Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction


5 A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, London, 1963, explicitly compared the growth of Middlesbrough with the notorious Australian frontier town of Ballarat. The dramatic industrialisation of this part of the north-east of England in the mid-nineteenth century transformed declining agricultural villages, such as Eston, and led to the creation of totally new industrial villages such as Tow Law. However, dramatic demographic growth was not simply caused by
industrialisation, as the development of Blackpool in the second half of the nineteenth century amply illustrates.

6 Briggs' *Victorian Cities* was one of the pioneering studies of urban development, and since its appearance a wealth of literature has followed, encompassing analysis of the creation of the built environment and of the social and political structures that emerged. For a thoughtful and succinct introduction see the editors' introduction to R. J. Morris and Richard Rodger, *The Victorian City: a reader in British urban history*, Harlow, 1993


8 An early study of Preston revealed that over half the population of the town in 1851 had been born outside the town. However, and notwithstanding a sizeable Irish population, almost three-quarters of the migrants had been born within some 30 miles of the town. M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Cambridge, 1971.

9 D. Cannadine, *Class in Britain*, London, 2000, provides an excellent introduction to the extensive and complex literature on the subject. Cannadine, as well as arguing that the importance of class has been underplayed by recent historians preoccupied with ‘the literary turn’, claims (pp. 19–20) that there have been three ‘basic and enduring models: the hierarchical view of society as a seamless web; the triadic version with upper, middle and lower collective groups; and the dichotomous, adversarial picture, where society is structured between “us” and “them”.

10 This is not to suggest that riots did not carry a potentially serious threat to order nor that everyone subscribed to the notion of the freeborn Englishman and his rights in every riot. However, there was a greater acceptance in the eighteenth century that some rioters had a claim to legitimacy as their actions could be seen as a defence of traditional rights. With the passage of time such recognition diminished and greater emphasis was placed on the threat to order posed by any rioters, irrespective of their cause.

11 The problems faced by London costermongers are well known to readers of Mayhew. The problem did not disappear in the mid-nineteenth century. The continuing appearance of ice-cream vendors before magistrates in various parts of the country provides a somewhat amusing index of the determination of local authorities to stamp out activities that disrupted the order and decorum of the streets. Similarly, the town police clauses, which were incorporated into many local improvement acts, contain a vision (never fully realised) of urban order. See also M. Ogborn, ‘Ordering the city: surveillance, public space and the reform of urban policing in England, 1835–56’, *Political Geography*, 12, 1993, and A. Croll, ‘Street disorder,


13 The concern with drunk and disorderly behaviour is an obvious example, but note also the growing concern with ‘indecent’ behaviour in the increasingly well-lit streets. See M. J. D. Roberts, ‘Public and private in early nineteenth century London: the vagrant act of 1822 and its enforcement’, *Social History*, 13, 1988.

14 See e.g. the writings of the Reverend John Clay, chaplain to the Preston house of correction, Mary Carpenter, the Reverend Andrew Mearns, William Booth and the Reverend Osborn Jay.

15 Gatrell, ‘Crime, authority and the policeman-state’.

16 Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*.


18 The demographic, social and economic growth of the town is discussed more fully in Chapters 2 and 6 below.

19 4 & 5 Victoria, cap. LXVIII, 1841.

20 Ibid.


23 This point has recently been made by Williams, ‘Counting crimes’, but see also D. Taylor, ‘Crime and policing in early-Victorian Middlesbrough, 1835–55’, *Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 11, 1991.

24 The absence of annual reports is less surprising given the observation in 1903 of the newly-appointed Chief Constable, Henry Riches, that he did not have ‘a single Officer or Constable serving in the force who can prepare the Criminal Statistics as required by the Home Office’: Printed Council Minutes, CB/M/C, 1/63, 29 Jan. 1903. Two years later he requested permission of the Watch Committee ‘to destroy a number of old duty books etc. that are useless to the requirement of the service’: CB/M/C, 1/65, 30 March 1905.

25 This view, popularised notably by Charles Reith in, for example, *A Short History of the British Police*, Oxford, 1948, was severely criticised by ‘revisionist’ historians who saw police reform more in terms of bourgeois attempts to regulate working-class life. However, few historians would now subscribe wholeheartedly to such an interpretation. Recent local studies suggest that
the concern with the threat of ordinary crime was of considerable importance in the growing demand for police reform from the 1830s onwards. See Taylor, *The New Police* and especially Philips and Storch, *Policing Provincial England*.

**Chapter 2: The Birth of the ‘Infant Hercules’**


2. This was expanded to 11 acres in 1872.

3. There were also important developments in terms of the scale of operation and the technology used in the local industry. See Taylor, ‘Infant Hercules’, for a summary. More detailed technical information is contained in C. Hempstead, ed., *Cleveland Iron and Steel*, Teesside, 1979.


7. Cannon Street was not exclusively populated by the Irish and its experience is thus somewhat different to that found, for example, in Stafford Street, Wolverhampton. R. Swift, ‘Another Stafford Street row’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 3, 1984.


9. There is an anomaly in 1851 when the percentage of local-born heads of household increases, but this is explained by the slower population growth of the 1840s.


11. Middlesbrough was not unique in this respect. St Helens, West Bromwich and West Ham were also more attractive to male than female immigrants during the nineteenth century. The prominence of young males is doubly significant. First, this was a group with a higher than average propensity to fall foul of the law, but it was also a group whose criminal inclinations were greatly exaggerated in the popular imagination. Further, the demographic development of the town was such that there was an above average percentage of young children and adolescents who also gave rise to concern. There were a number of general moral panics, notably in the 1840s and 1850s and again around the turn of the twentieth century. The latter panic is particularly interesting in that recorded juvenile crime was falling at the time. See Taylor, *Crime, Policing and Punishment*, pp. 62–4, for a brief discussion and further references.
Chapter 3: The New Police in Middlesbrough


3 Philips and Storch, Policing Provincial England, argue for the importance of the Rural Constabulary Act but, as they amply demonstrate, the debate about rural policing was complex. Even in counties such as Kent, where the need for reform was accepted, there was a powerful desire to develop existing forms of policing rather than move to a new system.


5 Ibid., p. 8. In Durham almost three-quarters of the townships in the county petitioned – though unsuccessfully – for the disbanding of the police set up under the Rural Constabulary Act. Similar sentiments were expressed in other counties such as Bedfordshire. Emsley, The English Police, pp. 45–6.


