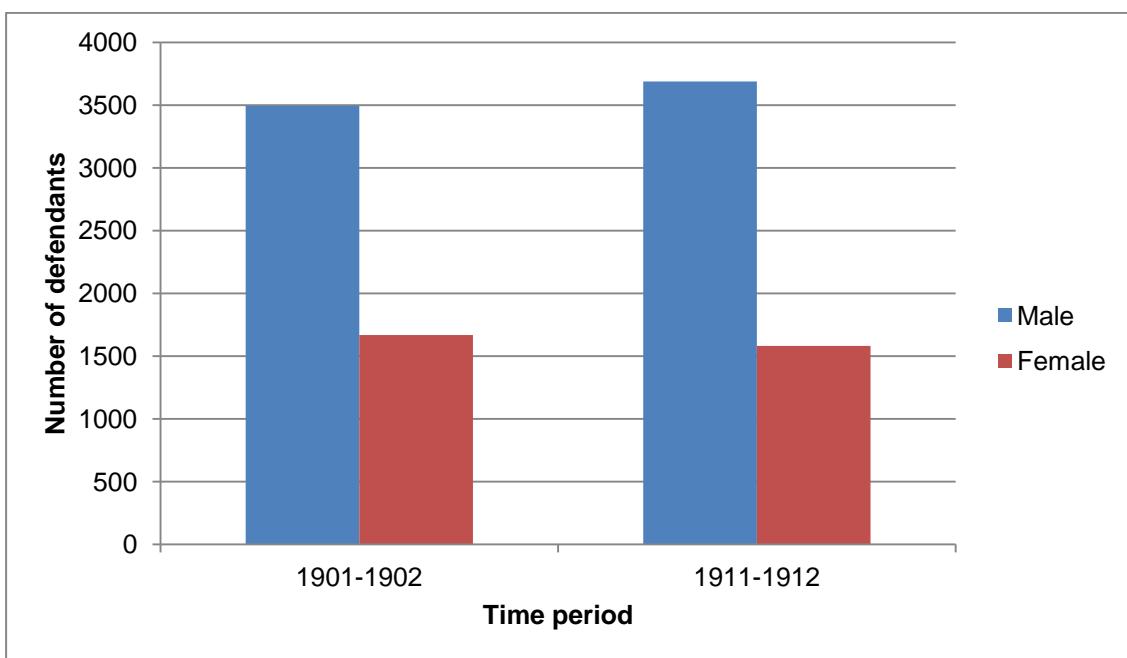
Graph 15 – Sex of defendants tried at the WPC in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

Source: D2

a fifth of those charged with both indictable and petty offences between 1850 and 1900" (also see Godfrey, Farrall and Karstedt, 2005; D'Cruze and Jackson, 2009). The reasons behind this disproportionate number of female offenders can perhaps be explained by the role that women played in society during the Edwardian period. Similar to the Victorian era, in Edwardian society, working class men were expected to be the breadwinner on which the entire family would have to rely to sustain themselves (Janssens, 1997:6), whilst their wives looked after the children, cleaned, washed and cooked. Since women took care of running the household, a husband was able to "...engage in higher level affairs, (after his monotonous and arduous work was done), be it the masculine culture of the pub, solitary hobbies like pigeon racing or above all, politics" (Davidoff, 1974:419). Women had no time and were not necessarily encouraged to pursue such leisurely pursuits (see Figure 85). It should also be remembered that many working class women had jobs in factories or street selling in order to increase the household income, but would still be expected to maintain a home. This may well have limited women's movements in the city, including when and where they went. Women were not excluded from leisure spaces such as the pub, theatre, restaurant, music hall, cinema and department store; however if they were to run a household, time spent in such spaces would be limited. Furthermore, the manner in which women were to conduct themselves in spaces outside the home was reinforced by certain societal norms and behaviours, although admittedly these mainly centred on middle and upper class women (see Gordon and Nair, 2003 for example). Such norms and practices did not exist for men in society, and this meant they had far more freedom to do as they wished. Thus it was this distinct separation between the role of men and women within the family and society which may explain why fewer women were charged for offences. As Emsley (2010:99) states "...notions of patriarchy, reinforced by the principle of *feme covert* [i.e. married women lacking separate legal rights and obligations from her husband] may have kept women from the courts...". It should however be noted that these arguments perhaps mainly reflect the lives of married women. But for the single or widowed woman, there were also similar societal expectations or ways of life that may have played a part in there being lower numbers of females charged.

Below is an account of a working class mother's day in Lambeth, taken from accounts written by Maud Pember Reeves. The mother is named 'Mrs O' who had two young children and lived in two rooms with her husband who earned 25s a week.

Her day ran as follows:

Time	Activities
7.00	Get up and get husband's breakfast; nurse baby while he has it.
7.30	He goes to work. Get little girl dressed get her breakfast, and have it with her.
8.00	Wash up.
8.30	Get baby's bath and wash and dress him.
9.00	Nurse him and put him to sleep.
9.30	Do beds and sweep bedroom, and carry up water (first floor).
11.00	Start to make little girl a frock till baby wakes; nurse him when he does.
12.15	Get dinner for self and child ready (husband away from home).
1.00	Have dinner.
1.30	Nurse baby and clear away and wash up dinner things. Sweep and scrub floor and passage, clean grate; every other week do stairs.
2.30	Wash myself and little girl, and take children out till four.
4.00	Get tea and nurse baby.
4.30	Clear away, and get husband's tea; wait for him till he comes in; very uncertain, between five and seven o'clock; go on making frock till he does.
6.00	Put children to bed.
6.30	Wash up husband's tea things, if he has finished. As soon as he has finished, he changes and goes out.
8.00	Go up The Walk for shopping for next day, leaving children in bed.
9.00	Mend husband's clothes, and go on with frock till ten.
10.00	Nurse baby and make both children comfortable for the night.
11.00	If husband has come in, go to bed.

Figure 85 – A typical day for a Lambeth mother. As can be seen, a working class mother was expected to look after the home and children for her husband.

Source: Reeves (1914:161-3)

In connection to these debates concerning women in society, it is also important to consider how policing by a force exclusively comprised of male officers (as well as an all-male judiciary) may have had an impact on WPC figures. D'Cruze and Jackson (2009:21) suggest that it may have been that women were "...committing offences but were simply less likely to be either suspected or prosecuted than men..." and this they argue was "...perhaps because of increasing assumptions about women's passivity and lack of agency...or perhaps because of sympathy towards women in positions of poverty and vulnerability". Indeed, there is evidence implying women may well have been treated differently by policemen. An account from the period hints at this:

> Grandmother – mother's mother was a – very delightful woman but she made the wrong marriage and so she got drink every day and she was so beautiful that the police used to take her – instead of taking her up [to the police station] – er – she'd got long dark ringlets – and she was so lovely they just used to carry her home instead of prosecuting her (Thompson, 1971b:2000int013).

Clearly these are the views, opinions and impressions of the individual who provided this account during an interview (in this case, it is the granddaughter of the woman being described) and cannot be said to represent the thoughts of the police apprehending her grandmother. Nevertheless, it implies that the woman was often found drunk by the police and that her beauty (but also perhaps her personal situation) led officers to decide not to arrest her. Conversely, the police may not have considered her drunk enough to prosecute or that it would not be worth the trouble, inconvenience and paperwork (as discussed in Chapter 5) – such considerations would no doubt have been on the minds of policemen irrespective of the offender's gender. However, it has also been suggested that "...women were less vigorously pursued than men, that judgements made upon those who were prosecuted were less severe, and that punishments meted out were less harsh" (Zedner, 1991:26). It is difficult to assess how this may have impacted on the number of women being sent to the WPC, but most of the cases cited in Appendix 1 (where guilt is certain, but the magistrate discharged the individual) involve women. Although a closer inspection of local newspapers is required to substantiate this claim, the cases

in Appendix 1 may imply that magistrates were more lenient or treated women differently to men when sentencing. That may in turn have influenced police decisions on whether to arrest and/or charge certain women for minor offences i.e. was it worth the trouble if a conviction was unlikely. Altogether, it is therefore possible that the police and magistrates treated female offenders differently, which may have resulted in fewer women being sent to the WPC.

Policing and courts aside, it is interesting to examine the type of offences women were tried for (Table 21). As can be seen the majority were drink related crimes, which is unsurprising since much previous research into habitual drunkenness cite high numbers of female offenders (e.g. Gutzke, 1984; Hunt, Mellor and Turner, 1989; Jennings, 2012). Despite the duties of maintaining a home, women did drink and indeed, according to Ross (1983:10-11) "in poor neighbourhoods there was a considerable women's pub culture..." with some pubs in areas of London such as Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, Hoxton and certain South London districts being exclusively frequented by women. In fact women of all classes were susceptible to drink, with each stratum having their own preferred beverage and even some middle class women could be found drinking in a pub:

> middle- and upper-class women customarily drank wine or spirits [although never in a pub]...lower middle-class women, in contrast, could on occasion be found in pubs, usually drinking gin or beer...but in the poverty-stricken areas of large industrial cities, many women did consume alcohol, mostly beer and stout, less often gin and rarely spirit, at public houses (Gutzke, 1984:71-72).

However, it should also be noted that during the 1900s there were growing concerns about the drinking habits of women, with infant mortality being connected to mothers consuming excessive quantities of alcohol (Davin, 1978:61; Wright and Chorniawry, 1985:127) – implying that drinking amongst women was a problem in society. Taken together, it may easily be conceived that women (just as men) overindulged and were therefore found drunk in streets by the police, leading to such high numbers at the WPC.

Table 21 also shows that for almost every crime category, men outnumbered

	1901-1902		1911-1912	
Category name	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Drink related crime	1799	1217	2314	1037
Theft (other than from a specific building)	125	24	65	14
Theft from a place	301	119	95	16
Theft total	426	143	160	30
Assault or violence	379	73	333	56
Damage to property	62	23	26	14
Fraud	30	4	67	5
Illegal gambling	299	0	67	1
Sexual offences	19	6	50	43
Prostitution	22	76	13	215
Begging	141	38	371	95
Suicide	21	23	13	17
Obstruction to justice	34	9	54	10
Cruelty	66	3	132	0
Public nuisances	342	139	338	134
Vehicle offences	225	0	140	2
Workhouse crime	130	26	81	9
Miscellaneous	14	2	36	2

Table 21 – Offences committed by men and women in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

Source: D2

women. One exception to this trend was prostitution offences for which 76 women and 22 men were tried in 1901-1902, but 215 women and 13 men in 1911-1912. This is to be expected given the nature of prostitution, but what is perhaps surprising is that there were *men* charged for prostitution offences. In each of these cases the men were found to be either running brothels or 'living off the earnings of prostitution'. In other words, they were not male prostitutes or found to be committing homosexual acts – any notion of which was included in the sexual offence figures, although homosexual or potential male prostitution offences were few in number – six and four possible cases in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 respectively ('possible' since offence descriptions were often limited to simply 'act of gross indecency' or 'commit an unnatural offence'). This aside, the only other offence for which a greater number of female offenders were caught was attempted suicide. In 1901-1902, 23 women and 21 men attempted suicide and 17 women and 13 men in 1911-1912. The difference is not striking, but does not conform to statistical figures of suicides for England and Wales which state that from 1901-1907, 17911 men and 5863 women committed suicide (Thomas, Beech and Gunnell, 2013:236). Clearly, these figures refer to individuals who successfully committed suicide, as opposed to those brought to trial for attempting to do so. Nonetheless, the figures do at least provide an indication of the overall gender difference in suicide rates. Perhaps men were more successful in committing suicide, whereas women may have been apprehended more easily – this may have been determined by the method used, as well as the personal background of the individuals. It is impossible to say if this was the case, but there does not appear to have been any gender variation in the methods of attempted suicide by WPC offenders. Both sexes used the River Thames, took drugs or used sharp implements in their efforts to achieve death.

Looking at Table 21 further, it can be seen that there are a number of crime categories for which very few or no women were involved. Men dominated the figures for illegal gambling, fraud, obstruction to justice, cruelty, vehicle offences and workhouse offences. Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare these figures with published police statistics since official reports do not distinguish between male and female offenders regarding specific offences. It is therefore

hard to tell if these trends were played out across the wider London area. Nevertheless, it is important to unpick and explain the possible reasons behind the lack (or low number) of women charged for these offences. For instance, the role of women in society can perhaps explain why few were charged for cruelty and vehicle offences since men often required the use of horses or vehicles for their employment e.g. delivery vehicles, cabs and buses. Women rarely had such occupations requiring the use of animals and as discussed earlier, their main job (as society had determined) was to tend to the domestic duties of the home (cooking, cleaning and caring for children). In fact all three women charged for cruelty offences involved cases not of mistreatment to animals, but instead neglecting children (as discussed in an earlier chapter, there were only six cases of child cruelty in the entire dataset meaning the 'cruelty' crime category almost exclusively relates to animals). The two women charged for vehicle offences in 1911-1912 were drunk whilst controlling a horse or donkey, one being a hawker and the other described as 'married' (PS/WES/A/01/068, 22 January 1912, trial 1 & 29 March 1912, trial 2). But these cases are the exception and it is far more likely that men owned animals and/or vehicles. Altogether this may explain why so few women were charged for these offences.

It is possible that the argument regarding women in society can also explain why few were charged with illegal gambling, fraud, obstructing justice and workhouse crime. Certainly if women were less susceptible to commit crime as a result of their position in society (or the societal expectations of women), there would have been few opportunities for them to obstruct justice. Moreover, of the 19 women who did obstruct justice, 11 cases involved the individuals being intoxicated meaning they perhaps were not fully aware of their behaviour. But if the cases of women preventing policemen from carrying out their duty are examined further, in many ways it can be argued that they were simply protecting their husbands, friends and neighbours or even way of life. Ross (1983) documents the strong neighbourly bonds that women had with each other in working class areas of London and, should a mother be arrested, a neighbour would look after her children. Thus when friends or neighbours were being arrested by the police, they were perhaps likely to intervene – for

instance, on 5 April 1901 Merne Warner (23, laundress) attempted to rescue Annie Miller (21, laundress) from the custody of PC Robert Joslin, who had been assaulted by Annie in Gillingham Street (PS/WES/A/01/022, 6 April 1901, trials 8 & 9). One could assume that the two were friends (given their similar ages and occupations), possibly neighbours or 'work colleagues' and would protect each other (although no other sources of information concerning this case have been found to verify either of these claims). The women may have had children and husbands, as well as a home to manage and thus a police arrest could threaten or hinder them from getting on with their daily lives. Perhaps added to these fears/threats were sentiments amongst the working class population that they were unfairly treated by the police, which often resulted in outbursts of violence against constables when they were arresting individuals breaking the law (Shpayer-Makov, 2011:192; Andersson, 2013:50). Thus taken together, it could be argued that women (especially mothers) may have tried to avoid coming into contact with the police by ensuring they did not get into trouble or were not seen committing illegal activities (as all criminals would endeavour). This may have resulted in the low number of women charged for obstruction.

There were only nine cases of women committing fraud across both study periods (as opposed to 97 involving men). The reason for this imbalance can be connected to the society expectations of men and specifically their role as a head of household. Generally it can be viewed that fraud is associated with financial gain for the individuals involved e.g. forging money/cheques, using tricks to extort money from victims or trading as a hawker without a licence. Thus, fraud offences could be utilised as a means for male breadwinners to earn or obtain an additional source of income. For instance, Figure 86 details a case of a married couple producing counterfeit coins and uttering them to purchase firewood. One curious aspect of this case is the way in which the wife reacted and explained herself to the police/court. Perhaps she had never wanted to go along with forging money, but given her husband was in an unskilled, low paid occupation, and that there was a baby to feed, she may have felt obliged to do so – her husband believing it was a means of providing for his family. In many of the other cases of fraud sent to the WPC it can be argued

On Monday 21st October 1901 at the WPC, Edward Bailey (32, porter) and his wife Elizabeth Bailey (nee Clements), age 23, were tried for manufacturing and uttering counterfeit coins. They were remanded and tried a week later. Below is a report from *The Times* describing the offence and proceedings in court:

> EDWARD BAILEY, 32, and a young woman who gave the name of ELIZABETH CLEMENTS were charged on remand with being concerned in the manufacture of counterfeit coin and with various other offences under the Coinage Acts. It was stated that an extensive coining plant had been found at the rooms jointly occupied by the prisoners at Selwyn-house, Burnaby-street, Chelsea. Clements passed counterfeit shillings of the same mould on consecutive Saturdays at the same shop, and the assistant, recognizing her on the second occasion, detained her. She gave a false address, but Detective-sergeant Reed discovered the whereabouts of the man. There was considerable delay before the police were admitted to his lodgings at Selwyn-house, but on searching there they found a large fire with hot white metal in the grate, a complete battery, powerful mineral acids, counterfeit moulds for florins and shillings (hidden up the chimney), sand, whiting, plaster of Paris, and other coining requisites. The prisoner Bailey's wife, who was in Court with a baby in her arms, interrupted the proceedings, complaining that she had been deserted and ill-treated. Bailey in a loud tone said, " Put her out, she ought not to be allowed here." Both the prisoners were committed for trial to the Old Bailey.

At the Old Bailey, greater detail about the case was given, including the fact that the two had not been married long. Detective Sergeant John Reed had questioned Elizabeth at the police station after she was caught uttering a forged coin at the London and County Store, 475 Kings Road. After questioning her, Reed had gone to search Elizabeth's home (Selwyn House) and this is where he found Edward. During the search of the flat, implements for forging coins were found resulting in Edward's arrest. At court, Reed gave an account of what Edward had said during the arrest:

""Very well; she is quite innocent" [referring to his wife, Elizabeth] - they were charged together at the station, and Bailey said to Clements, "I will get you out of it, Liz."- Clements made no reply."

The judge found both guilty, with Edward sentenced to five years penal servitude and Elizabeth three months hard labour.

Figure 86 – Gender and forgery. The above account illustrates the role men and women had in society. The events in the trials and during arrest hints at the possibility that the wife did not want to have anything to do with forging coins (her reactions seem to be of anger and annoyance at her husband). Nevertheless, she went along with what her husband wished to do.

Sources: PS/WES/A/01/026, 21 October 1901, trials 43 & 44; The Times, Tuesday 29 October 1901, page 12; Old Bailey Online (2013a: t19011118-16)

that economics played a key role in the motive to cheat or trick. For instance, cases of men hawking without obtaining a licence or obtaining charitable contributions by false means would have enabled a man to obtain more money – either for his household, or perhaps for drink and gambling. That is not to say that women were not involved in cases of fraud, but appear to be less susceptible to its temptations (as the figures suggest). Those nine cases of female offenders typically involved the individuals either hawking without a licence or obtaining food/charity by false means (perhaps poverty being the rationale for doing so). Furthermore, research by Robb (2006:1058) suggests that middle class women were more likely to fall victim to fraudulent activity since their position in society meant they were "...ignorant of money matters..." and were forced to "...refrain from active participation in business affairs". Thus working class women could also fall prey to such deception – Figure 87 details how Margaret McCarthy (aged 32) was looking for work and was given employment as a servant by a John James (aged 65, tailor). Unfortunately she had been duped into carrying out the bidding of a habitual fraudster, cashing in forged cheques for him, resulting in her arrest. There is a sense that Margaret was ignorant or naive of how cheques worked and as she was in need of money was happy to obtain whatever work she could get – traits which John exploited to his advantage.

Only one woman was caught for an illegal gambling offence and in that particular case, Elizabeth Hodgson (35, married) was found with her husband (James, 43, shoemaker) and George Ray (62, dealer) managing and keeping 3 Juxon Street, as a betting house (PS/WES/A/01/067, 21 October 1911, trials 19, 20 & 21) i.e. she was merely assisting with the business, not necessarily betting herself. This lack of women being charged suggests they were not actively involved in illegal gambling practices perhaps because they had little leisure time to engage in such activities. Moreover, their main concern was to ensure the household's collective income was spent wisely – as Ross (1982:582) argues, husbands and wives had differing views on how weekly wages were spent: "women were under pressure to redeem pawned clothing for the weekend, and to present a hot Sunday meal; their husbands wanted a drink, a visit to the pub". Husbands were therefore more likely to gamble than wives

Margaret McCarthy (32) had been out of employment for two weeks, but on 5th July 1911 she met a stranger, John James (65, tailor) who offered her work. She was told it was canvassing work (providing her with some commission), which would entail going about cashing in cheques for him. The job also attracted a further 10s to pay for Margaret's accommodation.

On 8th July Margaret was given an envelope to cash in at 12 Belgrave Road, Pimlico, a confectioner's shop (one of two shops owned by Jacob Heximer). She gave the shop manageress the envelope, which contained a cheque and note. The note said "Dear sir, will you kindly oblige me by cashing the enclosed cheque? Yours truly, R.G. Webster". The manageress recognised the name of Webster as being one of the shop's usual customers, but found this request suspicious so said she was short of change and directed Margaret to go over to Mr Heximer at his other shop at 160 Ebury Street. Once Margaret had left, the manageress telephoned Heximer warning him that a suspicious customer was on her way to cash in a cheque.

When Margaret got to Ebury Street, Heximer asked who she was, to which she said she was one of Mr Richard Webster's servants (John James had instructed her to say this if asked). Heximer decided to ring up Mr Webster who was found to be away from London, but his maid was able to state that her master did not hold an account with the bank from which the cheque came. Thus Heximer phoned the police.

Sergeant Alfred Besley arrived at the shop and, having been furnished with all the facts, asked Margaret: "a man has given you this cheque, has he not?", to which she replied "yes". He then said "you go straight back to him as if you were going to give him the money" which she did, with the Sergeant following. John James was waiting for Margaret in Buckingham Palace Road, was arrested and taken to the police station.

After further investigation, it was found that on the same day, Margaret had successfully cashed another forged cheque for £8.8s at a bakers shop. Margaret's statement to the police suggested she had no idea that the cheques were forged – she thought it suspicious that John had given a stranger (her) employment, but believed that "...they would give it to me when they would not give him the money, and he did not like to go". She went on to say at court that "I am sorry to say I do not know much about cheques".

Figure 87 – Fraud committed inadvertently by a woman ignorant of financial matters. This case shows how Margaret lacked knowledge of finance, specifically cheques and clearly was unable to tell she was playing a part in fraud. It is interesting to note how important the telephone was in this case.

Sources: PS/WES/A/01/066, 10 July 1911, trials 44 & 45; Old Bailey Online (2013a: t19110905-66)

who were more concerned with sustaining the family. In addition, Dixon (1991:210) states that women were heavily involved in the anti-gambling campaigns since it was argued that they (along with children) suffered the consequences of husbands/fathers gambling i.e. money was squandered on bets leaving inadequate money for the family's food and clothes. Bringing each of these arguments together, it would seem that there was a greater chance of men engaging in illegal betting and this would explain the lack of women being tried for such offences. Nevertheless, the reports in Figures 45-47 (Chapter 5) described how both men and women were found in gaming houses, meaning women did engage in such activities. In those specific cases, individuals seem to have had a middle class appearance, which might imply only women of this social stratum gambled. However, a similar report detailing police surveillance on 14 Denmark Road, Islington (a street which was described in police reports as home to a "mixed class") shows that working class women were also involved in gambling (Figure 88) – although it should be stressed that the majority of individuals observed by police entering the house were men. Moreover, the surveillance operation in Islington involved a police informant, who did not report any women at the betting table. If they were not playing, the women may simply have been inhabitants of the house or perhaps assisted with the running of the gaming e.g. answering the front door to visitors, or serving drinks (it was stated that a large quantity of beer was frequently delivered to the house on Denmark Road). D'Cruze (2001:200) also notes how women placed small illegal bets "...combining a bit of a flutter with managing the housekeeping". Whatever their role, these cases demonstrate that behind closed doors, women were engaged in betting activities, either actively gambling, or passively assisting in (or allowing) the running of establishments. This may explain why only one woman was caught in the WPC area – running surveillance operations and uncovering activity in private houses was time consuming, complex and risky, especially if informants were required.

The final offence which is important to consider from a gender perspective is theft since there is a wide range of research detailing women's involvement in stealing from shops, especially department stores (e.g. Abelson, 1989; Segrave, 2001; Whitlock, 2005; Meier, 2011). From Table 21 it can be seen that

14 Denmark Road, Islington (an 8 roomed house) was rented by Philip Wolf. The police were informed by a Fred Gottfried, Secretary to the International Bakers and Confectioners Society that Wolf allowed German bakers to assemble in the kitchen of his home on Saturday and Sunday afternoons to play faro. Acting on this information, the police decided to keep surveillance on the house, recording the following:

7 March 1912 (9:00pm-12:30am) – 22 men and 2 women entered, 9 men and 1 woman left.

9 March 1912 (6:30pm-12:00am) – 21 men and 2 women entered, 7 men and 4 women left.

10 March 1912 (2:30pm-7:00pm) – 18 men entered, 5 men and 2 women left.

10 March 1912 (8:00pm-11:30pm) – 5 men entered, 2 men left.

11 March 1912 (2:00pm-10:00pm) – 2 men entered, 1 man and 1 woman left.

12 March 1912 (1:30pm-10:00pm) – 6 men and 1 woman entered, 2 men and 1 woman left.

However, the police could not see what was going on within the home and thus required an informant. But they could not ask locals as it was believed they "...would not assist but on the contrary would sooner expose officers keeping observation". Instead they needed an informant who would become friendly with those in the house and report on activities. They managed to secure the services of a Henry Maskell (29, costermonger) who was "sufficiently reliable for the purpose". Below is an account of his first undercover operation:

"I went to 14 Denmark Road, Islington – a friend took me there. My friend gave one knock at the front door and it was answered by a man. I was introduced and taken downstairs to the back kitchen. Including myself there were ten men there. They were sitting around a table playing cards. They were playing faro then, that was at 8 o'clock in the evening. Wolf was the banker all the time. The table was marked out and painted for faro. The stakes ran from a shilling upwards. There was gold on the table at times. When a knock came to the door or any movement made in the house, a piece of green baize was pulled over the table. There were numerous packs of cards there. About 1am the game was changed to a game of roulette. Wolf was banker and turned the machine. Three of the men there were under the influence of drink and quarrels arose but there was no violence. I came away at three am. I left several of them still playing. The men appeared to be independent and were well dressed".

Figure 88 – Police surveillance and an informant spying on a gaming house at 14 Denmark Road, Islington. Although not in the WPC area, similar tactics would have been used by police across London.

Source: MEPO 2/1324 (1912)

there were 119 and 16 women in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 respectively who stole from a specific building (the reason for this stark difference in number between the two periods was discussed in Chapter 5), although it is difficult to assess how many of these were shoplifting offences. This is because the offence descriptions lack detail on whether the premises was a shop, or if the offender was a servant of the owner/company instead of a customer. Nevertheless, at the least, 35 (26%) of the 135 cases involved women committing shoplifting offences, with the remaining proportion of cases being thefts from houses, public houses (5%) or other premises. Such a large proportion is hardly surprising since the space of the shop/department store was one of few outside the home which women would have visited regularly. Certainly for the middle classes, part of a woman's role was "...to preserve family values; and one way to do this was to consume correctly: to buy clothes and upholstery, fabrics and furnishings which would enhance the family and its home" meaning that shopping and 'consumption' was 'women's work' (Dennis, 2008:312-3). But shopping was also part of everyday life for working class women (as shown in Figure 85). However, just as men were likely to over consume in public houses, women as consumers in shops could also overindulge (as the case in Figure 50 in Chapter 5 demonstrates). It is well documented how shops and in particular department stores crafted their interior and outward facing (street facade) spaces to tempt customers and how financial assistance/credit schemes allowed individuals to purchase without money. Hence these temptations and the emotional desires aroused within the conscience of consumers resulted in some turning to theft to fulfil their cravings.

The life and background of defendants

Gender and age provide an understanding of the demographic structure of WPC defendants, but they lack the ability to generate an insight into the personal, social backgrounds and lives of the individuals themselves. Hence, it is important to examine the occupations, families, places of residence and any associated historical ties to neighbourhoods, in order to uncover a richer understanding of the defendants. This does not mean investigating individuals

specifically, or constructing an extensive profile of a typical offender and their behaviours. Instead, the aim is to view the broad population that was sent to the WPC in its entirety, to uncover the general life or background of defendants and perhaps infer their motives for committing crime.

The occupations of WPC defendants, classified into skill levels, are shown in Table 22. Defendants in both time periods were predominately employed in occupations that were skilled, partly skilled or unskilled, with few individuals working in professions classed as professional or intermediate. Moreover, if the defendants in both time periods are taken together, 78% had skilled, partly skilled or unskilled jobs, but only 3% worked in professional or intermediate occupations. These figures are consistent with results of previous studies into the occupational status of offenders. For instance, Johnson and Nicholas's

Occupational class	Description	1901-1902	1911-1912
I	Professional	17 (0.33%)	11 (0.21%)
II	Intermediate	180 (3.49%)	151 (2.87%)
III	Skilled	1740 (33.7%)	1727 (32.77%)
IV	Partly skilled	845 (16.37%)	957 (18.16%)
V	Unskilled	1281 (24.81%)	1556 (29.53%)
VI	Prostitute	81 (1.57%)	36 (0.68%)
VII	Married	634 (12.28%)	569 (10.8%)
VIII	Widow	69 (1.34%)	40 (0.76%)
IX	Student	46 (0.89%)	4 (0.08%)
X	Unemployed	168 (3.25%)	90 (1.71%)
XI	Pensioner	5 (0.10%)	3 (0.06%)
Refused		23 (0.45%)	58 (1.1%)
Not known (not stated)		74 (1.43%)	68 (1.29%)
Total		5163	5270

Table 22 – Occupational class of defendants in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. The above is based on Armstrong's (1972) occupational classification for 1921, although it has been adapted and altered. These alterations include the addition of classes 7-11 as well as 'refused' and 'not known' since these 'occupations' or descriptions provided by defendants of themselves cannot be placed into classes 1-5. See Appendix 5 for Armstrong's occupational classification.

Source: D2

(1995:472) study of early-mid Victorian criminals in England and Wales stated that of the 8612 habitual criminals they examined, 2670 were artisans (i.e. had skilled occupations), 5493 unskilled occupations, but only 449 had professional occupations or trades. Although these figures are somewhat difficult to compare with those in Table 22 (due to the focus on habitual offenders, differing interpretation of occupational skill level, the number of categories and the study time period), it can clearly be seen that unskilled and partly skilled workers made up a large proportion of WPC defendants. Furthermore, stereotypically it has always been assumed that the majority of criminals came from the unrespectable, 'non-deserving' unskilled, lazy strata of society:

> Mayhew claimed that a distinct criminal class perpetuated nearly all the crime in England. The criminal class was socially and even genetically different from the working class. It was idle, unskilled, unlettered, self-perpetuating and made up of profoundly selfish people. This was, indeed, a common view of the time, expressed in many parliamentary and police reports... (Dyster, 1994:78).

These beliefs may well have been true, but on the other hand such defined views may have had an impact on the police's perception of who to be observing when detecting criminal behaviour. The consequence of this may have been that they targeted these individuals more often leading to a disproportionate number being arrested. That is not to say these individuals were not committing offences, but it may have served to 'blind' policemen to the illegality amongst other strata of society. This aside, as Benson (2003:27) argues "like begging, petty crime tended to be most common among the most disadvantaged: the unskilled, the unemployed and one-parent families".

These figures alone do not provide much insight into the activity of the offenders, however if the types of offences committed by each occupational class is examined, several trends emerge. Table 23 shows the offences committed by the few defendants employed in professional and intermediate occupations. Almost all those in professional occupations (and most individuals in intermediate occupations) were involved in drink related crime. This is to be expected since all individuals would have been susceptible to the influences of

Category name	1901-1902 occupation		1911-1912 occupation	
	I	II	I	II
Drink related crime	11	86	11	101
Theft (other than from a specific building)	0	3	0	2
Theft from a place	2	12	0	4
Assault or violence	1	6	0	7
Damage to property	0	1	0	1
Fraud	1	4	0	4
Illegal gambling	0	53	0	4
Sexual offences	1	3	0	3
Prostitution	0	2	0	1
Begging	0	5	0	10
Suicide	0	1	0	2
Obstruction to justice	0	3	0	3
Cruelty	1	0	0	0
Public nuisances	0	5	0	14
Vehicle offences	0	3	0	1
Workhouse crime	0	4	0	3
Miscellaneous	0	1	0	1

Table 23 – Offences of individuals whose occupations were classed as professional (I) or intermediate (II) in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

Source: D2

drink, irrespective of their position in society. However, given their occupational status, these people would have been wealthy and with this wealth came an association with respectability, morality and proper conduct, not serious criminality. Of course, some did carry out illegal activities – white collar crime for instance (see Robb, 1992), but also much 'hidden' crime in domestic, private settings e.g. homosexual behaviour, infanticide and abortion (see Hartman, 1974). One would therefore have expected to have seen a greater number of fraud offences (rather than the total of nine) committed by this group. However such crimes are complex to trace and if committed behind closed doors, extremely difficult for authorities to detect perhaps explaining these low figures.

Nevertheless, generally it can be argued that the majority of those in the upper echelons of society would not have become involved in illegality.

Perhaps the only notable figure in Table 23 was the 53 cases of illegal gambling in 1901-1902 committed by those in intermediate occupations. Every one of the defendants committing these crimes were clerks and most probably bookmakers' clerks (rather than simply clerks in offices of financial institutions for instance), which explains the reason for this high number. In addition, several of these cases were committed by the same person i.e. they were repeat offenders. For instance, Albert Poole, Alfred Bartlett and Charles Read were each charged on 4 separate occasions, whilst Albert Dew was caught 5 times and William Harris, 6 times! Whether these individuals could be classed as respectable, refined, verging on being middle class is debatable, but no doubt they would have earned quite a large proportion of money from their activities. Indeed, the Dew family (of which Albert was a member) appear to have created a successful family enterprise from illegal gambling (Figure 89). It is worth noting that it is possible 'Albert Poole' was in fact an alias used by Albert Dew since one of the family's business associates was a Charles Edward Poole and if this was the case then 9 of the 53 cases would have involved Albert. This aside, the reasons for there being fewer cases of illegal gambling in 1911-1912 has already been discussed as part of the discussion on the overall reduction in betting offences (see Chapter 5).

The breakdown of offences committed by skilled, partly skilled and unskilled defendants exhibits one or two interesting trends (Table 24) and can provide an insight into certain criminal activity. Generally, there are some offences that could be associated with particular strata of society for socio-economic reasons. For instance, begging and workhouse crime could be linked with the poorest in society. This is why, overall, there were greater numbers of these offences committed by individuals who had unskilled occupations. But more curious trends can be seen relating to vehicle offences and cruelty (which can be linked together, given that they both potentially involve animals, usually horses). Vehicle offences tended to be committed by those in skilled or partly skilled jobs, whereas cruelty was mainly confined to those with partly skilled occupations. This may reflect the socio- economic differentiation between

Illegal betting activity

The Dew family consisted of a father and six sons all of whom were bookmakers living in South London. Each family member had been caught at one point or another in the late 1890s and/or 1900s for illegal gambling and tried at either Lambeth or Westminster Police Court.

However, with the Street Betting Act 1906 enacted, the family seems to have changed the way they operated and began to utilise the services of the Post Office, whilst expanding their operation to Scotland and the rest of England, as well as setting up 'offices' in Holland and Switzerland. The new operation allowed individuals to bet on football matches, with circulars containing odds and coupons being sent out to people who were instructed to send their money to an address in Flushing, Holland. A 'business associate' (Charles Edward Poole) ran the Flushing business using aliases to carry on business (and probably evade capture).

How successful was the business?

It is possible to gauge how successful the Dews operations were from information contained within several archival sources. One measure is the amount they paid in fines to the Police Courts, which amounted to approximately £500 over 7 years from 1899 to 1906 (a considerable sum). Another measure is the scale of the circulars/coupons being printed and posted – 74,600 were printed per week and to send these via post, £50 worth of stamps were bought at a time. The cost of printing, addressing and filling envelopes, as well as postage must have been high, but clearly affordable for the Dew family. But perhaps it is the lifestyle of the family that indicates their success. For instance, they owned a motor car and in the 1911 Census (when most of the brothers had left the main family home) some had servants and lived in spacious accommodation (i.e. not overcrowded).

Figure 89 – The Dew family's successful gambling business.

Sources: MEPO 2/1449 (1911-1912); Old Bailey Online (2013a: t19100426-41); The Times, Saturday 18 April 1914, page 7

	1901-1902 occupations			1911-1912 occupations		
Category name	III	IV	V	III	IV	V
Drink related crime	990	485	686	1109	525	965
Theft (other than from a specific building)	54	34	44	34	16	21
Theft from a place	165	74	98	38	21	39
Assault or violence	150	83	166	128	61	147
Damage to property	23	17	21	9	9	10
Fraud	10	5	10	27	3	35
Illegal gambling	158	26	39	22	8	31
Sexual offences	10	2	6	35	28	20
Prostitution	27	20	3	96	66	14
Begging	44	21	70	149	75	201
Suicide	20	4	4	8	5	4
Obstruction to justice	15	11	7	26	11	15
Cruelty	16	44	4	22	104	6
Public nuisances	122	79	168	133	78	157
Vehicle offences	139	71	9	69	63	7
Workhouse crime	46	18	69	24	14	44
Miscellaneous	5	1	8	14	9	14

Table 24 – Offences of individuals whose occupations were classed as skilled (III), partly skilled (IV) or unskilled (V) in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

Source: D2

individuals with skilled and less skilled occupations. Cab drivers were the usual individuals committing vehicle offences, driving whilst under the influence of alcohol and in Armstrong's classification they were seen as more skilled than 'carters' or 'carmen'. Conversely, those that were cruel to horses or donkeys utilised the animals to transport goods (i.e. carters or carmen). For these partly skilled individuals, the greater the load they carted or journeys they made, the more money they could potentially earn, but at the expense of their animal's welfare. Equally they may not have had adequate funds to keep their animals in a proper state. Thus it is possible to see how class based distinctions may have

resulted in differing offence types related to vehicles and horses. It should be noted however that Armstrong's classification plays a part in creating this distinction which may not reflect popular perceptions during the Edwardian period.

Classification of the defendants' occupations provides a limited insight into the socio-economic background of the individuals. However, it is possible to extend this insight a little further by examining the defendant's dwelling (living conditions) and family. Examining whether an defendant's home was overcrowded assists in assessing their socio-economic situation since "...prices, especially rents and wages are the proximate causes of the [overcrowding] phenomenon" (Gazeley and Newall, 2009:2). Thus Graph 16 details the conditions in which defendants and their families lived by showing the proportion inhabiting overcrowded homes. Only 525 households were overcrowded, which implies the majority earned adequate wages to afford a home commensurate to their family's requirements. Furthermore it could be argued that living in comfort gave an outward impression of respectability to one's neighbours, given that you could afford to rent such accommodation. In turn, for the hardened offender, this may have served as a veil, hiding their true criminal intent. On the other hand, the lack of overcrowding may have resulted from few defendants having children living with them or having small families of no more than one child (Graph 17). It is also possible that for some of the hardened offenders, their children had been taken into the care of friends or family who believed that the child would have a better upbringing away from their parent(s). There are certainly cases where children were either neglected for various reasons, but also where the propensity to commit criminal activity was passed from parents to children. Family size was clearly one factor determining whether living conditions were crowded or comfortable, so also helps to explain the low overcrowding figures. Yet it is also important to consider how this absence of children may be an important factor when understanding why some individuals turned to crime. Contemporary criminology literature has often argued that "...being married and having children, and holding other ties within a community provide people with a *social investment* in conformity and act as informal controls on their behaviour" (Wright and Wright,
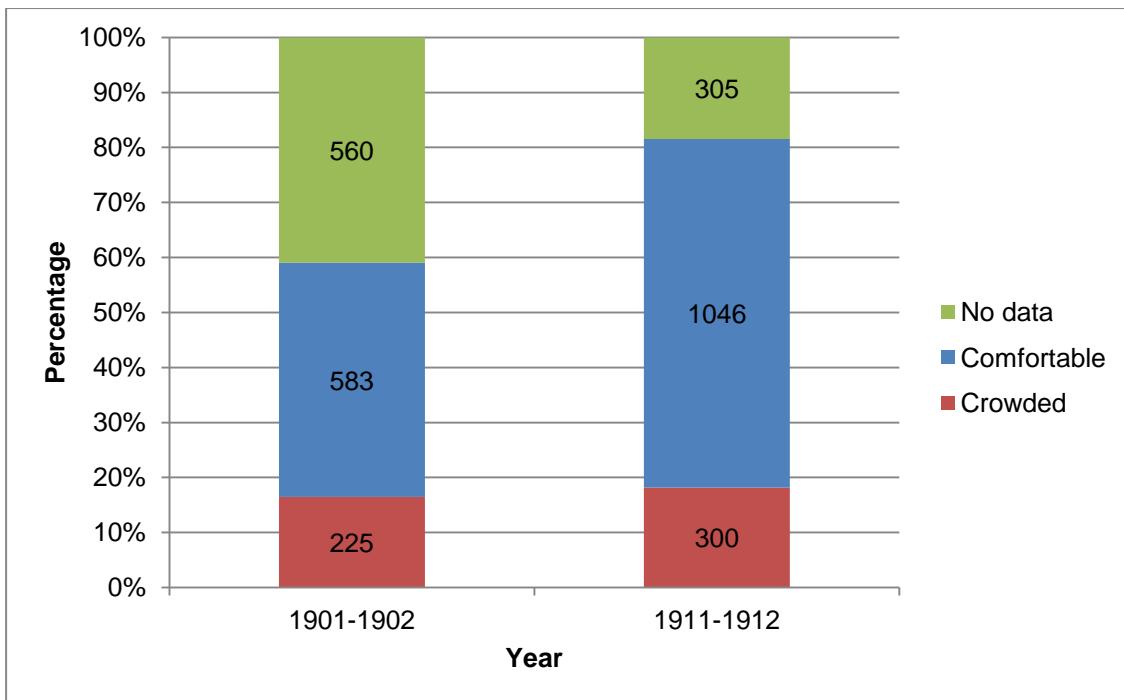
Graph 16 – Overcrowded living conditions of defendants' homes.
Overcrowding is defined according to the definition 'more than two persons per room' and has been derived from the number of rooms occupied by the family and household size figures taken from the census. The 'No data' category refers to individuals for which no room or household size information was available in the census.

Source: D3
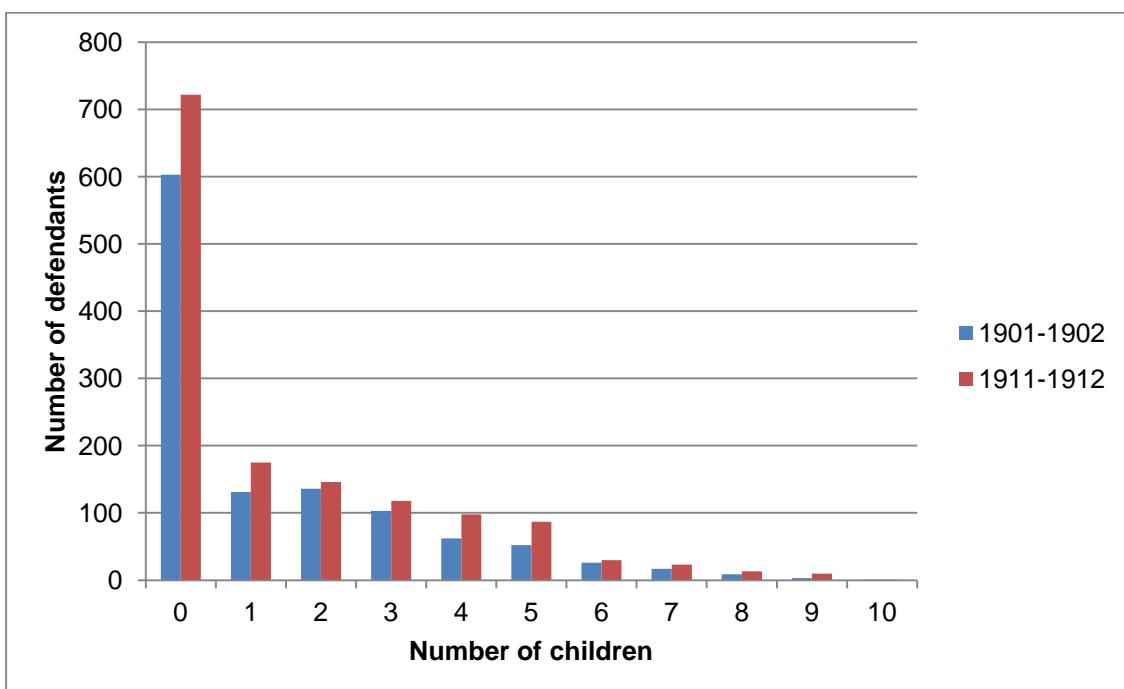
Graph 17 – Number of children (listed as 'son' or 'daughter') living with defendants. Note that the age of children was not considered when collecting these figures. Clearly the figures do not account for any son or daughter not residing in the same house as their 'criminal' parent.

Source: D3

1992:50). Such ties could be argued to force individuals to act responsibly in order to care for their family, as well as maintain a sense of respectability in their community. Thus, as can be seen from the WPC figures, individuals lacking children (and possibly a husband/wife) appear to be more susceptible to the temptations of crime.

It is also worth mentioning that those households for which no data was available to calculate overcrowding (see Graph 16) encompass not only those for which the number of rooms was not stated on census returns, but also individuals who were found to be in institutions (in such cases, the number of rooms/inhabitants/inmates were not stated on returns). For instance, across both periods, 194 offenders were found in the workhouse, 26 were in asylums or hospitals, five in military barracks and 99 in custody/prison. The latter suggests that some of the WPC individuals had been convicted on previous occasions, enhancing their status as offenders. But perhaps the most interesting individuals were those that boarded or lodged within private houses or boarding homes. In total there were 185 'boarders', 140 'lodgers' and 34 'visitors' amongst those arrested for WPC crimes. Such individuals inhabited different spaces – some in private houses with families, others in common lodging houses amongst a varied assortment of individuals (although it should be stressed it is not known how many lived in private houses as opposed to lodging houses). It is the latter which caused anxiety amongst the middle and upper classes who believed "...they were an atavistic blot on the ordered urban landscape, represented through the tropes of dirt, disorder, and disease and associated with vice and criminality" (Houlbrook, 2005:119). Furthermore, in some houses beds were shared, people were permitted to sleep on floors and "many doubled as brothels, while drinking, singing and gambling were not just tolerated but actively encouraged" (Crook, 2008a:31). Certainly a high proportion of the boarders, lodgers and visitors were arrested for drink related crime (217 cases), begging (30), public nuisances (36), assault (19) and betting (17), although not all of the individuals involved lived in lodging houses. But as Crook (2008b) argues any attempts to regulate the common lodging house space proved ineffective and this perhaps played into the hands of those involved in criminal activity. It provided a space in which to hide, similar to the

jumbled courts, passages and alleys of 'rookeries' in Victorian London. Yet it is also this lack of regulation or control which may have served to promote immorality amongst inhabitants. Moreover as a community in its own right, such houses brought criminal and non-criminal individuals into close proximity, thereby fostering interactions between them.

A final aspect of WPC defendants which we are able to glean from census records is whether these individuals had any historical associations with the area. If the birthplaces of offenders are analysed it can be seen that almost twice as many were born in London as in the counties of Great Britain in both periods – a trend similar to that for the population of London as a whole in 1901 and 1911 (Table 25). Furthermore, of those individuals born in London, approximately 48% (1901-1902) and 53% (1911-1912) stated their birthplaces were in areas within or close to the boundary of the WPC area[19]. This suggests

Area	WPC (1901-1902)	London (1901 census)	WPC (1911-1912)	London (1911 census)
London	849 (63.8%)	3,016,580 (66.5%)	1030 (64.4%)	3,084,999 (68.2%)
England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland (excluding London)	441 (33.1%)	1,324,442 (29.2%)	536 (33.5%)	1,436,686 (31.8%)
Other countries	40 (3%)	194,572 (4.3%)	34 (2.1%)	-
Total	1330	4,535,594	1600	4,521,685

Table 25 – Birthplaces of WPC defendants and comparison with the London population. Note that the 1911 Census does not provide an exact figure for the number of individuals born in other countries.

Sources: histpop.org (2007c and d)

[19] These percentages incorporate all defendants born in 'Chelsea', 'Westminster' or 'Lambeth'. Since the WPC area does not encompass the entire geographic areas of Chelsea, Westminster and Lambeth, the phrase 'areas within or close to the boundary of the WPC area' has been used here.

that these individuals were most likely to have been brought up in the local area and therefore had a strong historical connection with WPC neighbourhoods. Put simply, they were more likely to have an extensive geographical knowledge of the area and the activities that took place there. This is important since it is often argued by academics that "while there may be more target attractive neighbourhoods, criminals generally choose to commit crimes in areas they know (i.e. that are spatially attractive) because they are less likely to get caught there" (Paulsen, 2013:32). Hence having a strong historical bond was an advantage for criminals as they would understand the street layout as well as where to target. Additionally, they would have formed friendships or social connections with a wide range of people as they grew up and lived in the area. Such connections (both family and friends) may have been an important factor in determining where individuals decided to live, resulting in them residing near to or within the WPC area. In addition, by having family, friends and acquaintances who lived in the area, or who were also born and raised in the area, offenders were perhaps more likely to visit places such as public houses in the WPC rather than going to other parts of London. Thus by being born in the WPC area, many defendants had historical bonds or connections with the places, neighbourhoods and people in this part of London. These links provided them with geographical knowledge, encouragement and useful connections perhaps prompting them to commit crime within the area.

