

Notes

1 Introduction

1. *Old Bailey Proceedings* (hereafter *OBP*), December 1732, Jane Murphey (t17321206-38). See also *Ordinary of Newgate's Account* (hereafter *ONA*), January 1733 (OA17330129).
2. *OBP*, February 1847, Mary Ryley (t18470201-479).
3. *Empire News*, 3 September 1922.
4. R. Evans (1998), *Tales from the German Underworld: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 159.
5. D. Hobbs (2013), *Lush Life: Constructing Organized Crime in the UK* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 58–88.
6. S. Slater (2009), 'Prostitutes and Popular History: Notes on the "Underworld", 1918–1939', *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés*, 13, 1, pp. 25–48.
7. A. Davies (2007), 'The Scottish Chicago?: From 'Hooligans' to 'Gangsters' in Interwar Glasgow', *Cultural and Social History*, 4, 4, pp. 511–27.
8. P. Griffiths (2000), 'Overlapping Circles: Imagining Criminal Communities in London, 1545–1645', in A. Shepard and P. Withington, *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 115–33.
9. Some of the ideas in the following sections were first explored in H. Shore (2007), "'Undiscovered Country": Towards a History of the "Criminal Underworld"'. *Crimes and Misdemeanors: Deviance and the Law in Historical Perspective*, 1, 1, pp. 41–68.
10. G. Ellington (pseud., 1869), *The Women of New York* (New York: New York Book Co.); H. Campbell (1899), *Darkness and Daylight* (Hartford, Connecticut: Worthington & Co.).
11. For example, T. Allen (1931), *Underworld* (London: Grant Richards); C. G. Gordon (1929), *Crooks of the Underworld* (London: Geoffrey Bles); B. Hill (1955), *Boss of Britain's Underworld* (London: Naldrett Press); T. Holmes (1912), *London's Underworld* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons).
12. *The Times*, 9 December 1864. This is based on searches of the *C19 British Library Newspapers* and *The Times Online* on the 23 May 2013.
13. *The Times*, 9 December 1864. In the 1860s, Longfellow published a hugely popular translation of Dante's *The Divine Comedy*. Dante Alighieri (1867), *The Divine Comedy, translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston: Ticknor & Sons).
14. William Harrison Ainsworth published his gothic romance *Rookwood* (Richard Bentley, London) in 1834 and then *Jack Sheppard* was published in *Bentley's Miscellany* between 1839 and 1840. G. W. M. Reynolds *The Mysteries of London* was published between 1844 and 1846 as a penny dreadful, following the influence of Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, which had been published serially in the *Journal des débats* between 1842–43.
15. See R. Crone (2012), *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 78, 146,

- 173, 177–8; R. McGowen (1990), 'Getting to Know the Criminal Class in Nineteenth Century England', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 14, pp. 33–54.
16. R. Shoemaker (2013), 'Celebrating Criminality? Print Culture and the Creation of Criminal Celebrities in Eighteenth-Century London', paper given at conference on Cultural Representations of Crime and Policing: Scottish and International Perspectives, Past and Present (Dundee University, 16–17 April), see podcast: http://www.sipr.ac.uk/downloads/RSE_160413/Shoemaker.mp3, accessed 16 September 2014.
 17. See A. Croll (2004), 'Who's afraid of the Victorian underworld?', *The Historian*, 84, pp. 30–5.
 18. Griffiths, 'Overlapping Circles'; J. McMullan (1984), *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld, 1550–1700* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press); A. Brown (2013), *Interwar Penal Policy in England: The Dartmouth Convict Prison Riot, 1932* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 96–128; Slater, 'Prostitutes and Popular History'.
 19. Evans, *Tales*, pp. 1–10.
 20. A. McKenzie (2007), *Tyburn's Martyrs: Execution in England, 1675–1775* (London: Hambledon Continuum); A. McKenzie (1998), 'Making Crime Pay: Motives, Marketing Strategies, and the Printed Literature of Crime in England, 1670–1770', in G. Smith, A. May and S. Devereaux (eds.), *Criminal Justice in the Old World and the New: Essays in Honour of J. M. Beattie* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), pp. 235–69; Crone, *Violent Victorians*; J. Flanders (2011), *The Invention of Murder: How the Victorians Revelled in Death and Detection and Created Modern Crime* (London: Harper Press).
 21. E. Snell (2007), 'Changing Discourses of Crime: Representations of Criminality in the Eighteenth-Century Newspaper Press', *Continuity and Change*, 22, 1, pp. 13–47; R. Ward (2012), 'Print Culture, Moral Panic and the Administration of the Law: The London Crime Wave of 1744', *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés*, 12, 1, pp. 5–24; J. C. Wood (2010), "'The Third Degree": Press Reporting, Crime Fiction and Police Powers in 1920s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 21, 4, pp. 464–85; M. Houlbrook (2013), 'Fashioning an Ex-crook Self: Citizenship and Criminality in the Work of Netley Lucas', *Twentieth Century British History*, 24, 1, pp. 1–30; M. Houlbrook (2013), 'Commodifying the Self Within: Ghosts, Libels, and the Crook Life Story in Interwar Britain', *Journal of Modern History*, 85, 2, pp. 321–63.
 22. See K. Chesney (1970), *The Victorian Underworld* (London: Temple Smith); D. Low (2005), *The Regency Underworld* (Stroud: Sutton); D. Thomas (1998), *Victorian Underworld* (London: Murray, 1998); D. Thomas (2003), *An Underworld at War* (London: Murray).
 23. B. McDonald (2000), *Elephant Boys: Tales of London and Los Angeles Underworlds* (Edinburgh: Mainstream); B. McDonald (2010), *The Gangs of London: 100 Years of Mob Warfare* (Wrea Green: Milo Books); J. Morton (1994), *Gangland, vol. 2: The Underworld in Britain and Ireland* (London: Little Brown); J. Morton (2000), *East End Gangland* (London: Little Brown).
 24. R. Barthes (1972 edn.), *Mythologies* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux), p. 137.
 25. J. Wiltenburg (2004), 'True Crime: The Origins of Modern Sensationalism', *The American Historical Review*, 109, 5, pp. 1377–404.
 26. A. Wright (2006), *Organised Crime: Concept, Cases, Control* (Cullompton: Willan), p. 3.

27. D. Hobbs (1994), 'Professional and Organized Crime in Britain', in Mike Maguire, Robert Morgan and Robert Reiner, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) pp. 441–68, p. 457.
28. Hobbs, *Lush Life*, pp. 13–14, 18.
29. P. Reuter (1983), *Disorganized Crime: Illegal Markets and the Mafia – The Economics of the Visible Hand* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
30. See A. Davies (1998), 'Street Gangs, Crime and Policing in Glasgow During the 1930s: The Case of the Beehive Boys', *Journal of Social History*, 32, 2, pp. 349–69. A. Davies (2013), *City of Gangs: Glasgow and the Rise of the British Gangster* (London: Hodder & Stoughton).
31. Such flexibility and disorganisation can be gleaned from the key work on Wild by G. Howson (1970), *The Thief-taker General: The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Wild* (London: Hutchinson).
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33. S. Hallsworth (2011), 'Gangland Britain? Realities, Fantasies and Industry', in B. Goldson (ed.), *Youth in Crisis? 'Gangs', Territoriality and Violence* (London: Routledge), pp. 20–37, pp. 183–197, p. 185.
34. M. Clayton (2008), 'The Life and Crimes of Charlotte Walker, Prostitute and Pickpocket', *London Journal*, 33, 1, pp. 3–19; T. Hitchcock and R. Shoemaker (2007), *Tales from the Hanging Court* (London: Hodder Arnold); T. Hitchcock and R. Shoemaker, (2015), *London Lives: Poverty, Crime and the Making of a Modern City, 1690–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); H. Shore (1999), *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press); J. C. Wood (2012), *The Most Remarkable Woman in England: Poison, Celebrity and the Trial of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
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37. Shoemaker, 'Print Culture', p. 18.
38. McKenzie, 'Making Crime Pay', pp. 259–65; L. B. Faller (1987), *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
39. R. Ward, 'Print Culture and Responses to Crime in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London' (University of Sheffield, 2011, Ph.D thesis), p. 6.
40. R. B. Shoemaker (2006), 'The Street Robber and the Gentleman Highwayman: Changing Representations and Perceptions of Robbery in London, 1690–1800', *Cultural and Social History*, 3, pp. 381–405; G. Spragg (2003), *Outlaws and Highwaymen: The Cult of the Robber in England from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Pimlico).
41. Beattie, J. M. (2003), *Policing and Punishment, 1660–1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 373.
42. See J. Warner and F. Ivis (2001), 'Informers and their Social Networks in Eighteenth-Century London: A Comparison of Two Communities', *Social Science History*, 25, 4, pp. 563–87, p. 570. For reporting on Gonson and De

- Veil see, *Daily Journal*, 13 November 1731, 8 September 1732; *Grub Street Journal* 19 August 1731; *Daily Gazette*, 4 February, 16, 22 March 1738. Also, T. Hitchcock (2003), 'You Bitches ... Die and Be Damned', *Gender, Authority and the Mob in St. Martin's Roundhouse Disaster of 1742*, in T. Hitchcock and H. Shore (eds.), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers Oram Press), pp. 69–81.
43. See R. Paulson (1991), *Hogarth, Vol. 1, The 'Modern Moral Subject' 1697–1732* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press), especially pp. 241–52; J. Uglow (1997), *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (London: Faber & Faber) pp. 193–7, pp. 202–6, p. 209.
 44. Shoemaker, 'Print Culture', p. 18.
 45. See J. C. Reid (1971), *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency London* (London: Routledge).
 46. See C. Hindley (1878), *The Life and Times of James Catnach* (London: Reeves and Turner).
 47. See P. D. James and T. A. Critchley (1971), *The Maul and the Pear Tree: The Ratcliffe Highway Murders, 1811* (London: Constable).
 48. Crone, *Violent Victorians*, p. 92.
 49. Ainsworth, *Rookwood*; Ainsworth, *Jack Sheppard*; E. Bulwer-Lytton (1830), *Paul Clifford* (London: Richard Bentley); C. Dickens (1838), *Oliver Twist; Or the Parish Boy's Progress. By "Boz."* (London: Richard Bentley).
 50. See J. Marriott (1999), 'Introduction', in J. Marriott and M. Matsumura (eds.), *The Metropolitan Poor: Semi-Factual Accounts, 1795–1910, Vol. 1* (London: Pickering and Chatto), pp. xi–l.
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 53. A. Mearns (1883), *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (London: James Clarke & Co.); A. S. Wohl, 'Mearns, Andrew (1837–1925)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56012>, 8 September 2014).
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 57. Sharpe, *Flying Squad*, p. 213.
 58. From the *Sheffield Mail* in reference to the Sheffield gang problem in 1926, cited in J. P. Bean (1981), *The Sheffield Gang Wars* (Sheffield: D & D Publications), p. 125.
 59. *Empire News*, 6 August 1922.
 60. K. E. Meyrick (1933, 1994), *Secrets of the 43 Club* (Dublin: Parkgate Publications), p. 17.
 61. A. Davies (2007), 'Glasgow's Reign of Terror: Street Gangs, Racketeering and Intimidation in the 1920s and the 1930s', *Contemporary British History*,

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62. G. Greene (1938), *Brighton Rock* (London: Heinmann); P. Cheney (1944), *Making Crime Pay* (London: John Long).
63. E. T. Hart (1993), *Britain's Godfather* (London: Forum).
64. Davies, 'Scottish Chicago?', p. 513.
65. *Empire News*, 3 September 1922.
66. P. Rogers (1980), *Hacks and Dunces: Pope, Swift and Grub Street* (London: Methuen & Co). Applebee and Defoe would produce two accounts of John Sheppard and a life of Jonathan Wild, as well as other pamphlets. See P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens (1988), *The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
67. J. Sharpe (2004), *Dick Turpin: The Myth of the English Highwayman* (London: Profile Books).
68. W. A. Miles (1839), *Poverty, Mendicity and Crime* (London: Shaw & Sons).
69. TNA: HO73/16: Select Committee on Gaols (secret), box 3, 8. Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp. 155–7.
70. Crone, *Violent Victorians*, pp. 77–8.
71. *OBP*, June 1810, Joel Joseph and Isaac Solomon (t18100606-89). Solomon was identified by contemporaries as the 'Prince' of fences, see the *Morning Chronicle*, 10 July 1829. J. J. Tobias (1974), *Prince of Fences: The Life and Crimes of Ikey Solomons* (London: Valentine Mitchell), pp. 18–19, 147–8.
72. See *OBP*, July 1830, Isaac Solomon (t18300708-16); *OBP*, July 1830, Isaac Solomon (t18300708-17); *OBP*, July 1830, Isaac Solomon (t18300708-63); *OBP*, July 1830, Isaac Solomon (t18300708-140); *OBP*, July 1830, Isaac Solomon (t18300708-141); *OBP*, July 1830, Isaac Solomon (t18300708-177); *OBP*, July 1830, Isaac Solomon (t18301209-107); *Morning Chronicle*, 28 May 1827, July 10 1829.
73. Tobias, *Prince of Fences*, pp. xiii–xiv.
74. See, Anon. (1829), *Adventures ... of that Notorious Fence, and Receiver of Stolen Goods, Isaac Solomons* (London: J. Knight); M. Hebron (1829), *The Life and Exploits of Ikey Solomons* (London); Anon. (1830), *The Life and Adventures of Ikey Solomons* (London).
75. Hobbs, *Lush Life*, pp. 86–7.
76. McDonald, *Elephant Boys*.
77. Hill, *Boss*; J. Pearson (1973), *The Profession of Violence: The Rise and Fall of the Kray Twins* (St Albans: Panther); J. Pearson (2001), *The Cult of Violence: The Untold Story of the Krays* (London: Orion).
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83. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, p. 177.
84. *OBP*, October 1744, Thomas Wells, Theophilus Watson, Joshua Barnes, Thomas Kirby, Ann Duck (t17441017-6).
85. E. Sutherland (1949), *White Collar Crime* (New York: Dryden Press), p. 2; G. Robb (1992), *White-Collar Crime in Modern England: Financial Fraud and Business Morality, 1845–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
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88. For example see F. Egmond (1993), *Underworld: Organised Crime in the Netherlands* (London: Polity); D. V. Jones and A. Bainbridge (1979), 'The Conquering of China: Crime in an Industrial Community, 1842–64', *Llafur The Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour History*, 2, 4, pp. 7–37.
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90. T. Henderson (1999), *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730–1830* (London: Longman), p. 41; R. Trumbach (1998), *Sex and the Gender Revolution, Vol. 1: Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 71, 116, 125.
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93. *OBP*, September 1820, Thomas Shaw (T-18200918-235).
94. *World*, 3 October 1788.
95. Griffiths, 'Overlapping Circles', p. 115.
96. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 4 November 1820.
97. *OBP*, July 1888, George Galletly, Peter Lee, William Joseph Graefe, William Henshaw, Charles Henry Govier, Francis Cole, William Elvis, Michael Doolan (t18880730-759). See D. Gray (2013), 'Gang Crime and the Media in Late 19th Century London: The Regent's Park Murder of 1888', *Cultural and Social History*, 10, 4, pp. 559–75.
98. F. Barker and P. Jackson (1990), *The History of London in Maps* (London: Guild Publishing), pp. 66–7.
99. M. J. Halvorson and K. E. Spierling (2008), *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate), p. 7.
100. Halvorson and Spierling, *Defining Community*, p. 7.

101. Karl Bell has argued that parish boundaries are often sites where legends and myths cluster. K. Bell (2012), *The Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack: Victorian Urban Folklore and Popular Cultures* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press), pp. 158–9.
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107. See J. Marriott (2008), 'The Imaginative Geography of the Whitechapel Murders', in A. Werner (ed.) *Jack the Ripper and the East End* (London: Chatto and Windus), pp. 31–63. On the policing of the area during the murders, see D. Gray (2010), *London's Shadows: The Dark Side of the Victorian City* (London: Continuum).
108. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, p. 33; D. George (1966 edn.), *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
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110. Wood, 'Locating Violence', p. 24.
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112. P. Burke (2005 edn.), *History and Social Theory* (New York: Cornell University Press), p. 40.
113. Evans, *Tales*, p. 214. Also, D. Nash and A. M. Kilday (2010), *Cultures of Shame: Exploring Crime and Morality in Britain, 1600–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
114. *Standard*, 17 July 1827. It was also reported in the *Morning Post* the following day, 18 July 1827.
115. On the relationship between London and representations of crime, deviance and the poor see S. Joyce (2003), *Capital Offenses: Geographies of Class and Crime in Victorian London* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press); S. Koven (2004), *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
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117. Neale, 'Making Crime Pay', p. 454.
118. T. Hitchcock (2013), 'Confronting the Digital, Or How Academic History Writing Lost The Plot', *Cultural and Social History*, 10, 1, pp. 9–23; R. B. Shoemaker (2008), 'The Old Bailey Proceedings and the Representation of Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 47, pp. 559–80. Also see, T. Hitchcock and R. B. Shoemaker (2006) 'Digitising History From Below: The Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674–1834', *History Compass*, 4, pp. 1–10.

2 'Now we have the Informing Dogs!': Crime Networks and Informing Cultures in the 1720s and 1730s

1. *OBP*, January 1722, Edward Vaughan, Philip Cholmley (t17220112-43).
2. Howson, *Thief-Taker*; L. Moore (1998), *The Thieves' Opera: The Remarkable Lives and Deaths of Jonathan Wild, Thief-taker and Jack Sheppard, House-breaker* (London: Penguin).
3. Not least by his most famous contemporary biographer, D. Defoe (1725, 2004 edn.), *The True and Genuine Account of the Life and Actions of the Late Jonathan Wild* (London: Harper Perennial).
4. Howson, *Thief-Taker*, p. 115.
5. For example, see Faller, *Turned to Account*, p. 272.
6. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*; McMullan, *Canting Crew*.
7. *Daily Journal*, 3 November 1730, 10 November 1731, for references to Moll Harvey's gang.
8. Apprehension of Highwaymen Act, 4 & 5 William & Mary, c. 8 (1692), Coining Act, 6 & 7 William III, c. 17 (1695); 10 & 11 Wm III, c. 23 (1699).
9. Beattie, *Policing*, p. 371.
10. Shoemaker, 'Street Robber'.
11. *OBP*, Tabulating offence subcategory, between 1700 and 1749 Counting by offence; Tabulating offence subcategory against punishment category, between 1700 and 1749 Counting by punishment (there is incomplete data for the period 1700–1714).
12. See R. Clark (2014), Capital Punishment UK, <http://www.capitalpunishmentuk.org/tyburn.html>
13. J. M. Beattie (1986), *Crime and the Courts in England, 1600–1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), pp. 136–7. For the decline of highway robbery in criminal biography, etc., see McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyrs*, pp. 115–20; Shoemaker, 'Street Robber'.
14. Sharpe, *Dick Turpin*.
15. E. Mackie (2009), *Rakes, Highwaymen and Pirates: The Making of the Modern Gentleman in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press), p. 98.
16. Ward, 'Print Culture'; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London Lives*.
17. R. Paley (1989), 'Thief-takers in London in the Age of the McDaniel Gang, c. 1745–1754', in Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder (eds.), *Policing and Prosecution in Britain, 1750–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 301–41. See also, Beattie, *Policing*, pp. 406–14.
18. Paley, 'Thief-Takers'. For De Veil and the Black Boy Alley Gang, see Beattie, *Policing*, p. 407; T. Deveil (1748), *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Thomas Deveil, Knight* (London: M. Cooper), p. 66.
19. M. Madan (1785), *Thoughts on Executive Justice, with Respect to Our Criminal Laws* (London: J. Dodsley), pp. 127–8.
20. Shoemaker, 'Print Culture', p. 18; Faller, *Turned to Account*; P. Linebaugh (1977), 'The Ordinary of Newgate and his Account', in J. Cockburn (ed.), *Crime in England 1550–1800* (London: Methuen); A. McKenzie (2005), 'From True Confessions to True Reporting? The Decline and Fall of the Ordinary's Account', *London Journal*, 30, 1, pp. 55–70; McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyrs*; G. Morgan and P. Rushton (2007), 'Print Culture, Crime and Transportation in the Criminal

- Atlantic', *Continuity and Change*, 2, 1, pp. 49–72; P. Rawlings (1992), *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge). On distribution, M. Harris (c. 1984), 'Trials and Criminal Biographies: A Case Study in Distribution', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds.), *Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700* (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press), pp. 1–36.
21. *OBP*, C. Emsley, T. Hitchcock and R. Shoemaker, 'Publishing History of the Proceedings', <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Publishinghistory.jsp>, accessed 16 September 2014.
 22. Faller, *Turned to Account*.
 23. Shoemaker, 'Street Robber'.
 24. Shoemaker, 'Street Robber', p. 311–12.
 25. I. A. Bell (1991), *Literature and Crime in Augustan England* (London: Routledge), pp. 67–8, 80–4.
 26. B. Mandeville (1725), *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn* (London: J. Roberts). See also D. Defoe (1728), *Street Robberies Consider'd* (London: J. Roberts); D. Defoe (1731), *An Effectual Scheme for the Immediate Preventing of Street Robberies* (London).
 27. Shoemaker, 'Street Robber', p. 384.
 28. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence category. Counting by offence.
 29. Searching 01/01/1723 to 31/12/1723, 'gang' OR 'gangs', *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*.
 30. *Evening Post*, 24 January 1723; *Daily Post*, 14 May 1723.
 31. *OBP*, Based on searching 'Violent Theft' from 1715 to 1799, counting by offence per decade.
 32. Benjamin Child was tried in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, and executed on the 9 March 1722 (*Daily Post*, 10 March 1722); *OBP*, July 1722, James Carrick (t17220704-51), *ONA*, July 1722 (OA17220718); *OBP*, May 1722, John Hawkins and George Simpson (t17220510-3), *ONA*, May 1722 (OA17220521); *OBP*, August 1724, Joseph Sheppard (t17240812-52), *ONA*, September 1724 (OA17240904); Edward Burnworth (alias Frazier) was executed in Kingston, Surrey, 6 May 1726; *OBP*, February 1728, Martin Bellamy (t17280228-44), *ONA*, March 1728 (OA17280327); *OBP*, April 1730, James Dalton, (t17300408-61), *ONA*, May 1730 (OA17300512); *OBP*, January 1729, Thomas Neeves (t17290116-21), *ONA*, February 1729 (OA17290207).
 33. See chapters XVII and XVIII in Howson, *Thief-Taker*, pp. 171–203. For Burnworth and Wild see the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 26 February 1726.
 34. *Weekly Gazetteer or British Journal*, 3 March 1722.
 35. *Daily Post*, 10 March 1722. B. Child (1722), *The Whole Life and History of Benjamin Child, Lately Executed for Robbing the Bristol Mail, etc.* (London: J. Peele).
 36. Howson, *Thief-Taker*, p. 176.
 37. *OBP*, May 1722, John Hawkins and George Simpson (t17220510-3); R. Wilson (1722), *A Full and Impartial Account of all the Robberies Committed by JOHN HAWKINS, GEORGE SYMPSON (Lately Executed for Robbing the Bristol Mail) and their COMPANIONS* (London: J. Peele); *Weekly Journal or Saturday Post*, 5 May 1722; *St. James's Journal*, 24 May 1722.
 38. Accounts from William of his brother John's 'Life' and of his own robberies were later published in A. Smith (1726), *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Famous Jonathan Wild* (London: Sam. Briscoe), pp. 49–64, 65–98.