7 Middlesbrough Weekly News (hereafter MWN), 31 March 1864.

8 Quarter Session Minute Books, 1837–57, Midsummer 1839 and Easter 1840. Microfilm reel 117, NYCRO.

9 Quarter Session Special Order Book, 1833–45, Easter Session 1839, Microfilm reel 119, NYCRO.

10 Cleveland Association for the Protection of Persons and Property and for the Prevention of Poaching and Vagrancy, Minute Book 1839–42, 19 Dec. 1839. Microfilm reel 1430, NYCRO.


12 Improvement Act, 1841, 4 & 5 Victoria, cap. lviii, para. ccxxiii, p. 1481. Cleveland County Archive, Middlesbrough, CB/M/P, 58.

13 Preamble to 4 & 5 Victoria, cap. LXVIII, 1841.
In addition to the provisions of the Improvement Act there were a further 22 specific by-laws that, in addition to the issues mentioned in the text, covered such things as hoisting goods to and from warehouses, washing or burning rags, bones and animal matter, exposing unsound meat for sale, the fraudulent sale of coal, permitting drains to become blocked, supplying alcoholic drink to children and bribing police officers.

Borough of Middlesbrough, Bye-Laws 1854 and 1868, CB/M/C 7/1.

Middlesbrough Improvement Commission Minute Book, 1846–53, 2 June 1848 and 6 Oct. 1848, CRO, CB/M/C, 1/2, pp. 95 and 107.


*The Police and Constabulary List*, 1844, Police History Society, 1990. The ratio of police to population among the small boroughs and towns ranged from 1:2,000 or above in Bridnorth, Tavistock and Walsall to 1:700 or less in Evesham, Lyme Regis and Stamford. Middlesbrough’s ratio was approximately 1:3,000.


Middlesbrough Improvement Commission, Minutes, 1841–53, CB/M/C, 1/1, p. 144.

Ibid., p. 191.


Ord was not the first man employed by Bolckow & Vaughan to be sworn in as a constable. The first recorded instance, that of Thomas Kelly, dates from June 1847 (ibid., p. 11). Similarly, John Robinson, one of the police officers of the Stockton & Darlington Railway Co., was sworn in as a constable under the Improvement Act in February 1846.

Ibid., pp. 211 and 215.

Ibid., pp. 215 and 219.


The situation was less clear than this suggests. In January 1844 the Improvement Commissioners’ Minutes record the appointment as constable of Christopher Smith, William Peacock and Joseph Sedgwick. No conditions of service or salaries are specified and there is no further record of these men.

Middlesbrough Improvement Commission Minute Book, 1846–53, CB/M/C, 1/2, p. 72.

Ibid., pp. 11, 78, 79 and 89.

Ibid., pp. 142 and 143.

Ibid., p. 173.


William Buckton, for example, served for only two months in the winter of 1850/1, while Joseph Stainsby, one of the few men known to have previous police experience (with the Durham County Constabulary in this case), served for 12 months in 1851/2.

Davey, *Lawless and Immoral*.

Report from the Select Committee on Police Superannuation Funds, 1875 (352), vol. XV, Minutes of Evidence, Q.3249. The decision to increase wages in 1857, for example, is detailed in CB/M/C 2/100 24 May 1857.


Welsh, ‘The reform of urban policing’.

Borough of Middlesbrough, Minutes of the Watch, Police and Lighting Committee, 1853–9 [hereafter Middlesbrough Watch Committee], CB/M/C, 2/100, pp. 2 and 3, 19 April 1853 and 6 July 1853.

Unfortunately the minutes of the Improvement Commission and the Borough Watch Committee make but tantalisingly oblique references to Hannan’s previous career.

Middlesbrough Watch Committee, CB/M/C, 2/100, p. 3, 19 May 1853.

Ibid., p. 8, 24 Aug. 1853.

Ibid., p. 24, 6 June 1854.

Ibid., p. 36, 19 Oct. 1854.

Ibid., p. 49, 20 Feb. 1855.

Ibid., p. 53, 20 March 1855.

A similar practice was to be found in Merthyr Tydfil. Jones, The conquering of “China”: crime in an industrial community, 1842–64, in Crime, Protest, Community, p. 92.

Middlesbrough Watch Committee, CB/M/C, 2/100, p. 53, 20 March 1855.

Vaughan to Middlesbrough Town Council, 14 Dec. 1858, reported in Stockton and Hartlepool Mercury, 18 Dec. 1858. He also pointed out that it was deliberate policy to keep changing the individual constable so that ‘there would not be much chance of his becoming known’.

Ibid., p. 83, 21 August 1856

Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 25 June 1861 and 9 October 1863

The first detective officer had been appointed in 1859 but there was no expansion in numbers for this aspect of police work until much later in the century.

Middlesbrough Exchange [hereafter ME], 25 June 1869.

Middlesbrough Watch Committee, CB/M/C, 2/100, 6 Aug. 1857.

Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 19 April 1860, CB/M/C, 2/101, p. 17. Select Committee on Police Superannuation Funds, Q.3228. Isaac Wilson was convinced that a proper superannuation scheme would improve the efficiency of the force as well as offering proper rewards for long-serving men. See QQ.3246–8.


Ibid., 20 Nov. 1865.

MWN, 14 April 1865. Complaints from below continued. See for example the demand for a merit class for both constables and sergeants. Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 15 Nov. 1872.

Select Committee on Police Superannuation Funds, Q.3234.

Ibid.

Despite talk of ‘new’ police, officers such as Bowes still carried out old township functions.
62 This excludes Edward J. Saggerson, who was appointed Superintendent of Police in 1861, having previously risen to the rank of inspector in the Oldham force, and who served for 23 years in Middlesbrough.

63 MWN, 5 Feb. 1876.
64 Middlesbrough Daily Gazette, 15 Dec. 1875.
65 MWN, 12 Feb. 1876.
66 MWN, 22 April 1876.
67 The Dominie, 22 April 1876.
68 MWN, 12 Aug. 1876.
70 Ibid., 1868. Isaac Wilson was proud of the Watch Committee’s reputation for being ‘very strict with our men’ and the fact that ‘we have always been well reported upon by the Government inspector’. Select Committee on Police Superannuation Funds, Q.3249.

Chapter 4: The British Ballarat?