Defendant address locations

It is possible to advance the analysis of defendant residences further by examining where they were located. The addresses of defendants tried at the WPC in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 are shown in Figures 90 and 91 respectively. Defendants came from places scattered across London, but large numbers were local residents in relation to the WPC area. This finding is consistent with previous studies that examine the distance travelled by criminals to crime locations – "distance-to-crime research is summarised by two findings, *most crime trips are short* and *offenders do not travel far to commit crime*" (Townsley and Sidebottom, 2010:899). Admittedly these studies are mainly based on data from the late 20th and early 21st centuries and there is some
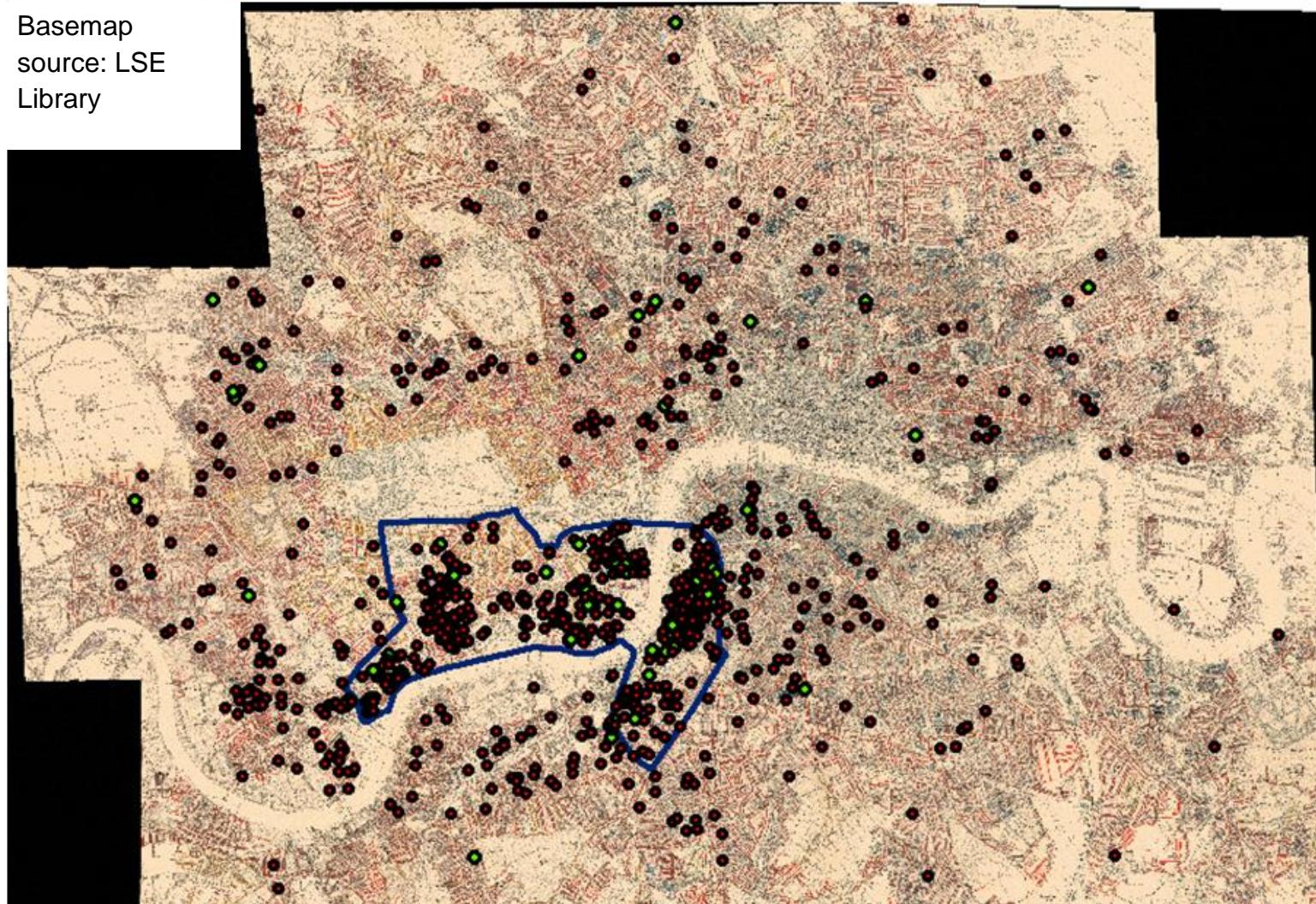
Figure 90 – Addresses of defendants tried at the WPC (1901-1902). Red dots denote defendants involved in one crime incident whereas large green dots represent individuals who committed 2 or more crimes and were therefore 'repeat offenders'.
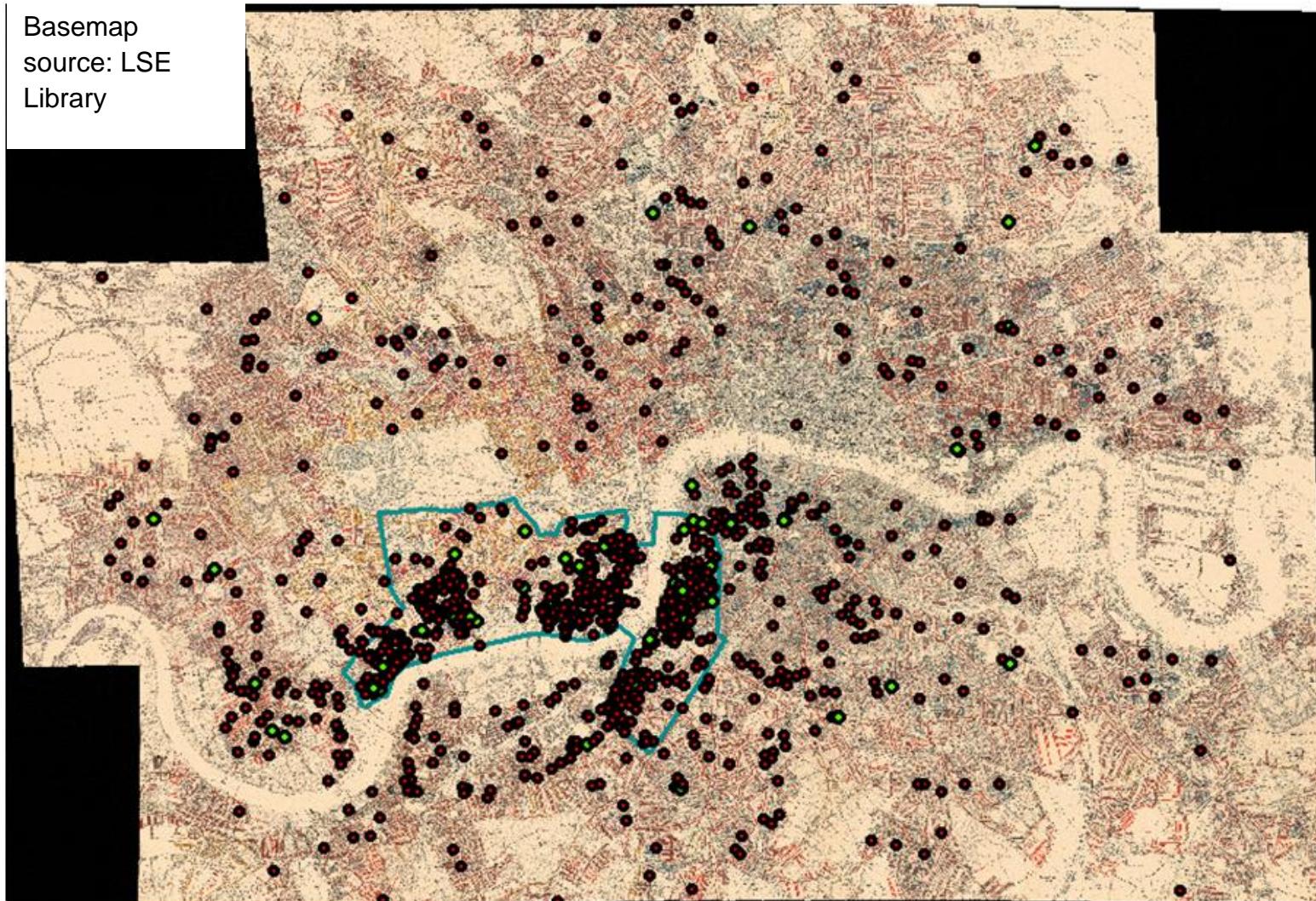
Figure 91 – Addresses of defendants tried at the WPC (1911-1912). Red dots denote defendants involved in one crime incident whereas large green dots represent individuals who committed 2 or more crimes and were therefore 'repeat offenders'.

debate as to whether these two statements always hold true. Certainly as Figure 90 and 91 shows, it would seem the Edwardian offender was no different to his/her counterpart half a century or more later – in other words the majority of those who committed crime within the WPC area lived locally and therefore travelled a short distance to a crime location. We do not know the journey that they took, but they committed crime within or near to their neighbourhood. These findings may also help to explain why there were few (if any) large concentrations of defendants outside of the WPC area. That is not to say offenders were not living there, but instead suggests that they were operating in neighbouring or other Police Court areas which would have constituted their local area. This may also be why there were small concentrations or 'clusters' of addresses in certain areas surrounding the WPC boundary, such as in Fulham, Southwark, Battersea, Clapham and Camberwell. In contrast, other adjacent areas to the north and north east did not have similar concentrations since Hyde Park created a barrier between Knightsbridge and Marylebone, meaning there was less potential for criminals to stray into the WPC area from that direction. In addition, Whitehall, Buckingham Palace, Pall Mall and Green Park acted as a north eastern barrier resulting in there being no defendant residences in those locations.

As well as these small concentrations on the fringes of the WPC jurisdiction, it is possible to distinguish large concentrations of addresses within the area itself. Perhaps three or four areas north of the Thames and two areas in Lambeth/Battersea/Clapham may be identified as being home to high numbers of defendants (circled on Figures 92 and 93). The six 'clusters' occurred in both time periods suggesting how these neighbourhoods may have been firmly associated with criminals or at the least individuals who were susceptible to committing illegal activity. This is perhaps confirmed by the presence of many repeat offenders in each of these clusters, whereas few were found in other parts of the WPC area. If the social class of these concentrations are examined on Booth's map it can be seen that these were generally working class areas, with some earning regularly but others poor. Indeed, Graph 18 shows the socio-economic condition of the streets in which defendant residences were located and it can be seen that a high proportion of defendants (in both time periods)
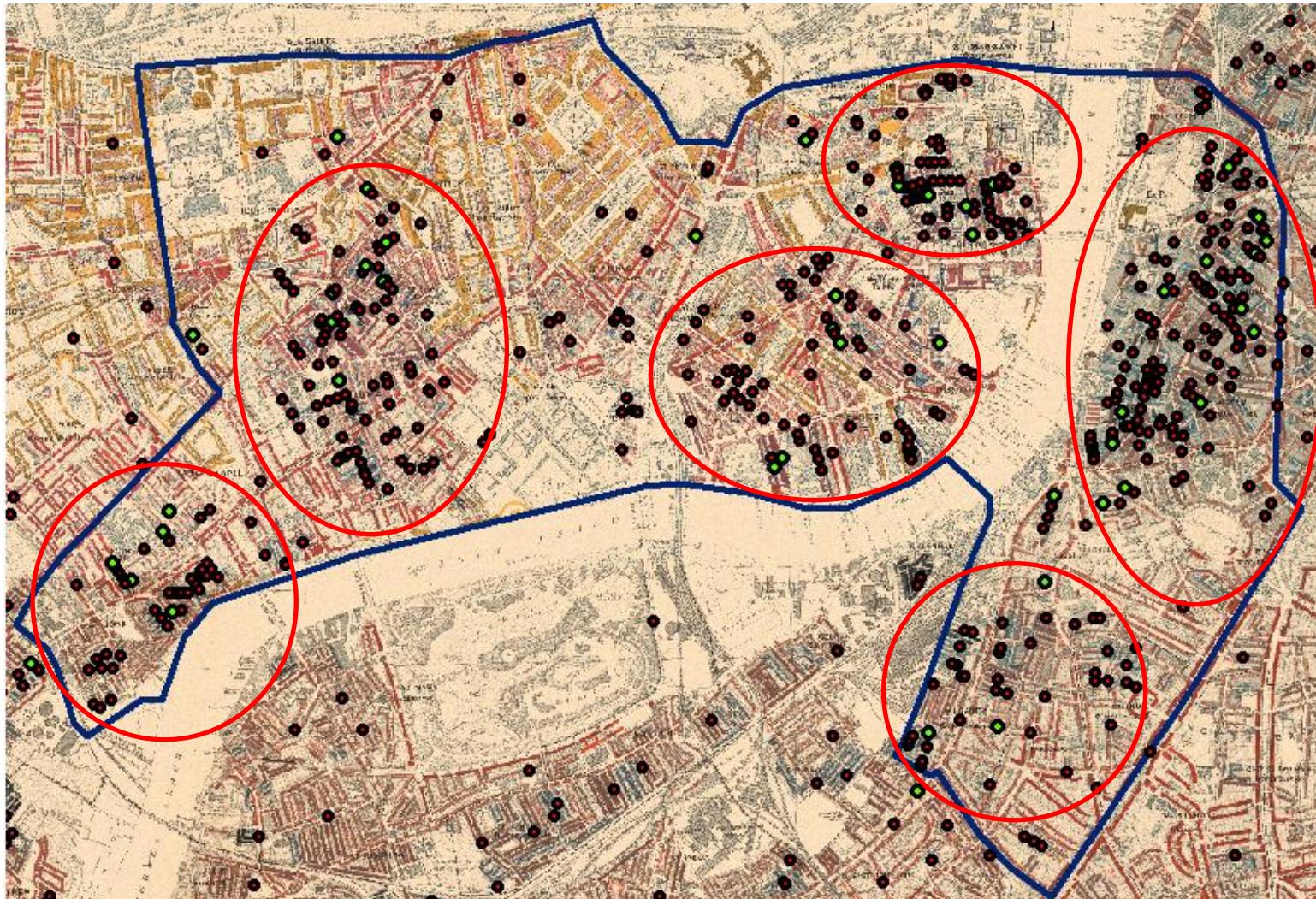
Figure 92 – Clusters of defendant addresses (1901-1902). Red dots denote defendants involved in one crime incident whereas large green dots represent individuals who committed 2 or more crimes and were therefore 'repeat offenders'.   Basemap source: LSE Library
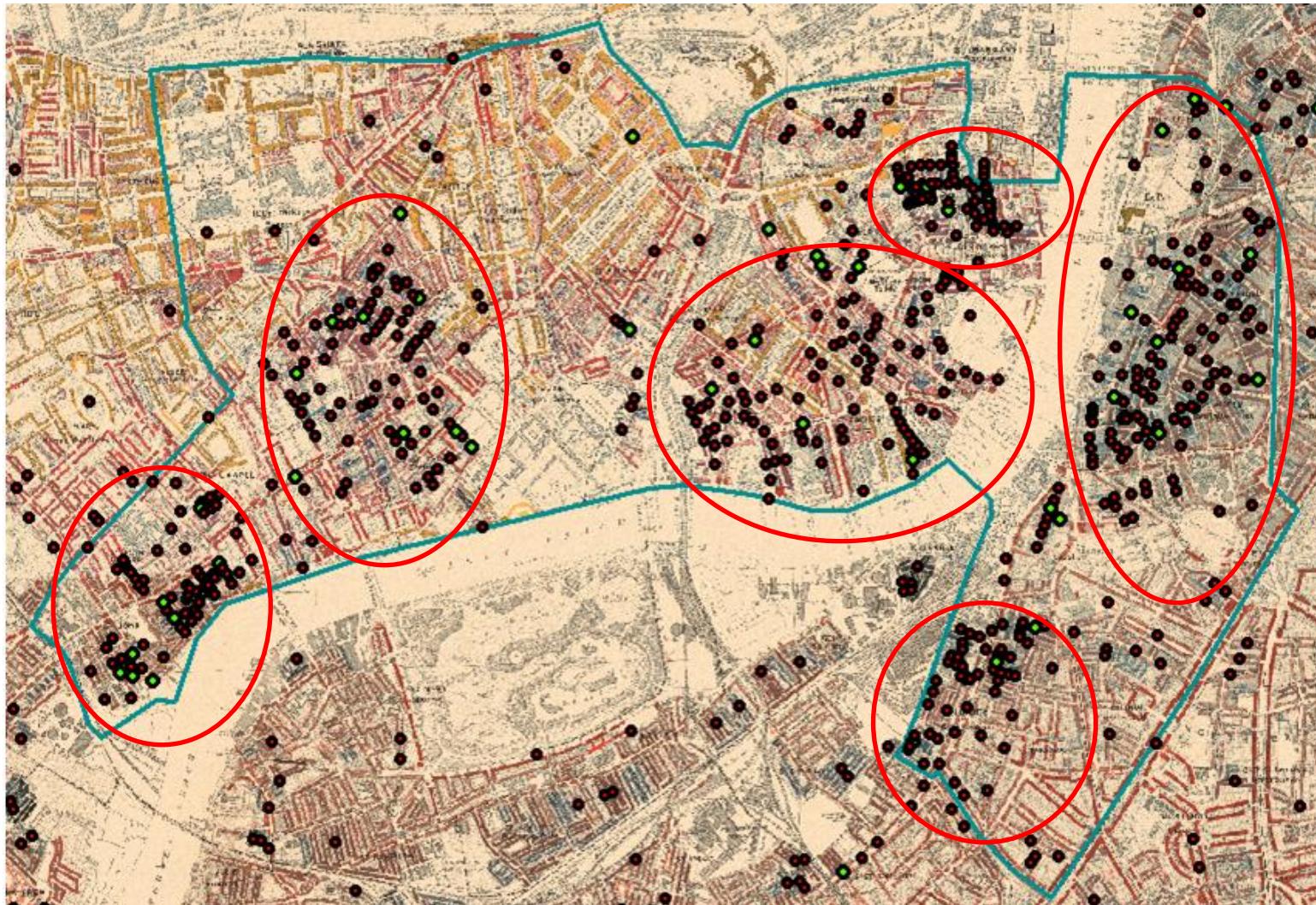
Figure 93 – Clusters of defendant addresses (1911-1912). Red dots denote defendants involved in one crime incident whereas large green dots represent individuals who committed 2 or more crimes and were therefore 'repeat offenders'. Basemap source: LSE Library
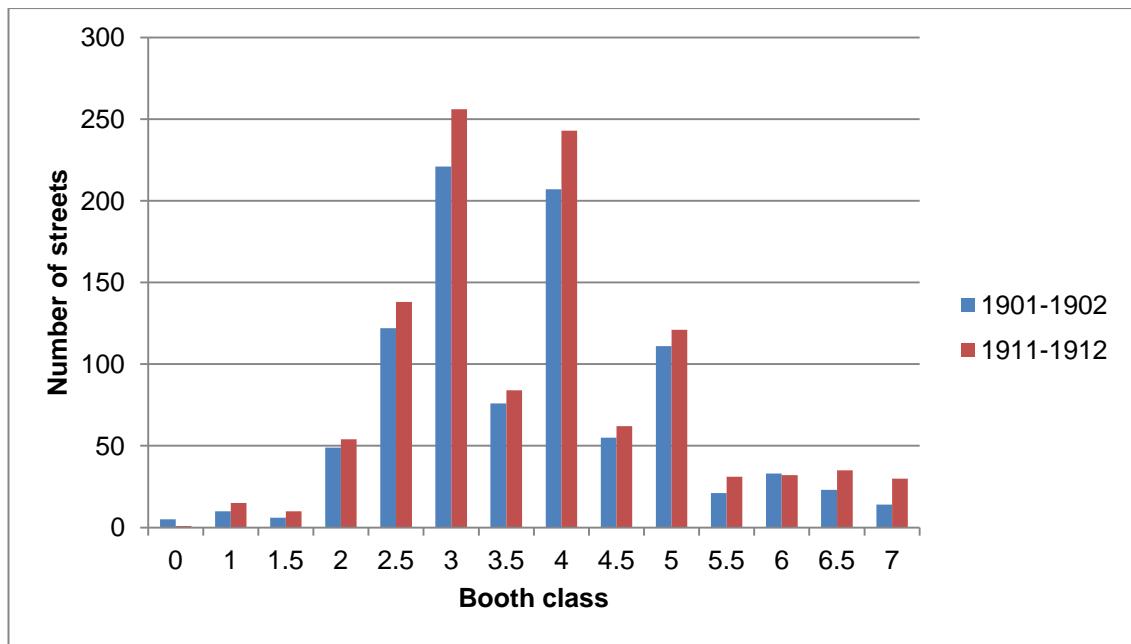
Graph 18 – Socio-economic class of the street in which defendants lived (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). The above uses Booth's classification to determine the socio-economic condition of the streets on which defendants lived (1 being yellow, wealthy and 7 being black, semi-criminal).

Source: D4

lived in streets coloured 'pink' (denoting 'fairly comfortable, good ordinary earners') but also 'purple' (meaning 'mixed, some comfortable others poor') on Booth's map. When compared to the total number of streets coloured 'purple' and 'pink' within the WPC area, this would seem disproportionate since there were greater numbers of 'yellow/red', 'red' and 'red/pink' coloured streets in the area (2954 as opposed to only 1325 classed as 'pink', 'pink/purple' and 'purple' – see Graph 2 in Chapter 3). To add to this, Graphs 19 and 20 illustrate that the lower the socio-economic status of a street, the greater the number of defendants per kilometre. Altogether this suggests that offenders lived amongst a mixture of working class people which conforms to the generally accepted views and findings of previous studies. For example, Wohl (2009:40) states a "...Royal Commission demonstrated...that even highly skilled artisans were living in overcrowded single-roomed flats and were often forced to share dwellings with the criminal poor". Indeed, as far back as the mid-Victorian period (and probably earlier) it was argued that criminals lived amongst the working class (Plint, 1851 in Godfrey and Lawrence, 2005:114). This is important as it firmly associated criminality with the working class and would naturally have
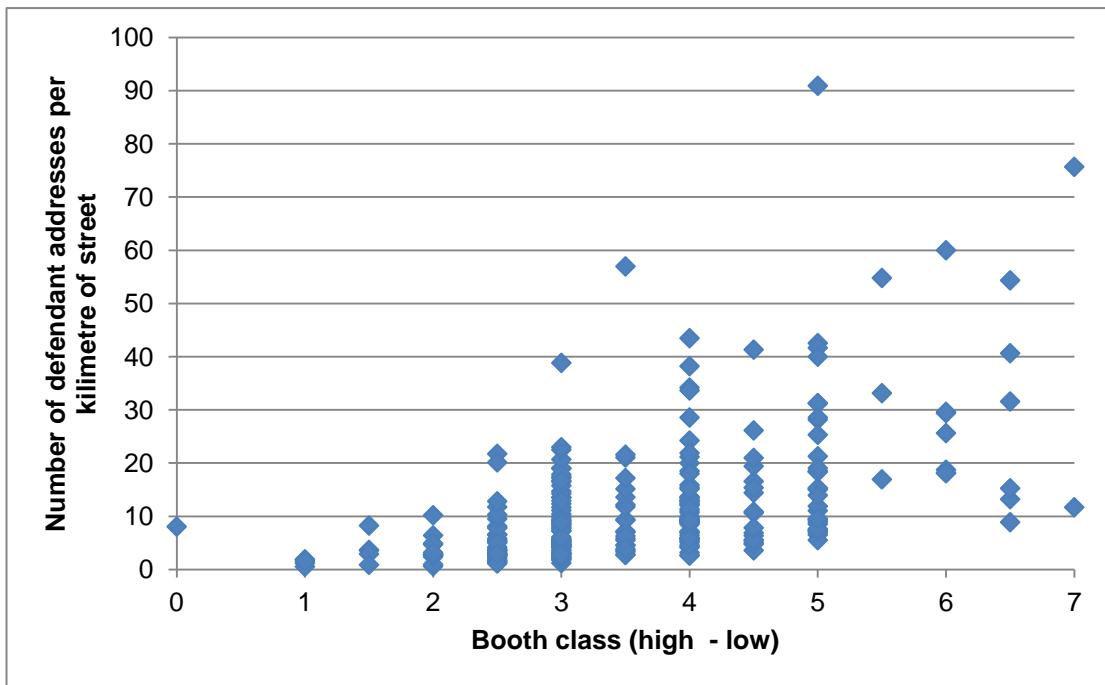
Graph 19 – Booth classification of WPC streets in which defendants lived vs. number of defendant addresses per kilometre of street (1901-1902). The graph uses Booth's classification to determine the socio-economic condition of the streets on which defendants lived (1 being yellow, wealthy and 7 being black, semi-criminal).
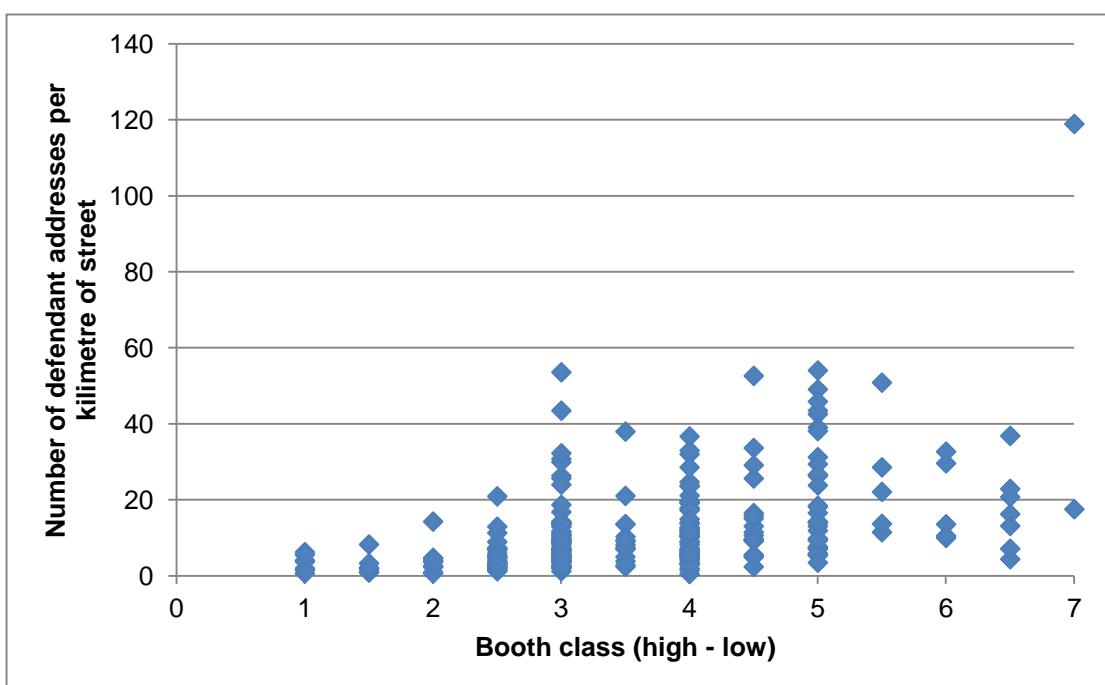
Source: D4

Graph 20 – Booth classification of WPC streets in which defendants lived vs. number of defendant addresses per kilometre of street (1911-1912). This graph uses the same principles as that described for Graph 19.

Source: D4

enhanced perceptions amongst the authorities that these people and spaces were the source of crime in the city. It is as Godfrey (2014:9) argues: "the economic situation of many lower working-class workers...ensured that they lived in poor housing stock, sometimes with neighbours who relied on theft to provide an income" which meant that "...the lower strata of the working population were caught up in illegality without being 'core members' of the underworld".

If the 'clusters' seem to be well defined, then the blank areas of the map where no defendants lived are just as distinct. Firstly, within the WPC area a large swath of land above the river, running from Knightsbridge in the north down through Chelsea and to the Royal Hospital on the banks of the Thames was home to few defendants. There were a handful of defendants found to be living in the area, but no discernible, significant concentrations. A cursory glance at Booth's colour coding of each street in this region explains this lack of criminality – most streets were home to the wealthy upper or middle classes (Figure 94). As discussed earlier, it is not that these strata of society did not commit illegal acts, but instead were more likely to commit them behind closed doors, away from the policeman's gaze. Admittedly there were a handful of defendant residences scattered amongst these wealthy areas, but almost all were cases involving household staff or servants rather than the wealthy owner. For example, Charles Campbell (35, butler and valet) living at 45 Lennox Gardens, Chelsea (yellow on Booth's map) addition to these wealthy stole £1500 worth of property from his employer, the Honourable William Frederick John North (PS/WES/A/01/025, 28 September 1901, trial 23). In residential streets, the southern half of the area, on the banks of the Thames, was taken up by the Royal Hospital Chelsea. The hospital buildings were surrounded by large expanses of parkland or open green spaces which explains the lack of defendant residences here. But there were also important retail spaces in this swathe of the WPC, such as Knightsbridge, Brompton Road, Sloane Square and the Kings Road. Chapter 5 showed how these spaces provided attractive prospects for defendants to target, yet these were not streets that they inhabited. Such streets contained few homes (or flats) and most would have been taken up by shop owners (or department store staff). Furthermore, given
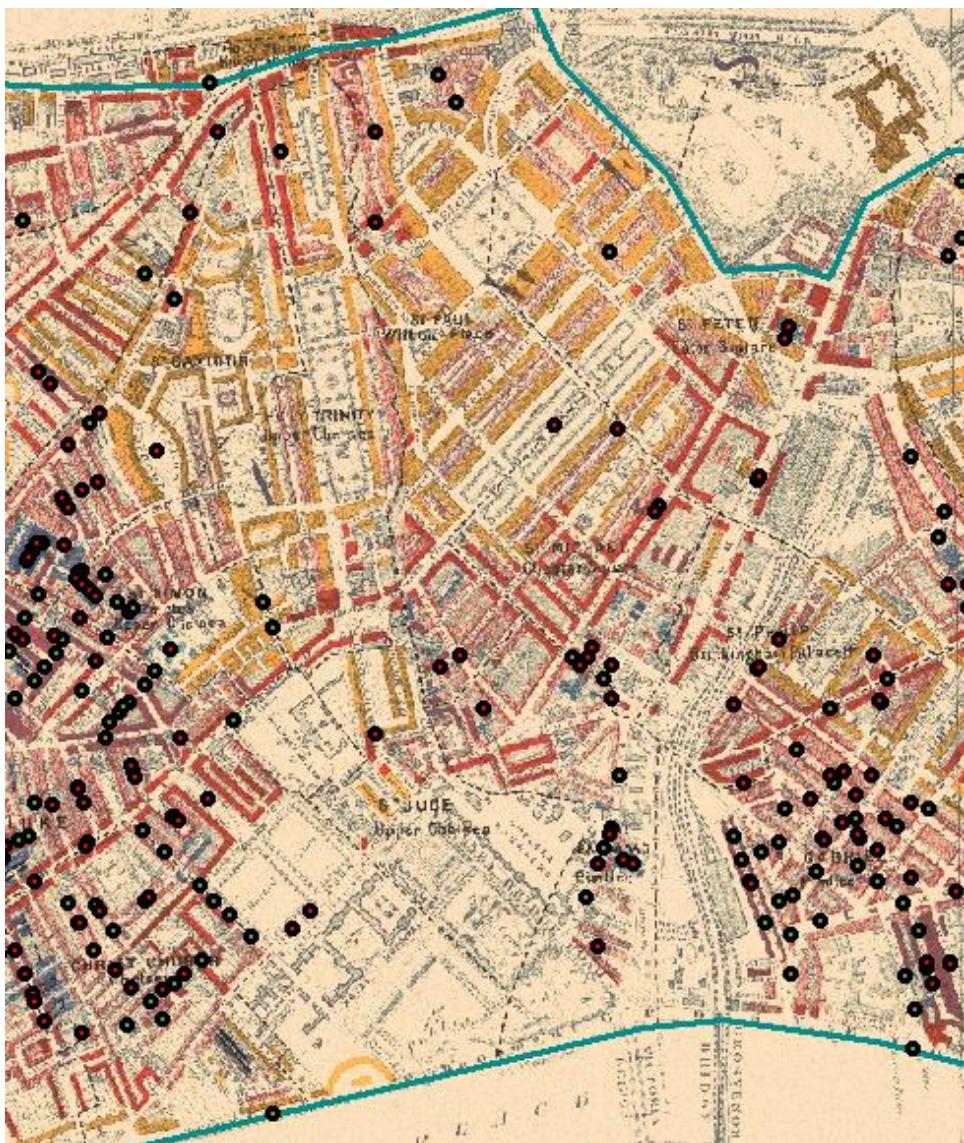
Figure 94 – Socio-economic status of area without defendant residences (red dots denote defendant addresses in 1901-1902 and green dots for 1911-1912). The empty area without defendant addresses was mainly where wealthy upper or middle class individuals or families resided as Booth's map shows. The area on the banks of the Thames where Booth did not colour the streets/buildings is the Royal Hospital Chelsea. Basemap source: LSE Library

their proximity to shops, there would have been a high cost of purchasing or renting a home in these retail areas – affordable only to the wealthy.

There are several other 'voids' within the WPC area (present during both time periods) and although in most cases the reasons for the lack of defendant addresses is evident, it is worth briefly noting their existence. A lack of addresses can be seen in South Kensington where, although there were some residential areas, most of the neighbourhood was taken up by the museum
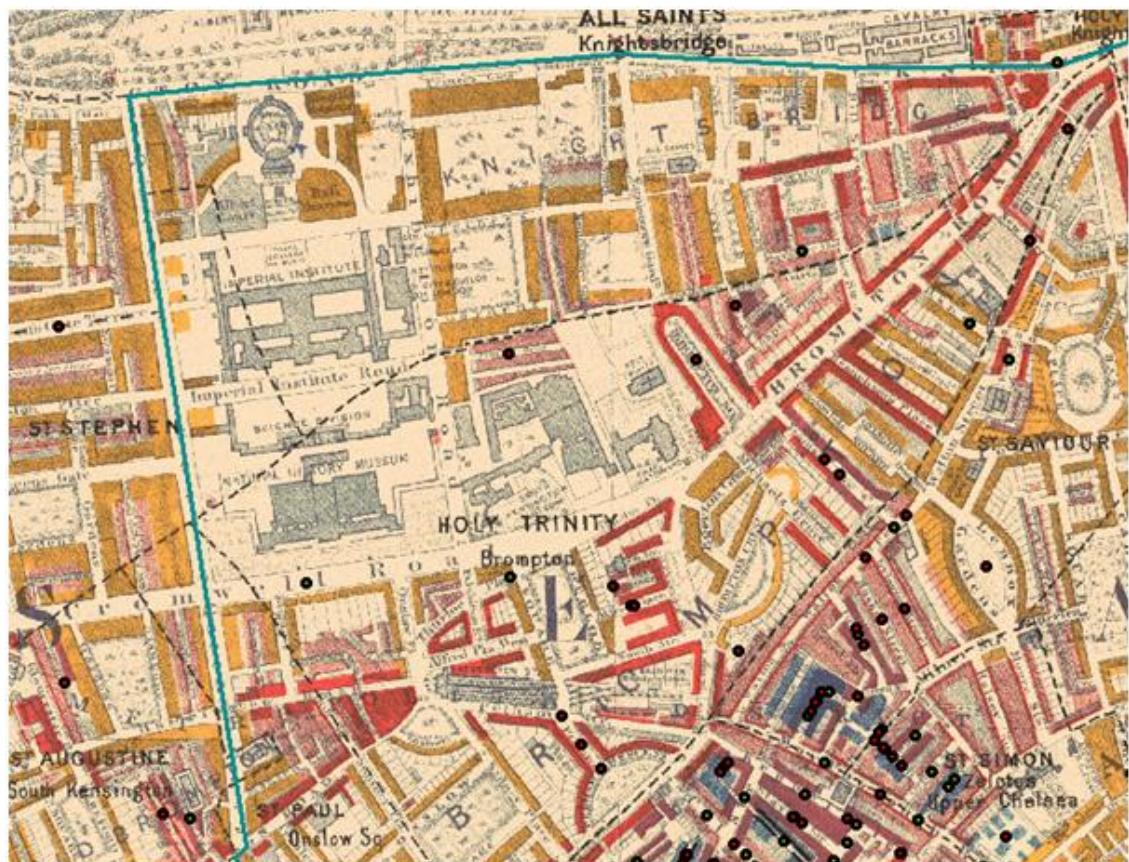
Figure 95 – The museum district of 'Albertopolis'. It can be seen how there were no defendant addresses found in the area. (Red dots = 1901-1902 addresses; Green dots = 1911-1912 addresses). Basemap source: LSE Library

district or 'Albertopolis' (Figure 95). Within Westminster there was a distinct region at the south western end of Victoria Street where defendants were not found to live. In this case, the presence of Victoria Railway Station explains the 'void' (Figure 96), although as Chapter 5 showed, the station was a space attracting crime. South of the Thames, the area encompassing Lambeth Palace and Archbishops Park created a small 'criminal-free' zone surrounded by large numbers of offenders' homes. Finally, the green spaces that formed the Oval and Vauxhall Park in South London created a space free of any defendant residences (Figure 97). Thus to summarise, a mixture of retail, transport, leisure, green and wealthy residential spaces served to exclude offenders from various parts of the WPC area, creating empty 'voids' on the maps where no defendants were found to be living.

Outside of the WPC area, patterns of defendant residences are not as distinct
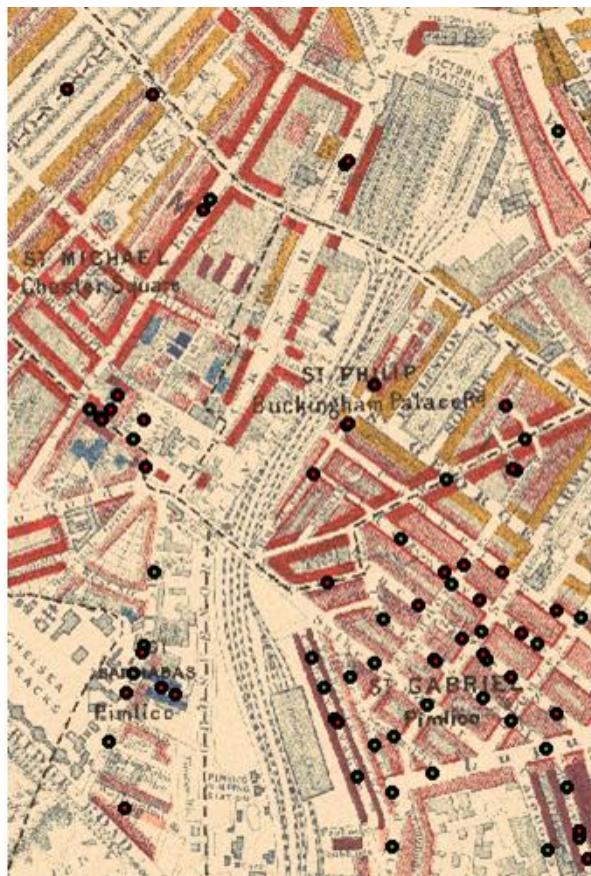
Figure 96 – Victoria Station void. Victoria Station and its railway lines running south create a 'void' where no defendant addresses could be located. (Red dots = 1901-1902 addresses; Green dots = 1911-1912 addresses).

Basemap source: LSE Library
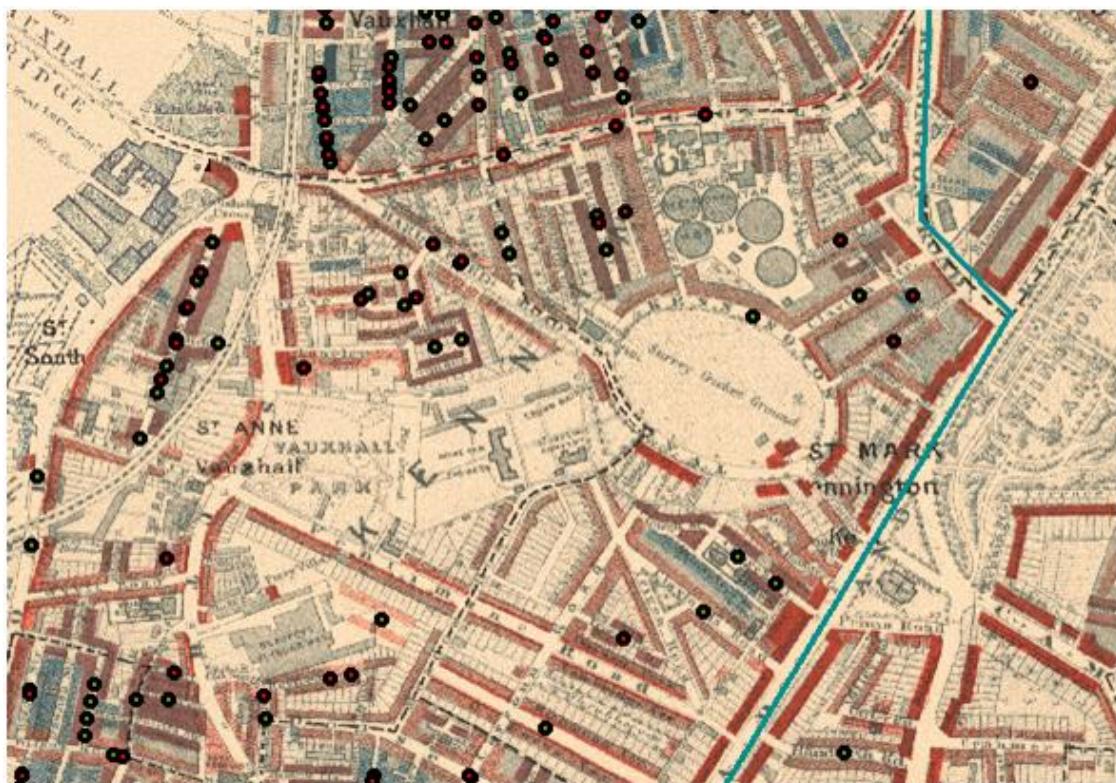
Figure 97 – The Oval and Vauxhall Park void. The Oval cricket ground and Vauxhall Park also created a large void in Lambeth where no defendant addresses could be located. (Red dots = 1901-1902 addresses; Green dots = 1911-1912 addresses).

Basemap source: LSE Library

and appear to be randomly scattered across London. Admittedly, there are some small concentrations, referred to earlier, on the outskirts of the WPC boundary (Fulham, Southwark, Battersea and Camberwell) and these reflect where individuals could conveniently journey into the WPC area (this defendant mobility will be discussed further in the following chapter). The 'voids' or absence of addresses on the periphery of the area was also discussed earlier. But it is the distribution beyond these that presents a far more random, complex pattern. The City of London is perhaps one distinct feature, lacking defendants but the financial district would not have been home to many since most land was given over to commercial premises. Equally the dock areas in Wapping, Limehouse, Poplar and Rotherhithe also stand out as 'blank' areas on the maps. There were also the various green spaces and countryside areas on the outskirts of the city where the suburbs were only just beginning to take hold meaning few defendant households around the edges of the maps. There is one curious 'void' that existed in the Dalston, Clapton and Stoke Newington area – in both time periods, addresses were peppered in surrounding neighbourhoods creating a gap. This area was residential and it is important to note that Booth coloured the streets in red and pink giving the appearance that this was a thoroughly respectable region of London (Figure 98). Yet one would have expected to see some offenders mixed in amongst the inhabitants of 'pink' working class streets. Another factor which may assist in explaining the absence of WPC defendants was transportation links into Central London. Figure 99 shows how the bus/tram routes encircled the area, creating large 'voids' without easy access to transportation facilities (compared to nearby areas such as those neighbourhoods to the west) and this may have hindered individuals commuting into the WPC region. On the other hand, it was more likely that those bus/tram routes would have provided opportunity to commute to the WPC area. However, several buses/trams would have been required to get to the WPC region and individuals would have traversed other areas with just as much (if not more) opportunity to commit crime (e.g. City of London and the West End). Moreover as has been found with the majority of WPC defendants, individuals tended to commit crime near to or within their neighbourhood, meaning that any offenders living in this region of London would most likely have offended close by. This aside, perhaps the only other aspect that can be

Figure 98 – Absence of defendant addresses in the Dalston, Clapton and Stoke Newington area. It can be seen that a large empty 'void' existed in this part of London, where no WPC defendants were found to be living. (Red dots = 1901-1902 addresses; Green dots = 1911-1912 addresses).   Basemap source: LSE Library

Basemap source: LSE Library
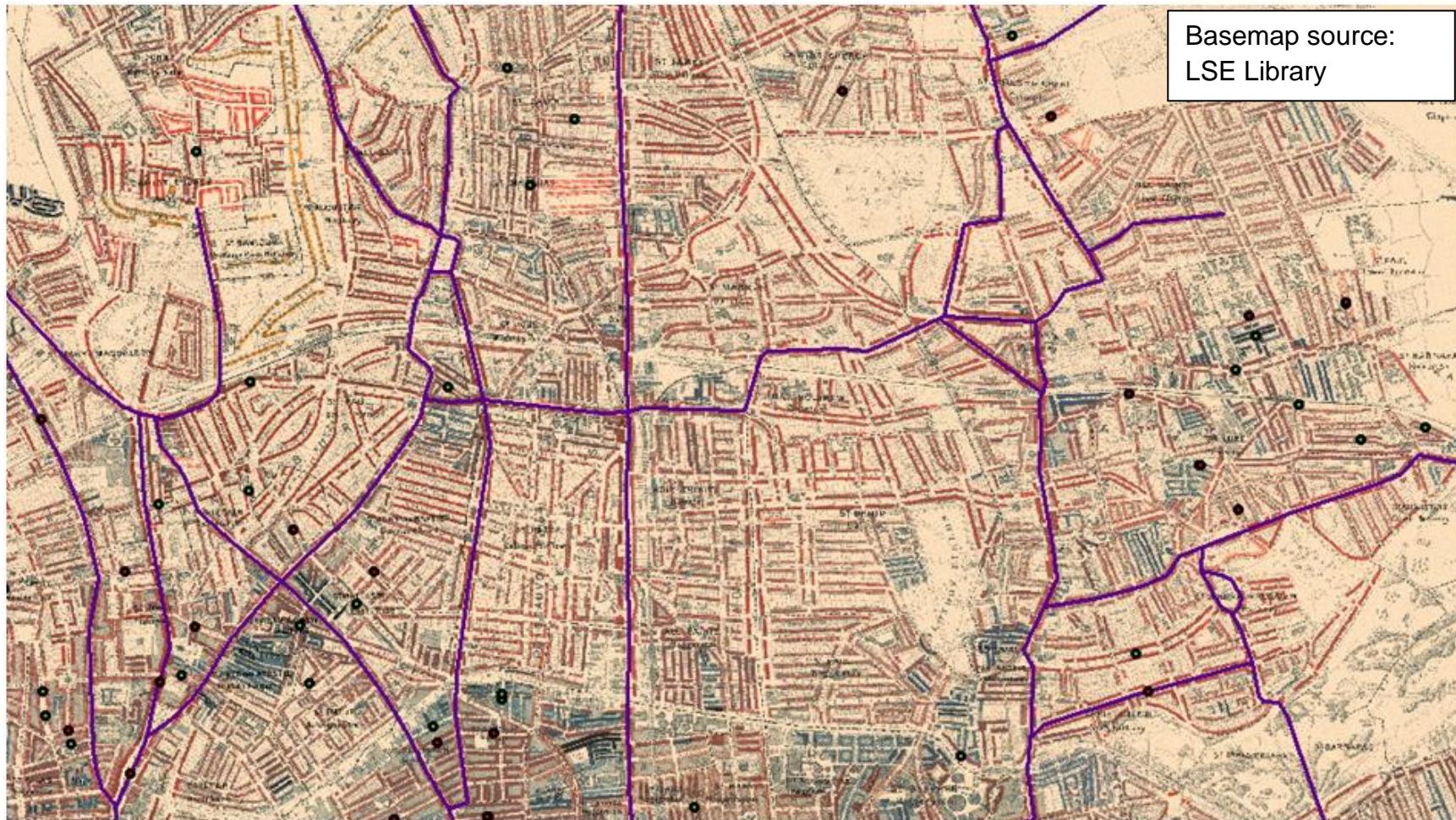
Figure 99 – The tram/bus routes in Hackney, Dalton, Clapton and Stoke Newington. Where there were no defendant addresses found, it can generally be seen there were few public transportation routes nearby. This may have helped play a part in there being few WPC defendants living in this part of London – any criminal living here would have more likely commuted to nearer or more convenient parts of the city to commit crime. Note that tram/bus routes have been taken from Saunders (2007).

discerned from the scattering of defendant addresses across London is that they may highlight areas in other Police Court jurisdictions which were foci of criminal activity (much the same as those six 'clusters' in the WPC area). Further investigation into the defendants tried at other Police Courts would be needed to verify this hypothesis and perhaps those bordering the WPC should be prioritised if such a study were to be carried out.

