

‘The worst of drunkards’: female drunkenness in mid-Victorian Lancashire

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Abstract

Craig Naden Stafford

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Historical research on Victorian female drunkenness has focussed, almost overwhelmingly, on the effects of the habitual drunkards legislation of the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the women who comprised the prison population during Victoria's reign have been under-researched. Drunkenness was the most common offence for which women were committed to prison and this thesis examines the lives of women incarcerated in Strangeways Prison, Manchester, between 1869 and 1875. This was a period of intense concern about drunkenness in general and female drunkenness in particular, with fierce debate over licensing legislation being held both in Parliament and the provinces. The objectives of the thesis were, firstly, to provide an overview of the licensing debates, policing and sentencing of female drunkenness in two Lancashire boroughs, Salford and Rochdale, combined with an examination of the life cycle of women committed to gaol. It explored the debates surrounding drunkenness at a parliamentary level and how these debates were reflected in social commentary in these boroughs. Secondly, the thesis explored local power dynamics in Salford and Rochdale and showed the impact that police policy and magisterial discretion had on the number of women prosecuted and imprisoned for the offence. It noted that working class women were targeted by the police and that the personal views of policemen and magistrates were instrumental in their drive against drunkenness. Finally, the thesis re-constructed the lived experience of incarcerated women, by examining their family lives, occupations and places of birth. It showed that vulnerability to imprisonment for drunkenness was the preserve of the marginal working class, especially migrants and women who were not part of a familial or neighbourhood support network. Additionally, poverty and poor living conditions were key features in the lives of imprisoned women.

Contents

	Page
List of Tables and Figures	vi
Glossary of Terms	xi
Acknowledgements	xii
Chapter 1: Introduction	
1.1) Introduction	1
1.2) The Research Period	2
1.3) South-east Lancashire	3
1.4) Female Drunkenness	5
1.5) Structure	6
1.6) Literature Review	9
1.7) Licensing Legislation	9
1.8) The Policing of Female Drunkenness	15
1.9) Female Drunkenness and Incarceration	19
1.10) Conclusion	25
Chapter 2: Sources and Methodology	
2.1) Introduction	27
2.2) The Methodology	27
2.3) Quantitative Sources	31
2.4) Court and Geographical Data	37
2.5) Biographical and Personal Data	42
2.6) Qualitative Sources	48
2.7) Conclusion	53
Chapter 3: Mid-Victorian Salford and Rochdale	
3.1) Introduction	55
3.2) Geography and Population	56
3.3) Mid-Victorian Improvement	68
3.4) Occupations and Economy	70
3.5) Politics	73
3.6) Social Commentary: The Press, Police and Magistracy	77
3.7) Conclusion	85

Chapter 4: National Context: Mid-Victorian Concerns About Drunkenness

4.1)	Introduction	87
4.2)	The Policing of Drunkenness	88
4.3)	Crimes of Violence	94
4.4)	Drink and the Economy	97
4.5)	The Medical Profession	102
4.6)	Female Drunkenness	104
4.7)	Legislation	108
4.8)	Conclusion	112

Chapter 5: Local Context: Salford and Rochdale

5.1)	Introduction	115
5.2)	Lancashire	115
5.3)	The Licensing Question	118
5.4)	Perceptions of Female Drunkenness	123
5.5)	The Policing of Drunkenness	126
5.6)	Drunkenness and Violence	137
5.7)	Conclusion	143

Chapter 6: Sentencing Patterns

6.1)	Introduction	145
6.2)	Committals to Strangeways Prison, 1869-1875	146
6.3)	The Case Studies: Salford and Rochdale	152
6.4)	The Magistrates	158
6.5)	Multiple Committals	162
6.6)	Were Female Offenders 'Doubly Damned'?	167
6.7)	Conclusion	175

Chapter 7: Age, Marital Status and Family

7.1)	Introduction	177
7.2)	Age, Marital Status and Family, All Summary Areas	177
7.3)	Age Query	182
7.4)	Case Studies: Salford and Rochdale	184
7.5)	Marital Status	194
7.6)	Family Size	210
7.7)	Support Networks	213
7.8)	Conclusion	217

Chapter 8: Occupations and Education

8.1)	Introduction	219
8.2)	Occupations of Female Inmates	219
8.3)	Case Studies: Salford and Rochdale	225
8.4)	Drink and Prostitution	236
8.5)	Education	243
8.6)	Conclusion	245

Chapter 9: Ethnicity, Migration and Religion

9.1)	Introduction	247
9.2)	Overview – All Summary Areas	248
9.3)	Case Studies: Salford and Rochdale	250
9.4)	Place of Residence	262
9.5)	Homeless Women	267
9.6)	Committals from Multiple Courts	271
9.7)	Religion	273
9.8)	Case Study: Theresa Wilson	274
9.9)	Conclusion	277

Chapter 10: Re-offending and Desistance

10.1)	Introduction	280
10.2)	Overview – All Summary Areas	280
10.3)	Case Studies: Salford and Rochdale	286
10.4)	Occupations in Relation to Re-Offending	288
10.5)	Higher Courts	291
10.6)	Case Study: Mary Kelly	294
10.7)	Case Study: Sarah Madden	297
10.8)	Conclusion	301

Chapter 11: Conclusion 303

Appendices 309

Bibliography 336

List of Tables and Figures

All tables and figures taken from Strangeways Prison female registers, 1869-1875, unless otherwise stated

	Page
Chapter 2: Sources and Methodology	
Table 2.1: Number of offences by summary area, 1869-1875	33
Table 2.2: Major category of offences, Salford, 1869-1875	33
Table 2.3: Age group of women by major offence category, Salford, 1869-1875	34
Table 2.4: Age groups of prisoners in judicial statistics and corresponding age groups in database, 1869-1875	43
Table 2.5: Education level of prisoners in judicial statistics and corresponding label in database, 1869-1875	43
Chapter 3: Mid-Victorian Salford and Rochdale	
Figure 3.1: Bartholomew's Map of North-West Manchester and Salford, 1870	60
Table 3.1: Population density, Salford, 1876	61
Table 3.2: Population density, Rochdale, 1877	61
Figure 3.2: Packer Street, Rochdale, c.1866	64
Table 3.3: Occupations of males and females aged 20 years and upwards, Salford and Rochdale, 1871	70
Table 3.4: Occupations, political affiliations and religions of Justices of the Peace, Rochdale, 1872-1875	82
Table 3.5: Occupations, political affiliations and religions of Justices of the Peace, Salford, 1875	84
Chapter 4: National Context: Mid-Victorian Concerns About Drunkenness	
Figure 4.1: Number of prosecutions for drunkenness, England and Wales, 1869-1881	88
Figure 4.2: Number of prosecutions for assault, England and Wales, 1869-1881	96

Chapter 5: Local Context: Salford and Rochdale

Figure 5.1: The Gank, Rochdale in the 1850s	129
Figure 5.2: Number proceeded against for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1881	131
Figure 5.3: Number proceeded against for common assault, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1880	137
Figure 5.4: Number proceeded against for assaulting the police, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1880	137
Table 5.1: Number of prosecutions for crimes of violence, Salford, 1868-1876	141

Chapter 6: Sentencing Patterns for Drunkenness and Crimes of Violence

Figure 6.1: Major offence category of women committed to Strangeways Prison, 1869-1875	146
Table 6.1: Summary committals for women, Strangeways Prison, 1869-1875	147
Figure 6.2: Drunkenness as a proportion of all summary committals of females by summary area, 1869-1875	152
Figure 6.3: Number of female committals for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	153
Figure 6.4: Number of female committals for crimes of violence, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	154
Table 6.2: Committals to prison for drunkenness, with sentences of one calendar month, without the option of a fine, by court, 1869-1875	156
Figure 6.3: Number of multiple committals per summary area, 1869-1875	164

Chapter 7: Age, Family and Marital Status

Figure 7.1: Marital status of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875	177
Figure 7.2: Family size of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875	178
Figure 7.3: Age groups of women committed for drunkenness, and all other offences, all summary areas, 1869-1875	178

Figure 7.4: Number of female committals to local prisons by age group, England and Wales, all offences, 1869-1875	179
Figure 7.5: Age groups of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	184
Figure 7.6: Number of women by age group, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	185
Table 7.1: Average ages of women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	185
Figure 7.7: Committals for drunkenness, marital status by age group, Salford, 1869-1875	194
Figure 7.8: Marital status by age group, Salford, 1871	195
Figure 7.9: Committals for drunkenness, marital status by age group, Rochdale 1869-1875	195
Figure 7.10: Marital status by age group, Rochdale, 1871	196
Figure 7.11: Number of children of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	210
Table 7.2: Average number of children of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	210
Figure 7.12: Marital status in relation to number of children, Salford, 1869-1875	212
Figure 7.13: Marital status in relation to number of children, Rochdale, 1869-1875	212
 Chapter 8: Occupations and Education	
Figure 8.1: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875	220
Table 8.1: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875	221
Table 8.2: Domestic trades of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875	222
Table 8.3: Trade types of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	225
Table 8.4: The five most frequent industrial trades for women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	226
Table 8.5: Domestic trades of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale,	

1869-1875	228
Figure 8.2: Age and marital status of charwomen committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875	231
Figure 8.3: Age and marital status of charwomen committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875	232
Figure 8.4: Age and marital status of houseworkers committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875	233
Figure 8.5: Age and marital status of houseworkers committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875	233
Table 8.6: Age and marital status of women committed to Strangeways for prostitution, all summary areas, 1869-1875	240
Table 8.7: Age and marital status of women committed to Strangeways for prostitution, Salford, 1869-1875	240
Table 8.8: Age and marital status of women committed to Strangeways for prostitution, Rochdale, 1869-1875	241
Table 8.9: Educational status of women committed for drunkenness, compared to national figures for all female prisoners in local prisons, 1869-1875	243

Chapter 9: Ethnicity, Migration and Religion

Figure 9.1: Country of birth of all women committed for drunkenness, 1869-1875	248
Table 9.1: Number of Irish, Scottish and Welsh women in Lancashire, 1871	248
Figure 9.2: Country of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875	250
Figure 9.3: Country of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875	250
Table 9.2: Place of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Salford, most common area, 1869-1875,	252
Table 9.3: Place of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, most common areas, 1869-1875	252
Figure 9.4: Age groups of female migrants committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	255
Figure 9.5: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness by place of birth, Salford,	

1869-1875	257
Figure 9.6: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness by place of birth, Rochdale, 1869-1875	258
Table 9.4: The most common places of residence of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875	262
Table 9.5: Religion of women committed for drunkenness to Strangeways Gaol, all summary areas, 1869-1875	273
Table 9.6: Religion and nationality of women committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875	273
Table 9.7: Religion and nationality of women committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875	273
Chapter 10: Re-offending and Desistance	
Table 10.1: Previous committals, from 0 to 8, for women convicted of drunkenness, all courts, 1869-1875	282
Table 10.2: Previous committals, from 0 to 8, for women convicted of drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875	282
Table 10.3: Previous committals, from 0 to 8, for women convicted of drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875	282
Table 10.4: Number of female re-committals by ethnicity, Salford, 1869-1875	286
Table 10.5: Number of female re-committals by ethnicity, Rochdale, 1869-1875	286
Table 10.6: Committals from higher court by offence sub-category, all summary areas, 1869-1875	293

Glossary of Terms

BMD – Birth, Marriage and Death Certificates

CETS – Church of England Temperance Society

GMPM – Greater Manchester Police Museum

LA – Lancashire Archives

MA – Manchester Archives +

MP – Member of Parliament

NA – National Archives

PC – Police Constable

PP – UK Parliamentary Papers

RLSL – Rochdale Local Studies Library

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UKA – United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1) Introduction

This thesis is a study of concerns about female drunkenness in mid-Victorian south-east Lancashire, and of the women committed to prison for the offence. In addition to an examination of the actions of police and magistrates, it combines a statistical analysis of the female registers for Strangeways Prison, Manchester, from 1869 to 1875, with biographical data. The main focus of the thesis is on two Lancashire boroughs, Salford and Rochdale, which act as a lens through which to explore the concerns and actions of the respective authorities towards female drunkenness, along with an examination of the lives of women sent to Strangeways from their magistrates' courts.

The thesis has three primary aims. Firstly, it seeks to provide an analysis of debates about licensing and female drunkenness in south-east Lancashire. Secondly, it aims to uncover examples of local power dynamics, by comparing and contrasting the actions of the authorities of Salford and Rochdale and examine to what extent their actions influenced committals for drunkenness. Finally, the thesis endeavours to discover which factors made women vulnerable to imprisonment, by studying the life cycle and agency of women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness. This introduction will first explain the rationale behind the research period, before justifying the choice of Salford and Rochdale as case studies. It then explains why female drunkenness has been chosen as a research topic, before concluding with a breakdown of each chapter.

1.2) The Research Period

This thesis covers the period c.1869-1879. The 1870s are a fertile period in which to study female drunkenness. Firstly, the decade represented a peak in concerns about drunkenness, generally, in England and Wales. In particular, there was a fear that drunkenness amongst women was increasing. Theories over the causes of drunkenness were varied, with some observers remarking that high wages led to increases in drunkenness and drink-related crime, with others linking the issue to poverty. Importantly, this was a period of intense temperance pressure which resulted in the 1872 Licensing Act. Furthermore, debates raged at both a parliamentary and municipal level over the numbers of women being repeatedly committed to England's prisons for drunken behaviour and the short sentences that such offences incurred. The statements of magistrates, prison governors and the police used similar language, with the same questions being asked throughout the country. By examining the prison registers from 1869 to 1875, the thesis covers the period before, during and directly after these debates, and is able to explore the consequences of legislation.

In addition to drunkenness, this period witnessed a tremendous outcry over crimes of violence, not least in Lancashire. Whilst the county's newspapers condemned the, stereotypically Lancastrian, tendency for 'kicking', high profile deaths in Liverpool and Birmingham helped to raise the spectre of brutal assaults, nationally, in the public mind and led to parliamentary inquiry. Northern, industrial counties in particular were associated with drunkenness and crimes of violence, and in Salford, commentators highlighted both issues as being of especial concern.

Moreover, historians have pinpointed 1870 as the beginning of a 'civilising' period, when English society became less violent due to increased working-class respectability, linked in part to the enfranchisement of a section of the working class under the Second Reform Act of 1867. Carter Wood suggested that after 1870 there was a lessening of social fears, due to the increased incorporation of the working class into a 'broadening social consensus', which changed their

behaviour and attitudes towards violence.¹ Others have argued that the late-Victorian fascination with real-life crime stories does not bear this out.² This study of two Lancashire boroughs at this time will show to what extent this really was the start of a 'civilising' period.

There are also economic reasons for researching this period. The first half of the decade witnessed a peak in the consumption of alcohol, which coincided with a rise in the number of prosecutions, nationally, for drunkenness. Linked, in part, to economic prosperity, middle-class social commentators condemned the working-classes for their perceived profligacy and inability to control their spending. Furthermore, voices from the medical profession were beginning to argue that drunkenness was a disease to be cured, rather than a crime to be punished. Female drunkenness was perceived to be a particular problem, as women who drank were seen to contravene societal perceptions of femininity. In terms of drunkenness and violence therefore, the 1870s are a key decade for study.

1.3) South-east Lancashire

One of the primary aims of the thesis is to explore the exercise of power through local agencies and institutions, in two Lancashire boroughs, during a period of great concern about drunkenness. The case studies chosen are those of Salford and Rochdale, two boroughs separated only by approximately twelve miles, but which took distinctly different approaches to the perceived problems of female drunkenness. They both typified the image of the Lancashire industrial borough in the mid-Victorian era. As Chapter 3 notes, the local elites, although drawn from the middle class, differed in terms of politics and religion. Geographically, Salford was the direct neighbour of Lancashire's cotton capital, Manchester, and possessed twice the population of Rochdale, a distinctly separate entity. Although these boroughs were, and are, relatively close neighbours, they

¹ J. Carter Wood, *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth Century England, The Shadow of our Refinement* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 21.

² R. Crone, *Violent Victorians, Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

presented a range of differences in policing and sentencing which provide an opportunity for comparison.

Moreover, both boroughs are under-represented in studies on crime and policing, as most criminal studies of urban Victorian England concentrated on the Metropolis and large cities.³ Indeed, De Motte's study of Victorian crime in Manchester and Salford focussed almost entirely on the former. He justified this approach by, erroneously, stating that 'it was in that town [Manchester] where the bulk of the population lived and where most of the crime was carried out.'⁴ This thesis examines the type of borough which tends to be overlooked in studies of criminality and aims to add to knowledge of urban policing at this time. Salford was chosen as the first case study, primarily as the borough sent the majority of women to Strangeways for drunkenness, and indeed all other offences. Rochdale was then chosen for comparison due to the differences in population, geography, politics and religion to Salford.

The registers document the female committals to Strangeways Prison, Manchester. Strangeways was the county prison for the Hundred of Salford, and received inmates from the towns and boroughs of south-east Lancashire. These were predominantly urban and industrialised, although rural townships were also represented, to a lesser degree. Opened in 1868, Strangeways replaced the aging New Bailey Prison in Salford, which had been built in 1787. Initially, it possessed the capacity for 1100 prisoners, of whom over 300 were women. Men and women were separated within the prison itself, with the *Manchester Guardian* reassuring its readers that between the male

³ For example, J.E. Archer, *The Monster Evil, Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), D. Churchill, *Crime Control and Everyday Life in the Victorian City, The Police and the Public* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), S. Petrow, *Policing Morals, The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). However, Davies has written extensively about Salford: A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939* (Buckingham: OUP, 1992), *The Gangs of Manchester* (Preston: Milo, 2008), 'The police and the people: gambling in Salford, 1900-1939', in *Historical Journal*, 34.1 (1991), pp.87-115, 'Youth gangs, masculinity and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', in *Journal of Social History*, 32.2 (1998), pp.349-369, 'These viragoes are no less cruel than the lads': young women, gangs and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', in *British Journal of Criminology*, 39.1 (1999), pp. 72-89.

⁴ C.M. De Motte, 'The dark side of town: crime in Manchester and Salford, 1815-1875' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Kansas, 1977), pp.X-XI.

and female areas of the prison ‘there is the completest isolation.’⁵ Using the registers enables an examination of the extent to which drunkenness played a part in female committals, as well as an exploration of the validity of contemporary concerns.

1.4) Female Drunkenness

There is an important reason as to why female drunkenness has been chosen as a research topic, which is that drunkenness was the most common offence for which women were prosecuted and committed to prison, during the mid-Victorian period.⁶ Furthermore, female drunkenness was perceived, by social commentators, to be increasing at this time.⁷ However, little has been written concerning the incarceration of women for the offence before 1879.⁸

Indeed, little is known about women incarcerated in prisons. As Godfrey, *et al*, argued ‘Which sections of society constituted the female prison population, and what this can tell us about the relationship between women and institutionalisation in England during the nineteenth century are still vastly under explored areas in women’s and crime history’.⁹ Moreover, the imprisonment of women offenders, stated D’Cruze and Jackson, ‘needs to be considered in the context both of the gendered and classed disadvantages that brought women into prison in the first place.’¹⁰ This is why

⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, 17 June 1868. Strangeways became a male-only prison in 1963.

⁶ B. Godfrey, D.J. Cox, and S.D. Farrell, *Criminal Lives: Family Life, Employment and Offending* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 39, J. Turner, ‘Offending women in Stafford, 1880-1905: punishment, reform and re-integration’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 2009), Morrison, B, ‘Ordering disorderly women: female drunkenness in England c. 1870-1920’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 2005.

⁷ Morrison, B, ‘Ordering disorderly women’, pp. 108-109.

⁸ Also, traditionally, women have been under-represented in the history of crime, with initial studies portraying them as petty thieves and/or prostitutes, who represented one strand of the so-called ‘criminal class, see J.J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1972), K. Chesney, *The Victorian Underworld* (London: History Book Club, 1970). Furthermore, high-profile crimes committed by women, although rare, have also interested historians, see M.S. Hartman, *Victorian Murderesses, A True History of Thirteen Respectable French and English Women Accused of Unspeakable Crimes* (London: Robson, 1985). E. Gordon and G. Nair, *Murder and Morality in Victorian Britain. The Story of Madeleine Smith* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

⁹ B. Godfrey, ‘“Find the lady”, tracing and describing the incarcerated female population of London in 1881’, forthcoming.

¹⁰ S. D’Cruze and L. Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 134.

the views and actions of politicians, policemen and magistrates have been explored here. Although women committed to prison for drunkenness were not a homogenous group, this thesis seeks to discover not only individual circumstances which led to imprisonment but also patterns of commonality in the lived experience of the incarcerated.

It is a primary aim of this thesis, therefore, to focus on the lives of women prisoners, committed for drunkenness, in order to discover the factors which made them vulnerable to imprisonment. Whilst wide-ranging studies have been undertaken on women after 1879, as noted in the literature review, this study examines the lives of women committed for drunkenness before pressure from the medical profession was brought to bear through legislation. With drunkenness being the most common offence for which women were committed, throughout England and Wales at this time, this thesis contributes to knowledge of the topic by focussing purely on women committed for this offence.¹¹

1.5) Structure

Chapter 3 compares and contrasts the social, political and economic histories of Salford and Rochdale. It explains the political differences between the two boroughs, describes their geographical layouts and provides justification for their use as case studies. The composition of the local elites, who were integral to the dispensing of justice, is explored in detail, as are the poorer districts of the boroughs, from which many female inmates were drawn. As drunkenness was linked to economic prosperity, the opportunities for female employment are also covered.

¹¹ The history of drink has become a popular research topic. The subject has a thriving and well-connected research community, the Drinking Studies Network (<https://drinkingstudies.wordpress.com>), which now boasts over 250 members and promotes conferences, publications and research devoted to the history of drink and drinking. Members have explored topics as diverse as wine drinking in Roman Britain and Edwardian licensing legislation, see M. Hailwood and D. Toner (eds), *Biographies of Drink, A Case Study Approach to our Historical Relationship with Alcohol* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015). One member, Jennings, has recently written a comprehensive history of England's relationship with alcohol, from a cultural, economic and legal perspective, P. Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Chapter 4 approaches the subject of female drunkenness from a national perspective and discusses the various concerns that Victorians had about the issue. It begins by addressing the policing of drunkenness and explores the methods that urban police forces used to arrest people for the offence, and how these methods were influenced by legislation. The chapter also discusses how Victorian gender ideology shaped popular perceptions of the female 'drunkard', as well as the impact that the economy was perceived to have had on working-class drinking. The chapter concludes with an examination of the key licensing debates of the early 1870s and the background to the passing of the 1872 Licensing Act.