2 Philips, Crime and Authority, pp. 5, 14, 179 and 266.
3 Rude, Criminal and Victim, Oxford, 1985. Though stressing the ‘somewhat modest role of crimes of violence in the record of metropolitan crime’, he does concede that victims could find the experience of violent robbery terrifying (p. 29).
6 Gatrell and Hadden, ‘Criminal statistic’; Philips, Crime and Authority, esp. chs 6–8.
7 There were also an above-average number of women brought to trial in the iron towns of south Wales. Jones, Crime, Protest, Community, p. 7.
9 R. Swift, ‘Heroes or Villains?’, p. 401.
10 Philips, Crime and Authority, p. 260.
11 This is not to suggest that these figures give an accurate representation of the incidence of the various crimes listed in the table. Crimes of violence against women (sexual and non-sexual) were notoriously under-recorded.
13 The following examples are all drawn from the Northallerton Calendar of Prisoners, 1830–99, North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton, MIC 1454.
14 Thomas Kneeshaw, likewise, appeared on a number of occasions at Northallerton. James Wilson was prosecuted for the theft of a jacket and William Crosby for the theft of a pair of trousers in 1843. Thirteen years later Mary Atkins, a 50-year-old married woman, was charged with the theft of a cloth cap and a pair of flannel drawers from his shop.
15 MWN, 11 Dec. 1864.
16 Taylor, *Crime, Policing and Punishment*, pp. 41–3, for a brief discussion and further references.

17 See for example the cases of John Carroll (1841), James Leach (1840) and James Morris (1854), all labourers accused of stealing shovels.

18 Among the women prosecuted for the theft of coal by the Stockton & Darlington Railway Company, Mary Spenceley was charged with stealing 19 pounds in 1850. Ellen Patton 76 pounds in 1848 and Mary Short 86 pounds in 1848. Andrew Joseph was prosecuted for stealing the relatively small quantity of 5 pounds of coal but Robert Cowley was more ambitious, stealing 18 stone of coal in 1851.


21 The situation in Middlesbrough has more in common with Merthyr. Here the Dowlais Iron Company was the major force in bringing prosecutions for industrial theft.


23 *Stockton, Guardian, & Middlesbrough Times* [hereafter SGMT], 21 March 1862.

24 Ibid. 26 Dec. 1862. In the first case the youngest of the accused was sentenced to one year’s hard labour and five years in the reformatory at Castle Howard. In March of the same year another rape case involving three men in their twenties was also tried at York, but all three were found not guilty.


26 MWN, 6 Oct. 1865.

27 This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

28 Suicide is a topic worthy of extended research, but one that falls outside the scope of the present study. The best general introduction is O. Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England*, Oxford, 1987. For an impressive detailed study of suicides in one city (Hull) see V. Bailey, *This Rash Act: suicide across the life cycle in the Victorian city*, Stanford, 1998. As the title indicates, Bailey is particularly concerned with the vulnerabilities associated with certain stages of the life-cycle, such as early old age for men. However, he also stresses, contrary to Anderson, the importance of social isolation as a cause of suicide. Anderson makes one reference to Middlesbrough in the context of a general reference to suicide rates being lowest in fastest growing towns. *Suicide*, p. 93. It is not entirely clear that this optimistic statement holds true. See Chapter 8.

29 MWN, 18 Nov. 1864 and 6 July 1866.

31 See e.g. the editorial comment on the annual report of the chief constable in the *MWN*, 21 Oct. 1864.


33 *MWN*, 8 Jan. 1859.

34 *MWN*, 8 July 1864.

35 *MWN*, 14 June 1867.

36 *ME*, 26 Feb. 1869.

37 *MWN*, 12 April 1867.

38 *SGMT*, 11 April 1862.

39 *MWN*, 21 Oct. 1864. Fall was sentenced to a month’s hard labour for his ‘cowardly and inhuman’ conduct.

40 *MWN*, 29 April 1864.

41 See e.g. the cases reported in 1859: *MWN*, 8 and 15 Jan., 5 Feb., 26 April., 7 and 14 May, 16 July, 13 and 20 Aug., 10, 17 and 24 Sept., 1, 8, 15 and 22 Oct., 5, 19 and 26 Nov., 3, 17 and 31 Dec. Similar examples can be found from other years.


43 In this respect the distinction that Conley observes in Kent between acceptable and unacceptable violence holds. See also the collection of essays edited by S. D’Cruze, *Everyday Violence in Britain, 1850–1900*, London, 2000.

44 For instance, William McCormick and Hugh Garon were both fined 10s. (50p) for taking part in an arranged prize fight in Stockton Street: *MWN*, 21 May 1859.

45 *MWN*, 5 Nov. 1859 and 9 Sept. 1864.

46 In the most serious outbreak of fighting between men of Connaught and men of Cork two men were stabbed to death and three subsequently tried at the York assize. *MWN*, 9 June and 4 Aug. 1865. For assaults on the police see Chapter 5.

47 *MWN*, 22 Oct. 1859 and 2 June 1860. In another case tried summarily Robert Messiter was charged with an assault on Jessy Bone which resulted in the latter losing three teeth and suffering severe wounds to the head and body. *SGMT*, 15 Sept. 1860.

48 *MWN*, 8 July 1864 and 21 April 1865.

49 Conley, *Unwritten Law*, p. 79.

50 *MWN*, 5 Feb. 1859.

51 *MWN*, 10 Sept. 1859.

52 *MWN*, 12 March 1859.
The paper was particularly concerned that the courtroom incident arose out of ‘another serious case of stabbing, or cutting and wounding, arising out of those beer-houses frays so common in the town.’

Men were also given the option. See e.g. George Thomas, 5 Feb. 1859, or Patrick Kelly, 3 March 1860. Michael Mulvey declined such an offer and was fined 7s. (35p), 3 March 1860.

George Chapman, the unfortunate sailor, was fined 10s. (50p) for this escapade. MWN, 3 Sept. 1859. More generally, complaints about soliciting were commonplace in the press. See e.g. MWN, 28 Sept. 1861. The Brownless/Brierly case was reported in the SGMT, 12 Feb. 1864. For similar incidents see MWN, 11 Dec. 1868 for misconduct in Albert Park.

James Hester stole a piece of beef from an eating-house window at 5 a.m. on New Year’s Day. For thefts of turnips see 28 Sept. 1861 and 15 Nov. 1867.
Chapter 5: The Police and the Public

1 Davey, Lawless and Immoral, Steedman, Policing the Victorian Community, Swift, ‘Urban policing’, Storch, ‘The plague of blue locusts’. Although Storch quotes incidents of popular resistance to Superintendent Heaton’s ‘Crusade’ in Huddersfield, a more detailed examination of the local press reveals relatively few anti-police incidents. Indeed, there is evidence of support for Heaton’s determination to clean up the Castlegate district of the town.