Hitherto, I have described in general terms the spatial patterns of defendant addresses, identifying concentrations as well as notable absences of residences. However, little in the way of explanation or in depth investigation into the socio-economic, cultural, communal or physical fabric of the large concentrations of addresses has been given. It would be impossible to examine each street or neighbourhood in detail and such an exercise would add no value to this study – as has already been shown, in general terms the areas inhabited by defendants were all mixed working class areas and therefore likely to have been socially/economically similar. Instead, a selection of streets or neighbourhoods should be analysed in detail to unpick the spaces inhabited by defendants as well as where crime was committed. These local 'case studies' will be the subject of Chapter 8, with the selection of streets being partly based upon Graphs 19 and 20.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the individuals who committed crimes within the WPC area, splitting the defendants into their respective age, gender and occupational categories. It was found that defendants were more likely to be aged 20-39; a greater number of men were charged for crimes and the working classes dominated those tried at the WPC. However, their accommodation was less likely to be overcrowded and defendants generally either had no children or small families. But one of the main elements of this chapter was the examination of where defendants lived which revealed that most residences were concentrated in six districts within the WPC area, with smaller 'clusters' and patterns across the rest of London. Admittedly, I have only described the patterns, providing little explanation for why these concentrations occurred or

the nature of the communities and the spaces they inhabited – this will be the subject of Chapter 8. The mobility of the offender has also only been briefly mentioned in the context of where individuals lived in relation to the WPC area, suggesting that offenders committed crime within their local neighbourhood. It is this theme of mobility that the next chapter seeks to build upon.

Chapter 7 – Defendant mobility

Hitherto I have discussed those defendants living within London, but others lived beyond the extent of the capital, commuting into the city and committing crimes. I have also only briefly mentioned the presence of small address concentrations near to the WPC boundary, yet there are interesting configurations or characteristics associated with these 'clusters' which warrant further investigation. The purpose of this chapter therefore is to examine the distances and movements which defendants took to and through the city to commit crime in the WPC area. In addition, the use of transportation technologies must also be examined since they help explain distances travelled by criminals. Furthermore, some crimes tried at the WPC were carried out in transit such as on a train or omnibus – offences which lacked a fixed location meaning they have not been included in the analysis/discussion so far. Crimes on railway premises are also problematic since they often cannot be assigned to a street (especially if an individual trespassed onto the line). Thus this chapter is not only about the movements of defendants, but also crimes in motion as well as those committed on railway premises.

The River Thames as a barrier against crime

When conceptualising mobility it is first important to consider the barriers that hinder or deter movement. Hyde Park located to the north of the WPC area is one such barrier discussed earlier, however perhaps the most significant obstruction to movement in London was the River Thames. Dividing North and South London, it created a physical segregation of the city – a feature which was played upon or utilised in literature and art, cementing this divide further in peoples' minds (see biographical accounts of the river by Ackroyd, 2008 and Schneer, 2006). This was important, because it did not merely create a physical divide, but also a social one that could be considered similar to the distinction between the West and East End:

> ...for the vast mass of people on that grey south side, the broad sweeping bend of the river forms a moral no less than a physical barrier, shutting

them off from every hope and every aspiration beyond the unending struggle somehow to keep alive (Hogg, 1897:734-5).

Such a description gives the impression of how people north of the Thames viewed South London as an unknown, poor, dull, dreary area, lacking prospect, equivalent to the East End slums. Moreover, it led to the creation of distinct communities with strong social cohesion between members perhaps creating a sense of belonging to a particular neighbourhood (see Winstanley, 1978 for example). Thus, overall it can be argued that:

the Thames appears to have presented both a geographical and cultural divide which – together with the sheer scale of south London – facilitated an evaluation and conceptualisation of south London as a city (or potential city) in its own right, rather than as an important district within a much larger unified metropolis (Draper, 2004:26).

Yet it also means that the north/south divide could be argued to have had an influence on the movements of the WPC defendants and where they committed crime.

Table 26 details the number of defendants living north or south of the Thames and whether they committed crimes above or below the river. Generally defendants living in either part of the city committed crime in that area (i.e. they did not cross over a bridge or commute underground onto the other side of

Scenario	1901-1902	1911-1912	Total
Live in north, commit crime in south	57	65	122
Live in south, commit crime in north	120	185	305
Live in north, commit crime in north	527	582	1109
Live in south, commit crime in south	246	275	521
Live in north, commit crime on a bridge	1	2	3
Live in south, commit crime on a bridge	2	3	5

Table 26 – Where defendants lived and committed crime in relation to the River Thames (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). The table provides six scenarios detailing where a defendant lived and committed crime in relation to the position of the River Thames (i.e. north or south of the river).

Source: D4

the Thames), which helps to support earlier findings that the defendants' local neighbourhood was usually their main crime target. Of the 427 individuals who did cross the Thames, 305 went north (71%), whereas only 122 travelled south and committed crime. The reason for this is that there was perhaps more opportunity in the north when compared to the south. On the other hand, since the WPC area covered a rather small, narrow stretch of South London, these figures only reflect those individuals caught in that area. It is highly likely that individuals living north of the river travelled across to the south and committed crimes, but not in the WPC jurisdiction (instead travelling beyond into the areas covered by Lambeth, Tower Bridge or South Western Police Courts). But what these figures do indicate is that some individuals did travel further or longer distances before committing crime.

Distance-to-crime

Hitherto it has been found that defendants appeared to live near to the neighbourhood in which they committed crime, but it is perhaps interesting to quantify this by examining the distances they may have travelled. Graph 21 shows the straight line distances (in kilometres) between defendant addresses and crime locations for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. 46% (1046) of individuals
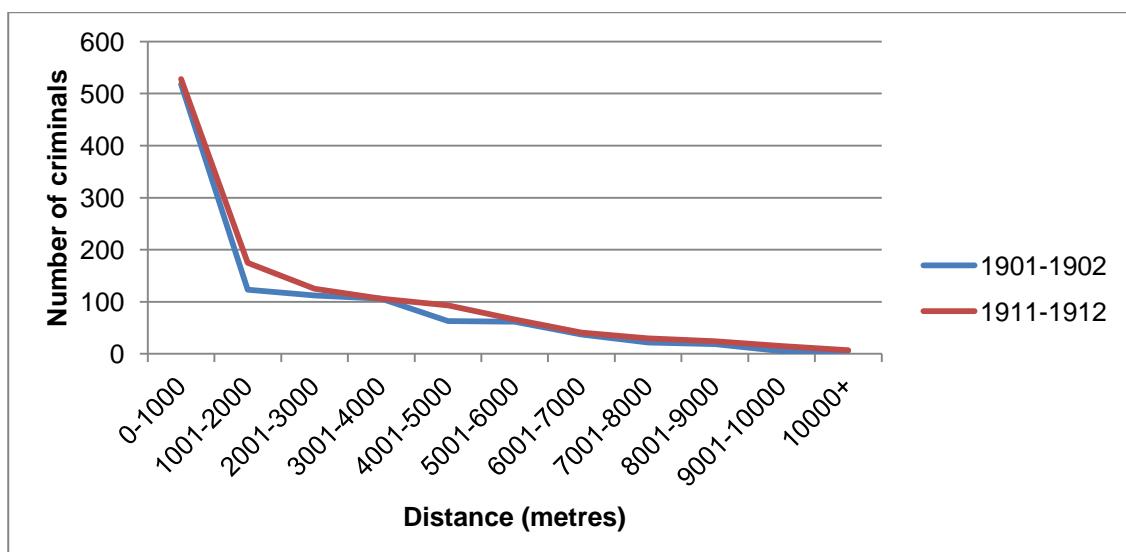
Graph 21 – Distance travelled by WPC defendants in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. The graph uses the straight line distances between defendants' homes and the place they committed crime (the centre point of the street).

Source: D4

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travelled short distances of up to one kilometre, with fewer numbers making journeys to locations further away from their home. Put simply the graph exhibits a distance decay trend meaning locations or neighbourhoods further away from the defendant's home were less likely to be targeted. This reinforces the finding that criminals tended to remain in their local area when committing crime rather than travelling to places further afield. There is a plethora of contemporary research which has also found similar trends (see Costello and Wiles, 2001:29). It is as Paulson (2013:31) states "although there are a few odd examples of criminals who travel long distances to commit crimes, most criminals commit the majority of their crimes in neighbourhoods they know well". It is this last point which perhaps explains why there is a distance decay trend – individuals had an extensive knowledge of the neighbourhoods in which they lived and as was described in Chapter 6, many may have been born or grew up in the area. Thus when looking for opportunities to commit crime, the local area was the most obvious place to target since individuals already possessed knowledge of the streets, buildings and people –

> most criminals will rarely decide to commit crimes in an area they have never been before, as without any form of reconnaissance they do not know the precise location of opportunities for crime and have no knowledge of particular risks (Van Daele, 2010:43).

However, it should be remembered that not all offenders were hardened criminals, setting out to find victims or targets. The majority were individuals who lived and worked within the area and were caught for minor misdemeanours (such as being drunk and disorderly) whilst going about their daily life or socialising. The case in Figure 100 illustrates this most clearly, where William Aked (36/37) an accountant's clerk lived at 125 Tachbrook Street, Westminster and was picked up by police four times during 1901-1902. All but one of the locations he was found at were within 1km of his home. He was most likely visiting public houses locally, drinking rather too much, resulting in his arrest. The case exhibits one of the central tenets of Routine Activity Theory – namely that:

> ...people act in response to situations (including when they commit

William Wilson Aked (36/37) an accountant's clerk was brought before the WPC four times during the 1901-1902 time period for being drunk or drunk and disorderly. Below is a list of the offences which he committed:

Charge date	Charge time	Offence	Location	Bailed	Sentence
06/04/1901	2:30pm	Drunk	Sumner Place	Yes (06/04/1901 at 11:00pm)	Guilty
07/04/1901	1:25am	Drunk and disorderly	Tachbrook Street	Yes (07/04/1901 at 1:00pm)	Guilty
03/05/1901	11:15am	Drunk	Albert Embankment	Yes (03/05/1901 at 6:40pm)	No appearance
14/02/1902	7:15pm	Drunk and disorderly, plus on warrant for being drunk on 03/05/1901	Chadwick Street (and Albert Embankment)	No	Guilty

He was arrested on 06/04/1901, bailed, but was then caught in the small hours of the following morning again, released and then tried for both charges on 07/04/1901. Almost a month later, William was caught again and bailed, but this time failed to turn up at court. There was thus a warrant out for his arrest and eventually the police apprehend him for being drunk on 14/02/1902. He was then tried the following day for both charges.

If these crime locations are mapped along with William's address, it will be seen that all but one of the crime locations (red dots) were within 1km of his home (green dot).
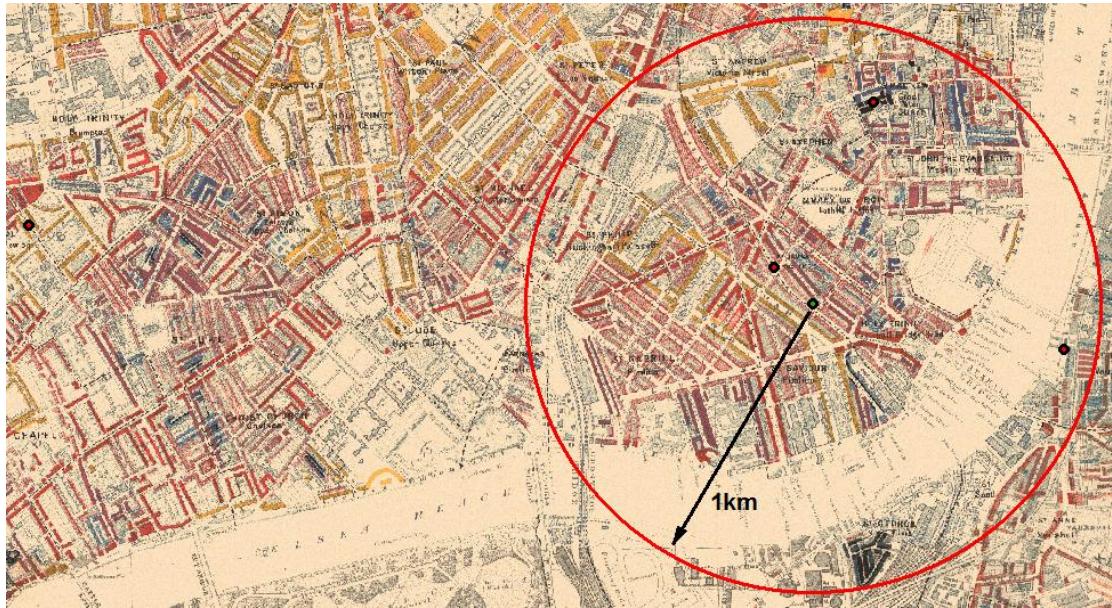
Figure 100 – A repeat offender committing offences near to his home.

Sources: PS/WES/A/01/022, 8 April 1901, trials 14 & 19; PS/WES/A/01/023, 14 May 1901, trial 6; PS/WES/A/01/028, 14 February 1902, trial 5; Basemap source: LSE Library

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crime); therefore, the kinds of situations they encounter in their daily lives influence their crime involvement (and, as a result, influence a society's crime rate)... (Wikström, 2011:3).

To understand the distinction between 'offenders' and 'hardened criminals' further, as well as why some individuals travelled longer distances to commit crime, it is prudent to examine the distances travelled by individuals committing specific types of offence.

Graphs 22 and 23 show the distances travelled by individuals committing different offence types. Although being difficult to decipher, generally it can be seen that in both time periods the majority of crime types were committed locally within a kilometre or so from an individual's home – conforming (as would be expected) to the overall pattern in Graph 21. However, there are some exceptions to this trend, where greater numbers of defendants travelled longer distances to commit specific types of crime. Defendants committing vehicle offences travelled further from their place of residence than individuals committing other crime types (Graph 24). Overall the graph exhibits a distance decay trend, however rather than numbers of defendants beginning to drop at 1-2km, for individuals accused of vehicle offences it was at the 3-4km distance that numbers began to decline. In other words, defendants committing vehicle offences (all of which involved individuals being intoxicated whilst driving) travelled double the distance of those committing other crimes such as drink related or public nuisance offences. This is perhaps an unsurprising finding given the crime involved the use of vehicles which would have enabled individuals to travel greater distances than offenders travelling on foot. Similarly, individuals being cruel to animals appear to have mainly been 3-4km from their home when apprehended by the police (Graph 25). In this case, the trend lacks any resemblance to a distance decay curve, with fewer individuals being apprehended at distances up to 2km from their home, but far greater numbers caught at 2-6km, with lower numbers found beyond that distance. Being a form of transportation, it is unsurprising that these offences occurred at distances far from defendants' homes. However, it is curious that the distances were far greater than those for vehicle offences (which include the use of motor transport). This is perhaps due to the nature of these offences in that they often
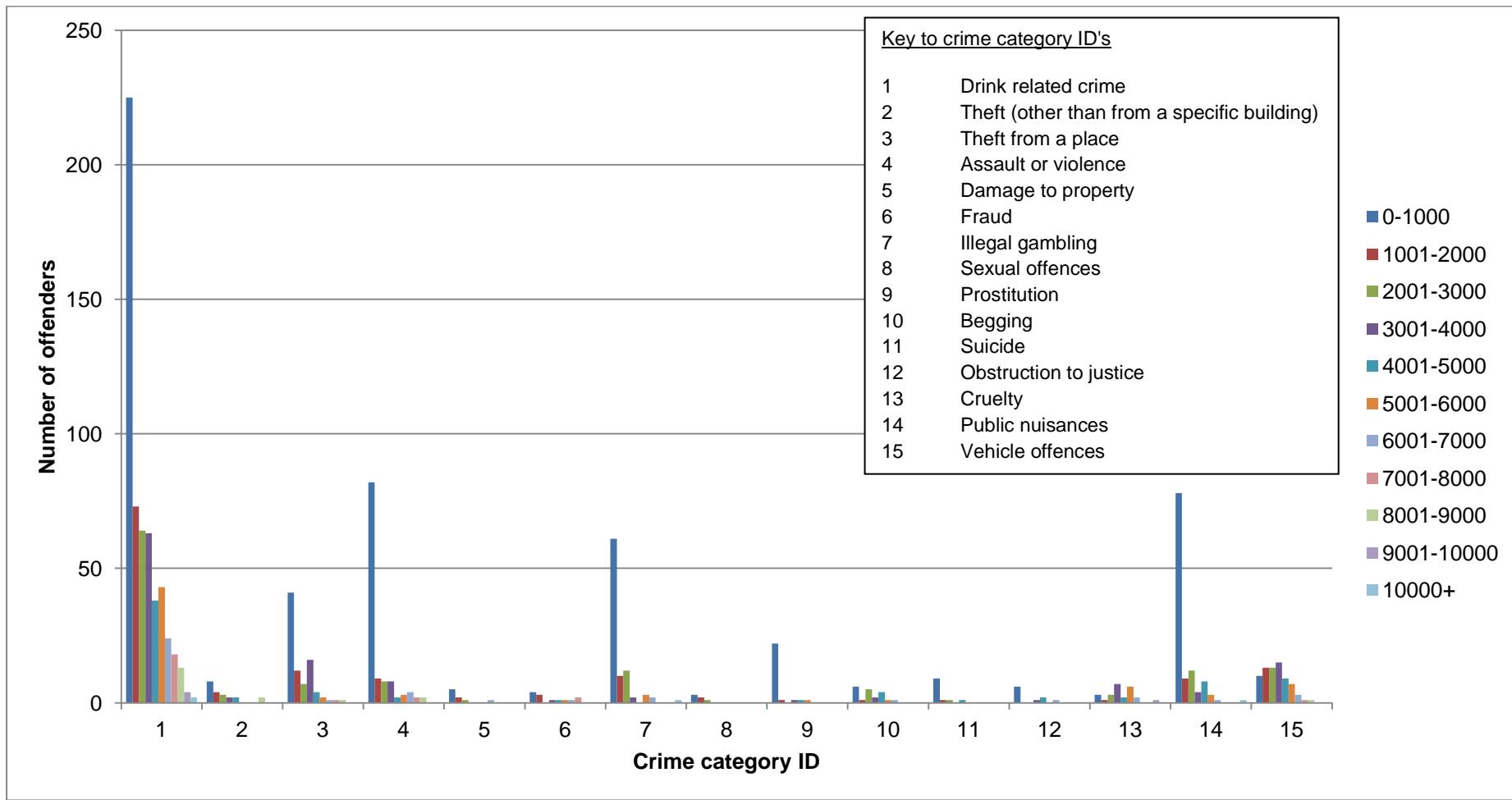
Graph 22 – Distance travelled by defendants committing different types of crime (1901-1902). Distances are shown in metres. Please note that the categories of railway crime, workhouse crime and miscellaneous crime have been excluded to help the reader – distances travelled by offenders committing these offences could not be measured due to the nature of the crime.

Source: D4
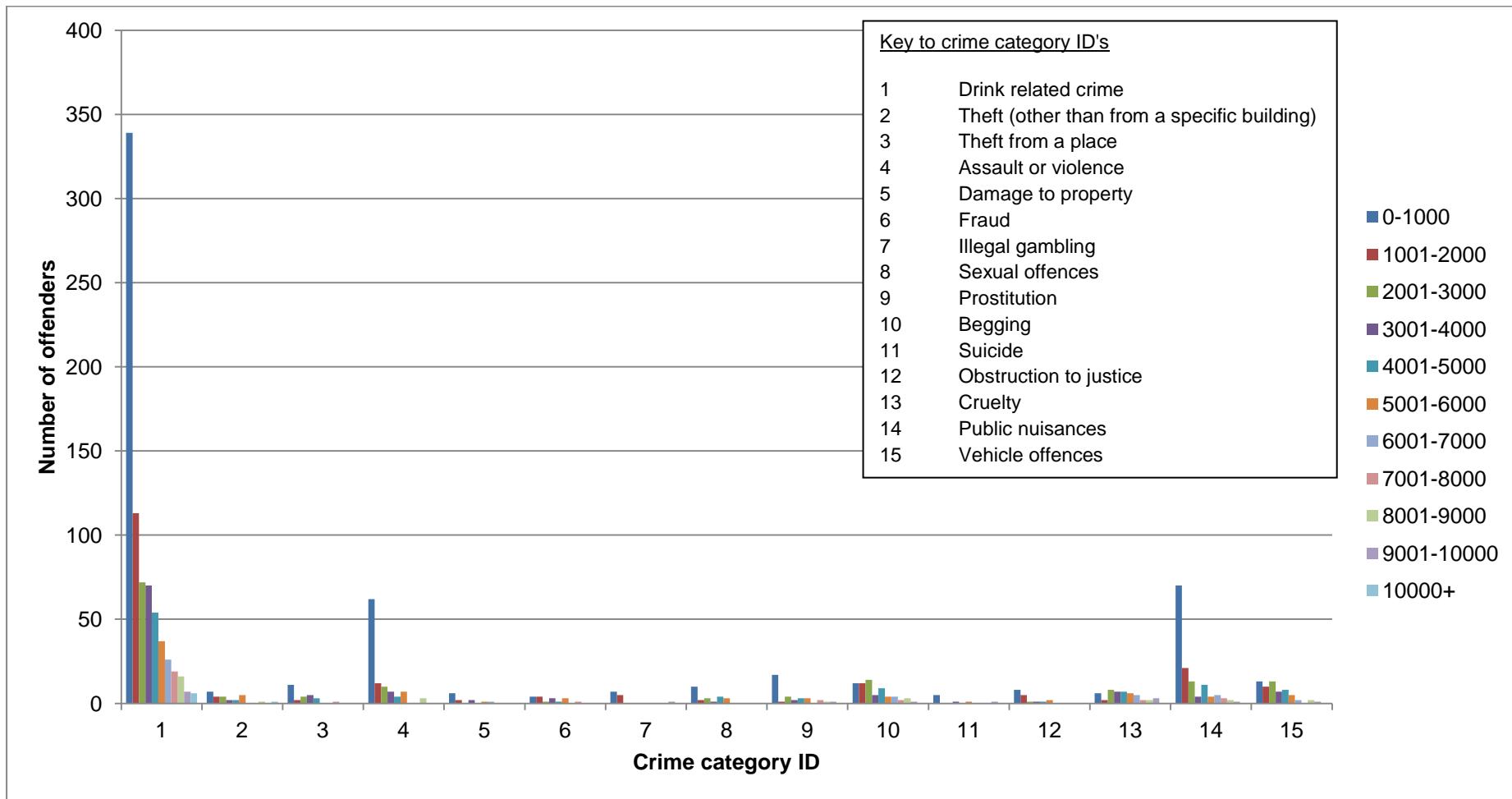
Graph 23 – Distance travelled by defendants committing different types of crime (1911-1912). Distances are shown in metres. Please note that the categories of railway crime, workhouse crime and miscellaneous crime have been excluded to help the reader – distances travelled by offenders committing these offences could not be measured due to the nature of the crime.
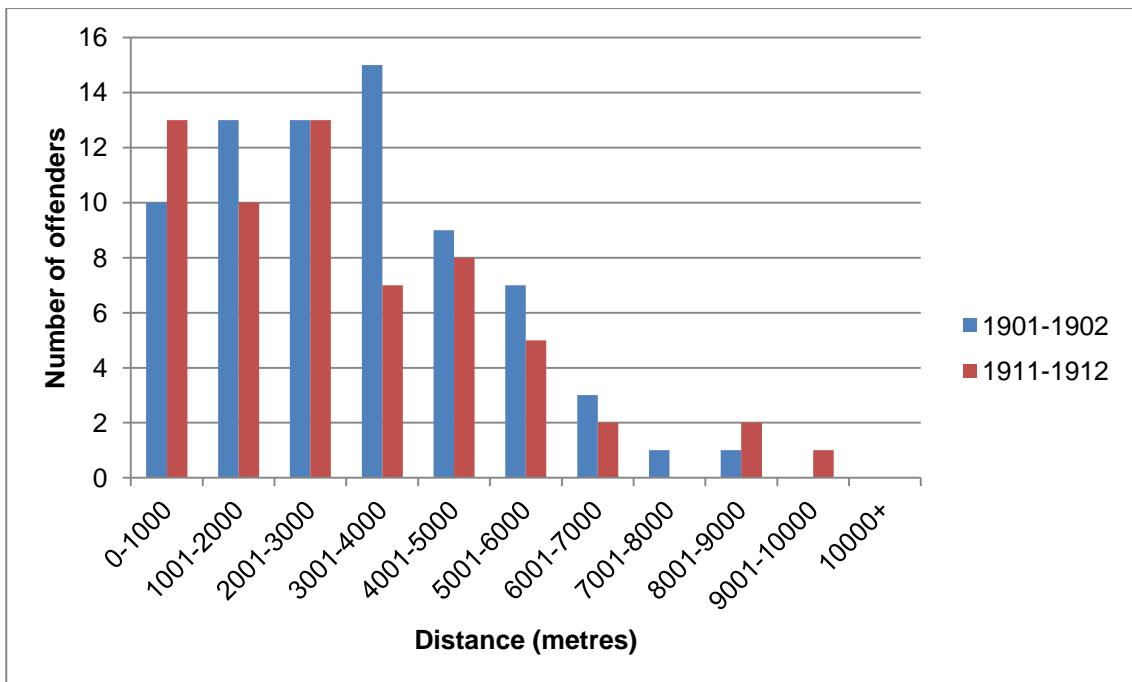
Source: D4

Graph 24 – Distance travelled by WPC defendants committing vehicle offences in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. Vehicle offences typically involved individuals being under the influence of alcohol whilst in control of a vehicle.

Source: D4
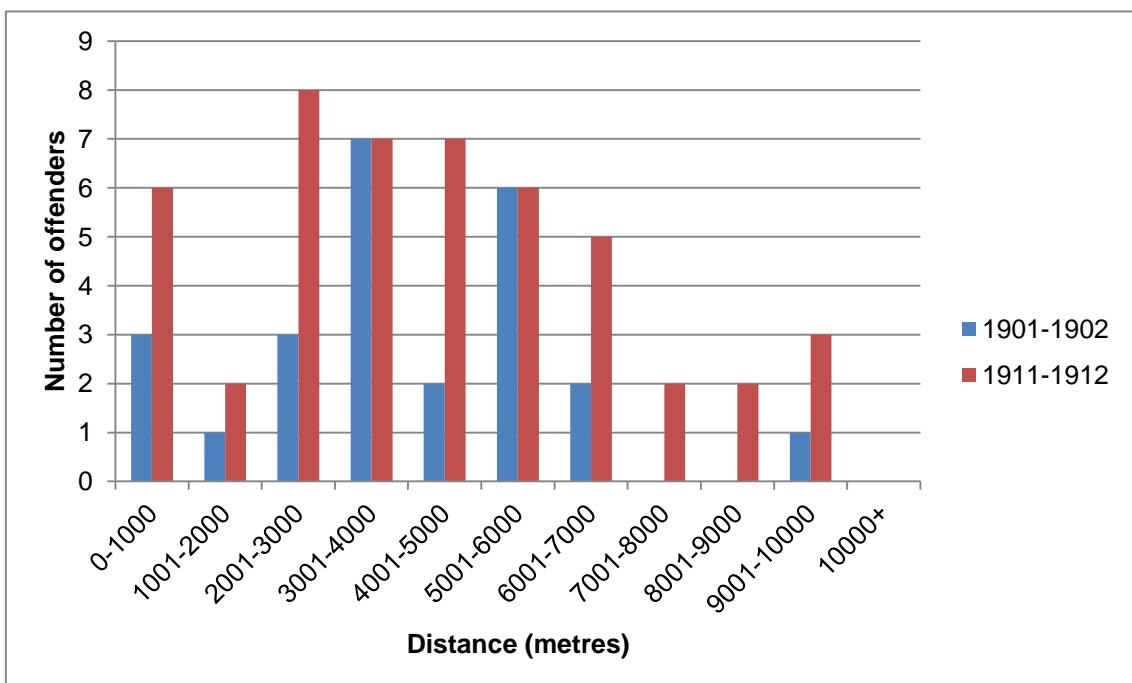
Graph 25 – Distance travelled by WPC defendants committing cruelty offences in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. Cruelty offences involved individuals mistreating their animals, usually horses but occasionally donkeys.

Source: D4

involved 'working animals' upon which their owners relied to earn them a living. Figure 101 details a range of animal cruelty cases in which horses were used by their owners for transporting goods or people. In other cases, owners were involved in the buying and selling of horses which inevitably meant transporting them long distances (as the cases in Figure 101 illustrate). Horse owners or drivers were therefore likely to travel long distances far from their homes and could easily have been apprehended in any part of the city they journeyed through. Furthermore, as their senses were not mired by drink (unlike most individuals caught for vehicle offences), they had the capacity and ability to travel further – in some cases causing the animals greater distress.

Mode of transportation is also an important factor to consider when examining one other type of offence which did not conform to the distance decay trend – theft (Graphs 26 and 27). In both cases (either theft (other than from a specific building) or theft from a specified place) a distance decay trend is exhibited, however the 'curve' is not as pronounced as would normally be the case since there are fluctuations in the numbers of individuals travelling different distances. Generally, most thieves committed crimes within 1km of their home, yet some travelled much further before offending. For instance, Robert Wood (23, walking stick maker) broke and entered 17 Knightsbridge Green to steal goods valued at £37/10/0, but this was over 7km from his home at 1 Cadell Street, Bethnal Green (PS/WES/A/01/025, 12 September 1911, trial 27; RG 14PN1382RG78PN49RD17SD1ED1SN154, 1911). It has not been possible to find how Robert travelled from Bethnal Green to Knightsbridge Green, so we can only assume that he either used some form of transportation such as the bus to get to the area or walked there. This aside, it is important to consider the motives for individuals travelling such distances, which was dependent on both risk and reward:

> ...the motivated offender balances reward against risk whilst taking into account the effort involved. Whilst area attractiveness refers to the likely gains from breaking into a house, the likelihood of success refers to the probability of successfully completing an attack and not getting caught (Haining, 2012:146).

At THAMES, yesterday, EDWARD HALL, horsekeeper, of Johanna-buildings, Lambeth, was charged before Mr. Mead with cruelty to a horse. About 9 o'clock on Saturday night Inspector W. Rogers, of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, was in Blackwall Dock-road, when he saw the defendant leading three horses. Noticing that one, a bay gelding, was very lame, he stopped Hall, who said he was going to take the horses down to the Rotterdam boat. The animal in question was aged, in poor condition, and exceedingly lame on the near fore-leg. It also had a ring-bone, and the foot was diseased. The animal appeared in great pain. In reply to questions Hall said he had come from the Elephant and Castle, and a dealer named Smith had sent him with the horses. During the evening Smith, who was a Dutchman, had been watching Inspector Rogers for a considerable time, and when the horses were stopped he ran away. The horse had to be conveyed to the Court in a cattle float. Mr. M. J. Carroll, veterinary surgeon, said making the animal travel would increase the pain. The horse's disease was incurable. Mr. Mead said the case was a bad one, and sentenced the defendant to one month's hard labour.

JOHN ROBINSON, a stableman, of South-street, Walworth, was then charged with a similar offence. Inspector Rogers said Robinson was leading three horses behind the other man. All three were lame, one being particularly so. The muscles were wasted, the tendons contracted, and the animal was only fit for slaughter. The defendant said to the inspector, " I am taking them to the docks." Mr. Mead observed that the case was a scandalous one, and sentenced the defendant to two months' hard labour.

At THAMES, PHILIP GRABAVOS was fined £3, or, in default, 21 days' imprisonment, for cruelty to a horse. On Sunday afternoon a constable saw a grey horse attached to a van laden with about 15cwt. of mineral waters standing outside a shop in Bedford-street. When the defendant came out he tried to start the horse, which, however, could not move on account of the heavy load. The defendant kept urging the animal on, and at length it fell down on to its knees. With assistance it was got up, and when it did start was found to be very lame on both fore-legs. A relative of the defendant's had previously been fined 40s. in respect of the same horse.

A WORN-OUT CAB HORSE.

At Westminster, yesterday, JOHN WILLIAM TURNER, a cabdriver, of Little Camera-street, Chelsea, was summoned by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals for cruelty to a horse by working it in an unfit condition, and STEPHEN MORRISSEY, a cab proprietor and owner of the animal, of Flood-street, Chelsea, was summoned for causing it to be worked. Lady Midleton, of Portland-place, W., said that on June 27 she hired a cab at South Kensington, and had occasion to ask the driver to travel a little faster. He tried unsuccessfully to do so, and she then noticed that the animal was in an exhausted condition and could scarcely get along. When she told the driver the horse was not fit to be worked she believed he agreed with her. He also said that he was driving the horse for the first time that day. She took his name and number and reported the matter to the society. Mr. Pearce, a veterinary surgeon, said he had examined the animal and diagnosed heart disease. The condition was such that he would not be surprised if the animal dropped dead at any moment. It was not fit for any kind of work, and was much worn. For the defence, Mr. W. S. Mulvey, a veterinary surgeon, said the horse was what was known as a " roarer," a disease due to paralysis of the larynx. He should say the horse was capable of doing ordinary work, but not fast ; it was entirely a question of speed. The animal certainly had not got heart disease, and two other veterinary surgeons agreed with him. Mr. Horace Smith.—Are they here ? Mr. Mulvey replied that they were not. Mr. Horace Smith.—Then we will leave them out. Morrissey is fined £4 and 23s. costs, and Turner 10s. and 2s. costs.

Figure 101 – A selection of cruelty to horse cases from Edwardian London.

Sources: The Times, 21 January 1902, page 3; The Times, 31 March 1903, page 3; The Times, 11 July 1907, page 3
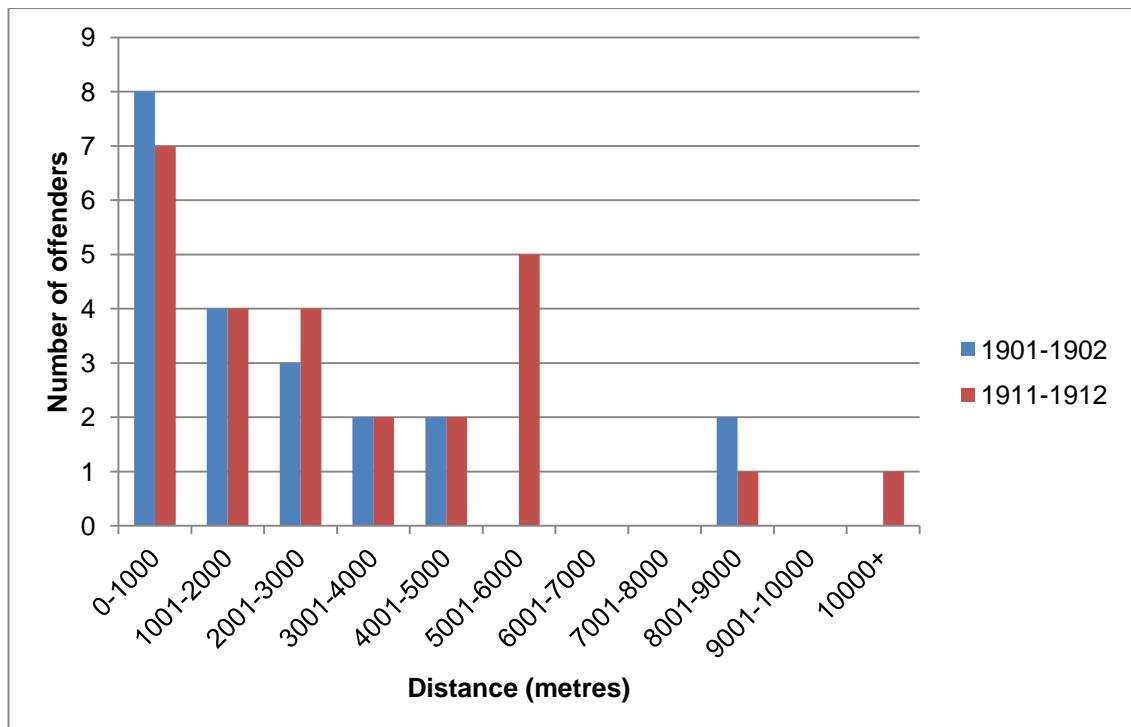
Graph 26 – Distance travelled by WPC defendants committing theft (other than from a specific building) in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.
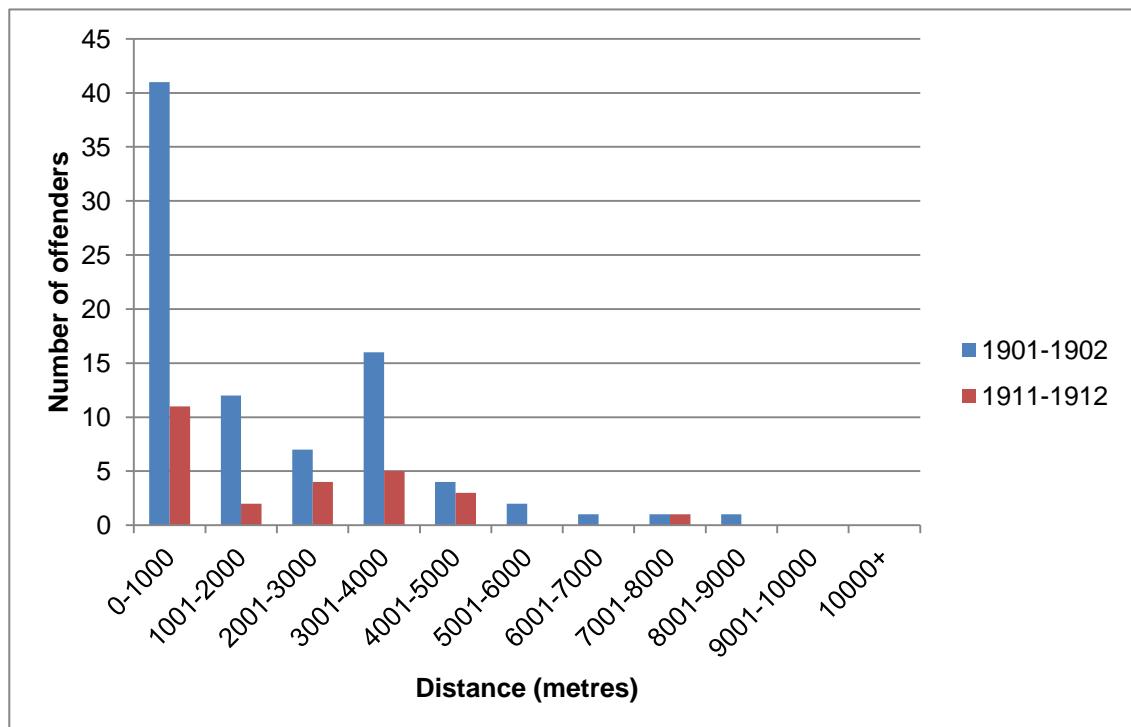
Source: D4

Graph 27 – Distance travelled by WPC defendants committing theft (from a specified place) in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912.

Source: D4

In the case outlined above, targeting the area of Knightsbridge was perhaps perceived by Robert as a place that would provide the opportunity for greater rewards, given that this was an extremely wealthy neighbourhood (as can be seen on Booth's poverty maps). In contrast, the areas to the East of London, although housing some wealthy middle class individuals, would not have provided such a plethora of opportunity or rewards as houses in the West End. Hence individuals such as Robert may have decided to travel longer distances to other parts of London where there was a greater number of targets (or opportunities) offering large rewards. But to do so would probably have required some form of transportation to traverse long distances.

The WPC area was well served by London's bus and tram network as Figure 102 suggests, with 31 bus routes serving the area by 1913. Moreover, major junctions such as Victoria Street/Buckingham Palace Road or Brompton Road/Knightsbridge were served by 272 and 324 omnibuses per hour respectively (Harper, 1904:197). In addition, there were several railway stations (both above ground and underground) all of which presented a means of individuals commuting into the area from places across London (or as will be discussed later, further afield). This in turn offered them the ability to commit crime intentionally (such as theft or burglary) or perhaps unintentionally (such as becoming drunk). It is impossible to say how many defendants used the bus, tram and train to get to the WPC area or indeed the route that they took. Such details of an individual's 'journey-to-crime' are rarely reported on and were never recorded in the Police Court registers. However, Figure 103 presents a case tried at the Old Bailey of two individuals who it appears passed through the WPC area on a tram route from Blackfriars Bridge to Waterloo, Clapham and Merton to attempt housebreaking in Balham. In this case, the existence of tram tickets provided evidence to prove the individuals' guilt, but also provides a glimpse into the journey taken by defendants. In addition, there are cases where the taxi cab was crucial for individuals to get to sites of criminal activity (see for example Figure 45 in Chapter 5 and Figure 104). In short, transportation technologies allowed individuals to traverse the city with greater ease and meant the opportunities to commit offences widened.

The distances in Graph 21 are for those who lived within London (or within the

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RESTRICTIONS

**Figure 102 – Bus routes
serving the WPC area (1913).**
Source: RAIL 1034/42

Map produced by the Drawing Office,
UCL Department of Geography.
www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/drawing_office

CHARGE OF HOUSEBREAKING.

THE RECORDER ON A TROUBLESOME ACT.

At the Central Criminal Court yesterday, before the RECORDER, GEORGE THOMAS, 36, and THOMAS WHITTY EVANS, 32, bookmakers, were indicted for breaking and entering the house of Mr. William Lucas, Inglewood-road,. Balham.

Mr. Wing prosecuted; Mr. G. St. John McDonald defended.

On the afternoon of the 9th ult. Mrs. Lucas saw a man, alleged to be Evans, at her gate. When she came up he made an inquiry as to whether some one named Ingle resided there, and receiving a reply in the negative he went away. Mrs. Lucas then found that she could not open her door, and looking through the letter-box saw a man, alleged to be Thomas, coming down the stairs. He escaped into another house, but was pursued and arrested. Evans was taken into custody the following day in Calthorpe-street, Gray's Inn-road, and on the table Detective Edwards found two tram tickets dated the previous day from . Waterloo to Clapham. The prisoner denied being at Balham on the day in question.

On behalf of Evans evidence was called to prove an *alibi*, and a witness stated that the tram tickets were left by a man who was not Evans.

The prisoners were found *Guilty*.

Figure 103 – The use of a tram to journey to the crime scene.

Source: The Times, 19 June 1912, page 4

At the same Court CECIL SPENCER, *alias* MILLS, 31, a convict on licence, and ALFRED HARRIS, *alias* LLOYD and HOWARD, 25, a footman, who had represented themselves to be a stockbroker and an actor respectively at lodgings in Harleyford-road, Kennington, were charged on remand with a number of robberies from dealers in antique articles in various parts of London.

The prisoners pleaded " Guilty." The evidence showed that they drove in cabs to shops, where, it was alleged, one asked for articles whilst the other, who stood some distance away, slipped anything portable into his pocket. Among 60 or 70 pawntickets relating to property found on the prisoners and at their lodgings was a ticket relating to a presentation gold watch, the property of Mr. J. A. Stevens, who was staying at a boarding-house in George-street, Baker-street, at which the prisoners had called and made inquiries about apartments. The property was missed from a dressing table in Mr. Stevens's bed room.

Detective-sergeant Cornelius said that the prisoners had given information as to the disposal of the stolen property.

Mr. Horace Smith remanded the prisoners in custody.

Figure 104 – Thieves use taxi cabs to journey to their targets.

extent of Booth's map), which constitute the majority of defendants. Nevertheless, other defendants travelled from homes beyond the extent of Booth's map. Indeed there were 119 and 223 individuals in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 respectively, who were found to be living in areas further out in the suburbs and counties. These figures are not high in relation to the overall number and therefore support the 'distance decay' assertions that offenders were less likely to travel to places far from their home to commit crime. Nevertheless, clearly some individuals chose to travel the long distance and Table 27 details the crimes that the 342 individuals committed. As can be seen, most were drink related offences rather than more serious acts of criminality. Clearly individuals who visited London from further afield were highly likely to drink at public houses whilst meeting family, friends or when visiting the city for leisure. For instance, Alfred Bacchus (62, carpenter) was found drunk and disorderly at Strutton Ground after celebrating with some Gloucestershire friends, implying they had all visited the public house (West London Press, 12 January 1912, page 2). But there were also those who would have journeyed to

Crime category	1901-1902	1911-1912
Drink related crime	80	164
Theft (other than from a specific building)	2	1
Theft from a place	13	8
Assault or violence	6	12
Damage to property	0	0
Fraud	2	2
Illegal gambling	8	1
Sexual offences	2	2
Prostitution	4	4
Begging	2	16
Suicide	0	2
Obstruction to justice	0	4
Cruelty	4	13
Public nuisances	6	14
Vehicle offences	7	9
Workhouse crime	2	1
Miscellaneous	0	6

Table 27 – Crimes committed by defendants living in areas beyond the extent of Charles Booth's (1898-1899) poverty map.

Source: D5

the city for trade or business purposes such as the transportation of goods and negotiating purchasing contracts. This would also help to explain the higher numbers of individuals picked up for vehicle and cruelty offences. Alongside these individuals committing offences (perhaps in many cases, unintentionally), there were those that commuted into the city with criminal intent. For example, a thief named Alfred Cope (alias George Howard, age 34/35, bookmakers clerk/canvasser) targeted wealthy houses in the West End in order to steal jewellery that he could then sell on to fund his lifestyle which involved "...going about the country enjoying himself and attending race meetings" (The Times, 11 June 1901, page 12). Alfred lived in the village of Broadwater in West Sussex

and no doubt the direct train service from Worthing Station (approximately 1.5km from Broadwater) to Victoria Station (within the WPC area) would have aided in his committal of illegal activity.

In summary, the majority of defendants committed crime locally, within 1km from their home and this supports the arguments made in Chapter 6 on where defendants lived, but also conforms to findings from existing research. Those individuals who travelled further than this were likely to be either hardened criminals or simply individuals who got into difficulty whilst visiting the WPC area. In these instances, the WPC area's extensive transportation connections to places across London and beyond enabled individuals to commute into the area. However, it should be stressed that the distances calculated are Euclidean straight lines from an offender's home to the street they committed a crime in. Clearly these distances are not precise and do not reflect how individuals moved through the spaces of London's streets. In order to gain a more accurate understanding of the distances and potential movements of offenders, a journey-to-crime analysis would be required. However, it should be remembered that defendants' addresses have been taken from the census; yet individuals may have been living at a different address at the time they committed a crime (i.e. they may have moved home permanently or temporarily). Moreover, defendants may not have travelled directly from their home to the crime location, instead setting off from another site which they frequented regularly e.g. a pub, workplace or relative's/friend's home. Hence, when taking all these factors into consideration, a journey-to-crime analysis would not necessarily enhance or improve the results obtained from examining the Euclidean distances. This aside, this section has also shown how the use of transportation technologies enabled offenders to travel longer distances to commit crime. However, if forms of public transport could help individuals carry out crime across the city, they could themselves be spaces in which individuals committed offences. The next section therefore discusses some of the railway spaces which provided attractive opportunities for individuals to commit acts of illegality.