Chapter 5 combines these factors into a local context, by exploring their impact in Salford and Rochdale. It begins by situating them within contemporary debates concerning the perceived lawlessness of Lancashire, before describing the fierce debates over licensing which took place in both boroughs and how these were shaped by politics. The chapter then explores local concerns about female drunkenness and how these overlapped with national debates. The differences in the policing of drunkenness between the boroughs is also examined, as well as the particular concerns in Salford about crimes of violence. The chapter, therefore, situates the case studies amongst national concerns about female drunkenness and shows how women committed for drunkenness, from both boroughs, were subject to differing legal approaches.

Chapter 6 presents an examination of sentencing patterns and utilises the court and legal data in the prison registers. Taking contemporary concerns as a starting point, it begins by examining the impact of drink on the population of Strangeways. Thereafter, it concentrates on the actions of the police and magistrates in Salford and Rochdale, arguing that police activity increased convictions for drunkenness. Furthermore, magisterial discretion is examined in detail, as well as the way that justice was meted out in relation to the specific concerns in these boroughs. As well as drunkenness, violence was a major concern in Salford, with crimes of public order and morality being prioritized in Rochdale.

Chapter 7 addresses the age, family size and marital status of women committed for drunkenness. It pays particular attention to the age at which women began to be committed for the offence and provides explanations as to why each age group was represented in the registers. It explains why drunkenness was an offence committed by mainly older, married women and examines the importance of female leisure opportunities in relation to age and marital status. Chapter 8 builds on these arguments and explores the occupations and educational backgrounds of imprisoned women. It argues that although textile workers were heavily represented in the registers, a high proportion of women were in low-paid and un-skilled occupations. Women were, on the whole, drawn from the poor, marginal working-class, which saw them eking out a living on the streets. Their vulnerability to arrest, therefore, is taken into account, as is their educational history. Most women were poorly educated, which lends further credence to the theory that they were drawn from the poorer end of the working class.

Chapter 9 examines ethnicity, migration and religion. It argues that migration had an enormous impact on committals to Strangeways, with the majority of women committed from Salford and Rochdale being born outside these boroughs. It notes the large number of English-born, as well as Irish-born women who were vulnerable to prosecution. Furthermore, it explores the streets from which these women were drawn, which comprised, almost entirely, the slum districts of the boroughs. The chapter argues that migrants tended to be employed in poorly-paid occupations and examines the reasons why a number of women moved from borough to borough. Finally, it notes the religion of these women, whilst noting the problems associated with such analysis.

Finally, Chapter 10 examines concepts of re-offending and desistance. It discusses the number of times that women were committed for drunkenness and explores the extent to which ethnicity was a factor in re-offending. Furthermore, it examines whether a woman's occupation had a bearing on her number of committals, before using case studies to explain why support networks were important in why women re-offended or desisted from crime. Overall, therefore, the thesis constructs a wide-ranging examination of the various social and domestic factors which led women

to be committed to prison for drunkenness. Statistics provide a starting point for analysis. It is only by cross-referencing the data with qualitative evidence that a fuller picture of female offending can emerge, as noted in Chapter 2. Therefore, biographies of incarcerated women and authority figures are included throughout the thesis, alongside statistical analysis.

1.6) Literature Review

This literature review pertains to the primary aims of the thesis, namely; to analysis concepts of local power in two Lancashire boroughs and to explore the life course of women committed to prison for drunkenness, both of which will provide a valid analysis of licensing debates, police activity and the vulnerability of women to imprisonment, at a local level. The review begins by examining the existing literature concerning mid-Victorian licensing legislation. After arguing that these works have, on the whole, been conducted from the viewpoint of high politics, it then explores studies on Victorian policing. The review then concludes by examining the extent of the literature regarding female drunkenness, arguing that there has been a lack of focus on working-class women imprisoned for drunkenness, pre-1879. The contribution of this thesis to these debates is identified.

1.7) Licensing Legislation

One of the primary aims of this thesis is to explore the impact of licensing legislation at a municipal level. This is a topic which has historically been approached from a national viewpoint and by studies of high politics. Furthermore it has been dominated by Harrison's *Drink and the Victorians*, one of the most influential works dealing with the study of the drink question and temperance in England. First published in 1971, with a second edition in 1994, *Drink and the Victorians* traced the origins and history of the temperance movement in England from 1815 to the 1872 Licensing Act. It was the first study to present an overall picture of the temperance movement and is still the benchmark work for researchers. Whilst portraying the motives and actions of the various

temperance groups, as well as their religious and political affiliations, Harrison paid particular attention to the United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors (UKA). An organisation devoted to the cause of prohibition, the UKA had a major impact on parliamentary debates on drink, through their attempts to introduce the Permissive Bill. Importantly, he stated that the 1860s and early 1870s were key moments in debates over licensing and described the events of 1871-2 as a licensing crisis.

Harrison identified this period as a turning point in temperance history, one where politicians had to deal directly with a popular pressure group and where there was an important shift in party attitudes to the 'drink question'.¹² Furthermore, the early 1870s saw a culmination in the contest between those committed to regulation and those to prohibition. He noted that temperance reformers pushed the temperance question to the political forefront in the early 1870s, and detailed Home Secretary Henry Bruce's unsuccessful Licensing Bill of 1871 and the passing of the Licensing Act a year later.¹³ The lukewarm reaction of the UKA to Bruce's proposals and the hostile reaction of the drinks trade are covered in detail. His assertion that there was no clear political alignment to legislation in the national press is interesting, considering that the local press in this study did display partisan views, as noted in Chapter 5. The 1872 Licensing Act is crucial to this thesis, marking as it did a change in the powers available to police and magistrates when arresting and sentencing drunkards. Additionally, there were tighter controls on opening hours and greater police surveillance on licensed premises. Police activity and magisterial discretion before, during and after the Act's passage, is discussed below.

Although *Drink and the Victorians* primarily detailed political and temperance activity, Harrison also discussed the social and medical implications of alcohol in the period. It is further

¹² Harrison stated that before 1872, there was little party affiliation regarding the 'drink question'. Afterwards, the Liberals were associated with temperance and the Conservatives with the drinks trade. B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians, The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, 2nd ed (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994), Ch. 13.

¹³ *Ibid*, Ch.12.

made clear, therefore, that the early years of the 1870s represent a particularly important period in drink history. By this time medical opinion had begun to turn away from the prescribing of alcohol for medicinal purposes and ideas concerning its restorative functions were being challenged. Furthermore, members of the medical profession began to view habitual drunkenness as a disease to be cured, rather than as a crime to be punished, as noted in Chapter 4. Harrison also briefly examined the policing of drunkenness, stating that the rise in summary convictions for the offence was due to temperance pressure, police activity and public concern over the issue, rather than reflecting an actual increase in intemperance. However, the role of women as drinkers, and the impact of legislation on their drinking practices, was neglected by Harrison. Furthermore, his study ends in 1872 but the debate over drink in the decade did not end at this point, as noted below.

The points raised in *Drink and the Victorians*, therefore, will inform much of Chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis, as the impact of the political debates over licensing and of the Act itself will be analysed on a national and municipal level. Harrison raised several points which are explored in detail in the analysis of Salford and Rochdale. Furthermore, this thesis will look at the impact of the 1872 Licensing Act and address areas not covered by Harrison, particularly the impact of legislation on women. Whilst the national and local background to the 'crisis' of 1871-2 is important, the resultant legislation was pivotal in understanding why the number of women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness, during this time, increased.

Harrison's work was almost too comprehensive, as due to its depth, historians were initially reluctant to contribute to another wide ranging history of temperance. Published nine years after *Drink and the Victorians*, Dingle's *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England* is an exception and addressed the work of the UKA from 1872 to 1895, thereby providing continuity to Harrison. Dingle looked at how the work of the UKA continued after 1872 and how they strove even harder to introduce the Permissive Bill through Parliament. Interestingly, he noted that although the Liberal party has traditionally been associated with the temperance movement, many Liberals tried to

distance themselves from the UKA. Even so, the UKA maintained a high profile in Parliament after 1872, even if its endeavours were ultimately unsuccessful.¹⁴

Shiman's *Crusade Against Drink In Victorian England*, published in 1988, overlapped chronologically with both Harrison and Dingle.¹⁵ Perhaps mindful of this, Shiman presented an alternative review of the various temperance groups established at the time, such as the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) and the Band of Hope. Unlike Harrison and Dingle the UKA was only briefly discussed, although she did acknowledge the importance of the group in the agitation of the 1860s and 1870s. Shiman did not discuss the 1872 Licensing Act in any detail, and very little about licensing in general, instead concentrating on the relationship between temperance and religion.

Published a year after Shiman's study, Gutzke's *Protecting the Pub, Brewers and Publicans Against Temperance*, presented the debates over the 'drink question' from the perspective of the drink trade. It showed how, initially, the movement was disunited and dysfunctional in its response to temperance agitation. He presented an economic and political, rather than social, history of the trade, although he did discuss the impact of the temperance movement on concerns about drunkenness which led to the licensing debates of the early 1870s. He also discussed female drinking patterns, and policing strategies in various areas, and the impact these had on the statistics for drunkenness. Gutzke showed how fragmented the trade's response was to temperance agitation and, possibly because the period has been covered in such detail by Harrison, did not linger over the debates concerning legislation in the early 1870s. He did, however, argue that the 1870s were important in several ways; that by the start of the decade the key issues of the 'drink question' had been established, namely the monopoly value of premises, compensation for loss of licences and the time limit of licences. The period had seen licensing reduction proposed as a solution for

¹⁴ A.E. Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1980).

¹⁵ L. Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1988).

drunkenness and the drink trade and temperance movement brought their beliefs for the first time to the parliamentary arena. He suggested that by the 1870s opponents of drink showed two inherent weaknesses, namely sectarianism and a pre-occupation with drink as the cause of all social evil.¹⁶

More recently, discussions over temperance and the political aspect of drink have re-appeared. Greenaway's *Drink and British Politics Since 1830*, is one such example. Covering a much wider period than previous works, it is a study of high politics and the various factors which affected the decision making process in regards to drink, from the 1830 Beer Act to the 1970s. It does, however, present a detailed study of the licensing debates of the 1870s. Confirming Harrison's initial findings, Greenaway suggested that after 1870 drink became a party political issue, a time when government could no longer ignore the temperance movement and the clamour for a reformation of the licensing system. He stressed that licensing and government policy became the main focus of the 'drink question', rather than the social role that alcohol played in people's lives.¹⁷

Furthermore, Nicholls's far-reaching exploration of the relationship between alcohol and politics gave further weight to the view that the 1870s were a pivotal time in terms of licensing legislation. He also stressed the importance of the UKA in bringing the licensing debate into the political arena. The fact that the 1871 Licensing Bill was proposed, he stated, was testament to the influence that the temperance body had at parliamentary level. He further highlighted the schism in the temperance movement, as this was a time when alcohol began to be seen in terms of state control, which was not a popular stance with all teetotallers.¹⁸

¹⁶ D. Gutzke, *Protecting the Pub, Brewers and Publicans Against Temperance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), Chs. 2 and 3.

¹⁷ J. Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics Since 1830, A Study in Policy Making* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 30.

¹⁸ J. Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol, a History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). p.123.

The core argument of Yeomans' *Alcohol and Moral Regulation*, published in 2014, is that present day alcohol policy is strongly influenced by Victorian evangelicalism and the push for 'moral regulation.' He highlighted the 1872 Licensing Act as a key piece of legislation, which, within its legal frameworks, was designed to improve morality and change the behaviour of the population. Despite the presence of the UKA, he argued that it was an example of how moral suasionist ideals still persisted within the temperance movement.¹⁹

Additionally, Jennings, who has published widely on the history of alcohol, stated that the 1872 Licensing Act was a particularly important measure. It was one which signalled a shift to a more restrictive licensing approach. He noted that, after justices were initially willing to grant new licences, there was a reduction in the number of new licences granted in the later part of the nineteenth century.²⁰ Government legislation, he claimed, moved towards greater restriction and regulation towards drinkers and sellers.²¹ More recently, Beckingham has used Victorian Liverpool as a lens through which to debate the impact of licensing. In 2017's *The Licensed City*, he noted that, even before 1871, Liverpool had experienced its own licensing crisis, exemplified by the city's experiment with free trade in the 1860s. Furthermore, he argued that licensing was utilized in Liverpool to address both the city's social problems and its national reputation for drunkenness.²²

A common theme running through all these works is just how crucial the 1870s were regarding debates and concerns about drink and how instrumental the UKA was in bringing temperance debates to the political arena. The impact of the UKA and the political response that emerged from temperance agitation had a direct effect on the policing and sentencing of drunkenness both before and after the 1872 Licensing Act. This was a period in which concerns

¹⁹ H. Yeomans, *Alcohol and Moral Regulation, Public Attitudes, Spirited Measures and Victorian Hangovers* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2014), pp.86-88.

²⁰ P. Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English, 1500-2000* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 194.

²¹ P. Jennings, 'Liquor licensing and the local historian: the Victorian public house', *The Local Historian* (2011), pp. 121-137.

²² D. Beckingham, *The Licensed City, Regulating Drink in Liverpool, 1830-1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), p. 21.

about drunkenness became ingrained in the public consciousness and were made visible by the actions of police and magistrates. With the exception of Beckingham, these studies have approached the Victorian 'drink question' from the viewpoint of high politics. This thesis acknowledges these debates but places them at a micro level, by examining the impact of licensing legislation in two Lancashire boroughs. By taking this approach, this thesis aims to expand the knowledge of the impact of this legislation.

1.8) The Policing of Female Drunkenness

The second primary aim of this thesis is to assess to what extent, if any, the police used their expanded legislative powers to 'clamp down' on working-class, female, drunkenness. If so, did these actions reinforce historical debates over the role of the police in Victorian society? Were they, for example, moulded by legislation and local elites to fulfil the role of 'domestic missionaries' of the middle-classes?

Published in the mid-1970s, Storch's two articles on Victorian policing in northern England represented the beginning of the debate over the relationship between the police and the working classes.²³ In these influential studies, Storch argued that, from 1840 onwards, the 'new police' became an extension of the moral and political authority of the state. Tasked with the surveillance of working-class districts, the police arrested people for newly-criminalised and trivial offences, which had previously been perceived as an integral part of working-class culture. Therefore, Storch argued, the police's focus on drunkenness, breaches of the peace, gambling and loitering, amongst other activities, was evidence that they were the instruments of middle-class elites. He believed that these elites were attempting to instil their own values and morals into the working classes via

²³ Storch, R.D, 'The plague of blue locusts: police reform and popular resistance in northern England, 1840-57', *International Review of Social History*, 20.1 (1975), pp. 61-90 and 'The policeman as domestic missionary: urban discipline and popular culture in northern England, 1850-1880', *Journal of Social History*, 9.4 (1976), pp. 481-502.

the police, who acted as their 'domestic missionaries'. Such activity led to confrontation between the police and the policed, who viewed their highly visible presence in their districts as an unwanted intrusion. As will be noted below, the enforcement of licensing legislation by the police, particularly in Rochdale, lends some credence to Storch's arguments.

Davis presented a more positive image of authority in her examination of London's police courts in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁴ Whilst punishing wrong-doers, the city's stipendiary magistrates, she argued, displayed a continuity with their eighteenth-century counterparts in dispensing a 'poor man's system of justice.' She stated that they were used by the poor as a source of 'advice, charity and adjudication in personal and neighbourhood disputes', that they 'offered a wide range of advice to their predominantly working-class clientele' and acted thus in order to gain lower-class acceptance of the law and the social order.²⁵ Using examples depicting summonses for assault, neighbourhood disputes and grievances against the poor law, Davis argued that stipendiary magistrates had an almost paternalistic attitude towards the poorer working-class who came before them. This thesis provides an opportunity to test these claims. The experiences of those who came before Salford's Bench, in particular, albeit at a time of great concern about drunkenness and violence, would not have recognised the supportive environment which Davis suggested. She did not, however, possess the data utilised in this study and incorporated anecdotal evidence from the magistrates themselves, who would have been reluctant to portray themselves in a negative light.

In 1990, Gatrell persuasively argued that, from the nineteenth century, the state gained increasing control of the criminal justice system, of which the police formed the vanguard. This 'policeman-state' saw the 'new' police moulded by elites in order to reinforce social discipline, in

²⁴ J. Davis, 'A poor man's system of justice: the London police courts in the second half of the nineteenth century', *The Historical Journal*, 27.2 (1984), pp. 309-335.

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 309-315.

response to concerns about societal change and order.²⁶ Given a wide range of discretionary powers over a range of petty offences, their targets were the poor, whose vulnerability to arrest was increased by police regulation of the public space. These were law-breakers who the beat constable could see, Gatrell stated, or who he was inclined to see.²⁷ The nineteenth-century urban poor, therefore, experienced the 'daily imposition of disciplines alien in origin and coercive in application', with the law aiming to 'subvert irregular street economies and cultures.'²⁸ His hypotheses can be viewed as an extension of Storch's earlier work, furthering the idea that the police were agents of the state, who took a class-based approach to law and order. It was the poorer working-class who were perceived, or rather constructed, as a threat to society and policed accordingly.

However, since Storch's ground-breaking work, historians have moved away from his analysis of the police as agents of middle-class control, believing that his interpretation of the relationship between the police and working classes was too simplistic. For example, Inwood argued that in London, in the first half of the nineteenth-century, the police had neither the manpower nor the will to act as agents of 'respectable morality.'²⁹ However, even if the police were unable to act thus, it does not necessarily mean that this was not the role allocated to them by local elites. Steedman argued that the police were not just agents but actors as well, their actions dictated by legislation, locality and their own personal opinion.³⁰ Furthermore, Emsley, whilst noting that the police did play the role of 'domestic missionaries', argued that many members of the working class believed that they came under their protection as much as their social superiors. It was a not a relationship, he stated, entirely based on mutual hostility. He gave examples of the police helping to discipline children, finding missing persons and training in first aid, in order to assist at accident

²⁶ V.A.C. Gatrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 271.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 284-5.

²⁹ S. Inwood, 'Policing London's morals: the Metropolitan Police and popular culture, 1829-1850', *London Journal*, 15.2 (1990), pp. 129-146.

³⁰ C. Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: The Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-80* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), Ch. 9.

scenes, as evidence of this supportive role.³¹ Moreover, Davies argued that the failure of Salford's police to repress street betting in the early decades of the twentieth-century illustrated 'the weaknesses of the police as an agency of control.'³² Police corruption, public sympathy for bookmakers and avoidance tactics, combined with the popularity, and self-regulation of gambling amongst the working classes were all factors here.

Petrow's study of the Metropolitan Police, between 1870 and 1914, also noted a more pragmatic approach to the policing of drunkenness, rather than one entirely dictated to by local elites.³³ Mindful of creating friction amongst working-class communities, and realising the impracticality of policing extreme temperance demands, such as prohibition, the Metropolitan Police held moderate views on the 'drink question'. However, during the 1870s, at the height of public concern about drunkenness, Petrow stated that senior officers felt it politic to clamp down on the offence.³⁴ On such occasions therefore, they acted as agents of the concerned middle-classes. In addition, in his study of surveillance in late-Victorian Merthyr Tydfil, Croll claimed that the respectable middle-classes were targeted much more than the working class when it came to regulating behaviour in public spaces.³⁵ He argued that, through the pages of the local press, citizens of the town acted as surveillance agents themselves, assisting the police by reporting on incidents of street disorder. However, the majority of people being reported on were those who were deemed to be drunk, disorderly or noted as prostitutes. Therefore, this intriguing study still

³¹ C. Emsley, *The English Police, A Political and Social History* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), Ch. 4.

³² A. Davies, 'The police and the people: gambling in Salford, 1900-1939', *The Historical Journal*, 34.1 (1991), pp. 87-115. Davies noted one occasion when the police were instigators of a cockfight, thereby undermining their role as 'domestic missionaries'.

³³ S. Petrow, *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Pt. IV.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 216.

³⁵ A. Croll, 'Street disorder, surveillance and shame: regulating behaviour in the public spaces of the late Victorian British town', *Social History*, 24.3 (1999), pp. 250-268.

suggests that the poorer working class, more than any other group, were subjected to the greatest scrutiny.³⁶

More recently, Churchill, in his study of Victorian policing in Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester argued that rather than being on a moral reform or civilising offensive, the police were more concerned with the policing of 'nuisance'.³⁷ Churchill noted that many complaints reported to the police concerned the major thoroughfares of the urban space: areas of local identity, civic pride and the main focus of urban improvement. Street policing, he maintained, 'responded primarily to local perceptions of local problems.'³⁸ The key function of the police, Churchill claimed, was to communicate new forms of public order, no matter the chances they had of enforcing them.

The policing of drunkenness therefore, presents varied questions about the role of the police. Although there is much to commend in Storch's claim that the police were 'domestic missionaries', it needs to be borne in mind that their actions were bound up in an individual constable's discretion and police responses to activity on the street.

1.9) Female Drunkenness and Incarceration

The exploration of Victorian female drunkenness has concentrated on the later Victorian period and, in particular, on the impacts of the 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act and 1898 Inebriates Act.³⁹ This emphasis can be found in Zedner's benchmark work on Victorian female criminality. Published in

³⁶ Furthermore, historians have recently argued that many police officers had working-class backgrounds and showed sympathy and tolerance towards those they policed, C. Emsley and M. Clapson, 'Street, beat and respectability: the culture and self-image of the late-Victorian and Edwardian policeman', in L. Knafla (ed.), *Policing and War in Europe: Criminal Justice History, Vol 16* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press), pp. 107-131 and P. Lawrence, 'Images of poverty and crime: police memoirs in England and France at the end of the nineteenth century', *Crime, History and Societies*, 4.1 (2000), pp. 63-82.

³⁷ D. Churchill, *Crime Control and Everyday Life in the Victorian City, The Police and the Public* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), Ch. 4.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 103.

³⁹ Furthermore, other studies have also tended to concentrate on the medical approach to the issue in the late-Victorian era, such as in Petrow's study of the Metropolitan Police and Radzinowicz and Hood's comprehensive study of English criminal law. See S. Petrow, *Policing Morals*, Ch. 8, L. Radzinowicz, L. and R. Hood, *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750: Volume 5, The Emergence of Penal Policy* (London: Stevens and Son, 1986), Ch. 9.