39. ONA, March 1728 (OA17280327); M. Bellamy (1728), *The Life of Martin Bellamy; with an Account Of all the Several Robberies, Burglaries, Forgeries, and other Crimes by him Committed, etc.* (London: J. Applebee). Rawlings, Drunks, pp. 83, 108–7. OBP, February 1728, Martin Bellamy (t-17280228-44).
40. OBP, May 1725, Jonathan Wilde (t17250513-55). The List is detailed in Howson, *Thief-Taker*, pp. 306–11.
41. *London Gazette*, 19 January 1720.
42. Beattie, *Policing*, p. 379.
43. F. Dabhoiwala (2007), 'Sex and Societies for Moral Reform, 1688–1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 46, pp. 290–319, p. 290; J. Hurl-Eamon (2004), 'Policing Male Heterosexuality: The Reformation of Manners Societies' Campaign Against the Brothels in Westminster, 1690–1720', *Journal of Social History*, 37, 4, pp. 1017–35.
44. Hurl-Eamon, 'Policing', p. 15; R. B. Shoemaker (1991), *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, c. 1660–1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), particularly chapter nine; R. B. Shoemaker (1992), 'Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690–1738' in L. Davison et al. (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689–1750* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 99–120.
45. Shoemaker, 'Reforming the City', p. 100.
46. Dabhoiwala, 'Sex and Societies', p. 299.
47. Shoemaker, 'Reforming the City', p. 106.
48. Anon. (1691), *Antimoixeia* (London).
49. G. V. Portus (1912), *Caritas Anglicana* (London: Mowbray & Co), pp. 46–9.
50. Dabhoiwala, 'Sex and Societies', p. 304.
51. Beattie, *Policing*, particularly Chapter 8, pp. 370–423; L. Radzinowicz (1956), *A History of the English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750. Vol. 2: The Clash Between Private Initiative and Public Interest in the Enforcement of the Law* (London: Stevens and Son); T. Wales (2000), 'Thief-Takers and Their Clients in Later Stuart London', in P. Griffiths and M. S. R. Jenner (eds.), *Londonopolis: Essays in the Social and Cultural History of Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 67–84.
52. Plate 3 of 'A Harlot's Progress' (paintings, 1731; engravings, 1732). Paulson, *Hogarth: Vol. 1*, pp. 241–52. H. Shore, 'Gonson, Sir John (1676/7–1765)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, May 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/96892>, accessed 8 September 2014); P. Sugden, 'Veil, Sir Thomas de (1684–1746)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38735>, accessed 8 September 2014).
53. R. Paulson (1993), *Hogarth: Vol. 2, High Art and Low, 1732–1750* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press), pp. 131–2, 140, 146, 147.
54. *London Lives* (hereafter *LL*), MS/SP, Justices' Working Documents, 31 December 1721, LMSMPSS01960007.
55. Shoemaker, *Prosecution*, pp. 257–8. See examples of disorderly prosecutions involving Raiton and Blackerby in the Justices' Working Papers (*LL*), WJ/PS, October 1722, LMWJPS653630006; SM/PS, April 1730, LMSMPS502670134; WJ/PS, 10 February 1731–8 July 1731, LMWJPS653920033; WJ/PS, 10 February 1731–8 July 1731, LMWJPS653920035.

56. *OBP*, July 1729, William Rowland (t17290709-23); *London Journal*, 9 August 1729.
57. R. Norton (1992), *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England, 1700–1830* (London: GMP Publishers), pp. 54–69.
58. *London Journal*, 9 August 1729.
59. See J. Gonson (1730), *Five Charges to Several Grand Juries ... Third Edition* (London).
60. A. Pope (1735), *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq; vol. II.* (London: L. Gilliver), p. 147.
61. *Daily Journal*, 7 November 1730. *OBP*, July 1731, Luke Powell (t17310714-9); *London Evening Post*, 25 August 1730.
62. P. King (2000), *Crime, Justice and Discretion in England, 1740–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Langbein, *Origins*; G. Morgan and P. Rushton (2003), 'The Magistrate and the Community and the Maintenance of an Orderly Society in Eighteenth Century England', *Historical Research*, 76, 191, pp. 54–77; D. Palk (2006), *Gender, Crime and Judicial Discretion, 1780–1830* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society).
63. S. Webb and B. Webb (1906), *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County* (London: Longmans, Green and Co.), p. 328. For the 'trading justice' see J. Beattie (2007), 'Sir John Fielding and Public Justice: The Bow Street Magistrates' Court, 1754–1780', *Law and History Review*, 25, pp. 61–100; N. Landau (1984), *The Justice's of the Peace, 1679–1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press); N. Landau (2002), 'The Trading Justices Trade', in N. Landau (ed.), *Law, Crime and Society, 1660–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 46–70.
64. Landau, 'Trading', p. 46.
65. Shoemaker, *Prosecution*, pp. 225–33.
66. Beattie, *Policing*, pp. 244–7.
67. J. Innes (2009), *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 279–341 for William Payne. See also J. Innes, 'Payne, William (1717/18–1782)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70400>, accessed 8 September 2014).
68. E. Ward (1709), *The London-Spy Compleat in Eighteen Parts* (London: J. How, London), pp. 365–7.
69. C. Walker (1723), *Authentick Memoirs of the Life, Intrigues and Adventures of the Celebrated Sally Salisbury* (London), p. 59.
70. City of London Sessions (*LL*), *SL/PS*, 29 June 1733, *LMSLPS150440071*. Langbein, *Origins*, pp. 140–1.
71. *OBP* (t17220112-43); *Daily Post*, 15 January 1722. The year before they had been seized by a mob whilst they were on their way from the Round House to the Court House in Bloomsbury, Middlesex Sessions (*LL*), *SM/PS*, 31 July 1721, *LMSMPS01960006*.
72. Cholmley (also spelt Cholmondley) and Vaughan are described as constables for the society by Dabhoiwala, 'Sex and Society', p. 304, fn. 75; see also LMA: MJ/SP/1721, August 1721, affidavit: 'Philip Cholmondly & Edward Vaughan re their apprehension on the oath of a disorderly woman'. Shoemaker notes that they were particularly active in the early 1720s, *Prosecution*, p. 242.

73. *OBP*, February 1722, Charles Mac-Cave, Edward Dun and Edward Galloway (t-17220228-65). See *Daily Post*, 16 February 1722, and *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 17 February 1722, for details of the £50 reward offered for MacCave's apprehension.
74. Anon. (1733), *A Looking Glass For Informing Constables* (London: J. Wilford); for Dent see Shoemaker, *Prosecution*, pp. 180, 241, 261, 262. Philip Cholmondley gave information about this case, Middlesex Sessions (*LL*), SM/PS, 19 March 1709, LMSMP501050015; see also the information of Thomas Lovett, 12 March 1709, LMSMP501050012; Foulk Withers, 18 March 1709, LMSMP501050018. See also the case of Thomas Cook for the murder of John Cooper, a Constable, as he was in the Execution of his Office, in *ONA*, August 1703 (OA17030811). Cook was apparently 'a sworn Enemy to those who were employ'd in the Reformation of Manners'.
75. *OBP*, January 1721, Edward Arnold (t17210113-35).
76. For example see *Daily Journal*, 13 November 1729; *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 15 November 1729.
77. See *British Journal or Censor*, 8 November 1729. Also *Daily Journal*, 3 November 1729.
78. *Fogs Weekly Journal*, 8 November 1729.
79. For example, see Sir John Gonson's requests for the protection of constables, in TNA: SP36/18, Folios 197-8, 13 May 1730, and similar in SP 36/59, Folio 222, 8 December 1742.
80. For social networking theory see J. S. McIlwain (1999), 'Organized Crime: A Social Network Approach', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 32, pp. 301-23.
81. J. Warner, F. Ivis and A. Demers (2000), 'A Predatory Social Structure: Informers in Westminster, 1737-1741', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 30, pp. 617-34.
82. Howson, *Thief-Taker*, p. 233.
83. There are 14 references to Thomas Willis, mostly working on his own, once working with Robert Willis. There are also two further references to Robert Willis and one to Michael Willis. All these refer to arrests of disorderly persons and all but two are arrests of women. For example see Bridewell Royal Hospital, Minutes of the Court of Governors (*LL*), 22 February 1717, BBBRMG202040287; 8 June 1722, BBBRMG202040546; 12 November 1725, BBBRMG202050092; 21 November 1729, BBBRMG202050228.
84. CLRO: SF 652, Sessions File, Indictments and Recognizances, August 1725, Mary Kirkham, Lydia Close, Abraham Pound. Mary Clayton has found references to the Willis on bloody money certificates from 1726 and 1728, TNA: E407/29. My thanks to Mary for generously sharing her research and sending me copies of the certificates.
85. *OBP*, April 1725, Sarah Field and William Field, Receiving (t17250407-33); Howson claims that the charge was made by Abraham Mendez Ceixes, and that the recognizance is signed by Robert Willis amongst others. Howson, *Thief-Taker*, p. 243.
86. *OBP*, January 1730, John Everett (t17300116-35); *OBP*, May 1728, William Russell, William Holden and Robert Crouch (t17280501-22); *OBP*, May 1728, Christopher Rawlins, Isaac Ashley and John Rowden, Highway Robbery (t17280501-30), *ONA*, May 1728 (OA17280520).
87. *OBP* (t17280501-30).
88. Anon. (1728), *Villany Exploded* (London: T. Read), p. 40.

89. Anon., *Villany Exploded*, p. 43.
90. *London Evening Post*, 14 May 1730; *Daily Journal*, 16 May 1730. An affidavit from Charles Ge(e)ry survives, TNA: KB1/3/3. For the trial see *Country Journal or, the Craftsman*, 11, 18 December 1731; *Daily Journal*, 13 December 1731; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 11 December 1731. Also Anon., *Looking Glass for Informing Constables*.
91. *Daily Journal*, 13 December 1731; *Country Journal or, the Craftsman*, 18 December 1731.
92. *OBP*, July 1726, William Brown (t17260711-77).
93. Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, pp. 57–8; *OBP*, April 1736, Gabriel Lawrence (t17260420-64).
94. The Blood Money certificate for the arrest of John Rowden states that the informants were rewarded £40. Presumably the reward was divided between the 14 men named on the certificate, see TNA: E407/29.
95. Ward, *London Spy*, p. 276.
96. *Daily Journal*, 13 November 1729.
97. Blood Money certificates give us some idea of how the money was divided. For example, for the conviction of Edward Wentland who was tried for Highway Robbery at the Old Bailey in April 1732, the victim, the beadle and four watchmen divided up £40 between them. *OBP*, April 1732, Edward Wentland (t17320419-9); CLRO: MISC MSS/152/5 – Blood Money Certificates for Highwaymen, Newgate Gaol Delivery for City of London.
98. Langbein, *Origins*, p. 160.
99. CLRO: SM 112, Marshall mayor, 1744–45, rewards; The main trials associated with Harper are in December 1744: *OBP* (t17441205-34), (t17441205-35), (t17441205-37), (t17441205-48).
100. CLRO: SM 112, Marshall mayor, 1744–45, rewards. *OBP*: October 1744, Ann Duck and Ann Barefoot (t-17441017-23).
101. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 29 December 1731, p. 539; *ONA*, December 1731 (OA17311220).
102. Langbein, *Origins*, p. 164.
103. *OBP*, May 1722, John Hawkins and George Simpson (t17220510-3). Wilson, *A Full and Impartial Account*. For Wilson's evidence see *Evening Post*, 26 April 1722; *Daily Post*, 27 April 1722.
104. *OBP*, December 1721, Butler Fox (t17211206-41); *OBP*, December 1721, James Wright (t17211206-66); *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, 11 November 1721; *Applebee's Original Weekly Journal*, 16 December 1721. Also see Howson, *Thief-Taker*, pp. 172–4, 178–82, for Hawkins gang.
105. CLRO: CLA/047/LJ/19/005, 'Pardons of prisoners convicted at Newgate, many of condition of transportation', 26 February 1727/8, 30 April 1728 (Dalton & Neeves). *OBP*, July 1728, Supplementary Material, James Dalton and Thomas Neaves Pardon (O17280717-1).
106. *OBP*, May 1728, William Russell, William Holden and Robert Crouch (t17280501-22); *OBP*, May 1728, Christopher Rawlins alias Thomas Rawlins, Isaac Ashley alias Ashby, and John Rowden alias Hulks (t17280501-30). See *ONA*, May 1728 (OA17280520); A. L. Hayward (1927), *Lives of the Most Remarkable Criminals* (London: Routledge), pp. 438–44.
107. J. Dalton (1730), *The Life and Actions of James Dalton* (London: R. Walker), p. 43.

108. *OBP*, May 1728, Richard Nichols and John Perkins (t17280501-8).
109. Dalton, *Life and Actions*, p. 44.
110. Howson, *Thief-Taker*, pp. 139, *OBP*, March 1720, James Dalton and John Pindar (t17200303-45); *OBP*, March 1721, James Dalton (t17210301-61).
111. Hayward, *Lives*, p. 533. For a discussion of Dalton's 'career' in the early 1720s see the commentary in Rawlings, *Drunks*, pp. 79–109.
112. Hayward, *Lives*, p. 533.
113. CLRO: SF 673, 'James Dalton committed by...R. Hopkinson on the 4 day of March 1727 he having made a voluntary confession of his being concerned in several robberies with divers other persons who he hath given information of, and him in your said custody safely keep till discharged by due course of law'. The list which Dalton is on contains examples of other 'informations' being kept safe in the Compter. CLRO: SP 807, session roll, calendar of persons committed to Wood street Compter.
114. *Daily Journal*, 17, 21 January 1730. See Paulson, *Hogarth: Vol. 1*, pp. 244, 373. For the events in Dalton's life leading up to the attack on Dr Mead see Dalton, *The Life and Actions*.
115. *Daily Courant*, 17 January 1730.
116. *Daily Journal*, 17 Saturday January 1730. The following Wednesday (21 January) it was reported that Dalton had been found guilty and sentenced to three years imprisonment and a fine of 40 marks.
117. *OBP*, April 1730, James Dalton (t17300408-61). See also John Waller (1732), *The Life and Infamous Actions of That Perjur'd Villain John Waller, etc.* (London).
118. *Daily Journal*, 12 May 1730; *Country Journal, or Craftsman*, 16 May 1730. See also, ONA, May 1730 (OA17300512).
119. *OBP*, April 1724, Edward Joire (probably Joice/Joyce) (t17240415-10).
120. *OBP*, December 1744, Mary Kemp (t-17441205-47), evidence of Joseph Copp.
121. T. Neaves (1729), *The Life of Thomas Neaves, the Noted Street-Robber* (London: R. Walker). For the trials at which Neaves informed see *OBP*, May 1728, John Hornby (t17280501-26); *OBP*, May 1728, Edward Benson, alias Brown, alias Boyston, George Gale, alias Kiddy George and Thomas Crowder (t17280501-35); *OBP*, May 1728, James Toon (t17280501-37).
122. ONA, February 1729 (OA17290207). He was tried under the spelling Neeves in January: *OBP*, January 1729, Thomas Neeves (t17290116-21). See also McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyrs*, p. 20.
123. *Flying Post or the Weekly Medley*, 8 February 1729; *Daily Post*, 10 February 1729.
124. Langbein, *Origins*, pp. 157, 291–310; J. Langbein (1999), 'The Prosecutorial Origins of Defense Counsel in the Eighteenth Century: The Appearance of Solicitors', *Cambridge Law Review*, 58, pp. 314–65; Beattie, *Policing*, p. 376.
125. For more on Waller and Dalton see Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *Tales*, pp. 316–24.
126. Waller, *Life*, pp. 6–7.
127. 'Act for the better regulation of attorneys and solicitors', 2 Geo. II, ch. 23 (1729). See Langbein, 'Prosecutorial Origins'. Dalton, *Life*, pp. 6–12.
128. *Daily Journal*, 14 February 1728; *London Journal*, 17 February 1728.
129. Waller, *Life*, p. 13.
130. This seems to have been during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1727–1729, since the peace with King Philip (Treaty of Seville, 1729) is referred to. Waller, *Life*, p. 14.