3 MWN, 6 May 1864.

4 There is no direct evidence to support this last claim, but interviews with ex-policemen who served in the early twentieth century suggests that they (and their predecessors about whom they reminisced) thought in this way. A similar point has been made about twentieth-century policemen by Barbara Weinberger, The Best Police in the World: an oral history of English policing, Cambridge, 1995, p. 157.

5 Storch, ‘Plague of blue locusts’.

6 North Riding of Yorkshire, General Quarter Session, 16 Oct. 1855.

7 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 6 June 1854, 19 Oct. 1854 and 8 Dec. 1857.

8 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 29 Jan. 1856.

9 Ibid., 8 Oct. 1868.


13 MWN, 6 May 1864.

14 Ibid., 6 Oct. 1864.


16 MWN, 6 Jan. 1865.

17 Idem. See also the incident in 1860 in which PC Hughes was ‘knocked down by some person in the crowd’ to facilitate the rescue of a drunk who had been arrested, MWN, 19 July 1860; or the arrest and trial of the Keogan brothers for drunk and riotous behaviour. It was alleged that John Keogan
had ‘excited a mob and attempted a rescue’, clearly without success. MWN, 6 May 1864. PC Stainsby, not for the last time, was less fortunate. A crowd ‘fell on him and struck him on different parts of his body [while] one of his assailants cried out “Knife the b****r”.’ MWN, 2 Aug. 1864.

18 MWN, 8 Jan. 1858.

19 The evidence for Middlesbrough is less than clear-cut. The lack of evidence might betoken a high degree of organisation. One local Catholic priest, Father Burns, was convinced that Fenianism was rife in the town. Burns’ attitude (which contrasted with the support for the Land League and Home Rule by his rival, Father Lacey) may well have driven some of his parishioners into the ranks of the fenians.

20 MWN, 4 Oct. 1867.


22 MWN, 22 Dec. 1865. See also 5 May 1870 for a ‘cowardly assault on a policeman’ which resulted in scalp wounds for PC Bellamy after a violent struggle with a labourer, John Harding. The paper also reported an incident which involved PC Brown being kicked several times on the body and face, but this did not merit an attention-grabbing headline.

23 MWN, 15 March 1867. Robinson appeared at the York Assize charged with stabbing with intent to kill Amos Garbutt and with inflicting grievous bodily harm while resisting arrest, for which he received 5 years’ penal servitude.

24 MWN, 8 Jan. 1859.

25 SGMT, 7 Feb. 1868, 1 May 1868. MWN, 6 May 1864 and 23 Aug. 1867.

In 1861 there had been 31, by 1868 the number had risen to 127, of whom 51 had been summoned and 48 convicted. Annual Report of Superintendent of police year ending 29 Sept. 1868. Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 1859–72, CB/M/C, 2/10 i, p. 229.

26 Ibid., 6 Jan. 1879.

27 Annual Report of Superintendent Saggerson, Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 29 Sept. 1861


29 MWN, 2 July 1869.

30 MWN, 4 Feb. 1860, 20 Sept. 1867, and 8 Nov. 1867. Similar incidents took place at other theatres, see e.g. 12 Nov. 1869 for a typical incident at the Royal Albert theatre.

31 MWN, 24 Sept. 1859 (the three men involved were each fined £5 for this attack), 29 Dec. 1860 and 2 Sept. 1864..

32 MWN, 18 Feb., 31 March and 30 June 1860.

33 MWN, 5 July 1867 and 12 Nov. 1869. See also the report of a gang attack on the police in July 1872, ME, 4 July 1872.

34 Unfortunately the Watch Committee minutes do not detail the time lost from work as a result of such assaults. One can but speculate on both the short- and long-term effects.

35 Attacks upon individual policemen are open to differing interpretations. Inspector Thorpe, as he became, may have been assaulted 9 times because he was an assiduous and long-serving officer, but he might also have received more than his fair share of assaults because he was unpopular. It is impossible to say which is the more convincing interpretation, but anecdotal
evidence relating to early twentieth-century Middlesbrough indicates quite clearly that unpopular policemen were singled out for attack. See Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 25 June 1861, for a warning from Superintendent Saggerson that over-reaction by inexperienced officers led to serious consequences for the police.

37 MWN, 14 Oct. 1860. See also 24 Sept. 1859 for a similar incident.
39 Ibid., p. 143.
40 MWN, 13 Aug. 1859.
41 For example, Samuel Bowes and Thomas James Ray. Midlesbrough Watch Committee, 1859–72. CB/M/C, 2/100, pp. 166 and 189.
42 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 17 Feb. 1859, p. 146.
43 MWN, 23 Nov. 1866.
44 MWN, 25 Aug. 1865.
45 Idem.
46 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 14 Aug. 1865.
47 MWN, 1 Sept. 1865.
48 MWN, 8, 15 and 22 Feb. 1867.
49 MWN, 12 April 1867.
50 SGMT, 21 Nov. 1862.
51 MWN, 6 May 1864.
52 MWN, 8 July 1864.
53 MWN, 28 July 1860.
54 MWN, 12 April and 17 June 1867.
55 MWN, 17 March 1860.
56 MWN, 23 Nov. 1866.
57 MWN, 25 Aug. 1865.
59 MWN, 19 June 1868.
60 MWN, 17 July 1868.
62 For specific responses to particular middle-class fears regarding protection of property and Sunday drinking see Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 19 Oct. 1854 and 12 Sept. 1859.
63 MWN, 4 Aug. 1860. See also 18 Feb. 1860.
64 MWN, 7 Dec. 1861.

Chapter 6: Urban and Industrial Growth

1 Much of this material is drawn from D. Taylor, ‘The infant Hercules and the Augean Stables: a century of economic and social development in Middlesbrough, c.1840–1939’, in A. J. Pollard, ed., Middlesbrough: town and

2 For further details of the consolidation and rationalisation of steel production in Middlesbrough, see Taylor ‘Infant Hercules’, p. 63.


Chapter 7: Expansion and professionalisation


4 As in the earlier years, several local firms employed their own police officers. This practice peaked in the mid-1870s when the number of privately paid constables was equivalent to some 50 per cent of the authorized establishment. Thereafter numbers fell, but even in the early twentieth century privately paid policemen were equivalent in number to one-tenth of the official force.

5 Printed Council Minutes [hereafter PCM], CB/M/C, 1/63, 26 Feb. 1903.


7 The interventions of the Watch Committee often involved relatively minor matters. For example, Chief Constable Ashe was ordered to issue a notice regarding the throwing of orange peel on the flags, the use of bad language in the streets, and to take action to stop children obstructing the footpaths. Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 29 March 1884, 30 May 1893 and 30 June 1898.