1991, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* became the first wide ranging and statistically rigorous study of the topic.⁴⁰

Despite the breadth of her study, Zedner's work lacked an exploration of the social backgrounds of women in the criminal justice system. There are no case studies of women prisoners, for example. Taking a broad overview of female criminality, Zedner looked at Victorian attitudes towards criminal women and contemporary ideology concerning the causes of, and responses to, female crime. Her chapter on local prisons, from 1850-1877, focussed mainly on the prison regime and the day-to-day life for women in Tothill Fields, London. Her analysis of the data, concerning rates of turnover, age, occupation, offence and previous committals, comprised only six pages and there is little detail on who these prisoners actually were.⁴¹ This thesis, in focussing on a similar institution, Strangeways, over a shorter period of time, will provide an understanding of the social background and life cycle of women incarcerated for drunkenness.⁴²

Importantly, although she stated that the majority of women committed to prison, nationally, had been convicted of being drunk and disorderly, Zedner's chapter on female drunkenness focussed on the effects of the 1898 Inebriates Act, and the number of women sentenced to the inebriate reformatories established under it.⁴³ Whilst she briefly discussed contemporary concerns about female drunkenness throughout the Victorian period the main focus of the chapter examined late-Victorian, and even Edwardian, responses.⁴⁴ The mid-Victorian period

⁴⁰ L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁴¹ *Ibid*, Ch. 4.

⁴² Research has been carried out on 'problem women' elsewhere. Straw's impressive study of female criminality in Western Australia re-created the lives of women prosecuted for public order offences. Using a range of newspapers, prison records and police reports, Straw produced vivid pictures of the women who were processed through the courts of Perth and Freemantle between 1900 and 1939, L. Straw, *Drunks, Pests and Harlots: Criminal Women in Perth and Freemantle, 1900-1939* (Kilkerran: humming earth, 2013). Furthermore, in 2008, Skelly explored the visual aspect of female drunkenness through the lens of Victorian photography. However, the women she noted were described through middle-class eyes: photographers, doctors and writers. There is, therefore, little indication of the lived experiences of the women involved, J. Skelly, 'When seeing is believing: women, alcohol and photography in Victorian Britain', *Queen's Journal of Visual and Material Culture*, 1 (2008), pp. 1-17.

⁴³ Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 155.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, Ch. 6.

was therefore neglected, despite there being considerable statistical evidence to justify greater analysis.

This late-Victorian focus is also apparent in other studies on female drunkenness, which have concentrated on women committed to inebriate reformatories, or women's refuges, rather than prison. An early example is Hunt, Mellor and Turner's article on late-Victorian and early-Edwardian reformatories, which noted that 81 per cent of those committed to reformatories between 1899 and 1913 were women. Their study of Farmfield Reformatory in Surrey did not establish why women, rather than men, were more likely to be committed to such institutions, despite women being over-represented in them.⁴⁵ Furthermore, semi-penal institutions have also been the focus of recent research. In her study of 'Adelaide House', a women's refuge in Liverpool, Barton's section on female drunkenness related to measures undertaken after the 1898 Inebriates Act.⁴⁶ She noted that there was a continuity between the structure and organisation of the nineteenth century reformatory and early twentieth century semi-penal institutions. The labelling of women as 'deviant' and the strategies employed to reform them, she argued, have been consistent up to the present day.

Elsewhere in the north-west of England, Morrison's research concerned Langho Reformatory in Lancashire. Her thesis identified the Victorian double-standard surrounding male and female drinking and used women's over-representation in Langho as the core of her argument. Morrison stated that women convicted of drunkenness were deemed to be more susceptible to greater forms of social control, via reformatories, than men.⁴⁷ Furthermore, she has argued that the reformatory

⁴⁵ In 1910, for example, 82 per cent of drunkenness offences were committed by men. G. Hunt, J. Mellor and J. Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad: women and the inebriate reformatories from 1900-1913', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 40.2 (1989), pp. 244-270.

⁴⁶ A. Barton, 'Fragile moralities and dangerous sexualities: a case study of 'deviant' women and semi-penal institutionalisation on Merseyside, 1923-1994' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Liverpool John Moores University, 2001), *Fragile Moralities and Dangerous Sexualities, Two Centuries of Semi-Penal Institutionalisation for Women* (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁴⁷ B. Morrison, 'Ordering disorderly women: female drunkenness in England c.1870-1920' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 2005).

system failed as its *modus operandi* was not to reform but rather to imprison inebriate women.⁴⁸

The south-west of England has been served by Crabbe's research into the Royal Victoria Homes in Horfield, Brantry Reformatory in Bristol, and the city's National Institutions for Inebriates. Although briefly noting concerns about female drunkenness in the 1870s, the starting point of her research was the 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act. Crabbe explored the class, age and marital status of women sent to these reformatories and argued that many reformers had a genuine desire to help female inebriates.⁴⁹

Elsewhere, Soares' 2015 article explored the class division amongst female inebriates within three female inebriate reformatories post-1876; the Grove Retreat in Manchester, St Veronica's Retreat in Surrey and St James's Home in London.⁵⁰ The Grove, and Langho Reformatory, were also the subjects of Beckingham's study of the Inebriates Acts in Lancashire. He noted that 'fallen mothers' and women aged in their thirties, with a criminal record concerning drunkenness and prostitution, were more likely to be committed to Langho after 1898.⁵¹ More recently, Wallis has examined the culture of moral and physical harm which permeated St James's Home for Female Inebriates in London.⁵²

These studies present a wide ranging portrayal of responses to female drunkenness, and women's experiences in reformatories and semi-penal institutions, post-1879. However, there is a lack of research concerning women committed to prison before this date. Local prison registers provide a wealth of personal information which can be used to explore the life-cycle and its relationship to offending. Although there has been no such qualitative or quantitative study of local

⁴⁸ B. Morrison, 'Controlling the 'hopeless': re-visioning the history of female inebriate institutions c.1870-1920' in H. Johnston (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴⁹ C.M. Crabbe, 'On the borderland of insanity: women, dipsomania and inebriety, 1879-1913' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of the West of England, 2014).

⁵⁰ C. Soares, 'The path to reform? Problematic treatment and patient experience in nineteenth-century female inebriate institutions', *Cultural and Social History*, 12.3 (2015), pp. 411-429.

⁵¹ D. Beckingham, 'An historical geography of liberty: Lancashire and the inebriates acts', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 36.4 (2010), p. 397.

⁵² J. Wallis, 'A home or a gaol? Scandal, secrecy and the St James's Home for Women', *Social History of Medicine*, 31.4 (2018), pp. 774-95.

prison registers in England and Wales, research has been carried out for North America. Fyson and Fenchel have explored the local prison registers of Canada's Montreal and Quebec City gaols, between 1836 and 1899, and 1813 and 1871, respectively. Their research included the analysis of age, marital status and height of both male and female inmates. They discovered that the majority of women in both gaols were committed for public order offences and that they tended to be single.⁵³ No such study currently exists for local prisons in England and Wales, which this thesis seeks to address.⁵⁴

Away from legal responses to female drunkenness, however, there has been a growth in research on the culture of Victorian women and drink in recent years. Historians have noted the concern that Victorian social commentators possessed concerning both women and drink, and the reaction to these habits at street level.⁵⁵ Social stigma was particularly attached to single women, young married women, and young mothers. For example, Huggins, in his extensive account of Victorian vice, has noted how older women had more freedom towards public drinking than young women and that young mothers faced accusations of immoral behaviour or of being neglectful parents.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Chinn, in his work on Victorian Birmingham, argued that, before the First World War, it was socially unacceptable for young, single women to drink alone, or with 'others of her kind'. These women were, generally, regarded as prostitutes. Conversely, he also noted that public drinking amongst older, married women was deemed to be acceptable.⁵⁷

⁵³ In Quebec City, 90.6 per cent of single women were committed for disorderly offences, compared to 73.2 per cent of married women. In Montreal, the figures were 84.0 per cent and 82.2 per cent respectively. D. Fyson and F. Fenchel, 'Prison registers, their possibilities and their pitfalls: the case of local prisons in nineteenth-century Quebec', *The History of the Family*, 20.2 (2015), p. 169.

⁵⁴ However, Turner has explored female petty offending in Stafford, using a similar methodology to here, see J. Turner, 'Offending women in Stafford, 1880-1905: punishment, reform and re-integration' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 2009).

⁵⁵ Concerns about the relationship between women and drink were not new. In particular, there was concern in the eighteenth century about women and increased gin consumption, see, J. Warner, *Craze, Gin and Debauchery in an Age of Reason* (London: Profile, 2003) and P. Dillon, *The Much Lamented Death of Madam Geneva, The Eighteenth-Century Gin Craze* (London: Review, 2002).

⁵⁶ M. Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 64.

⁵⁷ C. Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives, Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.120. These women tended to drink together in 'respectable' contexts, such as shelling peas for their husband's dinner.

Gutzke's work on women's drinking habits, meanwhile, whilst concentrating on the twentieth century, also stated that such views concerning single women were common throughout the country prior to the First World War.⁵⁸ Additionally, in his research on licensing in Victorian Liverpool, and in contrast to Chinn's argument, Beckingham described how complaints were made to the city's police about married women drinking in pubs. Such habits were leading, it was stated, to the neglect of their children.⁵⁹ However, local context is important here, as, unlike the cotton towns of Lancashire, there was no tradition of paid factory work for women in Liverpool. The main source of female employment in the town was domestic service.⁶⁰ Therefore, as employment opportunities were limited for women in Liverpool, their role would have been almost entirely devoted to the domestic sphere. Public drinking would have been seen as a betrayal of that role.

Historians have also noted how, in working-class areas of towns and cities, female drinking was entwined with notions of respectability. The issue of working-class respectability was a complex one, as women who drank in public contravened conceptions of respectability, particularly those supposedly adhered to by the burgeoning middle-class. Chinn believed that many of the urban poor lived according to their own codes and therefore '...it was not a sign of 'roughness' in a woman if she drank in a public house, or more usually a beer house.'⁶¹ Likewise, Gutzke has claimed that poor Victorian women were 'unconcerned about or perhaps contemptuous of claims of respectability.'⁶² Furthermore Roberts claimed that, in working class communities, families were denounced as 'rough' if the father, rather than the mother, had a reputation for drinking and behaving in a violent

⁵⁸ D.W, Gutzke, *Women Drinking Out in Britain Since the Early Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p.19.

⁵⁹ D. Beckingham, *The Licensed City, Regulating Drink in Liverpool, 1830-1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), p. 169.

⁶⁰ The 1871 census shows that, in Liverpool, 57061 women were employed in domestic trades and 9589 in industrial trades.

⁶¹ Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives*, p.119. The behaviour of working-class people could be perceived as encompassing both respectable and unrespectable acts, see P. Bailey, "'Will the real Bill Banks please stand-up?'" Towards a role-analysis of mid-Victorian working class respectability', *Journal of Social History*, 12.3 (1979), pp. 336-353.

⁶² Gutzke, *Women Drinking Out*, p. 19.

manner.⁶³ However, as both contemporary reports and the prison registers show, women did drink, sometimes to excess, and historians have noted how their habits were bound up in working class ideas concerning respectability. For example, Zedner has claimed that, 'notions of respectability furnished the working classes with a code of accepted conduct that placed many restrictions on everyday behaviour....in many ways it was also a positive moral force which the urban poor willingly strove to maintain.'⁶⁴

Furthermore, Ross has stated that it was the 'special charge of working class wives' to maintain respectable appearances, whilst Chinn noted that 'not all women drank alcohol and....lower working class society helped set limits for those who did.'⁶⁵ Davies has also found such examples in Salford and Manchester in the first part of the twentieth century.⁶⁶ In Bradford, the temperance activist, James Scurrah, described certain women who frequented pubs as 'loose', whilst the more respectable drank with other women, husbands, or sweethearts. A 'loose' woman, in Scurrah's eyes, was one who flirted with male customers, or who was simply Irish.⁶⁷ These studies raise questions over the 'type' of woman most likely to be drinking in public, and, as a result, vulnerable to imprisonment for drunkenness, which this thesis seeks to answer.

1.10) Conclusion

As this review has shown, literature concerning the effects of licensing legislation have, for the most part, concentrated on a top-down approach to the subject, and from a national standpoint.

Furthermore, despite their prevalence in local prisons, the life cycle of women committed for drunkenness, pre-1879, remains under-researched. Additionally the actions and motives of the

⁶³ E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place, An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), p. 194.

⁶⁴ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, p.18

⁶⁵ E. Ross, "Not the sort that would sit on the doorstep": respectability in pre-World War I London neighbourhoods, *International Labor and Working Class History*, 27.1 (1985), p.39, C. Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives*, p.120.

⁶⁶ A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty, Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), p. 72.

⁶⁷ P. Jennings, *The Local, A History of the English Pub* (Stroud: The History Press, 2007), p.116.

police in the policing of the working class is still being analysed and discussed. This thesis seeks to add to these debates by examining the commentary surrounding licensing legislation at a local level, the policing of female drunkenness and its implications for women. Furthermore, it will examine the backgrounds of women imprisoned for drunkenness before the habitual drunkards legislation of the late-Victorian period. The methodology used to research these topics will now be explained.

Chapter 2

Sources and Methodology

2.1) Introduction

This chapter describes the mixed methodology of the thesis, which utilises both quantitative and qualitative sources. The study is based on the female registers for Strangeways Prison, between 30 September 1869 and 29 September 1875, with the data entered into a database. This is a large and complex set of data, which contains records of 12756 female committals, for all offences, with fifty-seven fields. The sub-section on quantitative sources begins by explaining the construction of the database and how the data has been analysed, before describing the coding allocated to the courts and geographical data contained within the registers. After a discussion of the coding of biographical and personal data, the methodology then explains how census data and birth, marriage and death certificates have been used to build up biographies of women committed for drunkenness. The data has been further placed in context by extensive use of qualitative sources, particularly newspapers, and this section concludes by describing how these sources were used.

2.2) The Methodology

By utilising a variety of qualitative sources alongside the raw data contained within the Strangeways female prison registers, this thesis incorporates a mixed methodology, combining statistical analysis with biographies of incarcerated women. As Godfrey has stated, collecting criminal records, alongside personal and social data, illustrates ‘the potential that exists for researchers to ask new questions about gendered patterns of offending, conviction and punishment.’¹ Furthermore, as Gray noted, any study of female offending needs to take into account the link between

¹ B. Godfrey, “Find the lady”: tracing and describing the incarcerated female population of London in 1881’, forthcoming.

unemployment, poverty, crime and at which stages of the life cycle women were most vulnerable to prosecution.² This approach has been assisted by a rapid increase in the availability of digital crime and punishment records over recent years. Prison registers, sessions and assizes records, convict licence records and the Newgate calendars have been released for, and used extensively by, academics and family historians alike.³ These sources have proved invaluable and biographies have been constructed using the data from the prison registers, newspapers, the census and birth, marriage and death certificates. As Godfrey noted, these biographical studies constitute a cradle-to-grave portrayal of offenders, which has placed offenders at the centre of research, and is a methodology which is proving increasingly popular with established researchers and doctoral students alike.⁴ Furthermore, in order to provide context for these women's lives, a detailed study has been undertaken of the economic, social and political histories of Salford and Rochdale. Due to this approach, the actions of the magistracy and police, against which the lives of incarcerated women need to be placed, can be contextualised.

The prison register data has been used, in conjunction with qualitative sources detailed below, to create micro-histories, in the form of individual case studies.⁵ These have constructed, as far as possible, the lived experiences of women committed for drunkenness from Salford and Rochdale. As Nash and Kilday have noted, micro-histories 'enable, and often actively encourage, a greater understanding of context with investigative research involving knowledge of a range of

² D.D. Gray, *Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1660-1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 166. For the eighteenth century and early-Victorian periods, see D. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 161. P. King, 'Female offenders, work and life-cycle change in late-eighteenth century London', *Continuity and Change*, 11.1 (1996), pp. 61-90.

³ R. Crone, 'Crime- and its fabrication: a review of new digital resources in the history of crime', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 14.1 (2009), pp. 125-134.

⁴ B. Godfrey, 'The crime historian's *modi operandi*', in P. Knepper and A. Johansen (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 46.

⁵ This methodology has recently been adopted by the Digital Panopticon project, which has combined statistical analysis of Old Bailey records with a variety of qualitative sources in order to recreate the lives of convicts, see www.digitalpanopticon.org. The project has created an open access database containing millions of records relating to 90,000 convicts sentenced to transportation, imprisonment or death at the Old Bailey between 1780 and 1913. See also, B. Godfrey, 'Historical and archival research methods', in D. Gadd, S. Karstedt and S.F. Messner (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Criminological Research Methods* (London: SAGE, 2012).

attendant social, cultural, political and economic factors.⁶ In adopting this approach, Wilson used micro-histories of Victorian financial criminals to highlight the importance of such studies to both historians and criminologists. These micro-histories, she stated, help to explain 'our societal journey from the nineteenth century to the present.'⁷ Moreover, Rogers, in her study of juvenile offenders in Yarmouth Gaol, argued that micro-histories 'lend' themselves to crime history, as studies of criminal records and court reports give a voice to people who did not leave first-person testimony.⁸

The biographies of several women committed for drunkenness have been integrated into the thesis and have been constructed using a variety of sources. The use of individual case studies is now very much part of criminal justice history. Carter Wood's study of Beatrice Pace, accused of murdering her husband in early twentieth-century England, is one such example.⁹ Moreover, Straw's exploration of female petty criminality in early-twentieth century Australia included biographies of several 'notorious' offenders, such as Mary Ann Sweetman. Straw sensitively revealed the life conditions which led the likes of Sweetman into a cycle of petty offending and regular gaol sentences, providing a contrast to the sensationalist and judgemental language used by contemporary commentators.¹⁰ Elsewhere, Steedman noted her gratitude that Joseph Woolley, a Nottinghamshire framework knitter who was the subject of her study of early-nineteenth century working-class life, 'did not come with a story of suffering as a passport to the historical record'.¹¹ For the women in this thesis, it is precisely their experience at the hands of the criminal justice system which has elevated them into this analysis. Although consideration was given to anonymising them,

⁶ AM Kilday and D.S. Nash, 'Introduction' in AM. Kilday and D. Nash (eds), *Law, Crime and Deviance Since 1700* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 21.

⁷ S. Wilson, 'History, narrative and attacking chronocentricism in understanding financial crime: the significance of micro-history', in AM. Kilday and D. Nash (eds), *Law, Crime and Deviance Since 1700* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 81.

⁸ H. Rogers, 'Making their mark: young offenders' life histories and social networks', in AM. Kilday and D. Nash (eds), *Law, Crime and Deviance Since 1700* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 287.

⁹ J. Carter Wood, *The Most Remarkable Woman in England', Poison, Celebrity and the Trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

¹⁰ L. Straw, *Drunks, Pests and Harlots: Criminal Women in Perth and Freemantle, 1900-1939* (Kilkerran: humming earth, 2013).

¹¹ C. Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class: Work, Self and Sociability in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 5.

ultimately no attempt has been made to hide their identity. This is due to the fact that the records they appear in are in the public domain, accessible via genealogical websites. Furthermore, trial details are obtainable via newspapers held in local archives and online.

This thesis, therefore, approaches the study of crime history from a social history perspective. Using extensive archival sources, it explores the workings of state, both at a national and local level, combined with a study of the lives of women caught up in these processes. As Lawrence noted, 'Underpinning all such works is the belief that through detailed archival work the historian can both reconstitute the impact of criminal justice processes on daily life and lived experience and uncover something of the functioning of society as a whole'.¹² It is precisely this approach that the thesis has undertaken.

To help achieve this, the study draws extensively on the use of contemporary criminal statistics, those published officially by the police, government or prison authorities, and those garnered, via the database, from the Strangeways female prison registers. Official sources are the judicial statistics, published annually, and statistics contained within the Reports of the Inspectors of Constabulary and the Select Committee on Intemperance, 1877-1878. Furthermore, statistics published in newspapers, which were provided by the police, have also been consulted.

The debates over criminal statistics have been well-documented by historians of crime.¹³

Whilst they are not an accurate reflection of the true state of crime at any one time, they do indicate

¹² P. Lawrence, 'The historiography of crime and criminal justice', in P. Knepper and A. Johansen (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 27.

¹³ For a comprehensive overview see P. Knepper, *Writing the History of Crime* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), Ch. 2. Initially, Tobias argued that they are unreliable, as different policing practices amongst different forces render them useless as an analytical tool, see J.J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 24-5. In response to Tobias, Gatrell and Hadden stated that, viewed over time, recorded levels of crime can give an insight into short and long-term trends, giving a general picture, if not necessarily the level, of crime, see, V.A.C Gatrell and T. Hadden, 'Criminal statistics and their interpretation' in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Social History: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp.336-396. Later, Sindall argued that statistics were a measure, not of what was actually happening, but of what people believed was happening, see R. Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 226. Furthermore, Gray has stated that statistics can provide information about crime, if not necessarily the levels of crime, see D.G. Gray, *Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1660-1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p.12. For a discussion of the use of judicial statistics, see

which crimes the authorities were considering important at a particular moment in time. This was nowhere more apparent than in the policing of drunkenness. Police activity, as noted in Chapters 4 and 5, had a major impact on the number of female committals to Strangeways for drunkenness. It also played a leading role in the perception of female drunkenness amongst the public and press. A study of chief constables' reports and the actions of magistrates, as noted in Chapters 5 and 6, are vital in unpicking the reality behind police and prison statistics for the offence. It is precisely the fact that different police forces took different stances over the policing of drunkenness that enables the statistics to give such an insight into police activity at a local level.

2.3) Quantitative Sources

The Database

In order to test the data held within the prison registers, a database has been created, which incorporates information from the Strangeways female prison registers from 30 September 1869 to 29 September 1875. The registers are held at Archives + at Manchester Central Library, and online at www.findmypast.co.uk.¹⁴ The database is not a complete record of every woman committed to the prison between these dates. There are gaps in the records, with two pages missing from the register for 1871 and one page from 1875. As there are twenty committals per page, at least sixty committals are missing. Additionally, thirty women appear in the registers but were never in custody and their personal details were not recorded at the time.¹⁵ They have therefore been omitted from the database. Furthermore, on occasion, personal data was missing from the registers, such as age or trade. This has been recovered using the census, the Strangeways female description books and birth, marriage and death certificates.¹⁶ Whilst this period has been chosen to

B. Godfrey, *Crime in England, 1880-1940: the Rough and the Criminal; the Policed and the Incarcerated* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), Ch. 3.

¹⁴ Record number GB127.M600/3.