131. *OBP*, January 1730, James Dalton (t17300116-13); *OBP*, April 1730, James Dalton (t17300408-61); *London Evening Post*, 25 April 1730.
132. *OBP* (t17300408-61).
133. Waller, *Life*, p. 17. This seems to be confirmed in *ONA* (OA17300512).
134. *OBP*, May 1730, Charles Ditcher, John Wells (t17300513-8).
135. This was obviously Ditcher, Wells and Dalton; it is unclear who the fourth person was. Dalton would be tried in April: *OBP* (t17300408-61). *London Evening Post*, 25 April 1730.
136. Two witnesses with the unlikely names of George Ozenbrook and Mr Twatcher are recorded in the session papers. *OBP* (t17300513-8).
137. *Parker's Penny Post*, 31 January 1726.
138. There is some confusion in the indictments and recognizances since they seem to suggest that Waller and Robert Willis were unjustly imprisoning Preston and Watkinson [sic]. Although in the Sessions papers it refers to John Waller as Robert Willis, suggesting impersonation. See LMA: MS/SP, Justices' Working Papers (*LL*), 11 December 1725 (LMSMPSS02310079).
139. *Parker's Penny Post*, 31 January 1726. CLRO: SF 62: Sessions File, Indictments and Recognizances.
140. CLRO: SF 62: Sessions File, Indictments and Recognizances.
141. There are several references in the CLRO file to individuals who were called to the sessions to 'answer the complaint' of either Thomas or Robert Willis for being 'idle and disorderly' or 'a lewd woman'. CLRO: SF 62: Sessions File, Indictments and Recognizances: Mary Kirkham (August 1725), Lydia Close (July 1725), Abraham Pound (nd).
142. *ONA*, May 1730 (OA17300512).
143. Waller, *Life*, pp. 15–16. This probably refers to the 1729 trial of Mary Macartny and Mary Wild for grand larceny in the December sessions, over which Sir Richard Brocas presided. *OBP*, December 1729, Mary Macartny and Mary Wild (t17291203-35). According to an advertisement for the Sessions Papers, Mary Wild was the wife of Jonathan Wild's brother, *OBP*, Old Bailey Proceedings Advertisements, 16 January 1735 (a17350116-1).
144. Hitchcock and Shoemaker (2007), *Tales*, pp. 210–15; Langbein, *Origins*, pp. 152–5. For his appearances at the Old Bailey see, *OBP*, August 1730, Robert Newel (t17300828-52); *OBP*, October 1731, Charles Knowles and Sarah Harper (t17311013-47); *OBP*, December 1731, William Garret and Samuel Cole (t17311208-81); *Daily Courant*, 8 June 1730, 'John Sheffield was committed to Newgate, on the oath of John Waller' (this is also referred to in Waller, *Life*, p. 17). In the *Daily Advertiser* (27 September 1731), there is a report that Waller was paid £100 by the Treasury, 'for that service', and had now 'enter'd himself a Cook on board an East-India Man'. *Life* does not mention this, but does describe his involvement in a number of other cases out of London, Waller, *Life*, pp. 18–19.
145. *OBP*, May 1732, John Waller (t17320525-69).
146. *Read's Weekly Journal, or British Gazette*, 3 June 1732; *Daily Courant*, 10 June 1732.
147. *OBP*, September 1732, Edward Dalton, Rich. Griffith and William Belt (t17320906-69); *The Daily Journal*, 14 June 1732; See also Waller, *Life*, pp. 22–30.
148. *ONA*, October 1732 (OA17321009).

149. E. P. Thompson (1975), *Whigs and Hunters* (Pantheon: New York), p. 196.
150. A. Pepper (2011), 'Early Crime Writing and the State: Jonathan Wild, Daniel Defoe and Bernard De Mandeville in 1720s London', *Textual Practice*, 25, 3, pp. 473–91, p. 473.
151. J. Beattie (1995), 'Crime and Inequality in Eighteenth-Century London', in J. Hagan and R. D. Peterson (eds.), *Crime and Inequality* (California: Stanford University Press), p. 133.
152. T. Hitchcock, S. Howard and R. Shoemaker, 'Vexatious Prosecutions', *London Lives, 1690–1800*.
153. D. Lemmings (2009), 'Introduction: Law and Order, Moral Panics, and Early Modern England', in D. Lemmings and C. Walker (eds.), *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 1–21, p. 7.

3 'A Noted Virago': Moll Harvey and her 'Dangerous Crew', 1727–1738

1. *Evening Post*, 29 August 1730.
2. S. Devereaux (1996), 'The City and the Sessions Paper: "Public Justice in London, 1770–1800"', *Journal of British Studies*, 35, 4, pp. 466–503; S. Devereaux (2002), 'The Fall of the Sessions Paper: Criminal Trial and the Popular Press in Late Eighteenth-Century London', *Criminal Justice History*, pp. 57–88.
3. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London Lives*, 'Introduction'.
4. See also Clayton, 'Charlotte Walker'.
5. For example, *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 2 December 1729; *Grub Street Journal*, 3 September 1730; *British Journal*, 4 July 1730; *Daily Courant*, 22 December 1734.
6. *Daily Journal*, 31 August 1730. On pre-modern gender and crime see J. M. Beattie (1975), 'The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 8, pp. 80–116; G. Walker (2003), *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
7. F. Dabhoiwala (2012), *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (London: Allen Lane), p. 65; L. Gowing (1998), *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
8. On defining communities see A. Macfarlane, with S. Harrison and C. Jardine (1977), *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1–4; see also, P. Withington and A. Shepard (2000), 'Introduction: Communities in Early Modern England', in Shepard and Withington, pp. 1–15.
9. Withington and Shepard, 'Introduction', p. 6.
10. *OBP*, December 1721, Mary Harvy and Ann Parker (t17211206-33); 'Felons transported from London by the *Gilbert*, Capt. Darby Lux in January 1722 and registered in Annapolis in July 1722', 'London: Harvey alias Coates, Mary', TNA: T53/29/451. P. W. Coldham (1988), *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614–1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing), p. 368.
11. G. Morgan and P. Rushton (2003), 'Running Away and Returning Home: The Fate of English Convicts in the American Colonies', *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés*, 7/2, pp. 61–80.
12. Howson, *Thief-Taker*, pp. 127–8, 243, 251, 287.
13. Howson, *Thief-Taker*, p. 128.

14. John Eaton and Mary Stanley (alias Sullivan) gave evidence for the defence. *OBP*, December 1727, Richard Savage, James Gregory and William Merchant (t17271206-24); LMA: MJ/SR/2494; MJ/SR/2497. S. Johnson (1744), *An Account of the Life of Mr Richard Savage* (London: J. Roberts).
15. LMA: MJ/SR/2497, folio 3.
16. *OBP*, February 1728, Mary Harvey, John Eaton and Arabella Eaton (t17280228-76); LMA: MJ/SR/2497.
17. *OBP*, February 1728, Mary Harvey and John Eaton (t17280228-78); LMA: MJ/SR/2498, folio 47.
18. *OBP*, December 1727, Henry Wilcox (t17271206-38); LMA: MJ/SR/2494. See also LMA: MJ/SP/1727, May, Instructions, etc. File 3. Copies of commitments to New Prison, of Henry Willcox, for various causes. [no ref. or dates].
19. *OBP*, Punishment Summary 28 February 1728. See also LMA: MJ/SP/1727, May, Instructions, etc. File 3.
20. *OBP* (t17280228-78); LMA: MJ/SR/2498.
21. Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, pp. 16–18.
22. A significant number of cases involving a ‘reckoning’ feature at the Old Bailey (although not all refer to a sexual reckoning). *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches ‘reckoning’. Counting by offence.
23. T. Brown (1730), *The Third Volume of The Works of Thomas Brown, Being Amusements Serious and Comical, Calculated for the Meridian of London* (London: Edward Midwinter), p. 67.
24. Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, p. 93.
25. See LMA: Middlesex Sessions, Orders of Court: WJ/OC/01, f. 127d (April 1728); MJ/OC/003, f. 167d (Dec. 1728); WJ/OC/002, ff. 101d–105d (April 1731).
26. See Shoemaker, ‘Reforming’. For co-operation between the societies and the Westminster Justices see T. B. Isaacs (1979), ‘Moral Crime, Moral Reform, and the State in Early Eighteenth Century England: A Study of Piety and Politics’ (Rochester, Ph.D), p. 257.
27. Shoemaker, *Prosecution*, p. 319.
28. *Fog’s Weekly Journal*, 27 December 1729.
29. Shoemaker, *Prosecution*, p. 264. LMA: Middlesex Sessions, Orders of Court: WJ/OC/002, ff. 69d–70 (26 October 1728), 87–87d (July 1730), 89–89d (Aug. 1730); MJ/OC/003, f. 157d (Nov. 1729); WJ/SP/1728, October.
30. LMA: Middlesex Sessions, Orders of Court: WJ/OC/002, ff. 69d–70 (26 October, 1728).
31. Sherrard, or Sherwood Street, ran south of Golden Square, running into Shug Lane, which then ran into Piccadilly and the Haymarket (see Map 3.1).
32. *British Journal or Censor*, 29 August 1729. Mary Salawen (Sullivan) was arrested in April 1729, but the bill was not found (LMA: MJ/SR/2518, folio. 65); in the same sessions there is an indictment for David Harvey (folio 66) and references to John and Arabella Eaton. David Harvey and Maria Harvey were next indicted in July 1729 (LMA: MJ/SR/2521). The women can also be traced through the Sessions Books over the course of 1729 in the volume for that year (LMA: MJ/SBB/B/0086).
33. *Daily Post*, 10 October 1729; *London Journal*, 11 October 1729.
34. *Daily Journal*, 1 November 1729.
35. J. Hurl-Eamon (2005), *Gender and Petty Violence in London, 1680–1720* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press), pp. 99–100.

36. Hurl-Eamon, *Gender*, p. 98.
37. *Daily Journal*, 4 November 1729.
38. *Daily Journal*, 26 November 1729. See the Gaol Delivery records for December 1729, LMA: MJ/SR/2525, folio 41.
39. *OBP*, January 1730, Mary Sullivan and Isabella Eaton (t17300116-19). The Sessions Peace roll for December 1729 is missing. However, the administration of the trials can partially be traced in the Gaol Delivery Rolls for the same month. LMA: MJ/SR/2525.
40. LMA: MJ/SR/2525, Mary West alias Ryley is mentioned on the wrapping of this roll as being 'committed ... for being an evidence against Mary Sulavan als Stanley Mary Harvey als Phillips, Isabella Eaton also Gwinn, they being now in custody for several felonies by them committed ...'.
41. LMA: MJ/SR/2525.
42. *Ibid.* *London Evening Post*, 17 January 1730; *Daily Journal*, 19 January 1730.
43. *OBP*, April 1730, Mary Sullivan and Isabella Eaton (t17300408-26).
44. *British Journal*, 4, 22 July 1730; *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 4 July 1730.
45. *Daily Journal*, 26 November 1729.
46. For malicious prosecution against constables see Shoemaker, *Prosecution*, pp. 264–5, and by constables see Hurl-Eamon, *Gender*, pp. 99–100.
47. *OBP* (t17280228-76).
48. *OBP*, August 1730, Thomas Willis and Michael Willis (t17300828-76).
49. *British Journal*, 19 September 1730.
50. J. White (2012), *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London: Bodley Head), pp. 158–60.
51. Linebaugh, *London Hanged*, p. 288, and on the Irish in London more generally, pp. 288–326.
52. *Daily Gazetteer*, 2 August 1736. On Rosemary Lane see J. Turner (2013), 'Ill-favoured sluts?' – The Disorderly Women of Rosemary Lane and Rag Fair', *London Journal*, 38/2, pp. 95–109; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *Tales*, pp. xx–xxi.
53. Uglow, *Hogarth*, p. 202.
54. Uglow, *Hogarth*, pp. 193–7, 204–6, 209.
55. Paulson, *Hogarth: Volume 1*, pp. 241–52.
56. R. Penfold-Mounce (2009), *Celebrity Culture and Crime: The Joy of Transgression* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 98.
57. *Grub Street Journal*, 1 October 1730.
58. F. Dabhoiwala (1995), 'Prostitution and Police in London, c. 1660–1760' (Oxford, Dphil.), pp. 191–2.
59. LMA: Order to Court: WJ/OC/2, ff. 85d–86d (June, 1730).
60. LMA: Order to Court: WJ/OC/2, ff. 85d–86d (June, 1730).
61. LMA: Orders to Court: WJ/OC/2, folio 102.
62. For example, the *London Journal* of Saturday 18 July 1730 gave a full account of the meetings. See earlier references in the *Daily Journal*, 16 May 1730; *London Journal*, 23 May 1730, 13 June 1730, 18 July 1730, 1 August 1730, 8 August 1730; *Grub Street Journal*, 23 July 1730, 30 July 1730, 6 August 1730.
63. For example, *Daily Journal*, 16, 23, 26 September 1730, 11, 16, 18 November 1730, 3, 19, 23, 29 December 1730; *Daily Post*, 4, 24 September 1730, 10 October 1730, 5, 11 November 1730, 17, 21, 27 December 1730; *Grub Street Journal*, 7, 14 January 1731.
64. LMA: Orders to Court: WJ/OC/2, ff. 101d–105d.
65. LMA: Orders to Court: WJ/OC/2, f. 103.

66. LMA: Orders to Court: WJ/OC/2, ff. 101d–105d.
67. LMA: Orders to Court: WJ/OC/2, ff. 89–90d. *Daily Journal*, 18 August 1730.
68. *Daily Post*, 18 August 1730; *Daily Journal*, 18 August 1730.
69. *Daily Post*, 18 August 1730; *Daily Journal*, 18 August 1730.
70. By this time the Westminster justices were meeting twice a week mainly in the vestry room of St Paul's, Covent Garden, or St Martins. For example, *London Journal*, 1, 8, 29 August 1730; *Grub Street Journal*, 6 August 1730; *Daily Journal*, 21 August 1730; *Daily Post*, 25 August 1730.
71. *Daily Post*, 21 August 1730.
72. *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, 22 August 1730. Harvey was tried along with Mary Sullivan and Isabel Eaton for receiving stolen goods in October 1730, *OBP*, October 1730 (t17301014-70).
73. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London Lives*.
74. A. Wood (2006), 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley, c. 1596–1615', *Past and Present*, 193, pp. 41–72.
75. *OBP*, August 1730, Thomas Willis and Michael Willis (t17300828-76). For the administration of the trial see LMA: MJ/SR/2537, folio 66, Maria Phillips (alias Harvey), William McCage and Maria Johnson (an alias of Mary Sullivan's) are named on the back of the indictment; *Evening Post*, 29 August 1730; *Daily Journal*, 31 August 1730. Eaton was not charged until 14 September 1730 (*Evening Post*, 15 September 1730; LMA: MJ/SR/2543, folio 60).
76. *Evening Post*, 29 August 1730.
77. See Chapter 2, pp. 38–9. At the trial Mary Harvey in her evidence refers to 'Thomas Willis, who now says his name is John' (*OBP* (t17300828-76)). In the indictment he is named as Thomas Willis (LMA: MJ/SR/2537, folio 66).
78. *OBP* (t17300828-76).
79. *OBP* (t17300828-76).
80. *OBP* (t17300828-76). See also, *Daily Journal*, 31 August 1730; *Grub Street Journal*, 3 September 1730.
81. For example, *Daily Journal*, 1, 23, 26 September 1730 (the latter for the reference to Hedge Lane); *Daily Post*, 4, 5, 16 September 1730; *London Journal*, 5 September 1730; *Grub Street Journal*, 10, 17, 24 September 1730.
82. LMA: MJ/SR/2543, 'Mary Sullavan' is named on the wrapping of the Sessions Roll.
83. *OBP*, October 1730, Mary Hall, Mary Harvey and Isabel Eaton (t17301014-70); LMA: MJ/SR/2543, folio 60.
84. *Evening Post*, 17 October 1730; *London Evening Post*, 31 October 1730. See the Sessions Roll for December 1730 (LMA: MJ/SR/2545, folio 53). This includes an indictment for Maria Sullivan alias Hall alias Stanley and Isabella Eaton alias Gwin.
85. There are several forms of the habeas corpus writ. The more well-known writ was used in cases of illegal imprisonment, but there was also a habeas corpus writ which was used to remove people from one jurisdiction to another, or to bring them up to testify. It is unclear which form of the writ is being used in this case. My thanks to Ruth Paley who explained this issue. Unfortunately, the affidavits for the terms in which Mary Harvey first appeared at the King's Bench are missing (TNA: KB1/3/2/12, 4 Geo. II Mich. 1730; 4 Geo. II Hil. 1730/31). A search of the other terms through 1731–32 (TNA: KB1/3/2 and KB1/3/3, and KB2/1 'Miscellaneous affidavits

- 1727–37) drew a blank. Moreover, there are no King's Bench prison records for this period. Maria Harvey alias Philips, Willus Harvey and Isabella Eaton (also listed as Gwin) can be found in the indexes to London and Middlesex defendants (TNA: IND1/6672).
86. *Daily Post*, 2 November 1730; *Daily Journal*, 2 November 1730.
 87. King's Bench Prison was in Southwark, off Borough.
 88. *Daily Journal*, 2 November 1730; *Daily Post*, 3 November 1730.
 89. Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, p. 29.
 90. *Daily Journal*, 28 November 1730; *Grub Street Journal*, 3 December 1730. This writ is referred to in the report discussed above (LMA: WJ/OC/2, ff. 101d–105d), in the context of accusations about the legality of the warrants, f. 103.
 91. *Daily Post*, 13 November 1730.
 92. LMA: MJ/SR/2545.
 93. *Daily Journal*, 27 November 1730.
 94. *Daily Journal*, 5 December 1730.
 95. *OBP*, December 1730, Mary Sullivan and Isabella Gwyn (t17301204-72). *Daily Journal*, 9 December 1730. See LMA: MJ/SR/2545, folio 53.
 96. *Daily Journal*, 10 December 1730. An indictment survives for Isabella Gwin alias Hambleton in the Sessions Roll for January 1731, LMA: MJ/SR/2547, folio 32.
 97. *Daily Journal*, 31 December 1730.
 98. *London Evening Post*, 14 January 1731; *Daily Journal*, 15 January 1731.
 99. *London Evening Post*, 6 February 1731; *Daily Journal*, 8 February 1731; *Daily Post*, 8 February 1731.
 100. King's Street was a main thoroughfare near to Westminster Hall. In other sources the Fountain is described as being in Tothill Street. *London Evening Post*, 11 February 1731; *Daily Post*, 13 February 1731.
 101. *Daily Journal*, 15 February 1731; *Grub Street Journal*, 18 February 1731.
 102. *Daily Journal*, 16 February 1731; also reported in *Daily Courant*, 12 February 1731; *Daily Journal*, 13 February 1731; *British Journal or the Traveller*, 20 February 1731.
 103. *Daily Courant*, 20 May 1731; *Daily Journal*, 20 May 1731; *Daily Post*, 20 May 1731; *Country Journal or, the Craftsman*, 22 May 1731; *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 22 May 1731; *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 22 May 1731; *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, 22 May 1731.
 104. Ward, 'Print Culture', p. 204.
 105. *Daily Post*, 20 May 1731. The report was also printed in the *Daily Courant*, 20 May 1731 and the *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, 22 May 1731. Rasp House (*Rasphuis*) had been established in 1596 in Amsterdam. T. Sellin (1994), *Pioneering in Penology: The Amsterdam Houses of Correction in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), p. 31.
 106. Rawlings, *Drunks*, p. 71; Ward, 'Print Culture', pp. 204–5.
 107. *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, 22 May 1731. Mackeig's committal was also noted by the *Daily Advertiser*, 21 May 1731 and Mackeig's and Eaton's committals in the *Daily Courant*, 21 May 1731.
 108. *London Evening Post*, 25 May 1731; *Daily Journal*, 27 May 1731; TNA: IND1/6672.
 109. TNA: IND1/6672.

110. *Daily Courant*, 26 May 1731; *Daily Journal*, 27 May 1731.
111. *London Evening Post*, 15 June 1731; *Daily Journal*, 17 June 1731; *London Evening Post*, 19 June 1731.
112. Either on Friday 18 or Monday 21 May. *London Evening Post*, 19 June 1731; *Daily Journal*, 22 June 1731.
113. *London Evening Post*, 26 May 1731; *Grub Street Journal*, 1 July 1731.
114. The debates between the counsel can be traced through the press in November: *London Evening Post*, 20 November 1731; *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 20 November 1731; *Daily Post*, 23, 26 November 1731; *Daily Journal*, 25 November 1731; *Daily Advertiser*, 26 November 1731.
115. *London Evening Post*, 27 November 1731; *Daily Journal*, 29 November 1731.
116. *Daily Journal*, 5 December 1730.
117. Hedge Lane was still associated with prostitution in 1750 (see *OBP*, February 1750, Mary Maschal (t17500228-40)) and 1770. See John Fielding's evidence in 'Committee to Enquire into the Several Burglaries and Robberies', *Commons Journal*, 1770, vol. XXXII, 881. See also Henderson, *Disorderly Women*, p. 50, 57.
118. Defoe, *Effectual Scheme*. Also P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens (1994), *Defoe De-attributions* (London: Hambledon Press).
119. Defoe, *Effectual Scheme*, pp. 60, 61–2.
120. *Craftsman*, No. 316, 22 July 1732, p. 186.
121. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 11 December 1731; *Daily Journal*, 13 December 1731; *Country Journal or, the Craftsman*, 18 December 1731.
122. Defoe, *Effectual Scheme*, pp. 14, 24.
123. *OBP*, July 1732, Mary Sullivan (t17320705-12); LMA: MJ/SR/2578, folio 19. Her sentence of transportation is also recorded on the indictment. For Isabella Eaton see MJ/SR/2579, folio 37.
124. 'Felons transported from London to Virginia by the *Caesar*, Capt. William Loney, in October 1732', 'Middlesex: Sullivan *als* Johnson', TNA: T53/36/423. See Coldham, *Emigrants*, p. 833.
125. *Grub Street Journal*, 6 July 1732; LMA: MJ/SR/2577, folio 51.
126. In January 1733 she was indicted for assaulting the Under Keeper of Tothill-Fields Bridewell, *London Evening Post*, 6 January 1733. For the reference to Dublin see *Daily Courant*, 22 December 1733. She is not on Coldham's lists of Irish Transported Felons under any of her aliases. Coldham, *Emigrants*, p. 975.
127. *OBP*, December 1732, Jane Murphey (t17321206–38).
128. *General Evening Post*, 31 July 1735; *Grub Street Journal*, 7 August 1735. A Mary and John Eaton are named in the calendars for the Sessions Peace for August 1735, LMA: MJ/SR/2640, folio 28.
129. *London Evening Post*, 31 July 1735. *OBP*, December 1735, Elizabeth Walker (t17351210-74).
130. *London Evening Post*, 17 January 1736. See also *Daily Gazetteer*, 17 December 1735.
131. CLRO: CLA/047/LJ/13/1737/010, Petitions of Isabella Eaton, condemned to 12 months in prison in Jan 1736, at least 8 months overdue for release. n.d.
132. *London Evening Post*, 20 June 1738; *Daily Post*, 22 June 1738; *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 24 June 1738; *Old Common Sense or the Englishman's Journal*, 1 July 1738; *Daily Gazetteer*, 22 June 1738. The indictment survives in LMA: MJ/SR/2700, folio 39, however it was 'not found'.
133. *Daily Post*, 27 October 1738.