<u>Crime on the railways</u>

If a map of the WPC area is examined, it is possible to distinguish several important railways running through its boundaries (Figure 105). The most obvious were the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway (LB&SCR) and South Eastern & Chatham Railway (SE&CR) whose terminus was at Victoria Railway Station – right in the heart of the WPC area. These lines had several stations within the area which continued beyond to serve the South and South East coast of England. Added to this was the London and South Western Railway (L&SWR) line running along the south bank of the Thames from Clapham Junction to Vauxhall and out of the WPC area to Waterloo Station. Below ground, north of the river, the area was served by the District, Metropolitan and Piccadilly Railways which were part of London's Underground railway system (Figure 105). Thus in total the WPC area had 10 stations within its boundaries as well as part of the large goods depot at Nine Elms and other smaller railway depots, sheds, sidings and buildings. All of these railway spaces offered opportunities for criminals to exploit and therefore railway companies had their own police forces to detect criminal activity on railway premises. It should be noted that the size, organisation and (some) duties of railway police varied from company to company (see RAIL 527/1036, 1910 for comparison of some companies), but all would apprehend and detain offenders, passing them to the local police station to be charged and perhaps imprisoned before being tried at court. They therefore worked closely with the Metropolitan Police, calling upon their assistance when incidents occurred and investigating cases jointly (a search for 'railway police' amongst the Old Bailey records for Victorian and Edwardian period reveals this most clearly). This aside, railway premises are distinct spaces which cannot be assigned to a particular WPC road, meaning it was important to treat any crimes on these premises as a separate offence category – railway crime. This section will therefore briefly investigate two of the railway spaces in the WPC jurisdiction – Victoria Station and the Nine Elms Goods Yard, as well as touching on crime at Vauxhall Station and on Underground railway premises. It will examine the criminal activity that took place in these spaces, but also cases where individuals were apprehended at stations far from the scene of the crime.
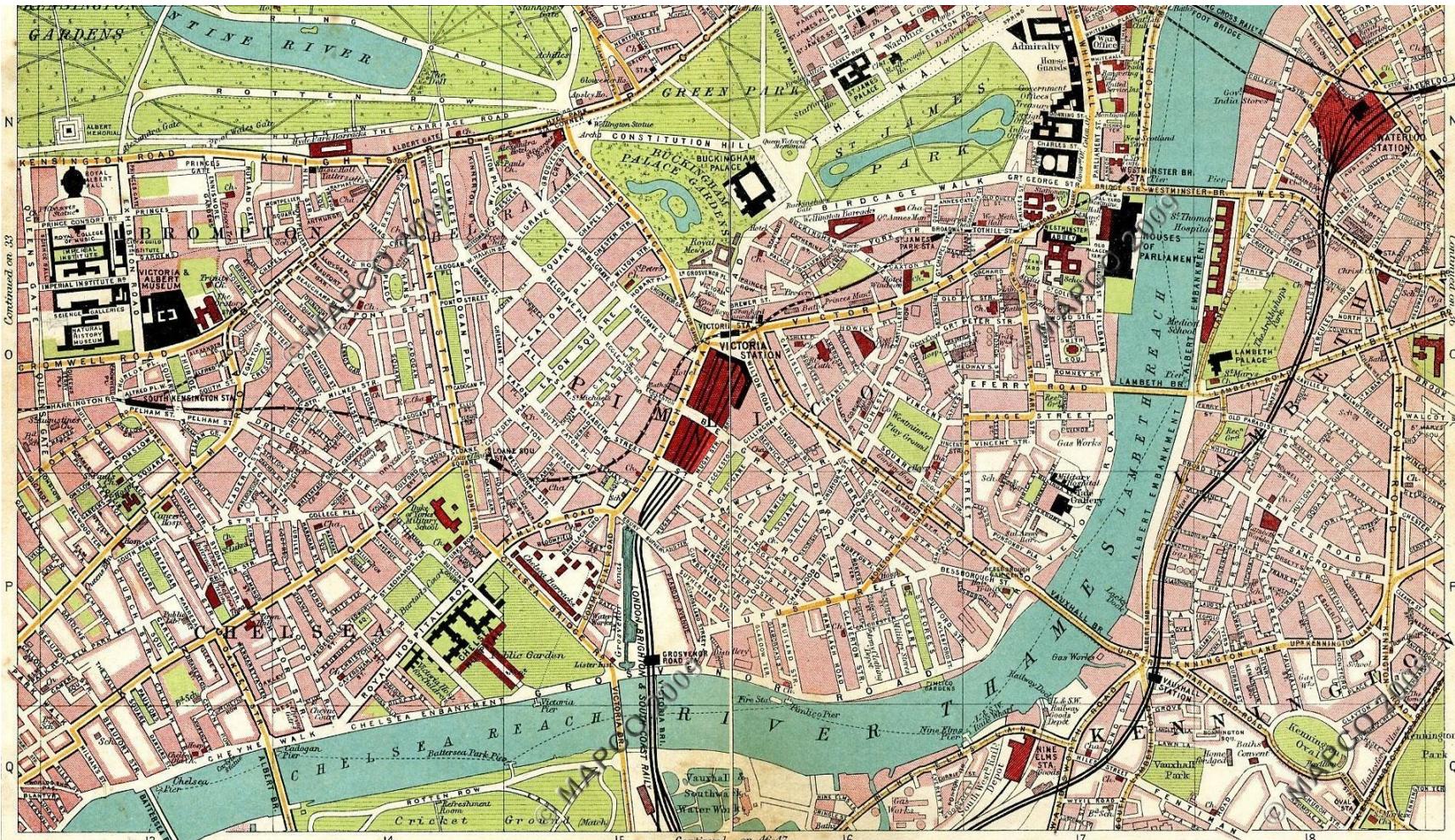
Figure 105 – Map showing the railway lines running into the WPC area. The black lines denote the railways (both above and under the ground) running into/out of the WPC area. Thus it is also possible to discern the railway stations in the area.

Source: Bartholomew's Handy Reference Atlas of London & Suburbs (1908) in MAPCO (2014)

Victoria Railway Station and Nine Elms Goods Yard

During the Edwardian period, Victoria Railway Station was the terminus for the SE&CR and LB&SCR (each in effect having its own separate station as Figure 106 shows), but also offered passenger services run by the Great Western Railway (GWR) until 1915, Great Northern Railway (GNR) until 1907, Midland Railway until 1908 and the London and North Western Railway (LNWR) until 1917 (Course, 1987:102). But the station was also served by London's Underground railway, not to mention being located in a prominent location at the end of Victoria Street in Westminster, meaning it was also thoroughly integrated into the city's road network and therefore its bus/tram system. The station was constructed in the mid 19th century, opening in 1861, but during the early Edwardian era had undergone extensive alterations as described by an article in the Illustrated London News in 1908 (Figure 107). It enabled individuals to travel between London and places in the counties of Surrey, Hampshire and Sussex, but also offered connections to the Isle of Wight and the Continent (see railway adverts in *The Times* and other newspapers). If the station was to cater for these long distance and intercontinental services then it required facilities to aid the traveller. The plans of the station's internal layout in Figures 108 and 109 show the various waiting rooms, refreshment rooms, ticket/booking offices and luggage offices. Added to this was the Grosvenor Hotel (adjoining the station) that had its own restaurant and offered people accommodation before or after their train journey. But there were also a number of shops and leisure spaces in nearby streets, including on Terminus Place (just outside the station) which had tobacconists, confectioner and fruiterer shops, as well as refreshment rooms and the Shakespeare public house/hotel (Post Office London Directory, Part 2, 1915:640). Considering all of these services and amenities, it is hardly surprising that the station attracted a large number of people (at least 13 million passengers per year according to Figure 107). However, with this ability to attract people, the station also became a space for criminal opportunity and illicit activity.

Table 28 shows the range of crimes which were committed at the station and as can be seen, there was not one particular crime type which dominated offences. Relatively high numbers of drink related crime, theft and assaults occurred on
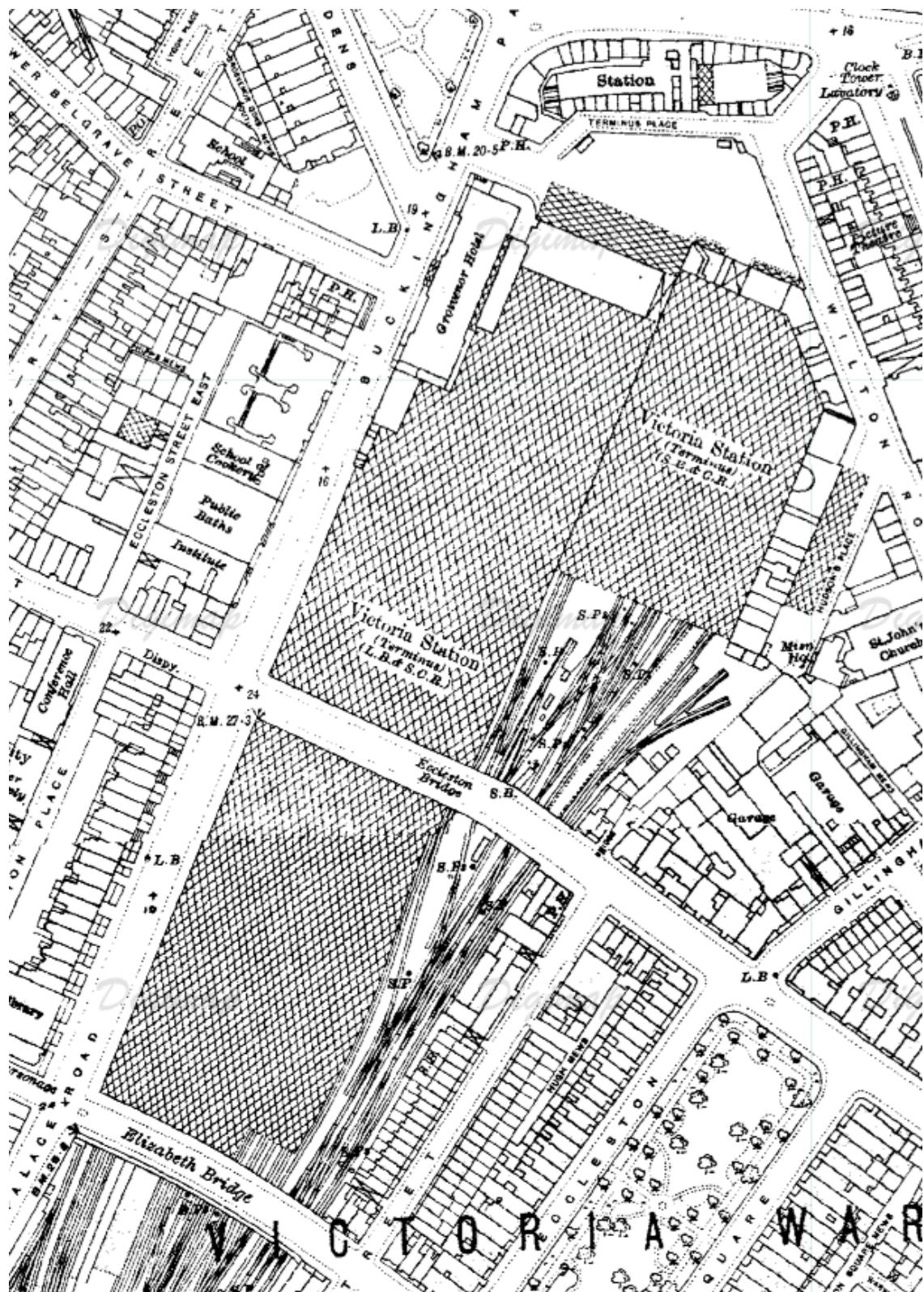
Figure 106 – Map showing Victoria Station and the surrounding neighbourhood (1916). Notice how the station was in effect split into separate terminals, one for each of the two main railway companies. The District Underground Railway can be seen to the north (this was Victoria's Underground railway station).

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Figure 107 – The exterior of the LB&SCR terminal at Victoria Station. The station had undergone extensive changes during the early part of the Edwardian period, the result being the facade shown and the interior described by the caption.

Source: Illustrated London News, 11 July 1908, page 64
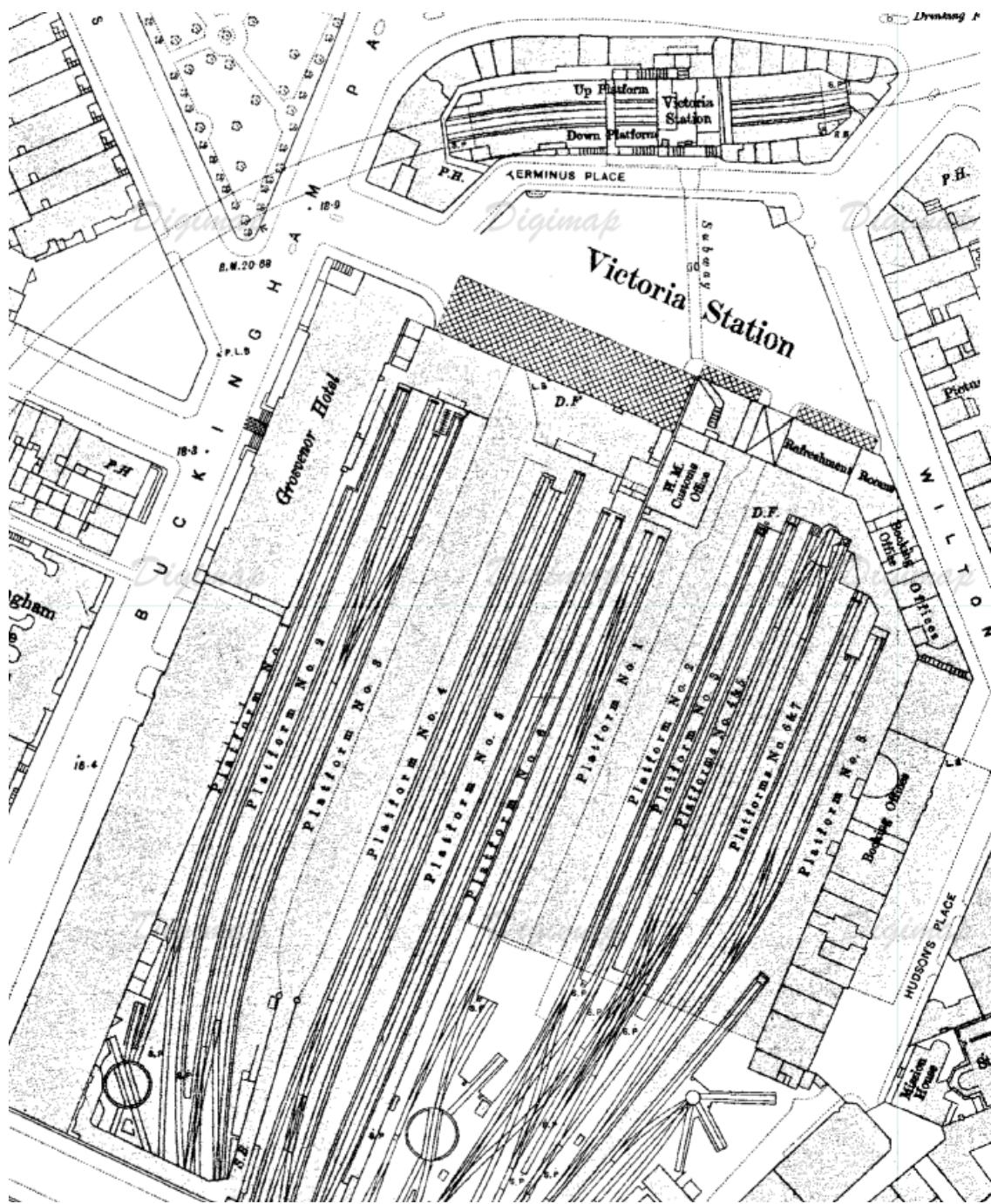
Figure 108 – Internal layout plan of SE&CR terminal, Victoria Station (1919). The plan above shows the internal layout of the station in some detail, especially for the SE&CR terminus (on the right). Refreshment rooms, booking offices, HM Customs office and other offices or luggage rooms are shown, as well as the platform numbers. Figure 109 shows the internal layout of the LB&SCR station in more detail.

Source: Digimap (2014)
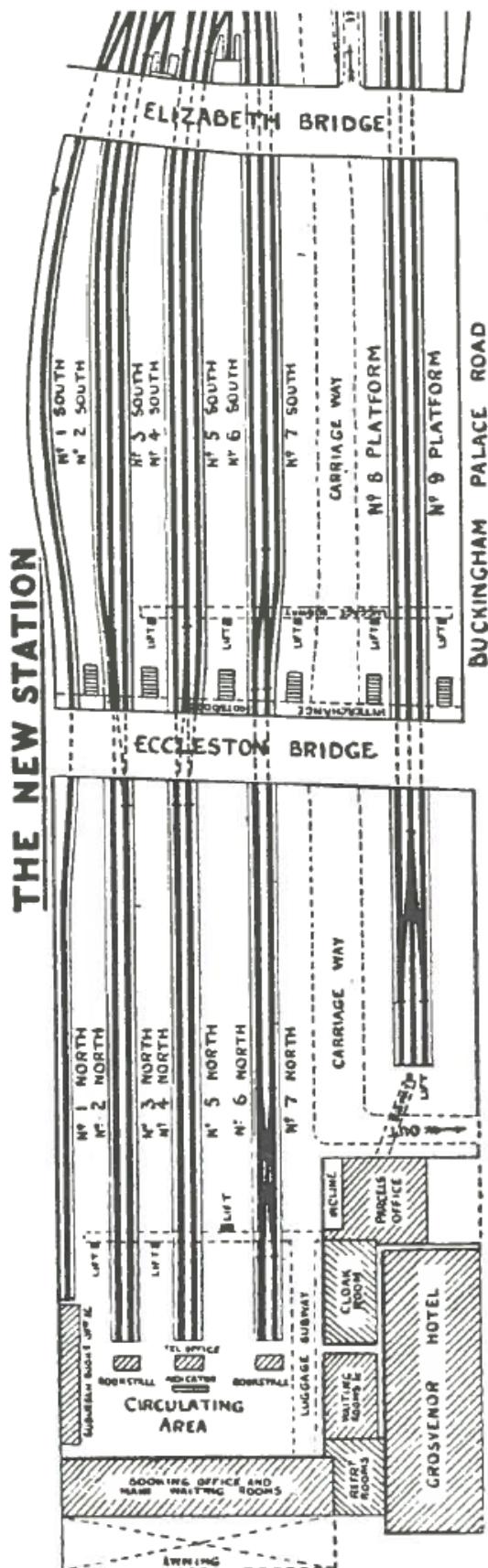
Figure 109 – Internal layout plan of LB&SCR terminal, Victoria Station (undated). Plan from: Southern Main Lines: Victoria to East Croydon by Mitchell and Smith (1987), Middleton Press - www.middletonpress.co.uk

Source: Mitchell and Smith (1987:9)

Crime category	1901-1902	1911-1912
Drink related crime	18	1
Theft (other than from a specific building)	2	1
Theft from a place	14	1
Assault or violence	14	2
Damage to property	1	0
Fraud	0	1
Illegal gambling	1	0
Prostitution	1	0
Begging	3	0
Obstruction to justice	0	1
Public nuisances	2	0

Table 28 – Crime committed at Victoria Station in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. Please note that the absence of some crime categories means that there were no such offences committed on the station that fell into those categories.

<div align="right">Source: D2</div>

the station premises, with a handful of other offence types. Perhaps the most curious trend is the significant reduction in the number of cases by 1911-1912. This may have been the result of the redevelopment of the station in the early part of the 1900s (mentioned earlier) which could have meant it was more difficult for access to be policed (i.e. station authorities would have had to contend with construction works, deliveries, workers etc. along with having to run the station). As the article in Figure 107 states "...the difficulty of the officials in dealing with the enormous traffic during the alteration has been at times very great, as can well be imagined". By 1911-1912 potential criminals or offenders may have been deterred by the more orderly and potentially more enclosed/secure space. In addition, there may have been a change in the policy used by railway companies to prosecute or handle individuals who committed acts of illegality. If specific details of offences dealt with by the WPC in 1911-1912 are examined then it can be seen that they are of a relatively serious nature when compared to individuals being drunk (Table 29). It is possible that the railway authorities took the decision not to charge individuals who were

Crime type	Description
Theft and fraud	Stealing overcoat, value 30/-, property of Henry Reginald Gamble; plus stealing umbrella property of Mr Fielding; plus stealing overcoat and others, value 4/13/6, property of Messrs Lyons and Co Limited; plus obtained by false pretences 2 half bottles of champagne, value 10/-, to cheat and defraud the Messrs Lyons and Co Limited; plus stealing gladstone bag and others, value 2/5/0, property of Hugh Miller; plus stealing overcoat, value £3, property Charles Hugh Hill; plus stealing cheque book containing 12 blank cheques, value 1/-, property of Charles William Allen.
Theft	Suspected person attempting to pick pockets.
Obstruction to justice	Giving false name and address to officer; plus obscene language; plus fare evader travelling on the District Railway.
Assault	Assaulting PC John Saunders of the South Eastern and Chatham Railway Police; plus refusing to quit the station when asked to do so.
n/a	Trespassing on premises of South Coast and Chatham Railway and refusing to quit.
n/a	Trespassing on LB&SC Railway and refusing to quit.
Drink related crime and assault	Assaulting PC Henry Stone of the railway police; plus refusing to quit premises of LB&SC Railway when asked; plus drunk and using obscene language.

Table 29 – Specific WPC descriptions of offences committed at Victoria Station in 1911-1912. Please note that all are classified as railway crimes as they occurred on station premises.

drunk on their premises, perhaps forcibly removing them from the station or utilising summons instead to prosecute (meaning the offences would be listed in the summons books). Indeed, if the maps of drink related offences are examined (Figure 110) it can be seen that the Metropolitan Police apprehended a greater number of people in the streets surrounding the station by 1911-1912. Most notably, Terminus Place which ran in front of the station experienced no crime in 1901-1902, but a decade later 30 offences were committed on the street – 24 of these being drink related. Similarly, in Allington Street (opposite the station's main entrance), 9 individuals were arrested by the police in 1901-1902 (6 cases involved drink), but by 1911-1912 this had risen to 25 people (16 of which were drink related). Although it is difficult to prove that these increases
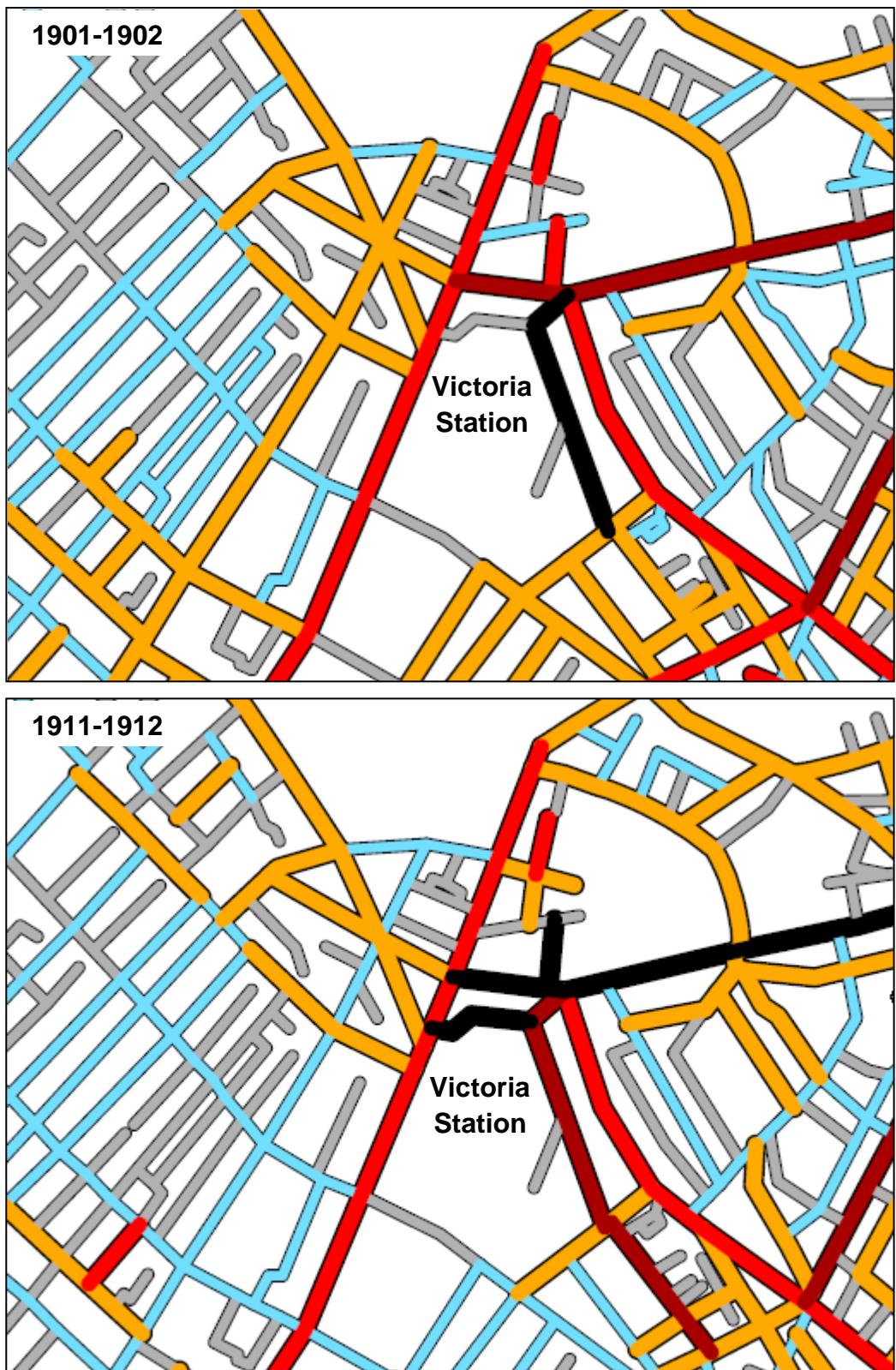
Figure 110 – Drink crime per kilometre of street near to Victoria Station (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). Drink related offences were high in number within the streets surrounding/nearby the station in 1901-1902 (denoted by the black, maroon, red and orange colours). However, by 1911-1912 it appears that the number of offences in nearby streets increased as there are more streets coloured black (e.g. Terminus Place and Allington Street).

were the direct result of improved control over the station space by 1911-1912, or indeed that it was due to authorities simply removing individuals from station premises. However, the lack of these offences inside the station, in contrast to a dramatic increase on surrounding streets, would imply some connection. Thus the number of cases being sent to the WPC involving the station would have been significantly lower by 1911-1912.

Turning to the crimes committed in the station, let us examine the various spaces within in order to understand how they offered varying opportunities for individuals to commit offences. Figure 111 shows the yard outside the station which was used by taxi cabs, buses and other vehicles, as well as pedestrians entering/leaving the station – the image shows how busy the yard could become and this provided ample opportunity for criminal activity. Individuals might loiter with intent to commit a felony – for instance, Charles Sullivan (27, newsvendor), described as "...a rough looking young man..." was arrested for trespassing on LB&SCR premises by entering the yard at 11.15pm on a Sunday (when the station was closed) and refusing to leave, opting instead to assault a railway guard (PS/WES/A/01/022, 22 April 1901, trial 38; West London Press, 26 April 1901, page 2). Indeed, it was stated by Detective Smith of the railway police that Charles was "...a great nuisance at the station. He was continually loitering about the yard, and had given a great deal of trouble" (West London Press, 26 April 1901, page 2). It is not known if he was trying to steal from pedestrians or from goods vans, but there certainly would have been other incidents where goods were stolen. Indeed, one case brought before the WPC involved that of horse and cab being stolen for a joyride (Figure 112). But loiterers were not always suspected thieves or pickpockets – James Sullivan (27, labourer) had been ordered out of the station yard for accosting ladies as they boarded or disembarked from omnibuses, but then returned and continued to cause nuisance, ending up assaulting two railway constables (West London Press, 15 November 1901). It was likely the yard experienced much of this type of offence, although perhaps not quite as much as a major thoroughfare since the area was enclosed by a wall and appeared to have gates (see plan in Figure 108). This may have proved an effective deterrent against intoxicated individuals entering the yard or the station building.

Figure 111 – The entrance yard of Victoria Station (1900s). These two photographs come from postcards which show the entrance yard to Victoria Station in the early 1900s. Buses, taxis and other vehicles can be seen within the yard.

Source: Postcards of the Past (2014)

At WESTMINSTER, THOMAS GARLAND, 32, a cab-runner, was placed in the dock, before Mr. Francis, charged with stealing a horse and Clarence cab, value £60, the property of Mr. R. A. Nash, of Pelham-mews, Portobello-road. The driver of the cab left it for a few minutes, near midnight, at Victoria Station. The prisoner then jumped on the box and drove off. He was stopped nearly an hour later in Pimlico by a policeman, who knew him as a tout. The constable seized the horse by the bridle and prevented the prisoner from running away. Garland said that he was taking the lot home for a pal. The prisoner pleaded " Guilty," and Mr. Francis said it was a mischievous sort of robbery that must be stopped. Cabs seized in this way were often driven about and left in the streets. He sentenced the prisoner to six months' hard labour.

Figure 112 – A case of a horse and cab being stolen outside Victoria Station.

Source: The Times, 31 May 1901, page 10

Moving inside the station, there were a number of spaces that generated crime for the railway police and station authorities to tackle. On entering the station, there would have been a large open space forming a concourse (as shown in Figure 113) where individuals either waited for relatives/friends to arrive or waited for their train. It therefore offered the perfect opportunity for professional pickpockets to carefully obtain valuables from the pockets of individuals. There were numerous cases of suspected individuals loitering with supposed intent to steal, as well as the occasional offender caught in the act. For instance, William Sturman (18, carman) "well known to the railway authorities at Victoria as a station loiterer" was caught stealing a purse from a lady (Westminster and Pimlico News, 27 September 1901, page 2). But the main concourse was also an ideal place for prostitutes to solicit and it was stated by the police during a trial related to a suspected brothel in Vauxhall Bridge Road, that prostitutes were known to frequent the station (Westminster and Pimlico News, 2 August 1901, page 5). However, Table 28 shows that only one individual was arrested for annoying passengers by soliciting as a prostitute (but it should be remembered that the police could not arrest women for soliciting as it was not an offence). Yet there is also the suggestion of more sinister activity at the station involving London's sex trade. The annual report of the Pimlico Ladies

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Figure 113 – Victoria Station concourse. The photograph shows the concourse waiting area where people can be seen waiting and looking at the platform indicator board. Photograph from: Southern Main Lines: Victoria to East Croydon by Mitchell and Smith (1987), Middleton Press - www.middletonpress.co.uk   Source: Mitchell and Smith (1987:13)

Association for the Care of Friendless Girls stated that:

> almost every night up to twelve o'clock one of our Associates is waiting there to see if help can be given to some of those who frequent its platforms in order to gain a living, and to meet the trains which so often bring young country girls to London, in answer to some advertisement for work – girls who for the most part are unaware of the dangers of arriving friendless in this great city, and are only too glad to avail themselves of any offer made to them of shelter for the night, which in itself constitutes a danger. During 1898, forty-seven such girls were taken charge of, the circumstances of their arrival investigated, and in about half the cases they were found to be based upon bogus advertisements, or the result of letters from unreliable sources... (MEPO 2/203, 1899).

Such activity would not have come up during WPC business and it is difficult to verify the assertions stated by the Association (see Laite, 2008:101-2 on trafficking at railway stations), but there were certainly implications that Victoria Station played a part in maintaining London's sex trade.

When examining the plan of the station, it can be seen that there were many facilities catering for passengers such as the booking offices, waiting and refreshment rooms. Such spaces offered an enclosed, possibly more secure area for the public to wait for trains to arrive or depart. This assertion is supported when examining the various WPC cases involving the station – few crimes were committed in waiting rooms, booking offices or refreshment rooms. Admittedly, there were a small handful of cases such as that of Maude Carter (23) stealing a gold watch from the pocket of Thomas Kemp whilst he was in the station's refreshment bar; and also Antonio Picconi (26, tailor) who stole a frock coat, 2 jackets, 5 pairs of trousers, 3 vests, a cloak and a watch from a cloakroom. It is likely that these spaces would have been far more easily policed – not only by railway policemen, but also railway workers such as porters, ticket clerks etc. Indeed, waiting rooms appear to have had attendants (a report of a case involving a suicide in the Victoria waiting room stated that an "...inspector in the employ of the Company...[was] occasionally employed as waiting-room woman..." – see Westminster and Pimlico News, 2 August 1901, page 5) and in the case cited in Figure 114, the railway police even used the booking office as a place to watch suspected luggage thieves. Both cases imply that these public spaces were 'patrolled' in some way and therefore increased the risk to offenders, thereby reducing the likelihood of offences being committed in these parts of the station.

Perhaps the most vulnerable spaces of the station were those that handled luggage or other goods, providing thieves with a plethora of opportunity. The station had a subway beneath the platforms to handle luggage (see Figure 109), but from the WPC cases found in newspapers, it appears that the platforms and other open areas (where luggage was in the process of being retrieved or moved) were the main spaces in which criminals operated. For instance, "...on the arrival of a train from Eastbourne, the prisoner [John Edward Perdue] took from outside the brake van a gladstone bag and walked sharply away with it" (Westminster and Pimlico News, 20 October 1911). Another thief, Henry Thomas (42, labourer of 13 Johnson's Street, Blackfriars), described as a 'station loafer' was caught pretending to be a porter and thus attempting to steal a bag from a passenger who had just arrived by train (West London Press, 15

On 27 August 1901, Johann Woelte (20, waiter) and Johann Harth (16, waiter), living in a lodging house at 28 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, were tried at the WPC for being suspected persons loitering supposedly for an unlawful purpose at Victoria Station. Below is an account of the trial reported in a local newspaper:

The men were watched for some considerable time by Detective-Sergeant Smith, of the L.B.S.C. Railway Police, and at length taken into custody. Detective Ellis said he had made inquiries, and found that prisoners were unknown at the address they gave. Harth had been previously convicted, and neither prisoner appeared to have done any work for some time. Inspector Keefe, also of the railway police, was called. He deposed to watching prisoners from the booking-office after they had been pointed out to him by Detective Smith. They examined luggage labels, and generally behaved suspiciously. Woelte said he did not know Harth, but the latter admitted they were lodging together. Other evidence was given, and Detective Jeffery proved a previous conviction on July 1st, at the West London Court against Harth. He was sentenced to a month's hard labour for stealing a purse. On that occasion it was shown that he belonged to a gang of German thieves. Mr Horace Smith sentenced them to three months' hard labour.

Another article gave a little more detail concerning the individuals' movements when at the station:

Detective Smith...said he saw the prisoners acting in a very suspicious manner....he drew the attention of Inspector Keefe to them and he kept them under observation for two hours and a half. During that time they attempted to steal bags and a bicycle. Afterwards they separated, and made independent efforts to steal luggage, but were interrupted.

Figure 114 – German luggage thieves at Victoria Station.

Source: PS/WES/A/01/024, 27 August 1901, trials 15 & 16; West London Press, 30 August 1901, page 2; Westminster and Pimlico News, 6 September 1901, page 2.

November 1901). Similarly, Johann Woelte (20, waiter) and Johann Harth (16, waiter), were seen examining luggage labels, as well as acting suspiciously on the station premises (Figure 114). Although it is not stated where they were when carrying out the activity, the accounts imply they moved all over the station in places where luggage had been left. In addition, some thieves did not restrict themselves to Victoria, but also targeted other mainline railway termini

across London (see Figure 115). Thus passenger luggage was just as much a target of criminals as the owners, yet in turn, the owners were the ones who aided the thief, in that their presence increased the motion of activity within the station, as well as providing more opportunity to steal – as O'Gay (1943:282-3) argues "the hustle and bustle of a station provides excellent cover for a thief ...". This aside, it is interesting to note that in all the cases of theft cited, the individuals were found to be living in streets either well beyond the limits of the WPC area, or at distances over 1km away. This therefore provides further evidence that hardened offenders such as thieves were willing to travel to locations further from their home in the hope of reaping greater reward.

Victoria Station attracted a good deal of people who wanted to travel by rail to and from London and as has been shown, this brought with it crime. Another railway space on the fringes of the WPC area which also experienced much criminal activity was the goods yard at Nine Elms (Figure 116). All but two defendants apprehended by authorities had committed theft from the goods yard (Table 30). This is unsurprising since, as the map in Figure 116 shows, the yard was a mass of sidings, train sheds, turntables, warehouses and other railway buildings. Policing such a vast area was difficult and the amount of activity, movement of goods as well as workers would probably have served to aid the thief. Furthermore, O'Gay (1973:208) argues that merchants transporting goods by rail failed to keep accurate documentation or to check consignments, which "...almost gave a licence to steal". In fact it seemed that goods being transported on the entire railway network of Great Britain would have been vulnerable to thieves not only due to lack of auditing, but also because goods were passed through numerous hands (Melville, 1901:281) meaning it would be easy for goods to 'go missing'. All of these factors are exemplified by a case of theft at the yard described in Figure 117 – a case which also suggests how common theft of railway goods was during the period. Moreover, it implies that many of the thefts were carried out by railway workers or those associated with the delivery of goods such as carmen. A brief examination of the occupations of those that stole goods from the yard would suggest that this was the case (Table 31). As a side point, the lack of WPC trials in 1911-1912 involving the goods yard is most likely the direct result of

Luggage robbery at two London stations

Henry Thompson (20, dealer), William Hayes (22, fitter) and his wife Lillie (22) were charged with stealing the following:

From Victoria

- Kit bag containing black evening gown, black silk opera cloak, ladies keyless watch, gold seal, black silk blouse and others, property of Mrs Edith Redfern (value £25).
- Dressing bag containing 8 silver top bottles, 4 ivory black brushes, 2 combs, a lamp, pocket knife, glove stretchers, button hook and others, property of William Martin Scott (value £100).

From London Bridge

- Bag containing 2 jackets, a pair of sleeve links and others, property of Digby Maxwell Smith (value £60).

The case was eventually sent to the Old Bailey where police evidence stated that "...prisoners habitually frequented railway stations in the guise of well-dressed men for the purpose of purloining passengers' luggage". The two men were sentenced to nine months hard labour, whilst Lillie was acquitted, the charges against her not being pressed, although she was found wearing Edith Redfern's stolen clothes.

Luggage robbery at four London stations

Charles Wardlow Farrow (24, no occupation) was charged with stealing from (on various dates):

- Victoria Station – a gladstone bag containing a suit of clothes, a pair of hair brushes, boots and other articles, property of Sidney Staples (value £10).
- Kings Cross Station – a portmanteau containing 3 gold pins, 3 silver pins, 2 gold studs, sleeve links, 6 turquoise buttons, a suit of clothes and others (value £37).
- Euston Station – a gladstone bag containing a diamond ring, gold seal and others (value £35/18/0).
- St Pancras Station – a portmanteau containing 20 books (value £4/10/0).

He also forged and uttered a cheque for £1/10/0. The case was eventually sent to the Old Bailey where it was said he "...bore a good character; that he belonged to a very respectable family, and was an educated man". The jury found him guilty and he was sentenced to nine months imprisonment.

Figure 115 – Luggage thieves targeting multiple railway station premises.
There were a number of individuals brought before the WPC for stealing luggage from Victoria Station as well as from other mainline railway termini in London. Two such cases were found during the 1901-1902 study period, which are described here.

Sources: The Times, 8 April 1902, page 13; West London Press, 28 March 1902, page 2; PS/WES/A/01/028, 28 February 1902, trial 11; PS/WES/A/01/027, 21 March 1902, trials 14 & 14a; PS/WES/A/01/024, 19 October 1901, trial 18; The Times, 19 November 1901, page 15

Figure 116 – Nine Elms Goods Yard and Railway Works (1916). The map shows the mass of sidings, sheds, warehouses and various other railway structures that formed the Nine Elms site of the L&SWR.

Crime type	Description
Assault	Assaulting and obstructing George Norman, officer of L&SWR.
Theft	With James Harris (in custody) stealing 2 tins of mustard, value 3/-, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing from box at the yard 7 kippers and 9 bloaters, value 1/- property, property of the L&SWR.
Theft and damage to property	With others (not in custody) stealing from sack a quantity of rye, value 1/0 property, property of the L&SWR; plus damaging a tarpaulin causing damage to the amount of 2/-, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing from a van, a box containing glazed tiles, value 30/-, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing from Nine Elms Good Yard an empty cask, value 4/-, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing from a shed, 2 sacks of oats, value 18/-, property of Messrs Page Son and East.
Theft	Stealing from a workshop at locomotive works, 2 pieces of leather, value 10d, property of the L&SWR (his employer).
Theft	Stealing from Nine Elms Station, a sack of barley, value 15/-, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing from a crate in a goods shed a jug, value 6d, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing from a barrel, 12 fresh herrings, value 1/-, property of the L&SWR.
Cruelty	Cruelty to a horse.
Theft	Stealing from a case, a quantity of chocolate, value 4d, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing from a workshop, a quantity of india rubber piping, value 3/-, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Stealing bale of cloth, value £50, property of the L&SWR.
Theft	Suspected persons found in goods yard with supposed intent to commit a felony.
Theft	Stealing from goods yard, sheet zinc, value 1/-, property of the L&SWR.

Table 30 – WPC cases involving the Nine Elms Goods Yard (1901-1902).
As can be seen, all but two cases involved theft (or suspected theft). The yard did not appear in any 1911-1912 cases, although this may be due to changes in how thefts were recorded in the WPC registers.

At WESTMINSTER, WILLIAM HOOPER, 25, a carman, and JOSEPH CRAFT, 22, feather dyer, were charged before Mr. Horace Smith with stealing a bale of cloth, value £35, from the Nine Elms Goodsyard of the London and South-Western Railway Company. The prisoners, being in charge of a pony and cart on Monday afternoon, delivered a number of cases of wine at Nine Elms, and obtained from a porter a permit to leave the premises with other goods loaded on their cart. They drove off a short distance, and then stopped and dragged on to the cart a large and heavy bale of valuable cloth consigned to South Africa. The men had been watched, and Inspector Buckley handed them over to the Metropolitan Police. Superintendent Robinson said that impudent robberies of this class were constantly being attempted by carmen and others. The railway company pressed this charge. Mr. Horace Smith sentenced each of the prisoners to three months' hard labour.

Figure 117 – An example of a WPC case that involved the Nine Elms Yard.

Source: The Times, 4 December 1901, page 2

Occupation	Count
Carman	6
Coppersmith	1
Labourer	3
No occupation	1
Porter	1
Railway porter	1
School boy	2
Shoemaker	1
Zinc worker	1

Table 31 – Occupations of thieves targeting Nine Elms Yard (1901-1902).
The above shows the occupations of thieves brought before the WPC for stealing from the goods yard. Manual workers (possibly associated with the railway) were the main culprits.

court officials failing to record crime locations for thefts (this was discussed at length in Chapter 5). But given that the majority of offences at the yard in 1901-1902 were thefts, it could be assumed that similar crimes would have been committed in 1911-1912. On the other hand, much of the goods yard, but also the railway works to the south, were not within the WPC area meaning it is probable that the majority of offenders were instead sent to the South Western Police Court.

Crime in other railway spaces within the WPC jurisdiction

In addition to Victoria and the Nine Elms yard, the WPC registers listed a number of other locations on London's railway network where individuals were apprehended for various offences. One of the most notable was Vauxhall Railway Station at which numerous offenders were apprehended all for the same crime – fare evasion. There were 20 and 17 cases of fare evasion in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 at the WPC, with all individuals being apprehended at Vauxhall Station. Unfortunately the 1911-1912 WPC registers failed to record the locations from which the individuals travelled (as well as where they were apprehended); however they were likely to be similar to those recorded in the 1901-1902 registers. Table 32 lists the routes taken by these individuals all of which were L&SWR trains. It is therefore curious that a similar number of fare evaders were not picked up at Victoria Station, especially since it was a major terminus. Furthermore, there is much evidence to suggest that the station had barriers or gates for each platform (see Figure 118) and ticket collectors manning them (Figure 119). There were also a number of cases during the Edwardian period (but not in the two periods of study) where ticket collectors at the station had challenged individuals for not showing tickets (Figure 120). Despite this evidence, all individuals sent to the WPC in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 were apprehended by L&SWR personnel on their premises at Vauxhall and not by LB&SCR, LC&DR or GWR staff at Victoria or Grosvenor Road. However, the reason for this may have been how the railway companies dealt with fare evaders. Firstly, as can be seen, all the cases in Figure 120 were 'summons' rather than 'charges' i.e. the individuals were not arrested, but were requested to present themselves before the court to be tried for the fare evasion

Travelled from...	Travelled to...(or apprehended at...)
Sunningdale	Vauxhall
Southampton	Vauxhall
Feltham	Vauxhall
Southampton West	Vauxhall
Guildford	Vauxhall
Basingstoke	Vauxhall
Epsom	Vauxhall
Hook	Vauxhall
Epsom	Vauxhall
Ascot	Vauxhall
Winchester	Vauxhall
Southampton	Vauxhall
Wimbledon	Vauxhall
Basingstoke	Vauxhall
Aldershot	Vauxhall
Raynes Park	Vauxhall
Exeter	Vauxhall
Reading	Vauxhall

Table 32 – The journeys travelled by fare evaders. It appears many were long distance journeys, all of which ended at Vauxhall – either as this was the intended destination or because ticket collectors caught the individuals on their way to Waterloo Terminus.

offence. Furthermore, a brief examination of the WPC summons books revealed a number of cases of fare evasion being tried regularly, although it is not stated which train companies/railway stations were involved (Figure 121). This might imply that the companies running services at Victoria had different by-laws to that of the L&SWR i.e. that they dealt with fare evasion in a different manner. The LB&SCR by-laws stated that:

> No person shall enter any carriage or vehicle using the railway, for the purpose of travelling, unless and until he or someone on his behalf shall have obtained from the Company or from some other company or person duly authorised in that behalf by the Company, a ticket entitling him to travel therein. Any person infringing or not observing this by-law and regulation, and failing to leave the carriage or vehicle immediately on request by any duly authorised servant or agent of the Company, may be
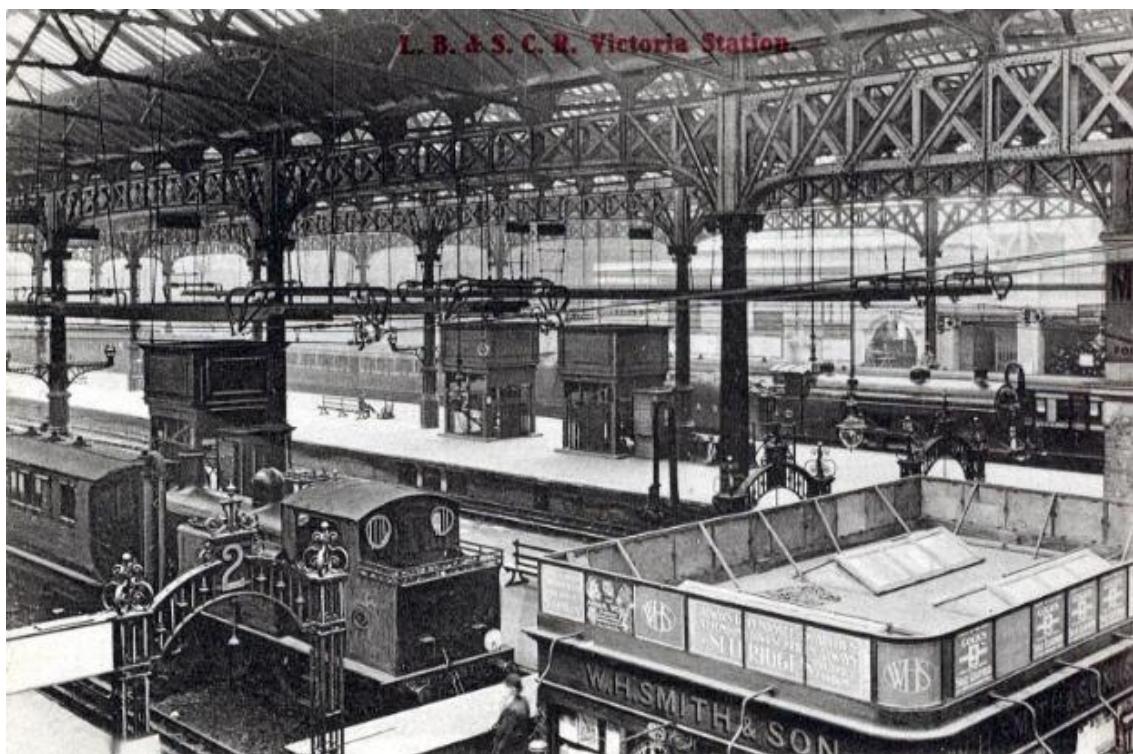
Figure 118 – Platform gates or barriers at Victoria Station. The top photograph (dated late 19th century) shows gates before the platform, although one could easily avoid them by using the roadway (if the policeman guarding the road did not see you). The bottom image is a postcard that appears to be doctored, but shows that the platforms had gates/barriers. Photograph from: Southern Main Lines: Victoria to East Croydon by Mitchell and Smith (1987), Middleton Press - www.middletonpress.co.uk

Sources: Mitchell and Smith (1987:9); Postcards of the Past (2014)

Figure 119 – Platform gates/barriers manned at Waterloo Station (May 1912). Although being a different station, this photograph illustrates how the platform gates were manned by ticket collectors. It is possible to discern the uniformed men at the gates, stopping passengers at both gate 2 and 3. The same would have occurred at Victoria Station. Photograph from: Southern Main Lines: Waterloo to Working by Mitchell and Smith (1998), Middleton Press - www.middletonpress.co.uk

Source: Mitchell and Smith (1998:12)

FRAUD ON A RAILWAY COMPANY.

At Westminster, PETER CARMICHAEL, of Trinity-road, Wandsworth-common, managing partner of a large drapery firm in Brompton-road, was summoned for travelling on the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway with intent to avoid payment. Mr. St. Lawrence appeared for the railway company; and Mr. Harold Morris was counsel for the defendant. In consequence of previous observations, the defendant on the 27th ult. was asked to show his ticket. He was in a first-class carriage at Grosvenor-road and was followed to Victoria, where he produced a first-class season-ticket nearly three months out of date. It was stated that he had had previous notices about travelling without a ticket. Mr. Morris, in his address for the defendant, begged that he might be allowed to pay a substantial sum to the railway charities and any costs rather than suffer the stigma of a conviction. Mr. Carmichael was in a very large way of business—managing partner in an important firm—and had, no doubt, been careless and neglectful. There was on the defendant's part no intention to defraud. The defendant was sworn, and deposed that the notifications from the company about the renewal of his ticket came when he was away on vacation. Rebuilding and other business worries had caused his forgetfulness. He had been for ten years a first-class season-ticket holder on the Brighton line, and he fully intended to pay. Mr. Sheil said the defendant was a man in a really good position, and it was just one of those shabby frauds for which the *maximum* fine of 40s. was totally inadequate. Evidently the defendant had been travelling up and down till he was caught, and the only regret was that he could not be punished more severely. He fined the defendant £2 and two guineas costs.