¹⁵ They were usually noted as 'bailed on committal'.

¹⁶ All available via www.findmypast.co.uk. The description books were produced in conjunction with the registers. They provide duplicate personal information, but no legal detail, such as offence and sentence.

provide an overview of female committals before and after the passing of the 1872 Licensing Act, the choice of end date was also influenced by the availability of the records, as no registers, with the exception of a handful of pages, exist after November 1875.

Each woman has been given a unique identification number. Therefore, an SPSS search or Excel filter on one particular number will produce a list of all the committals for that inmate. Women who appear only once in the registers, with no previous or future committals recorded, were allocated a generic number, the number one, which denotes that they were only ever committed to Strangeways on one occasion. The database is relational, in that it is able to count both in relation to individual women and in relation to committals/offences. Tables and charts have been produced that relate to both points of observation, depending on the trend being investigated.

The data has been analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).¹⁷ Although SPSS can use a wide range of varied and complex functions to analyse data, only two have been required here. The first search function used is frequencies, which is used to count the number of times a value or category appears in a particular field. For example, the following frequency search has been run to count the total number of offences per summary area, as shown in Table 2.1.

¹⁷ See P. Hudson and M. Ishizu, *History by Numbers, An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches*, 2nd ed (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 264-265.

Table 2.1: Number of offences by summary area, 1869-1875

	Frequency	Percent
Ashton-under-Lyne	1243	9.7
Bacup and Rawtenstall PSD	13	0.1
Blackburn PSD	1	0.0
Bolton	1808	14.2
Bolton PSD	178	1.4
Bury PSD	1130	8.9
Manchester	45	0.4
Manchester County PSD	928	7.3
Middleton PSD	94	0.7
Oldham	1501	11.8
Oldham PSD	38	0.3
Rochdale	1428	11.2
Salford	3987	31.3
Stalybridge	216	1.7
Stockport	146	1.1
Total	12756	100.0

SPSS can also be used to select specific cases in order to carry out more detailed analysis. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 have been created purely as an example of the results which can be gained by running frequencies and cross-tabulation. For the former, by selecting 'Salford' and then running a frequency search on 'Maj_cat_off_type', a list will be produced of all the offences in Salford by category, as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Major category of offences, Salford, 1869-1875¹⁸

	Frequency	Percent
Property	662	16.6
Public Order	2857	71.7
Regulatory	57	1.4
Violent	411	10.3
Total	3987	100.0

¹⁸ See p. 11 for the rationale behind these categories.

A further frequency search could then be conducted to establish precisely which type of offences these were, which is produced in Chapter 6.

Whilst frequency searches are useful in establishing a first step in data analysis, SPSS can be used to provide more descriptive analyses, by running a cross-tabulation search. This function explores the relationship between two or more variables, across a small number of categories. For example, Table 2.3 shows the age groups of women from Salford, by major category of offence:

Table 2.3: Age group of women by major offence category, Salford, 1869-1875

Major Offence Category	Age Group							Total
	12-15	16-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and above	
Property	15	106	181	198	97	36	29	662
	0.4%	2.7%	4.5%	5.0%	2.4%	0.9%	0.7%	16.6%
Public Order	6	235	845	887	543	233	108	2857
	0.2%	5.9%	21.2%	22.2%	13.6%	5.8%	2.7%	71.7%
Regulatory	3	8	13	17	9	5	2	57
	0.1%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	1.4%
Violent	0	50	134	122	76	25	4	411
	0.0%	1.3%	3.4%	3.1%	1.9%	0.6%	0.1%	10.3%
Total	24	399	1173	1224	725	299	143	3987
	0.6%	10.0%	29.4%	30.7%	18.2%	7.5%	3.6%	100.0%

For all figures, Excel can be used to produce a chart or graph to better illustrate trends over time, or quantity, depending on the cross-tabulation or frequency. Bar charts and line graphs have been used in this fashion throughout the thesis. Finally, sampling and significance testing are not required and have therefore not been carried out. Sampling is only required when presented with a set of data so large that it is not feasible to examine the whole amount. Although the database is sizeable, it has not proven difficult to test the data as a whole.¹⁹ This section will now address the methodology of the database, with an explanation of how it has been constructed and the fields used within it.

¹⁹ For further background on sampling and significance testing, see P. Hudson and M. Ishixu, *History by Numbers*, Ch. 7.

It has been the aim to be as true as possible to the information as recorded in the registers. However, coding has also been introduced and some phrasing has been changed for ease of analysis, which will be detailed below. The following fields have been used for each entry:

- Record number, unique ID number, original reference number (pertaining to whether a committal was under Trial, Misdemeanour, Vagrancy, Criminal Justice Act or Juvenile), number of monthly committals.
- Name, when received, month received, year.
- Name of magistrate, whether one or more magistrates were named.
- Offence, major category of offence, sub-category of offence, multiple-committal, whether drunkenness was a factor in the offence and if so, the reference of the newspaper where this information can be found.²⁰
- Where committed, summary area, whether borough, PSD or higher court.
- Sentence, length of sentence and code, fine option and code, whether fine was paid (this was noted under discharge date in the registers).
- Age, age group, age query.
- Trade, trade type, where born, nationality and code, address, town and location ID.
- Religion, education, education type, marital status, children, summary number of children, next of kin, and whether address of next of kin differed from that of the inmate.
- Other prisons committed to, number of previous committals, summary number of committals, total number of committals up to 30 September 1875.
- Reference number for last and/or future committal, record book reference, discharge date.

²⁰ This was used to examine to what extent drink was involved in offences other than drunkenness.

- Comments – used to note name and address of next of kin, location of offence (garnered from local newspapers and petty sessions registers) and other information contained in the register but not allocated a specific column. For example, on occasion a query from another police force concerning the identity or prison record of an inmate would be noted.

The prison registers also contain personal data which has been omitted from the database. The data is: height, weight (on admission and on discharge), complexion, colour of hair and eyes, and marks upon person, such as tattoos, scars and missing teeth. Whilst such data has been used in studies of convicts, the large majority of women in Strangeways served short sentences which made the comparison of weight difference on committal and discharge, for example, redundant.²¹

Additionally, whilst the physical appearances of inmates may help to tell the story of their offending, the inputting of such data would have been overly time-consuming and would not have greatly benefitted this study.²²

The crime and punishment records available via www.findmypast.co.uk have been invaluable, not only for accessing the Strangeways prison registers, but also for providing additional information for biographies of female inmates. FindMyPast.co.uk hold records for Manchester's City Gaol on Hyde Road, as well as records for women tried at sessions (HO140) and assizes. A number of women imprisoned in Strangeways were also imprisoned in City Gaol for offences committed

²¹ The diet in convict prisons was poor and prisoners were reported to have suffered ill-health and weight loss, over time, see, P. Priestley, *Victorian Prison Lives, English Prison Biography, 1830-1914* (London: Pimlico, 1999), Ch. 7 and H. Johnston, *Crime in England, 1815-1880, Experiencing the Criminal Justice System* (London: Routledge, 2015), Ch. 7. Rogers has studied convict tattoos and noted that convicts transported to Van Diemens Land were often tattooed en route. The tattoos 'articulated dislocation', 'reaffirmed identity' and represented the 'possibility of continuity between an old life and a new.' H. Rogers, 'The way to Jerusalem: reading, writing and reform in an early Victorian gaol', *Past and Present*, 205 (2009), p. 28. In terms of height, a study of Tasmania's courts between 1865 and 1924 found that former convict recidivists were shorter than inmates with only one conviction, H. Maxwell-Stewart, M. Cracknell and K. Inwood, 'Height, crime and colonial history', *Law, Crime and History*, 5.1 (2015), pp. 25-42.

²² If a woman was missing teeth, for example, or had scars, this may suggest that she had been involved in violence at some point in her life, or suffered from ill-health. Occasionally this data was consulted when constructing biographies, such as in the case of Theresa Wilson, described in a newspaper report as a 'dissipated woman'. This was not apparent from the prison registers, however. Her committal for 7 March 1870 simply noted that she had lost a front upper tooth and had a small scar on the back of her neck.

within the City of Manchester, whilst there were also committals from the Intermediate and Quarter Sessions. Therefore the City Gaol registers have also been consulted. These registers contain the same detailed personal information found in the Strangeways registers. Although there was, at times, a crossover between women imprisoned in Strangeways, City Gaol, and elsewhere, it is not always possible to fully construct an individual's 'committal career'. However, because of the wealth of data now available, the historian can gather enough information to, at least, establish a pattern of offending.

2.4) Court and Geographical Data

This section details the data relating to the courts, such as offence and sentence, as well as the addresses of inmates. They have been detailed and coded as follows:

When received/month/year

The yearly analysis follows the same reporting period as the contemporary official records, the judicial statistics and chief constables' reports. These were published annually and ran from 30 September to 29 September. The full date has been inputted, with additional columns for month and year, which enables straightforward analysis of either time period.

Classification of Offences (see Appendix 1.1)

Offences have been classified according to contemporary labels, namely those contained in the judicial statistics. The committals to Strangeways came from either the sessions and assizes or, more commonly, the petty sessions. As official classification for those committed on indictment and those committed summarily differed, they have been allocated different labels in the database. This will lead to ease of analysis between trial and summary offences. Zedner has used such an approach in her statistical analysis of female offending, in separating out those women tried at a higher court

and those tried summarily.²³ Each offence has been allocated a major offence category and a sub-category. There are too many offences to list individually.

Summary Committals

The following major offences categories, Public Order, Violent, Property and Regulatory are for offences tried summarily. The judicial statistics present summary cases in a list and not all these offences are present. Therefore, for ease of analysis, the offences recorded in the prison registers have been divided into four categories. For example, the Public Order category includes those offences which were policed in an attempt to keep the public peace, such as drunkenness and vagrancy, whilst assaults against the person and police have been recorded in the Violent category. The Property category contains offences such as theft from the person and from property, whilst the Regulatory category contains offences against the Poor Law, absenting from employment and offences against the excise. The complete list of categories and their offences are contained in Appendix 1.1.²⁴ There is no way of knowing from the prison registers which committals were the result of an arrest and which were the result of a summons. Rochdale's petty sessions registers do state by whom the prosecution was brought but in the cases of drunkenness the large majority were brought by a police officer. There is no way of ascertaining whether the defendant had been summoned or arrested.

Within the offence section of the prison registers, there are numerous instances when the wording of a particular offence varied. For example, being drunk in the workhouse could be recorded as 'drunk while an inmate of the union', 'drunk whilst an inmate of the workhouse' or simply 'drunk in the workhouse'. Indecent exposure could be recorded as 'indecently exposing her person', 'indecently exposing herself', 'indecently exposing the person' or 'wilfully exposing her person', amongst others. Such variations are unworkable when analysing data. For the sake of

²³ L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), Appendix of Tables, pp. 304 – 327.

²⁴ This schema follows that of Godfrey, *et al*, for Crewe. See B. Godfrey, D.J. Cox, and S.D. Farrell, *Criminal Lives: Family Life, Employment and Offending* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 22.

uniformity the wording has been changed to one offence type. In the former case these offences have been noted as 'drunk in the workhouse' and in the latter, as 'indecently exposing the person'.

The judicial statistics differentiated between different types of larceny, which have been replicated here. The one exception is the category for larceny of no determined value. As these cases numbered nearly 1000, they have been allocated this separate category. The prison registers do not always state the value of the goods taken, so this separate category has been created. Apart from possibly finding this information in newspaper reports, there is no way of telling this from the registers. However, the sum of the goods stolen was probably low, especially in the cases of those women who were committed to gaol from between one to fourteen days, who numbered 246 (25.3 per cent). The majority of those sentenced to over fourteen days, 348 (47.9 per cent), served a month. Sentences in this bracket ranged from one month to six months, although only eighteen (2.5 per cent) served this latter sentence. Only one woman was sentenced to one year. Most of this larceny was probably opportunistic, as noted by Gatrell for Victorian London.²⁵

Multiple Committals (Summary Cases)

In the registers, 195 summary committals were for more than one offence and resulted in the same number of sentences. A number of these cases fell into more than one major and/or sub-category. A decision had to be made as to which category to place these multiple committals. If one of the offences involved drink, then drink was taken as the aggravating factor and the offence allocated the drunkenness category, for example, if the committals were for drunk and riotous/assaulting a police officer. In other cases, such as obstructing the footpath/wandering abroad, the decision was made to place them in the nuisance category, as the primary factor was that the offence took place in public. It is particularly important to make the distinction between multiple and single committals, as they can be used to analyse the actions of police and magistrates. The prosecution of women for

²⁵ V.A.C. Gatrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 300.

more than one offence can be linked to police action against repeat offenders and judicial discretion towards certain types of offences, as is noted in Chapter 6.

Summary Area (see Appendix 1.2)

Lancashire was divided into six Hundreds: Amounderness, Leyland, Lonsdale, Blackburn, Salford and West Derby. Within the Hundred of Salford, Bolton and the City of Manchester had their own Commissions of the Peace and separate Courts of Quarter Sessions, whilst the boroughs of Salford, Ashton-under-Lyne, Oldham and Rochdale had Commissions of the Peace only. In addition, parts of Stalybridge and Stockport also had Commissions of the Peace for Lancashire.²⁶ Salford Hundred was further divided into Petty Sessional Divisions (PSDs). These were; Ashton-under-Lyne, Bacup and Rawtenstall, Bolton, Bury, Manchester County, Middleton, and Oldham.²⁷ Although Manchester is represented in Manchester County PSD, this is only the case in six committals recorded in the database.²⁸ One offence took place in Crumpsall workhouse and one in Strangeways Prison. Offences committed in the City of Manchester saw the offender committed to City Gaol on Hyde Road, although there were convictions from the Manchester assizes that resulted in committals to Strangeways.

The summary area field shows which court each of the committals came from and has been divided into: borough courts, petty sessional divisions and higher court.²⁹ Those committals labelled higher court are women who were committed to Strangeways via the quarter sessions or assizes. The areas covered by each borough court and petty sessional division are listed in Appendix 1.2.

²⁶ They also covered part of Cheshire.

²⁷ Census of England and Wales, 1871. (33 & 34 Vict. c. 107.) Population tables. Area, houses, and inhabitants. Vol. I. Counties. PP 1872 [C.676], pp.181-184. Ashton-under-Lyne PSD cases went through Ashton's petty sessions.

²⁸ Not including trial cases. City Gaol was for short term prisoners, whilst Strangeways also took committals from the higher court. These included offences committed in the City of Manchester.

²⁹ Each committal was allocated a Division by the information contained in the prison registers and also the following parliamentary papers: Petty sessional divisions. Return showing, with respect to the several counties in England and Wales, the names of the several petty sessional divisions for each county, and the names of each poor law parish or place composing each petty sessional division; and also the name of the town or place at which the meetings of the justices for each such petty sessional division are held. PP 1870 (447) and Petty Sessional Divisions. Return to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 15 August 1878. PP 1878 (398).

Prison Sentence and Fine Option

Each sentence and fine option has been coded. Initially, the prison sentence field was split into 1-31 Days and Over 31 days. However, in the case of Rochdale, the data appeared as a flat line when presented in a line graph. As a result, the prison sentences have been divided into 1-14 Days and Over 14 Days, in order to view patterns over time.

Prison Sentence

1-14 Days – Code number 1

Over 14 Days – Code number 2

Acquitted – Code number 3

Other (four cases – bill ignored, no bill or sent to an asylum) – Code number 4

The fine option has been divided in 1d-20s (low to medium penalty) and Over 20s (high penalty), as per the schema adapted by Godfrey, Cox and Farrall.³⁰

Fine Option

1d-20/ - Code number 1

Over 20/ - Code number 2

Acquitted – Code number 3

No Option – Code number 4

Place of Birth and Address (see Appendix 1.3)

Place of birth has been divided into area and country (nationality). Each place of birth has been allocated a code number (Location ID1), as noted below. This has been used in order to assess the impact of migration. Each inmate's address has been divided into street and town. Again, a code number (Location ID2) has been used to analyse place of residence.

Previous Committals

Godfrey, Cox and Farrall described a repeat offender as a person convicted five or more times, whilst the highest category of previous committals in the drunkenness statistics for 1872 and 1874 was three.³¹ Therefore, a compromise has been made here and four or more has been allocated the

³⁰ Godfrey, *et al*, *Criminal Lives*, p. 30.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 35. Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing) Act, 1872. Return for the year ending 29 September 1873, PP 1874 (335) and Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing) Act, 1874. Return for the year ending 29 September 1874, PP 1876 (361).

highest category for previous committals. There are three groups altogether, showing each woman's total number of previous committals, up to 30 September 1875:

0 (denotes a once-only committal, with no previous or future committal to Strangeways)

1-3 (indicates that the prisoner has been recognised by the criminal justice system, to an extent, and is known to the police).

4 or more (indicates a repeat offender)

2.5) Biographical and Personal Data

The database also contains the personal data recorded in the prison registers. This has been coded as follows:

Occupation (see Appendix 1.4)

The trade type field has been compiled using the classification of occupations in the general report for the 1871 census for England and Wales. Classifying occupational and economic status through census data can be complicated. Indeed, historians have used various methods for classifying the occupations contained within the census but opting for the categories used in the census report appeared the most logical method here.³² Using the census categories allows for uniformity of analysis throughout the thesis and prevents subjectivity on the allocating of occupations to a particular group. There are 167 separate occupations represented in the prison registers. They have been allocated classifications, as per the census report, which are listed in Appendix 1.4.

Age

The age of each inmate has been entered into three fields: Age, Age Group and Age Query. Of the sample, 1538 had their ages commented on, or estimated by, prison officials, for example: 'says 21 looks 31' or 'abt 25'. In the former instance, a period of ten years was usually added on to the prisoner's claimed age. In order to facilitate analysis, these entries have been changed to a number,

³² See E.A. Wrigley, 'The use of information about occupation', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

so ‘says 21 looks 31’ has been entered as 21, to reflect the age claimed by the prisoner. Likewise, ‘abt 25’ has been entered as 25. An age query field has been created to capture these estimated, or queried, ages. Occasionally, age data was missing from the registers, however, this could be found in the Strangeways female description books, also held on www.findmypast.co.uk.

Each committal has been allocated an age group, which has been taken from the judicial statistics. Table 2.4 shows these groups, alongside their corresponding labels in the database.³³

Table 2.4: Age groups of prisoners in judicial statistics, and corresponding age groups in database, 1869-1875

Age Group: Judicial Statistics	Age Group: Database
Under 12 years	12 Less than
12 years and under 16	12-15
16 years and under 21	16-20
21 years and under 30	21-29
30 years and under 40	30-39
40 years and under 50	40-49
50 years and under 60	50-59
60 years and above	60 and above
Age not ascertained	Not Given

Education

As above, the categories used in the judicial statistics have been used as guidance for a prisoner’s educational level. They are noted in Table 2.5:

Table 2.5: Education level of prisoners in judicial statistics, and corresponding label in database, 1869-1875

Educational Level: Judicial Statistics	Educational Level: Database
Neither read nor write	None
Read, or read and write imperfectly	R or R&W Imp ³⁴
Read and write well	R&W Well
Not ascertained	Not Given

³³ Consideration was given to breaking down ages in the prison registers into five-yearly groupings, as per Williams and Godfrey’s analysis of the 1881 census, see L. Williams and B. Godfrey, ‘Bringing the prisoner into view: English and Welsh census data and the Victorian prison population’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 47.3 (2016), pp. 398-413. However, in order to allow closer comparison with the judicial statistics, the age groups used in official records have been used in the database.

³⁴ Includes those noted as ‘read and write’ in the prison registers.

Children

In his study of poverty in *fin-de-siècle* York, Seebohm Rowntree classified a 'moderate' family as having between two and four children, with a margin of one above or below this figure.³⁵ Moreover, Thane stated that the average family size in England and Wales began to decline from the 1870s onwards, from its mid-century peak of six, to two by the 1930s.³⁶ In order to capture these patterns, the number of children per inmate have been allocated the following groups:

0
1-4
5 or more

Religion

The prison registers noted the religion of inmates as RC, which has been interpreted as Roman Catholic, and CH, which has been interpreted as Church of England. In Chapter 9, this latter group have also been described as Protestant. Furthermore, a small number of inmates were noted as D, which has been interpreted as Dissenter and a small number were illegible. Even fewer did not give their religion. Therefore, there are four groups under this heading:

RC (Roman Catholic)
CH (Church of England)
Other (Dissenter, Illegible)
Not Given

Next of Kin and Different Address

These two variables have been created to note the next of kin given by a female inmate and whether or not they were both living at different addresses. The next of kin has also been entered into the comments column and noted here as:

Child
Husband
None
Not Determined
Not Recorded
Other Relative

³⁵ This was because the average family size in the 1891 census was 4.73. See B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1901), p. 28.

³⁶ P. Thane, *Happy Families? History and Family Policy, a Report Prepared for the British Academy* (London: British Academy, 2011), p. 51.

Parent
Sibling

If the address of the next of kin has been provided, this has been noted in the 'Different Address' column as:

Yes
No
Prison (if relative in prison at the time)
Blank (if unknown)

The Census

Life events are crucial when examining patterns of offending and the census helps to confirm such detail. There has, therefore, been extensive use of census data in the thesis.³⁷ This ranges from the enumerator books for 1841 to 1911 held on www.findmypast.co.uk, to census reports produced by government and accessed through the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online, via University of Liverpool Library. Data from the 1871 census has also been retrieved from the Great Britain Historical Archive, via the UK Data Archive at University of Essex, and has been used for demography, migration, mortality and occupational statistics.

Census data has been used to construct biographies of female prison inmates and the authorities in Salford and Rochdale. In the case of the latter, the occupations of magistrates were obtained from the census, as well as their residences and number of servants, if applicable. This process was carried out in order to highlight the middle-class backgrounds of the elites in these boroughs. This was a straightforward process, as middle-class residents were much easier to trace through the census than many of the working-class women committed to Strangeways.

The use of case studies of the female inmates of Strangeways was, to a large extent, governed by the amount of material obtained via the census and birth, marriage and death certificates (BMD), as noted below. It was, at times, difficult to trace these women through the census. For example, Margaret Ryan, described by the Salford press as a prostitute, was committed

³⁷ For further information on techniques used to analysis the census, see Godfrey, *et al*, *Criminal Lives*, Appendix B, pp. 187-189.

twenty-nine times to Strangeways during the research period.³⁸ Although the prison registers provided extensive personal information, it has not been possible to trace Ryan through the census or BMD. There has been no opportunity, therefore, to note or confirm changes in address, marital status or occupation. As a result, it has not been possible to build up a full picture of Ryan's life. As a woman who was in constant trouble with authority, it is probable that she made a conscious decision to be left out of the official record. Conversely, Ellen Wilcock, also committed twenty-nine times between 1869 and 1875, did appear in the census and so it was possible to ascertain her family life, access to support networks and changes to her domestic situation over time. As a result, Willcocks's biography has been included below.