4 'The pickpockets and hustlers had yesterday what is called a *Grand Day*': Changing Street Theft, c. 1800–1850

1. *Morning Post*, 22 June 1810.
2. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 9 December 1820.
3. P. King (2003), 'Moral Panics and Violent Street Crime, 1750–2000: A Comparative Perspective', in B. Godfrey, C. Emsley and G. Dunstall (eds.), *Comparative Histories of Crime* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing), pp. 53–71; Ward, 'Print Culture'; J. Davis (1980), 'The London Garotting Panic of 1862: A Moral Panic and the Creation of a Criminal Class in Mid-Victorian England', in V. A. C. Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker (eds.), *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London: Europa), pp. 190–213.
4. Shoemaker, 'Street Robber', p. 383. Based on the period 1723–1763.
5. Shoemaker, 'Street Robber', p. 403.
6. *OBP*, Tabulating year against offence subcategory where offence category is violent theft, after 1750. Counting by offence.
7. J. M. Beattie (2012), *The First English Detectives: The Bow Street Runners and the Policing of London, 1730–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 211.
8. J. Stevenson (1979), *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700–1870* (London: Longman), p. 200.
9. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 2 June 1844.
10. *OBP*, Tabulating year against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'hustled hustling hustle', between 1815–25. Counting by offence.
11. *OBP*, Tabulating year against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'hustled hustling hustle', between 1815 and 1825. Counting by defendant.
12. Beattie, *First English Detectives*, p. 212.
13. Palk, *Gender*, pp. 81–6.
14. W. Hawkins (1787), *A Treatise of the Pleas of the Crown* (London: His Majesty's Law Printers), p. 490, cited in Palk, *Gender*, p. 70.
15. P. King (2006), *Crime and the Law in England, 1750–1840: Remaking Justice From the Margins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
16. Beattie, *First English Detectives*, pp. 212–22.
17. Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp. 17–29.
18. *OBP*, September 1820, William Sidney Smith and Frederick Hopkins (t18200918-36).
19. T. Smollett (1751, 1964 edn), *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 11.
20. *OBP*, October 1762, Francis Jones (t17621020-11).
21. *OBP*, April 1784, Michael Lee (t17840421-39); *OBP*, February 1785, James Coyle (t17850223-13); *OBP*, April 1785, John Foster (t17850406-3).
22. *General Evening Post*, 22 March 1785.
23. *Morning Post*, 29 October 1813.
24. *Select Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis*, 1816 (510), p. 228.
25. *Select Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis*, 1817 (484), p. 409.
26. Anon. (1818), *The London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard, etc.* (London: J. Bumpus), p. 16.
27. J. H. Vaux (1819), *Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux* (London: W. Clowes, 1819), p. 213.

28. *OBP*, February 1819, Hyam Alexander and John Phillips (t18190217-83); October 1819, Lewis Green and William Farmer (t18191027-50).
29. *OBP*, Tabulating year against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'hustled hustling hustle', between 1815 and 1825. Counting by defendant.
30. *OBP*, December 1815, William Collins, William Adolphus Thompson, Francis Allsop (t18151206-40).
31. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'hustling hustle hustled'. Counting by offence; Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'hustling hustle hustled' and defendant gender is female. Counting by offence.
32. Palk, *Gender*, pp. 81–7.
33. *OBP*, June 1820, Eliza Brown, Lucy Saunders and Edward Crispin (t18200628-22).
34. Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, p. 59. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'hustling hustle hustled', defendant age is at least one and defendant age is at most 16. Counting by offence.
35. *OBP*, January 1819, Thomas Thompson and Robert Rose (t18190113-46).
36. *OBP*, Tabulating year against defendant age where the transcription matches 'hustle hustling hustled', defendant age is at least one and at most 120, between 1815 and 1825. Counting by defendant.
37. *OBP*, July 1836, John Wilson, John Nelson (t18360713-1382).
38. *The Times*, 17 December 1820.
39. *Morning Chronicle*, 28, 29, 30 July 1819. Also reported in the *Annual Register*, 'Chronicle for July 1819' (1820), p. 55. On disturbances at fairs see B. Heller (2010), 'The "Menu Peuple" and the Polite Spectator: The Individual in the Crowd at Eighteenth-Century London Fairs', *Past and Present*, 208, 1, pp. 131–57.
40. *Morning Chronicle*, 16, 18 September 1819.
41. *Morning Chronicle*, 29 July 1819; C. R. Elrington et al. (1989), *A History of the County of Middlesex*, Vol. 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22648>, accessed 9 September 2014).
42. *OBP*, September 1819, William Carter and Philip Cameron (t18190915-170); *Morning Chronicle*, 29 July 1819; *Morning Post*, 4 August 1819.
43. *OBP*, September 1819, John Henley (t18190915-7); *Morning Post*, 29 July 1819.
44. *Morning Post*, 2 August 1819.
45. *Bury and Norwich Post*, 1 December 1819; *Morning Post*, 27 November 1819; *OBP*, September 1819, Edward Cassidy (t18190915-73); September 1819, John Henley (t18190915-06; t18190915-07); September 1819, William Fletcher (t18190915-5); September 1819, Henry Lovell (t18190915-51).
46. Elrington, *Middlesex*.
47. H. Cunningham (1977), 'The Metropolitan Fairs: A Case Study in the Social Control of Leisure', in A. P. Donajgrodski (ed.), *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Croom Helm), pp. 163–84, pp. 164–5.
48. *OBP*, Tabulating year against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'hustle hustling hustled', between 1815 and 1825. Counting by defendant.
49. Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances*, p. 193.

50. There is some discussion of the Caroline processions in S. H. Palmer (1977), 'Before the Bobbies: The Caroline Riots of 1821', *History Today*, October, 27, pp. 637–44. For crowds and processions otherwise see M. Harrison (2002), *Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); R. McWilliam (1998), *Popular Politics and Protest in Nineteenth Century England* (London: Routledge); M. White (2008), "'Rogues of the Meaner Sort"?: Old Bailey Executions and the London Crowd in the Early Nineteenth Century', *London Journal*, 33, 2, pp. 135–53.
51. J. Belcham (1985), "*Orator*" Hunt: Henry Hunt and English Working Class Radicalism (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 123; *OBP*, September 1819, Felix Henry Miller (t18190915-12); September 1819, Daniel Huffman (t18190915-65); September 1819, Abraham Davis (t18190915-206).
52. *OBP*, September 1819, Daniel Huffman (t18190915-65).
53. *OBP*, April 1820, John Fitzgerald (t18200412-213).
54. *Morning Post*, 7 April 1820.
55. T. W. Laqueur (1982), 'The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV', *Journal of Modern History*, 54, pp. 417–66; J. Stevenson (1977), 'The Queen Caroline Affair', in J. Stevenson (ed.) *London in the Age of Reform* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 117–48.
56. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'procession processions', before 1913. Counting by offence.
57. I. J. Prothero (1981), *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth Century London: John Gast and his Times* (London: Methuen), pp. 133–6, 140.
58. *OBP*, Tabulating offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'queen procession', between June 1820 and December 1820. Counting by offence.
59. *OBP*, October 1820, Thomas Dorset (t18201028-36).
60. *OBP*, October 1820, Lewis Lazarus (t18201028-31); October 1820, William Penn (t18201028-135).
61. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 4 November 1820.
62. *Morning Post*, 11 October 1820.
63. A. T. Harris (2004), *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780–1840* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press), p. 105.
64. See 'WEEKLY RETROSPECT' 13 October, in *The Loyalist and Anti-Radical* (Loyalist Association Magazine), 1820, p. 87.
65. *Morning Chronicle*, 30 November 1820.
66. *Morning Post*, 1 December 1820.
67. *The Times*, 14 December 1820; *John Bull*, 17 December 1820.
68. *Morning Chronicle*, 16 August 1821. See also TNA: HO44/10, ff. 220-231, 'Disturbances at Queen Caroline's funeral: statements of members of police dismounted horse patrol', September 1821. See also folios in TNA: HO44/9, 10 and 48 for disturbances at Queen Caroline's Funeral.
69. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, pp. 114–5, 116–7.
70. *Report of the Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis*, 1822 (440), pp. 8, 19, 23, 32.
71. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, pp. 114–15.
72. 2 Geo. IV. – Sess. 1821. A bill for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace in and near the metropolis; and for the more effectual prevention of depredations on the River Thames and its vicinity;

- 3 Geo. IV. – Sess. 1822. A bill [as amended by the committee] for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace in and near the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of depredations on the River Thames and its vicinity (find Acts). TNA: HO44/8, ff. 630-631, 'Coronation of George IV: Lord Gwydir, requesting police officers to attend at north door of Westminster Hall, where pickpockets are troublesome', 27 July 1821.
73. TNA: HO61/1, Charles Stable to Lord Sidmouth, 3 May 1821, cited in Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, p. 117.
74. Emsley (2005), *Crime and Society*, p. 27.
75. L. Radzinowicz (1948), *A History of the English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750, Vol. 1: The Movement for Reform* (London: Stevens & Sons), pp. 497-9.
76. *OBP*, October 1815, John Lane (t18151025-41).
77. *OBP*, December 1815, Isaac Davis and Moss Jacobs, Highway Robbery (t18151206-3).
78. *OBP*, September 1820, Charles Smith and George Mason (t18200918-255).
79. *OBP*, September 1820, Isaac Wolfe, Samuel Wherry and Daniel Edwards (t18200918-251).
80. Radzinowicz, *History, Vol. 1*, p. 499.
81. J. Herring (2012), *Criminal Law: Text, Cases and Materials, Fifth Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 862-3.
82. Radzinowicz, *History, Vol. 1*, pp. 500-1.
83. *OBP*, January 1821, Michael Harley (t18210110-2).
84. *Glasgow Herald*, 25 December 1820.
85. *OBP*, January 1821, Michael Harley (t18210110-2).
86. *Morning Post* 10, 17 February 1821; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 10 March 1821; *The Times*, 12 March 1821.
87. *The Times*, 12 March 1821.
88. *OBP*, September 1820, William Sidney Smith and Frederick Hopkins (t18200918-36).
89. *Morning Post*, 1 March 1822.
90. *OBP*, 20 February, James Edrop (t18220220-96).
91. *Morning Post*, 20 August 1823.
92. *OBP*, September 1820, Joseph Ellinger (t18200918-79).
93. *The Times*, 6 December 1820.
94. Searching the Old Bailey Online for the whole period (1674 to 1913) using the phrase 'stealing from the person only' 86 cases were found. All these came from between 1800-49, 72 (83.72 per cent) came from the 1810s and 1820s; 64 of these had been prosecuted for highway robbery and seven for robbery.
95. King, *Crime and the Law*, pp. 122-3.
96. *OBP*, October 1818, William Knight and Edward Evans (t18181028-21).
97. *Morning Chronicle*, 13 January 1819.
98. The poem was reprinted in J. G. Nichols (1837), *London Pageants* (London: J. B. Nichols).
99. McGowen, 'Criminal'.
100. TNA: MEPO 3/1, 'Miscellaneous Criminal Activities' (1830-1871).
101. Evidence of Mr Chesterton, *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the best means of establishing an efficient Constabulary Force in the Counties of England and Wales*, 1839 [169], pp. 205-15, for these quotes p. 213.

102. See also *First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of the several gaols and houses of correction in England and Wales; with the minutes of evidence and an appendix*, 1835 (438) (439) (440) (441), p. 90
103. C. Randon de Bérenger Beaufain (1835), *Helps and Hints How to Protect Life and Property* (London: T. Hurst), p. 124.
104. Bérenger Beaufain, *Helps and Hints*, p. 124.
105. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (1847), p. 312.
106. Pierce Egan (1821), *Life in London or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, esq., and his elegant friend, Corinthian Tom* (London: Chatto and Windus). See Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers*; Gregory Dart (2001), "'Flash Style": Pierce Egan and Literary London, 1820–1828', *History Workshop Journal*, 51, pp. 180–205.
107. E. Partridge (1950, 1989 edn), *A Dictionary of the Underworld* (London: Wordsworth), p. 707.
108. *Standard*, 5 July 1827. Based on a search of the British Library Nineteenth Century newspaper collection.
109. *The Times*, 3 March 1829, p. 4; see also references in the *Morning Chronicle*, 3 June, 12 December 1829.
110. *OBP*, 16 September 1830, John Hemmings (t18300916-320).
111. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches '+“swell mob”'. Counting by offence.
112. *OBP*, 15 December 1856, Dennis Bryan (t18561215-166). This was the year of the first garotting panic, see R. Sindall (1987), 'The London Garotting Panics of 1856 and 1862', *Social History*, 12/3, pp. 351–9.
113. Searching for the term in the British Library Nineteenth Century newspaper collection produced 2043 references between 1829 and 1900 (85 per cent between 1829 and 1859), albeit some of these will have been referring to the same set of events.
114. H. Mayhew (1857), *The Great World of London* (London: David Bogue), p. 90.
115. TNA: HO73/16, notebook 3, evidence of W. Johnson (c. 1836).
116. Miles, *Poverty*, p. 137; Nelson is mentioned across a number of documents, for example TNA: HO26/42, Middlesex Criminal Registers, series 1, 1836. William Nelson, aged 23, was sentenced to transportation for seven years at Westminster Sessions on 8 Dec. 1836; also TNA: MEPO3/1, 'Miscellaneous Criminal Activities' (1830–1871). See Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp. 60, 61.
117. Goldsmiths Library, University of London, 'Petition to the "swell Mob" from the Tribe of "blacklegs, Prigs, & Pickpockets," Requesting to Enjoy the Same Privileges as Their "brethren" the "millocrats"' (s.n.c. 1834). For millocrats see *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser*, 23 January 1841.
118. See 'The Modern Science of Thief-taking' and 'A Detective Police Party', *Household Words*, July 1850, pp. 370–1, 410.
119. 'Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852–1866. January–February 1852', p. 27, <https://www.royalholloway.ac.uk/dramaandtheatre/documents/pdf/lcp/playslicensedin1852.pdf>, accessed 16 September 2014.
120. Davis, 'Garotting', pp. 190–213.
121. Harris, *Policing*, pp. 120–1; Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, pp. 113–14.
122. *Report from the Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis*, 1822 (440), pp. 25, 82–3, p. 9 for this quote. Also C. Emsley (1983), *Policing and its Context, 1750–1870* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), p. 50.

123. M. J. D. Roberts (1988), 'Public and Private in Early Nineteenth Century London: The Vagrancy Act of 1822 and its Enforcement', *Social History*, 13, pp. 237–94.
124. Shoemaker, 'Street Robber'.
125. *The Times*, 17 December 1820.
126. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 4 November 1820.
127. *The Times*, 11 March 1831.
128. See Chapter 7.

5 'There goes Bill Sheen, the Murderer': Crime, Kinship and Community in East London, 1827–1852

1. Egan, *Life in London*; Vaux, *Memoirs*.
2. Crone, *Violent Victorians*, pp. 78–9.
3. King, *Crime and the Law*, p. 60.
4. J. Marriott (2011), *Beyond the Tower: A History of East London* (London: Polity Press), pp. 150–73.
5. J. Turner, 'An Anatomy of a Disorderly Neighbourhood: Rosemary Lane and Rag Fair in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (Ph.D in progress, University of Hertfordshire).
6. The Lambeth Street Police Office was in Whitechapel and covered a substantial jurisdiction north and northeast of the Tower. White, *London*, p. 236.
7. H. Mayhew (1851), *London Labour and the London Poor*, vol. 1 (London: George Woodfall & Son), p. 252.
8. *Report from the Select Committee on Metropolis Police Offices*, 1837 (451), p. 178, Index, p. 10.
9. *OBP*, May 1827, William Sheen (t18270531-14). See LMA: MJ/SPC, E3304a, for depositions.
10. According to the 1841 census Sheen was born in 1801. TNA: HO107, piece 710, book 10.
11. Lambeth Police Court records only survive from 1877 (held at LMA). A coroner's inquest survives in the Middlesex Sessions records, MJ/SPC, E 3309. The inquest was held at Whitechapel Workhouse on the 12 May, *The Times*, 14 May 1827, p. 3.
12. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, John Johnson Collection: Broad sides: Murder and Executions folder, 8 (7).
13. *OBP*, July 1827, William Sheen (t18270712-36).
14. The Lombard Street Poor House was in the Mint.
15. *The Times*, 12 May 1827; *OBP* (t18270531-14). See also LMA: MJ/SPC, E3304a.
16. *OBP* (t18270531-14).
17. An account of Davis's 'hunt' for Sheen is found in the Newgate Calendar, 'William Sheen. Tried for the Murder of His Son', <http://www.exclassics.com/newgate/ng842.htm>, (accessed 12 September 2014).
18. *OBP* (t18270531-14).
19. F. A. Carrington and J. Payne (1827), *Reports of Cases Argued and Ruled at Nisi Prius, in the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, Together with Cases Tried on the Circuits and at the Old Bailey* (London: S. Sweet, R. Pheneay),

- p. 637; W. O. Russell and C. S. Greaves (1843), *A Treatise on Crimes and Misdemeanours*, Vol. 1 (London: Saunders and Benning), pp. 832–4.
20. *OBP* (t18270531-14).
 21. *The Times*, 7 June 1827.
 22. *OBP* (t18270712-36); *Morning Chronicle*, 14 July 1827.
 23. *The Times*, 14 June 1827.
 24. *Morning Chronicle*, 14 July 1827.
 25. *The Times*, 13 July 1827; *Standard*, 11 July 1827.
 26. The child was buried in St Mary's, Whitechapel. The burial can be found in the City of London Burial Index at the LMA, 'Sheen, Charles William, 4 m, Workhouse (Childs head removed from body by the father WILLIAM SHEEN)', May 1827.
 27. Letter from Miss Eden to Miss Villiers, from Bigod, Essex, July 1827, *Miss Eden's Letters, Edited by her Great Niece, Violet Dickenson* (London: Macmillan), p. 137.
 28. *Examiner*, 22 July 1827.
 29. *The Times*, 19 July 1827.
 30. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 21 July 1827.
 31. *Morning Chronicle*, 18 July 1827.
 32. *The Times*, 19 July 1827.
 33. *Morning Chronicle*, 1 January 1828; *Leicester Chronicle*, 5 January 1828.
 34. *Examiner*, 13 January 1828.
 35. *Examiner*, 9 December 1827.
 36. *Morning Chronicle*, 9 November 1827.
 37. *Morning Chronicle*, 9 November 1827.
 38. *The Times*, 28 May 1827.
 39. *Morning Chronicle*, 4 March 1840.
 40. James Lee or Lea would be involved in the investigation into the 'Murder in the Red Barn', the following year. D. Cox (2010), *A Certain Share of Low Cunning: A History of the Bow Street Runners, 1792–1839* (Cullompton: Willan), p. 31. He was also active in the arrest and prosecution of Isaac Solomon in 1830.
 41. *The Times*, 13 September 1830; *OBP*, October 1830, William Sheen, Robert Lyall and William Stewart (t18301028-192).
 42. *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, September 13 1830. *OBP*, September 1830, John Smith (t18300916-15). Long was the second metropolitan police officer to be murdered.
 43. *The Times*, 13 December 1831; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 17 December 1831.
 44. *OBP*, September 1831, George Bagley, George Forecast and Frances Bagley (t18310908-11).
 45. *OBP* (t18310908-11).
 46. The Bagleys and Forecast had their sentences respited in October, *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 22 October 1831.
 47. *OBP*, July 1832, Benjamin Stanton (t18320705-293).
 48. *OBP* (t18320705-293). In the same month, Phoebe James alias Mary Powell had been charged at Lambeth Street for forging a will. She was described as living with William Sheen, the infanticide, *The Times*, 26 July 1832.
 49. William Sheen in *OBP*, September 1832, John May (t18320906-320); Ann Sheen in *OBP*, September 1832, Richard Philip, Thomas Manning and Thomas Rands (t18320906-317). The accused were sentenced to transportation. The