"The Procedure of a Thief."

At Westminster, before Mr. Hopkins, ALFRED HENRY MALLOWS, described as a secretary, of Ford's Hotel, Queen's-road, Brighton, was summoned for defrauding the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company, and also for giving their officials a false name and address.

The defendant, who, up till July, was a first-class season ticket holder, continued to travel after the ticket had expired. Though warned as to its renewal, he was found without a ticket on the occasion of a special examination at Victoria, and on being asked for his name and address the defendant handed the officials the card of a well-known medical gentleman at Brighton, who was in fact a first-class ticket holder. The defendant was ultimately traced to a Strand hotel, where he had business, and eventually he admitted travelling for 20 days without a ticket, thereby defrauding the company, on his showing, of something like £20.

The defendant, who said he did not wish to fight the case, supposed that giving another gentleman's card was rather a silly thing to do.

Mr. HOPKINS.—Don't talk nonsense! What do you say to swindling the company day after day, and then personating a gentleman holding a season ticket? —I admit it was silly, and I wrote to the general manager to that effect, and offered to pay.

Mr. HOPKINS.—You call it silly; I have no other words for it than "the procedure of a thief." You will pay a penalty of 40s. for the fraud, and 40s. for the false address, and ten guineas costs.

RAILWAY TRAVELLING WITHOUT PAYMENT.

At Westminster, HENRIETTA CHARLOTTE PHELIPS, a lady residing at St. Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead, was summoned by the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company for travelling on the line with intent to avoid payment. Mr. Allen, solicitor for the company, stated that on February 15 the defendant took a ticket from East Grinstead to Dormans—one station away on the road to London. She asked if the train which came in was for Victoria, and, in consequence of suspicions entertained by the staff, telephone and telegraph messages were sent to the collecting station, Grosvenor-road. There the defendant was asked for her ticket. She said she had not one and that she had come from East Croydon. She offered to pay from that station, and when challenged with having made a longer journey she stoutly denied it. An inspector said the defendant came to him some time after the occurrence and said she had been very foolish, and had told untruths. Mr. Allen mentioned that the defendant had written to the general manager, offering as an explanation the mixing up of the names of East Grinstead and East Croydon. This could not be accepted. Inspector Harris, of the company's police, said he saw Miss Phelips at East Grinstead on February 23. The defendant said, "I said East Croydon instead of East Grinstead and stuck to it pertinaciously." Counsel for the defendant said she was a lady of independent means who gave her time to assist a religious community and their charitable works. It was ridiculous to suppose that for the sake of about 1s. 2d. she would have been guilty of this mean and petty fraud. She was reading when the collector came for the tickets, and inadvertently said "East Croydon." Afterwards she corrected it, and offered to pay the fare from East Grinstead. It was only a slip of the tongue repeated through carelessness. She would on oath deny the conversations attributed to her by the railway officials. The defendant deposed that she assisted at the convent in carrying on charitable works. She swore that the railway witnesses had in mistake given evidence as to what she said. Mr. Horace Smith fined her 40s., with 23s. costs.

Figure 120 – Various cases of fare evasion apprehended at Victoria Station during the Edwardian era.

Sources: The Times, 1 January 1904, page 11; The Times, 15 March 1906, page 14; The Times, 8 November 1912, page 2

Figure 121 – Fare evaders summoned to the WPC. Cases 2-5 shown above from the WPC summons register for January 1912 all involve railway fare evaders. It suggests that the railway companies used summons rather than charges to prosecute individuals.

Source: PS/WES/A/02/024, 24 January 1912

removed therefrom by or under the direction of such servant or agent (RAIL 1001/176, 1905).

But both the GWR and L&SWR by-laws were identical to this (RAIL 1001/69, 1905; RAIL 1001/169, 1905) and it could be presumed the SE&CR by-laws were no different either. Moreover, the penalty for the offence was the same for all companies as it was governed by the Regulation of Railways Act (1889) which stated that "...in case of default [a passenger] shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding forty shillings" (Regulation of Railways Act, 1889 on legislation.gov.uk, 2014). Furthermore, if

> having failed to pay his fare, gives in reply to a request by an officer of a railway company a false name or address, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding forty shillings, or, in the case of a second or subsequent offence, either to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, or in the discretion of the court to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month (Regulation of Railways Act, 1889 on legislation.gov.uk, 2014).

The law also states that railway officials 'may' detain a passenger who fails to pay or give a name and address. However, as shown, the law did not explicitly state whether individuals should be summoned or arrested and it would seem this was at the discretion of railway companies. Thus, in the case of the L&SWR, the company may have taken a more hard-line approach to *some* cases of fare evasion (*some* since they also summoned individuals to court), detaining individuals and charging rather than summoning them to the WPC. In contrast, the LB&SCR, SE&CR and GWR seem to have preferred to solely use summons to convict fare evaders, resulting in this distinct lack of offenders charged at their premises.

It is also interesting to note that two additional fare evasion entries in the registers for 1901-1902 record individuals travelling to Waterloo Terminus rather than Vauxhall. This implies that the two people (travelling from Isleworth and Staines) were caught at Waterloo (which was not within the WPC area). However, it is possible that the individuals were challenged to show their tickets when the train stopped at Vauxhall. Figure 122 details a similar case sent to the

FRAUD ON A RAILWAY COMPANY.

At Westminster, ERNEST S. JEPHSON, who described himself as of the Stock Exchange, and 31, Birdhurst-rise, South Croydon, was before Mr. Curtis Bennett charged on a summons by Mr. Hoskison, on behalf of the London and South-Western Railway Company, with travelling without paying his fare with intent to defraud. Mr. Farror, solicitor, for the prosecution, said the position of the defendant and the fact that he had resorted to a very despicable trick very greatly aggravated the offence. The defendant falsely represented himself as a season-ticket holder who had left his ticket at home. When challenged at Vauxhall on the morning of August 15, and after his name and address had been taken, he wrote to the manager of the company on paper with lithographed heading, "The Stock Exchange, London," and a supplemental address, "Waterford-lodge, Long Ditton, Surrey":—"I am staying here for a month, and for the past 12 days have taken a daily ticket from Surbiton. This morning as we approached Vauxhall I felt in my pocket, but my ticket was missing, and as that is such a lame excuse to tell a collector I tried to pass as 'season.' The collector asked us to show our 'seasons,' so I had to give him my name and address, not wishing to show myself up before the whole carriage. Afterwards, between Vauxhall and Waterloo, I found the missing ticket under the seat. It had probably slipped out with my match-box. I return the ticket to you, trusting this will save any further worry over the subject." Reginald Hooper, booking clerk at Surbiton, identified the ticket which was enclosed with the defendant's letter as one which could not have been issued before 6 o'clock on the evening of the day in question. Mr. Curtis Bennett.—It is an exceedingly bad case of fraud. (To the defendant). —It is a good job for you that you did not venture to get into the box to bolster up that story of the lost ticket. If you had you would have been prosecuted for perjury. Now you will pay a fine of 40s. and eight guineas costs, or a month's imprisonment in default.

Figure 122 – Fare evader attempting to travel to Waterloo, but caught at Vauxhall. The case suggests that ticket collectors boarded the train to check the tickets of passengers.

Source: The Times, 16 September 1905, page 3

WPC in 1905 which suggests that ticket collectors boarded the train and asked to see tickets at Vauxhall. The individual (Ernest Jephson) was travelling to Waterloo, but technically was caught at Vauxhall which is perhaps why the case was sent to the WPC. Hence in the two cases from 1901-1902, it could be assumed that a similar set of circumstances occurred. Yet these cases illustrate the difficulty associated with fare evasion – namely catching offenders. In the 21st century, most stations have automatic ticket barriers, with security

fencing/walls surrounding platforms and ticket inspectors travelling across the railway network, all of which increase the chances of individuals being caught for fare evasion, but also deter offenders (Morgan and Smith, 2006:139). In contrast, Edwardian railway companies only had ticket collectors to combat fare evasion who (especially at large, busy and crowded stations) could not investigate all individuals claiming to be season ticket holders. Even where manned gates/barriers existed on platforms, it would no doubt be possible for fare evaders to pass through without being apprehended by a ticket collector by hiding within the crowds of people trying to leave the platform (see Figure 119). Indeed, at Victoria this was aided by the existence of roadways alongside some platforms for cabs or wagons to drive into the station (Figure 118) – it is unlikely these were policed and an individual alighting at these platforms could easily avoid ticket collectors by using the road. But even if these tactics were not used, as some cases cited suggest, at gates/barriers, season ticket holders "...could simply say 'Season Ticket' and would be waved through by the ticket collector, who presumably wouldn't dare to question the word of a gentlemen of business" (Gregory, 2007:180). Hence, an individual could merely pose as a season ticket holder and pass through the gate without needing to produce said ticket. Furthermore, the process to investigate suspected fare evaders could be complicated, time consuming (see Farr, 1997:510-11 for detailed discussion on ticket administration) and at times required surveillance akin to that conducted by the police (as seen in the cases in Figure 120). Taking all of this into consideration suggests that it would be relatively easy for individuals to avoid paying fares and as the various cases shown in Figures 120 and 122 indicate people from a range of classes or socio-economic backgrounds fare evaded. It is not known how many people committed this offence or indeed how much railway companies lost in revenue as a result, but it is likely that there would have been a significant number of incidents given the ease with which the offence could be committed across the railway network. Thus the cases sent to the WPC (just as with all the other categories of crime) represent perhaps a small portion of the total number of such offences committed at stations such as Victoria or Vauxhall each year during the period.

Hitherto I have discussed crime on railways running above ground, however the WPC area also included a number of Underground railway stations that were themselves spaces where crime could occur. But in total there were only 9 cases at the WPC involving the Underground railway (8 in 1901-1902 and 1 in 1911-1912). The majority were no different to those seen at Victoria Railway station, with drunk individuals assaulting others and thieves stealing from passengers' pockets. However, it is the crime that takes place in transit, within the space of the carriages of the Underground railway that offers the most interesting glimpses into subterranean criminality. There were two such cases sent to the WPC in 1901-1902 which are detailed in Figures 123 and 124. In the first case, the incident occurred in a District Railway carriage travelling between Sloane Square and Victoria whilst the latter took place at various stages along the District line from Westminster to Victoria. On the same line, the second case involved individuals travelling in a railway carriage from Sloane Square to Victoria. Both of these cases indicate how difficult it would be (if not impossible) to pinpoint the exact location at which the offence was committed – yet that does not mean they were 'space-less' crimes. They occurred within the enclosed mobile space of the railway carriage and it is these characteristics that aided in the committal of an offence. Both incidents involved acts termed 'indecent' – in other words, sexual offences that required some degree of seclusion and privacy. Hence, the space of the Underground railway and in particular the railway compartment would have provided the perfect place for such offences to be committed – the closed compartments of the trains provided a high degree of privacy, preventing surveillance and in conjunction with the enclosed tunnel, meant there was no means of victims escaping (Dennis, 2013:212). These rather dark, gloomy and intimate spaces, brought individuals into close proximity with one another, perhaps accentuated by the configuration of carriage seating (in first, second and some third class carriages) where people sat opposite or next to each other (Figure 125). The result of this may have been embarrassment, but also more than this:

> the compartment's total optical and acoustical isolation from the rest of the
> train and its inaccessibility during the journey...caused travellers'
> interrelationships to change from mere embarrassment at silence to fear of

The WPC tried Rowland Leader (25, officer of the Mercantile Marine) with indecently assaulting Robert Hall by placing his hand in the fly of his trouser whilst in a railway carriage on the District Railway, travelling between Sloane Square and Victoria Station. Below is part of an account of the trial reported in the local newspaper:

He [defendant] said that the boy opened the conversation with him, saying "It is cold and foggy". He made no answer beyond saying "Um". Then the boy went on to say that he had a good way to go, and was a long way from home. In a surly voice he replied that he was glad he had not far to go. Next in a whining tone, the boy added that he only got 7s. a week, had to work on Sundays, and asked him to give him "a bob". He said "No. You are lucky to get 7s. a week". The boy said to this "You might give me a 'bob', sir, you have plenty". He again said "No. I never give money to strangers. I'll speak to the guard". As he said this he moved away to the far side of the carriage.

Nothing more was said until they were near Victoria, when the boy said "If you don't give me a 'bob' I'll tell the guard of you". To this, he simply said "Oh". As he left the train he went up to the guard, spoke about his bicycle, and said he wanted him to come along a bit. The boy then came up to them, and made a complaint. He (defendant) and the guard both suggested a constable practically at the same moment. When Inspector Patient came up witness said "This boy has been attempting to blackmail me".

Cross examined by Mr Haynes, defendant said he had not travelled on the District Railway more than four times since April. He emphatically said that whatever had been said with regard to improper suggestions on his part was a concoction.

After hearing two witnesses...the magistrate said the prisoner was discharged.

Figure 123 – Crime in transit between Sloane Square and Victoria on the District Railway.

Source: PS/WES/A/01/025, 18 November 1901, trial 42; West London Press, 29 November 1901

The WPC tried Francis Hatch (27, architect) with indecently exposing his person with intent to insult Mabel Moore in a third class District Railway carriage travelling between Westminster and St James's Park. Below is an account of the trial reported in the local newspaper:

Prosecutrix said that on the previous evening she was a passenger on the District Railway, and booked from Aldgate to South Kensington. She entered a third class compartment. At Charing Cross prisoner and another man entered. When they left Westminster Bridge prisoner commenced to behave improperly, and she moved away. After leaving St. James's Park prisoner behaved still more improperly, and a witness who she would call spoke to prisoner, and told her to sit down. At Victoria Station she called the guard. The station inspector also came up. Prisoner said nothing then or when he was taken to the police station.

Cross examined by Mr Conway, prosecutrix said prisoner did not speak at all in her hearing. Further cross examination was deferred, and prisoner remanded, the magistrate agreeing to accept bail – two sureties in £100 each.

Figure 124 – Crime in transit between Westminster and Victoria on the District Railway.

Source: PS/WES/A/01/028, 19 February 1902, trial 42; West London Press, 21 February 1902

Figure 125 – The interior of a first class District Railway carriage (1890-1895).

potential mutual threat (Schivelbusch, 1977:79).

The threats could range from theft to murder, but in the cases presented it was indecency and sexual assault. The compartment forced passengers to look and gaze upon each other. As Beaumont (2007:141) states "...because of the social and sexual politics that prevail outside the compartment, in society itself [discussed in Chapter 6], some passengers, female travellers in particular, are more objectified than others" – the case of the woman in Figure 124 perhaps exemplifies this as she is seen as an object desired by the man. Altogether cases such as this, but also the more general societal fears associated with

underground railway spaces, perhaps had a part to play in the fabrication of an offence by the messenger boy in Figure 123. Thus the space of the Underground railway and in particular the private, intimate, dark and gloomy spaces of carriages could assist in the committal of crime. As Schivelbusch (1977:79) states: "the train compartment became a scene of crime – a crime that could take place unheard and unseen by the travellers in adjoining compartments".

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the importance of mobility when investigating crime in the WPC area. It has been shown how the majority of defendants committed crime within their local neighbourhoods (perhaps up to a kilometre from their home), whilst a small number had commuted from places further afield. The significance and pitfalls of these findings were discussed at length earlier. Those who travelled further to commit crime may well have utilised various forms of transportation to get to the WPC area. Indeed, the area was thoroughly integrated into London's transport network with numerous bus and tram routes passing through, as well several underground and above ground train stations. These forms of transport not only aided individuals to commute to the area to commit crime (either intentionally or unintentionally), but were in themselves spaces in which offences could be committed. Crimes in transit are difficult to map as it is impossible to pinpoint exact locations at which the offence was committed. This in turn may have aided offenders in that the spaces of the railway carriage, the bus or tram were enclosed, secluded and often intimate in the way they brought individuals into close proximity with each other. This was most evident in spaces of carriages on London's Underground railway. The chapter also discussed crimes committed on railway premises explaining how the various internal spaces of Victoria Station offered varying opportunities for individuals to commit offences, whilst the goods yard at Nine Elms was a continuous target of thieves. There was a distinct lack of railway crime by 1911-1912 and this was probably the result of a combination of factors such as the use of summons (rather than charges) and authorities evicting rowdy individuals

from station premises (rather than arresting them). Fare evasion has also been examined in detail, with all cases sent to the WPC being individuals apprehended at Vauxhall. The lack of fare evaders caught at other stations in the WPC area (such as Victoria or one of the Underground stations) was probably the result of the varying policies between train companies on how to deal with these individuals – the L&SWR perhaps taking a stricter approach. Altogether, this chapter has shown the importance of considering the mobility of offenders when constructing a picture of the spatial patterns of criminal activity in Edwardian London. Moreover, it begins to uncover the importance of transportation technologies in assisting in this mobility – yet the spaces of transportation, either fixed (stations, railway yards etc) or mobile (buses, trams, railway compartments) were in themselves criminal targets.

Chapter 8 – Case studies

The penultimate chapter of this thesis narrows the investigation down to the local level of particular streets. As has been mentioned in previous chapters, it would be impossible to examine the spatial distribution of crime and defendant addresses in every road across the WPC area – such an exercise would serve no value. However, conducting an in depth examination of a small sample of streets would enable a greater understanding of crime in the WPC area to be formed. Aspects such as the built environment, land use, inhabitants and socio-economic activity may be studied alongside the data on crime locations and defendant addresses in order to gain a better impression of the street and those that frequented it (either as a resident or as a stranger). The purpose is not necessarily to *explain* why crime or criminality was rife or absent, but to *describe* the contextual milieu in which crime was committed and/or in which defendants lived. It will examine aspects such as what the streets looked and felt like, whether the atmosphere was welcoming or threatening to outsiders, the types of activity within the street, but also how inhabitants related to one another and their behaviour towards others including the authorities. Thus in many ways it is a biographical set of narratives that aims to grasp at the social and physical fabric of streets, thereby offering a different perspective on the picture of criminal activity mapped out in previous chapters.

A brief note on the selection of case studies

With between 965 and 946 streets falling within the WPC boundary for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 respectively, there are many candidates worthy of an in depth examination. Nevertheless, those considered 'outliers' are arguably the most interesting to choose. Certainly a street which had high amounts of crime and/or a large criminal population in residence deserves some examination in order to understand the factors influencing these figures. Yet there were also streets deemed to be 'criminal' in nature during the period (often coloured black or dark blue on Charles Booth's poverty maps), but which this study did not find to be the case. In addition, one of the main findings of Chapter 5 was that major thoroughfares experienced the greatest crime and it would therefore be prudent

to conduct a detailed analysis of one of these streets to expand on that chapter's discussion. Conversely, some streets experienced no crime and its inhabitants remained on the correct side of the law, whilst others saw isolated incidents or a resident committing an offence. It also has to be remembered that crime figures changed over time for some streets and this must also be considered when selecting streets. Altogether there are a number of 'categories', 'criteria' or 'scenarios' that constitute the range of WPC streets from which to select for detailed analysis.

However, it should be stressed that it is not my intention to examine a street that fits into every category, criteria or scenario of high/medium/low crime and/or criminal residents. There would be little benefit in conducting such research as it would lead to repetition between case studies, as well as of aspects discussed in previous chapters. Furthermore, conducting research on specific streets can often be difficult and time consuming, as there is either too much archival material to consult or historical information is lacking. Hence, the streets selected for this chapter merely reflect some of the scenarios listed above. Admittedly a more rigorous selection policy could have been used, or a greater range of case studies researched, but the overall purpose is to demonstrate how mapping the WPC data can be enhanced further by conducting in depth investigations into streets.

<u>Paradise Walk, Chelsea</u>

There are many streets within the WPC area which experienced no crime and which housed individuals who remained on the correct side of the law. However, in some instances this finding was surprising, since historical accounts from the time suggested that the streets' residents were far from law abiding. One example of this was Paradise Walk in Chelsea, a street connecting the semi-major thoroughfare of Queens Road West (later Royal Hospital Road) with Dilke Street, which itself joined two roads together (Swan Walk and Tite Street), both of which lead to the Chelsea Embankment running alongside the River Thames (Figure 126). But what was it that made this street renowned for its disorderly nature? An article in the Pall Mall Gazette from 1897 captured the essence of this disorder as experienced by the police and perceived by respectable residents living in neighbouring streets (Figure 127). To the police, Paradise Walk inhabitants were a constant source of trouble, generating five arrests per week at times. Policemen remarked at how it was 'the worst spot in the sub-division', 'squalid' and compared the street with other known bad spots in Chelsea (Figure 128) (Charles Booth Online Archive, 2014:B362, p109-111, p118-9). But whatever action the police took, it simply was not good enough for the respectable Chelsea residents. Their senses were offended by the 'rowdy', 'drunken', 'quarrelling', 'obscene' people living in the nearby 'slum' and whose arguments kept them awake until the early hours of the morning. Indeed, even the son of Oscar Wilde who lived in nearby Tite Street (see Figure 126) recalled how 'the Walk' was "...one of the most forbidding of Chelsea slums. It was a row of tenement houses with wretched, filthy back-yards, from which the sounds of bawling arose nightly" (Holland, 1988:51). He could even see the street from his smoking room and thus "...felt obliged to hide the sordid view with a Persian screen" (Holme, 1972:154). Even in 1906, the street was described as an 'unsavoury slum' known for being 'noisy' (The Daily Graphic, 31 January 1906, page 13). Altogether this creates a vivid impression of a street that was socially and environmentally in isolation from the surrounding neighbourhood, with moral codes, beliefs and behaviours diametrically opposed to that of wider society, resulting in high numbers of arrests.
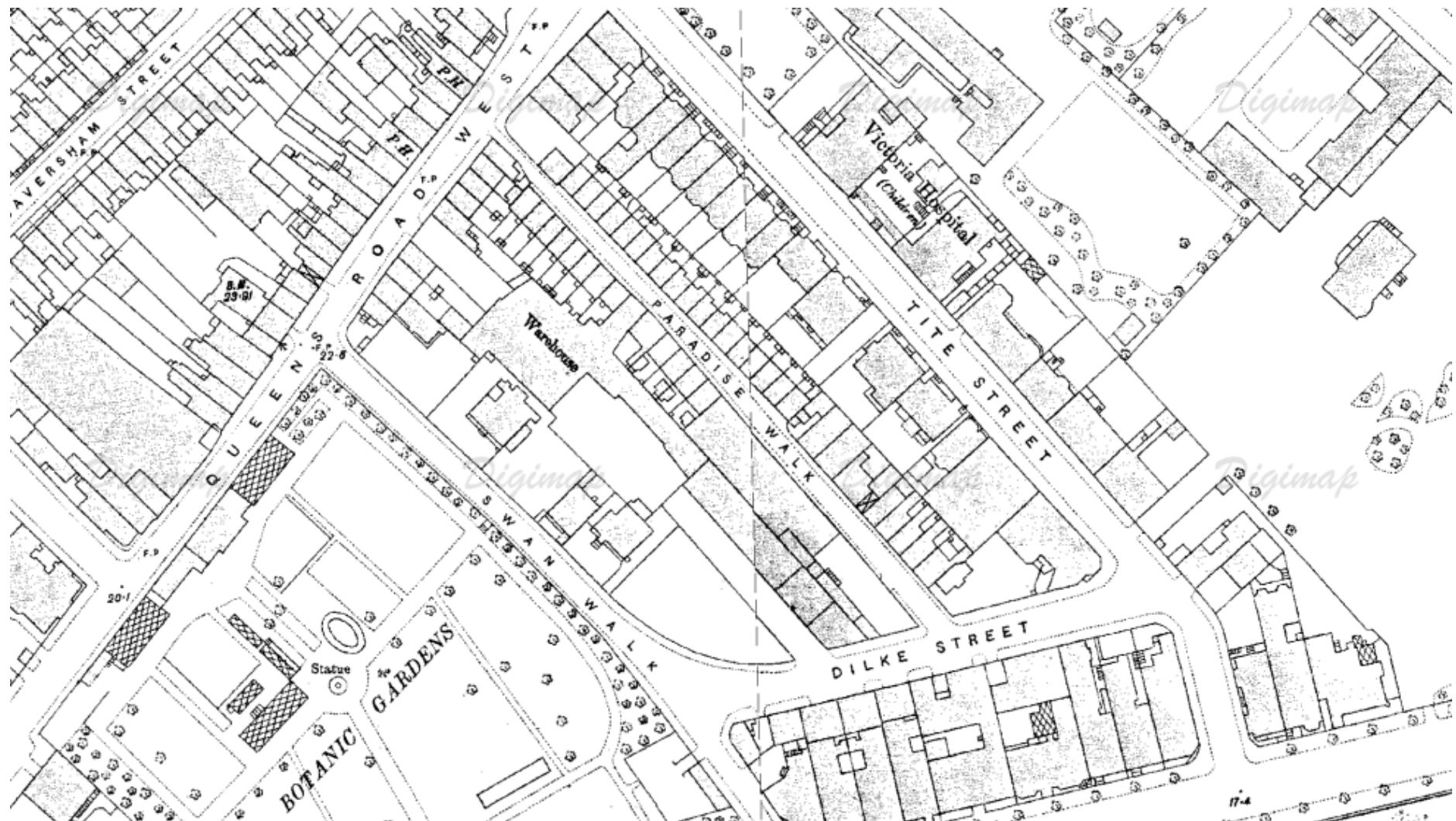
Figure 126 – Paradise Walk, Chelsea (1895). © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2015). All rights reserved. (1895).   Source: Digimap (2014)

PARADISE-WALK.

"It's a singular thing," observed the police-inspector, as he contemplated Paradise-walk from our back windows, "but in all my experience I've never come across a place that was called 'Paradise' that wasn't what you might describe as a low and brutal neighbourhood. Paradise-walk," continued the police inspector, warming to his subject, "is, as you might say, one of the plague-spots of Chelsea. Why, I assure you, if you were to take up your stand in Tedworth-square, many's the time you'd see our constables marching a charge across to the station—and they all come from Paradise-walk, five a week sometimes. We do the best we can, sir."

"That's very reassuring, inspector," I replied, "and, as far as it goes, believe me, I am grateful for the attention. But why can't you apply these commendable methods to the people who keep us awake half the night by quarrelling after they have been turned out of the public-house?"

"That's just where they have us, sir," rejoined the inspector; "if they had their rows in the street it would be all right, but the rows you hear come from their own houses. They stand in their own doors and shout across to one another, and then, when our constable comes along, in they go, and as you know, sir, an Englishman's house is his castle. If they weren't here," concluded the inspector with philosophic irrelevance, "they'd be somewhere else; they must live somewhere."

Our point of view is, of course, that we would rather they did live somewhere else; for ours is a respectable street, chiefly inhabited by professional men and artists. The picture of this year's Academy came from a studio which overlooks Paradise-walk; a distinguished authority on international law lives at the corner of the street, and nearly opposite to him is one of her Majesty's judges. But neither the judge nor the Q.C., nor the ex-Cabinet-Minister, whose back-windows command, like ours, a view of the back-yards of Paradise-walk and a hearing of their quarrels, is able to abolish them. A month or so ago the signatures of these gentlemen were given to a petition which was powerful enough to prevent the County Council from improving Chelsea Reach out of existence; but this intolerable slum is apparently beyond them.

To give Paradise-walk its due, I do not think it has personally any notion or intention of being the malignant nuisance that it is. Its quarrels are undertaken in a festive spirit—a species of recreation which agreeably rounds off Saturday night and brings the week to a fitting close. They are chiefly begotten of the Saturday-night beer, joined to the knowledge that Sunday is a day of rest, and they begin in the most trivial way. The bitterest and most prolonged quarrel I can recall during the last month began (we can hear every word from our back windows) with a harmless allusion to the nationality of one of the participants. "Why don't ye go to bed, Irish?" shouted a voice across the narrow street. "Moind yere own business!" shouted a voice back. "G--r--r, Irish!" rejoined the first voice. "Who spoke to you, ye paltry woman?" inquired the second, entering into the spirit of the thing. "Everybody despises yer," remarked the aggressor. "I'm liked by every wan," retorted the Irish contestant; and from this slight beginning arose a quarrel which lasted until nearly two o'clock in the morning, and which reached every imaginable and unimaginable height of vituperation. It comprised language which no decent man should be compelled to listen to, but it was impossible to sleep through it. Paradise-walk itself showed no fastidious wish to do so. It threw open all its windows to listen to the rising altercation with appreciative interest. When either of the contestants showed any signs of exhaustion it fired them to fresh efforts by recalling to either of them what the other had said at a previous stage of the dispute, and it supplemented the row by several quarrels of its own. At some points the main dispute showed signs of becoming swallowed by these side issues, but it usually recovered its vitality, for its authors are old performers, and great favourites on this account with our "poorer neighbours," as our landlord sympathetically terms them. And it was not till nearly two o'clock that all the combatants were exhausted; and then, tired out with more than an hour's continuous effort, but satisfied in the consciousness of a weekly ceremony faithfully carried out, Paradise-walk shut its windows and its doors, and went to sleep it off.

Figure 127 – Paradise Walk in 1897.

Source: © The British Library Board, The Pall Mall Gazette, 7 July 1897 - article titled 'Paradise Walk'

Paradise Walk was described in Booth's survey as:

"2 storey [houses]: mostly Irish, very rough, constant drunken rows, with Oakham Street the worst spot in the sub-division. Dirty but not so squalid as I should have expected from police account. Probably light blue lined black, rather than light blue" (Charles Booth Online, 2014:B362, p109-111).

"Oakham Street: half the centre of the west side is down including the court running out and is now a cab yard. The street is 2 storeys, asphalt paved, mainly low Irish: costers, ?, labourers: very rough, drunken, troublesome to police. Evil looking drink sodden old Irish women at the doors. Signs of great poverty not prominent. Light blue lined black as map" (Charles Booth Online Archive, 2014:B362, p132-3).

But it was also believed that the demolition of a slum in or around Jew's Row had resulted in its residents moving to Paradise Walk (Charles Booth Online, 2014:B362, p118-9). Below is a description of the area around Jew's Row:

"Even more sinister was Jew's Row, a labyrinth of narrow courts and passages between Burtons Court and Lower Sloane Street. Here were filthy lodging houses and thieves' kitchens, and at one point where the roadway ran at some depth below the path, prostitutes crouched together on the curb to hurl insults at passers-by or set upon some unwary traveller and pick his pockets" (Holme, 1972:154).

Figure 128 – Paradise Walk compared to the slums of Oakham Street and Jew's Row. Comparing or linking these streets/areas with Paradise Walk gives the impression they were similar in nature.

It is therefore curious that the Edwardian WPC registers do not reflect the images created by these late 19th century descriptions. No trials involved the street as the scene of a crime and no defendants were found to reside there. But clearly individuals were mobile and it is possible that at the time of the census, defendants were not living on Paradise Walk but moved there subsequently. Indeed, when examining local newspapers for the study periods, three reports of WPC trials involved residents (Figure 129). Nevertheless, given the street's historical reputation for crime and bad behaviour it is odd that no other crimes or offenders were found. To make sense of these conflicting findings, the socio-economic and environmental conditions of Paradise Walk

West London Press, 09/08/1901:

James Ferebee, 40, 8 Paradise Walk, Chelsea, was charged with having been found drunk at Swan Walk. PC 42BR was the constable who found him, and he was fined 10s, or seven days.

West London Press, 05/04/1912:

James Ferebee, 50, labourer, of 8 Paradise Walk, Chelsea, was charged with being drunk and disorderly at Cheyne Walk yesterday afternoon. He had no excuse to offer, and was fined 5s. or five days.

West London Press, 26/01/1912:

Alice Dixon, 43, married, of 23 Paradise Walk, Chelsea was charged with being drunk while she had two children in her custody in the street. PC 344B said that the defendant was so drunk that she fell on one of the children, and the doctor also certified that she was drunk. The defendant said that she had only been out of the house half an hour and had not much to drink. She was fined 10s. or seven days.

Figure 129 – Paradise Walk residents at the WPC.

need to be examined to better understand the street and its inhabitants.

Despite being a narrow, relatively short street, the physical topography of Paradise Walk was complex. An individual visiting the street in 1900, looking south from its northern end, would have been greeted by an array of sights, sounds and smells. To the left (east side) stood around 18 two-storey brick-built cottages, whilst towards the end was a parish hall, garage and house (Chelsea News, 25 February 1966, page 4) – perhaps no different to viewing many other working class streets in the WPC area. But it would have been the buildings on the right hand side of the street, with the activity, sounds and smells they generated, that drew one's attention. This was because much of the land was taken up by stables, a warehouse, a wheelwright's shop and boiler houses all of which formed the Walter Robertson and Sons confectionery factory which was said to employ hundreds of people (Chelsea News, 25 February 1966, page 4). This would have created much movement in the street with vehicles delivering ingredients, whilst others took the sweets, jams and other produce away to be

sold. The noises of the factory and its workers, as well as the smell of confectionery being made would have added to this image. Yet this image has to be placed into the context of the street's size and configuration. The factory, cottages and other buildings created/lined what was described as "...a very dirty, narrow little passage..." (Mitton, 1902:22). Indeed, standing at the northern end of the street today, the space or size is no different to that a century ago (Figure 130) (although note that the buildings are not from the period, as discussed later). It can be seen how Dilke Street creates a 'barrier' at the southern end and with the factory's commotion spilling onto Paradise Walk, it would have been difficult to see what lay beyond. This may have made the street seem unwelcoming by creating fear or unease. Furthermore, the comparisons with other Chelsea slums (discussed earlier) may have served to heighten this unease since those places comprised of hidden courts and alleys where criminals lay. In reality, Paradise Walk lacked the alleyways or courts (as Figure 126 shows), but making such comparisons, along with the factory activity and the 'unknown' at the end of the street, may have served to create a sense of disorder and danger. Thus at first glance Paradise Walk may have elicited curiosity, but on closer inspection there was a hint of danger or unease about the place and it is perhaps no surprise that "ladies were cautioned not to walk alone down this street, where grimy ragged children swarmed, and several families were crammed into each of the four-roomed hovels" (Holme, 1972:154). But these are the impressions of an 'outsider' – we need to take a glimpse into the lives of those that lived there.

Edwardian Paradise Walk would indeed have 'swarmed' with children since almost half of its residents were youths (Graph 28), but although some cottages were multi-occupied, it could hardly be said that several families were 'crammed into one cottage'. Admittedly almost a third (29%) of the 130 residents in 1911 lived in overcrowded conditions, but this (along with having a lodger) was necessary to afford the weekly rents (which ranged from 5/- to 8/6 per week) (IR 58/43872, 1914)). Nevertheless, residents were the type of people who:

> ...grew nasturtiums and creeping jenny, kept canaries and larks in cages and poultry in their back yards. (There was one man here who had a fine cock which was always put to bed in a cupboard in the front room so as

Figure 130 – Paradise Walk today, looking south to Dilke Street. The housing is not the same as that which stood in the 1900s, but the street itself has not changed. This illustrates its narrowness and how Dilke Street creates a barrier at the other end.

Source: Google StreetView (2014)
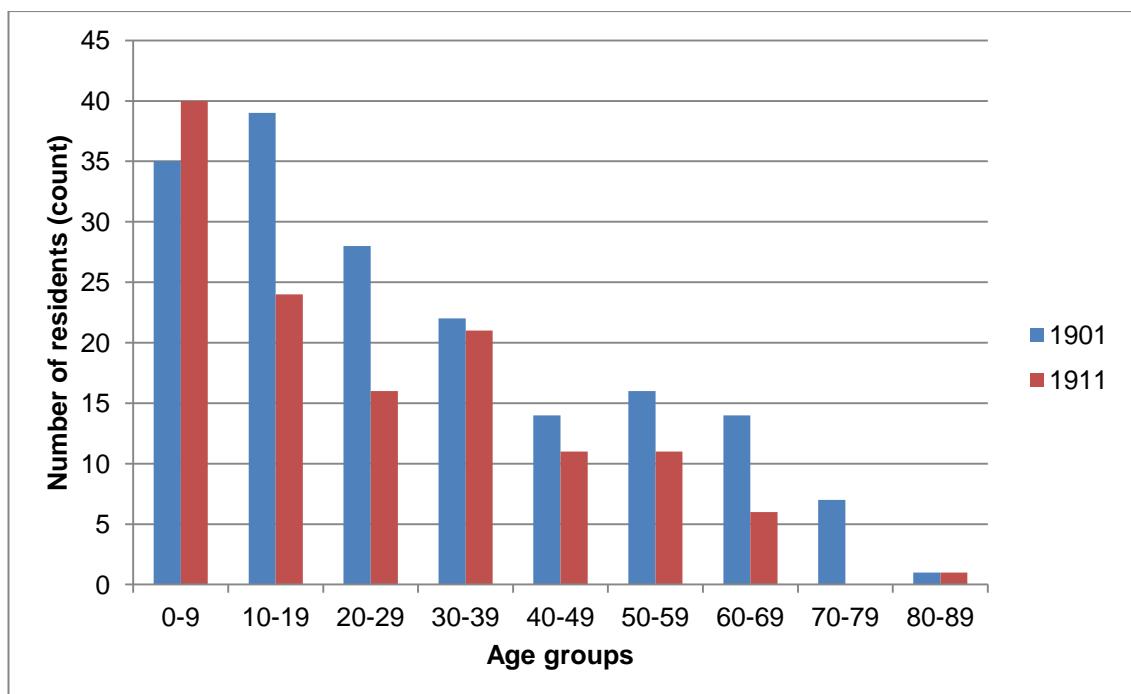
Graph 28 – Ages of Paradise Walk residents (1901 and 1911).

Sources: 1901 and 1911 Censuses

At WESTMINSTER, Captain Blount, R.N., secretary of the Victoria Hospital for Sick Children, Chelsea, complained to Mr. de Rutzen of a cock-crowing nuisance, beginning at daybreak, in Paradise-walk, to the serious prejudice of patients in the hospital and in the adjoining medical and surgical home. A night's rest was often a matter of life or death. Every kindly representation had been made, but without the slightest effect. Mr. de Rutzen said he would certainly grant a summons or summonses, though he must say there was a little difficulty about it, and a question whether the Act of Parliament would meet the nuisance. But he would gladly afford the opportunity for the matter to be argued and decided. Before the summonses issued he would send one of the warrant officers to represent to the keepers of the fowls the serious consequences resulting from the crowing.

Figure 131 – WPC summons case concerning a cock crowing nuisance in Paradise Walk.

Source: The Times, 28 June 1893, page 3

not to wake the neighbours [as well as to avoid contravening a legal ruling – Figure 131].) (Reid, 1939:21).

There was certainly a sense of neighbourliness on the street, with a former resident recalling how he used to fetch gin for Mrs Smith at Number 13 every day and how he "...was very friendly with Mrs Chandler's husband's family" (Chelsea News, 25 February 1966, page 4). There was even an annual picnic for residents at a country estate arranged by a wealthy woman who "...used to visit the poor" (Chelsea News, 11 March 1966, page 2). This communal nature was enhanced by the fact that different generations of the same family lived in multiple houses along the street and such practices had developed over decades (Bairstow, 1994). But what would daily life have been like for residents? This is difficult to assess, but perhaps the best insight can be gained from studying the street's most famous resident – Charlotte 'Lottie' Stafford, wife of John Stafford and mother to five daughters. Lottie modelled for artists in the neighbourhood and thus there are a number of portraits of her (Figure 132 and 133). Artists often accentuate features, but from these paintings Lottie's appearance is that of a 'worker', with muscular forearms and wrinkled hands, shaped by her work as a washerwoman. Her depiction as a flower girl in Figure 132 gives her a 'cockney' appearance (Holt, 2000:47) and indeed she was described as "a cockney, with a ready tongue and a great capacity for capping any story, she was never at a loss for words" (Arnold, 1981:200). She may have liked to gossip, but Steen (1943:144) notes how at the end of every artist's sitting she would say ""Well, I must be puttin' on me 'at an' get back to Paradise!"" suggesting that she was aware of her responsibilities back home – it is almost as if she is saying 'let me get on and do some proper work now'. Although Lottie is unusual in that pictures and other information about her exist, she would have been no different to the other women of the Walk who were just as hardworking – for example one woman "...used to get up at five every morning and walk to Piccadilly, where she cleaned fifteen grates before breakfast time" (Reid, 1939:21). But the fact that these women had to go out to work to supplement the earnings of their husbands shows that these were poor working class households. Their lifestyle, behaviours and mannerisms were certainly in complete contrast to those who lived in nearby streets, but there is

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Figure 132 – Lottie of Paradise Walk by William Orpen (1905).

Source: BBC (2014)
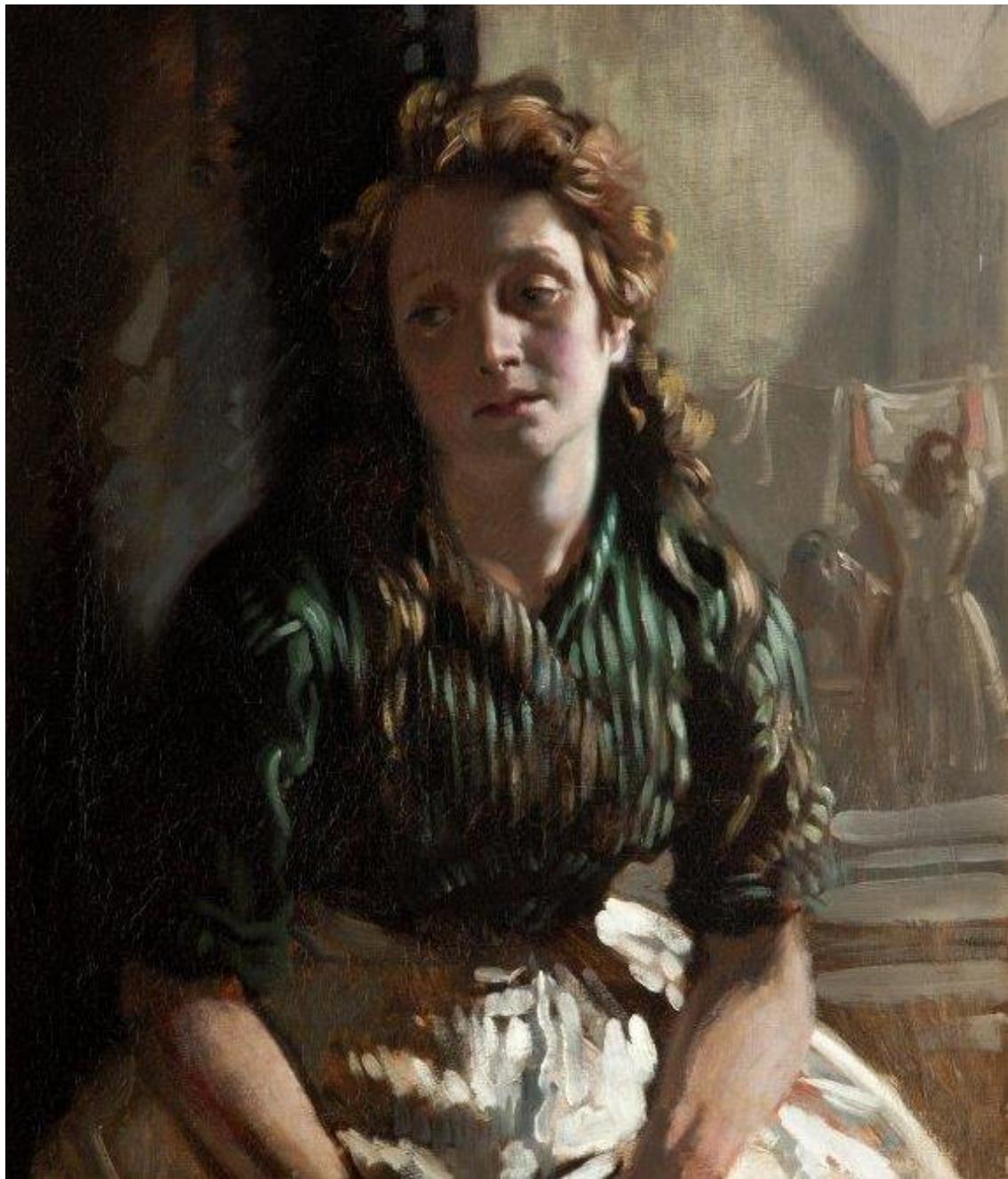
Figure 133 – Resting by William Orpen (1905).

Source: NMNI (2014)

little or no evidence of criminal intent.

In summary, Paradise Walk presents a somewhat contradictory picture regarding its historical association with crime. It is impossible to say why this was the case, but through an examination of the physical and social aspects of the street, it has been possible to gain a better impression of the Edwardian Paradise Walk. This showed a street housing a community of working class people, who were poor and perhaps spoke with cockney accents. They lived in a narrow, enclosed street of rundown cottages, amongst the noise and motions of a confectionery factory (until it closed in 1910). To the respectable outsider this may have been perceived as menacing and disorderly, a slum out of place in the neighbourhood, but generally the residents of Paradise Walk in the early 20th century were law abiding citizens. Nevertheless, the cottages were eventually bulldozed in the mid 1930s, replaced by homes that line the Walk today. At the time, Chelsea Borough Council stressed that "the persons rehoused in the new cottages will definitely not be of the working class" (GLC/MA/SC/01/092-1, 1935). Thus a new, more respectable class of resident made Paradise Walk their home, forcing the working class tenants to seek accommodation elsewhere.

Chadwick Street, Westminster

The name 'Chadwick Street' perhaps may conjure an image of a street that extolled the virtues of sanitation, wholesomeness and cleanliness campaigned for by the mid-19th century reformer Edwin Chadwick. In fact, the street in Westminster (Figure 134) was named not in honour of Edwin, but of a philanthropist Hannah Chadwick who funded the construction of Almshouses in Rochester Row (MOH, Westminster, 1889:58). One would thus expect Chadwick Street to reflect her philanthropic values and standards of housing – in reality, this was far from the case, as a description from Charles Booth's survey suggests: "black and grimy; open doors and dirty children and bad-faced women; all the normal signs of physical neglect and moral degradation...thieving and prostitution were the chief occupations" of residents (Charles Booth Online Archive, 2014:B360, p248). This description offers a snapshot of life in the street, but it is possible to investigate further to broaden and contextualise this picture.

Standing in the street during the Edwardian era, one would have been surrounded by two and three storey houses, looking 'old', drab, falling down in parts and even subsiding (MOH, Westminster, 1908:128; IR 58/91218-9, 1914). Various alleys would have led off from the street into backyards some of which contained cottages creating a jumbled, 'rookery-style' arrangement (as Figure 134 shows). But added to this would have been the noise and smells created by the hundreds of residents – almost 600 people lived in the 48 houses in 1901, meaning on average 12.5 people crowded into the 4-6 room dwellings (MOH, Westminster, 1908:128). This widespread overcrowding meant sanitary inspectors had the impossible task of enforcing an acceptable standard of sanitation – indeed in 1907, 186 notices were served affecting all but one house in the street (MOH, Westminster, 1908:129). Admittedly, the following year it was noted how owners took greater care of keeping homes clean, but only because of constant supervision (MOH, Westminster, 1908:129). All of these physical aspects of the street and the living conditions reflect the social standing of the individuals who resided there. A cursory glance at the 309 occupations listed in the 1901 census returns for the street reveals most worked as 'labourers' (17%), 'charwomen' (21%), hawkers (16%) carmen and porters (both

Figure 134 – Chadwick Street.

Source: MOH Westminster (1908:127)

16%), all of which were unskilled, low paid jobs. Such individuals and their families were unlikely to be able to afford to rent an entire house (or more salubrious accommodation in other parts of the city). But as Booth's description suggests, some inhabitants also turned to crime and by using the WPC findings, it is possible to construct a greater insight into the lives of the street's inhabitants.

It was not uncommon to find a resident of the street at the WPC – in 1901-1902, 8 were tried, rising to 20 by 1911-1912, however these figures are likely to have been far higher. Certainly when examining local newspaper reports of WPC cases, the numbers increase to approximately 21 and 52 respectively with at least one inhabitant being arrested from most dwellings in the street (Figure 135). Similarly, the number of offences detected on the street rose from 9 to 26. The rise in numbers will be discussed later, but we can gain much from analysing the types of offences committed in the street (Table 33) as well as offences committed by residents (Table 34). Most appear to be drink related and this suggests the residents (like many other working class communities) enjoyed drinking, but overindulged perhaps adding to 'outsider' perceptions that this was a disorderly neighbourhood:

> I live in the neighbourhood and...it is very often two or three o'clock in the morning when I have to turn out to see what is wrong. It is a terrible neighbourhood...You have Church, State, and Law close by, but still you would really think that you were not living in a civilised country at all,

Crime category	1901-1902	1911-1912
Drink related crime	5	16
Theft from a place	0	1
Assault or violence	3	5
Illegal gambling	2	1
Sexual offences	0	1
Public nuisances	0	4
Vehicle offences	0	1

Table 33 – Offences committed on Chadwick Street (1901-1902 and 1911-1912).