The census has also been used in order to confirm neighbours, work colleagues and employers. For example, Mary Kelly, whose biography appears in Chapter 10, gained a fearsome reputation in Rochdale for her behaviour. She was constantly being summoned and arrested for drunkenness, acts of violence and abuse against others, in addition to acting as complainant in cases of verbal and physical abuse against her. As the actors involved were named in court records and newspaper reports, the census was used to establish their addresses and occupations. This information was then used to ascertain the proximity of each person to Kelly and their work connection, if any. Ethnicity was also important here, as Kelly lived in an area of Rochdale associated with Irish migrants. Many of the people she interacted with were first or second-generation Irish. It has therefore been possible to place Kelly's life within the context of class, gender and ethnicity.

There were, on occasion, issues with spelling in the census. For example, it took some time to find Theresa Wilson, whose biography has been used below, as the enumerator for the 1871 census spelt her name as 'Tresa'. However, once her record was found it provided a wealth of information concerning family members and neighbours, showing that she lived with other migrants from the same town in Ireland. When associated with newspaper reports of her offending and the

³⁸ *Salford Weekly News*, 19 November 1870.

prison records, it was possible to construct a thorough picture of her life. Therefore, when used in conjunction with other records, the census has proven to be a crucial tool in this research.

The census has also been utilised for quantitative purposes. For example, it has been used to calculate the number of Irish-born women in Salford and Rochdale, a figure which is missing in the official census reports. This was achieved by searching for 'Ireland' in the birthplace field of the 1871 census on www.findmypast.co.uk and comparing the results to women born elsewhere. The percentage of Irish-born women in the boroughs was calculated by dividing this number by the total population of the relevant borough and multiplying it by 100.

Birth, Marriage and Death Certificates

These certificates have been used to help construct biographies of women committed to Strangeways and for the chief constables and magistrates of Salford and Rochdale. They have been searched for on www.findmypast.co.uk and obtained via the General Register Office (www.gro.gov.uk). As per the census data, it has proved easier, on the whole, to establish the BMD details of middle-class individuals than those of their working-class counterparts. For example, the marriage certificate for Rochdale's Chief Constable, Samuel Stevens, was used to confirm his religion.³⁹ He was married in the parish church at Prestwich. Additionally, burial information contained at www.deceasedonline.com was used to ascertain the religious background of Salford's Chief Constable, Robert Torrens. He was buried in the Anglican section of London's Brompton Cemetery. In the case of Rochdale's authorities, in particular, the religious backgrounds of urban leaders was a key factor in the policing of drunkenness.

One major drawback to using BMD records concerns those for Ireland. It has proven impossible to trace the life of Irish-born women before they arrived in either Salford or Rochdale. In the case of Rochdale's Mary Kelly, both she and her husband, Thomas, possessed names common in Ireland. It has not been possible to obtain either Kelly's birth or marriage certificate, or the birth

³⁹ This was Stevens' second marriage. Information on his first marriage, however, has proven difficult to find.

certificate of her first-born son, from Irish records. As a result, it has also not been possible to find any trace, if any exists, of Kelly's offending in Ireland via legal or newspaper records.⁴⁰ Likewise, it has not been possible to trace Salford's Theresa Wilson before she moved to England. However, in both cases there has been enough evidence in English records to build up substantial biographies.

Such issues are not confined to Irish records, however. Again, in the case of Kelly and Wilson it has proven difficult to find birth records for all children born in England. In the case of Wilson, as a single mother, it would have been very interesting to note the parentage of either of her children. This may have given an indication of Wilson's relationship with their father/s and her access to familial support networks. There may have been a reluctance on Wilson's part, as an unmarried mother, to register their births. Alternatively the records may well exist but it has not been possible to confirm this. For instance, it has been possible to confirm the name of Wilson's son, Thomas, through the prison registers, census and newspaper reports, but not that of her second child, who was born between the census of 1861 and 1871 and appears to have been taken away from her during this time. This information would have been useful in establishing any support networks which were, or were not, available to Wilson during her life.

2.6) Qualitative Sources

Newspapers

The majority of the qualitative research for this thesis has come from local newspapers, particularly those for Salford and Rochdale. In Salford, these were the Liberal *Salford Weekly News* and the Conservative *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, both consulted from 1869-1880 and held on microfilm at Salford Local History Library. There were three newspapers in Rochdale: the Conservative *Rochdale Pilot* (consulted from 1869 until publication ceased in 1871), its successor, the *Rochdale Times* (consulted from 1872-1880) and the Liberal *Rochdale Observer* (consulted from 1869-1943). These

⁴⁰ Via www.findmypast.co.uk

newspapers are available on microfilm from Rochdale Local Studies Library. Furthermore, when constructing biographies of committed women, it has been necessary to consult local newspapers published after 1880. For example, in the case of Sarah Madden, the *Rochdale Observer* has been consulted up to 1895, which was the year of her last offence. The newspaper was searched for the relevant court reports pertaining to her offending, which were discovered in Rochdale's petty sessions registers. For more general research concerning licensing and local attitudes towards female drunkenness, the Manchester periodical *Free Lance*, was consulted from 1869-1875. It is held on microfilm at Archives + at Manchester Central Library.

All other newspapers and periodicals consulted have been digitised and are available online, via www.findmypast.co.uk or the University of Liverpool Library. The online collections available through the latter are the Gale Online Database, the *Guardian* and *Observer* database and *The Times* database. In addition, there are a large number of local newspapers available through www.findmypast.co.uk. The obituaries published in these digitized newspapers have been invaluable in tracing the political and religious backgrounds of the magistrates of Salford and Rochdale. Additionally, the Google Newspaper Archive was used for one case study, that of Mary Kelly, in Chapter 10.

Newspapers were used for court reports on female offending and debates over licensing and drunkenness, as well as to provide context for the lives of incarcerated women and local worthies. For the former, the investigations of the so-called slums of Rochdale and Salford proved invaluable. These latter debates focussed on these poorer areas and provide a rich and detailed description of districts such as The Gank in Rochdale and Salford's Greengate. They are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Of course, these reports need to be viewed through the lens of the Victorian social investigator.⁴¹ As with all sources, they were produced for a reason. In most cases they highlighted the sanitary, mortality and social conditions of the slums. In the case of Rochdale's Conservative

⁴¹ See A. Mayne, *The Imagined Slum. Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

press, such as the *Pilot* and *Times*, it is difficult to imagine that they were not taking the opportunity to criticize the social policies of the borough's Liberal leaders. Furthermore, Manchester's *Free Lance*, which was constantly critical of Salford's council and Salford itself, published what amounted to a walking tour of the pubs and beerhouses of the borough's Chapel Street, laced with stereotypical images of the poorer working-class.⁴² However, these reports provide a fascinating glimpse into Victorian prejudices towards the districts from which the majority of female inmates were drawn.

The debates about licensing and drunkenness within the pages of local newspapers highlighted the importance attached to these issues. Editorials, and letters from the public, provide a wealth of context within which the statistics of female committals to prison can be studied. As noted in Chapter 5, the national licensing debates of 1871 and 1872 were mirrored within the local press, which was firmly divided upon party lines in both boroughs. They provide a window into the concerns and fears of Salford's and Rochdale's middle-class leaders and wider public at a time of great national concern about drunkenness.⁴³ Concerns about female drunkenness in particular, and especially the spurious debates about grocers' licences, as noted in Chapters 4 and 5, also appeared within the press.

Finally, the court reports contained within newspapers provide another wealth of information on Victorian attitudes towards women, as noted in the constant descriptions of their appearance in court and/or marital status, in addition to descriptions of their offences.⁴⁴ The reports from Rochdale, more so than Salford, provide detailed backgrounds on the lives of many women, particularly repeat offenders. Rochdale was a much smaller borough than Salford and processed fewer women through its court. This meant that the Rochdale press were able to fill their columns with more detail on female offenders than their counterparts in Salford. For example, in

⁴² *Free Lance*, 16 May 1873.

⁴³ The newspapers of Salford and Rochdale had a predominantly middle-class readership, although they also catered to the so-called respectable working-class.

⁴⁴ For such accounts concerning East London courts, see A, August, "A horrible looking woman": female violence in east London', *Journal of British Studies*, 54.4 (2015), pp. 844-868.

the case of Mary Kelly, through information gleaned from the newspapers, it was possible to ascertain that she had moved from Rochdale to Canada in the late 1880s, that she had claimed to have been coerced into drinking by her colleagues, and that the magistrates treated her with disdain, sympathy and disgust, corresponding to her attempts or failure to 'reform'. This, in turn, influenced the sentences imposed on her. Therefore, her re-offending, desistance from offending, and family life could all be gleaned from newspaper reports. It has even been possible to note that at least one of her grandchildren was the product of a relationship between her daughter, Mary Ann, and Thomas Lee, the married landlord of The Harp beerhouse in Rochdale.⁴⁵ The newspapers, therefore, provide a much greater depth of information than simply noting offences and sentences. They have proved vital in providing not only local context, in the form of feature articles concerning social investigation, but also in 'fleshing out' the case studies of individual women.

Chief Constables' Reports and Watch Committee Minutes

The Chief Constables' reports and Watch Committee minutes for Rochdale and Salford have also been consulted. The Chief Constable's reports for Salford are pasted into the Watch Committee minutes for the borough, held at Greater Manchester Police Museum. The reports for Rochdale no longer exist but were reported on extensively within the pages of both the *Rochdale Observer*, and *Times*. The Watch Committee minutes are accessible through Rochdale Local Studies Library.

The Watch Committee minutes provide data on policing. For Salford, the most important sections of the minutes were those which contained the Chief Constable's reports to the Watch Committee, which were studied for both statistical and qualitative detail on female drunkenness. It was through these reports, for example, that it was learned that Torrens blamed an increase on female drunkenness on grocers' licences, as discussed in Chapter 5. A study of the minutes also yielded a report on his visit to Birmingham to examine their force's policy of licence inspection and also revealed the number of pubs and beerhouses within Salford which the police associated with

⁴⁵ *Rochdale Times*, 29 September 1883.

criminality. It is contextual data such as these which help to build up a picture of the policing of drunkenness within the borough. Whilst those for Rochdale did not yield as much, it was important to note that Stevens' actions against beerhouses in The Gank, noted in Chapter 5, were reported on in detail.

Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions Registers

The Rochdale petty sessions registers, held at Archives + at Manchester Central Library, have also been used to construct biographies. Unfortunately, the petty sessions records for Salford, although held at the archives of Manchester and Salford Magistrates' Court, are not accessible to the public.⁴⁶ The available records have been used to trace women through Rochdale's borough court after 1875, particularly in the cases of Mary Kelly and Sarah Madden. Any appearances have been cross-referenced with court reports in Rochdale's newspapers. The registers provide a full picture of a woman's offending within the borough both before and after the research period. The petty sessions registers do not provide as much personal information as the prison registers: for example, address, age, occupation, family size and previous committals are not noted. They do, however, note the complainant, the date and location of offence and whether any fine was paid, or not. This is important when examining whether or not repeat offenders were vulnerable to victimisation, as in the case of Kelly. When constructing biographies it is useful to note when women were convicted of an offence but not sent to prison. The registers noted when a fine was paid, if not, then it is probable that the defendant was imprisoned. The petty sessions data also helps to establish the location of offences, without having to comb through newspaper reports.

Furthermore, the sessions records (National Archives reference HO140), provide additional information on an individual's offending. These are very useful when building up biographies as they provide information not available on the prison registers. For example, they provide a full breakdown of all trial appearances to date, along with the total number of summary committals.

⁴⁶ Attempts were made during 2013 to gain access to these records, without success.

The offence heard at sessions is also given, along with the verdict and sentence. In the case of Madden, for example, her sessions record for 15 February 1886 shows that this was her fourth conviction for being an incorrigible rogue and that she had been committed twenty-three times by Rochdale's borough court for offences tried summarily. Therefore, when used in combination with the prison registers, petty sessions records and newspaper reports, a detailed picture of an individual's offending, post-1875, can be produced.

Parliamentary Reports

Extensive use has also been made of parliamentary papers. These range from qualitative data, such as select committee reports and the individual contributions of Members of Parliament, to statistics gleaned from the Reports of Inspectors of Constabulary and the aforementioned judicial statistics. These were produced officially, by respective governments, and therefore present a 'top-down' view of drunkenness and are important in understanding the concerns and views of Parliament, the police and other commentators. They also detail the information and statistics with which politicians were provided and which framed their actions and comments towards drunkenness and crimes of violence. These discussions have been further placed in a local context, using the case studies of Salford and Rochdale, in order to appreciate to what extent these concerns were reflected at 'street level'.

2.7) Conclusion

This chapter has noted the sources and methodology used in the thesis. It has explained how the study has used both quantitative and qualitative sources to explore the lives of women imprisoned for drunkenness and those of the magistrates and chief constables of Salford and Rochdale. The methodology described the construction of a database which uses data from the Strangeways female prison registers and how this data has been compiled. Subsequently, it has detailed the fields used in the database and which information from the registers has been used. It then detailed

the various sources used in the compiling of case studies, of both prison inmates and urban leaders. These case studies are intertwined within the quantitative analysis. Before this statistical analysis of the database is presented, however, the thesis will examine the context of female drunkenness in mid-Victorian Lancashire. The next chapter will examine the social, political and economic histories of the two case studies, Salford and Rochdale, before Chapters 4 and 5 explore national and local concerns about drunkenness respectively.

Chapter 3

Mid-Victorian Salford and Rochdale

Here, as elsewhere, industry and integrity win the day. – William Robertson, *Rochdale Past and Present: a History and Guide*.¹

The Salford manufacturers come into Manchester to sell their wares and ornament our city with their emporia. They give to Salford their smoke, their piles of cottages, their aggregation of workpeople, and the attendant squalor.... - *Free Lance*, 14 December 1867.

3.1) Introduction

This chapter explores the similarities and differences of mid-Victorian Salford and Rochdale.

Although they were both predominantly industrial in outlook, they differed in other respects. In parliamentary and municipal politics, for example, Salford was dominated by the Conservatives, whilst Rochdale was fiercely Liberal. In religion, the inhabitants of Rochdale, including the local elites, were mainly Nonconformist, whilst the Church of England dominated in Salford. Their respective economies were buoyant and, in Rochdale, the feeling of pride and achievement in the borough was personified by the Liberal journalist, William Robertson.

Their geographical locations have also been a major factor in choosing them as case studies. Divided only by the River Irwell, Salford was almost an extension of its near neighbour, the industrial and commercial powerhouse of Manchester. The relationship between the two was described, albeit satirically but with more than a modicum of truth, by the Manchester periodical *Free Lance*. Conversely, Rochdale sat on the edge of the Pennines, twelve miles from Manchester, with a textile industry which was heavily influenced by the county of Yorkshire. This chapter explores the social, economic and political compositions of two important, Lancastrian industrial centres at a time of great concern about drunkenness.

¹ W. Robertson, *Rochdale Past and Present: a History and Guide* (Rochdale: Schofield and Hoblyn, 1875), p. 7.

3.2) Geography and Population

Both Salford and Rochdale are located in south-east Lancashire.² In the nineteenth century this area became the heartland of the county's cotton industry, which centred on the 'great regional capital', Manchester.³ Cotton was also the predominant industry in Lancashire's central belt, in towns such as Preston, Blackburn and Burnley. By 1841, for example, there were 871 spinning firms in the county, of which 321 were also engaged in weaving.⁴ Weaving and spinning areas overlapped, with spinning mainly located in the towns around Manchester, with weaving located further north. In other areas of the county, however, textiles did not dominate. There were urban areas in the north of the county, such as Lancaster, Blackpool, Morecambe and Barrow but these localities had a rural outlook and the dominant industry of north Lancashire was agriculture. Elsewhere, in the west of the county, the port of Liverpool was a maritime and commercial centre.⁵ However, the popular image of Lancashire was that of an industrialised county.

The emergence of industry impacted on the political and social composition of Lancashire. By the 1870s the south-east of the county was almost bereft of resident gentry, as traditional pastoral practices gave way to urbanisation and industrialisation. This change was reflected in the social composition of the County Bench. In 1831, sixty of the 105 county magistrates were landed gentry. By 1851 this trend was reversed, with only 144 out of 400 representing the traditional ruling classes.⁶ As this indicates, there were not enough qualified gentry to cope with the rapid expansion of the

² Since 1974, they have been part of the county of Greater Manchester.

³ A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p.108.

⁴ J.K. Walton, *Lancashire, a Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.106. For a brief but comprehensive overview of Lancashire's industries, see J.D. Marshall., *Lancashire* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974), Ch. 10.

⁵ J.K. Walton, 'The north west' in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Vol.1, Regions and Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.356-7.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.134. See also, D. Foster, 'The changing social and political composition of the Lancashire county magistracy, 1821-1851' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Lancaster University, 1971).

county's towns and cities and the associated crime and disorder.⁷ As a result, local authority passed into the hands of the new elites.

Both Salford and Rochdale were archetypes of the Lancashire industrial borough. Indeed, Greenall has stated that 'no place was more a product of the industrial revolution than Salford.'⁸ The borough had initially grown up around the mediaeval heart of Greengate, across the River Irwell from Manchester, and included such districts as Adelphi, Chapel Street, St Stephens and Islington. It gained municipal borough status in 1844, under the stewardship of its first MP, the Liberal, Joseph Brotherton. Nine years later, in 1853, the townships of Pendleton and Broughton had reluctantly been incorporated into the County Borough of Salford.⁹ In Rochdale, incorporation came slightly later. Established as a borough under the 1832 Reform Act, incorporation followed in 1856.¹⁰ It famously became associated with the Rochdale Pioneers, who in 1844 set up business in Toad Lane and began the Co-Operative movement. Twelve miles to the north of Manchester and five miles from the border with Yorkshire, Rochdale had a much different geographical layout to that of Salford. Unlike Salford, it was a distinctively separate entity. The difference between the two boroughs in terms of their respective locations had a large bearing on their development, and municipal outlook.

Nowhere was this difference more apparent than in terms of population. Both areas witnessed tremendous population growth in the nineteenth century but they differed widely in terms of numbers. In 1871 the population of the municipal borough of Rochdale was 44,556 and the parliamentary borough numbered 63,473. The borough boundary was extended in 1872, with Wardleworth township and parts of the townships of Castleton, Wuerdle and Wardle, Spotland and

⁷ For the key changes in the nineteenth century justice system, see: V.A.C Gatrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), ch.5.

⁸ R.L. Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2000), p.2.

⁹ Conservatives in Pendleton and Broughton feared that Salford's Liberals would increase their rates to pay for improvement in Salford, and lead to increased Liberal power. Ultimately, government pressure over sanitary reform helped Brotherton push through the act of amalgamation. See D. Fraser., *Urban Politics in Victorian England: The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), p. 170.

¹⁰ H. Fishwick, *The History of the Parish of Rochdale in the County of Lancaster* (Rochdale: James Clegg, 1889), p63.

Butterworth being added.¹¹ In contrast the population of Salford was approximately twice that of Rochdale's, numbering 124,805 in 1871. The proximity of Manchester, Briggs' 'symbol of a new age', to Salford was crucial.¹² No doubt controversially to the inhabitants of Salford, the census report for 1871 stated that,

Manchester city contains 355,665 inhabitants; but Manchester and Salford are as much one city as London and Southwark; and parts of Chorlton belong to the same great community; so that a better conception of Manchester as it is generally understood will be obtained by putting these three districts together, which contain 592,164 people.¹³

Regardless of the report's ignorance of local civic pride, the population of Salford and its surrounding districts was approximately ten times that of Rochdale's. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, this had a discernible impact on the policing of drunkenness in the two boroughs.

The boundary between Manchester and Salford was easily crossed by the number of bridges spanning the River Irwell. Figure 3.1, below, shows six bridges between Regent Road in Ordsall and Springfield Lane in Greengate, alone. Albert Bridge, Victoria Bridge and Blackfriars Bridge, in particular, allowed the inhabitants of both boroughs to reach the large number of public houses on Salford's Chapel Street and Manchester's Deansgate. As a result, the physical boundaries between Manchester and Salford often blurred. For example, at the executions of William O'Meara Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien at Salford's New Bailey Prison in 1867, the 'flaring gin palaces' of nearby Deansgate were reported to have provided refreshment to sections of the large crowd.¹⁴

¹¹ Under the Rochdale Local Improvement Act of 1872, the following wards were incorporated into the borough; Castleton North, South, East and West, Spotland East and West, Wardleworth East, West and South and, Wuerdle and Wardle.

¹² A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), Ch.3.

¹³ Census of England and Wales. 1871. (33 & 34 Vict. c. 107.) Preliminary report, and tables of the population and houses enumerated in England and Wales, and in the islands in the British seas, on 3rd April 1871. PP 1871 [C.381], p. xv.

¹⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 25 November 1867. The rescue of two Fenian prisoners en route to Manchester's Hyde Road gaol in 1867 had led to the accidental shooting of Sergeant Brett in the police van. These three Irishmen were hanged for his death at Salford's New Bailey Gaol, although their involvement in the incident was never satisfactorily proven. See P. Rose, *The Manchester Martyrs, the Story of a Fenian Tragedy* (London: Camelot Press, 1970).