- other men, George Carter and Jeremiah Manning, were both found guilty of theft and transported with the help of Ann Sheen's evidence in two later trials, *OBP*, October 1832, George Carter (t18321018-58); November 1832, Jeremiah Manning (t18321129-163).
50. *OBP*, October 1832, James Sutton, Henry Kemp, Thomas Jones and Elizabeth Lawson (t18321018-8).
 51. According to *The Times* (4 December 1832) the prisoners had their sentence respited with the exception of Sutton, who was ordered for execution the following Thursday.
 52. See, 'List of Capital Convicts to be Reported to His Majesty in Council the 3rd Day of December 1832, October Session', for the outcome of petitions from James Sutton, Henry Kemp and Thomas Jones, TNA: HO6/17.
 53. For Sutton's petition and letters from Davis, Rowan and Peek (discussed below), see TNA: HO17/74, no. 35, 18 October 1832, for his petition and HO6/17, 3 December 1832, for the recorder's report.
 54. Peek was well known for his dislike of capital punishment, and would frequently appeal to the Home Secretary to obtain a reprieve, 'Richard Peek, Esq., Hazlewood', *Christian Witness and Congregationalist Magazine* (1867), p. 280.
 55. See Middlesex Criminal Registers entry, TNA: HO26/38, p. 220; Australian Convict Transportation Registers, HO11/9, 7 March 1834.
 56. *OBP*, September 1834, Elizabeth Harwood (t18340904-192).
 57. *OBP* (t18320705-293), (t18320906-320).
 58. Radzinowicz, *History*, Vol. 2, pp. 333-46.
 59. Cox, *A Certain Share*, pp. 42-3, 45-8, 48-55.
 60. Emsley, *Policing*, p. 128. *Reynold's Newspaper*, 7 January 1855; *Era*, 7 January 1855.
 61. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, p. 153.
 62. In June 1834, William Sheen was on a charge of being drunk and disorderly, having threatened the woman (described as a 'common prostitute') with whom he cohabited. The magistrates discharged him, having cautioned him to take more care in his conduct. *Examiner*, 22 June 1834. For the attack on William Sheen senior see, *Morning Chronicle*, 29 November 1834.
 63. *The Times*, 29 November 1834.
 64. *OBP*, February 1835, Elizabeth Smith (t18350202-518).
 65. *Standard*, 7 August 1837. John Bishop and Thomas Williams were the 'London Burkers'. S. Wise (2004), *The Italian Boy: A Tale of Murder and Body Snatching in 1830s London* (London: Metropolitan Books).
 66. *Examiner*, 13 September 1835.
 67. *The Times*, 8 September 1835.
 68. *The Times*, 8 September 1835.
 69. Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp. 76, 78-80. The evidence (from c. 1835-37) was included in the *Select Committee on Gaols and the Houses of Correction* (1835), and the Chadwick directed *Constabulary Committee* (1839).
 70. TNA: HO73/2/2, loose papers, interview with reputed thief Mary Mause; HO73/16, notebook 3, evidence of Hewitt.
 71. Miles, *Poverty*, p. 101.
 72. *The Times*, 27 July 1836. A year later, in a case similarly reported due to the connection to 'Sheen the Infanticide', Sheen's brother-in-law, James Morris, threatened to 'rip open' his mother-in-law Ann. *The Times*, 22 June 1837.

73. When this case was originally heard at the Lambeth police office, a witness described as 'a hoary-headed old Israelite' gave evidence supporting Sheen's version of events. The court dismissed the evidence of this man, who claimed to be a 'scrivener and interpreter of languages at the Old Bailey', as a paid witness. *London Shipping Gazette*, 7 July 1836.
74. *Standard*, 19 August 1836; *Morning Post*, 19 August 1836.
75. Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp. 140–1. See M. J. D. Roberts (2004), *Making English Morals: Voluntary Associations and Moral Reform in England, 1787–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 159.
76. *The Times*, 25 March 1837.
77. *The Times*, 2 June 1837.
78. *Morning Chronicle*, 2 June 1837.
79. *The Times*, 10 June 1837.
80. *The Times*, 10 June 1837.
81. *Morning Chronicle*, 29 June 1837.
82. *The Times*, 28 June 1837.
83. *Report from the Select Committee on Metropolis Police Officers*, 1837 (451), p. 176. See editorial, *The Times*, 13 November 1838.
84. *The Times*, 28 June 1837.
85. M. Ryan (1839), *Prostitution in London with a Comparative View of that of Paris and New York* (London: H. Bailliere).
86. Ryan, *Prostitution*, pp. 149–50.
87. Ryan, *Prostitution*, p. 150.
88. Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp. 75–80.
89. TNA: HO17/111, v. 55, petition of William Sheen, 13 July 1838.
90. *Morning Chronicle*, 11 April 1839.
91. *OBP*, June 1839, Lewin Casper, Ellis Casper, Emanuel Moses and Alice Abrahams (t18390617-1958). See also evidence of George Sheen in *OBP*, March 1840, Lewin Casper (t18400302-909); *OBP*, March 1840, Henry Moss (t18400302-791).
92. *Charter*, 14 April 1839.
93. *The Times*, 11 April 1839.
94. *Morning Chronicle*, 4 March 1840.
95. *OBP*, April 1840, Ann Sheen (t18400406-1132).
96. *The Times*, 10 April 1840.
97. For Ann Sheen in Millbank Penitentiary see 1841 Census, TNA: HO107, piece 737, book 21.
98. *The Times*, 12 October 1842.
99. *The Times*, 12 October 1842. Sheen senior had died sometime between 1836 and 1840. His death was referred to in the *Morning Chronicle*, 4 March 1840.
100. *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 September 1842.
101. *Morning Chronicle*, 14 October 1842; *Examiner*, 15 October 1842.
102. For controversy about Samuel Sheen's burial ground see *The Times*, 21, 26 September, 1846; also *Era*, 2 July 1854.
103. *Morning Chronicle*, 14 October 1842; *Examiner*, 15 October 1842.
104. LMA: X19/38, 'Last will and testament of Ann Sheen, of Wentworth Street, Whitechapel'.
105. *The Times*, 21 May 1845.
106. *OBP*, February 1847, Mary Ryley (t18470201-479). The same month, two women, allegedly prostitutes working for Sheen, accused Charles Andrew

- Amos, an H division constable, of (sexual) assault. The case was dismissed. *Morning Chronicle*, 18 February 1847.
107. *The Times*, 27 July 1847; *OBP*, August 1847, William Sheen (t18470816-1856).
 108. For example, Sheen had appeared at Worship Street on a charge of violently assaulting his wife in April 1843. *Standard*, 27 April 1843.
 109. In the 1841 census, William Sheen was recorded in Keate Street in the Whitechapel Enumeration district, aged 40; his occupation a wheelwright. He was described as not being born in the same country, and was head of a household which included a Mary (25) and John (5) Sheen, probably his wife and child. It also included 11 other occupants: four men; a one-year-old baby boy; and six women, one of whom, Ann Tims, was the mother of the baby. 1841 Census, TNA: HO107, piece 710, book 10.
 110. *OBP* (t18470816-1856); *The Times*, 23 August 1847.
 111. *The Times*, 23 August 1847.
 112. *Era*, 21 December 1851.
 113. *Examiner*, 27 December 1851; *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 27 December 1851; *Manchester Times*, 27 December 1851; *Preston Guardian*, 27 December 1851; *Northern Star*, 27 December 1851. He was buried at St Mary's, Whitechapel; see the City of London Burial Index (LMA).
 114. *Manchester Times*, 27 December 1851.
 115. Tobias, *Prince of Fences*, p. 148. This identification was supported by P. Collins (1962, 1994 edn.), *Dickens and Crime* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 262. In the preface to the third edition, Collins noted that he had been mistaken in this identification, p. xvi.
 116. J. M. L. Drew (2003), *Dickens the Journalist* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 8.
 117. Drew, *Dickens*, pp. 14–15.
 118. Drew, *Dickens*, pp. 36–7.
 119. *Morning Chronicle*, 2 November 1835.
 120. B. M. Wheeler (1993), 'The Text and Plan of *Oliver Twist*', in C. Dickens/F. Kaplan (ed.), *Oliver Twist* (London: Norton), pp. 525–37.
 121. T. Endelman (2002), *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 82.
 122. Dickens/Kaplan, *Oliver Twist*, p. 116.
 123. C. Dickens, 'On Duty with Inspector Field', *Household Words*, 14 June 1851.
 124. *Morning Chronicle*, 16 September 1842.
 125. *Standard*, 16 September 1842.

6 'A new species of swindling': Coiners, Fraudsters, Swindlers and the 'Long-Firm', c. 1760–1913

1. *The Times*, 18 January 1905.
2. P. Colquhoun (1796), *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (London: H. Fry), p. 142.
3. Robb, *White-Collar Crime*. J. Locker (2005), "'Quiet thieves, quiet punishment": Private Responses to the "Respectable" offender, c. 1850–1930', *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés*, 9, 1, pp. 9–31; R. Sindall (1983), 'Middle Class Crime in Nineteenth-Century England', *Criminal Justice History*, 4, pp. 23–40;

- G. Wilson and S. Wilson (2007), "'Getting away with it" or "Punishment enough?": The Problem of "Respectable" Crime from 1830', in J. Moore and J. Smith (eds.), *Corruption in Urban Politics and Society, 1780–1950* (Aldergate: Ashgate), pp. 57–78; S. Wilson (2003), 'Moral Cancers: Fraud and Respectable Crime', in J. Rowbotham and K. Stevenson (eds.), *Behaving Badly: Social Panic and Moral Outrage – Victorian and Modern Parallels* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 97–111.
4. See B. Godfrey and J. Locker (2001), 'The Nineteenth-Century Decline of Custom and its Impact on Theories of "Workplace Theft" and "White-Collar Crime"', *Northern History*, 38, pp. 261–73.
 5. G. Davies (2002), *A History of Money from Ancient Times to the Present Day* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
 6. Robb, *White-Collar Crime*, pp. 21–2.
 7. Robb, *White-Collar Crime*; for definitions see S. Wilson (2010), 'Fraud and White-Collar Crime: 1850 to the Present', in A. M. Kilday and D. Nash (eds.), *Histories of Crime: Britain, 1600–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 141–59.
 8. From 1800 to around the mid-century roughly 87 per cent of all crimes tried at the court were some form of theft. *OBP*, Tabulating year against offence category between 1800 and 1849. Counting by offence. Criminal Justice Act (1855), 18 & 19 Vict. c. 126. See HC Deb 06 August 1855 vol. 139, cc. 1866–73.
 9. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence category between 1800 and 1899. Counting by offence. Deception is a category constructed by the authors of the Old Bailey Online who note the growth of trials for financial crimes after 1834, C. Emsley, T. Hitchcock and R. Shoemaker, 'Currency, Coinage and the Cost of Living', <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Coinage.jsp#coinage> (accessed 12 September 2014).
 10. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where offence category is deception, between 1800 and 1899. Counting by offence.
 11. V. A. C. Gatrell (1980), 'The Decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England', in Gatrell, Lenman and Parker, *Crime and the Law*, pp. 238–337, pp. 323–25.
 12. R. McGowen (1999), 'From Pillory to Gallows: The Punishment of Forgery in the Age of the Financial Revolution', *Past and Present*, 165, 1, pp. 107–40; Langbein, *Origins*, pp. 166–7.
 13. R. McGowen (2002), 'Forgery Legislation in Eighteenth-Century England', in N. Landau (ed.), *Law, Crime and Society, 1660–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 117–38, pp. 131–2.
 14. *OBP*, May 1751, Thomas Bride (t17510523-38); April 1757, William Richards (t17570420-58); December 1762, Thomas Goswell (t17621208-39) for early appearances at the court. See also TNA: ADM106/1094/159, 15 June 1751. In 1751 there is a reference to an Elizabeth Richardson, ordered to the Bridewell on 'suspicion of being concerned in publishing Seamens Wills and Powers of Attorneys', *London Daily Advertiser*, 10 December 1751.
 15. The first significant press reference to the forging of seaman's wills was in 1744. See the case of Anne Brogden in *London Evening News*, 22 March 1744.
 16. *OBP*, October 1765, William Richardson (t17651016-27); December 1763, William Richardson (t17631207-59); September 1765, Jane Care and William Richardson (t17650918-73). By 1763, Richardson was fearing for his life, TNA: ADM106/1128/3, 'William Richardson. Request that he is not prosecuted by Mr Mauger or moved to Newgate where he will be murdered',

- 5 January 1763. Richardson was executed 13 November 1765, *OBP*, December 1765, Supplementary Material, William Richardson (o17651211-5).
17. TNA: ADM106/1142/178 'John Ross, Poultry. Has sent an account of his expenses (now attached) for the several forgeries committed by William Richardson and his gang (4 October 1765)'; ADM106/1144/129, 'Petition of James Dyson who was instrumental in convicting William Richardson, tried at the Old Bailey, to be paid an allowance'.
 18. J. Beattie, 'Sir John Fielding'. Letter from a member of the 'Society of Guardians for the Protection of Trade against Swindlers and Sharpers', in the *European Magazine, and London Review*, vol. 74 (July to December 1818), pp. 311–12.
 19. See D. T. Andrew and R. McGowen (2001), *The Perreaus and Mrs Rudd: Forgery and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century London* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
 20. Andrew and McGowen, *Perreaus*, pp. 261–4. See, *The Guardians, Or, Society for the Protection of Trade against Swindlers and Sharpers, established March 25th, 1776* (London); Anon. (1799), *A List of the Members of the Guardians, Or, Society for the Protection of Trade Against Swindlers and Sharpers* (London).
 21. R. McGowen (2007), 'Managing the Gallows: The Bank of England and the Death Penalty, 1797–1821', *Law and History Review*, 25, 2, pp. 241–82. See also, R. McGowen (2005), 'The Bank of England and the Policing of Forgery 1797–1821', *Past and Present*, 186, pp. 81–116.
 22. Clark, <http://www.capitalpunishmentuk.org/new1800.html>, accessed 13 September 2014. C. Emsley (2010 edn.), *Crime and Society in England, 1750–1900* (London: Longman), pp. 267–71.
 23. *OBP*, January 1800, Joseph-Samuel Abbott (t18000115-38); *OBP*, September 1817, John Vartie (t18170917-56); *OBP*, October 1821, Joseph South (t18211024-51); TNA: HO6/6 Recorders Report, Joseph South 19 November 1821; TNA: HO17/49 Hh 3, HO17/53 Ih 48, Petitions Joseph South, 24 October, 24 November 1821; TNA: HO6/2, Recorders Report, John Vartie, 5 December 1817; John Vartie (1817), *A Memoir of the Unfortunate John Vartie* (London: Effingham Wilson). See McGowen, 'Managing', p. 25 for South's case.
 24. *OBP*, December 1819, Edward Voss and Dennis Keaton (t18191201-50).
 25. Bank of England (*LL*) (assocrec_309_7495) F2/146, 154, Pardon and witness notes, Edward Voss; TNA: HO6/5, Recorders Report, Edward Voss, 24/03/1820. *The Times*, 30 March 1820; *Examiner*, 2 April 1820; *Annual Register*, April 1820, p. 88.
 26. P. Handler (2005), 'Forgery and the End of the "Bloody Code" in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 48, 3, pp. 683–702, see p. 690.
 27. Handler, 'Forgery'. The Act (2 & 3 Will.4 c. 123) repealed the death sentence for all forgery except for forgery of wills and forgery of power of attorney for the transfer of government stock. These remained capital until 1837 (7 Will. 4, and 1 Vic. c. 84).
 28. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence category where the transcription matches 'detective'. Counting by offence.
 29. S. Petrow (1993), 'The Rise of the Detective in London, 1869–1914', *Criminal Justice History*, 14, pp. 91–108. Also M. Fido and K. Skinner (2000), *The Official*

- Encyclopaedia of Scotland Yard: Behind the Scenes at Scotland Yard* (London: Virgin Publishing), pp. 68–9; Shpayer Makov, *Ascent*, p. 32.
30. G. Dilnot (1928), *The Trial of the Detectives* (London: Geoffrey Bles). See also Shpayer Makov, *Ascent*, p. 38, *passim*.
 31. See 'The Detection of Crime', *The Times*, 12 February 1884; R. M. Morris (2006), "'Crime Does Not Pay": Thinking Again About Detectives in the First Century of the Metropolitan Police', in C. Emsley and H. Shpayer-Makov, *Police Detectives in History, 1750–1950* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 79–102.
 32. The fullest account of the robbery can be found in G. Dilnot (1930), *The Trial of Jim the Penman* (London: Geoffrey Bles). A more recent treatment can be found in Thomas, *Victorian Underworld*.
 33. Initial reports came in May 1855, for example, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 27 May 1855, *Morning Chronicle*, 28 May 1855.
 34. Fido and Skinner, *Scotland Yard*, p. 176.
 35. *Daily News*, 17 August 1855.
 36. *OBP*, October 1855, Edward Agar (t18551022-943).
 37. William Pierce and James Burgess were charged at the Mansion House police court in November 1856. William Tester surrendered himself in December. *Daily News*, 22 November 1856; *Morning Chronicle*, 11 December 1856; *The Times*, 27 November, 22 December 1856; *OBP*, January 1857, William Pierce, James Burgess and William Tester (t18570105-250).
 38. *The Times*, 14 January 1857; *Daily News*, 14 January 1857.
 39. *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 19 January 1857.
 40. *The Times*, 15 January 1857; *Era*, 18 January 1857.
 41. *The Times*, 15 January 1857, *passim*.
 42. Gaskill, *Crime*, p. 125; J. Styles (1980), "'Our traitorous money makers": The Yorkshire Coiners and the Law, 1760–83', in J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds.), *An Ungovernable People? The English and their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Hutchinson), pp. 172–249.
 43. This was related to the 'Great Recoinage' of the 1690s. A. Macfarlane (1981), *The Justice and the Mare's Ale: Law and Disorder in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell).
 44. Gaskill, *Crime*, pp. 126–7, 145.
 45. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory. Counting by offence. The coining prosecutions in the Old Bailey Online counts cover a range of offences. See C. Emsley, T. Hitchcock and R. Shoemaker, 'Coining offences', <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Crimes.jsp#coining>, accessed 13 September 2014.
 46. S. L. Blanchard, 'A Biography of a Bad Shilling', *Household Words*, 2/44 January 1851, pp. 420–6.
 47. D. Philips (1977), *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: The Black Country, 1835–1860* (London: Taylor & Francis), pp. 228–9.
 48. *Morning Post*, 18 November 1828.
 49. *OBP*, December 1828, James Coleman and Rhoda Coleman (t18281204-180); TNA: HO6/13: Records Report; HO17/93: Petition, Rn. 22. Coleman was executed at Newgate 21 January 1829, C. Hindley (ed.) (1871), 'The Gaol Delivery and the Trials and Sentences of all the Prisoners at the Old Bailey Sessions, together with a full account of the Execution of the Fifteen Unfortunate Convicts', *Curiosities of Street Literature* (London: Reeves and Turner).