8 It is almost certain that those men for whom full career information is not available left within weeks or months of enlisting. Adjusting the figures on this assumption, almost 60 per cent of recruits in the 1850s and 1860s
served less than one year compared with 10 per cent of recruits in the 1880s and 1890s.

9 Figures for selected years in the 1870s show 21 per cent and 35 per cent of recruits serving for 5 years or more in Buckinghamshire and 24 per cent in Staffordshire (cf. Middlesbrough 31 per cent for 1870s), and for 1880 show 23 per cent and 44 per cent respectively (cf. Middlesbrough 48 per cent for 1880s): Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, pp. 93–4. Some 30 per cent of recruits in Wolverhampton in 1859 served for 5 years or more. Philips, *Crime and Authority*, p. 68.

10 The absence of information, especially for the early years, is particularly frustrating. It is likely that the social origins of the local police force were similar to the social origins of the unskilled and semi-skilled men of the town, and would therefore have included men drawn for more distant parts of the country. It is difficult to see a pattern to the distribution of birthplaces. Some men came from predominantly agricultural counties (Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire but also Devon), others came from industrial areas (Blackburn, Leicester, Liverpool, Leeds and Oldham) and yet others came, though not in great numbers, from London, Bombay and Philadelphia. Only a minority had served in the armed forces. For a general discussion of recruitment patterns among nineteenth-century English policemen see C. Emsley and M. Clapson, ‘Recruiting the English Policeman, c. 1840–1940’, *Policing and Society*, 3, 1994.

11 14 Nov. 1908, CB/M/C, 1/69.
12 Annual Report, 1913, CB/M/C, 1/74.
13 Riches was instrumental in June 1905 in making permanent the appointment of PC Morton, who was described as being ‘an excellent photographer and one who is competent to take finger prints’. CB/M/C, 1/65, 29 June 1905.
15 There was little clear-cut seasonal variation in the figures. Resignations were spread more or less evenly across the year with peaks in June and December.
16 Constables’ Conduct Registers, CB/M/P, 32.
17 For example, L. Gott, F. Metcalf and J. Wood.
18 For example, A. F. Black, W. Gibbon, E. Hall, F. Smales and J. Turner.
19 For example, K. Garner and F. Pattison.
20 William Hannan, who had done so much to transform policing in Middlesbrough in the 1850s, also took a sideways shift, becoming chief constable of Huddersfield in 1862.
21 Cooper was superannuated after the annual inspection in 1881 ‘in consequence of his age and long service’. He was 55 years old and ‘incapable from infirmity of body and mind’(Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 26 July 1881). Edward Saggerson was also broken in body when he retired. Although the worst cases of infirmity were to be found under men who served in the early days of the force, there were a number of sad cases found among later policemen. Chronic rheumatism and defective vision ended the career of Sergeant Peacock in 1907, while PC Oakley was incapacitated by sciatica in 1910. PC Bate was more fortunate and was able to continue despite his ‘Tuberculus Inflammation’ of the right testicle. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/67, 28 March 1907 and CB/M/C, 1/71, 21 Nov. 1910.
22 All the examples in the following paragraph are taken from the Constables’ Conduct Registers.

23 For example, PC Hogg was dismissed (1883) for being drunk in the Victoria public house. See also PCs Hewitt and Wilson – the latter combined drunkenness with sick leave. In the late nineteenth century dismissals were often for the second offence – see PC Anderson and PC Gant dismissed in 1876 and 1874 respectively. PC Spark was treated with surprising leniency. He was dismissed for drunkenness and neglect of duty after a 17-year career punctuated by drink-related disciplinary offences and periods of sick leave. It would appear that (unsurprisingly) there was a drink culture among the town’s policemen.

24 PC McKenzie fell asleep in the town railway station, PC Marsey in a cabin and probationer PC Barker in the Linthorpe Police Station during his half-hour supper break. PC Reveley was dismissed with disgrace (1893), having been found drunk on duty in a public house and later asleep in a cabin at the Newport Ironworks.

25 PC Brown assaulted a woman member of the public. PC Magee was found guilty of wife beating and PC Bickley smashed the window of his inspector’s office.

26 See for example PC Laraman, who was dismissed in 1894. His gambling was compounded by drunkenness while on duty at the Theatre Royal.


29 The successful men were: 1870s – William Nunn, William Peacock and Frederick Knowlson; 1880s – Richard Blakeborough, Robert Grey, Robert Hall, William Milestone and John Stones; 1890s – Robert Hird, Matthew Hodgson and William Seymour.


31 Most sergeants were men of good character but there were exceptions. Robert Sparks’ career was undermined by a drink problem that led to demotion and, eventually, dismissal. James Waller was promoted to sergeant at the age of 38 after 10 years’ service. It appears that frustration at the absence of further promotion led to drink-related disciplinary problems. An assault on a fellow officer finally ended his career.

32 See also the career of James Hanson, though in his case death rather than dismissal terminated a career punctuated with drink-related offences.

33 There is evidence from other parts of the country, notably London, that disciplinary standards were eased in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

34 The position continued largely unchanged in the early twentieth century. Just under 40 per cent of the recruits who joined between 1900 and 1904 served 10 years or more before the disruption brought about by the Great War. Of these men, approximately 30 per cent were promoted once or more, i.e. an almost identical figure to that for the 1890s. This compares with
figures for London which show that, excluding short-stay men, roughly 25 per cent of recruits were promoted to sergeant, of whom two-thirds stayed at that rank. Shpayer-Makov, ‘Career prospects . . .’ pp. 393 and 398.

37 It is difficult to do justice to the complexities of wage rates in the iron and steel industry in a short space. Hall, ‘Working class living standards’, charts the changes in detail.
38 Ibid., chap. 3.
39 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 25 April 1893.
40 See Chapter 9 for further details.
41 See for example Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 26 Feb. 1903, 26 April 1906, 31 May 1906, 28 May 1908 and 16 Sept. 1909.
42 Silverside had been commended earlier in the same year for stopping a runaway horses.
43 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 29 July 1884.
44 General Order Book, CB/M/P 25, p. 352
45 The new police station at the west end of Cannon Street was opened in the early 1870s. By the late 1870s there was another station in Linthorpe.