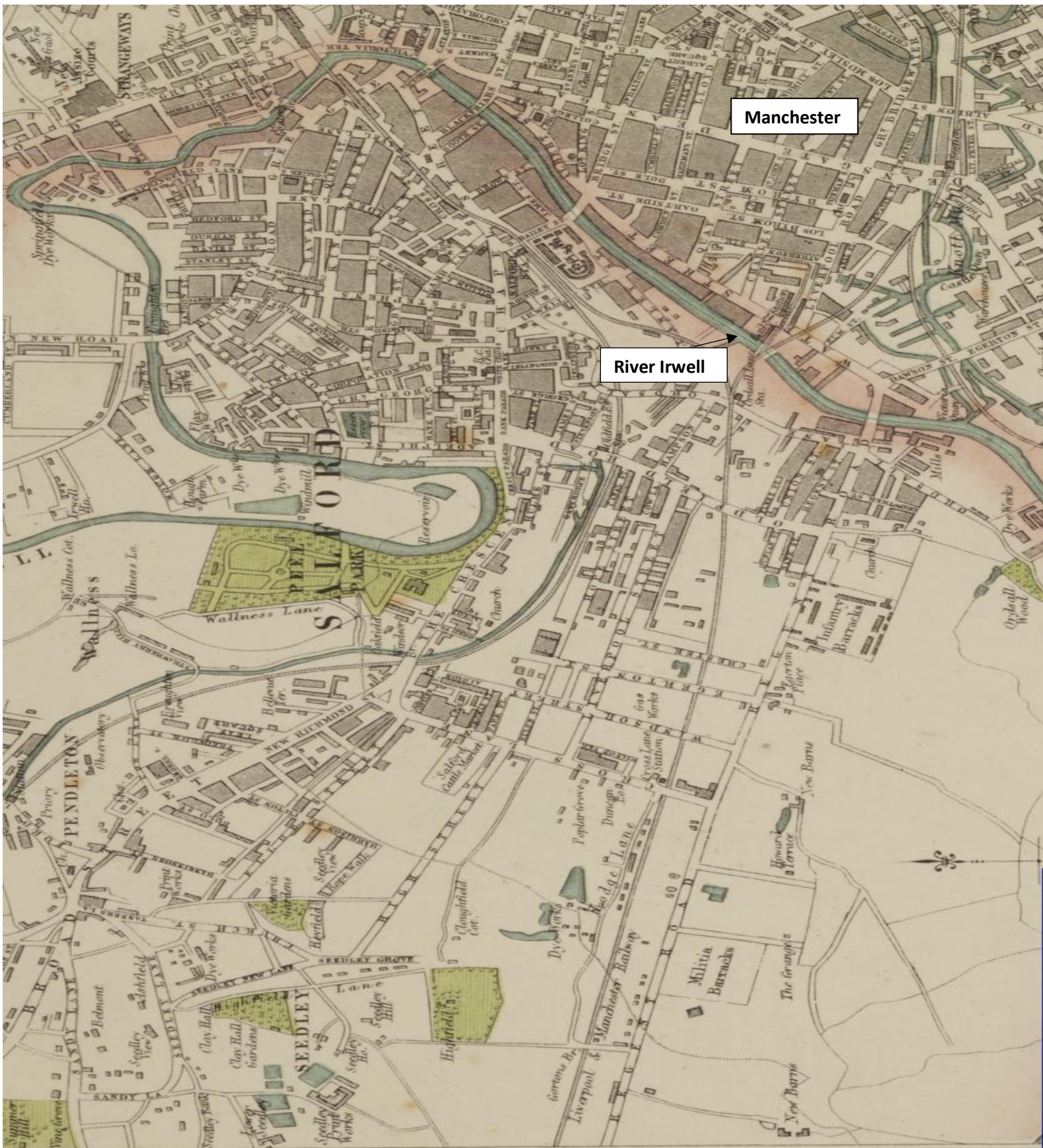
Albert Bridge, one of the main crossing points over the River Irwell, was a popular vantage point for the executions. As a result of this proximity there was a certain amount of local rivalry and it was not unusual for Manchester to view Salford as a poor relation. As *Manchester's Free Lance* noted in 1867,

The most remarkable feature, however, in Salford is the extraordinary fact that there is something crotchety (sic) and faddy in its atmosphere. It is the home of queer sects and eccentric ideas. It is the only borough in Europe that can say that it has been represented in Parliament by a Vegetarian and had another Vegetarian for mayor. But this is quite characteristic of the place.¹⁵

Regardless of this satirical sniping, both Salford and Rochdale possessed problems characteristic of Victorian urbanisation.

¹⁵ *Free Lance*, 14 December 1867. The MP it was referring to was Brotherton, who had been a vegetarian, and the fact that the vegetarian movement had begun in Salford, ironically by the Rev. Cowherd, a Swedeborgian. This was doubtless one of the 'queer sects' to which the magazine was referring. Brotherton was also a teetotaler and had been associated with the Bible Christians, a sect which was credited with, potentially, instigating the teetotal movement in England. See, P.J. Lineham., 'The Bible Christians of Salford', in W.J. Sheils (ed.), *Papers Read at the Twentieth Summer Meeting and the Twenty-First Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), p. 208.

Figure 3.1: Bartholomew's Map of North-West Manchester and Salford, 1870¹⁶



¹⁶ <http://manchester.publicprofiler.org/beta/index.php>

Table 3.1: Population density, Salford, 1876

District	Population	Density (people per acre)
Borough	149,591	28.9
Regent Road	58,219	54.7
Greengate	34,393	130.6
Pendleton	34,617	14.3
Broughton	22,362	15.7

Table 3.2: Population density, Rochdale, 1877

District	Population	Density (people per acre)
Borough	68,659	16
Castleton Nearer	18,689	37
Castleton Further	9,594	8
Spotland Nearer	11,650	15
Spotland Further	2,948	4
Wardleworth	20,881	27
Wuerdle and Wardle	4,595	19
Butterworth	302	2

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the population density of the districts of Salford and Rochdale. Due to the limited availability of data for Rochdale, the closest years for comparison are 1876 for Salford and 1877 for Rochdale.¹ The data shows that, overall, Salford had almost double the population density of Rochdale, with 28.9 people per acre in Salford, compared to sixteen people per acre in Rochdale. The district with the highest population density in Salford was Greengate, with 130.6 people per acre. In comparison, Castleton Nearer had the highest population density in Rochdale with thirty-seven people per acre. These figures can be a little misleading, however. In certain streets in Rochdale, population density was extremely high. The area bounded by Drake Street, Great George Street, School Lane and Church Lane, for instance, had 244 people per acre. In Mount Pleasant, the area bounded by Redcross Street, Hope Street, Mill Street and Cheetham Street had 259 people per acre. Overall, although Rochdale may not have been as densely populated as Salford, it still

¹ Salford data taken from the Annual Report of the Medical Officer for the year 1902, quoted in Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford*, p. 366. Rochdale data taken from *Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the borough of Rochdale for the year ending 31st March 1877* and *Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the borough of Rochdale for the year ending 31st March 1878*, Rochdale Local Studies Library (hereafter RLSL).

possessed several areas of dense overcrowding and the attendant health and sanitary problems. In 1875, a series of articles published in the *Rochdale Times* attempted to draw attention to the sanitary conditions of these areas. Entitled 'The Fever Dens of Rochdale', the newspaper was particularly critical of the Liberal council and its Inspector of Nuisances.²

These areas of high density were the focus of social investigation during the early 1870s. This phenomenon has been explored by Mayne, who has researched trends in slum reporting and social investigation of the late nineteenth century, a style of writing that had been popularised in mid-century by the likes of Henry Mayhew and Charles Dickens.³ Slum writing became a genre, with its own language and stereotypes. Mayne stated that slums were the biggest news story of the nineteenth century, noting that the selective, judgmental and sensationalist language of the press helped to create cities in the popular imagination. Furthermore, he argued, the representations of slums defined parameters of legitimate social behaviour and endorsed power structures in modern urban society.⁴ Furthermore, in his study of slumming in late nineteenth-century London, Koven argued that debates over homelessness and poverty were bound up in middle-class anxieties about sex and sexuality. When writing about slums, he noted, middle-class observers 'tended to romanticize and exoticize them as sites of spectacular brutality and sexual degradation to which they were compulsively drawn.'⁵ The poorer areas of Rochdale and Salford saw regular visits from social investigators in the early 1870s, who invariably portrayed these areas as insanitary, poverty-stricken and, importantly for this thesis, criminal.

² *Rochdale Times*, 27 March 1875 to 10 April 1875. Such criticism was not surprising, as the *Times* had Conservative leanings.

³ Mayhew, in particular, helped to create the stereotypical image of the 'criminal class', in his descriptions of those he met in the poorer areas of London, see H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London; Griffin, Bohn, and Co, 1862). Dickens was a particularly vocal critic of the sanitary conditions in London's slum areas and wrote several articles on the subject, see C. Dickens, 'Health by act of parliament', *Household Words*, 20 (10 August 1850), pp. 460-463, 'A home question', *Household Words*, 10.242 (11 November 1854), pp. 292-296, 'Commission and omission', *Household Words*, 10.243 (18 November 1854), pp. 319-324 and 'A healthy year in London', *Household Words*, 15.388 (29 August 1857), pp. 194-197.

⁴ A. Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

⁵ S. Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 4.

The greatest density of population in Salford was contained in the districts of Greengate and Regent Road.⁶ By the late 1860s, two-thirds of the borough's population lived in the area between Cross Lane and the Irwell, opposite Manchester Cathedral.⁷ Greengate had long had a reputation for squalor and poverty. In the 1840s, Friedrich Engels had described the district as 'unwholesome, dirty and ruinous', and as an area of 'filth and wretchedness.'⁸ Almost thirty years later, in 1871, a report in the *Manchester Guardian* decried the extent of poverty and unsanitary conditions in the district. Bordering Greengate, it stated 'are cellars yet occupied as dwelling places, and totally unfit for human habitation.' In nearby Canal Street, forty-seven people were reported to be living in ten cellars.⁹ Attempts to improve the sanitary conditions in Greengate were made in the late 1870s and early 1880s but when the trade unionist, W.H. Wood, visited the area in 1890 it still had a reputation for poverty and criminality. Queen Street in particular, he stated, contained 'some of the most wretched hovels to be found in Salford' and was an 'un-queenly nest of vice and squalor.'¹⁰

⁶ *Salford Weekly News*, 29 April 1872.

⁷ R.L. Greenall, 'The social conscience and the development of social welfare in Salford', in T. Bergin (eds), *Salford: A City and its Past* (Salford: City of Salford, 1975), p.118.

⁸ F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.74.

⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, 26 April 1871.

¹⁰ For examples of housing clearances in Salford, see *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 27 December 1880. It was reported that although advances had been made in clearing away 'low class dwellings' in Salford, 'unhealthy back-to-back houses and close, dirty courts' still existed. For Wood's description of Greengate, see W.H. Wood, *The History of Salford, Past and Present* (Salford: W.H. Wood, 1890), p.7.

Figure 3.2: Packer Street, Rochdale, c.1866.¹¹



The most infamous of Rochdale's slum areas was The Gank, part of which can be viewed in Figure 3.2, above, which portrays the proximity of the buildings to each other. The Gank was described as an area in which 'The houses all look as if they had been drunk overnight, and not sufficiently recovered to stand upright.'¹² It included streets such as Packer Street, Fleece Street and Church Lane, the latter a thoroughfare which gained a particular reputation for criminality. In a report on the theft of £21 from a weaver by two women in Church Lane, in 1870, the street was described as a 'haunt of thieves and prostitutes.'¹³ Elsewhere in the town, Mount Pleasant, another densely populated area, was home for many of the borough's Irish migrants and their families. It, too, was synonymous with poverty and crime. Both areas were the focus of social investigation in the 1870s.¹⁴ They were reported to have had distinctive characteristics, as,

¹¹ Courtesy RLSL.

¹² *Rochdale Times*, 27 March 1875.

¹³ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 27 August 1870.

¹⁴ See S. Hayton, 'A search for the underclass, a comparative study of cellar dwellers in Manchester, Salford, Stockport and Rochdale, 1861-1871' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Salford, 1995).

While Church Lane is notorious for its thieves and prostitutes, and its occasional outbreaks of drunken riots, it lacks the elements which make the Mount so dangerous. The Mount is chiefly known for the Irish rows which there take place – Church Lane is noted for the robberies there committed.¹⁵

Between December 1870 and February 1871, a series of articles entitled ‘The Night Side of Rochdale’ were published in the *Rochdale Observer*. A similar series, entitled ‘The Poor of Rochdale’ appeared at the same time in the *Rochdale Pilot*. Writing in the *Observer*, ‘A Night Owl’, explored these areas in order to reveal their secrets to those unwilling or unable to venture into them. These articles pleaded regularly to the philanthropists of Rochdale to work towards improving the lot of the borough’s poor and identified three areas in the borough which had a particular reputation for poverty and crime. These were Church Lane, Blackwater and Mount Pleasant. The courts and alleys of Church Lane were described as a ‘hotbed of vice *par excellence*’, a ‘place in which social corruption fattens on what it feeds on, and where innocence is not only dead but absolutely and literally buried.’¹⁶ Such language would have helped to cement the image of Church Lane in the consciousness of local readers, with the reality of life in the area, at least in part, obscured by rhetoric. Nevertheless, the actions of the police towards Church Lane, discussed in Chapter 5, would have been seen to be justified by the comments from ‘Night Owl’, who claimed that Saturday nights were notorious for scenes of rioting and drunkenness in the street. Additionally, he decried the number of men robbed by women in the area, claiming that ‘two-thirds of fallen women are thieves’, who ‘rob all they entrap and are thus doubly dangerous.’¹⁷ Regardless of the number of law-abiding residents of the area, Church Lane had a reputation for drunkenness and as a haven for thieves and prostitutes.

¹⁵ *Rochdale Pilot*, 17 December 1870.

¹⁶ *Rochdale Observer*, 17 December 1870.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

As noted, Mount Pleasant, a short walk from Church Lane, had its own reputation. It was, stated 'Night Owl' 'a perfect hotbed of drunkenness.'¹⁸ It was inhabited by a number of Irish migrants and their descendants, which led the author to espouse the contemporary, English, stereotype of the Irish. The people of the Mount, he wrote, were 'generally honest but fearfully drunken', and he alleged that at the corner of every street were gangs of drunken and half-drunken men 'always ripe for a row.' He even attempted a spurious scientific explanation for such alleged behaviour, claiming that these men 'have the bump of combativeness, as the phrenologists call it, very largely developed, and they will pick a quarrel with you on the slightest occasion.'¹⁹ This imagery was compounded by the *Rochdale Pilot*, whose reporter claimed that the Mount was 'the chosen home of riot, drunkenness and assault, but still the residence of honest poverty in the general acceptance of the word.'²⁰ Such language was stereotypical of contemporary discussions over 'Little Irelands', which had traditionally associated Irish immigrants with slum conditions, drunkenness and violence.²¹ These stereotypical images of an Irish ghetto were prevalent within the pages of Rochdale's press.

The number of licensed houses in particular districts also roused comment. One of the key thoroughfares in Salford, Chapel Street, had one of the highest concentrations of inns and public houses in the Manchester conurbation during the 1870s. Additionally, Manchester's Deansgate, another key thoroughfare, also had a high concentration of such establishments. In 1869, Chapel Street had nearly thirty of such premises, Deansgate had thirty-two. By 1873, these numbers had decreased slightly, to twenty-nine and twenty-seven respectively. Importantly, both Chapel Street and Deansgate were a short distance from each other and inhabitants of both areas would have had easy access to both streets. Additionally, Salford had a large number of beerhouses, which

¹⁸ *Rochdale Observer*, 4 February 1871.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Rochdale Pilot*, 21 January 1871.

²¹ Such views had persisted since the 1830s, see: G. Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991), Ch. 2.

numbered 336 in 1869, with neighbouring Hulme having 416, the highest number in Manchester.²² Therefore, there were a large number of licensed premises in both Salford and Manchester which residents of both boroughs could easily patronise.

Due to the large number of drinking establishments on Chapel Street, the street and its environs began to gain a reputation for drunkenness, exacerbated in part by the local press. In 1873, the *Free Lance* published a report condemning the number and quality of licensed premises on Chapel Street. Alluding to their number, it alleged that,

There seemed to be the inviting portal of one of these places at about every ten yards, and in the distance we have indicated [the reporters had walked the short distance from New Bailey Street to Blackfriars Street] there are no less than about twenty licensed houses.²³

The reporter was critical of the role these 'gin palaces' played in the lives of local residents, and claimed that their patrons were,

Men and women clothed in rags and covered in filth, people whom a cleanly person would almost shudder to touch, persons whose bodies give off sickening exhalations, and who add to the foul vapour by smoking bad tobacco out of dirty and disgusting pipes, assemble in them in astounding numbers, and drink spirits, often in a raw state.²⁴

It was through such imagery as this that Chapel Street's reputation was embedded in the public consciousness. During this period, however, efforts were beginning to be made to address sanitary problems in Salford and Rochdale.

²² D. Woodman, 'The public house in Manchester and Salford, c1815-1880' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University, 2011), Ch.2.

²³ *Free Lance*, 16 May 1873.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

3.3) Mid-Victorian Improvement

One key aspect of Rochdale's development, as it was a factor in the policing of drunkenness in the borough, was the onset, from the 1860s, of improvement to the borough's infrastructure. Efforts were made to improve roads, lighting and hygiene. Sanitation was beginning to be addressed, with the council's acquisition of the Rochdale Waterworks Company in 1866 and work began on the construction of Cowm Reservoir two years later. Additionally, public baths had been built in 1868. Civic pride was personified in the neo-Gothic town hall, which opened in 1871, and the first School Board was elected in 1870.²⁵ Elsewhere, the Free Public Library was opened in 1872. Land was purchased for expansion of the town cemetery in 1873, whilst the area around the Town Hall began to be improved in 1871, with the seventy-foot wide Esplanade laid out and property in Packer Street being cleared. The early 1870s also saw significant expenditure on a sewer system, work which had begun with the construction of the borough's manure works in 1864.²⁶ These were, apparently, 'well worthy of inspection', with visitors from both England and America, proclaiming them to be the finest example of such works in either country.²⁷

Rochdale's reputation as a centre of the woollen industry was a source of local pride. William Robertson, writing in 1875, stated that 'Rochdale may be considered as the seat of the woollen manufacture for the kingdom.'²⁸ His book, *Rochdale Past and Present, A History and Guide*, was a celebration of the borough and its achievements. As he stated in the book's introduction,

A single glance around us will give indubitable evidence of the immense wealth of which Rochdale is the centre; its warehouses, mills, foundries, and manufactories of various kinds meeting the eye in almost every direction. The Rochdale of the present day can bear but little resemblance to the Rochdale of only fifty years ago; and as our increase in wealth and

²⁵ The Town Hall was built at a cost of £155,000, nearly four times the original budget.

²⁶ R. Taylor, *Rochdale Retrospect* (Rochdale: Rochdale Corporation, 1956) p.113-123.

²⁷ W. Robertson, *Rochdale Past and Present, A History and Guide* (Rochdale: Schofield and Hoblyn, 1875), p. 57.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.4.

population is so immense and rapid, the Rochdale of our time will, in like manner, bear but little resemblance to the Rochdale which will show itself to the gaze of our prosperity fifty years hence, when we who are now so proud of our good old town are slumbering beneath the clods of the valley.²⁹

His praise was effusive, and he congratulated the council on the improvements made to Rochdale's road system, lighting and sanitation. He stated that,

...nothing reflects greater credit upon the governing powers of a great centre of commercial industry as ours, than clean, spacious, and well-lighted streets, and a complete and efficient system of drains and sewers. In sanitary matters, at any rate, we are clearly in advance of our forefathers, for their notions on such subjects were of the narrowest and most unpractical kind; but then we live in more enlightened days, and it would be sad indeed if the lessons which time and experience have taught us did not result in material and satisfactory progress in the path of improvement.³⁰

He was particularly proud of the new, 'magnificent' Town Hall, which he described as 'a building which has not many equals' and 'a hall for the conduct of public business of the town which is worthy of the attention alike of the connoisseur and of the man of practical ideas.'³¹ Robertson's prose was an example of the confidence and pride in Rochdale which emanated from the borough's elite.³² Although the borough did have the attendant sanitary and health conditions which characterized Lancashire's industrial boroughs, such issues were not as widespread as those in Salford.

²⁹ *Ibid*, pp.3-4.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.6.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.8.

³² Tellingly, his tour of Rochdale's principal streets did not mention the crime and poverty associated with the borough's slum districts. Church Lane, for example, was noted as one of the oldest parts of Rochdale but he did not discuss its reputation as a district of vice and drunkenness.

The mortality rate in Rochdale, for instance, was lower than many other Lancashire boroughs. In 1870, whilst reporting a death rate in the borough of twenty-three per 1,000 inhabitants, the *Observer* boasted that ‘this happily appears to be lower than those of any towns furnishing weekly returns’.³³ Five years later though, a series of reports in the *Rochdale Times*, entitled ‘The Fever Dens of Rochdale’, suggested that areas of the town, particularly Mount Pleasant, still possessed appalling sanitary conditions.³⁴ There was still, it stated ‘the same abominable stench; the same herding together of men and women without regard to sex, relationship and decency; the same utter poverty and degradation.’³⁵ In Salford, in conditions exacerbated by growing migration, sanitation and the mortality rate were still appalling by the turn of the century. In the 1870s, it had one of the highest death rates in England, with approximately thirty-three deaths per 1,000.³⁶ As Greenall has noted, despite efforts by the council to improve the health of the borough, by 1900, only Preston and Sunderland had higher rates of infant mortality than Salford. Additionally, issues surrounding air and river pollution had failed to be addressed, and there was little progress in slum clearance.³⁷

3.4) Occupations and Economy

Table 3.3: Occupations of males and females aged 20 years and upwards, Salford and Rochdale, 1871³⁸

Borough	Professional		Domestic		Commercial		Agricultural		Industrial		Indefinite and Non-Productive		Total aged 20 yrs and upwards	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Salford	1985	402	708	25879	6228	379	844	73	18949	10657	3524	699	32238	38089
Rochdale	571	183	525	18710	2263	209	1356	160	20170	12789	2869	228	27754	32279

³³ *Rochdale Observer*, 20 August 1870.

³⁴ *Rochdale Times*, 20 March 1875 to 10 April 1875.

³⁵ *Rochdale Times*, 27 March 1875. The *Times* was always quick to criticize the Liberal council, however.

³⁶ Garrard, *Industrial Leadership*, p. 9.

³⁷ Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford*, p. 172.

³⁸ Occupational data for Salford and Rochdale taken from Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population abstracts. Ages, civil condition, occupations, and birth-places of the people. Vol. III. PP 1873 [C.872], p. 428.