50. *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1829.
51. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against defendant gender where offence category is coining offences. Counting by defendant.
52. L. Zedner (1991), *Women, Crime and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 39, 313, 315.
53. Gaskill, *Crimes*, pp. 138–9; W. Lowndes (1695), *A Report Containing an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins* (London: Charles Bill).
54. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against defendant gender where offence category is coining offences. Counting by defendant.
55. Gaskill, *Crime*, p. 160; Styles, 'Traitorous'.
56. Mayhew, *London Labour*, vol. 4, pp. 29, 30.
57. J. Grant (1838), *Sketches in London* (London: Ward Lock), pp. 401, 402; J. Garwood (1853), *The Million-Peopled City* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh), p. 46; T. Archer (1865), *The Pauper, the Thief and the Convict* (London: Groombridge & Sons), p. 77.
58. Wensley, *Detective Days*, pp. 141–2; G. W. Cornish (1935), *Cornish of the 'Yard'* (London: Bodley Head), pp. 24–7.
59. See W. M. Meier (2011), *Property Crime in London, 1850 to the Present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 15, 16, 47; Shpayer Makov, *Ascent*, p. 293. See the debate about the extent of professional crime between the High Court Judge Alfred Wills and the Assistant Commissioner of Police, Robert Anderson in *The Times*, 12, 21 February, 22 April, 1901.
60. *OBP*, April 1861, Joseph Jones, Ellen Jones and William Smith (t18610408-319).
61. Mayhew, *London Labour*, vol. 4, p. 378.
62. *OBP*, May 1883, Evaline Street, Albert Howard, Philip Garcia and Elizabeth King (t18830528-581).
63. Mayhew, *London Labour*, vol. 4, pp. 378–80.
64. *OBP*, February 1866, Frederick Clode and Frederick Comyn (t18660226-258); November 1866, John Barrett, Cornelious Barrett and Elizabeth Barrett (t18611119-19).
65. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'plainclothes "plain clothes"'. Counting by offence. The use of the term in Old Bailey cases increases from the 1830s (there are few references before 1830 and none before 1803), reflecting the entrenchment of the Metropolitan Police and, from 1842, the Detective Branch. Shpayer Makov, *Ascent*, pp. 31, 33, 36.
66. In the House of Commons in 1866 the Secretary of State, Sir George Grey, noted that the employment of policeman in plain clothes had been adopted in response to the increase of 'garrotte robberies' of 1862. HC Deb 16 February 1866 vol. 181 c597.
67. *OBP*, November 1845, Catherine Hacket and Robert Doolan (t18451124-182).
68. *The Times*, 2 December 1845. See Morris, 'Crime Does Not Pay', p. 81.
69. *OBP*, October 1877, John Meiklejohn, Nathaniel Druscovitch, William Palmer and George Clarke (t18771022-805).
70. S. Petrow (1994), *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 57. See TNA: HO45/9442/66692, 'State, Discipline and Organisation of the Detective Force of the Metropolitan Police. Report of the Departmental Commission and subsequent Rules'.

71. *OBP*, July 1775, Walter Gibbons (t17750712-36); LMA: OB/PS, Justices' Working Documents (*LL*): 6 July 1735, LMOBPS450230305, 12 July 1735 LMOBPS450230288.
72. *OBP*, July 1775, John Wilkin (t17750712-51).
73. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'swindling swindle swindler swindlers'. Counting by offence.
74. The term 'to swindle' apparently came to London with German Jews in the 1760s, *schwindel* meaning 'to cheat', Partridge, *Underworld*, p. 708.
75. *Standard*, 31 March 1828.
76. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 26 July 1857.
77. *Morning Chronicle*, 27 May 1840; *The Times*, 6 June 1840.
78. There are 25 references to gangs of forgers in the Old Bailey Proceedings Online. All but five of these date from the 1840s. Two cases in the 1760s are connected to the Richardson case. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory where the transcription matches '+gang +forgery'. Counting by offence. *OBP*, September 1763, William Barlow, Jane Durant (t17300914-66); *OBP*, September 1765, Mary Collins (t17650918-72).
79. *Political Examiner*, 10 January 1857. The 'barrister Saward' was referred to at the trial of Pierce, Burgess and Tester (*OBP*, January 1857, William Pierce, James Burgess and William George Tester (t18570105-250)). Agar had sold him 500oz of the stolen gold. Saward was tried at the Old Bailey in March 1857, on a charge of forgery. *OBP*, March 1857, James Townshend Saward and James Anderson (t18570302-413). See the recent biography by his descendent J. Carnell (2011), *James Townsend Saward, Criminal Barrister* (Hastings: Sensation Press); also D. Donovan (1901), *Jim the Penman: The Life Story of One of the Most Astounding Criminals That Have Ever Lived* (London: George Newnes); Dilnot, *Trial of Jim the Penman*; Thomas, *Victorian Underworld*, pp. 229–37; Fido and Skinner, *Scotland Yard*, p. 177.
80. *OBP*, October 1856, William Salt Hardwicke and Henry Attwell (t18561027-1004).
81. *Daily News*, 12 February 1857.
82. *Daily News*, 12 February 1857. *OBP*, September 1839, James Allen (t18390916-2451); April 1849, William Wilkinson (t18490409-884).
83. *Freeman and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 14 February 1857.
84. *The Times*, 24 May 1859. *OBP*, May 1859, Andrew Foster, William Wynn Bramwell, Frederick Humphreys and William Wagner (t18590509-497); May 1859, William Wagner, William Wynn Bramwell and Horton Bateman (t18590509-518).
85. *Reynold's Newspaper*, 6 September 1857; *Aberdeen Journal*, 9 September 1857; *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, 3 October 1859; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 4 October 1859; *North Wales Chronicle*, 8 October 1859.
86. *Daily News*, 28 April 1860. *OBP*, May 1860, William George Pullinger (t18600507-466). J. E. Ritchie (1860), *About London* (London: William Tinsley), p. 151.
87. *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Operation of the Acts (16 & 17 Vict. c. 99. and 20 & 21 Vict. c. 3.) Relating to Transportation and Penal Servitude. Vol. I. Report and Appendix*, 1863 (3190), p. 158.
88. C. L. Young (1886), *Jim the Penman* (New York: S. French). See also 'The History of "Jim the Penman"', *New York Times*, 8 May 1910; J. B. Clapp and E. F. Edgett (1902), *Plays of the Present* (New York: Dunlap Society).

89. Meier, *Property Crime*, pp. 87, 106–7; A. Wright (2006), *Organised Crime: Concept, Cases, Control* (Cullompton: Willan), p. 169.
90. *OBP*, August 1880, Samuel John Holmes, Henry John Dover, Heney Lawrence, William Farrington, Frederick Hiscock, Alfred Vincent, Edward Simmonds and William Phillips (t18800803-449).
91. M. Levi (1981), *The Phantom Capitalists: The Organisation and Control of Long-Firm Fraud* (London: Heinemann).
92. *OBP* (t18800803-449).
93. Levi, *Phantom*, pp. 1–2.
94. Levi, *Phantom*, p. 13. For the Hevey case see, R. N. Gooderson (1952), 'When is a Document False in the Law of Forgery?', *Modern Law Review*, 15, 1, pp. 11–27.
95. *OBP*, January 1782, John Hevey (t17820109-22); February 1782, John Hevey (t17820220-32); February 1782, John Hevey and Richard Beatty (t17820220-63).
96. *OBP*, August 1874, John Churchill (t 18740817-538); December 1874, Charles Barrell and John Henry Rogers (t18741214-100).
97. *Bradford Observer*, 18 March 1858; *Hull Packet and East Riding Advertiser*, 19 March 1858.
98. G. Crossick (1977), 'The Emergence of the Lower Middle Class in Britain', in G. Crossick (ed.), *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870–1914* (London: Croom Helm), pp. 11–60, 19–20.
99. 'Career of a Manchester Forger-The "Long Firm"', *Manchester Times*, 20 September 1862.
100. *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 September 1862.
101. J. Caminada (1895), *Twenty Five Years of Detective Life* (Manchester: J. Heywood), pp. 361–3.
102. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 July 1862, 12 August 1865; *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 July 1862; *Manchester Times*, 12 July 1862, 12 November 1864, 5 August 1865; *Derby Mercury*, 16 July 1862. *The Times* reported on 'The Long Firm at Nottingham', 10 October 1862; the *Birmingham Daily Post* reported on 'A Domestic Long Firm in Wolverhampton', 12 August 1865.
103. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 28 May 1866.
104. In giving evidence to the House of Lords at the Select Committee on the Law of Hypothec in Scotland, a Mr A. McNoel-Caird, referred to a customer potentially belonging to a 'long firm'. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the law of Hypothec in Scotland, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix* (1868-9 (367) (367-I) (367-II)), p. 174; *Prosecution of Offences Acts, 1879 and 1884. Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 13 April 1894*, 1894 (73). From 1868 to 2001/2 there were 73 records which produced references to 'long firm'; 44 of these are from the pre-First World War period (and at least some of these early Committees and Report contain multiple references), see <http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/home.do>, accessed 13 September 2014. Wright, *Organised Crime*, p. 168.
105. *Morning Post*, 20 February 1866; *Standard*, 5 March 1866.
106. For example, see *OBP*, February 1867, James Bradshaw (t18670225-296). The accused is described as having been a waiter at Bristowe's coffee house; also *Daily News*, 28 February 1867. The case of John Lockwood, tried at Southwark, was reported in the *Illustrated Police News*, 20 April 1867. Later

- he was tried at the Old Bailey for forgery of a promissory note, *OBP*, June 1867, John Lockwood (t18670610-563).
107. See related trials: *OBP*, January 1868, George Brittain Bristowe (t18680106-132); December 1867, George Gould (t18671216-75); May 1875, George Foreman (t18750503-335); May 1875, George White, Walter Carruthers, Alfred Carruthers, Florence North, George Foreman, Richard Browning, Charles Harrison Barker and Samuel Jacobs (t18750503-336); May 1875, Richard Browning, Charles Harrison Barker and Samuel Jacobs (t18750503-330).
 108. *Morning Post*, 7 May 1875.
 109. *Daily News*, 21 May 1868.
 110. *Daily News*, 21 May 1868.
 111. *OBP*, August 1868, Samuel Israel, William Barnes and David Morgan (t18680817-754); *Standard*, 19 August 1868; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 23 August 1868.
 112. Potter would go on to become the superintendent of police at the South Western Railway, dying in service in November 1875. *OBP*, June 1870, William Steele, John Simmonds (t18700606-536); *Hampshire Advertiser*, 20 November 1875.
 113. Wright, *Organised Crime*, p. 22.
 114. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 April 1878.
 115. *OBP*, Tabulating year against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'long firm'. Counting by offence. There are 67 offences where a long firm is mentioned, of these 76.12 per cent are for prosecutions of fraud.
 116. In determining actual numbers the count function on www.oldbaileyonline.org (accessed 13 September 2014) has some limitations. Manual counting of individuals and trials was used to confirm the numbers. Whilst 167 people were charged in 40 trials, there were some individuals who were tried more than once, so the actual number of distinct individuals would be lower.
 117. Whilst I have focused on the frauds here, long firms are also referred to in cases of larceny, forgery, bankruptcy, etc. Moreover, many other cases which would fit the long-firm model can be found (for example, see the Bristowe gang cases above, which are not specifically referred to as long firms in the courtroom). Levi, *Phantom*, pp. 16, 28.
 118. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory, after 1800. Counting by offence.
 119. *OBP*, May 1876, James Humphries, Henry Smith, Edward Houghton and Mary Robinson (t18760529-389). Pay was also involved in raiding and prosecuting disorderly houses, see TNA: HO45/9511/17216, Police Report, 'C' Division, by James Pay, Inspector (1863, not dated), cited in H. Cocks (2003), *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris), p. 206.
 120. *OBP*, May 1875, George Foreman (t18750503-335); May 1875, George White, Walter Carruthers, Alfred Carruthers, Florence North, George Foreman, Richard Browning, Charles Harrison Barker and Samuel Jacobs (t18750503-336); May 1875, Richard Browning, Charles Harrison Barker and Samuel Jacobs (t18750503-330).
 121. Caminada, *Twenty Five Years*, p. 363.
 122. Prosecution of Offences Acts, 1879 (42 & 43 Vict. c. 22) and 1884 (47 & 48 Vict. c. 58). *Return to an address of the Honourable House of Commons dated 13 April 1894* (1894 (73)), p. 3. *OBP*, March 1893, Leon Block, Augustus Tallett,

- Ernest Chevallier, George Auguste Bondet Dusan-Lier and Marius Oudet (t18930306-255).
123. Levi, *Phantom*, p. 20, more generally pp. 19–28. R. Reushel (1895), *The Knights of Industry* (London).
 124. *OBP*, March 1895, Stanilaus Reuschel (t18950325-304); see related trials, *OBP*, February 1895, Stein Semansky (t18950225-258); May 1895, Gustav Opitz (t18950520-469). P. Knepper (2009), *The Invention of International Crime: A Global Issue in the Making, 1881–1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan); P. Knepper (2007), 'British Jews and the Racialisation of Crime in the Age of Empire', *British Journal of Criminology*, 47, pp. 61–79.
 125. For example see *OBP*, September 1894, William Trautz, Emile Trautz, Alexander Joseph and George Charles Fruhling (t18940910-716); December 1892, William Haydon, William Borrows, Hugh Jarvis, Albert Hennessey, Robert Bell Salisbury, Henry Adolphus Rice, George Staab, William Robert Jackson, William Harland, Henry George Morris, William Robert Taylor, Karl Adrian Wassenaar and Samuel Nightengale (t18921212-140). Whilst both of these trials had foreign connections, there is no specific evidence that the Trautz's, Fruhling or Wassenaar were foreigners.
 126. *OBP*, October 1907, John William Clifton, James Harry Vincent, Alexander Doig, John Martin, John Ralli, William Roger Caldwell Moore and Joseph Goodman (t19071021-27).
 127. *OBP* (t18940910-716).
 128. *OBP*, April 1909, John Harvey and Benjamin Fletcher (t19090420-34).
 129. *OBP* (t18921212-140).
 130. Only seven long-firm defendants were women. *OBP*, Tabulating year against defendant gender where the transcription matches 'long firm', after 1874. Counting by defendant.
 131. *OBP*, Tabulating defendant age against offence subcategory where defendant age is at least 1, after 1870. Counting by defendant.
 132. *OBP*, Tabulating defendant age against offence subcategory where the transcription matches 'long firm'. Counting by defendant.
 133. *OBP*, Tabulating defendant age against offence subcategory where offence category is deception and defendant age is at least 1, after 1870. Counting by defendant.
 134. Sindall, 'Middle-Class', p. 35.
 135. M. Woollard (1999), 'The Classification of Occupations in the 1881 Census of England and Wales', Historical Censuses and Social Surveys Research Group, University of Essex, http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~matthew/Papers/Woollard_1881Classifications_no%20illustration.pdf, accessed 13 September 2014), Appendix 5, p. 42 passim.
 136. Robb, *White-Collar Crime*, p. 10.
 137. *OBP*, March 1877, Alexander Gardner, Charlotte Trayford, William Alexander Wood, John Laurie, James Parker, Edward Batson, Joseph Ord, Richard Jackson, Samuel Waite Moore, John Richard Burden and Morris Cohen (t18770305-318).
 138. *OBP*, December 1892, William Haydon, William Borrows, Hugh Jarvis, Albert Hennessey, Robert Bell Salisbury, Henry Adolphus Rice, George Staab, William Robert Jackson, William Harland, Henry George Morris, William Robert Taylor, Karl Adrian Wassenaar and Samuel Nightengale (t18921212-140).

139. This group has been neglected in the expansion of middle-class historiography. P. Bailey (1999), 'White Collars, Gray Lives?: The Lower Middle Class Revisited', *Journal of British Studies*, 38, pp. 273–90; Crossick, *Lower Middle Class*.
140. G. L. Anderson (1977), 'The Social Economy of Late-Victorian Clerks', in Crossick, *Lower Middle Class*, pp. 113–33; M. Heller (2008), 'Work, Income and Stability: The Late Victorian and Edwardian London Male Clerk Revisited', *Business History*, 50, 3, pp. 253–71.
141. Anderson suggests that in 1861, 91,733 men were engaged as clerks; by 1911 this number had risen to 561,155, 'Late-Victorian Clerks', p 113.
142. Anderson, 'Late-Victorian Clerks'; Heller, 'Work', p. 254.
143. Heller, 'Work', pp. 268–9.
144. R. Church (2004), 'The Rise and Changing Role of Commercial Travellers in Britain between 1870 and 1914', unpublished paper given at EBHA Conference, <http://www.econ.upf.edu/ebha2004/programme2.html>, accessed 16 September 2014; M. French (2005), 'Commercials, Careers and Culture: Travelling Salesmen in Britain, 1890s-1930s', *Economic History Review*, 58, 2, pp. 352-77; M. French and Popp, A. (2008), "'Ambassadors of Commerce": The Commercial Traveler in British Culture, 1800-1939', *Business History Review*, 82, pp.789-814.
145. Church, 'Rise', p. 7.
146. *OBP* (t18800803-449).
147. Crossick, *Lower Middle Class*, p. 23.
148. Levi, *Phantom*, p. 59.
149. *OBP*, July 1911, Harry Stone, Frederick Brooks and Mark Sidney Gage (t19110717-48).
150. *OBP*, March 1905, William John Milne and Charles William Smith (t19050306-271).
151. *OBP*, March 1877, Joseph Ord, Samuel Waite Moore and James Holmes (t18770305-320); *OBP* (t18770305-318); March 1877, Richard Jackson, Joseph Ord, James Parker, Edward Batson, Samuel Waite Moore, Robert Alfred Welham, Beauchamp St. John Mootham, Thomas Brandon Terry and George Law (t18770305-321).
152. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 25 March 1877.
153. A first offence of uttering was a misdemeanour but a second offence was a felony. See *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution, Management, and Expense of the Royal Mint, from the Select Committee on the Royal Mint* (1849), p. 248.
154. Dick Hobbs has explored some of these firms in a slightly later chronology, in D. Hobbs (2001), 'The Firm: Organisational Logic and Criminal Culture on a Shifting Terrain', *British Journal of Criminology*, 41, pp. 549–60.

7 'A London Plague that must be swept away': Hooligans and Street Fighting Gangs, c. 1882–1912

1. *Illustrated Police News*, 13 November 1897.
2. G. Pearson (1983), *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (London: Macmillan), p. 74.
3. A. Davies (2008), *The Gangs of Manchester: The Story of the Scuttlers, Britain's First Youth Cult* (Preston: Milo Books); P. Gooderson (2010), *The Gangs of Birmingham*:

- From the Sloggers to The Peaky Blinders* (Preston: Milo Books); M. Macilwee (2007), *The Gangs of Liverpool* (Preston: Milo Books); McDonald, *Gangs*.
4. *The Times*, 17 July 1920, 5 April 1921. S. Slater (2012), 'Street Disorder in the Metropolis, 1905–39', *Law, Crime and History*, 2, 1, pp. 59–91.
 5. G. Pearson (2011), 'Perpetual Novelty: Youth, Modernity and Historical Amnesia', in Goldson, *Youth in Crisis*, pp. 20–37, p. 27.
 6. *The Times*, 30 October 1900.
 7. *Quarterly Review*, Volume 129, no. 257 (1870), p. 91.
 8. See the attack on Constable William Kitch, *OBP*, November 1884, Alfred Hickson, George Barnes, James Kevill, George Francis and Cornelius Fitzgerald (t 18841117-56); and attack on Constable Charles Collins, *OBP*, November 1897, Thomas Tool and Michael Small (t18971122-49).
 9. Davis, 'Garotting'; R. Sindall (1990), *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).
 10. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory, between 1800 and 1913. Counting by offence.
 11. P. Handler (2007), 'The Law of Felonious Assault in England', *Journal of Legal History*, 28, 2, pp. 183–206; P. King (1996), 'Punishing Assault: The Transformation of Attitudes in the English courts', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 27, pp. 43–74.
 12. M. J. Allen (2001), *Textbook on Criminal Law*, 6th edn. (Oxford: Blackstone Press), pp. 356–62.
 13. N. Elias (1978), *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (New York: Urizen Books).
 14. For a recent discuss of this 'process' in relation to the Old Bailey courtroom see, S. Klingenstein, T. Hitchcock and S. DeDeo (2014), 'The Civilizing Process in London's Old Bailey', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 111, 26, pp. 9419–24.
 15. Davis, 'Garotting'; Sindall, *Street Violence*.
 16. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence category where the transcription matches 'roughs'. Counting by offence.
 17. J. Welshman (2005), *Underclass: A History of the Excluded, 1880–2000* (London: Bloomsbury).
 18. *Bristol Mercury*, 25 June 1870; *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 November 1868; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 16 November 1873; *Daily News*, 10 April 1890; *Illustrated Police News*, 12 June 1897.
 19. See *OBP*, September 1866, Joseph Gairdelli, Timothy Nolan, Edward Cane (t18660917-798).
 20. For example, in 1878, the *Pall Mall Gazette* (29 April) reported on a gang of youths throwing missiles at the congregation of St Alban's church in Holborn; also *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 9 July 1876.
 21. Scuttling was reported in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 September 1878. The first 'slogging' death in Birmingham was reported in the *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 8 March 1874.
 22. Davies, 'Youth Gangs, Masculinity', pp. 363–4.
 23. B. Goldson (2011), 'Youth in Crisis?', in B. Goldson (ed.), *Youth in Crisis?*, pp. 1–19, p. 11.
 24. *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 April 1855; *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 29 June 1861.

25. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 June 1865; *Leeds Mercury*, 4 June 1872; *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 1 May 1874; *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 17 September 1878.
26. P. Griffiths (1996), *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
27. Davies, *Gangs of Manchester*, p. 74.
28. Sindall, *Street Violence*, pp. 66–70; Pearson, *Hooligan*, pp. 96–7.
29. A. Davies (2011), 'Youth Gangs and Late Victorian Society', in Goldson, *Youth in Crisis?*, pp. 38–54, p. 40.
30. Davies, 'Youth Gangs, Masculinity', p. 351.
31. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 29 April 1894. For other references see *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 December 1896; *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 16 August 1898; *Penny Illustrated Paper and Penny Illustrated Times*, 16 November 1907.
32. Pearson, *Hooligan*, pp. 74–5; *Era*, 24 October 1891.
33. *Illustrated Police News*, 20 October 1894. See also *Daily News*, 24 April 1894.
34. M. Livie (2010), 'Curing Hooliganism: Moral Panic, Juvenile Delinquency, and the Political Culture of Moral Reform in Britain, 1898–1908' (University of Southern California, Ph.D), pp. 20–2.
35. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 November 1898.
36. Livie, 'Curing Hooliganism', p. 6.
37. The survival of metropolitan police court records is poor. Clerkenwell and Worship Street Police Court records survive from 1905; South Western Police Court from 1919; Westminster Police Court from 1897; Lambeth Police Court from 1906; and Bow Street Police Court from 1895 (surviving records are held at the London Metropolitan Archives).
38. Searches of *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Mail*, *Evening News*, *Evening Standard*, *Islington Daily Gazette* and *North London Chronicle*, *Lloyd's Weekly News*, *Manchester Guardian*, *News of the World* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* for 1907 turned up only a few references to the most serious hooligan crime, the murder of William Garrett Dundon in April of that year.
39. *OBP*: (t18820227-312); (t18820227-328); (t18841117-56); (t18850727-740); (t18850727-741); (t18880730-759); (t18911116-59); (t18970405-307); (t18970628-473); (t18970726-528); (t18971122-34); (t18971122-49); (t18980620-453); (t18990912-607); (t19001119-47); (t19010204-178); (t19010513-393); (t19020210-215); (t19030518-483); (t19061022-35); (t19070528-11); (t19070528-12); (t19070910-83); (t19070910-82); (t19070910-81); (t19071021-84); (t19071119-32); (t19080428-28); (t19080623-10); (t19080623-26); (t19080623-37); (t19080721-27); (t19110425-43); (t19120611-35). The cases reported in the press but tried in other courts were: William Cadle, Westminster, *Illustrated Police News*, 20 May 1893; Charles Clarke, Southwark, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 29 April 1894; Edward Holt, Edward Smith, Lambeth, *Illustrated Police News*, 19 May 1894; John Chandler, Southwark, *Standard*, 30 January 1897; Michael Connell, George Skeffington, Clerkenwell, *Daily News*, 27 November 1897; Frederick Dockrell, South Western, *Standard*, 15 August 1898; Charles Nunn, Thomas Wyatt, Thomas Pullen, William Canty, South Western, *Morning Post*, 9 January 1899.
40. *OBP*, June 1897, John Goodey, Michael Reed, George Robert Robson, James Beaumont, Eliza Walters (t18970628-473).
41. Davies, 'Youth Gangs, Masculinity', p. 356.

42. Charles Booth Archive Online, Booth B353, pp. 214–15, 4 July 1898.
43. TNA: CRIM1/107/4, 'evidence of Florence Fairhead', May 1907.
44. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 'The Lawlessness of London', 6 March 1882. See also 'The Fighting Gangs of London', 3 February 1882; 'The Fighting Gangs of London', 14 March 1882; 'The Fighting Gangs on the Embankment', 17 March 1882.
45. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 March 1882.
46. On the *The Wild Boys of London*, see John Springhall (1994), "'Pernicious Reading"? "The Penny Dreadful" as Scapegoat for Late-Victorian Juvenile Crime', *Victorian Periodical Review*, 27, 4, pp. 326–49.
47. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 March 1882.
48. *OBP*, February 1882, Thomas Galliers and James Casey (t18820227-328). For the inquest report see *Daily News*, 20 January 1882. Thomas Galliers was charged at Bow Street on the 31 January; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 January 1882. James Casey was arrested later and charged along with Galliers at Bow Street in early February, *Standard*, 8 February 1882. The related trial is: *OBP*, February 1882, Trial of William Hubbard, David Jennings, Henry Kirby, Frederick Ball, Patrick Kennedy, David Williams and John Collins (t18820227-312).
49. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 February 1882.
50. *OBP* (t18820227-312).
51. See evidence of Arthur Thompson and of Sarah Williams, TNA: CRIM1/13/6, Defendant, Galliers, Thomas, February 1882.
52. A. Morrison (1896, 2012 edn.), *A Child of the Jago* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 85.
53. TNA: CRIM8/14, 'Request from the Director of Criminal Investigations, Metropolitan Police Office for a transcript of Mr Justice Hawkin's remarks at the trial of Galliers and Casey alleging the existence of street gangs', 8 March 1882.
54. Hallsworth, 'Gangland Britain?', p. 191.
55. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 March 1882.
56. K. Kintrea, J. Bannister and J. Pickering (2011), "'It's just an area – everybody represents it": Exploring Young People's Territorial Behaviour in British Cities', in Goldson, *Youth in Crisis?*, pp. 55–71, p. 59.
57. Davies 'Youth Gangs', p. 44.
58. J. Hollingshead (1861), *Ragged London in 1861* (London: Smith, Elder and Co.), p. 147.
59. Light blue, purple and pink respectively equated to: Poor, Mixed and Fairly Comfortable. Streets located using the searchable digital version of the *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty, 1898–99* made available at the Charles Booth Online Archive, <http://booth.lse.ac.uk/>, accessed 14 September 2014.
60. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 March 1882.
61. See 'Plan of City Road at Shepherdess Walk', in TNA: CRIM1/107/4.
62. *OBP* (t18820227-328). TNA: CRIM1/13/6, Defendant: Galliers, Thomas: Charge, Murder. *Reynolds Newspaper*, 22 January 1882, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 29 January 1882.
63. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 March 1882. See also, 'The Lawlessness of London', 6 March 1882; 'London Brigands and Their Methods', 25 March 1882.

64. *Daily News*, 2 February 1882; *OBP* (t18820227-312). The youths were found guilty of riot.
65. *Daily News*, 2 February 1882.
66. *OBP*, July 1888, George Galletly, Peter Lee, William Joseph Graefe, William Henshaw, Charles Henry Govier, Francis Cole, William Elvis and Michael Doolan (t18880730-759); TNA: CRIM1/29/9, 'Defendant: GELLATLY, George ELVIS, William COLE, Francis LEE, Peter GRAEFE, William Joseph HENSHAW, William GOVIER, Charles Henry DULING, Michael Charge: Murder'.
67. *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 9 June 1888; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 10 June 1888. Gray, 'Gang Crime'.
68. *Morning Post*, 15 May 1893; *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 1 September 1894, p. 3.
69. *Illustrated Police News*, 20 May 1893. Oakum Street buildings was probably on Oakham Street, now Lucan Place.
70. Westminster Police Court Register, 9, 16, 22, 23, 30 October 1900, LMA: PS/WES/A1/19.
71. *OBP*, November 1900, John Proud, Charles Key (t19001119-47).
72. B. Beaven (2005), *Leisure Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 58; D. Kift (1996), *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 65, 70.
73. TNA: CRIM1/107/4: 'Depositions file, Defendant: Ashton, James, Charge: Murder'.
74. Another affray took place at the South London Palace of Varieties and was tried at the Southwark Police Court. *Daily News*, 24 April 1894.
75. *OBP*, November 1891, James Bassett (t18911116-59).
76. *OBP*, June 1912, John Jenkins, James Bennett, Charles Tompkins and Henry Barker (t19120611-35).
77. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 24 July 1898.
78. *The Times*, 14 August 1898.
79. C. Rook (1899), *Hooligan Nights* (London: Grant Richards).
80. *The Times*, 16 August 1898.
81. *OBP*, July 1908, Harry Jarvis (t19080721-27).
82. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 February 1870.
83. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 19 November 1871. See comments about youths in Upper Street, Islington in *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 1 May 1869; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 November 1870.
84. J. Birchall (2006), "'The Carnival Revels of Manchester's Vagabonds": Young Working-Class Women and Monkey Parades in the 1870s', *Women's History Review*, 15, 2, pp. 229-52.
85. Kintrea, Bannister and Pickering, 'It's Just an Area', p. 60.
86. *OBP* (t18820227-312).
87. H. Mayhew (1849), 'Labour and the Poor, Letter XII', *Morning Chronicle*, 27 November.
88. Harding, *East End Underworld*, pp. 8, 35, 42, 126, 290.
89. M. J. Childs (1992), *Labour's Apprentices: Working-Class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press), pp. 58-61, 62.
90. H. Shore (2009), 'Street Children and Street Trades in the United Kingdom', in Hugh. D. Hindman, *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey* (New York: M. E. Sharpe), pp. 563-6.

91. Shore, 'Street Children', pp. 564–5. Also E. Hopkins (1994), *Childhood Transformed: Working-Class Children in Nineteenth Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 203–4.
92. Davies, 'Youth Gangs, Masculinity', p. 352.
93. *OBP*, May 1901, Harry Lewis, Samuel Harrison, Frederick Millard and Joseph Boulton (t19010513-393).
94. *Morning Post*, 15 May 1893.
95. *OBP*, November 1897, William Bond and Frederick James Leader (t18971122-34).
96. *Reynolds's News*, 7 November 1897; *Illustrated Police News*, 13, 20 November, 4 December 1897.
97. *Illustrated Police News*, 4 December 1897.
98. Pearson, *Hooligan*, pp. 105–6.
99. Davies, 'Youth Gangs', p. 50.
100. *OBP*, July 1885, William Brown and Harry Foxcroft (t18850727-741); July 1885, William Brown (t18850727-740). Brown pleaded guilty to a related offence.
101. Gooderson, *Gangs*, pp. 265–6.
102. *Morning Post*, 9 December 1897, p. 8.
103. For discussion of the pistols bill see TNA: HO45/9788/B3145A and HO45/9788/B3145D, 'Pistols Bill, 1893'; also MEPO2/1429, 'Firearms Bill: amending Pistols Act 1903'.
104. *The Times*, 25 July 1893, p. 5.
105. *The Times*, 16 September 1893, p. 9; HC Deb 14 September 1893 vol. 17 c1153.
106. *The Times*, 12 October 1893, p. 12.
107. HC Deb 27 February 1895 vol. 30 cc1657-85.
108. *The Times*, 3 July 1895, p. 6.
109. C. Greenwood (1972), *Firearms Control: A Study of Armed Crime and Firearms Control in England and Wales* (London: Routledge), pp. 27–9.
110. *Illustrated Police News*, 13, 20 November 1897; *Reynolds's News*, 7 November 1897.
111. *Daily News*, 10 February 1896.
112. *Hampshire Advertiser*, 9 June 1897, p. 2.
113. *Morning Post*, 4 June 1897, p. 6.
114. See 'Clerkenwell Pistol Tragedy', *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper*, 6 June, 1897; *OBP* (t18970628-473). See TNA: CRIM1/48/1: 'Defendant: Goodey, John; Reed, Michael; Robson, George Robert; Beaumont, James; Walter, Eliza Charge: Manslaughter and riot'.
115. TNA: CRIM1/48/1: 'Deposition of Alfred Smith, June 1897'.
116. TNA: CRIM1/48/1.
117. 'The Reign of Terror in Clerkenwell', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 13 June 1897. A. Davies (1999), '"These Viragoes are no less cruel than the lads": Young Women, Gangs and Violence in Late Victorian Manchester and Salford', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39, 1, pp. 72–89.
118. *The Times*, 26 March, 24 April 1907; *Islington Daily Gazette and North London Chronicle*, 23 April 1907, p. 2; *Daily Mail*, 24, 30 May 1907, p. 4. *OBP*, May 1907, James Ashton (t19070528-11); TNA: CRIM1/107/4, Depositions file, Defendant: Ashton, James, Charge: Murder; Defendant: Allen, Thomas,

- Charge: Assault, May 1907. The London Assurance was at 193–5 City Road, on the corner of City Road and Westmoreland Place (now Westland Place).
119. *The Times*, 3 June 1907.
 120. *OBP* (t19070528-11); TNA: CRIM1/107/4, Deposition of William Sewell, May 1907. Three other boys were charged on a separate indictment but discharged, *OBP*, May 1907, Philip Murty, Patrick Chapman and Thomas Allen (t19070528-12).
 121. Pearson, *Hooligan*, p. 94.
 122. TNA: CRIM1/107/4, Deposition of James Ashton, 23 May 1907.
 123. TNA: CRIM1/107/4, Deposition of Thomas Holdsworth, 23 May 1907. Nile Street ran off Shepherdress Walk, and would be mentioned by Arthur Harding (see below).
 124. *OBP*, September 1907, George Mortimer (t19070910-81); September 1907, Robert Wannell (t19070910-82); September 1907, Alfred Potter (t19070910-83).
 125. *OBP*, September 1907, Robert Wannell (t19070910-82).
 126. TNA: CRIM1/108/2, Defendant: Francis, Arthur; Lowe, Edward; Churchwood, William; Hunter, Henry; Strettin, Thomas; Francis, Thomas; Keefe, Edward: Charge: Shooting at various people with intent to injure them, November, 1907. *The Times*, 22, 25, 31 October, 1, 23 November 1907.
 127. *OBP*, November 1907, Arthur Francis, William Churchwood, Henry Hunter, Thomas Strettin, Edward Keefe, Edward Lowe, Thomas Francis and Frederick James Dyson (t19071119-32); *Daily Graphic*, 21 November 1907.
 128. See *OBP*, June 1908, George Askew (t19080623-37); June 1908, Roger Hellen (t19080623-10); June 1908, George Price (t19080623-26). 'The Forties' or the 'Forty Thieves' are described as a gang of youths from around the Limehouse area who worked as fishmongers (*OBP*, April 1908, George Johnson (t19080428-28)).
 129. Davies, *Gangs of Manchester*; P. Gooderson (1997), 'Terror on the Streets of Late Victorian Salford and Manchester: The Scuttling Menace', *Manchester Region History Review*, 11, pp. 3–11, p. 6.
 130. *OBP*, October 1907, John Harmond (t19071021-84).
 131. *OBP* (t19071119-32). See Clerkenwell Police Court Register, 21, 30 October 1907, LMA: PS/CLE/A1/8.
 132. The court register at Old Street notes that Goddard and Goldsworthy were charged with 'unlawfully carrying revolvers without a licence', Old Street Police Court Register, 4, 11 April 1911, LMA: PS/OLD/A1/14. *OBP*, April 1911, Charles Goddard and Harry Goldsworthy (t19110425-43).
 133. *OBP*, September 1899, Henry Rye, Alfred Jewell (t18990912-607). See also West London Police Court Register, 23, 31 August 1899, LMA: PS/WLN/A1/112. *Morning Post*, 24 August, p. 6, 20 September, p. 2, 1899.
 134. *OBP*, February 1902, Henry Rye (t19020210-155); July 1904, Henry Rye (t19040725-546); October 1912, Henry Rye (t19121008-60).
 135. *OBP* (t19070528-11).
 136. *Lloyd's Weekly News*, 1 September 1907, p. 3. *OBP* (t19070528-12). See also Old Street Police Court Register, 23, 30 April, 7, 14, 21, 23 May 1907, LMA: PS/OLD/A1/5.
 137. *OBP* (t19070528-11).
 138. Harding, *East End Underworld*, p. 148.

139. *The Times*, 3 September 1908.
140. *OBP* (t18820227-328).
141. *OBP* (18971122-34); (t19080623-26) (t19080623-37) (t19120611-35).
142. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 12 August 1888; *Daily News*, 15 August 1888, Gray, 'Gang Crime', pp. 564–5.
143. *Morning Post*, 26 April 1855, p. 7.
144. *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, 26 September 1757.
145. J. White (1980), *Rothschild Buildings: Life in an East End Tenement Block, 1887–1920* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), p. 137.
146. S. Wise (2008), *The Blackest Streets: The Life and Death of a Victorian Slum* (London: Bodley Head), p. 19.
147. Harding, *East End Underworld*, pp. 2, 53, 54.
148. *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, 1884–85*, XXX, 24, p. 616.
149. Sponza, *Italian Immigrants*, p. 19. T. Allen (2008), *Little Italy: The Story of London's Italian Quarter* (London: Camden Local Studies), pp. 6, 11.

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1. *Star*, 5 December 1922.
2. See M. Huggins (2000), *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790–1914: A Social and Economic History* (London: Cass), pp. 136–7.
3. *Evening Standard*, 25 August 1925.
4. *Daily Mail*, 26 August 1925.
5. J. P. Bean (1981), *The Sheffield Gang Wars* (Sheffield: D & D Publications).
6. Davies, 'Street Gangs'; Davies, 'Reign of Terror'; Davies, 'Scottish Chicago?'
7. For references to foreign and alien criminality see *The Times*, 4, 5 April, 26 July 1921. Shore, 'Criminality'. See also S. Slater (2007), 'Pimps, Police and Filles De Joie: Foreign Prostitution in Interwar London', *London Journal*, 32, 1, pp. 53–74.
8. Wright, *Organised Crime*, p. 167. Also D. Hobbs (2006), *Bad Business: Professional Crime in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 115.
9. H. Shore (2014), "'Rogues of the Racecourse": Racing Men and the Press in Inter-War Britain', *Media History*, 20, 4, pp. 352–367.
10. Davies, 'Scottish Chicago', p. 511.
11. Divall, *Scoundrels*; E. Greeno (1959), *War on the Underworld* (London: Brown, Watson Ltd); Sharpe, *Flying Squad*.
12. Wright, *Organised Crime*, pp. 123–4.
13. P. Jenkins and G. W. Potter (1988), 'Before the Krays: Organised Crime in London, 1920–60', *Criminal Justice History*, 9, pp. 209–30.
14. F. Thrasher (1927), *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); W. Foote Whyte (1943), *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
15. Wright, *Organised Crime*, p. 29.
16. F. A. J. Ianni (1974), *Black Mafia: Ethnic Succession in Organized Crime* (New York: Simon & Schuster).
17. Wright, *Organised Crime*, p. 180.