Chapter 8: The Police and Crime in Middlesbrough after 1870

1 The act extended the range of larceny trials that could be tried summarily. All juveniles under the age of 12, unless charged with murder or manslaughter, could be so tried, as could juveniles under the age of 16, if consenting, for larceny, embezzlement or receiving stolen goods; and it extended to all adults pleading guilty or consenting to be tried summarily for similar offences to the value of £2. See 42 & 43 Vict. C.49, ‘An Act to Amend the Law Relating to the Summary Jurisdiction of Magistrates’. See Introduction, pp. 10–11 for a discussion of H. Taylor.
3 Petrow, *Policing Morals*.
4 Williams, ‘Counting crimes’, approaches the Home Office returns in a ‘pessimistic’ sense, seeing them as a potential indicator of public concern and ‘determined more than anything else, by changes in police policy: between forces and over time’; p. 81.
5 Gatrell and Hadden, ‘Criminal statistics’.
6 Although not commented upon at the time, murder was less common than suicide. In late nineteenth-century Middlesbrough the incidence of suicide was twice that of homicide.
7 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 3 July 1873 and 9 July 1874.
9 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/42, 25 July 1882, p. 132.
10 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/51, 7 Oct. 1891, CB/M/C, 1/70, 26 May 1910 and CB/M/C, 1/72 8 June 1912. See also CB/M/C 1/58, 24 Feb. 1898.
11 For attempted wife murder see the cases of Albert Olsen and Robert Robertson. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/62, 27 March 1902 and CB/M/C, 1/68, 30 April 1908.
12 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/71, 24 Nov. 1910.
13 Davis had carried on an affair with Esther Richards while her husband was away working. On his return Esther Richards and Walter David moved away from Middlesbrough, but she returned to Middlesbrough later the same year. Davis followed her and battered her to death with a hammer.
14 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/40 24 May 1881 and CB/M/C, 1/58 24 Feb. 1898.
15 For example, in 1912 Shamoza Furozesha, ship’s cook, and Valles Mahomed, ship’s fireman, were sentenced at York to 3 years’ penal servitude and 12 months’ hard labour for assaults on fellow crew members Tothee Gool and Sardar Khan. Charles Williams was tried at quarter session for an aggravated assault on Mary O’Brien and for living on her immoral earnings. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/68 24 Sept. 1908.
16 Lady Bell, *At the Works*, London 1907, reprinted 1967, p. 18. Florence Bell’s attempt ‘to put a piece of prosperity under the microscope’, as she described her study of Middlesbrough, has been widely seen as a major piece of early twentieth-century social enquiry. Her interest in social conditions in the town date from shortly after her marriage to Hugh Bell, a major industrialist, in 1876 and extended over the next quarter of a century during which time she visited over 1,000 working-class homes interviewing both women and men. There are problems with the book as a source largely because of her failure to detail her methodology, despite being an admirer of Charles Booth. The precise number of people interviewed is unknown, as is the nature of the interviews and the extent to which she was assisted in conducting them. Equally, she does not indicate the date at which her evidence was collected. The last shortcoming is particularly important when trying to assess the extent of change over time in, for example, drinking or gambling.
17 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/67, 22 Nov. 1907.
18 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/66 28 June 1906.
19 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/41, 24 May 1881 and CB/M/C, 1/43, 26 June 1883.
20 Annual Report, *Daily Exchange*, 9 Oct. 1884. There was no other case to compare with this, but in 1912 Herbert Morley was sentenced to 15 month’s hard labour for feloniously wounding with intent to kill two girls.
21 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/69, 2 Oct. 1908. Mrs Suddick was sentenced to 3 years’ penal servitude but her husband was discharged. See also CB/M/C, 1/63 18 June 1903 and CB/M/C, 1/70, 27 June 1910.
22 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/51, 25 Nov. 1890, CB/M/C, 1/58, 30 June 1898, CB/M/C, 1/65 30 March 1905, CB/M/C, 1/66 28 June 1906, CB/M/C, 1/68 27 June 1908, CB/M/C, 1/69, 18 Feb. 1908, 29, CB/M/C, 1/70 4 June 1911, CB/M/C, 1/71 23 March 1911. See CB/M/C 1/71 7 Feb. 1911 for a case that involved abuse by a brother.
23 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/71 20 Sept. 1911.
24 There was also growing concern with ‘abnormal’ male sexual behaviour after 1885 which led to a number of cases for ‘outrages to decency’. For typical examples, see PCM, CB/M/C, 1/67, John Bennett was sent to the...
assize for gross indecency in Albert Park, and CB/M/C, 1/73 24 April 1913
when several men were committed to Leeds Assize for gross indecency in a
public urinal. A number of such offences also involved sailors.

25 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/63 30 Nov. 1902. CB/M/C 1/60 25 June 1900 Susan Burns
was tried for unlawfully wounding Daisy Lougheran and CB/M/C, 1/63 29
Jan. 1903 Mary Rowell and Catherine Scarl were committed for robbery
with violence from Michael Smith.

26 In typical cases tried at York, Martin McKie was robbed of £6 by three men
and Thomas Robinson of £1 10s. (£1.50). James Weatherall and Edward
Carr, in comparison stole only 3s. 4d. (16p).

27 The pattern of crime at Northallerton was replicated at the Middlesbrough
Quarter Sessions from 1910 onwards.

28 Annual Report, 1908, p. 6.

29 PCM, BB/M/C, 1/69, Probation Officer's report 21 Jan. 1909.

30 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/71, 20 Sept. 1911. See also 27 April 1911 for a case of a
young woman who had been driven by poverty to steal clothes for her
wedding.

31 The petty crime rate fell from 6,385 per 100,000 around 1871 to 3,796
around 1881.

32 The figure for 1891 was 3,289 (approximately 15 per cent below the figure
for 1881) and for 1901 was 2,320.

33 Bell, *At the Works*, p. 246.

34 See his report for 1882 in which he noted a 10 per cent fall in the number
of drunkenness cases but commented that this 'cannot be considered as sat-
isfactory'. *ME*, 5 Oct. 1882.


7 Oct. 1880 and especially his comments in the 1874 Annual Report, *MWN*,
16 Oct. 1874, in which he commended 'deservedly severe sentences' passed
on those found guilty of aggravated assaults upon women.

37 See also the Chapter 8 appendix for statistics relating to other police activi-
ties.

38 See for example the complaint received in June 1905 about boys and men
‘continually gambling’ in Thorn Street. Middlesbrough Watch Committee,
29 June 1905 and 28 Feb. 1908. Other complaints were received about ado-
lescent behaviour and the limitations of the town’s by-laws, for example, in
not prohibiting roller-skating in the streets.