Crime category	1901-1902	1911-1912
Drink related crime	11	29
Theft (from specified and non-specified place)	4	3
Assault or violence	3	6
Damage to property	0	0
Fraud	0	0
Illegal gambling	1	1
Sexual offences	1	1
Prostitution	0	5
Begging	0	2
Suicide	0	0
Obstruction to justice	0	2
Cruelty	0	0
Public nuisances	1	8
Vehicle offences	0	0
Workhouse crime	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	1

Table 34 – Offences committed by Chadwick Street residents (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). Please note that these figures are derived from local newspaper reporting of cases and address data collected for WPC defendants.
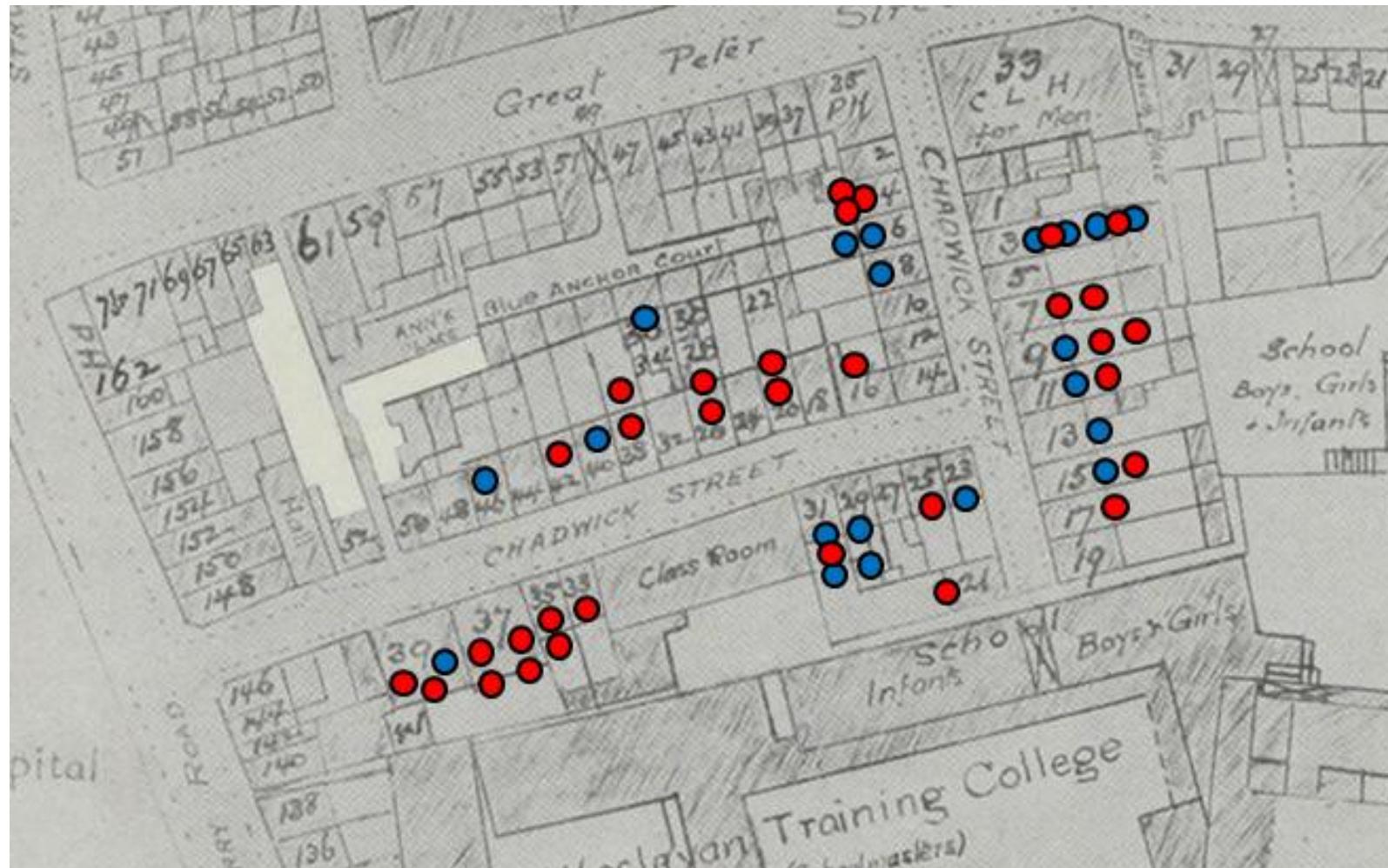
Figure 135 – Where defendants lived in Chadwick Street (1901-1902 and 1911-1912). Note 1901-1902 defendants are denoted by a blue dot, whilst red dots represent 1911-1912 defendants. Some individuals may have been repeat offenders. The addresses were obtained from local newspaper reports and census address information collected for individuals tried at the WPC. Basemap source: MOH Westminster (1908:127)

judging by what very often takes place between midnight and four o'clock in the morning about Chadwick Street and Strutton Ground (Mr Francis Neilson, MP for Hyde in Hansard, 18 April 1913).

Certainly repeated incidents of rowdy, unruly behaviour by Chadwick Street residents can be found amongst court and newspaper records. It was the type of street where the sounds of shouting, arguments and fighting were commonplace – husbands and wives quarrelling, or neighbours disagreeing, with in many cases drink involved meaning scenes often ended in violence. If the adults of the street behaved in such ways, then their children only reflected this – Thomas Archibald (19) of number 13 was caught playing with a gang of 'disorderly lads' who "...pushed people off the pavement into the roadway and pelt[ed] each other with filth" (West London Press, 7 June 1901). Only two of the gang were caught (bad language being used when arrested) so there could well have been other Chadwick Street teenagers involved. But all of this serves to generate an image of disorder in the atmosphere of the street created by the behaviours and actions of residents.

Yet there was a far more sinister and possibly dangerous side to the street. Residents were not the type of people who took kindly to police intervention, with hostility often vented against officers attempting arrest (as the case of the crowds pelting the police with rocks in Figure 136 suggests). Instead they preferred to take the law into their own hands – Mary Ann Greenfield (of 7 Chadwick Street) for instance, discovered two of her nightgowns had been stolen and so reported the theft to the police. However, when she discovered that Mary Evans (from Lambeth) had pawned the nightgowns, rather than reporting her, she and a fellow neighbour (Margaret Daniels) physically attacked Evans, inflicting grievous bodily harm (West London Press, 28 April 1911). The reason for this lack of trust in the police may simply have been because they (and their relatives/friends) were continually being arrested and sent to prison. Thus one wonders whether the street was one of those spaces where policemen were afraid to patrol alone for fear of being attacked. The crowded, jumbled nature of the buildings, lacking regulation as well as the anarchy created by residents, perhaps offered the perfect place to conceal criminality

ASSAULTS ON THE POLICE.

At Westminster, before Mr. Horace Smith, ALFRED SIDNEY SMITH, a young man, was charged with assaulting Police-constable 259 A. At midnight on Saturday the constable was attracted by the screams of prisoner's wife to Chadwick-street. There he found the prisoner stripped to the waist and being restrained by friends. He was advised to go indoors quietly, but he abused and assaulted the constable, striking him in the face. In self-defence, the officer felled the prisoner with a blow on the head from his truncheon. Then followed a violent scene, and the police had great difficulty in holding the prisoner, while a crowd hostile to the police pelted them with stones. Mr. Horace Smith sentenced the prisoner to four months' hard labour.

Figure 136 – Chadwick Street residents' hostility towards the police.

Source: The Times, 6 June 1905, page 11

and vice. Booth suggested that prostitution was rife in the street and indeed there were at least four cases involving female residents soliciting (Figure 137); but it is the case of Annie Hellings that is intriguing. It implies that Chadwick Street was the sort of place where married women might run away to hide from their abusive husbands, turning to prostitution to survive. If abused women could hide amongst the residents then so could hardened criminals. One such individual was Edward Routledge (nicknamed the 'Brighton Slasher') who had been convicted 22 times and seemed to have no qualms about attacking policemen or detectives and doing whatever was necessary to evade capture (Figure 138). Whether such individuals forged relationships with other residents, encouraging further criminality is difficult to tell, but the presence of other (similar) individuals suggests the street offered an attractive environment for such people to reside. Furthermore, the complex configuration of the street layout not only offered refuge for these individuals, but also opportunity to lure in unsuspecting victims, to attack and rob them (Figure 139). It was thus not only a difficult space to regulate and police, but also potentially dangerous for any unsuspecting visitor.

Crime and social disorder was a key aspect of the street, but as mentioned earlier, there was a dramatic increase in the number of crimes and defendants

There were several charges (all during 1911-1912) against Chadwick Street women for offences related to prostitution:

Elizabeth Percival (45, needlewoman) of 3 Chadwick Street was charged with soliciting gentlemen at Victoria Street (Westminster and Pimlico News, 19 May 1911).

Violet Gray (36, dressmaker) of 19 Chadwick Street was charged with soliciting at Victoria Street. She was described by a police witness as being a woman 'of a certain class' (West London Press, 11 August 1911).

Annie Hellings (35, brass polisher) of 5 Chadwick Street was charged with soliciting to the annoyance of male passengers in Victoria Street. A lady missionary provided evidence in court and stated that Annie was a married woman who had left her husband (due to his drunken behaviour) and now wished to return to live with her mother in Birmingham (West London Press, 27 October 1911).

Mary White (43, charwoman) of 17 Chadwick Street and Minnie Barrett (34, married) were charged with soliciting at South Lambeth Road (West London Press, 12 January 1912).

Jeanne Macpherson (41/42, dressmaker/needlewomen) of 17 Chadwick Street was charged with soliciting at Victoria Street and on another occasion having sexual intercourse in public (implying prostitution) (PS/WES/A/01/067, 9 October 1911, trial 6 & PS/WES/A/01/068, 6 January 1912, trial 1).

Figure 137 – Prostitutes living in Chadwick Street. It is interesting to note how all these cases were in 1911-1912 which adds further evidence to the findings in Chapter 5 of brothels/prostitute activity moving into streets north of Vauxhall Bridge Road.

Edward Routledge (36, alias O'Hay) living at 3 Chadwick Street was sent to the WPC on several occasions during 1901-1902. He was known as the 'Brighton Slasher' by the police (having previously lived and offended in Brighton) and had been convicted at least 22 times for various offences. These included breaking and entering premises, as well as numerous cases of theft and violence. He was not afraid to attack policemen and the case outlined here shows this.

During investigations at a lodging house, Detective Smith was approached by Routledge who poked his nose into the detective's face whilst verbally abusing him. Smith decided that, given his surroundings (inhabited by "roughs") and the probable "desperate character" of the man, he would overlook the incident and left the premises.

Later that evening, whilst following two suspects, Detective Smith encountered Routledge again who punched the detective in the chest. Smith attempted to arrest his attacker but Routledge "...tripped him up and broke away. He followed him to a house in Chadwick Street, but the prisoner [Routledge] locked himself in a room and threatened to brain him if he came inside. He forced the door, and the prisoner immediately attacked him with a broom handle. The witness [Smith] drew his truncheon and called for assistance, and PC Witt came up. The prisoner threw them about the room for a time, but he was eventually overpowered and removed to the station".

Figure 138 – Hardened offender living in Chadwick Street. The case described illustrates that Chadwick Street was also home to hardened offenders who had no difficulty in attacking or evading the police.

Sources: The Times, 10 September 1895, page 2 & 8 May 1902, page 15; The Morning Post, 18 October 1887, page 3 & 10 September 1895, page 2; Westminster and Pimlico News, 24 January 1902

A PRISONER'S MISTAKE.

At Westminster yesterday, before Mr. Francis, HENRY RUSSELL was charged with attempted highway robbery with violence, the prosecutor being Mr. Harry Williams, an inspector employed by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and formerly a chief petty officer and heavyweight boxing champion in the Navy.

The prosecutor, in evidence, said that he was in plain clothes making inquiries at Chadwick-street, Westminster, on the night of July 21. The prisoner, from an alley-way, beckoned him as if he had some information to give, and when the witness went towards him he aimed a heavy blow at his jaw with one hand and with the other snatched at his watch-chain, tearing his waistcoat pocket and pulling out his sovereign purse. "You have made a great mistake this time." said Mr. Williams, putting up his fists. The prisoner then made several attempts to kick, but he fell after getting one on the jaw, and could not get up.

Detective-sergeant Cresswell deposed that the prisoner on arrest said he was sorry. If he had not had drink it would not have happened.

Mr. Francis said he would give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt as to the attempted robbery. He fell up against some one who knew how to use his fists and got the worst of it. "You made a mistake," added the magistrate.

The prisoner (with emphasis).—A great mistake. (Laughter.)

Mr. Francis passed sentence of two months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Figure 139 – The dangers of Chadwick Street alleys.

Source: The Times, 28 July 1914, page 3

during the period – something which the authorities and other 'outsiders' believed was tied to slum clearance in surrounding neighbourhoods. Chadwick Street and others managed to escape the slum clearance schemes of the 1840s/50s (removing the Devil's Acre to create Victoria Street), those under the Cross Act of the 1870s/80s (creating the Peabody Abbey Orchard Estate), but also of the 1890s and early 1900s in the Millbank area. However, it is believed that the clearances had significant indirect impacts on those streets excluded from the schemes. Warning of these impacts was expressed in Parliament when the Millbank scheme was being debated:

> I served my apprenticeship at Millbank, outside, not inside, the prison, and I say that the worst slums of Westminster are untouched by this Bill...Take Chadwick Street, Peter Street, Pye Street; all of these are unpleasant areas which ought to come down, and which are untouched by this Bill. Then we are told that this district is insanitary, but it must be remembered that these poor people are driven to greater overcrowding in this district than they ought to be, but by adopting this scheme you are not going to improve their condition, because you will be turning 6,000 people out, and you will be increasing the rack rent prices for competitive accommodation in close proximity to the dishoused area (Mr John Burns, MP for Battersea in Hansard, 26 April 1898).

Put simply, the developments would drive former residents into the few streets or areas where they could afford to live (the new housing being too expensive), but the demand would increase rents forcing people to co-habit with other families/lodgers, thereby leading to overcrowded and insanitary living conditions. Contemporary research into the effects of slum clearance has also shown how displaced individuals were forced elsewhere (see Yelling, 1986 for example). These fears and concerns of Parliamentarians were confirmed by the Medical Officer of Health a decade later (once the Millbank Estate had been built):

> experience has shown that very few of the people displaced find rooms in the dwellings erected under such schemes. Of the above-mentioned 5000 [displaced individuals] a proportion went into the workhouse, and some left

the district altogether, going chiefly to Battersea and Wandsworth, but a large proportion having either work or interests in the neighbourhood moved into the streets near by, causing overcrowding and other insanitary conditions in houses which were not built to be used as one or two-room tenements. Eventually the invaded street either rapidly deteriorates or it gradually gets rid of the intruders who go further afield (MOH, Westminster, 1908:136).

Hence, Chadwick Street would have been one of the few places for displaced people (including individuals who generated trouble) to move into. This process would therefore have continued throughout the Edwardian period and could explain why crime/criminality increased.

The built and socio-economic environment of Chadwick Street have been examined in this section, highlighting how the street may have been perceived by visitors whilst at the same time how residents lived their lives. It has uncovered the moral codes and behaviours which inhabitants led their lives by, but also the conditions in which they lived and to a certain extent has shown how the two were interlinked. Furthermore, changes in the wider Westminster neighbourhood had important indirect effects on the street, with slum clearance schemes forcing people to find a home in places such as Chadwick Street. All help to place the high number of crimes and defendants into context. The street today bears little resemblance to the Edwardian descriptions. Similarly to Paradise Walk, the buildings that once lined Chadwick Street are all gone, replaced by block dwellings and offices (Figure 140).

Figure 140 – Chadwick Street in the 21st century. This oblique satellite image shows how the street (indicated by the red arrow) no longer contains any remnants of its Edwardian past (other than the street's shape). Block dwellings (known as the Horseferry Road Estate) replaced the buildings on the north half of the street in the 1920s and the headquarters of Channel 4 television are located on the southern half (constructed during the 1990s).

Sources: Bing Maps (2014); Channel4.com (2014); Peabody (2014)

Wilton Road, Pimlico

One of the main findings in Chapter 5 was that crime was greatest in the major thoroughfares of the WPC area and that this related to the commercial, as well as leisure activities within these streets, attracting crowds and crime. It is therefore only sensible to take an example of one of these 'busy' streets and to unpick the activity a little further. Thus the short, major thoroughfare of Wilton Road was deemed to be an ideal candidate (Figure 141). As reported in Chapter 5, there were 216 and 110 crimes detected on the street in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 respectively, but no defendants were found to be living there. Table 35 splits these figures into crime categories showing that most involved intoxicated individuals. This is unsurprising when one considers the nature of the street, the land use on either side of the road and its location within the wider neighbourhood. These aspects will now be examined in more detail to illustrate how the street's commercial activity helped attract much crime.

Perhaps the best starting point to gain an impression of the street is to study what Booth's investigators recorded about it:

> 3 storey shops: a large number of Italian and other restaurants and eating houses with one private hotel. A quiet parade for prostitutes. Hously says that all the restaurants are decently conducted, and that none of them have private rooms: of the hotel he is very suspicious (Charles Booth Online Archive, 2014:B362, p4-5).

Whether it was a 'quiet parade' is difficult to ascertain, but if the road is examined on a map from the period then one would have expected it to have been a busy street (Figure 141). The fact that Victoria Station took up most of the west side, along with the access road to the station's goods yard, would have created much activity within the street. No photographs from the time survive to verify this claim; however we can perhaps gain a tantalising glimpse of the west side of the road from a postcard of the station (Figure 142). The image suggests that it was a wide main road, although traffic was relatively light and there were no crowds of people walking along the pavement. This may be the result of the time and day the photograph was taken and being for a postcard, surely the most important feature was to capture the architecture of
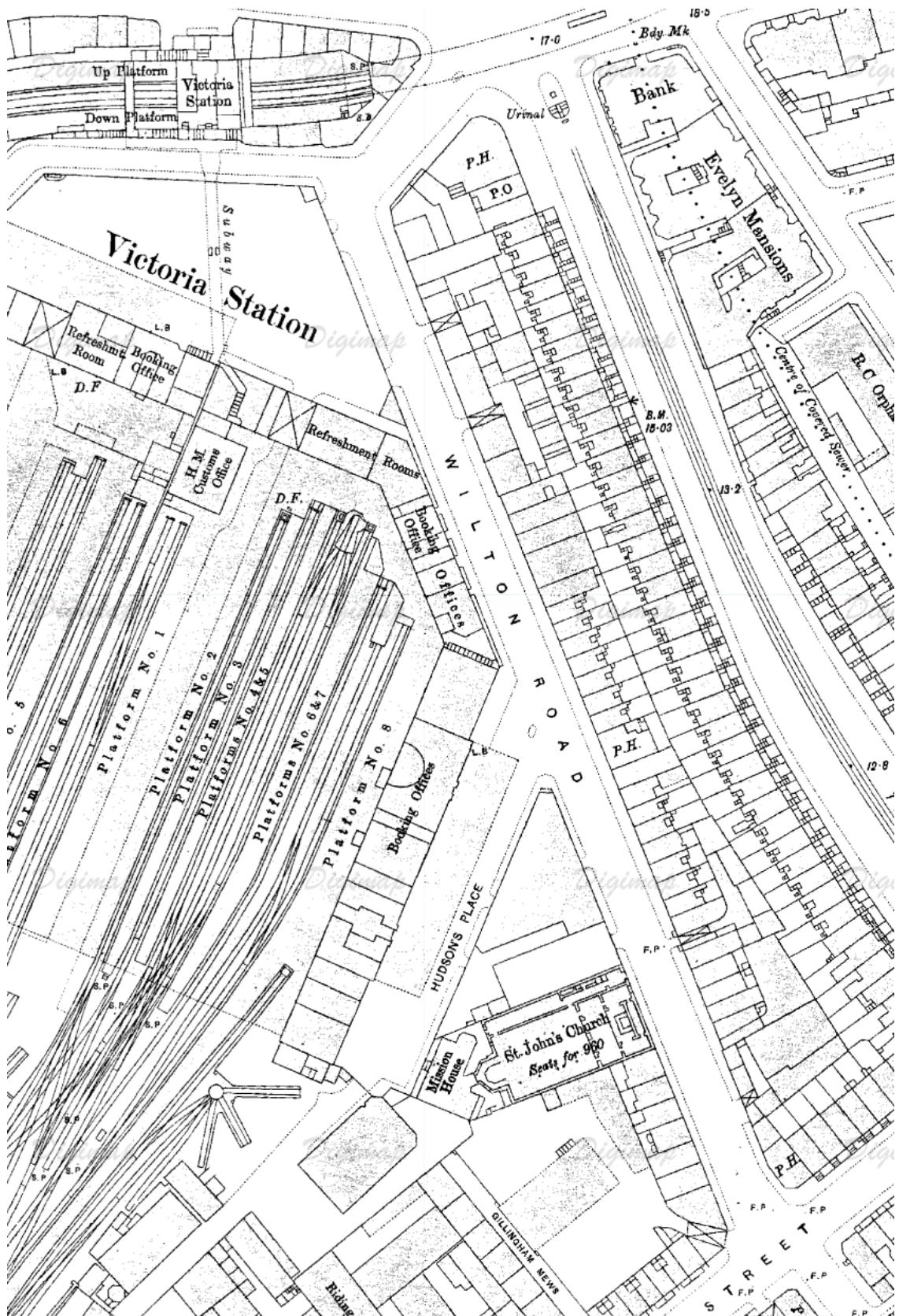
Figure 141 – Wilton Road (1895).

Crime category	1901-1902	1911-1912
Drink related crime	163	78
Theft (other than from a specific building)	6	0
Theft from a place	4	0
Assault or violence	9	5
Damage to property	3	0
Fraud	1	0
Illegal gambling	3	2
Sexual offences	0	0
Prostitution	6	3
Begging	9	16
Suicide	0	1
Obstruction to justice	1	1
Cruelty	1	0
Public nuisances	25	14
Vehicle offences	9	3
Miscellaneous	1	0

Table 35 – Crime committed on Wilton Road categorised (1901-1902 and 1911-1912).

Figure 142 – A glimpse of the west side of Wilton Road (1910).

Source: Postcards of the Past (2014)

the station – a busy, crowded scene would have detracted from this. Nevertheless, the photograph shows that it was a main route for buses and this, along with the station, would have generated a busy scene. Furthermore, there was much commercial activity situated along the east side of the street (Figure 143). As Booth's description states, there were at least five restaurants (four of which were Italian owned), but also a great many other specialist trades including six draperies, two auction rooms, three hairdressers, a bank, dentist, opticians, hotel, but also watchmakers, confectioners and tobacconists (as Figure 143 shows). By 1910, the road had merged with Hindon Street to the south adding several shoe/boot shops, many more confectioners and numerous types of dealer to the list of businesses (Figure 144). Added to this were several public houses, two cinematograph theatres as well as the small church of St John the Evangelist. Altogether these commercial premises and place of worship meant the street would have attracted locals, but also visitors and commuters from the station, generating activity and therefore prospects for crime. On the other hand, being a relatively straight, main thoroughfare with pubs, shops, cinemas and restaurants in a prominent position next to Victoria Station, it is highly likely that the street was continuously, but also easily policed by authorities as well as by business owners themselves.

Before examining who might have visited the road, it is important to consider what these buildings may have looked like, their condition and what offering the businesses provided to customers. The appearance of the 3 storey shops is perhaps best summarised by surveyors who valued each premises in March 1912. The majority (45 buildings) were described as in 'fair' condition, with a further 20 being 'moderate', 'good' or in the case of the Grosvenor Basin Public House (Figure 145) at number 29, 'smart':

> brickbuilt terrace house and shop with large frontage situated in a good
> position opposite the entrance to the South Eastern Station. The shop
> front is tiled and has a smart appearance and the premises were extended
> in the rear... (IR 58/91122, 1912).

Surely it was an attractive proposition for locals (but more importantly those using the station) and perhaps was one of the main contributors to there being

Wilton rd. *Pimlico (S.W.), Vauxhall brdg. rd. to Gillingham st.* MAP J 11, J 12.

1 Paine Alfred John, wine mer
2 Turner David & Alexander, provision dealers
4 *Aërated Bread Co. Limited*
6 Hudson Bros. provision mers
7 Zappelloni Bros. restaurant
8 & 56 Clarkson Joseph, tobacconist
8 Jackson Tom Henry, hairdresr
10 Williams Geo. & Sons, vet. surgs
11 Welch Fredk. Gustavus, auctnr
11 Emberson Geo. & Sons, photghrs
11 Foster Thomas & Co. wine mers
12 & 13 Fumagalli Camillo, restrnt
13A, & 15 Gerli Bros. restaurant
14 Carter Wm. Henry, fishmonger
15 & 13A, Gerli Bros. restaurant
16 Hart Robt. Bissatt & Son, bootmas
17 *Lockhart's Cocoa Rooms*
18 *City of Westminster Deposit Bank,* James George, sec
18 *Lewis & Burrows Drug Stores L:d*
19 & 20 Kemp John, draper
21, 22, 25, 26 & 27 Parnell Wm. & Co. fancy drapers
23 Cockburn Percy Josph. watch ma
24 Percy & Royle, oculist opticians
24 Rogers & Davis, dentists
25, 26 & 27, 21 & 22 Parnell William & Co. fancy drapers
28 Roberts John & Co. dining rms
29 *Grosvenor Basin,* George Yeowell
30 Ferrini Probo, refreshment rms
31 Sellwood Mrs. Ruth, ham & beef dlr
31 Crivelli Charles, hairdresser
32 Tuffin Robert Lanwern, priv. htl
33, 36 & 37 Davies & Evans, fancy drapers
34 Morris Mrs. Rebecca, silversmth
35 Fiddaman George, fancy draper
36, 37 & 33 Davies & Evans, fancy drapers

38 Wimberley Beville, fried fish shp
39 Elliott Miss Sophie, dressmaker
40 *Temperance Catering Co. Limited*
41 Coulthurst Thurston, butcher
42 Staton Walter James, fruiterer
43 Bartlett Wm. & Co. mnfg. cnfctnrs
44 Gammon Thos. John, pawnbrkr
44A, Wreford & Harding, auctionrs
45 Hyman Isidore, outfitter
46A, Whittaker Richard Hedley, watchmaker
46 Whittaker John, tobacconist
47 Johnson & Co. jobmasters
49 Rawlins Mrs. Sarah, confectioner

....here is Gillingham st....

50 *Tyne Main Coal Co*
50 Pickford & Co. carriers
52 Lewis Benjamin, hosier
52 Clatworthy Richard Alfred, supervisor of inland revenue
53 Legg Henry Arthur, chemist
54 Chapman W. S. & Co. Lim. grcrs
55 Towell George Nelson, hairdresr
56 & 8 Clarkson Joseph, tobacconist
57 Coleman Harry, watchmaker
58 Hudson Herbert & Co. butchers
ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST DISTRICT CHURCH (St. Peter's, Eaton square)
Gifford Bros. wine merchants, 2 ⎫
Candy & Co. confectioners, 3 ⎬ Hudson's buildings
Hudson Wm. furniture remover, ⎭
ST. PETER'S (Eaton sq.) MISSION HOUSE (Hudson's place)
VICTORIA STATION,
London, Chatham & Dover Railway Co. John Morgan, sec
Spiers & Pond Limited, refreshment rooms
Hudson Wm. furniture remover
Herbert E. & Co. tea dealers

Figure 143 – Businesses on Wilton Road (1899).

Source: Post Office London Directory, Part 2 (1899:837)

Wilton rd. *Pimlico* (S.W.) (WESTMINSTER), *Vauxhall bridge road to Warwick street.* — MAP J 11, J 12.

SOUTH SIDE.

1 Paine Alfred John, wine mer
2 Sears J. & Co. bootmakers
3 *Aërated Bread Co. Ltd.* tobacnsts
4 *Aërated Bread Co. Limited*
5 Mauritz Ernest, foreign booksllr
6 Lockwood & Bradley, tailors
6 Emberson & Sons, photographrs
7 Zappelloni Philip, restaurant
8 &126 Clarkson Thomas, tobccnist
8 Jackson Tom Henry, hairdresar
10 Williams Geo. & Sons, vet. surgs
11 Foster Thomas & Co. wine mers
11 Green Arthur Chas. loan office
11 Ball James, photographer
12 *Crown Emporium Ltd.* electro plate dealers
12 Fumagalli Alfred, restaurant
13 Pollett J. G. & Co. hosiers
13A & 15 Gerli Cesare, restaurant
14 Lawrence Percy, watchmaker
15 Dunn & Co. hatters
15 & 13A, Gerli Cesare, restaurant
16 Hart Robt. Bissatt&Son. bootmas
17 *Lockharts Ltd.* refreshment rms
18 Evans John Owain, chemist
19 to 28 Parnell W.& Co. fancy drprs
29 *Grosvenor Bann,* George Yeowell
30 *British Shoe Co*
30,31,32 & 33 *Wilton Family Hotel,* Robert Lanwern Tuffin
31 Hyman Isidore, outfitter
31, 32, 33 & 30 *Wilton Family Hotel,* Robert Lanwern Tuffin
33, 35, 36 & 37 Davies & Evans, fancy drapers
34 Morris Mrs. Rebecca, silversmth
35, 36, 37 & 33 Davies & Evans, fancy drapers
38 Wimberley Beville, fried fish shp
39 Kingstone Henry George & Co. motor car garage
40 *Temperance Catering Co. Limited*
41 Thorne Walter, butcher
42 Staton Walter James, fruiterer
43 Bartlett Wm.& Co. mnfg. cnfctnrs
44 Haycock Geo. Hilton, pawnbrkr
44A, Collins Arthur, auctioneer
44A, *Harding's Auction Rooms*
45 *Public Benefit Boot Co*
46A, Whittaker & Co. watchmakers
46 Whittaker & Co. tobacconists
49 Nadotti Eugeno &Co. confctnrs
... *here is Gillingham street* ...
51, 52 & 53 Thorne Alfred Hy. hosier
55 Chivers Albert Edward, cycle ma
56 Ullman Maxmln. fried fish dealr
57 Wakefield Chas. James, ironmngr
58 Church Robert, florist
59 Taylor Joseph Geo. eel pie house
60 Burden John Henry, butcher
61 & 62 Lenz Joseph, wardrobe dlr
63 Gold Benno, hairdresser
64 Edwards John, clothier
65 Kenrick John, stationer
66 Bell Mrs. Margaret Jane, stationer
67, 92 & 93 Davidson Jacob, bootma
68 Armour William James, tool maker

69 & 70 Thomas Charles, second-hand clothes dealer
71 Ingram Frank, wardrobe dealer
72 Meaker Brothers, hosiers
73 Johns William John & Son, musical instrument sellers
74 Crosby Mrs. Elizh. Mary, ironmgr
75 Stitchall Edward, bootmaker
76 Seton & Co. Ltd. confectioners
77 Finch Ernest & Frederick, bakrs
.. *here is St. Leonard street* ..
78 Brodie Francis, jun. greengrocer
79 Williams John, fancy repository
80 Bailey Alfred Jas. photographer
81 Warrell William, corn dealer
82 Wagstaff Herbert Henry, hosier
83 Hill Brothers, tobacconists
84 Pearson William, confectioner
... *here is Warwick street* ....

NORTH SIDE.

86 Jones Percy Robt. ham & beef dlr
87 Ginn Samuel, greengrocer
88 Batley Miss Maria, stationer
89 Hyam Henry, tailor
90 Allen John & Son, fishmongers
.. *here is St. Leonard street* ..
91 Rayner Harry, beer retailer
92, 93 & 67 Davidson Jacob, bootma
94 Nelken Julius, watchmaker
94 Latimer D'Oyley, confectioner
95 King Richard & Co. cycle agents
96 Lyons Harry Michl. bill discntr
97 Tudors, Mash & Co. Ltd. cement manufacturers
98 Chivers Harry, tobacconist
99 & 100 Beaton Wm. Shaw, plumbr
101 Stanley Mrs. Jessie, registry office for servants
101 & 102 Day William & Son, bldrs
103 True George, coffee rooms
104 Starr J. C. & Co. fancy statnrs
105 Starr J. C. & Co. trunk makers
106 Starr J. C. & Co. umbrella mas
107 Freeman John Warner & Son, printers
108 Levy Lewis, tailor
110 Halsall Chas. Fredk. bicycle agnt
111 Bertaux Francis, confectioner
112 Martin Mrs. Mary Ann, cnfctnr
113 Smith Mrs. Margt. tobacconist
114 Zeltha Mrs. Marie, wardrbe. dlr
115 Buckingham Jsph. waterproof fr
116 Bradbury Bros. butchers
117 Capone Alfonso, fruiterer
118 Guyer & Thomas, ham & tongue dealer
....*here is Gillingham street* ...
119 *Tyne Main Coal Co. Ltd*
120 Pickfords Ltd. carriers
121 Lewis Wm. Edwd. chna.& glass. dlr
122 Lewis William Edward, hosier
122 West Nathan, tea merchant
122 Wright Frederick Walter, tailr
122 Hammar Charles, watchmaker
123 Scupham Herbert, chemist
124 Chapman W. S. & Co. Ltd. gros
125 Towell George Nelson, hairdrssr
126 & 8 Clarkson Thomas, tobccnst
127 Coleman & Co. watchmakers
128 Williamsons Ltd. confectioners
ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST DISTRICT CHURCH (St. Peter's, Eaton square)
Gifford Bros. wine merchants, 2 ⎫
Candy & Co. con-fectioners, 1 ⎬ Hudson's buildings
Hudsons Ltd. furni-ture removers, ⎭
Army & Navy Co-operative Society Limited (Hudson's place)
ST. PETER'S (Eaton sq.) MISSION HOUSE (Hudson's place)
SOUTH EASTERN & CHATHAM RAILWAY (Victoria Station)
London, Chatham & Dover Railway Co.
Lionel William Livesey, sec. (Victoria Station)
Lyons J. & Co. Ltd. refreshment rooms
Herbert Edwd. & Co. tea dealers
Rickards Chas. Ltd. jobmasters
Hudsons Ltd. furniture removers
Baker Albert & Co. (1898) Ltd. tobacconists

Figure 144 – Businesses on Wilton Road (1910).

Source: Post Office London Directory, Volume 1, Part 2 (1910:683-4)

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Figure 145 – The Grosvenor Basin Public House (1880s). The public house does appear to be 'smart' in appearance with its decorated archways and cornicing. This photograph also offers a tantalising glimpse of how other facades in the street looked – the large display windows and signs adorning the upper floor brickwork no doubt served to attract potential customers.

Source: English Heritage (2014)

so many drunk individuals apprehended on the road. But amongst these fairly well kept buildings were at least 25 described as 'bad' or 'poor', yet it was the premises of The Victoria Boot Company (numbers 92 and 93) that was met with the greatest disdain:

> consists of two shops used as one. The wall in the yard has been removed and also the 2 shops on the ground floor have been thrown into one...The premises except for the shop are old and in very poor repair (IR 58/91123, 1912).

Indeed this was not the only premises in the street where the street-facing facade and shop were in a fair condition, but the buildings to the rear were old and in need of repair. Harding's Auction Rooms (number 44) had a "shop in fairly good repair" but the auction rooms behind were "old and in bad repair" (IR 58/91122, 1912). This 'smarter' or 'neater' facade was no doubt aimed at trying to attract customers, creating an impressive visual spectacle and thus drawing pedestrians' eyes to whatever goods were on display in the shop windows.

The built environment of the street was thus a mixture of buildings whose street frontage may have had a respectable appearance, but behind this facade was a jumble of old layouts and some structures in poor condition. But who would have frequented these restaurants, hotels and shops? Without photographic evidence or written accounts from the time, it is impossible to know precisely. Nevertheless, many businesses produced adverts to attract potential clients from which it is possible to gauge what type of clientele entered these shops. Figures 146 and 147 show two such newspaper adverts, both of which suggest respectable working class or middle class individuals were the main social groups being targeted. It would thus be these types of individuals who walked the street. However, given the suspicions of the police noted in Booth's survey, it is important to investigate the clientele of the Wilton Hotel (or 'Wilton Family Hotel' as it was known by 1910). In 1899 the hotel merely took up one address (number 32), but appears to have expanded dramatically during the Edwardian period. Thus by 1912, it was described as "brickbuilt premises, consisting of old separate houses, now turned into one hotel" (IR 58/91122, 1912) and extended into buildings on Vauxhall Bridge Road (Figure 148) – all of which created a

Figure 146 – Streets' goods being sold at the Crown Emporium, 12 Wilton Road. This advert shows a selection of Streets' goods on offer for Christmas and stresses the 'bargains' on offer. It thus appears to be tailored potentially to a respectable working class and middle class clientele.

Source: The Daily Mirror, 18 December 1909, page 16
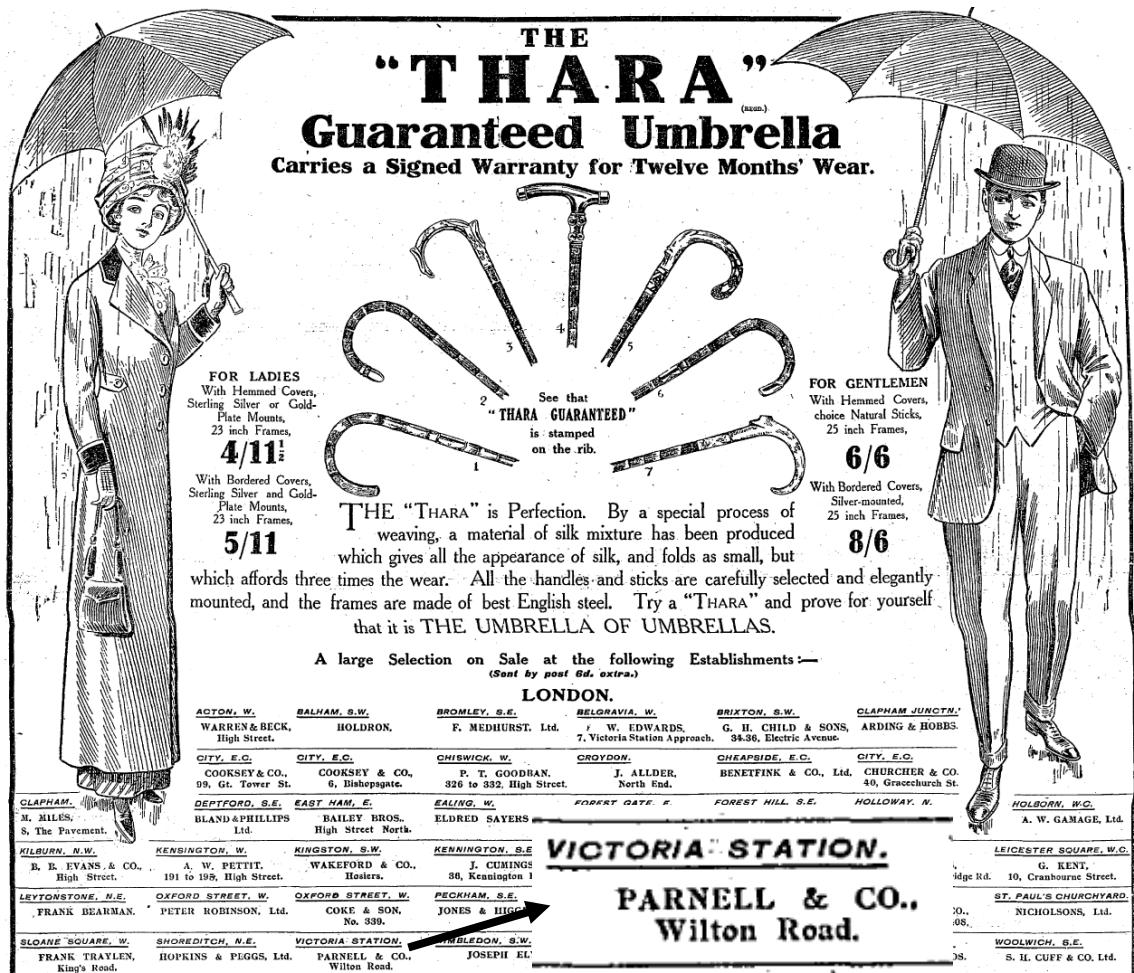
Figure 147 – The "THARA" Umbrella available at Parnell and Co., Wilton Road. This advert portrays the potential user of the umbrella. The clothing of the man and woman suggest that it is aimed at the respectable working and middle class consumer. Thus if this product (along with those shown in Figure 146) were being stocked by various shops in Wilton Road, it provides an indication of the type of clientele visiting the street's shops.

Source: Daily Express, 27 September 1911, page 1
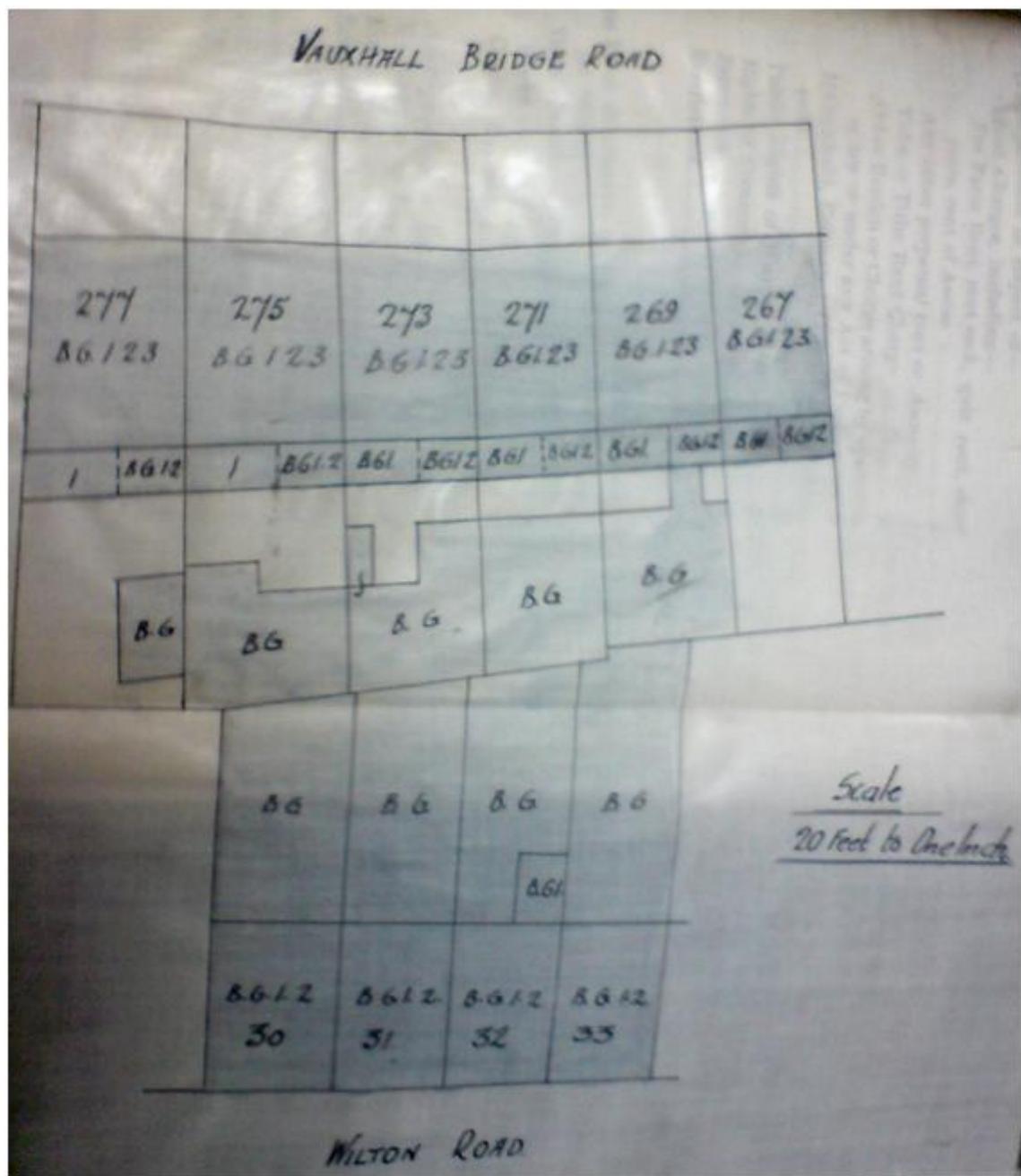
Figure 148 – Wilton Hotel plan. The plan shows the configuration of houses joined together to form the hotel. The number of floors for each building are indicated by the letters 'B', 'G', '1', '2' and '3' to denote 'basement', 'ground', 'first', 'second' and 'third'. It was an extremely complex array of buildings and perhaps this added to the police's anxieties towards the premises – the various buildings creating places to hide criminal activity perhaps.

Source: IR 58/91122 (1912)

complex spatial configuration and no doubt fed the anxieties of authorities. There were 48 guest bedrooms on the first, second and third floors, whilst 7 staff bedrooms were located in the basement, all of which were served by approximately 10 lavatories/bathrooms, 2 dining rooms, a lounge, drawing room, writing room, cloakroom, pantry, kitchen and various offices. It was therefore a sizeable establishment with good facilities for guests, attracting wealthy clientele – indeed, Mr Thomas Rain Walker, former British Vice-Consul at Honolulu died whilst at the hotel (The Daily Mirror, 24 September 1908); Loris Melikoff, former Colonel of the Russian Imperial Army (from a 'very distinguished family') was a guest (attempting suicide whilst in residence) (The Times, 23 February 1900, page 15) and John Stephens, a Cape Government pensioner also attempted to commit suicide whilst staying there (West London Press, 15 March 1912). Moreover, it also seemed to be a hotel worth targeting to steal high value goods (Figure 149). But it was also the type of establishment where individuals would go to hide or to commit acts of criminality. For example, the Wilton was one of a string of West End hotels used by a thief to commit hundreds of frauds (Figure 150). It was therefore a perfect place to hide and indeed Maurice Cecil Alabaster took up a room at the Wilton after having murdered Alice Rosina Balsdon (known as 'Bristol Dolly', whose immoral earnings Maurice lived off) at their flat in Marylebone, later fleeing to Paris (Daily Express, 3 May 1912, page 6). In fact, a German spy was even arrested at the hotel with papers containing British defence information written in invisible ink – "...Victoria being the railway station he would go from if he designed to go over to Rotterdam or any other similar port" (The Times, 19 May 1915). These last cases highlight the convenience which the hotel offered for 'international travellers', providing accommodation for those booked onto trains taking them to the coast to catch boats to the Continent (for holidays, business or to evade the police). It is therefore understandable that the police viewed the Wilton Hotel with suspicion. Altogether this provides some indication of the character of those visiting premises on Wilton Road.

Although all the premises along the road needed customers and people to visit the street to generate income, the activity and their premises also attracted 'undesirables' (as shown by the Wilton Hotel cases). This in turn meant that the

Robberies from Hotels.

At Westminster, before Mr. Horace Smith, JOHN McGLASHAN YOUNG, 19, stated to have been an organist at a Glasgow church, was brought up in custody on remand, pleading "Guilty" to robberies from London hotels, including the theft of money from a charitable contribution-box at the Empress Hotel, Waterloo-bridge-road.

Detective-sergeant Beslee put in evidence the prisoner's confession, which set out that in September last year he left Whitfield-road, Glasgow, stealing £12 and a quantity of silver belonging to his father. He went to Manchester, and after a few days came on to London. At Peele's Hotel, Fleet-street, he did not pay for his food and stole a cigarette holder, which he pawned. On December 31 he stole a Gladstone bag from Euston Station, and with this went to Morley's Hotel. He left there without paying his bill. On January 3 or 4 he stole a kit bag at Paddington Station and with it went to Faulkner's Hotel, Villiers-street, where he broke open a portmanteau in another visitor's bedroom and stole a cheque-book and banker's pass-book. On January 8 he transferred to Haxell's Hotel, where he stole a pair of opera-glasses and money from a bedroom. The same day, visiting Birch's Hotel in the Strand, he stole a Gladstone bag from a bedroom. Visiting the Wilton Hotel, Victoria Station, on the following day he stole clothes and jewelry from various bedrooms. The prisoner was committed for trial.

Robberies from Hotels.

JOHN McGLOSHAN YOUNG, 18, who was stated to have been an organist at a Glasgow church, pleaded "Guilty" to three cases of theft.

Mr. J. P. GRAIN, who was for the prosecution, said that the prisoner was well educated, and his family were highly respectable people in Glasgow. According to a confession made by him to the police, he was bound over at Paisley in September last for stealing, and again in November, at Glasgow, for several cases of theft. He confessed to stealing £12 from his brother, and at once proceeded to Manchester, and shortly afterwards came to London. He lived at five or six hotels, in every one of which he stole something, and left without paying his bill. At one of the hotels he left his kit bag and afterwards went to Euston Station, where he stole a portmanteau containing wearing apparel. This he took to Morley's Hotel, after which he went to Faulkner's Hotel, Villiers-street, where he stole other property, and at Paddington Station he possessed himself of a kit bag. At Peele's Hotel, in Fleet-street, he obtained a meal without paying for it. At another hotel off Waterloo-road he broke open a charitable contribution-box and stole £1. At the Wilton Hotel, Victoria Station, he broke open a lady's box and stole a quantity of jewelry valued at £20. Suspicion fell upon the prisoner, and when interrogated he made a complete confession.