The impact of industry on Salford and Rochdale can be seen in the patterns of female employment, portrayed in Table 3.3. Although women were mainly employed in domestic trades, those employed in industry were also prominent. Even before the onset of the Industrial Revolution, Salford had been associated with cotton, mainly in the form of fustian, and had long-standing linen, wool and flax industries. Unlike Salford, Rochdale, due to its proximity to Yorkshire, became an important woollen town. The woollen industry, along with cotton, witnessed its biggest growth in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, there were a wide range of trades and occupations in both boroughs, not all of which were associated with textiles. In Salford, for instance, the second half of the century saw a relative decline in the importance of cotton and a greater emphasis on engineering. New trades, such as machine making, showcased an increasing specialisation in both traditional and modern branches of the cotton trade and by 1879 there were sixty engineering and machine-making firms in the borough, along with other industries such as paper-making, soap, coal, flax and timber. Salford's strong connection with Manchester was also reflected in its occupational groups, with some 6000 men employed in commercial trades, as defined by the census, such as railwaymen, clerks, warehousemen and shop assistants.³⁹ Far from being a single industry town, Salford had a diverse ranges of trades and industries contained within its borders. Likewise, Rochdale also developed a diverse range of industries. Carpets were manufactured in the borough and there were dyeing, bleaching and silk spinning works, alongside several large machinery manufacturers, as well as iron foundries, steam engine and boiler making works and coal mines.⁴⁰ Amongst these myriad occupations, female employment in Salford and Rochdale was dominated by the textile industry, and by domestic work.

³⁹ R.L. Greenall, 'Popular conservatism in Salford 1868-1886' in *Northern History*, Vol.9, 1974, p.125.

⁴⁰ W. Robertson, *Rochdale Past and Present, a History and Guide* (Rochdale: Schofield and Hoblyn, 1875) p.3. Robertson states that coal mines were located in the 'neighbourhood' of Rochdale. Coal mining was an important occupation in both Salford and Rochdale, employing 885 and 990 men (but no women), respectively. See, Census of England and Wales. For the year 1871. General report. Vol. IV. PP 1873 [C.872-I], p. 120.

As discussed in Chapter 4, economic conditions were linked to drunkenness. It was held as a truism, by contemporary commentators, that drunkenness increased in times of economic prosperity and decreased during economic decline.⁴¹ The 1870s are a particularly interesting period in which to examine this assertion. Historians have debated as to whether or not the decade heralded the beginning of a 'Great Depression', which lasted from 1874 to 1896.⁴² From 1870 onwards, and in comparison to the 'boom' decades of the 1850s and 1860s, it has been stated that national income per capita fell, growing by only 25 per cent between 1870 and 1890.⁴³ An appraisal of the prosperity, or otherwise, of Salford and Rochdale at the beginning of this period could therefore provide a clue as to the patterns of prosecutions for drunkenness, discussed in Chapter 6.

Certainly, in the first half of the 1870s, the economies of Rochdale and Salford were reported to be in rude health. In December 1873, the *Rochdale Observer* reported that 'the people of this district have been well employed at good wages', and 'on the whole the year has been one of prosperity to the average working man of provident and careful habits.'⁴⁴ The corresponding report for 1874 stated that industry in the borough was still healthy, and noted that,

We believe that all manufacturing concerns have employed their full complement of hands, and wages have in most departments been above the average. We hear that the machine making and engineering works, without being busy, have been fairly employed, that silk has been up to the average; and that the building trade and all its dependant branches have been well engaged.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See, for example, J. Archer, *The Monster Evil, Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p.23.

⁴² A.E. Musson, 'The great depression in Britain, 1873-1896: a reappraisal', *Journal of Economic History*, 19.2 (1959), pp. 199-228, and 'British industrial growth during the 'great depression' (1873-96), some comments', *The Economic History Review*, 15.3 (1963), pp. 529-533, D.J. Coppock, 'The causes of the great depression, 1873-96', *The Manchester School*, 29.3 (1961), pp. 205-232, M. Pugh, *State and Society, A Social and Political History of Britain, 1870-1997*, 2nd ed (London: Arnold, 1999), Ch. 1.

⁴³ K. Burgess, 'Did the late Victorian economy fail?' in T.R. Gourvish and A. O'Day (eds), *Later Victorian Britain, 1867-1900* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp.254-55.

⁴⁴ *Rochdale Observer*, 27 December 1873.

⁴⁵ *Rochdale Observer*, 26 December 1874.

The pubs and beerhouses of Rochdale could therefore be expected to be regularly frequented by workers with money to spend.

Likewise, in Salford, industry was also said to be buoyant. The general report of the census stated that, since the end of the American Civil War, there had been a 'great revival in trade', leading to 'every branch of industry being in a flourishing condition.'⁴⁶ The rise in the population of such areas as Regent Road and Pendleton was partly attributed to this prosperity in trade. Salford's population increased rapidly throughout the 1870s, which was attributable in no small part to what Greenall has termed the 'phenomenal boom' of the early part of the decade, a situation which lasted until 1879.⁴⁷ Arguably it was the prospect of employment in the borough which stimulated this rise, which would not have been the case if the economy had been in a parlous state. The economies of both boroughs at this time, therefore, were strong, which may have been a factor in the rise in prosecutions for drunkenness detailed in Chapter 6.

3.5) Politics

Before examining the political composition of the boroughs, it is worth exploring, briefly, the politics of south-east Lancashire in general. For the majority of the nineteenth century, Liberalism had flourished in the region. Between 1832 and 1867, Manchester and its 'satellite' towns of Ashton-under-Lyne, Bury and Salford had all returned Liberal MPs, whilst Oldham and Stockport followed suit after 1852. The Second Reform Act of 1867, however, helped to stimulate the development of working-class Conservatism.⁴⁸ Although the Liberals were triumphant in the General Election of 1868, the Tories won thirteen seats to the Liberals' seven in the region.⁴⁹ There were two major

⁴⁶ Census of England and Wales, 1871. (33 & 34 Vict. c. 107.) Population tables. Area, houses, and inhabitants. Vol. II. Registration or union counties. PP 1872 [C.676-I C.676-II], p. 401.

⁴⁷ Salford's population increased by 51,000, to 176,000, between 1871 and 1881. This had a major impact on public health. See Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford*, p. 161 and p. 169.

⁴⁸ For a background to the Second Reform Act, see J.K. Walton., *The Second Reform Act* (London: Methuen, 1987).

⁴⁹ Vincent has argued that post-1868 Conservative gains in Lancashire were attributable less to the new franchise than to boundary changes, which incorporated older, Tory gentry into the boroughs. This was not

factors for their revival; religion and alcohol. Importantly, the Conservatives had reinvented themselves as the party of the working man, appealing in particular to the newly-enfranchised sections of the working class. Nowhere was this more apparent than in their support of, and involvement in, the drink trade, which influenced their declaration that working men were entitled to an honest drink after a hard day's toil. This was not just the case in urban Lancashire, as Lawrence has noted for Wolverhampton.⁵⁰ Elsewhere in the county, Joyce has stated that, in Blackburn during the 1870s, the local Conservative brewer, Daniel Thwaites, wielded considerable local influence over working-class voters.⁵¹ In addition, sectarianism, campaigns against popery and anti-Irish feeling played a major role in wooing voters towards Conservatism. In areas of south-east Lancashire, Liberals lost support due to their perceived links with temperance and their anti-gambling stance, along with the fear that Liberal policies would destabilise the Church of England.⁵²

By the 1870s, in both parliamentary and municipal politics, Salford and Rochdale were polar opposites. Salford was turned by the renewed strength of the Conservatives, whilst Rochdale stuck steadfastly to its Liberal roots. In both boroughs, religious allegiances played a major role. Salford was dominated by the Church of England, Rochdale by Nonconformity, especially Methodism. The Second Reform Act had presented Salford with a second parliamentary seat and in the 1868 general election Salford returned two Conservative MPs, Middleton-born Charles Cawley and Ulsterman, William Charley. There were a number of factors which had led to Conservative success in the

the case in Rochdale, which increased in population by 20,000 in 1868 but still retained Liberal control. In response, Lowe has attacked Vincent's thesis, arguing that in Blackburn, the allegiances of the newly enfranchised working class, rather than any boundary change, were key in Conservative gains. This certainly appears to have been the case in Salford. See J. Vincent, 'The effect of the second reform act in Lancashire', *The Historical Journal*, 11.1 (1968), pp. 84-94 and J.C. Lowe, 'The Tory triumph of 1868 in Blackburn and in Lancashire', *The Historical Journal*, 16.4 (1973), pp. 733-748.

⁵⁰ See J. Lawrence, 'Popular politics and limitations of party: Wolverhampton, 1867-1900', in Biagini, E.F. and Reid, A.J., *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour and Party Politics in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and J. Lawrence, 'Class and gender in the making of urban Toryism, 1880-1914', *The English Historical Review*, 108.428 (1993), pp. 629-652.

⁵¹ P. Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1980), p. 294.

⁵² Gladstone had disestablished the Irish Church, leading to fears that the Church of England would follow suit. Walton, *Lancashire, a Social History*, pp. 236-7.

borough. The Conservative's party organisation was more effective in the working class districts of the borough than the Liberal's, whilst the Conservatives had successfully re-modelled themselves as the 'true friends' of the newly-enfranchised working-class voters.⁵³ The major factor behind Conservative success in Salford, however, appears to have been religion. As Greenall stated, anti-Irish feeling was prevalent in Lancashire and particularly strong in Salford, due in no small part to the ministrations of Canon Hugh Stowell, the Protestant canon of Christ Church.⁵⁴ There had long been rumours that Fenian agitators were active amongst the Manchester and Salford Irish and the death of Sergeant Brett and the subsequent hanging of the 'Manchester Martyrs' in 1867 helped exacerbate anti-Irish feeling.⁵⁵ Newly enfranchised working-class voters threw their support behind Cawley, a confirmed Evangelical and fervently anti-Catholic, and the Protestant, Charley. At the 1868 election 'they were swept into power by a gale of hysterical Protestantism.'⁵⁶

Working-class Conservatism did not experience the same success in Rochdale. Here, Liberalism dominated.⁵⁷ This was doubtless due to the influence of the borough's Liberal, Nonconformist manufacturers, who had traditionally outnumbered the local, landed Tories.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Rochdale's voters were more deferential to the local Liberal cotton manufacturers than was the case in Salford, where there was an 'anti-cotton lord bias' in working-class voting patterns.⁵⁹ Liberal power was reflected in the parliamentary dominance of Rochdale's Liberal MP, Thomas Bayley-Potter, who held the borough seat for an unbroken thirty years, from 1865 until 1895. A Unitarian, Bayley-Potter was popular both within the borough and in Parliament, yet was

⁵³Salford's Constitutional Association was formed in 1867, immediately after the passing of the Reform Act, while the Liberal Association was only created in 1869, see J.A. Garrard, 'Parties, members and voters after 1867: a local study', *The Historical Journal*, 20:1 (1977), p. 147.

⁵⁴ Stowell had preached anti-Catholic rhetoric for nearly three decades until his death in 1865. At the 1868 election, the result had swung on the results from the Crescent ward, the location of Stowell's church and of his most fervent supporters. Here the Conservatives gained a majority of over 500, their largest in the borough. See Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford*, p. 139.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 142-144.

⁵⁶ Greenall, 'Popular conservatism', p. 131.

⁵⁷ For a background to Rochdale's politics up to 1857, see J.R. Vincent, 'The electoral sociology of Rochdale', *The Economic History Review*, 16.1 (1963), pp. 76-90.

⁵⁸ J.K. Walton, *Lancashire, a Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.139.

⁵⁹ Greenall, 'Popular conservatism', p. 135.

not renowned for his oratory or debating skills.⁶⁰ This Cobden-ite politician, however, had the good fortune that Rochdale had, as the *Observer* astutely noted, 'always been regarded as the Liberal constituency *par excellence*'.⁶¹

The composition of the councils of both boroughs reflected these political leanings. Salford's councillors were predominantly Conservative. In 1870, the borough council saw eighteen of its twenty-four seats filled by Conservatives and they had a clear majority thereafter, a domination which lasted until 1914.⁶² By 1872, the Conservatives had strengthened their grip on Salford's council. Seven out of the borough's twelve wards were contested, with eight Tories being returned and only one Liberal.⁶³ Two years later, in 1874, all sixteen council seats in Salford, excluding Pendleton and Broughton, were filled by Conservatives. The social composition of these men provoked a patronizing response from Manchester's *Free Lance*, an organ which was constantly critical of Salford's council. The magazine denounced the borough's councillors as,

not merchant princes or cotton lords or men of learning or of science but they are butchers and bakers and greengrocers and beerhouse keepers and shoemakers and tailors, and collectors of rents, and grocers, and dealers in towels and tablecloths and confectioners and such like.⁶⁴

The criticism from the *Free Lance* was unfounded, however, as although Salford's municipal leaders certainly counted wealthy professionals or substantial shopkeepers amongst their number, in 1874 they were, in the main, manufacturers, merchants or retired businessmen. They were generally wealthy and had emerged from the urban and industrial landscape.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ A. C. Howe, 'Potter, Thomas Bayley (1817–1898)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, reproduced at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>[accessed 14 July 2016]

⁶¹ *Rochdale Observer*, 17 September 1870.

⁶² Greenall, 'Popular conservatism', p.138.

⁶³ *Manchester Evening News*, 2 November 1872.

⁶⁴ *Free Lance*, 11 July 1873.

⁶⁵ J.A. Garrard, 'Heates, tumultes and factions' in T. Bergin (ed.), *Salford: A City and its Past* (Salford: City of Salford, 1975), p. 87.

The political composition of Rochdale's council was in stark contrast to that of Salford's. After the elections of 1872 Rochdale's council consisted of only four Conservatives and twenty-six Liberals.⁶⁶ Municipal politics provoked feisty debate, as Garrard has stated, in Rochdale, 'party cleavage was deep, unforgiving and continuous.'⁶⁷ Tory influence had traditionally been limited to the County Bench but even here, this had lessened after 1856.⁶⁸ As in Salford, large proprietors dominated the council. In 1871, they comprised over a half of the borough's councillors, with nearly a third being shopkeepers or tradesmen.⁶⁹ Importantly, Nonconformity was highly influential, and aggressive, within Rochdale's council.⁷⁰ Here, as elsewhere in industrial Lancashire, local power was in the hands of the *nouveau riche*.

3.6) Social Commentary: The Press, Police and Magistracy

This section will examine the main sources of commentary on drunkenness within Salford and Rochdale. Discussions about drink, and the women prosecuted for drunkenness, came mainly from the press, police, and magistrates. Two weekly newspapers were published in both Rochdale and Salford in the 1870s and all were politically partisan. In 1871, the *Rochdale Times* had replaced the *Rochdale Pilot* in representing the Conservative interest in the borough, with the Liberal viewpoint being championed by the *Rochdale Observer*.⁷¹ In Salford, the Conservative newspaper was the *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, and the pro-Temperance, Liberal newspaper, the *Salford Weekly News*. The *Weekly Chronicle* was first published in October 1868, by the Salford Constitutional Association, which had been established after the 1867 Reform Act.⁷² All of these newspapers were

⁶⁶ *Manchester Evening News*, 2 November 1872.

⁶⁷ J. Garrard, *Industrial Leadership in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-1880* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p110.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.113.

⁶⁹ See Garrard, *Industrial Leadership*, pp.14-15 for occupational analysis of Salford's council and p. 20 for Rochdale's.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 110.

⁷¹ W. Robertson, *Rochdale Past and Present*, p.320-1. The *Rochdale Pilot* was first published in 1858 and ceased publication in 1871.

⁷² Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford*, p.140.

unashamedly loyal to their party and not one of them missed an opportunity to criticize their rivals on political matters. As discussed in Chapter 5, nowhere was this more apparent than in their arguments over licensing.

Additional commentary concerning affairs in Salford can also be found in the pages of Manchester's satirical press. The city possessed several weekly satirical and political newspapers and magazines, which often passed comment on events, current affairs, and prominent citizens in Salford. One of these, the *City Jackdaw*, which ran from 1875 to 1880, was published by the Liberal printer, Abel Heywood, and styled itself as a 'Humorous and Satirical' magazine.⁷³ Other publications were the *Free Lance*, published by the Conservative, John Beresford, and its rival, the *Sphinx*.⁷⁴

The policing of drunkenness was vital to the perception of the issue in Salford and Rochdale, and the attitudes of their respective Chief Constables was key. There was continuity in the position of Chief Constables of both boroughs during this period. Samuel Stevens held the position in Rochdale and Robert Torrens was the Chief Constable of Salford. Both men were appointed in the same year, 1869, and served for roughly the same period of time. Stevens left Rochdale in 1881 to become Chief Constable of Nottingham and Torrens retired due to ill health in 1880. Under the tenure of both men, apprehensions and committals for drunkenness rose during the 1870s. In both boroughs, concerns over drunkenness in general, and female drunkenness in particular, were prevalent.

Samuel Stevens was born in Stroud, Gloucestershire, around 1834. He was a career policeman, and experienced a swift rise through the ranks, serving in several forces, including those of Leeds and Liverpool. His last position before moving to Rochdale was that of Chief Constable of

⁷³ L. Brake and M. Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Gent and London: Academia Press and The British Library, 2009), p. 121.

⁷⁴ Published from 1868-1871, the *Sphinx*, formed by the editor and staff of the *Free Lance*, described itself as a 'Journal of criticism and humour'. With an outlook on local events, the *Sphinx* was particularly critical of the London press. *Ibid*, p. 590.

Chesterfield and he joined the Rochdale force in his mid-thirties. His rise through the profession was attributed by one newspaper to his 'early educational advantages, united to great ability.'⁷⁵ This ability, rather than social standing or family background, was integral to his career advancement. In religion, he appeared to have been an Anglican, as he married his second wife, Elizabeth McNaught, in the parish church at Prestwich in 1881.⁷⁶ His opposition to drink may have derived from his religious outlook or may have been established whilst policing the streets of urban England.⁷⁷ Whatever the reason, between 1869 and 1872, Stevens was integral in addressing the perceived criminality of The Gank, and, in particular, Church Lane, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The background of Robert Torrens was markedly different to that of Stevens. Born in Madras, India, in 1826, Oxford- educated Torrens had a military background. His father was a lieutenant-colonel in Madras and Torrens himself had been a captain in the 55th Regiment. Afterwards he had been a constable in the Gold Escort Militia in Australia before becoming Clerk of the Parliaments, and then stipendiary magistrate, in Vancouver Island.⁷⁸ This was not an unusual biography for a Victorian Chief Constable, as before 1920, just over half of all borough Chief Constables had served in the military. The attendant rank, rather than military achievements, were seen by some watch committees as important indicators of social standing, allied to an ability to command.⁷⁹ In religious matters, he was a Churchman.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ *Nottingham Evening Post*, 14 July 1892.

⁷⁶ Elizabeth was the daughter of William McNaught, a prominent Rochdale engineer, Conservative and Churchman. Information derived from Stevens/McNaught marriage certificate, obtained via www.gro.gov.uk and *Rochdale Observer*, 24 November 1943.

⁷⁷ For example, in 1861, John M'Cabe died from 'apoplexy caused by excessive drinking' in a Liverpool bridewell. A constable named Samuel Stevens (no.58) had found him and brought him in. There is no confirmation that this was *the* Samuel Stevens but he did serve in Liverpool at the time. It is possible that incidents such as these affected Stevens' attitude towards drink.

⁷⁸ J. Platt, *History of the Salford Police*, Greater Manchester Police Museum (hereafter GMPM) (no date or publisher), p.270.

⁷⁹ D.S. Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales: The Socio-Legal History of a Criminal Justice Elite* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1998), pp.272-3.

⁸⁰ He was buried in the Church of England plot in Brompton Cemetery, London. See: Register of Burials in the West of London and Westminster Cemetery, Earl's Court, Old Brompton, reproduced at <www.deceasedonline.co.uk>[accessed 9 January 2017]

Salford's Bench was comprised of both lay magistrates and a stipendiary magistrate, Sir John Illes Mantell. The son of a doctor, Mantell was born in 1813 in Farringdon, Wiltshire. In 1847 he was called to the Bar, and appointed chief justice and judge of the vice-admiralty court of the Gambia, a position he held until 1866. Knighted for his services in Africa in 1867, he was appointed as stipendiary both for Salford and the petty sessional division of Manchester in 1869. He appears to have been a Liberal, as in January 1873, he spoke at a meeting in Rochdale, during which he lauded the borough's MP, Thomas Bayley-Potter.⁸¹ He was a highly controversial figure in Salford. Upon his death in 1893, his obituary in the *Manchester Courier* stated that 'his manner on the bench was generally blunt and often peculiar', whilst he had a habit of dealing rapidly with those brought before him for drunkenness.⁸² Although the *Courier* claimed that he did not deliver unreasonable or vindictive sentences, there were instances when his decision-making caused an outcry. For example, he controversially sentenced Henry Bennett to three months imprisonment for vagrancy in 1876, a decision which created a local and national protest. *Reynolds' Weekly Newspaper* called the decision 'squint-eyed justice', whilst the *Graphic* decried the length of the sentence.⁸³ As a result of Mantell's decision, a public meeting was held in Salford to consider the petitioning of the Home Secretary in support of Bennett. The meeting at the Free Library was so overcrowded that many people held an impromptu meeting outside.⁸⁴

Such criticism embarrassed the borough's leaders and led to his removal from the position of stipendiary magistrate in 1878. His departure would have met with approval from the *City Jackdaw*, which in 1876 had stated that 'His reign has been marked by a want of that discretion and good temper which should distinguish all who hold the scales of justice'.⁸⁵ Importantly, Mantell was

⁸¹ *Rochdale Observer*, 11 January 1873. This was at a meeting of the Rochdale Merchants' and Tradesmen's Association Annual Banquet.

⁸² *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 18 July 1893.

⁸³ *Reynolds' Weekly Newspaper*, 16 January 1876, *Graphic*, 15 January 1876.

⁸⁴ *Salford Weekly News*, 15 January 1876. No doubt this reflected the depth of feeling against Mantell amongst certain sections of the populace of Salford.

⁸⁵ *City Jackdaw*, 7 January 1876.

a firm opponent of drink, which had a major bearing on sentencing patterns for female drunkenness in Salford, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Unlike Salford, Rochdale did not possess a stipendiary magistrate, despite occasional calls for one to be appointed.⁸⁶ In addition, Rochdale did not possess a magistrate as outspoken or as controversial as Mantell. The Borough Bench was established in 1872 and instigated a great deal of discussion in the Town Hall, with regular arguments between Liberals and Conservatives over the appointing of magistrates.⁸⁷ Although party interests did play a part in the appointing of the borough's magistrates, throughout the 1870s, and despite the Liberal domination of Rochdale's council, their numbers were roughly equal, with twelve Liberal magistrates and thirteen Conservatives having served.⁸⁸

Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show the composition of both Borough Benches in the first half of the 1870s. They were dominated by industrialists, which reflected the nature of their local economies. Garrard has argued that, up until at least 1880, these occupational backgrounds were common in industrial areas of the country, particularly in the north, where magisterial influence lay, not with the landed gentry, but rather with local businessmen and manufacturers.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in Salford, the borough's proximity to the commercial and industrial centre of Manchester was reflected in these occupations, as there were more merchants represented here than was the case in Rochdale.⁹⁰ Ultimately, the Benches in both boroughs were instruments of middle-class civic authority.