39 The most notable example of this was in Liverpool where anti-vice cam-
paigners wanted an all out attack on brothels. The chief constable advised
that this would lead to a scattering of brothels over the city but was over-
ruled. He acted on instructions and the outcome he predicted occurred.
When members of the watch committee complained about the presence of
brothels in respectable areas, the chief constable simply said he had been
implementing a policy decided by a superior body. Jefferson and Grimshaw,
*Controlling the Constable*, pp. 39–45.

40 The subject is well covered in D. Dixon, *From Prohibition to Regulation: book-
Petrov, *Policing Moral*, part V, deals specifically with the enforcement of anti-gambling legislation in London.

41 *MWN*, 7 May 1875. See also *Cleveland News*, 1 May 1880s, cited in M. Huggins, *A History of Flat-Racing*, London, 1999, p. 95. Indeed, an attempt by some council members to strengthen the by-laws regarding betting was defeated.


44 Reports of Chief Superintendent to Watch Committee, CB/M/P 23, 10 June 1896.

45 The by-laws had been strengthened in 1896, but renewed concern led to new by-laws introduced in June 1906. Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 16 Dec. 1895 and 25 June 1906. See also the general orders relating to the playing of pitch-and-toss (July 1905) and Sunday betting (Dec. 1906), CB/M/P, 25, p. 174 and p. 230.

46 Annual Report 1909, p. 16.


48 Bell, *At the Works*, p.255.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 8 Aug. 1893.

52 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 21 Dec. 1910.


54 Gatrell, ‘Decline’; Thompson, *Respectable Society*.


56 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 9 Jan. 1873.


58 *ME*, 5 Oct. 1882.


60 Ibid.

61 Matthews was not unique. See also the records of John Davies and Isaac Mather, who appeared before Northallerton magistrates in Jan. 1888 and April 1889 respectively.


63 See also Catherine O’Brien (June 1885), Sarah Carney (April 1887), Annie Ryan (Jan. 1888), Eliza Blakey (April 1888) and Jane Knight (1893). None were in the same class as the notorious Jane Cakebread who was prosecuted 280 times.

64 Generally speaking industrial schools have received a poor press from historians, but Linthorpe appears to have been an exception. According to the inspectors, the staff ‘treated [the boys] with obvious kindness’. Physical punishment was not central to the running of the school and there were several leisure activities, ranging from gymnastics to choirs and a brass
band. Interestingly, the boys participated in a number of events within the town and, more importantly, had a good record of employment, albeit mainly in the armed services. Few boys absconded, and in the early twentieth century there were well-attended reunions of ‘old boys’! Sue Maidens, ‘The Linthorpe Industrial School: an agency of class control?’, unpublished dissertation, Teesside Polytechnic, 1991.


68 Annual Reports 1874 and 1875, MWN, 16 Oct. 1874 and 15 Oct. 1875.
70 The striking feature of Ashe’s surviving reports is the absence of any commentary on the state of crime in the town.
72 Bell, At the Works, p. 139.
73 Ibid.
75 Middlesbrough Police Court Mission, 2nd Annual Report, 1907, p. 3. See also 1911 annual report, p. 3, for similar sentiments.
76 Annual Report 1913, p. 7.
78 North Eastern Daily Gazette, 4 June 1899, 6 Sept. 1900 and 10 Jan. 1904.

Chapter 9: The Police and the Public from the 1970s to 1914

1 The Times, 24 Dec. 1908.
2 This is very clearly seen in Reiner, Politics of the Police, which is primarily concerned with the crisis of police legitimacy in the late twentieth century and uses the creation of police legitimacy a century before as the basis for his explanation of the current problems in policing.
3 The cases that were tried at quarter session or assize usually involved another serious charge. For example, Arthur Chaplin was tried at Northallerton quarter session on a charge of inflicting grievous bodily harm on PC Velters and also assaulting James Copeland. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/66 27 Sept. 1906. Peter Hand was sent to Leeds assize on charges of warehouse breaking and inflicting grievous bodily harm on PC Yolland, who, incidentally, was awarded the badge of merit for his ‘plucky action’. CB/M/C, 1/68 30 Jan. 1908, CB/M/P 30.
A crude measure of change can be gained by from the following index numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Police force</th>
<th>Assaults against police</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Report of Chief Superintendent to the Watch Committee, CB/M/P, 23 June 1870 and 3 July 1873.

*MWN,* 13 May 1870. PC Marsden was subjected to a kicking by two Irishmen the following month but the crowd did not take part in this incident. Ibid. 17 June 1870. See also ibid. 30 Sept. 1870 and 28 Nov. 1870.

*MWN,* 9 March 1872.

Report of Chief Superintendent to the Watch Committee, CB/M/P 23 July 1873.

Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 8 Dec. 1875.

Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 4 Oct. 1876. As noted in Chapter 8 faction fighting among the Irish remained a problem throughout the decade and into the early 1880s.

PCM, CB/M/C, 1/44 27 Dec. 1883.

PCM, CB/M/C, 1/47 27 March 1887.

Reports of Chief Superintendent to the Watch Committee, CB/M/P 24, 24 Sept. 1889 and 7 Oct. 1889. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/50 26 Nov. 1889.

For routine incidents see for example PCM CB/M/C 1/61 24 April 1902, CB/M/C 1/64 25 Feb., 20 April and 26 May 1904, CB/M/C 1/66 26 April 1906, CB/M/C 1/68 10 Feb. 1908, CB/M/C 1/69 14 Nov. 1908, CB/M/C 1/70 20 May 1909, CB/M/C 1/70 23 Dec. 1909, CB/M/C 1/71 21 Nov. 1910, CB/M/C 1/72 21 Dec. 1911 and 29 Feb. 1912, CB/M/C 1/72 16 May and 8 June 1912 and CB/M/C 1/74 6 March 1913. See also *Middlesbrough Gazette,* 14 Nov. 1908, 19 Nov. 1909, 22 Feb. 1912, 27 March 1912, 8 June 1912, 31 Jan. 1913 and 4 July 1913 for examples of typical incidents involving assaults on the police.

PCM, CB/M/C, 1 Nov. 1905.

Report of Chief Superintendent to Watch Committee, CB/M/P 24 28 Nov. 1893. See PCM, CB/M/C, 1/66 1 Nov. 1905 for a more typical but less humorous incident.

PCM, CB/M/C, 1/60 27 March 1902, CB/M/C, 1/64 20 April 1904 and 2 May 1904.