18. 'How the Gangs Work: Risk and Economic Reward of Organized Crime', *The Times*, 20 July 1956.
19. OBP, April 1906, George Moore and George Thomas Hyams (t19060402-35). Pearson, *Hooligan*, p. 76.
20. J. Morton (1992), *Gangland: London's Underworld* (London: Little Brown); Morton, *East End Gangland*; B. McDonald, *Gangs of London*. A pulp account of Darby Sabini's life can be found in Hart, *Britain's Godfather*.
21. See Morton, *Gangland*; McDonald, *Gangs of London*. For a definition of the 'family firm' see Hobbs, 'The Firm'.
22. D. Kirby (2011), *The Sweeney: The First Sixty Years of Scotland Yard's Crimebusting Flying Squad, 1919–1978* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books), p. 75–81.
23. Jenkins and Potter, 'Before the Krays', pp. 221–3.
24. M. Huggins (2003), *Horseracing and the British, 1919–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 1–3, *passim*.
25. R. Murphy (1993), *Smash and Grab: Gangsters in the London Underworld, 1920–60* (London: Faber and Faber), pp. 30–1.
26. T. H. Dey (1931), *Leaves from a Bookmaker's Book* (London: Hutchinson).
27. Divall, *Scoundrels*, p. 199.
28. Chesney, *Victorian Underworld*, pp. 330–41; W. Vamplew (1976), *The Turf* (London: Allen Lane), p. 141–2.
29. Huggins, *Horseracing*, p. 146.
30. D. Dixon (1980), "'Class Law": The Street Betting Act of 1906', *International Journal of The Sociology of Law*, 8, pp. 101–28; D. Dixon (1991), *From Prohibition to Regulation: Bookmaking, Anti-Gambling and the Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 299. *House of Lords Select Committee on Betting, 1902* (389), v. 2.
31. McDonald, *Gangs of London*, pp. 125–8. OBP, September 1910, Henry Byfield (t19100906-18); September 1910, Michael McCausland and Matthew McCausland (t19100906-17); in *The Times*, 9 September 1910, the events were linked to gang crime in Soho but not specifically to racecourse crime.
32. TNA: MEPO 3/366: 'Various members of a race gang charged at different times with demanding money with menaces, assault, and conspiring together', 1922–24. Morton, *East End Gangland*, p. 127.
33. TNA: HO 144/10430: 'Letter from CID, dated 1 December 1922'; Huggins, *Horseracing*, pp. 88–9.
34. Morton, *East End Gangland*, p. 123.
35. TNA: HO 144/10430: 'Racecourse ruffians: activities of the "Sabini" gang'; 'Memorandum', n.d.
36. TNA: HO 144/10430: 'Metropolitan Police Report', 1 December 1922.
37. TNA: MEPO 3/346: 'Affray at Ewell known as "The Epsom Hold-Up" on 2 June 1921, following race meeting', 1921. See also the reports in the *Epsom Herald*, 10 June 1921, 17 June 1921, 1 July 1921; *Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 23 July 1921; *Sunday Express*, 24 July 1921. See the Clerkenwell Police Court Register for charges against George Fagioli for possession of a loaded firearm and Joseph Jackson for shooting at Police Constable Rutherford, 31 July 1922, in LMA: PS/CLE/A1/60; charges against William Edwards, Arthur Phillips, Joseph Jackson for feloniously shooting Police Constable Rutherford, 1, 7, 10, 12 August 1922, in LMA: PS/CLE/A1/61. See charges

- against Fred Gilbert, Fred Brett and George Sage for demanding money with menaces, 22, 26 August, 2 September 1922, in LMA: PS/CLE/A1/60 and PS/CLE/A1/61; charges against the same for possessing firearms, 2, 9 September 1922, in LMA: PS/CLE/A1/60. See Marylebone Police Court Register for charges against Alfred White, Joseph Sabini, George West, Simon Nyberg, Paul Boffa, Thomas Mack, for unlawfully and maliciously shooting at George Sage and Frederick Gilbert, 30 August 1922, the same for illegal possession of firearms, 6 September 1922, in LMA: PS/MAR/A1/70. See charge against Harry Sabini for threats and assaults against Frederick Gilbert, 6, 20 September 1922, in LMA: PS/MAR/A1/70.
38. See McDonald, *Gangs of London*, pp. 115–280. For the events of the summer of 1922, see pp. 168–77. A detailed account of the events described below and the anonymous letters from ‘Tommy Atkins’ and other writers, can be found in the Home Office file, TNA: HO144/10430.
 39. TNA: HO144/10430, ‘Letter from “Tommy Atkins”’, 5 October 1922.
 40. For example, ‘Sabini Drama Heroine’, *Daily Express*, 29 November 1922; ‘Club Shooting: Girl’s Pluck’, *Daily Mirror*, 29 November 1922; ‘Harry Sabini Tells His Story’, *Star*, 13 December 1922; ‘Scene In A Club’, *Empire News*, 26 November 1922; ‘Heroine Of A Club’, *Empire News*, 3 December 1922.
 41. TNA: CRIM1/209: ‘Cortesi, Augustus; Cortesi, George; Cortesi, Paul; Cortesi, Enrico; Tomaso, Alexander, Charge: Attempted Murder’, January 1923.
 42. According to a report in *The Times*, it was this failed writ which would lead to Sabini’s bankruptcy in 1926, ‘C. D. Sabini’s Affairs’, *The Times*, 30 June, 1926.
 43. *Morning Chronicle*, 19 November 1924; TNA: MEPO3/374: ‘Alfred Solomon charged with the wilful murder of Barnett Blitz’.
 44. *Daily Express*, 24 August 1925. For Joynson-Hicks’s campaigns see M. Kohn (1992), *Dope Girls: The Birth of the British Drug Underground* (London: Granta), pp. 120, 140, 141, 149. See also, C. Emsley (2005), ‘Sergeant Goddard: The Story of a Rotten Apple or a Diseased Orchard’, in R. Lévy and A. Gilman Sebnick (eds.), *Crime and Culture: An Historical Perspective* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 85–104, pp. 89–90.
 45. *Daily Express*, 21 August 1925.
 46. TNA: HO144/10430: ‘Minutes, H.O., August 1925’.
 47. Greeno, *War*, p. 26.
 48. For example, TNA: HO144/10430 covers the activities of racecourse ruffians and the Sabini gang until 1929. TNA: MEPO3/374 covers the murder of Barnett Blitz by Alfred Solomon and its aftermath from 1924 to 1931. TNA: MEPO3/910 covers a charge of GBH by Alfred White and William White in 1935.
 49. *The Times*, 16 December 1925, 30 June 1926, 11 June 1926.
 50. It has also been suggested that divisions within the Italian community meant that the Sabinis were unable to maintain their dominance on the racecourses. Murphy, *Smash and Grab*, p. 33.
 51. C. Chinn (1991), *Better Betting with a Decent Feller: Bookmaking, Betting and the British Working Class, 1750–1990* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf), pp. 181–4.
 52. *The Times*, 10 June 1936; *Empire News*, 14 June 1936; *Empire News*, 21 June 1936.
 53. S. Chibnall (2005), *Brighton Rock* (London: L. B. Tauris), p. 17.

54. TNA: CRIM1/882: 'MARSH, Bert; WILKINS, Herbert Charge: Murder, wounding with intent', 10 November 1936. *The Times*, 17 November 1936; *Daily Mirror*, 18 November 1936. McDonald, *Gangs of London*, p. 257.
55. *Daily Mirror*, 18 September 1936. McDonald, *Gangs of London*, p. 257.
56. Murphy, *Smash and Grab*, pp. 156–60; Hill, *Boss*; A. Brown (2011), 'The Smash-and-Grab Gangster', *BBC History*, January, pp. 42–3.
57. Divall, *Scoundrels*, p. 200. For Kimber and Birmingham Gang see Chinn, *Better Betting*, pp. 178–9; Morton, *Gangland*, vol. 2, pp. 247–75. For Alfred Solomon's attack on Billy Kimber see *The Times*, 30 March 1921.
58. McDonald, *Elephant Boys*, p. 81.
59. TNA: HO144/10430, for references to Rice/Tomasso alias.
60. Harding, *East End Underworld*, pp. 182–6. Harding's main brushes with the Clerkenwell and East End gangs seems to have been mainly in the early 1920s when he was still criminally active.
61. Harding, *East End Underworld*, pp. 182, 200, 204–5; TNA: HO144/10430, letter received 11 June 1923; MEPO3/352.
62. Andrew Davies has emphasised the fluid nature of the Glaswegian gangs at this time. Davies, 'Street Gangs', p. 354.
63. TNA: MEPO3/1581: 'Shooting affray between the "Italian or Sabini Gang" and the "Birmingham Gang"', report dated 20 August 1922; Frederick Gilbert, Joseph Sabini, George Sage, 12 October 1922, in TNA: CRIM5/111: *Calendar of Indictments from 5th September 1922 to 16th July 1929*. The indictments are in CRIM4/1451. Marylebone Police Court Register, 30 August 1922, LMA: PS/MAR/A1/71; *Evening Standard*, 21, 27 August 1922; Morton, *East End Gangland*, pp. 127–8.
64. TNA: HO144/10430, 'Memorandum'.
65. TNA: HO144/10430, 'Letter from "Tommy Atkins"', 5 October 1922.
66. This included the area around Saffron Hill and a triangle of streets bounded by the Clerkenwell Road, Farringdon Road and Mount Pleasant. Summer Street, Warner Street, Back Hill, Great Bath Street and Eyre Street Hill were key areas of residence for the Italian community by the early twentieth century. Allen, *Little Italy*.
67. 1891 Census, TNA: RG/12, piece 223, folio 61, p. 14; TNA: HO45/25720: 'Defence Regulation 18B, Harry Sabini', here Harry Sabini notes that Handley is his mother's maiden name.
68. 1891 Census, TNA: RG12, piece 220, folio 69, p. 26 and folio 72, p. 31.
69. For details of Darby and Harry Sabini's internment in 1940 see, TNA: HO45/25720; HO45/23691: 'Octavius Sabini, alias Darby Sabini ... Internment'; HO45/25993: 'Cases of Liversidge, Greene, Sabini, and Budd, Judgements of'. In these records 'Darby' is referred to as Frederick Handley and Harry as Harry Handley. Morton, *East End Gangland*, pp. 119–20.
70. TNA: 1891 Census, TNA: RG12, piece 223, folio 61, p. 14; 1901 Census, RG13, piece 141, folio 141, p. 23; piece 247, folio 33, p. 5; piece 253, folio 170, p. 1.
71. *OBP*, September 1890, Marzielli Valli (t18900908-669).
72. According to an interview with Harry Sabini contained in the files that deal with his appeal against internment in 1940, his father died in 1901. The death of an Otavio Sabini, aged 49, was registered in the second quarter of 1902. The dates and ages given in these later records suggest that Octavio

- Sabini (senior) and Joseph Sabini were one and the same. TNA: HO45/25720; GRO Death Index, 1837–1915, Otavio Sabini, 1902, Apr-May-June, London City, vol. 1, p. 15.
73. 1911 Census, TNA: RG14, piece 1241.
 74. According to Brian McDonald, Darby Sabini was born Otavio Handley in Holborn, in 1888. McDonald, *Gangs of London*, p. 150.
 75. TNA: CRIM1/209, Charles Sabini statement, 5 December 1922; HO45/23691.
 76. TNA: HO45/25720; together with the census data this gives us the following birth years: Frederick (1881), Charles (1883), Darby/Octavio/Ottavio (1889), Joseph (1892), George (1895), Harry (1901).
 77. From TNA: HO45/25720. Morton, *East End Gangland*, pp. 119–20.
 78. The Birmingham men who were charged for the Epsom Affray, were aged as follows: 5 men were in their 20s (the youngest 22); 13 men were in their 30s; 8 were in their 40s; and 2 were in their 50s (the oldest 54), TNA: MEPO3/346: 'List of men arrested in connection with wounding affray at Ewell'.
 79. Clerkenwell Police Court Register, 21, 28 November, 5, 13, December 1922, LMA: PS/CLE/A1/62-3, chargebook, PS/CLE/B2/44.
 80. TNA: CRIM1/209, 'Rex vs. Cortesi and others'. See *Daily Express*, 21 November 1922; *The Times*, 22, 29, November 1922; *Star*, 13 December 1922.
 81. 1901 Census, TNA: RG13, piece 248, folio 47, p. 3; 1911 Census, TNA: RG14, piece 1243; *The Times*, 14 December 1922.
 82. In CID records from 1930 Alfred Solomon is referred to as one of four brothers who 'obtain their living, as far as I know in a legitimate manner', as Bookmakers. TNA: MEPO3/374, report dated 11 March 1930.
 83. 1891 Census, TNA: RG12, piece 376, folio 82, p. 17. In 1891 Edward is aged 11 and Philip is aged 12. There are also three other brothers, Alfred (13), Isaac (10) and Lewis (5), and three young sisters. The family are also in Bermondsey in the 1881 census (TNA: RG11, piece 57, folio 75, p. 25) with Philip aged two and Edward a baby.
 84. 1901 Census, TNA: RG13, piece 262, folio 56, p. 22; 1911 Census, TNA: RG14, piece 1410. Morton, *East End Gangland*, pp. 124–6, 132–4; Harding, *East End Underworld*, p. 182. For references to the Emmanuel's fruit business, see *OBP*, November 1909, Joseph Goldsmid (t19091116-82), evidence of Edward Emmanuel; *OBP*, February 1911, George Honeybun, Percy Stiles and David Hart (t19110207-39), evidence of Philip Emmanuel.
 85. D. Hobbs (2002), 'Organized Crime Families', *Criminal Justice Matters*, 50, 1, pp. 26–7, p. 26.
 86. *The Times*, 19 November 1924. TNA: MEPO3/374. For this and other indictments against Solomon see 26 June 1923, 14 October 1924, in *Calendar of Indictments from 5th September 1922 to 16th July 1929* in TNA: CRIM5/11 (indictments in CRIM4/1460 and 1475).
 87. *OBP*, November 1909, Joseph Goldsmid (t19091116-82). In 1931 a Joseph Goldsmid was also involved in the Eden Club Affray, along with Solomon and Emmanuel. See TNA: MEPO3/374.
 88. TNA: MEPO3/910: 'Alfred and William White and Others: Causing Grievous Bodily Harm to John McCarthy Defferary'.
 89. *Morning Chronicle*, 2 July 1923. The files for the case are in TNA: MEPO3/444.
 90. *The Times*, 8 August 1922.
 91. TNA: MEPO3/340, 'List'.

92. B. S. Godfrey, D. J. Cox and S. Farrall (2010), *Serious Offenders: A Historical Study of Habitual Criminals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 123–9.
93. H. Mayhew and J. Binny (1862, 2011 digital edn.), *The Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 47.
94. TNA MEPO 3/1380: 'Shooting affray between the "Italian or Sabini Gang" and the "Birmingham Gang"', report dated 1 December, 1922. For shooting incident see *The Times*, 24 October 1922.
95. TNA: HO45/25720.
96. TNA: HO45/25720.
97. This was the Criminal Record Office number, a listing of convicted criminals, the number stays with a convicted criminal throughout his life.
98. TNA: MEPO3/374, report dated 27 October 1924.
99. TNA: MEPO3/352, 'Race gang affray in Waterloo Road and malicious damage'.
100. TNA: MEPO3/374.
101. He was convicted 1 June 1914, discharged from Maidstone 22 September 1916 and convicted again 28 April 1920. TNA: MEPO3/444, 'Attempts to bribe two Maidstone Prison Warders to convey correspondence to Joseph Sabini', report from Governor of Maidstone, 17 February 1923.
102. TNA: MEPO3/366, statement dated 21 August 1922. The Droy family were well-known boxers from Islington, see <http://www.boxinghistory.org.uk/>, accessed 15 September 2014.
103. TNA: CRIM1/209, Charles Sabini statement, 5 December 1922. Darby's only major brush with the police seems to have been when he was charged with 'shooting with intent' at the Greenford Trotting Track in Ealing, in March 1921. The case was dismissed. Ealing Police Court Register, 29 March 1921, LMA: PS/B/E/1/2; Morton, *East End Gangland*, pp. 123–4.
104. Davies, *Gangs of Manchester*, p. 306.
105. TNA: MEPO3/346: 'Particulars taken from file of Woolf Schwartz, C. R. O. No. S. 146229', the file notes, 'Since his discharge from the Army, Schwartz has been attending Race Meetings in various parts of the country'.
106. For other examples see Shore, 'Criminality', pp. 16–19.
107. *OBP*, January 1910, George Cortesi and Vincent Sabini (t19100111-46). There is a V. Sabini of the right age, living in Back Hill in the 1891 Census (TNA: RG12, piece 220, folio 72, p. 32).
108. TNA: MEPO3/1579: 'Antecedents of Jackson, Edwards, Phillips and Fagioli'. Clerkenwell Police Court Register, 31 July 1922, LMA: PS/CLE/A1/60.
109. Hill, *Boss*, p. 2.
110. Harding, *East End Underworld*, pp. 182–3; Morton, *East End Gangland*, p. 121. There is some suggestion that Kimber was involved with the Park Brigade in Sheffield, Bean, *Sheffield Gang Wars*, p. 25.
111. For example, see TNA: HO 144/10430, Memorandum dated 8 December 1922; 'Alleged Disturbances by Race Rangs', List of offences, dated 1 September 1925.
112. Morton, *East End Gangland*, p. 126.
113. K. E. Meyrick (1933), *Secrets of the 43* (London: John Long); more generally see H. Shore (2013), "'Constable Dances with Instructress": The Police and the Queen of Nightclubs in Inter-War London', *Social History*, 38, 2, pp. 193–202; J. Walkowitz (2012), *Nights Out: Life in Cosmopolitan London* (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp. 208–29.

114. Emsley, 'Sergeant Goddard'; Shore, 'Constable'.
115. TNA: HO144/10430, letter received 11 June 1923.
116. TNA: MEPO3/374, report dated 27 October 1924.
117. For crime and mobility see A. Brown (2011), 'Crime, Criminal Mobility and Serial Offenders in Early Twentieth Century Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 25, 4, pp. 551–68.
118. For example see *The Times*, 25 November 1924, 12 March 1928, 25 February 1930. See also report on the Flying Squad's, 'Scheme to Check Criminals in Motor-Cars', *The Times*, 7 February 1927.
119. During this period requests were made for ever faster cars in order to catch criminals more effectively (the Lea Francis was introduced in 1927), TNA: MEPO2/1880, "'Flying Squad" cars and tenders...'. See Fido and Skinner, *Scotland Yard*, p. 152.
120. TNA: MEPO3/1579: 'Statement of Witness, Charles Sabini'.
121. McDonald, *Gangs of London*, pp. 115–28.
122. S. Humphries (1981), *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889–1939* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), pp. 190–9; Pearson, *Hooligan*, pp. 76, 82. See also Sponza, *Italian Immigrants*, p. 246.
123. *OBP*, November 1894, Thomasso Casella (t18941119-32). Also *OBP*, September 1890, Marzielli Valli (t18900908-669).
124. *OBP* (t19100111-46). Ottavio Sabini is a defendant at an earlier trial for wounding, at the Clerkenwell Sessions, 3 September 1888. He was acquitted.
125. *OBP*, June 1898, Alfred Smith (t18980620-453).
126. *OBP*, September 1902, Michaelo Rispoli, Crisuge Fariello, Vincenzo Gerralì, Alborghetti Bottista and Andrea Rispoli (t19020909-597).
127. *News of the World*, 8 September 1907, p. 4.
128. Clerkenwell Police Court Register, 2 September 1907, LMA: PS/CLE/A1/7.
129. Bean, *Sheffield Gang Wars*, p. 25. TNA: HO45/23691, here Darby is talking about Greenford Trotting Track in the early 1920s.
130. Divall, *Scoundrels*, p. 204.
131. Greeno, *War*, p. 12.
132. Greeno, *War*, pp. 22, 26.
133. D. Thompson (2007), *The Hustlers: Gambling, Greed and the Perfect Con* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson). Esmeralda's Barn was a Knightsbridge club owned by Ronald and Reginald Kray, D. Thomas (2005), *Villains' Paradise: Britain's Underworld from the Spivs to the Krays* (London: John Murray), p. 408.
134. TNA: HO45/23691; Greene, *Brighton Rock*; Chinn, 'Sabini, (Charles) Darby (1889–1950)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). See also Chibnall, *Brighton Rock*, pp. 73–4.
135. Morton, *East End Gangland*, p. 140.
136. TNA: HO45/25720.
137. *The Times*, 20 July 1956.

Conclusion

1. *The Times*, 15 October 1930.
2. *The Times*, 15 October 1930.
3. See the column, 'Organized Crime in Chicago', in *The Times*, 22 May 1928.

4. E. Wallace (1932), *When the Gangs Came to London* (London: John Long), pp. 149–50.
5. For a recent discussion of the importance of ‘agency’ see Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London Lives*, ‘Introduction’.
6. Mearns, *Bitter Cry*; G. Stedman Jones (1976), *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin); J. Walkowitz (1992), *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
7. Amounting to around 639 trials or the prosecution of around 880 individuals. Indeed, 15.33 per cent of all highway robbery prosecutions at the Old Bailey were in that decade. *OBP*, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory. Counting by offence. Beattie, *First English Detectives*, pp. 9, 138–40.
8. Meier, *Property Crime*, pp. 13–40; E. Moss (2011), ‘Burglary Insurance and the Culture of Fear in Britain, 1889–1930’, *The Historical Journal*, 54, 4, pp. 1039–64.
9. Davies, ‘Scottish Chicago?’; Houlbrook, ‘Fashioning’; M. Roodhouse (2011), ‘In Racket Town: Gangster Chic in Austerity Britain, 1939–1953.’ *Historical Journal of Film, Television and Radio*, 31, 4, pp. 523–41.
10. *Empire News*, 3 September 1922.
11. Neale, ‘Making Crime Pay’, p. 454.
12. For example, the on-going digitisation of convict records will reassemble the lives of masses of individual offenders who were transported to the Australian penal colonies. This will be undertaken for the AHRC funded project, ‘The Digital Panopticon: The Global Impact of London Punishments, 1780–1925’ (<https://news.liv.ac.uk/2013/09/18/1-7m-award-to-trace-the-lives-of-british-and-australian-convicts/>, accessed 15 September 2014).
13. Neale, ‘Making Crime Pay’; Godfrey, Cox and Farrall, *Serious Offenders*; Davies, *Gangs of Manchester*; Davies, *City of Gangs*.

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2543, f.60; 2545, f.53; 2547, f.32; 2577, f.51; 2578, f.19; 2640, f.28; 2700, f.39,
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