Mr. WALLACE sentenced him to 18 months under the Borstal system.

Figure 149 – Robbery from hotels across London.

Source: The Times, January 24 & 2 February 1910, page 3

A Confession of Thefts and Frauds.

At West London on Saturday HAROLD PHILIP
TREVOR, 34, described as an architect, and giving
his address as the Wilton Hotel, Victoria, S.W.,
was charged on a warrant with obtaining a walking-
stick and a pair of gloves at a shop in Earl's Court-
road by representing that he was Captain Noble,
of the Royal Marine Light Infantry, Chatham, and
resided at Longridge-road, Earl's Court.

The police produced the following statement made
by Trevor :—

"I wish to make a statement, so that all the
cases can be brought forward at my trial. During
the past two months I have obtained goods at the
undermentioned places, viz., Brighton, clothes;
Eastbourne, ditto ; Chatham, bag, containing
clothes ; Esher, money, board, and lodging ; Black-
heath, two blank cheques and a suit case ; Rich-
mond, a gold chain, &c. ; Ealing, bank drafts and
goods ; Acton, two coats at a tailor's ; Harrow,
board and lodging at the King's Head Hotel ;
West End Clothiers' Company, Oxford-street, a
waterproof. At Notting-hill I got two gold
bracelets at a jeweller's, giving a worthless cheque
in payment. I got £8 worth of jewelery from a
jeweller's outside Victoria Station, and a gold-
mounted walking-stick from a shop next door.
I have had a number of mounted umbrellas and
walking-sticks from various shops in London and
the suburbs, the addresses of which I don't remem-
ber. I visited two or three house agents and
obtained permits to view furnished houses, &c.,
and from some of them I took various articles.
I also called on Dr. Sergeant, of Harley-street, and
took a silver cigar-case from the drawing-room.
I took a lady's hand-bag, containing a gold watch,
bracelet-purse, and some money from a house
at the back of the British Museum. I stayed at
the house with a woman, and the money, &c.,
belonged to her. At Sinclair-road, West Kensing-
ton, I stole a silver cup and field-glasses, which I
pawned. I obtained a trap from Preece's, of
Kensington, and by representing myself as the
owner, obtained a sovereign from a publican at
Hayes. There are a number of other cases, the
details of which I will give you later on."

On this evidence the magistrate granted a remand.

**Figure 150 – Thief and fraudster using the Wilton Hotel as a place to stay
and to maintain anonymity.**

Source: The Times, 8 May 1911, page 3

owners of premises were often themselves victims of illicit activity or experienced threats to their livelihood. There were several cases of theft on the street (as Table 35 shows) and it seems businesses were increasingly targeted. Figure 151 presents a number of cases where the premises themselves were the target of thieves, in some instances rather serious cases that suggest some planning was involved. Theft was not so much a problem for the restaurants of Wilton Road; however owners were tricked into purchasing either stolen or adulterated produce (Figure 152). It is interesting to note the price paid for fish (cheap fish being purchased) and perhaps indicative of the type of establishments they were. But if theft and being tricked was bad enough, perhaps the worst threat to the businesses of Wilton Road was not crime, but fire. Figure 153 tells of how fire destroyed one of the fried fish shops and damaged neighbouring premises. It was said cooking fat was the cause of the fire and that the owner had a lucky escape, although it is not known if he survived the jump.

In conclusion, the commercial premises and physical location of Wilton Road would have played a major part in generating activity in the street. Being next to Victoria Station, many of the businesses lining the road would have gained custom from commuters and travellers, but also locals. Doing so meant that the businesses attracted as well as generated crime (e.g. in the case of drink related offences). But there is one aspect of the street which it has been impossible to research – the daily life of the shop owners. This is because no accounts survive detailing this. We are thus unable to know whether the Italians in the street experienced racism or feelings of exclusion from the rest of the street community, or how shop owners and employees related to each other (the friendships formed or competition between businesses). It is these aspects of Wilton Road which would help to better understand the workings of the street itself, but which are unfortunately lost, rarely preserved in archives. Today little remains of the Edwardian street since various parts were demolished over the years to make way for the Apollo Victoria Theatre (Figure 154) and Neathouse Place which now directly links Vauxhall Bridge Road to Wilton Road (Figure 155). Despite this, the commercial activity remains and as the imagery shows, the street is still as busy with crime still a problem – there were 137 and 122

offences committed on or near to the street in 2012 and 2013 respectively (police.uk, 2014b).

> ### ALLEGED THEFT OF JEWELRY.
>
> At Westminster, FREDERICK SMITH, 43, no home, was charged with breaking and entering 14, Wilton-road, S.W., and stealing two gold brooches, valued at £5, the property of Percy Lawrence, a jeweller. Between 10 and 11 o'clock on Friday evening the prisoner smashed the front window of the prosecutor's shop and took out several articles of jewelry, which he proceeded to distribute to passersby. An assistant at once rushed out and secured him, and handed him over to a constable. The magistrate ordered a remand.

There were also a number of more 'artful' cases involving individuals stealing from the businesses on the street. Below are some examples:

Robert Ford stole a pair of boots from the doorway of a Wilton Road shoe shop. A shop assistant heard a noise in the doorway and seeing the boots gone, stopped Robert who was nearby. On being challenged, Robert dropped the boots from under his coat and was later arrested. He was sentenced to 31 days hard labour (West London Press, 28 June 1901).

Ellen James stole a pair of children's boots from the Victoria Boot Company. She was sentenced to 3 months imprisonment (West London Press, 26 January 1912).

George Clarke (40, commission agent) stole a portfolio containing money from an Exchange Bureau. It was stated by the cashier that "the prisoner called at the shop and bought two postcards, and some time afterwards while he (witness) was attending to other customers he heard a noise at the cash desk and saw the prisoner, in a crouching position, making stealthily for the door with the portfolio". He had been convicted once in Britain for loitering, but several times in Germany – in Berlin for stealing a pocket book containing 5550 marks and at Munich for attempting to rob a bank (West London Press, 9 February 1912).

Figure 151 – Thieves targeting businesses on Wilton Road.

Source: The Times, 25 December 1905, page 2

CHEAP SOLES ALL THE YEAR ROUND.

Old Bailey Prosecution of Great Interest to the Restaurant-Keepers of London.

There were some curious incidents at the Old Bailey yesterday when Ernest Brooks, fish salesman in the employ of Vigo and Co., the well-known fishmongers of Sloane-street, and Cesare Gerli, restaurant-keeper of Wilton-road, Victoria, came up for trial, the former charged with stealing fish, the property of his employers, and the latter with receiving the same, well knowing it to have been stolen.

Brooks pleaded guilty, but Gerli denied the charge.

The case for the prosecution was that Brooks supplied Gerli with soles at 1s. a pound all the year round, and that the latter should have known he could not do so honestly, as in the winter the price was 8s. a pound.

The court was filled with Italian restaurateurs, who took a great interest in the case. One of the witnesses for the defence was Mr. Charles Pinoli, of Wardour-street, who on entering the witness-box was sworn in the Jewish fashion, and when asked what was his religion said he was a Roman Catholic. The case was adjourned.

Date	Business	Offence	Verdict
13/11/05	Zappeloni Brothers	Selling milk containing 9% added water	Fined
17/05/07	Alfred Fumagalli	Selling milk – 6% fat abstracted	Warranty provided, but insufficient so fined
02/08/07	Williamson's Ltd	Selling milk containing 10% added water	Fined
10/07/08	Hudson Brothers Ltd	Selling cream containing 32.48 grams of boracic acid per lb	Fined
03/01/12	William Walter Bates	Selling milk – 10% of fat abstracted	Warranty proved. Summons dismissed

Figure 152 – Businesses selling adulterated food produce. These cases illustrate how some businesses sold food stuffs that were adulterated. Several imply the owners were tricked, but in other cases it is not known if the selling of such food reflected the nature of the business.

Sources: MOH, Westminster (1907:90-1), (1905:92), (1908:114), (1911:103); The Daily Mirror 3 May 1906, page 5

JUMP FOR LIFE.

Fat Causes a Fire in a Fried Fish Bar.

The premises in Wilton-road, Pimlico, occupied by the proprietor of a fried-fish bar, named Davis, were destroyed by fire early yesterday afternoon. There were exciting escapes from the burning building, many customers being present at the time of the outbreak.

The fire originated through some fat in which fish was being cooked igniting, the flames spreading to other pans.

The proprietor's wife and the servants managed to escape by the back of the house, the son first securing all valuables. The father ran upstairs, and found himself cut off by the flames. He made his way to a window on the second storey, and jumping through it fell heavily upon an iron grating beneath, sustaining fractures of the skull, arm, and legs.

By the time the brigade arrived the fire was beyond control, and the firemen's efforts were directed towards saving the adjoining premises. A number of horses stabled next door were only rescued with difficulty.

Figure 153 – Fire at a fried fish shop on Wilton Road. The photograph not only illustrates the damage that the fire caused but also shows what the shops in the street looked like.

Sources: The Daily Mirror, 15 October 1904, page 4; 17 October 1904, page 8
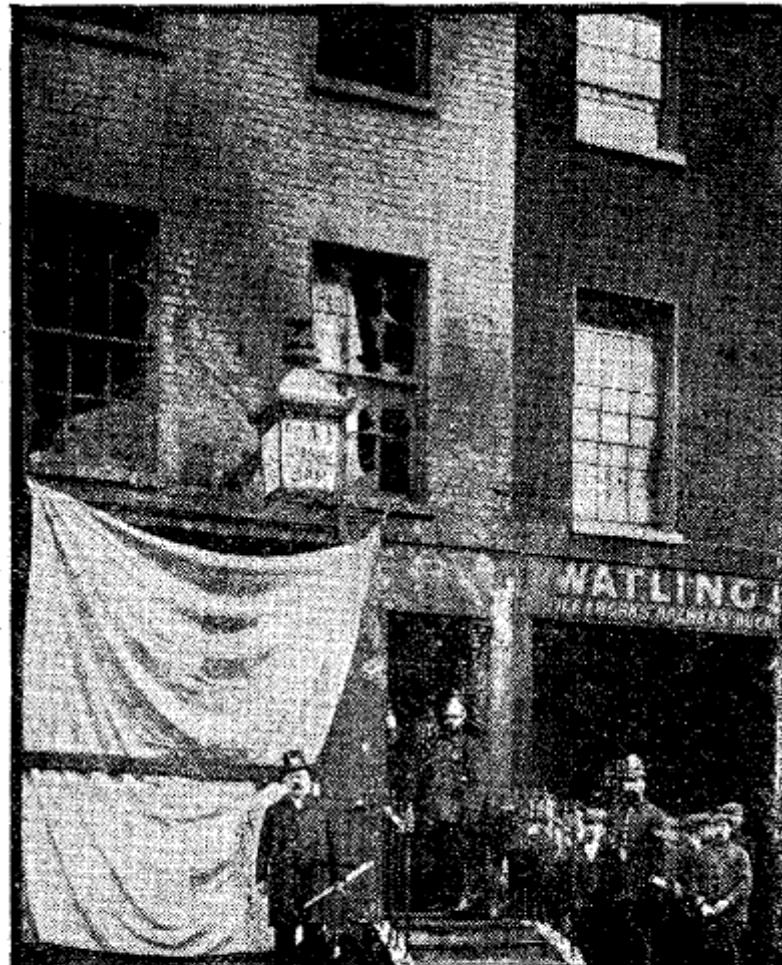
The fish supper bar in Wilton-road, Pimlico, which was gutted by an outbreak of fire. The proprietor leaped from the top-floor window, and, it is feared, is fatally injured.

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Figure 154 – Oblique aerial photograph of Wilton Road (1928). This image shows how buildings had been demolished to make way for the construction of the Apollo Victoria Theatre.

Source: Britain From Above (2014)

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Figure 155 – Northern part of Wilton Road (2013). This oblique satellite image of Wilton Road shows how the area has changed. The road itself remains in the same place as it did over 100 years ago, however few Victorian or Edwardian buildings remain – even the church has gone.

Source: Bing Maps (2014)

Pascal Street, South Vauxhall

Hitherto the cases in this chapter have focussed on streets that were north of the River Thames in Chelsea and Westminster. As described in Chapter 3 there is much evidence to suggest that the communities in South London were altogether a distinctly separate community – not necessarily racially, socially or economically, but in their way of life. Given that this study is based on the WPC area which encompassed a small part of South London, it is therefore important to examine a street within this area.

Pascal Street was situated close to the border with Battersea, but within southern Vauxhall and was one of a number of streets squashed into the space between the major thoroughfare of Wandsworth Road and the Nine Elms railway goods yard of the London and South Western Railway (Figure 156). Consequently, one end was blocked off by a wall (behind which lay the railway yard), although as the map shows, it was not a 'dead end' street. Instead vehicles or pedestrians could turn off into William Street and traverse the residential streets to the south. The street itself contained 39 terraced cottages most of which were on the south side, with a railway warehouse partially taking up the northern half of the street (to which there was no access via Pascal Street). But unlike the other case studies of this chapter, Pascal Street and its inhabitants were photographically recorded in the 1930s and this allows us to
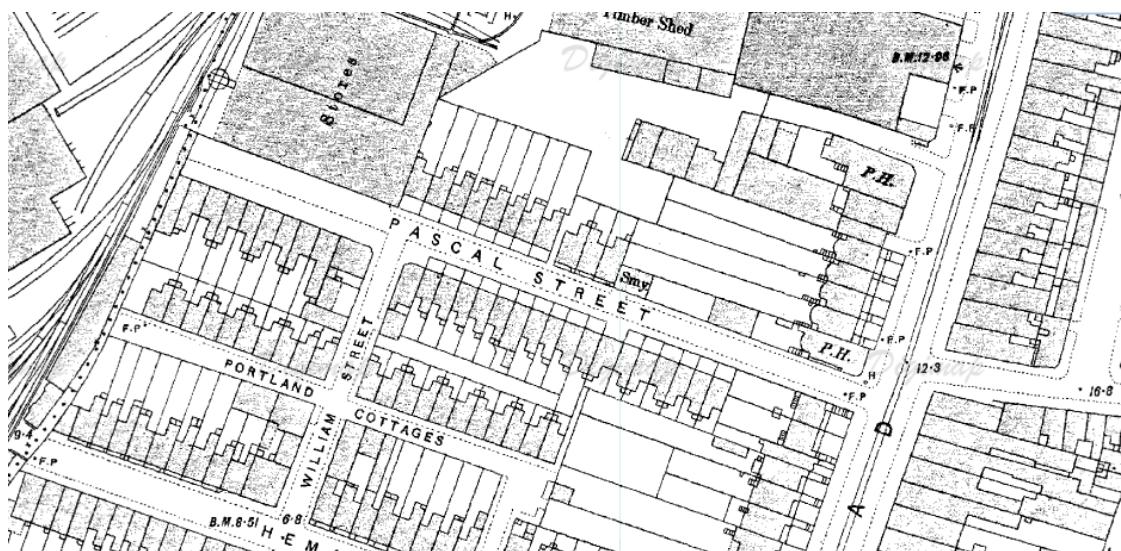
Figure 156 – Pascal Street (1895). © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2015). All rights reserved. (1895).

Source: Digimap (2014)

visually inspect conditions (doing so with a critical eye). Figures 157-159 show the street from various angles and taking a cursory glance one might conclude that the street was generally spacious, relatively clean and the houses (although being old and Victorian in style) structurally sound. Indeed the white painted, cement rendered ground floor frontages in Figure 157 add a certain degree of virtuousness to the overall scene. Some windows are open, but none look broken and all are curtained which enhances this sense of cleanliness, suggesting the dwellings were well ventilated and that inhabitants wished to maintain some privacy. The people themselves are all smiling, dressed neatly and give the impression of a friendly, neighbourly community (Figure 158). Mothers looking after their children and maintaining a home – it all seems like domestic bliss. It is a far cry from the description of the street in Booth's (1898) survey:

> [living there]...are costers, lodgers, loafers. Most of them work only on Friday and Saturday and loaf and drink for the rest of the week. Pascal Street remains black. In the middle of Pascal Street was a monstrous heap of decaying vegetable matter which looked as if it might have been accumulating for weeks (Charles Booth Online Archive, 2014:B366, p52-3).

The costers' barrows in Figure 157 show evidence that such individuals were still in occupation in the 1930s, but there is much in this description that cannot be seen in the photographs – perhaps the street had changed? However such photographs "...are never transparent windows onto the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very particular ways; they represent it" (Rose, 2012:2). These images have to be viewed critically and contextualised using other sources.

Authorities in the 1890s and 1910s reported that dwellings of Pascal Street were "dirty, damp, dilapidated, and generally worn out", and work was in progress to render them fit for human habitation (MOH, Lambeth, 1898:110 & 117). But it seems despite this 'work' by 1919 addresses 7, 9 and 11 were closed and probably partially demolished, being beyond repair (MOH Lambeth, 1919:90). As for the rest of the street it was said that "...the houses cannot be

Figure 157 – Pascal Street (c.1930s).

Source: SP 2138 (1930)

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Figure 158 – Pascal Street, nos. 37-53 (c.1930s).

Source: SP 2135 (1930)

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Figure 159 – Pascal Street, nos. 1, 3, 5 and backs of 88 and 90 Wandsworth Road (c.1930s).

Source: SP 2139 (1930)

condemned as "unfit for human habitation," taking the words as meant in the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890...". Yet the tone of this statement is not positive – by quoting from the Act the officers' impression of insalubrious conditions is implicit. Furthermore, when the Valuation Office surveyed the street in the early 1910s, the housing structures were described as 'old', 'dilapidated', in 'very poor' or 'bad' state of repair and seven cottages were said to be 'rather dilapidated and patched up' (IR 58/46033, 1914). Number 35 Pascal Street had been converted into a shop by this point, but valuers conjure up an image of a ruin when describing the building: "one storey small shop, upper storey apparently pulled down to prevent it falling and ground floor covered with G. iron" (IR 58/46033, 1914). Whatever remedial work was carried out in the late 1890s/early 1900s, it does not appear to have transformed the housing into structurally sound, healthy living conditions for the working classes.

Hence, taking a much closer look at the 1930s photographs reveals some of these defects and other evidence of dirt/decay. The building in Figure 158 that residents are posing in front of has quite a few cracks, patches and a speckled appearance within the cement rendering on the upper floors. It is also rather curious how some of the upstairs windows are bricked up, along with the arches on the ground floor and the peculiar small entrance door. It has an appearance of a beer house (although no evidence of this has been found in other sources) that had been closed and converted into a home. The entire row of houses next to this building (once collectively known as Elizabeth Cottages) seem rundown possibly due to their lack of white painted cement lining the ground floor exterior – perhaps this was the less respectable end of the street being nearer to the smoke and noise of the railway yard beyond. Although there may not have been rotting rubbish, the street in this picture is strewn with litter and there is a rather untidy 'dump' for rubbish in Figure 159 – although this may be the result of costers storing their barrows nearby, which could account for the other rubbish further up the street. In the same picture, the fencing demarcating the front gardens has timber missing in places or certainly seems uneven. However, it is another photograph, taken from the rear, upper floor of number 37 that indicates the reality behind the facade (Figure 160). Most of the picture shows the back of Portland Cottages, but the back yard of 35 Pascal Street can be seen to the left.

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Figure 160 – Rear of Portland Cottages looking south. Taken from rear of 37 Pascal Street (c.1930s).

Source: SP 2141 (1930)

It shows the view that Pascal Street residents would have had from their rear windows – the disorderly, unkempt sight of Portland Cottages. Yet it is highly likely that Portland Street residents would have had a similar view when looking out from their rear windows, since the building shapes/configurations of the two streets were almost identical (Figure 156). Admittedly, the condition of Portland Street seemed far worse when reading Valuation Office descriptions (see IR 58/46034, 1914), but the two would have been similar in many ways (Figure 161). Nevertheless, perhaps the most crucial aspect of these photographs is their purpose i.e. why were they taken? Evidence suggests that they were taken by the local borough council to plan for the demolition of 'slum housing' in this area under the Housing Act 1930 (GLC/MA/B/22/01/248, 1931-1933). The set are therefore similar to those interrogated by Rose (1997) depicting 1930s slum housing in Stepney, meaning they are tainted by the same representational issues. In all, this creates some unease as to how much we may glean from the images since they were created for the purposes of supporting the argument for clearance. More importantly, Rose (1997:296-7) also notes how the focus on the built structures creates uncertainty about what lies within, since curtained windows hide life beyond and although inhabitants (often mothers) are shown smiling, the poses are artificial, created by the act of photographing (Figure 162). Nevertheless, we can gain a glimpse into the lives of the street's inhabitants by examining other sources.

It was said by Lambeth residents that Pascal Street was one of a number of 'black spots' in the neighbourhood, home to a lower class of tenant who had different standards of 'cleanliness' and 'destructiveness' (meaning what they disapproved of) (MOH, Lambeth, 1919:94). Furthermore, the street was grouped with other similar streets in Lambeth and described as 'colonies' creating an overall impression of social division within the area. But these are the views of 'outsiders' and instead a glimpse of family life on the street may be gained from an examination of a newspaper article (Figure 163). There is information about the income of the family – the head of the family (unnamed) was a labourer earning £1 a week which his wife (Ada) supplemented by working Saturdays. This was probably typical of most families on the street who had similarly paid occupations – at least 25% worked as labourers, charwomen,

Figure 161 – Portland Cottages (c.1930s).

Source: SP 2136 (1930)

Figure 162 – Residents of Pascal Street (c.1930s). This has been taken from Figure 158 and shows some of the residents of the street.

Source: SP 2135 (1930)

A PLUCKY BOY.

Mr. S. Ingleby Oddie held an inquiry at the Lambeth Coroner's Court yesterday, concerning the death of HENRY ARNOLD, aged nine, son of a labourer, living in Pascal-street, Wandsworth-road, who died in St. Thomas's Hospital from the effects of burns.

Ada Arnold, the mother, stated that she supplemented her husband's wages of a pound a week by going to work on Saturdays, when she had been in the habit of leaving Henry and two other little boys in charge of her 11 year-old son, who used to prepare the breakfast.

George Arnold, who said he was getting on for 12, stated that on November 29 he was left at home with the three other children, and, while he was dressing himself, Henry ran downstairs. A little later he heard a scream, and on going on to the landing saw his brother with his cotton nightshirt alight. He beat out the fire with his hands, and ran across the road and got some oil, which he rubbed on the burns. He next wrapped his brother in a blanket, and went and fetched his father from his work. His brother was then taken to the hospital.

The CORONER.—You are a very plucky little boy; you did everything you could have done. Mr. Oddie added that the boy seemed to have been the mother of the family, and that Mrs. Arnold might well have felt justified in leaving her children in the care of such an intelligent boy.

The jury returned a verdict of " Accidental death."

Figure 163 – An illustration of Pascal Street residents' lives. This tragic report of a child dying from being burnt tells us a great deal about the life of Pascal Street inhabitants including household income, the role of women as well as how children were raised.

Source: The Times, 20 December 1913, page 4

carmen or general dealers/hawkers. The children were thus forced to fend for themselves and the eldest child (George, 11) was given the responsibility of looking after his brother along with two other children (it is not clear if these children were other siblings or members of another family cohabiting with the Arnolds). The case therefore provides some indication of what it may have been like to grow up in the street, with working parents forcing children to be independent. But it also shows that the children of the street were relatively well educated – George knowing how to calmly deal with the situation of his brother being burnt (one wonders whether those adolescents of Chadwick Street could have dealt with the situation as competently). Presumably he obtained the oil from residents over the road and doing so perhaps meant an adult was able to tend to the child whilst he fetched the father. The situation is not clear, but there is some implication of help from neighbours. Furthermore, the description of the incident itself offers a glimpse into the internal micro-scale geographies of the cottages themselves. It suggests that there was little privacy or segregation internally and this would have therefore fostered communal relationships. Even if some cottages were divided either physically and/or psychologically, there would have been shared spaces such as the water closet and front door forcing people to interact. Moreover, census records show that 76% and 72% of the 80 and 64 families living in the street's 39 cottages in 1901 and 1911 were sharing their home with others – it is therefore unsurprising that 66% (225 people) were living in overcrowded conditions in 1911. But if this was the case, then surely it would have created the same conditions for neighbours to argue/fight as was found in Chadwick Street? What does the WPC data collected tell us about crime on the street?

During 1901-1902 there were two cases brought to the WPC involving one disorderly individual and one drunk resident. By 1911-1912 this had increased to 10 cases – involving drink (3), assault (2), illegal betting (2), obstruction to justice (1) and public nuisance (3). With regards to residents sent to the WPC for offending, there were 2 in 1901-1902 and 3 in 1911-1912. It is possible that these figures for residents may have been far greater (just as the case of Chadwick Street suggested when taking newspaper reports into consideration). But amongst the offences, none appear to concern disagreements between

residents or general social disorder as exhibited by Chadwick Street. Instead, offences tended to be drink related and thus probably no different to that of many other working class streets in the WPC area. However, there is a distinct lack of newspaper articles reporting Pascal Street crimes and offenders, meaning it is difficult to qualify this assertion. This is because local newspapers for the area failed to report comprehensively on trials at the WPC, preferring instead to report on cases sent to Lambeth, South Western or Southwark Police Courts. However, given that the WPC area only covered a small part of South London, it is highly likely residents committed offences within the Lambeth or South Western Police Court jurisdictions. Indeed, Figures 164 and 165 detail two such cases of the street's residents committing offences (illustrating the problems of confining research to one Police Court area) and offer different perspectives on the socio-economic condition of inhabitants. On the one hand, there is the bread thief of 12 Pascal Street who claimed starvation forced him to steal, whilst the crippled man appeared to be rather successful at begging in the streets, yet one wonders

PLUCKY GIRL'S CAPTURE.

Thomas Griffin, aged thirty-six, a labourer, of 12, Pascal-street, Wandsworth-road, was charged before Mr. Garrett at the South-Western Police Court yesterday with stealing two loaves of bread from the shop of Herman Schindewolffs, a German baker, of Currie-street, Nine Elms.

The prisoner walked into the shop and coolly took the loaves from the shop window, and was proceeding to walk away with them when the prosecutor's daughter, a girl about thirteen years of age, went after him for payment.

He made an effort to escape but she seized hold of the man's coat-tails and held on tightly until a constable arrived.

In defence the prisoner pleaded that starvation drove him to take the bread.

Mr. Garrett directed a remand.

Figure 164 – A Pascal Street resident stealing bread. This case was heard at South Western Police Court illustrating that it is likely more Pascal Street residents were engaged in criminal offences than the WPC figures can suggest.

Source: The Daily Illustrated Mirror, 10 February 1904, page 6

PROFITS OF BEGGING.

WEST-END CRIPPLE WHO GOT 14s. A DAY.

Remarkable facts regarding the "earnings" and luxuries of a West End beggar were disclosed at the Marlborough-street Police Court yesterday, when Matthew Moulding, aged fifty-five, was accused of begging in Lower Regent-street.

Moulding, a grey-bearded and grey-haired man with a red face, is a cripple, and was wheeled in a perambulator each morning from his home in Pascal-street, Wandsworth-road, to Regent-street. His companions were a boy, who wheeled the perambulator, and a dressed dog, which begged and exhibited a notice asking the public to place pennies in the tin can hung from its neck.

The police warned Moulding many times, but he took no notice whatever of their requests to go away, and eventually he was arrested. The sum of 10s. 6½d. was found in his pockets, and the boy gave some interesting details about his manner of life.

"He pays me 9d. a day," the boy stated. "On Saturday he had eight pints of beer, gin and peppermint, whisky, and two-pennyworth of cheese."

"I have been in this condition for thirty-five years," Moulding protested, "and this is the first time the police have interfered with me. It took me six months to train the dog."

"No doubt you came to the West End to beg," replied Mr. Denman, the magistrate, "and apparently you did very well, making about 12s. or 14s. a day. You live like a fighting cock, and spend a good deal on luxuries in the shape of beer, whisky, and gin and peppermint. I cannot see how this nuisance of professional mendicancy is to be stopped if people will give in the streets.

"There are plenty of appliances and provision for persons like you, and if you choose to pursue this illegitimate form of begging you must suffer the penalty. By way of warning I shall deal with you in a somewhat unusual way and fine you 20s."

Figure 165 – A Pascal Street resident begging and living a 'luxurious' lifestyle. This case was heard at Marlborough Street Police Court.

Source: Daily Express, 30 August 1910, page 5

whether he would have been able to live in Pascal Street without doing so. Both cases imply the street was a place where the poorest in society would have been able to obtain lodgings and support/complement the information from the coroner's inquest article.

In summary, the physical, built environment of Pascal Street in the 1900s and 1910s was described at the time as being poor and at times on the verge of being unfit for human habitation. In some instances buildings were so bad that they were pulled down in order to preserve part of the ground floor and prevent collapse. As for those who lived in the street, they were thoroughly working class socially and economically – the report of the inquest illustrates this well, showing how there was a need for mothers to work to supplement their husband's income. Although it has been possible to visually assess the 1930s street and its inhabitants, the photographs merely create uncertainty and conflicting messages about the reality of life in the street. Pascal Street still exists today, but only as a name – nothing of the Edwardian or 1930s street remains. This is partly due to a London County Council slum clearance scheme carried out during the late 1930s. However, as Figure 166 shows only the southern half of the street was to be cleared to make way for art-deco style

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Figure 166 – Partial demolition of Pascal Street (1932). This plan shows how the southern part of the street would be cleared under the Housing Act (1930). The red shading indicates the areas to be bulldozed.

Source: LBL/DALS/4/56 (1932)

Figure 167 – Front elevation of the art-deco style blocks of flats to be built (1937).

Source: LBL/DALS/4/56 (1937)

block dwellings (Figure 167) housing 1005 people in total (GLC/MA/B/22/01/248, 1931-3). The northern half remained intact, but was likely to have been demolished during or after the Second World War when several bombs were dropped nearby to the street.

Conclusion

The use of case studies in this chapter has allowed particular WPC area streets to be examined in detail from a social, cultural, economic and environmental perspective. In doing so, it helps to contextualise the crime and defendant statistics, showing how various factors combined to create a setting in which criminality could thrive. But it also illustrated the linkages between residents and the built environment of streets, how both created and shaped each other. For instance the condition of buildings seems to have been important in attracting a certain type of tenant, who in turn made the street their 'home', deciding how or whether to keep the place tidy and clean. Sometimes this meant cohabiting with other families or lodgers, affecting overall living condition, but also (depending on the building's size) perhaps helping to build communal relationships between residents. Yet in many ways the findings for some case studies serve to disrupt the notion of a simple correlation between housing quality and criminality – this was most evident in the cases of Paradise Walk. The case of Pascal Street also highlights the problem that administrative boundaries create when studying crime since offenders did not restrict their activity to Police Court areas. Thus any crimes that Pascal Street residents committed in streets near to, but beyond the WPC boundary, are excluded from the study – a problem affecting the entire WPC dataset. Nevertheless, overall, this chapter has helped to place findings in previous chapters into a more local context. Taking specific cases of streets and describing the conditions within allows us to better understand how crime patterns may have been influenced/shaped by these conditions. It does not explain or attempt to weigh up contrasting factors that caused crime, but instead suggests how environments of streets were created that fostered crime/criminality.

<u>Chapter 9 – Conclusion</u>

The aim of this research was to examine the spatial distribution of crime and criminal addresses in Edwardian London, doing so by fusing together archival sources to create a substantial dataset enabling maps to be produced that reconstruct a lost knowledge of where crime occurred and where criminals lived. Such knowledge was lost over time since much information was never preserved in archives. This includes the long list of records which were destroyed (described in Chapter 4) that contained location or address details for crimes, criminals, victims and witnesses; but also the experiences of police and criminals (or others) that were never recorded. This hindered researchers' abilities to investigate how criminal activity was scattered amongst the streets of London. Furthermore, it prevented spatial patterns from being examined over time, as well as an assessment of how changes to neighbourhoods or policing tactics may have influenced where criminal activity occurred. Despite this 'spatial void' within the archives of London's police and criminal justice system, this investigation has uncovered one hidden gem amongst surviving historical records, from which part of the 'void' may be filled in a comprehensive manner. This gem is the Westminster Police Court registers whose creators decided to record the crime location as part of almost every offence description – a practice that no other court in London adopted. This was enhanced by cross-referencing the WPC register data with newspaper, census and other court records in order to obtain criminal addresses, but also greater detail about crime incidents, offenders, police and neighbourhoods. Altogether this has enabled maps portraying where crime and criminals existed on the streets of Central, South West London to be generated. This in turn has uncovered a number of findings that assist in responding successfully to the research questions stated in Chapter 1. These findings will now be summarised in turn showing how they address the questions and contribute to existing academic literature on Edwardian crime.

<u>Research questions and findings</u>

Research question 1 addressed one of the fundamental components of this thesis, namely where did crime occur and defendants live in Edwardian London? It should be stressed that there have been no previous studies mapping distributions of these phenomena at the local-scale of the street, meaning it is not possible to place or compare these findings with existing literature[20]. The crime mapping in Chapter 5 and defendant address mapping in Chapter 6 show the distributions of both for the WPC area. The overall pattern exhibited when mapping crime was that the greatest number of offences occurred in the main thoroughfares of the WPC area such as Kings Road, Fulham Road, Vauxhall Bridge Road and Wandsworth Road. But if the maps highlight where crime was greatest then they also uncover the spaces in which little or no crime existed. These tended to be the (mainly residential) back or side streets. Nevertheless isolated offences were committed in back or side streets, many of which involved intoxicated individuals straying down them and causing nuisance. But these residential spaces also attracted house breaking/burglary, as well as a host of other illegal activities (such as prostitution). Overall this created a main street/back street dualism with high numbers of crimes on the former, in contrast to the back streets. However, the spatial pattern of illegal betting activity did not conform to this main street/back street dualism. Instead the majority of these offences were detected in the back or side streets and this reflects the nature of the activity. Working on these types of street may have offered bookmakers greater privacy, away from the prying eyes of the police, enabling them to take bets from customers. Apart from the back or side streets, there was one other notable 'blank' space on the crime maps, centred on the South Kensington museum district. Tens of thousands of people visited the museums, but despite this footfall, crime figures were low. There are a number of reasons why this was the case including the entrance fee of museums, museum security, but also the challenges of offenders blending into the largely respectable middle and upper class crowds.

[20] Research on specific crime types has been conducted for other cities in the early 20th century, but no study has examined all crime types at a local level in London.

Mapping of WPC defendants' addresses (Chapter 6) revealed that the majority lived locally, within or just beyond the WPC jurisdiction. This suggested that defendants did not travel far to commit crime – a finding consistent with existing research on contemporary crime (see Levine and Lee, 2013 for review of literature). This assertion was further supported by the results of a distance to crime analysis (see Chapter 7) which found 46% (1046) of defendants committed offences at distances up to a kilometre from their place of residence. Within the WPC area, it was possible to identify six 'clusters' or concentrations of defendant addresses, as well as a number of smaller clusters beyond the jurisdiction in places such as Fulham, Southwark, Battersea, Clapham and Camberwell. The identification of these 'clusters' was perhaps further confirmed by the presence of many repeat offenders in each of these concentrations, whereas few were found in other parts of the WPC area. Just as the crime maps contained 'blank' areas, there were parts of the WPC area where defendant addresses were absent – Belgravia, shopping streets such as Knightsbridge, the museum district of South Kensington, parts of Lambeth/Vauxhall and Victoria. Beyond the WPC jurisdiction and neighbourhoods bordering the area, defendant addresses were scattered across the metropolis, however no significant concentrations were identified. Overall, the maps produced in Chapters 6 and 7 illuminate where criminal activity occurred in Edwardian London, helping to successfully respond to research question 1.

Research question 2 examined spatial patterns of crimes and defendant addresses further by asking whether they changed between or within the time periods under investigation. There were no discernible changes in the pattern of overall crime between 1901-1902 and 1911-1912. However, the maps showing illegal betting activity did exhibit decadal changes. In 1901-1902, gambling occurred on many streets across the WPC area, most notably in back or side streets as well as the main thoroughfares. However, by 1911-1912 this spatial distribution had drastically altered, with activity restricted to a handful of streets, many being isolated incidents. The cause of this reduction and limited spatial pattern was the Street Betting Act (1906) which may have deterred illegal bookmakers – although evidence suggests that activity continued through use

of covert tactics including bribing of police. A different type of decadal change in spatial pattern was found for prostitution offences. It was seen how this activity moved between the study periods, with brothels once in the streets south of Vauxhall Bridge Road being transferred to the streets north of it. This was attributed to the growing police activity within the southern area (implied from the number of WPC trials, as well as descriptions in Charles Booth's 1898-1899 survey) and is consistent with the experience of police in other parts of London (MEPO 2/429, 1906). However, there was no other significant change in the spatial distribution of crimes between the two time periods, suggesting that activity did not move/spread to different streets. Similarly, there was no discernible difference in the spatial pattern of defendant addresses between the two periods of study. Individuals tried at the WPC in 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 generally resided in the local area, concentrated within six 'clusters' as Chapter 6 discussed. Conversely it should be noted that this study only examined two points in time that were 10 years apart, meaning it is possible that spatial patterns could have varied during the intervening years – an aspect which might form the basis of future research.

Research question 2 also examined the variation in criminal activity patterns over finer timescales (such as during seasons, throughout the week and day). The number of offences fluctuated between 370 and 500 per month during both time periods, but there was no distinct seasonal pattern (contrary to contemporary research such as that by Cohen and Felson, 1979). In contrast, weekly charge numbers did exhibit a distinct pattern with numbers peaking on a Saturday, remaining high over the following days, but slowly dropping by mid-week – a pattern similar to that found by Beckingham (2012). The reason for this Saturday peak is perhaps best summed up by the following quote:

> Saturday is a favourite day for law-breakers. The stalwart, muscular British working-man, reserves the right to belabour his pale-faced wife on this day. He also reserves it for a ramble with boon companions after he has received his pay, and copious draughts of beer make him quarrelsome, not to say reckless (Westminster and Pimlico News, 2 August 1901, page 2).

For the rest of the week, factors such as pub trading hours, police backlogs, personal leisure time/activity and finances were all thought to play a part in affecting charge numbers. It was also possible to examine the variation in charge numbers over a 24 hour period which provided an insight into what the police had to contend with throughout the day. Moreover it showed when specific offence types were most commonly committed, reflecting the daily life of the city's inhabitants.

Research question 3 asked whether there was a relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of local areas and the spatial patterns of criminal activity. The socio-economic character of neighbourhoods was found to relate to where WPC defendants resided (as shown in Chapter 6). Those living within the area were located in mainly working class neighbourhoods, which was further confirmed when correlating the socio-economic status of a street with the number of defendants per kilometre – results suggesting that the lower the status, the greater the number of defendants per kilometre. Moreover this illustrates that defendants generally lived amongst the working class and thereby supports the findings of previous investigations (see Plint, 1851 in Godfrey and Lawrence, 2005:114; Wohl, 2009:40). Although land use helped to explain some of the blank spaces on the maps of defendant addresses, the socio-economic character of certain areas was also important. For instance, in the case of Belgravia, it was the presence of wealthy upper and middle class inhabitants that resulted in there being few defendant addresses in the neighbourhood. However, that is not to say there were not offenders or even hardened criminals amongst this strata of society – illegal acts were likely to have been committed behind closed doors, in private spaces that were almost impossible to police. The examination of specific streets in Chapter 8 provided a greater insight into the socio-economic character of the areas in which defendants lived. It was found that streets containing high numbers of defendants tended to be those inhabited by a certain strata of society who had particular traits, lifestyles and behaviours. It was these ways of living that were partly influenced by the physical environment of the street, which itself was shaped by the inhabitants.

There was no discernible relationship found between the socio-economic character of areas and crime locations. Defendants tended to commit crime in their local neighbourhood, however the varied social milieu of Edwardian London with the wealthy and poor living in close proximity (as shown on Booth's map) meant that crime was committed in a variety of locations, irrespective of socio-economic conditions. Chapter 5 discusses how socio-economic circumstances and the economy may have had an impact on crime figures, however no evidence was found to suggest that a particular stratum of society was disproportionately targeted or victimised by defendants. However, my study relies heavily on the Booth map for obtaining socio-economic information on neighbourhoods and given its subjective nature, it is possible that an alternative, objective information source may have rendered a different result. Furthermore, the exclusion of summons cases, the problem of unreported crime and offences never detected by the police may all have served to help mask any potential spatial correlation between crime and socio-economic conditions. Hence the socio-economic characteristics of local areas were not found to influence the spatial patterns of crime. Instead, it was the nature of the built environment which appears to have had a much greater impact on where crime was committed (an issue addressed by research question 4).

Research question 4 examined how the configuration of the local built environment influenced the spatial patterns of criminal activity. The findings for research question 1 help to illustrate how the built environment played a crucial role in where criminal activity took place. The majority of crime was found to be located on the main thoroughfares of the WPC, which is unsurprising since the physical environment of these streets transformed them into major commercial or transport hubs, attracting crowds and activity. Furthermore, their status as 'principal routes' meant they provided a means of traversing the city in a cart, cab, car, van, omnibus, on a bicycle or by foot. All of this activity would have offered a range of opportunities for individuals to commit offences from theft and pickpocketing to being drunk, obscene or begging. Yet it must also be remembered that thoroughfares enabled society to self-regulate and police itself through surveillance – individuals keeping an eye on each other whilst being watched by the authorities (Croll, 1999:251). The ability to regulate and police

was enhanced further by the design of major thoroughfares which were often wide, straight, but also well lit at night by street lighting. Altogether this would improve the chances of the police being able to detect and apprehend offenders, resulting in the high number of charges located on these streets. Nevertheless offenders continued to target these streets perhaps because they believed the opportunity and/or rewards were worth taking the risk.

In contrast, the lack of shops for thieves to target or pubs to generate drunkenness in the residential back/side streets meant some neighbourhoods such as Belgravia were found to be largely crime-free. However, some criminal activity was detected in the back/side streets, most notably offences involving illegal gambling and prostitution. The quieter, possibly more enclosed nature of these streets would have assisted bookmakers to conduct their activity discretely, reducing the risk of being caught. This was also the case for prostitution, with brothels hidden amongst residential areas making it harder for the police to detect where this activity was taking place. Furthermore, there were a handful of drink related and public nuisance offences detected in these streets. Public houses were often located on street corners, at junctions between main and side/back streets, encouraging intoxicated individuals to stray into the residential streets prompting police to intervene (often when individuals' behaviour became rowdy, annoying residents). The nature of the built environment was also found to be important in understanding the 'voids' or blank spaces on the defendant address mapping. For instance, in South Kensington, most of the neighbourhood was taken up by the museum district or 'Albertopolis' meaning there were no residences in these streets for individuals to reside. Similarly, Victoria Railway Station created a 'void' in Westminster, whilst south of the Thames, the green spaces of Archbishops Park, the Oval and Vauxhall Park created spaces free of any defendant addresses. But 'voids' could also act as barriers to individuals freely traversing the city. It is for this reason that there were no concentrations of defendant addresses in areas such as Marylebone since Hyde Park created a barrier, reducing the potential for individuals to stray into the WPC area from neighbourhoods to the north. At a local street/building level, the case studies in Chapter 8 helped to illustrate how the configuration of the built environment enabled criminal activity to thrive. The

layout of a street, its condition and accessibility were all shown to impact on the committal of crime and/or policing of areas. For instance a road such as Chadwick Street with its T-shape and alleyways may have reduced the police's ability to keep an eye on activity within the street, enabling crime to be committed. Altogether, these findings highlight the various ways in which the built environment shaped and influenced where crime took place on the streets of the WPC area, as well as where defendants lived.

It has been shown how each research question was answered through the various chapters that constitute the discussion/analysis. However, given the vast amount of information collected from the WPC registers, there were several additional avenues of investigation which contributed to the main findings, providing some context before the spatial patterns were analysed. For example, an abundance of demographic information collected enabled the WPC defendant population to be examined in some detail. Defendants generally were aged between 20-49, with the majority being in the 30-39 age group, conflicting with official statistics from the time (20-29 being the average). This was perhaps due to the nature of the WPC area lacking the entertainment and leisure spaces that other parts of London had that might attract younger people. It was found that only a third of defendants were female (consistent with previous studies e.g. Jackson, 2008; D'Cruze and Jackson, 2009), whereas the local population living within the area had a greater proportion of female residents. Numerous reasons were attributed for this which mainly centred on women's role in Edwardian society, which in turn influenced the types of crime they were arrested for. Drink related crime, prostitution, public nuisance and theft were the most common offences committed by women and these related to women in society and the spaces they traversed/visited in the city. However, it was possible to investigate the lives of defendants in more detail through an analysis of occupations, birthplaces, children/families and living conditions. It was found that 78% worked in skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled professions, with only 3% employed in professional or intermediate jobs. This appears to have had an impact on types of offences committed, with for example, unskilled workers committing higher numbers of begging and workhouse crimes. Defendants generally lived in comfort and usually had either no children or small families.

But perhaps the most interesting finding was that almost half were born in areas within or close to the WPC area, implying a historical association or connection with the area's neighbourhoods. It is these ties which may have been important in influencing where defendants committed crime – knowledge of the area or connections increasing the chances of them offending there rather than elsewhere in the city.

Chapter 7 not only discussed criminal mobility, but also the crime committed on railways. These offences could not be mapped onto the WPC street network since stations, railway carriages and goods yards are distinct spaces separated from that of the street (highlighting one of the pitfalls of mapping data to street segments). They were thus treated as a separate set of offences that warranted special examination, but which assist in responding to research questions 2 and 4. Moreover, there is a lack of academic literature analysing the types and patterns of crime on the railways. It was shown how the spaces of Victoria Station generated crime not only on the premises, but also in surrounding streets. For example, evidence suggested that drunk individuals on the station premises were forcibly removed (rather than arrested), pushing them onto nearby streets and that this had intensified by 1911-1912. This was the case for nearby streets such as Terminus Place and Allington Street which experienced zero or little crime in 1901-1902, yet a decade later the situation had got far worse. But it was the internal spaces of the station and the activity generated which influenced crime figures on the premises – illustrating how the micro-scale geographies or internal structures of buildings were just as important to consider when investigating crime in city spaces. The wide, open concourse enabled pickpockets to work amongst the crowds of waiting travellers (or their relatives/friends), whilst the many luggage areas across the station offered rich pickings for thieves. But these were also spaces that fed London's sex trade, with prostitutes plying their trade on the concourse whilst it was said that trains brought in 'country girls' who were duped into working as prostitutes. However the chapter did not only focus on Victoria, but also examined crime in other railway spaces. The complex layout of the Nine Elms Goods Yard and Railway Works, tailored with its constant flux of people and vehicles meant this was a site continually threatened by opportunistic thieves. Indeed, an analysis of the

occupations of offenders caught showed that most were in jobs that were likely to be associated with the yard (i.e. contractors but also railway employees). Some passengers were no better, pretending to hold season tickets in order to travel for free on the railways. It was found that fare evaders came from all manner of social backgrounds and that railway ticket collectors (the equivalent of today's inspectors) sometimes had to employ investigative techniques similar to those used by the police. The chapter ended by going underground and examining how underground railway train compartments assisted in the committal of offences in transit. The enclosed, gloomy, intimate, semi-private spaces of train compartments forced individuals to sit in close proximity to each other and led to social anxieties concerning fears of being attacked whilst on a moving train, from which it was impossible to escape. These aspects of the thesis may not directly respond to a particular research question, however they show how different railway spaces (which were components of London's built environment) generated or attracted criminal activity.

Limitations of findings

It is acknowledged that there are a number of limitations to these findings (alluded to throughout the thesis) which warrant a summary here. Just as data and maps for contemporary crime/criminals are incomplete, the data and maps produced cannot claim to capture all crime or defendants connected to the WPC jurisdiction. The exclusion of WPC summons cases (which often involved disputes between neighbours or when individuals broke local by-laws) means such incidents are not reflected in the data or maps (although newspaper reporting of summons cases have been used to contextualise findings). There are also incidents that were undetected or which were never reported to the authorities, as well as individuals who were merely given a 'telling off' rather than being arrested. Added to this are the accidental or deliberate human errors and inaccuracies created by defendants and officials, as well as those of my own making when collecting data. This also includes my interpretation of census records when attempting to match them to the WPC defendant information. The use of *The Times* and *Illustrated Police News* helped to improve the accuracy of these interpretations, however consulting local

newspaper reporting of WPC trials would perhaps have enhanced this further (although as discussed in Chapter 8, crime in the small part of Lambeth within the WPC area was not reported on widely in local newspapers). This meant that only a third of all defendants' addresses were successfully identified, but would spatial patterns have been any different if greater numbers of addresses had been traced?