For example, PCM, CB/M/C, 1/67 26 Aug. 1907 and CB/M/C, 1/69 5 May 1909. The first incident led to PC Henderson being awarded the badge of merit for his bravery. In the second Naven attacked two constables. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/70, 23 Dec. 1909, CB/M/C, 1/71 24 Nov. 1910 and CB/M/C, 1/73, 6 March 1913.

Chaplin’s career has already been noted, but in addition he attacked two constables, PCs Dobson and Goddard, for which he was found guilty of grievous bodily harm at Northallerton quarter sessions in 1905. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/65, 30 March 1905. For other cases sent to quarter session see CB/M/C, 1/66 19 Aug. 1906 and CB/M/C, 1/70 27 June 1910. Annie Lee
'viciously kicked' the unfortunate PC Bate when he arrested her for drunk and disorderly behaviour. CB/M/C, 1/70 27 June 1910.

21 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/72, 27 June 1912.

22 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/72 17 Sept. 1912. Middlesbrough Gazette, 17 Sept. 1912. The woman, Catherine Fearns, was the wife of a Durham policeman, but the men were ordinary members of the public.

23 Printed Council Minutes, CB/M/C, 1/74 23 March 1914. Middlesbrough Gazette, 9 March 1914.

24 There were some unusual incidents. For example, Inspector Thorpe was temporarily blinded by a stone thrown in the parliamentary election of 1880. More typical was the broken rib suffered by PC Bennett. Middlesbrough Gazette, 1 March 1880. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/40 23 March 1880 and Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 8 December 1875. See also MWN, 3 and 10 March 1871, 6 June and 4 July 1872 for typical incidents in the 1870s and MG, 19 Nov. 1908, 19 Nov. and 13 Dec. 1909, 22 March and 12 May 1912, and 4 July 1913 for remarkably similar incidents from the early twentieth century.

25 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/67 27 June 1907, CB/M/C, 1/70 13 Dec. 1909 and CB/M/C, 1/71 27 June 1910. Bate, like Gatenby before him, had a mixed career. Dismissed for improper conduct in 1903, he rejoined the force and in August 1908 took the teetotal pledge. By June 1910 he had been promoted to the third rank, having rescued an old woman from a fire. Thereafter he suffered a series of misfortunes. He underwent two operations for tuberculosis of the testicles, was found hiding an empty spirits bottle in the station lavatory, and finally found guilty of improper conduct in a railway carriage while in uniform on the way to York assize. He was dismissed in July 1912.

26 Reports of Chief Superintendent to the Watch Committee, CB/M/P 24 25 July 1901 and Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 24 Nov. 1908. This is in addition to the dangers encountered in arresting people using knives on other members of the public. In two separate incidents, for example, Elias Blackburn and Robert Gatenby were promoted to the merit class for arresting men thus armed.

27 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 19 July 1906

28 Chief Constable’s Annual Reports. Riches gave figures for overall time lost for every year from 1904 to 1914. Unfortunately, this was broken down between sickness and injury in only 5 of the years.

29 There are few commendations to be found for the 1870s, but see Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 5 April 1876. For later examples see PCM, CB/M/C, 1/56 27 Aug. 1896, CB/M/C, 1/65 9 Feb. 1904, CB/M/C, 1/66 30 Nov. 1905, CB/M/C, 1/68 27 June 1907 and CB/M/C, 1/74 20 Feb. and 16 July 1914.


31 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/71 27 April 1911.

32 PCs Bromyard and Davison were simply praised, PCs Silverside and Grimmell were each paid a guinea (£1.05) in addition to the commendation, while PC Rennison was praised, paid half a guinea and promoted. In the most publicised incident PC Freeman’s ‘gallant and very noble attempt’
to stop a runaway horse resulted in serious injury. Freeman’s little finger was amputated and his career was brought to an end somewhat later. PCM, CB/M/C, 1/66 26 April 1906 and 1/68 28 May 1908, CB/M/C, 1/71 25 May 1911 and CB/M/C, 1/73 25 Sept. 1913. CB/M/C, 1/66 3 May 1906 and CB/M/C, 1/69 16 Sept. 1909.


34 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 5 Sept. 1872 and 11 May 1874. Constables’ Conduct Registers CB/M/P 30 and 31.

35 Constables’ Conduct Registers, CB/M/P, 29, 30 & 31 and PCM, CB/M/C, 1/64 25 Feb. 1904.

36 See individual entries in Constables’ Conduct Registers, CB/M/P 29, 30 and 31. Both the Blakeborough brothers, William and Richard, were found guilty of assaulting members of the public in the 1890s, but this did not prevent them from being promoted to sergeant later. Richard went on to become an inspector. See also entries for PCs E. Caddy, Hart and Spenceley for similar incidents.

37 There were a small number of cases (three in total) in which a charge of assault against a police officer was rejected by the Watch Committee.

38 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 2 March 1877 and 2 March 1877. In this case neither of the two men was censured for the lapse in behaviour.

39 Constables’ Conduct Registers, CB/M/P, 29, 30 and 31

40 This did not apply to PC Magee, who was dismissed when found guilty of assaulting his wife.

41 Constables’ Conduct Registers, CB/M/P 30. In fact Weaver did not stay long in the force. Fined 15s. (75p) for being drunk on duty in January 1900, he resigned two months later.


43 But see for example Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 6 Jan. 1870. See also 4 July 1872 for an example of a grateful shopkeeper giving a £2 reward to PC Spence for arresting a thief and 5 April 1876 for praise from the stipendiary magistrate for the bravery of PC Bennett who arrested a man who had violently assaulted him.

44 ME, 3 Oct. 1872.

45 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 4 Oct. 1878.

46 ME, 28 March 1872.

47 PCM, 28 April 1891, 28 Feb. 1894, 23 and 26 Jan. 1897 and 17 and 23 July 1895, 3 Jan. 1903

48 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/52 24 May 1892. Similar complaints were made by other members of the public. See 28 Feb. 1907 and 24 Feb. 1910. In the latter case the complainant was particularly agitated by shouting outside the Foreign Meat shop in Cannon Street.

49 PCM, CB/M/C, 1/56 28 May 1895.


51 General Order Book, CB/M/P 25 p. 74. Much of this paragraph is based on this source.

53 Middlesbrough Watch Committee, 30 May 1893.

54 Middlesbrough Year Book, 1901, p. 53.

55 Middlesbrough Year Book, 1905.


57 The point is often made that the Welsh community in Middlesbrough was from the outset more integrated and more law-abiding, not least because whole families had moved into the town.
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