There were also difficulties associated with the analysis of data collected. The lack of confidence in the accuracy of WPC trial verdicts means the results do not exclude those who were 'not guilty', labelling everyone sent to the court as 'criminals'. It was impossible to overcome this and is perhaps one of the major problems with using the registers. Cleansing of data collected from the registers removed some individuals from the overall analysis and mapping; but without conducting this rigorous process, various forms of duplication in the WPC registers would have remained, distorting findings. The temporal analysis of crime relied on charge dates and times rather than the actual dates and times offences were committed, thereby revealing, at the very least, the hour-by-hour and diurnal variations in the workloads/routines of the police. The movements of defendants were examined separately by calculating the distance-to-crime, although the results only show the straight line (Euclidean) distances between an individual's home and the place of the crime. This fails to reflect the actual paths taken by offenders, or indeed what they were doing prior to committing an offence. However, this type of information is rarely found in historical records and although contemporary studies use various computational processes to generate potential paths, it could be argued they offer no better than straight line distances due to their ambiguous nature. But overall in my analysis, I have aimed to provide a systematic mapping and tabulation of spatial and quantitative trends, seeking correlations with other spatial patterns (of poverty, social class and environmental features), rather than claiming 'explanations' for rates and patterns of crime. Some may question how applicable the analysis/findings are to the wider metropolis (given the study is geographically restricted to one part of London). But as a diverse area (as described in Chapter 3), there is no reason to expect the WPC area to have been substantially different from other parts of inner London.

Lastly, some readers may identify areas where further analysis or discussion of specific issues could have been provided. For instance, not every crime type has been discussed in equal measure, with offences such as obstructions to justice and damage to property given only a brief mention. Similarly, historians might ask why greater consideration was not given to policing and the criminal justice system, weaving descriptions and existing research into the findings presented. There are also aspects of defendants which were not examined (e.g. ethnicity or nationality), or which were mentioned briefly (such as recidivism). GIS practitioners may also call for greater use of ArcGIS functionality to analyse the data or more sophisticated ways of visualising the data; whilst quantitative geographers may wish for some statistical analysis to assess correlations between factors. I acknowledge and sympathise with readers who have had such thoughts whilst wading through the chapters of the thesis. But the all-encompassing nature of the research, taking every defendant tried at the WPC for two study periods meant the number of possible topics to study or consider was greater than the space permitted within a PhD thesis. I have focused on a wide variety of aspects which has allowed the potential of the data collected to be showcased to readers. It is hoped that this may offer inspiration to others on how to use and analyse the data in different ways or to pursue alternative avenues of investigation.

Future potential

Perhaps the most important aspect of this research is not necessarily the findings, but instead the sources and methodologies used to produce the maps as well as the visualisations themselves. Each of these may be used by researchers to conduct a wide variety of investigations into the history of London's crime. The importance of the WPC registers and their cross-comparison with other archival sources was briefly alluded to at the beginning of this concluding chapter. But this research has only shown part of the potential of the registers – there is a wealth of information recorded that offers researchers insights into a number of aspects of London's crime, criminals and justice system. There are details concerning which policemen arrested the offender, meaning the life and career of individual officers may be examined. For

instance, aspects such as how many offenders an individual arrested, whether the policeman was attacked/injured by members of the public and the places the individual patrolled are all possible to ascertain from the registers. This WPC police information would enhance the detail that can be obtained from personnel records and would therefore not only be of interest to academics, but also family historians. In a similar vein, the defendant details would also offer opportunities to examine the careers of those repeat offenders – something that admittedly this study has made merely a passing reference to. One can begin to uncover who the habitual drunkards were, but also examples of serious, hardened criminals and their potential connections/associates (implied from when individuals are tried together for the same offence). It is probable that newspaper articles relating to hardened offenders exist which could augment the detail offered by the registers and therefore resurrect stories about the life of criminals. The illegal betting activity of the Dew Family (see Chapter 6) and the burglar Alfred Cope (detailed in Chapter 7), are examples of such interesting tales that can be uncovered from WPC register data. The recording of specific dates and times relating to charges, bails and trials means that it is possible to examine the efficiency of London's criminal justice system from the WPC data i.e. how quickly were individuals processed. Yet there are also the specifics of the sentences and medical fee information which could be analysed to better understand the decisions of magistrates and the revenue generated by Police Court fines. It is also worth mentioning the use of the Police Court summons registers which were not used as a source of crime/offender data. Their value for historical research is not so clearly defined, especially in the case of the set for the WPC which lacks detail (see Figure 31 in Chapter 4). Further investigation of these registers is required, but given that summons cases often concerned local disputes, they could offer greater insight into 'inner social workings' of neighbourhoods. Despite this plethora of opportunity that the Police Court registers offer, their use in academic research has been somewhat limited over the years, although more recently academics are beginning to see the importance of these records for studying crime in the past (most notably studies by Houlbrook, 2005; Donovan and Lawrence, 2008; Bradley, 2009; Slater, 2010 and Moss, 2011 adding to those using similar registers in other British cities e.g. Davies, 2011, Chamberlain, 2012 and Settle, 2013). This thesis therefore helps

to enhance the profile of the Police Court registers (in particular those from Westminster) by showing the value of their content and how they may be used to investigate past periods. It is therefore hoped that it will encourage researchers of all types to inspect and make use of the registers in the future.

Yet the main achievement of this study is the creation of a methodology that enables the production of crime mapping at the local level of the street. It has been shown how using the WPC registers in combination with the census, there is a process that can successfully construct a spatial picture of Edwardian criminal activity. Crime locations may be collected to form a dataset which after cleansing/structuring can be mapped to the street network of the area using a GIS. This study only mapped WPC crimes during the periods 1901-1902 and 1911-1912, but the same methodology could be applied to any time period (WPC registers from 1897 onwards contain location information). It would equally be possible to produce maps of defendant addresses for other periods, collecting data using the method of cross-comparing WPC names, ages and occupations with census returns – although WPC registers only survive as far back as 1897 which rather limits researchers to using the 1901 and 1911 censuses (until future censuses are released). Once such data is acquired from the sources (by following the data collection methodology), then it is possible to map this using the steps outlined in Chapter 4. It has been shown how these steps may be used to successfully plot the WPC data onto individual street segments, generating a picture of crime at a local scale. Hence by using the sources and methodologies it would be possible to conduct similar studies that extend the scope and findings of the current one. For instance, one of the findings of this research was the minor decadal changes in geographical patterns of certain crime types and it would therefore be interesting to examine the gradual year-on-year variations between the two study periods. On the other hand, it would also be fascinating to discover how patterns changed beyond the Edwardian era into the rest of the 20th century. Perhaps one of the most fruitful time periods to study using the WPC registers would be the period covering the Second World War. This is because the Blitz would have drastically altered London's built environment which, it is often stated, caused looting that in turn would have contributed to the thriving black market brought about by rationing

(Donnelly, 1999:38; White, 2008:271-2; Roodhouse, 2013) – all of which could have had a significant impact on where crime occurred (and where offenders lived[21]). Such studies are for historical geographers or historians to carry out in the future, but this research provides the 'tools' (i.e. the sources and methodologies) to assist in such ventures.

It is not only the sources and methodologies which can be used by future researchers, but the maps and data produced may themselves be classed as academic or genealogical research resources. This is because they show how much crime or how many defendants lived on specific streets, but also the breakdown of offences into crime types. Hence a researcher interested in crime on Brompton Road can glance at the maps to ascertain how many offences occurred there, but may also delve deeper by examining the data to discover the details of crimes/defendants. The maps and underlying data are therefore no different to other resources used by historians to support their research. For example, to gain a quick impression of the socio-economic status of a street or neighbourhood in late 19th-century London, researchers will often inspect Charles Booth's poverty maps and notebooks (just as I have done throughout much of this thesis). Such resources provide a rapid, convenient and user friendly way of acquiring knowledge about the social, economic and environmental geography of a street or neighbourhood in past time periods. The Edwardian crime and defendant address maps and WPC data complement these existing resources, enhancing the overall knowledge acquired. Yet they offer more than this in that they can be compared and contrasted with other resources concerning crime e.g. Booth's poverty survey. Furthermore they enable links to be drawn between these other resources (as has been shown in the case studies of Chapter 8). For instance, the presence of high crime on a street might prompt an inspection of the Post Office directory entries for the street, but equally encourage a researcher to examine the Booth material.

[21] Although no census was taken during the Second World War, in 1939 a register was created for the issuing of identity cards and to plan rationing – the register recorded the name, birth date, gender, marital status, occupation and address of individuals (TNA, 2014b). The register can therefore be used to find defendants' addresses. These records are being digitised and are expected to be publicly released in 2016 (1939 Register, 2014).

Altogether this would help to facilitate the in-depth local investigation of particular streets or neighbourhoods in a similar fashion to the case studies of Chapter 8.

The beginning of this thesis discussed how any member of the public can easily access online maps and data to gain a geographic understanding of crime in the streets of 21st-century London. Although this research has not created such an online, publicly accessible, constantly updated offering, it has provided similar maps and data for an area of Central, South West London in the early 20th century and therefore makes a large step towards the development of such a web resource. But this study can claim to offer far more than the police.uk website will ever be able to, in that addresses of offenders have been mapped and by linking archival sources, it provides a detailed, contextual insight into many crime incidents. Just as the Old Bailey Online has generated popular interest in trials conducted centuries ago (retold in the BBC Radio 4 series 'Voices from the Old Bailey' and BBC 2 series 'Tales from the Bailey'), so perhaps too this study, in effect placing Westminster Police Court 'online'[22], may also generate interest and support analysis into a hitherto neglected area of historical geography.

[22] It is hoped that the data collected and maps may be placed online so that they are accessible to future researchers – various options are being explored and considered.

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<u>Appendix 1 – WPC verdicts explained</u>

This research does not distinguish between individuals found 'guilty' and 'not guilty' at the WPC because it was found that verdict information within the court registers is inaccurate at times. When the registers stated an individual had been 'discharged' (implying they were 'not guilty'), it was found that this was not necessarily the case. Comparing the register verdicts with local newspaper reports revealed that in many instances an individual had committed an offence, but was 'discharged' either because they had a general good character (promising to behave in future) or because it was their first offence. Magistrates were permitted to make such decisions under the powers granted to them by the Probation of First Offenders Act (1887) or Probation of Offenders Act (1907). Below are some examples of individuals discharged, but who were guilty of committing an offence:

- William Goodman, charged with drunk/disorderly: "Prisoner: Pardon me, sir, I had had a drop of drink, I must acknowledge, I had no money and no lodging. I applied for a night's lodging, and was told to come back in an hour. The magistrate: can you promise to behave better now. Prisoner: I will, sir. The magistrate: very well, go away" (West London Press, 26 April 1901).

- Charles Collins, charged for suicide attempt: "Prisoner now said he was deeply grateful to the authorities for the kindness he had received all round. He would promise never to do such a thing again. The magistrate: that is a sensible view. Now you are discharged" (West London Press, 10 May 1901).

- Emma Rowe, charged for drunk/disorderly: "Prisoner now said she was sorry, and as she was not known, and promised to behave better, she was discharged" (Westminster and Pimlico News, 24 May 1901).

- Ellen Collier, charged for disorderly: "Prisoner said she was very sorry. Two men insulted her and she was excited. That was her first appearance. Mr Hopkins: you ought not to be raving about the streets. I

will discharge you this time" (Westminster and Pimlico News, 5 July 1901).

- Cecil Elmer, charged with disorderly and assault: "Prisoner behaved like a madman, and struck the wrong man. Mr Horace Smith suggested that now that prisoner was sober and in his right mind, he had better speak to the bus driver, who he had seriously inconvenienced, and offer him compensation. Later PC 181B said the prisoner had compensated the bus driver and the magistrate thereupon discharged him" (West London Press, 11 October 1901).

- Mary Simpson, charged with drunk/disorderly: "She was not accustomed to drinking and had never been locked up before. The magistrate: do you think you can behave better now? Prisoner (meekly): Yes, sir. The magistrate: very well, go away" (West London Press, 20 December 1901).

- Elizabeth Smith, charged with drunk/incapable: "She explained that she had one glass, "being the Coronation." It was gin, she added, and having been at work all day it overcame her. The magistrate dismissed her" (West London Press, 30 June 1911).

- Kate Baker, "...admitted being drunk and disorderly...She said that she was very sorry. She had a little drink and it overcame her...Mr Hopkins (to defendant): Then I'll discharge you now. Don't come again, please" (West London Press, 3 November 1911).

In each of these cases, the individual either admits their guilt or it is proven they are guilty, yet the magistrate discharges them. However, the fact that they were guilty was not recorded in the WPC registers – the verdict for all these cases was recorded as 'discharged'. But the verdicts for individuals who were found to be innocent were also recorded as 'discharged' – the following are examples of such cases:

- Harriett Bowyer, charged with her husband for being drunk and disorderly. It was said that the two had been quarrelling and had been turned out of their lodgings because of this. "The woman, crying said she was not drunk. She was upset. Her husband, while admitting that he was drunk, said his wife was sober: she was upset about him". The magistrate fined the man and discharged Harriett (Westminster and Pimlico News, 19 July 1901).

- Louisa Horton, charged with keeping and managing a disorderly house. Much evidence was offered in the case, but the magistrate "...thought sufficient doubt had been thrown on the case for him...and he should give defendant the benefit of it. She would be discharged" (Westminster and Pimlico News, 2 August 1901).

These cases show that the term 'discharged' was used for those who were found to be innocent. Yet the same term was used for those who were found to be guilty, but were let off. Thus treating those individuals 'discharged' separately, labelling them as 'innocent victims arrested by mistake' would be inappropriate.

Additionally, there were cases referred to the Old Bailey or County of London Sessions and in the case of the latter it was not known whether the jury found the individual 'guilty' (since information concerning the trial was not found in the newspaper sources used in this investigation). Altogether these issues with the WPC register verdict information resulted in the decision not to analyse separately cases where individuals were found 'not guilty'.

Appendix 2 – Challenges of street names

Given the size of the WPC jurisdiction, it was unsurprising that several streets within the area were designated with the exact same name (the table below details these instances). This created a challenge when the WPC registers listed one of these names as the crime location – the issue being, which street to choose from the options, because the registers rarely offer neighbourhood information e.g. 'Chelsea' or 'Lambeth', which would help to solve the problem. Nevertheless, the Metropolitan Police division letters, assigned to policemen

Name	Number of streets assigned the name
Alfred Place	2
Arthur Street	2
Brewer Street	2
Catherine Street	2
Chapel Place	2
Chapel Street	2
Charles Street	3
Church Street	4 (but 3 instances by 1911-1912 due to a name change)
Cottage Place	3
Earl Street	2
Esher Street	2
Francis Street	2
Garden Row	2
Gloucester Street	2
Grove Cottages	2
Neville Street	2
New Street	2
North Street	3
Regent Place	2
Rutland Street	3
Shepherd's Place	2
Wellington Buildings	2
William Street	2
Wood Street	3

who arrested individuals, were recorded in the WPC registers which helped solve this problem. The methodology described in Chapter 4 explains how these division letters were used and the table below shows the results of these efforts. In many cases where streets were named identically, there was no need

Name	Problem successfully resolved?
Alfred Place	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Arthur Street	No – division areas were not distinct enough to determine which street crimes were committed on. Hence, 15 and 16 incidents were excluded from the data for 1901-1902 and 1911-1912 respectively.
Brewer Street	Yes
Catherine Street	Yes
Chapel Place	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Chapel Street	No – division areas were not distinct enough to determine which street crimes were committed on. Consequently, 6 incidents were excluded from the data for 1911-1912.
Charles Street	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Church Street	Yes
Cottage Place	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Earl Street	Yes
Esher Street	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Francis Street	Yes
Garden Row	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Gloucester Street	Yes
Grove Cottages	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Neville Street	Yes
New Street	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
North Street	Yes
Regent Place	Yes
Rutland Street	No – division areas were not distinct enough to determine which street crimes were committed on. Consequently, 6 incidents were excluded from the data for 1911-1912.
Shepherd's Place	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
Wellington Buildings	N/A – no crime was located on these streets.
William Street	Yes
Wood Street	Yes

to follow the methodology since no crimes were found to be located on these streets. It should be noted that there were only three instances where the methodology did not work. This was because streets with identical names were all located within a particular division, rendering it impossible to distinguish which street was the location of the crime.

Appendix 3 – Technical instructions on the use of ArcGIS

This appendix does not offer the reader a step by step procedural description of every process carried out using ArcGIS. Instead it describes how certain processes were conducted so that the reader may not only understand what is involved, but may also be prompted to use GIS for their own research. It covers the following elements:

1. Storage and structure of geographic information.
2. Georeference/geoposition a digitised version of Charles Booth's (1898-9) poverty map.
3. Georeference/geoposition a digitised version of a London County Council map of licensed premises (1903) (used in Chapter 5).

Storage and structure of geographic information

There are several ways to store geospatial data for use in a GIS, but this research made use of shapefiles to store geographic information such as the WPC street network, WPC boundary and criminal address points. Each of these are distinct geographic features and therefore having a shapefile for each (as well as for both time periods) ensured they were stored separately.

Geopositioning the Booth map.

The stitched TIFF of Booth's map was loaded into ArcGIS by adding it as a layer to a new map document, but it was not georectified and lacked any spatial reference i.e. it was not assigned a geographic coordinate system. There are several methods to assign spatial referencing to a scanned image of a historic map, but perhaps the most convenient way is to use another georeferenced map of the area to georectify the scan. In this case a modern Ordnance Survey (OS) map could have been used, however it was thought that a georeferenced historic OS map at a scale of 6 inches to 1 mile or 1:10560 (similar to that used by Booth) would be best suited to the task. This is because the base mapping Booth used would be a much closer match to a historic OS map than a modern edition i.e. there would be features and distortions common to both historic

maps. A georeferenced tile covering part of the WPC area was downloaded from the Ancient Roam section of the Digimap website. It was loaded into ArcGIS and its spatial properties checked to ensure it had been positioned correctly by the software.

To georeference the Booth TIFF, the process of assigning control points to the maps was used, which involves identifying and matching up at least four features common to both maps so that spatial references are transposed onto the non-georeferenced map. It is possible to add more than four control points; however a greater number of control points will not necessarily improve the geopositioning accuracy. To help check the accuracy, ArcGIS calculates the Root Mean Square (RMS) error – a higher RMS number means a less well-positioned map. However, historical mapping that has been scanned and stitched together will rarely result in a low RMS number – the processes of scanning, but also the condition of the original map and its accuracy altogether serve to create distortions and increase the RMS error.

Georeferencing the pub map.

The method describing the georeferencing of the Booth map was also used to georeference a JPEG of the 1903 map of licensed premises in London (shown in Figures 57 and 58 of Chapter 5) – with the Booth map used to identify and assign control points. This was a much easier task since the 'pub map' used the same base mapping as that chosen by Booth for his map. This meant that the two fitted over each other almost perfectly, which helped to ensure that the vector data for the WPC area street network also matched the pub map (since the vector data had been digitised from the Booth map).

Appendix 4 – Further details on the categorisation of crime

Table 7 in Chapter 4 shows how each offence tried before the WPC was categorised and in most cases the process of deciding how to categorise was straightforward (since categories had been devised to fit the data appropriately). However, there were certain offences which were not clear cut, potentially falling into several categories. Moreover, there was also a concern about assigning too many categories to offences, rendering analysis challenging. These issues are discussed here as well as how they were resolved.

Drunk and disorderly

The offence of being 'drunk and disorderly' could have been placed into the categories of 'drink related crime' and 'public nuisance', however it was decided that these offences should only be placed in the former. Given that a large proportion of the data was made up of these offences, it was believed that assigning it as a 'public nuisance' as well as a 'drink related crime' would have masked out those other crimes classed as public nuisances. Moreover, one might argue that 'drink related crime' is itself a form of public nuisance and therefore it would be unnecessary to assign 'drunk and disorderly' offences to the 'public nuisance' category. Similar arguments may also be made concerning the offence of being 'drunk, disorderly and obscene language'. Hence, it was decided to class 'drunk and disorderly' and 'drunk, disorderly and obscene language' offences solely as 'drink related crimes'.

Prostitution

Prostitution was technically not an offence during the period, but various pieces of legislation enabled the police to tackle this form of 'vice' (as described briefly in this thesis's glossary). Similarly, there was no distinct law stating brothel keeping was illegal, but various forms of legislation and rules required local vestries to apply to the police for a suspected brothel to be watched. Nevertheless, it was deemed necessary to place any offences of brothel keeping or prostitution within a distinct 'prostitution' category to enable this activity to be investigated. However, the WPC registers contain the offences

'prostitute behaving badly' or 'prostitute behaving disorderly' and one might place these into the categories of 'prostitution' and 'public nuisance' (given the legislation used to apprehend prostitutes). Instead it was decided to place these offences solely into the 'prostitution' category because it helped to create a distinct category for analysis i.e. it kept any prostitution related offences separate for them to be investigated in an appropriate manner. Moreover, adding these to the 'public nuisance' category would only add to an already diverse group of offences. It should be noted that the offence of 'prostitute, drunk and disorderly' was classed as both 'prostitution' and 'drink related crime', in accordance with the policy described in the previous section.

Absconding from workhouse and stealing clothes

There were cases where a workhouse inmate absconded whilst wearing the clothes belonging to the workhouse and is described as 'stealing' in the offence detail. Such offences might therefore be classed as both a 'workhouse crime' and 'theft', but because the offence was intrinsically tied to the workhouse, it was decided to class these as only 'workhouse offences'. This ensured that during analysis, those crimes connected with the workhouse remained distinctly separate and could be treated as a special set of cases (although admittedly little discussion of these crimes is offered).

Appendix 5 – Armstrong's (1972) classification for occupations

Occupations were classified using Armstrong's (1972) classification of 19th-century jobs listed in the 1841 and 1851 census returns for York. This is a standard classification/procedure used by historical demographers and may be found in Wrigley's (1972) edited collection of essays on 19th-century society. The tables below detail the 1921 variant of the classification, showing which occupations are placed into each class. However, not all occupations are classified, so similar jobs were identified in order to classify these and in some cases, the classification was altered to tailor it to 1901 or 1911 occupations.

Class I occupations
Accountant
Architect
Army officer
Attorney
Auctioneer
Dentist
Independent minister
Land agent
Museum curator
Naval officer
Ordnance surveyor
Rector
Reporter
Sharebroker
Shipowner
Solicitor
Surgeon or physician
Surveyor
Vicar

Class II occupations	
Beer retailer	Police chief constable
Bookkeeper	Pot dealer
Bookseller	Poulterer
Builder	Railway audit clerk
Cattle dealer	Railway clerk
Clerk	Railway inspector
Coal agent	Relieving officer
Coal dealer	Schoolmaster/Schoolmistress
Commercial teacher	Sculptor
Confectioner	Stationer
Corn, flour dealer	Station master
Factor (unspecified)	Tea dealer
Fruiterer	Tobacconist
Greengrocer	Translator (languages)
Hay and straw dealer	Traveller (commercial)
Hosier	Veterinary surgeon
Inland revenue collector	Victualler
Innkeeper (publican)	Wine and spirit dealer
Language professor	Writer
Law stationer	
Manure dealer	
Music teacher	
Pawnbroker	
Picture dealer	
Professor of music	
Proprietor of ladies' seminary	

Class III occupations		
Assistant (to linen draper)	Coach-wheel maker	Florist
Baker	Compositor	French-kid stainer
Basket maker	Comb-maker	Fringe weaver
Blacksmith	Cook	Gardener
Boiler maker	Cooper	Gas fitter
Bookbinder	Coppersmith	General servant
Bonnet maker	Cordwainer	Gentleman's servant
Boot closer	Cork cutter	Gilder
Brass fitter	Currier	Girth weaver
Bricklayer	Cutler	Glass blower
Brush maker	Damask weaver	Glass maker
Butcher	Dentist's assistant	Glass strainer
Cabinet maker	Draper	Glover
Cabman	Dressmaker	Gun maker (gunsmith)
Calico weaver	Eating-house keeper	Gutta-percha merchant (broker)
Car (carriage) painter	Engine driver	Hairdresser
Chair maker	Engineer	Hatter
Chemist	Engine cleaner	Housemaid
Clock maker	Engine fitter	Housepainter
Cloth dresser	Engine-spring maker	Ironmonger
Coach builder	Engraver	Iron-moulder
Coach-lace weaver	Farrier	Iron turner
Coachman	File cutter (maker)	Joiner
Coach trimmer	Fireman	Leather dresser
Coachsmith	Fishmonger	Linen spinner

Marble mason	Shopman	
Master mariner	Silversmith	
Miller (flour and grain)	Silver turner	
Millwright	Slater	
Muffin maker	Staymaker (corset maker)	
Musician	Stonemason	
Nail maker	Stone sawer	
Omnibus driver	Tailor	
Optician	Telegraph clerk	
Perfumer	Waiter	
Picture-frame maker	Warehouseman	
Pipe maker (tobacco)	Watchmaker	
Plasterer	Weaver (textile)	
Police constable	Wheelwright	
Plumber	Whitesmith	
Pot maker (potter)	Wire worker	
Printer	Wood carver	
Railway guard	Woodsman	
Railway pointsman	Upholsterer	
Railway stoker		
Railway ticket collector		
Saddler		
Saddle-tree maker		
Sailor		
Seedsman		
Shipbuilder		
Ship's carpenter		
Shoemaker		

Class IV occupations	
Agricultural labourer	Soldier
Brazier	Steward (club)
Brewer	Stoker
Brickmaker	Washerwoman
Carter (or carrier)	Waterman (boatman)
Charwoman	Wood turner
Cowkeeper	
Flax dresser	
Goods deliverer (railway)	
Groom	
Herdsman	
Horsebreaker	
Horsekeeper	
Hotel porter	
Housekeeper	
Laundress	
Master grinder	
Office keeper	
Ostler	
Pavior	
Quiltress	
Rail porter	
Railway policeman	
Rope maker	
Sawyer	
Seamstress	

Class V occupations
Drover
Errand boy
Hawker
Labourer
Messenger
News vendor
Porter
Rag and paper collector
Road labourer
Scavenger

Appendix 6 – Maps of crimes not included in Chapter 5

There were some crime maps produced which exhibited patterns that were indistinct and offered little opportunity for discussion. This was due to the low number of offences committed and they were therefore excluded from the discussion in Chapter 5. Instead they are reproduced here to offer the reader the opportunity to view and interpret these maps, as well as for completeness.

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0
——	1
——	2 - 4
——	5 - 8

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

Number of damage to property offences per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

─────	0
─────	1
─────	2

Scale 1:10,000

0	500	1,000	2,000 Metres

Number of damage to property offences per street (1911-1912).

KEY TO COLOURS

— 0
— 1
— 2

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

Number of fraud offences per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0
——	1 - 3
——	4 - 6
——	7 - 9

Scale 1:10,000

0	500	1,000	2,000 Metres

Number of fraud offences per street (1911-1912).

KEY TO COLOURS

———	0
———	1
———	2
———	3
———	4

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

Number of obstructions to justice per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

———	0
———	1
———	2
———	3 - 4
———	5 - 7

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

Number of obstructions to justice per street (1911-1912).

KEY TO COLOURS

——	0
——	1 - 5
——	6 - 10
——	11 - 14

Scale 1:10,000

| 0 | 500 | 1,000 | 2,000 Metres |

Number of vehicle offences per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

———	0
———	1 - 4
———	5 - 10

Scale 1:10,000

0   500   1,000   2,000 Metres

Number of vehicle offences per street (1911-1912).

KEY TO COLOURS

———	0
———	1 - 2
———	3 - 4
———	5 - 6
———	7 - 8
———	9 - 10

Scale 1:10,000

0	500	1,000	2,000 Metres

Number of thefts (other than from a specific building) per street (1901-1902).

KEY TO COLOURS

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

Scale 1:10,000

| 0 | 500 | 1,000 | 2,000 Metres |

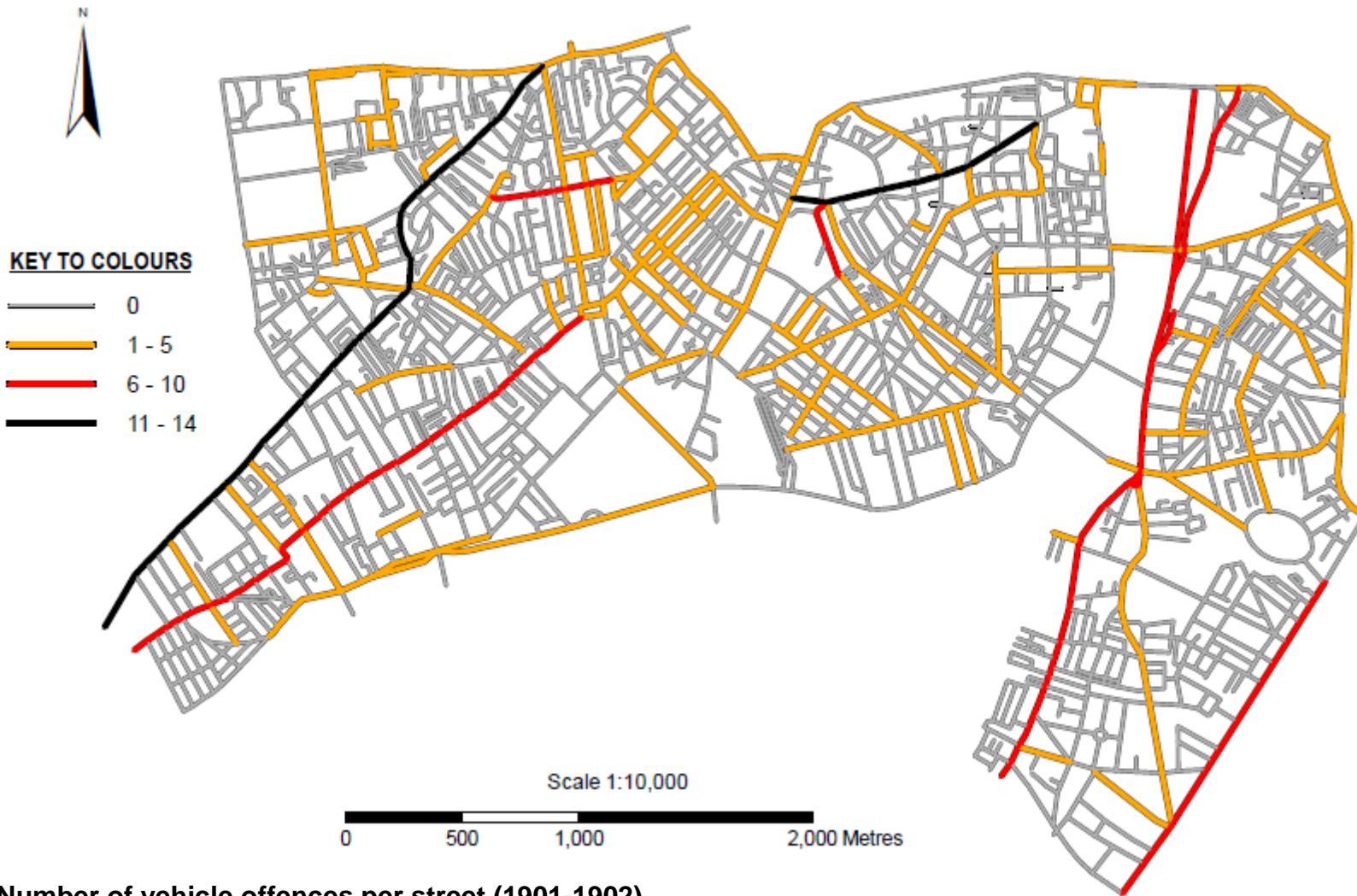**Number of thefts (other than from a specific building) per street (1911-1912).**
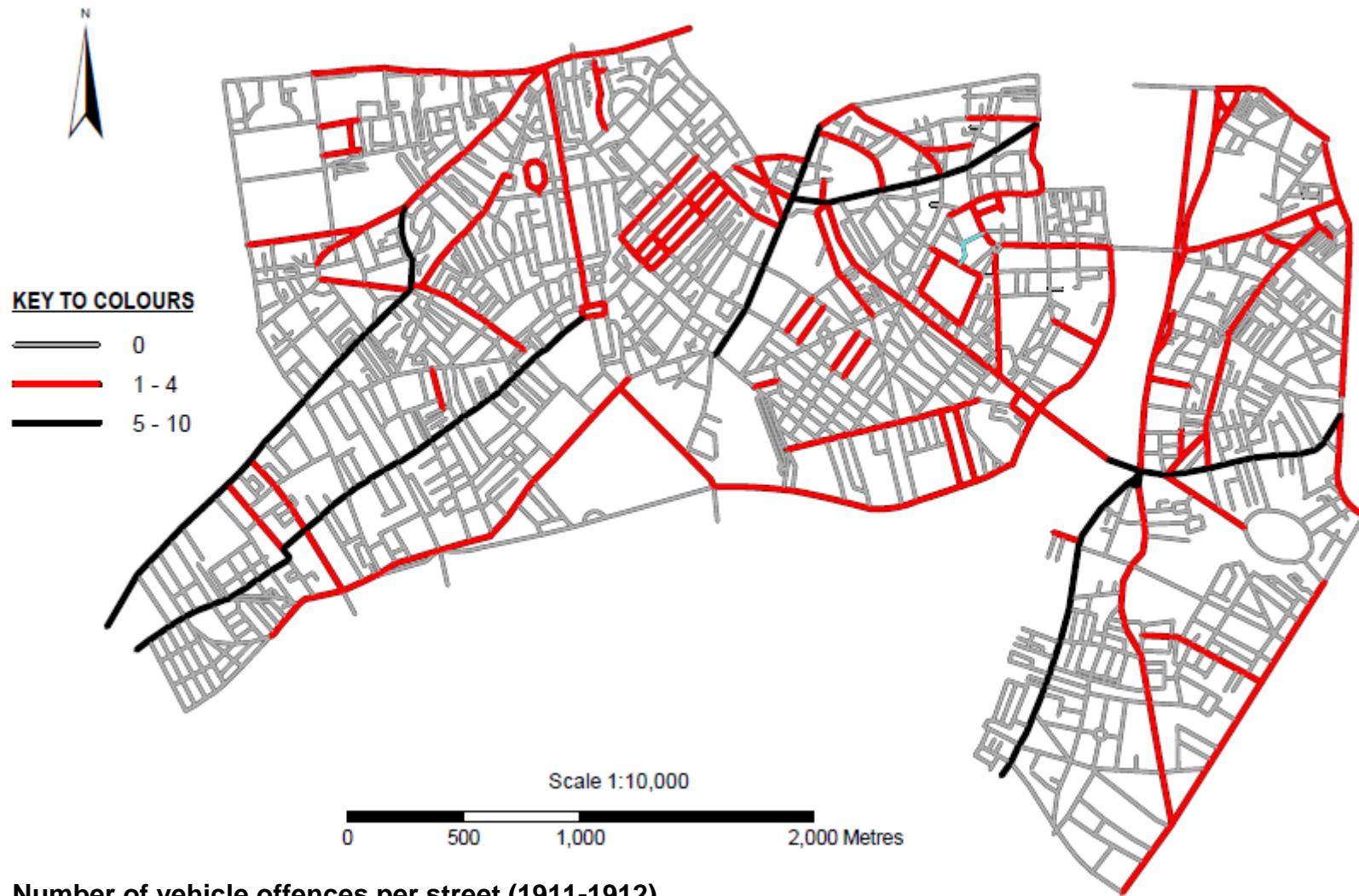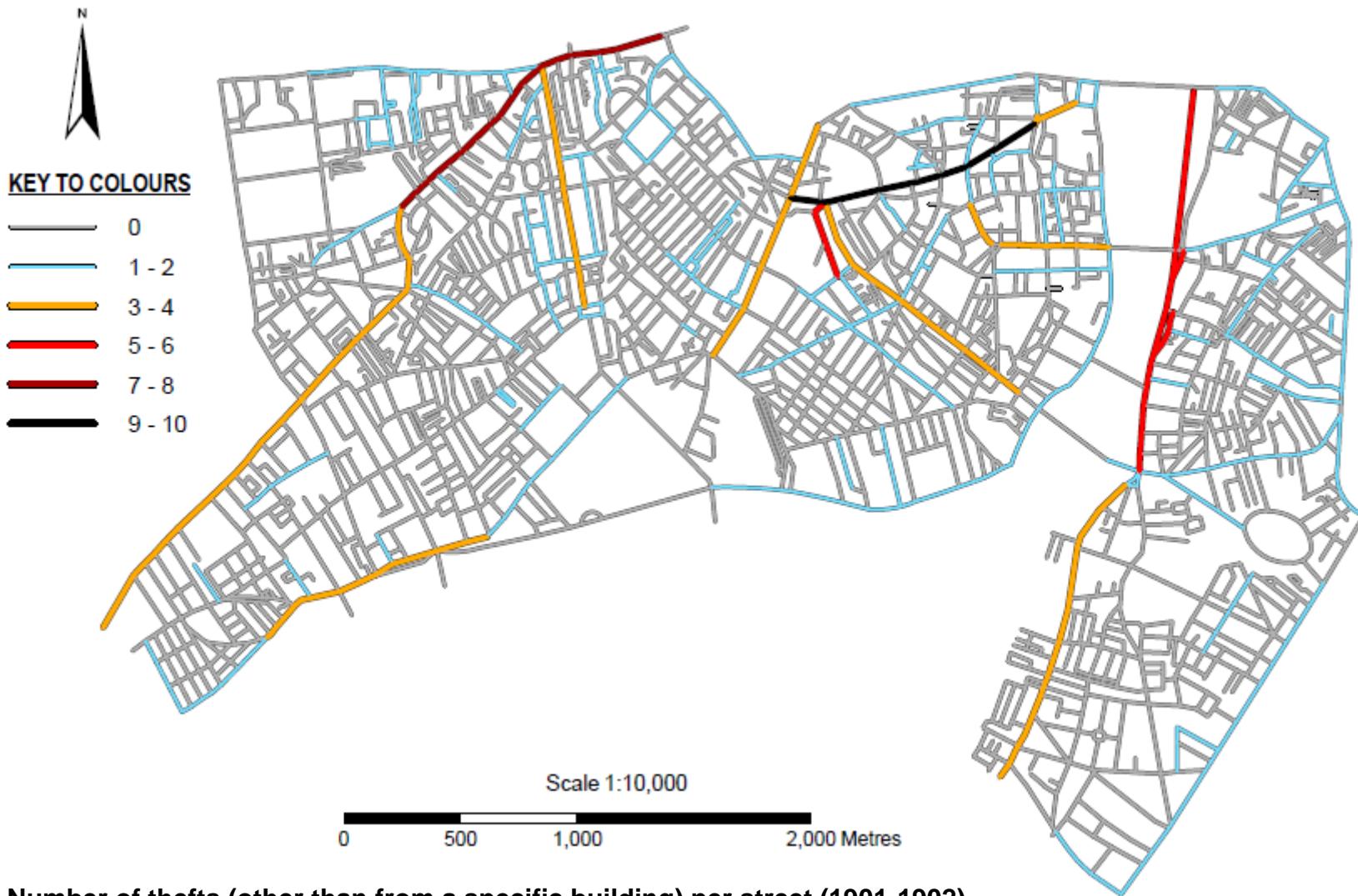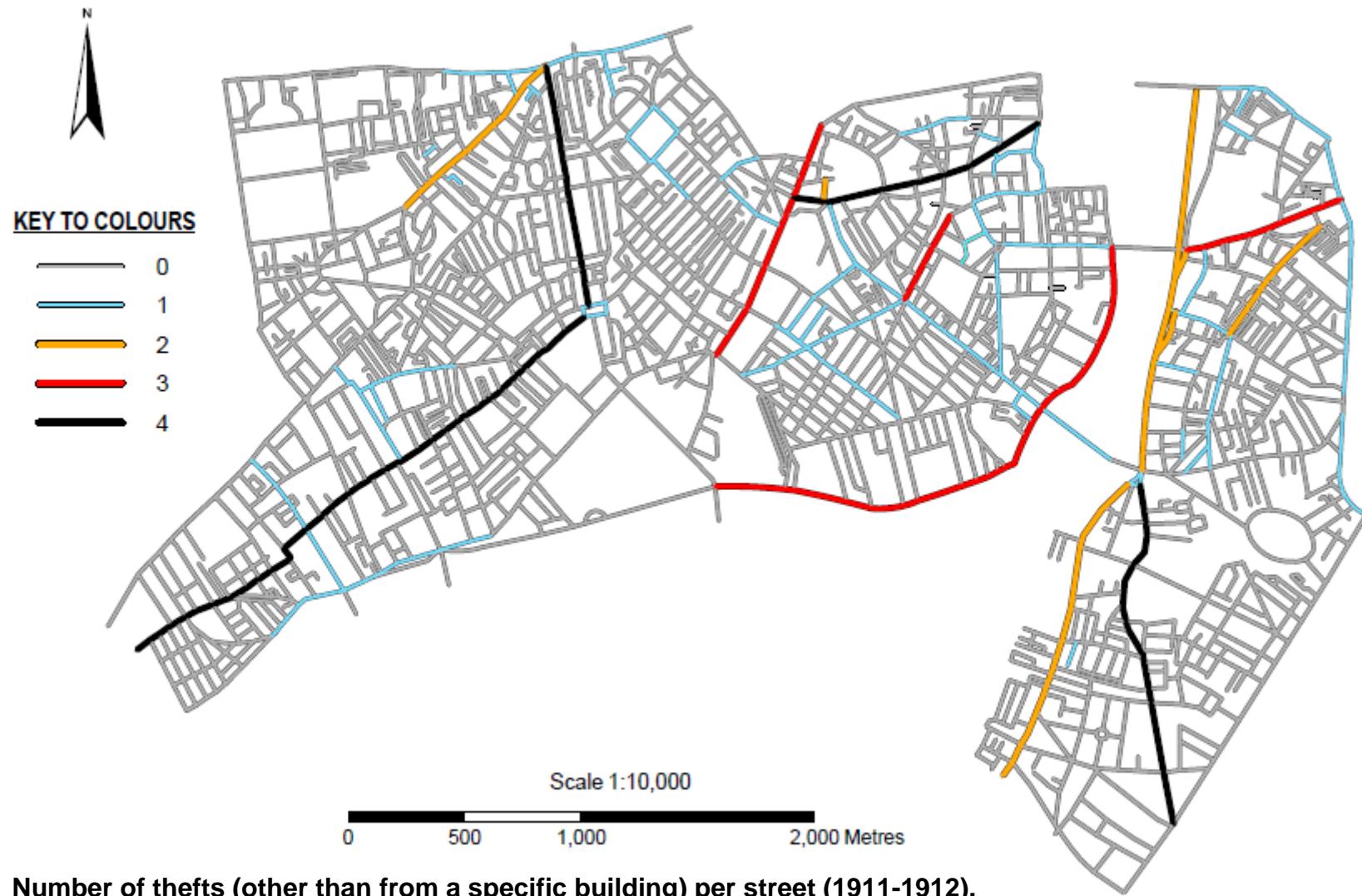
Appendix 7 – Datasets used for analysis in various chapters

Several varieties of data were used to produce figures quoted in Chapters 6 and 7. Each relevant table and graph has therefore been assigned a dataset ID number ('D1', 'D2', 'D3', 'D4' or 'D5') to denote which dataset was used to generate figures shown in the table or graph. This appendix explains the specific details of each dataset so that the reader is able to understand how figures have been produced. The table below lists the datasets and explains what is included in each. It should be noted that D1 was never used in any chapter, but has been assigned a dataset ID number to show how the other datasets were derived from it.

Dataset ID number	Description of dataset
D1	The original 'raw' data collected from the various sources.
D2	Cleansed version of the original 'raw' data (D1) meaning duplication and errors have been removed, but also the data is restructured geographically for loading into GIS software.
D3	A subset of the cleansed dataset (D2) which only includes crime incidents for which the defendant's address was obtained from the census i.e. it is a 'census subset'.
D4	The 'census subset' (D3) with any defendant addresses located outside of London (or outside the extent of Charles Booth's poverty map) removed from the data.
D5	The 'census subset' (D3) with any defendant addresses located inside of London (or inside the extent of Charles Booth's poverty map) removed from the data.

Glossary

This glossary defines certain terms used throughout this thesis which could not be explained in the text or in footnotes. It should be noted that it is the categories of offences (described in Chapter 4) that are mainly used when discussing crime and these are defined by the crimes placed into those groupings. The categories/groupings themselves may not have a legal definition, but the constituent offences were enshrined in law.

To be clear, where necessary and possible, definitions of offences have been taken or adapted from Acts of Parliament, the Metropolitan Police Instruction Book/General Orders or Police Code. Full legal definitions of offences (or their variants) have not been quoted as this would only serve to complicate matters and offer readers no benefit. It should also be remembered that the policeman's or magistrate's interpretation of law will have varied. Hence, definitions here should not be considered as being the legal definition of an offence.

Arrest or apprehension	The act of taking another person into custody to answer according to law for some specified offence. An apprehension may be effected by written warrant, or on reasonable belief of facts justifying taking into custody without a warrant.
Assault	Refers to common assault, aggravated assault and assault on the police (see Offences Against the Person Act, 1861).
Attempted suicide	Refers to an act whereby an individual intentionally places themselves in danger of being killed (illegal under English common law during the Edwardian era).
Bail	The guarantee, under pecuniary liability, to appear, or to produce an accused person to be tried according to law, at an appointed time and place. There were two types of bail – that admitted by a police officer and that allowed by a judge or magistrate.
Begging	Under the Vagrancy Act (1824) any person placing himself or herself in any public place, street, highway, court or passage, to beg or gather alms, or causing or procuring or encouraging any child or children so to do, shall be deemed an idle and disorderly person.

Burglary	Breaking and entering a dwelling-house by night (between the hours of 9pm and 6am), with intent to commit any felony therein, or breaking out of any dwelling-house by night, either after committing a felony therein, or after having entered such dwelling-house by day or by night with intent to commit a felony therein (see Larceny Act, 1861).
Charge	The defining of an offence within the confines of the law.
Cruelty	Refers to both the neglect and/or ill-treatment of animals and children (although it should be noted that the majority of cases in this study involved animals).
Damage to property	An offence involving an individual who destroys, breaks or injures property belonging to another individual or institution/organisation.
Drink related crime	Refers to any incident where an individual was found to be drunk.
Drunk	The definition of being 'drunk' is difficult to define and there is much ambiguity concerning how the police dealt with drunk individuals (see Petrow, 1994 or Jennings, 2012). However, the Metropolitan Police Officers' Directory stated that a person may be considered drunk when, in consequence of excessive alcoholic indulgence, he becomes a danger to himself or others, an annoyance to others, or commits acts against his own interests, which he would not commit but for the fact of having over indulged in alcohol (see MEPO 2/1089, 1907).
Fraud	Encompasses a range of offences involving the deception of others to secure goods, services or money.
Housebreaking	Breaking and entering any dwelling-house by day (between the hours of 6am and 9pm) and commits any felony therein, or breaking out of any dwelling-house by day after having committed any felony therein, or breaking and entering any dwelling-house by day with intent to commit any felony therein (see Larceny Act, 1861).
Illegal gambling	Offences involving betting on the street or where premises are used illicitly as a gaming house.

Obstruction to justice	Offences whereby an individual prevents police from carrying out their duty or where individuals contravene a legal ruling or obligation that has been applied to them specifically by authorities e.g. breaching an expulsion order or escaping from a reformatory.
Prostitution	Encompasses both arrests of prostitutes and individuals caught managing or assisting in the management of a brothel. Various pieces of legislation (Metropolitan Police Act, 1839 and Vagrancy Act, 1898) were used by the police to apprehend prostitutes and those managing brothels.
Railway crime	Any offence known to have been committed on railway premises (premises include stations, goods yards, depots, on railway lines including aboard trains).
Recognisances	An obligation acknowledged in due form to do a certain thing therein named.
Street Betting	Prior to the Street Betting Act (1906), street betting was defined as where three or more persons are assembled together in any part of a street (including any highway or other public place) for the purpose of betting they are deemed to be obstructing the street. The Street Betting Act (1906) extended this to any person found frequenting or loitering in streets or public places for the purpose of bookmaking, wagering, paying or receiving/settling bets.
Summons	A magisterial order to appear in Court with reference to a matter named therein, at a given time.
Surety	Money given to support an undertaking that someone will perform a duty, pay their debts.
Theft	In this study, theft is split into those where individuals stole from a specific location (e.g. a home or shop) and those where individuals stole from an unspecified location along a street. The former can usually be defined as burglary, housebreaking or shoplifting, whereas the latter tended to involve pickpocketing or 'mugging'.

Vehicle offences	Offences involving individuals driving or being responsible for a road vehicle (either horse-drawn or motorised).
Warrant	An authority, under hand and seal, to some officer to arrest an offender to be dealt with according to law, or to commit him to prison, to search premises, or to levy distress for the non-payment of a legal penalty. A warrant is granted to the officer by a judge or magistrate.
Workhouse crime	Any offence known to have been committed on workhouse premises or in connection with the workhouse (e.g. absconding from the workhouse).

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