⁸⁶ *Rochdale Observer*, 30 June 1877 and 29 March 1879. It was felt that a stipendiary would not understand Rochdale as would a local man.

⁸⁷ Both sides accused the other of favouring their own party, when in government, when making appointments to the Bench. For reports of these meetings see the *Rochdale Observer*, 3 Jan, Feb and March 1874.

⁸⁸ *Rochdale Times*, 11 July 1891. This was very different from the overall political complexion of the borough.

⁸⁹ From then onwards, Garrard claimed, local power moved from merchants and manufacturers, to the shopocracy. See J. Garrard, 'Urban elites, 1850-1914: the rule and decline of a new squirearchy?', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 27.4 (1995), pp. 583-621.

⁹⁰ Garrard, sampling seven years between 1855-56 and 1882-83, discovered that over a third of Salford's councillors owned a house in the borough, and a factory or business in Manchester, see Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 90.

Trainor has stated that mid-Victorian magistrates tended to be wealthy men, and this assertion is borne out here.⁹¹ These men, on the whole, lived outside the working-class areas of Rochdale and Salford, in grand villas and houses. Furthermore, they employed, almost to a man, a number of servants. Additionally, the census notes, on occasion, the presence of coachmen and their families living next door to their employer, as was the case with Salford's William Agnew. These were large proprietors, men who employed a significant number of people in their mills and factories, or they were merchants and landowners. Although it is difficult to imagine, for example, Edmund Royds attending many of Rochdale's court sessions from his home in Great Malvern, his wealth was not in doubt.

Table 3.4: Occupations, political affiliations and religions of Justices of the Peace, Rochdale, 1872-1875.⁹²

Name	Year Appointed	Occupation – 1871 Census	Residence	Political Affiliation	Religion
Edmund Ashworth	1872	Woollen Manufacturer emp. 200 persons	Oakenead Terrace (three servants)	Liberal	Methodist
George Leach Ashworth	1872	Woollen Manufacturer	Roche Mount, Bury Rd	Liberal	Methodist
Robert Taylor Heape	1872	Merchant	Halton Hall (visitor)	Liberal	
Richard Hurst	1872	Cotton Spinner & Landowner	Spring Hill House (four servants)	Liberal	
John Robinson	1872	Machinist emp. 600 men	Mount Falinge (seven servants)	Liberal	
William T. Shawcross	1872	Master Cotton Spinner employing 280 persons	Heybrook (four servants)	Liberal	
Robert L. Tweedale	1872	Flannel Manufacturer & farmer of 27 acres	Healey Hall (two servants)	Liberal	

⁹¹ R. Trainor, 'Urban elites in Victorian Britain', *Urban History*, 12 (1985), pp. 1-17.

⁹² List of magistrates, year of appointment and their political affiliations taken from *Rochdale Times*, 11 July 1891. Occupations taken from: Justices of the peace. Return, giving the names and professions of all justices of the peace in the boroughs and cities of England and Wales, on 1st May 1880. PP 1881 (232). Occupations and religion taken from obituaries and census data.

James Brierley	1872	Cotton Manufacturer	West Hill (four servants)	Conservative	
James Butterworth	1872	Landowner and East Indian Merchant	Rake Bank, Yorkshire St (two servants)	Conservative	
Jonathan Nield	1872	Banker	Dunster House (eight servants)	Conservative	C of E
Clement M. Royds	1872	Banker & Landowner	Green Hill House (five servants)	Conservative	
William W. Schofield	1872	Flannel Manufacturer employing 280 males and 230 females (1861 census)	Buckley Hall (six servants)	Conservative	
Thomas Booth	1874	Cotton Spinner emp. c. 220 people	Harelands (three servants)	Liberal	
James Petrie	1874	Ironfounder/Engineer, employing 195 hands	Springfield House (three servants)	Liberal	
John Tatham	1874	Ironfounder/Machinist, employing 720 men and 240 boys	Moss House (three servants)	Liberal	
Charles Whitaker	1874	Woollen Dyer emp. 44 men, Cotton Spinner emp. 17 men, 53 women, 20 boys & 9 girls, also Landowner	Manchester Rd (three servants)	Liberal	
Henry Fishwick	1874	Major in 56 th LRV, coal proprietor, landowner	Carr Hill, Shawclough (three servants)	Conservative	C of E
Thomas Healey	1874	Cotton Spinner	Howarth Croft (three servants)	Conservative	
Robert Jewison	1874	Tallow Chandler	Yorkshire Street (one servant)	Conservative	
John Leach	1874	Cotton and woollen machine maker and cotton spinner	Moss House (two servants)	Conservative	
Edmund A.N. Royds	1875	Gentleman/Banker	Ellerslie, Gt Malvern (nine servants)	Conservative	

Table 3.5: Occupations, political affiliations and religions of Justices of the Peace, Salford, 1875⁹³

Name	Year Appointed	Occupation – 1871 Census	Residence	Political Affiliation	Religion
Sir John Iles Mantell	1869	Stipendiary Magistrate	Swinton Park, Swinton (three servants)	Liberal	
Richard Harwood	1869	Cotton Spinner and Landowner	Eversfield Place, Hastings	Liberal	Unitarian
William Agnew	1869	Picture Dealer	32 Eccles Rd, Salford (seven servants)	Liberal	
Elkanah Armitage	1869	Cotton Manufacturer, employing 1800 people	Hope Hall, Eccles Old Rd (five servants)	Liberal	Dissenter
James Lomax Barratt	1874	Bleacher of Cotton Goods	Pendleton Old Hall (three servants)		C of E
Charles Henry Bayley		Cotton Spinner	Bedford Lodge, Broughton (three servants)		C of E
William Romaine Callender		Cotton Spinner and Merchant	Ashburn House, Rusholme (seven servants)	Conservative	C of E
Charles Cawley	1870	Civil Engineer and MP	The Heath, Broughton (two servants)	Conservative	C of E
Charles Leigh Clare	1869	Merchant Agent and Manufacturer (1881 census)	Hopefield, Park Lane (three servants)	Liberal	C of E
Thomas Davies	1870	Alderman and JP	3 Broughton View (one servant)	Liberal	Methodist
Samuel Dewhurst	1870	Merchant, Landowner (Bleacher)	10 Eccles Rd (three servants)	Liberal	
William W. Goulden	1874	Solicitor (retired)	16 Crescent (one servant)	Conservative	C of E
James Leeming	1870	Worsted Spinner emp. 464 hands	Buile Hill Rd (two servants)		
Henry Leppoc		Manchester Merchant	Kersal Crag, Broughton (four servants)	Liberal	Unitarian
Joseph F. Mart	1867	Tea Merchant	29 Crescent, Salford (two servants)	Conservative	Catholic
Richard Milne-Redhead		Barrister- at-Law	2 Seedley Terrace, Salford (five servants)		

⁹³ The majority of these names are taken from: Justices of the peace. Return giving the names and professions of all the justices of the peace in the various boroughs and cities in England and Wales, on the 1st day of March 1875. PP 1875 (388). Occupations and religion taken from obituaries and census data. A sample of magistrates has also been taken from the Strangeways female prison registers. It has not been possible to produce a list of all Salford's magistrates from 1869-1875.

Dr Peter Royle		Doctor of Medicine	Vernon Lodge, Sale (three servants)	Conservative	
William W. Platt	1870	Maker of Machinery for Weaving	16 Seymour Grove, Stretford (three servants)		
Henry Pochin		Merchant	Barn Elm Farm, Richmond (six servants)	Liberal	
Richard Radford	1874	Solicitor	The Cliff, Lower Broughton Rd (three servants)		
George Robinson	1874	East India Merchant	Heath Bank (three servants)	Conservative	
Nathaniel Shelmerdine	1870	Wine Merchant	2 Weaste (three servants)	Conservative	C of E
Wright Turner	1869	Cotton Spinner and thread manufacturer (1861 census) emp. 250 hands	16 Eccles Rd (four servants)	Liberal	
John Tysoe	1874	Master Cotton Spinner	30 Seedley Road (three servants)	Liberal	
James J. Wood	1874	Felt hat and cap manufacturer, master emp. 58 hands	2 Cliff Point, Broughton (two servants)		
James Worrall	1864	Dyer	Whalley Rd, Manchester (four servants)	Conservative	

3.7) Conclusion

By the 1870s, Salford and Rochdale had both been well and truly changed by industrialisation.

Rochdale, in particular, was brimming with the confidence that economic prosperity had brought, whereas Salford, although not short of civic pride, was still looking over its shoulder at its bigger brother, Manchester. Both boroughs, but especially Salford, were struggling to contain the housing and sanitary problems common to industrialised boroughs of the period but there were also many employment opportunities for women in the mills and factories of these burgeoning areas.

Despite these similarities, they differed in terms of religion and politics. The roots of working-class Conservatism, which took hold in Salford, made no impression on the solid Liberal foundations of Rochdale. Here, Nonconformist Liberalism held sway, and this, as will be seen below,

played a major role in the policing of female drunkenness in the borough. Despite these political differences, there was one particularly important similarity between the two, in that in both boroughs the clash between political parties was fractious, confrontational, and public.

The policing of drunkenness differed between Rochdale and Salford. The extensive sprawl of Salford, coupled with a large, and at times transient population, was in stark contrast to the more compact layout of Rochdale. Here, magistrates and police had greater opportunity, than their colleagues in Salford, to recognise the persistent offenders brought before them for drunkenness.

Understanding the similarities and differences between the two boroughs is crucial when exploring the differences in attitudes towards, and the policing and sentencing of, female drunkenness. In Salford, Mantell was a highly influential figure on Salford's Bench, whilst in Rochdale, Samuel Stevens's approach to the policing of morality increased the number of the borough's committals to Strangeways Prison. As will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, women committed for drunkenness in both boroughs were not only caught up in the national and local drive against drink but were also victims of personal ego, judicial frustration, and middle-class ideology concerning gender and morality. The next chapter will examine the national concerns about drunkenness at this time, whilst Chapter 5, will explore, in more detail, how these concerns were reflected in Salford and Rochdale.

Chapter 4

National Context: Mid-Victorian Concerns About Drunkenness

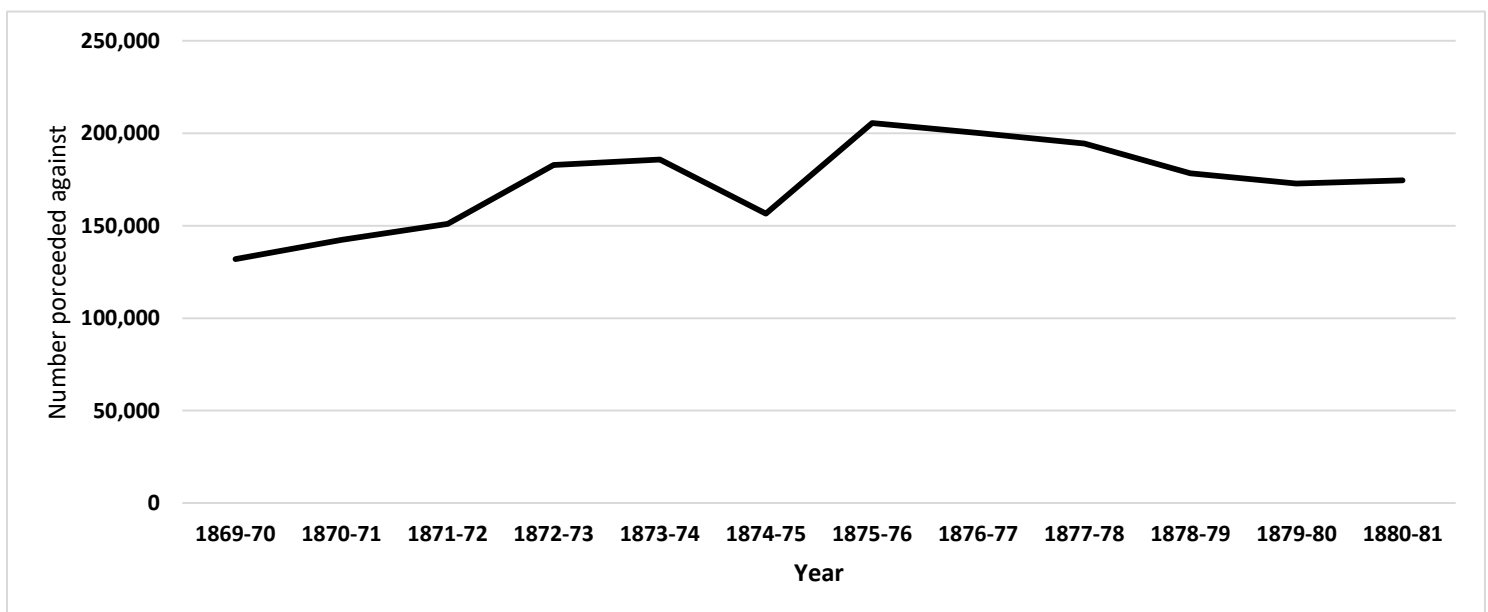
4.1) Introduction

Drunkenness was linked to a variety of social problems in mid-Victorian Britain, particularly crime, poverty, and health. Furthermore, the issue of female drunkenness was bound up in the sexual double standard, amid fears for the sanctity of the home and the welfare of the family. In addition to moral and social concerns, the 1870s saw drunkenness discussed ever more frequently in Parliament, as the temperance movement influenced the introduction of new licensing legislation. This chapter will examine these key issues, arguing that the policing of drunkenness influenced national trends and differences in prosecution statistics. It will then explore the economic impact of the drink trade, since the first half of the decade witnessed a growth in the consumption of alcohol, which was linked, in part, to the increased prosperity of the working classes. The emergence of medical debates about female drunkenness will then be discussed before the chapter examines contemporary gender ideology surrounding women and drink, and concludes with a discussion of the importance of licensing legislation. It addresses the myriad debates concerning drunkenness in mid-Victorian England and Wales and examines the backdrop against which women found themselves arrested and imprisoned for drunkenness.

4.2) The Policing of Drunkenness

By the early 1870s, the link between drunkenness and crime was well established. The 1834 Select Committee on Drunkenness, for example, had concluded that criminality was a natural consequence of excessive drinking 'from theft, fraud and prostitution in the young, to burnings, robberies and more hardened offences in the old'.¹ Writing in 1864, the statement of the MP and, ironically, London brewer, Charles Buxton, was regarded by many commentators as a truism: - 'Drink is the great parent of crime.'² This first section, therefore, will examine a key factor influencing contemporary concerns, the judicial statistics on drunkenness, before examining the policing of drunkenness on a national level. It will argue that police activity was the driver behind these figures. It will provide the background to the policing of drunkenness, and the actions of a number of urban police forces.

Figure 4.1: Number of prosecutions for drunkenness, England and Wales, 1869-1881



Judicial statistics were used by contemporary commentators to justify their assertions that drunkenness was increasing. These figures showed that the number of persons summarily proceeded against for drunkenness and drunk and disorderly behaviour rose from 105,310 in 1864-5

¹ Report from the Select Committee on Inquiry into Drunkenness, with minutes of evidence, and appendix, 1834. PP 1834 (559), p. vi.

² C. Buxton, *How to Stop Drunkenness* (London: Partridge, 1864), p. 9.

to 122,310 in 1868-9. Between 1866 and 1869, drunkenness comprised approximately a fifth of all summary prosecutions.³ By 1870, this had risen to a quarter.⁴ As Figure 4.1 shows, the number of persons proceeded against for drunkenness rose steadily in the years preceding the 1872 Licensing Act, then rose sharply in the first year of the Act's operation, from 151,084 to 182,941, before dropping equally sharply in mid-decade before rising again to peak at 205,567 in 1876. The rate then declined year-on-year towards the end of the decade.

In the early 1870s, newspapers were awash with the number of correspondents who condemned drunkenness in their localities. In Burnley, a concerned resident stated that 'Intemperance among females is every week on the increase', before declaring, 'if this state of things is to go on, we shall have a race of men and women as Godless as the French and more drunken.'⁵ In 1870, a temperance meeting at Liverpool saw 200 people fill St Georges Hall, where it was stated that Liverpool was 'probably the most drunken town in the United Kingdom, it is a still more lamentable fact that it is also equally notorious for an un-paralleled extent of female drunkenness.'⁶ Further south, in Surrey, the recorder of Guildford stated that drunkenness was, 'the master crime of England, causing nine-tenths of the offences.'⁷ In 1872, the report of the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards encapsulated the myriad problems associated with drink. It concluded that, especially in urban areas, the 'great evil' of drunkenness was on the increase. The report went on to insist that existing punishments were ineffective and that drunkenness was a major factor in instances of crime, disease and poverty.⁸

³ Judicial statistics. 1869. PP England and Wales [C.195], p. xvii.

⁴ Morrison, B, 'Ordering disorderly women: female drunkenness in England c. 1870-1920' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 2005), p.109.

⁵ *Burnley Advertiser*, 7 October 1871.

⁶ *The Standard*, 31 January 1870.

⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 23 October 1872.

⁸ Report from the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix, 1872. PP 1872 (242), p. iii. See also D. Gutzke, *Protecting the Pub, Brewers and Publicans Against Temperance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 41-44, C. Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community, The Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-80* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 152.

Trends in judicial statistics, and the wider response to their publication, were attributable to the policing of drunkenness, as the actions of the police influenced the number of arrests for the offence. Therefore, it is important to understand how individual police forces approached the issue. On the whole, the police only arrested people for extreme cases of drunkenness, either for being drunk and incapable or drunk and disorderly. As the *Manchester Courier* stated in 1876,

Persons who reel out of public-houses and, after cannoning against a few sober pedestrians, roll helplessly in the gutter, and persons, in a state of mad frenzy from drink, who create disturbances in the streets, are regularly taken into custody by the police and punished by the magistrates. It is these classes only to which the police returns refer, the quiet man who has had a glass too much, but who nevertheless walk (sic) home a little unsteadily, perhaps, without annoyance to others, not being reckoned or interfered with.⁹

Even so, arrests for drunkenness were down to the individual officer's discretion and/or dictated by superiors.¹⁰ In order to provide a context for policing in Salford and Rochdale, discussed in Chapter 5, this chapter will now examine the actions of police forces in other urban areas of England and Wales, beginning with the largest conurbation, London.

In the capital, in the early 1870s, arrest rates for drunkenness rose, from 21,625 in 1870 to 29,755 in 1873. Petrow has argued that this was a result of the Metropolitan Police reacting to increased pressure from temperance groups, and the legislation stemming from it, rather than from a pro-active decision to tackle drunkenness. As a result of external pressure, he stated, senior police officers needed to be seen to be clamping down on drunkenness.¹¹ Police discretion was still key, however. Traditionally the Metropolitan Police had moderate views on the 'drink question', with a

⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 13 November 1876.

¹⁰ As was the case in Rochdale, discussed in Chapter 5.

¹¹ S. Petrow, *Policing Morals, The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p.215.

pragmatic approach to arresting people for drunkenness. Furthermore, in the early 1870s, instructions to Metropolitan Police constables were ambiguous, simply stating that,

When the interference of Police becomes necessary a drunken person may be taken into custody and charged at a Police Station, and under no circumstances is a PC to leave his beat to conduct such a person to his home or elsewhere.¹²

Importantly, the priority of the Metropolitan Police was deemed to be the protection of life and property, rather than arresting people for drunkenness.¹³

A comparison of the policing of drunkenness in other urban areas highlights the different approaches that police forces took. Unlike their counterparts in London, Liverpool's police were known to escort a drunk person home for their own safety. Additionally, they would often permit a person arrested for the offence to sober up in the cells overnight and, as a consequence, to be released without charge.¹⁴ Liverpool had a notorious reputation for drunkenness but, due to the actions of the police, the true extent of drunkenness in the town is difficult to ascertain.¹⁵

Elsewhere, in Middlesbrough, another town with a reputation for drunkenness, the statistics may have been inflated by the desire of local authorities to pro-actively prosecute people for the offence.¹⁶

¹² *Metropolitan Police: Office of the Commissioner: Confidential Books and Instructions. General Orders and Regulations*, The National Archives, London, MEPO 8/3, 1873. Crime, Punishment, and Popular Culture 1790-1920, reproduced at <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com>>[accessed 26 January 2016], p. 95.

¹³ *Ibid*, p.217. The Metropolitan Police handbook also advised that a person may be suffering from a fit, rather than being drunk and gave guidance on how to assist them. These must have been regular occurrences and some may have met with tragedy, as a comic song 'Drunk or Dying' appeared in 1877 mocking a policeman's attempts to deal with such a case, see *Fun*, 31 January 1877.

¹⁴ J. Archer, *The Monster Evil, Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p.13. There was no doubt a class distinction here, with working-class women more prone to arrest than middle-class women, see A. Vleugels, 'Drunkenness, anti-social behaviour, class, gender and alcohol in the making of the Habitual Drunkards Act, 1870-79', in S. Pickard (ed.), *Anti-Social Behaviour in Britain, Victorian and Contemporary Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 267.

¹⁵ D. Beckingham, *The Licensed City, Regulating Drink in Liverpool, 1830-1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), pp. 6-12.

¹⁶ D. Taylor, *Policing the Victorian Town, The Development of the Police in Middlesbrough, c.1840-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.67.

In Manchester, Jones stated that there was a more rigorous policing of drunkenness due to the national campaigns on licensing, which saw a 'staggering rise' in arrests from the mid-1860s, which remained high until the early 1880s.¹⁷ Manchester's Chief Constable, William Palin, however, maintained that his force was not influenced by public opinion and was not subject to 'external influences.'¹⁸ Here, the greatest increase in apprehensions was from 5,639 in 1866, to 11,461 in 1869. This number remained constant from then on and in 1873, the year after the 1872 Licensing Act, it dropped to 9,102, a reverse of the trend in London.¹⁹ Palin attributed the decrease in arrests to both the 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act and the 1872 Licensing Act, the former being implemented to close down those licensed premises associated by the police with criminality.²⁰ Therefore, it was the earlier Act which appears to have had the greatest impact on the policing of drunkenness in Manchester. Whether or not Manchester's senior policemen were reacting to public opinion, they certainly made use of their augmented legislative powers.

In that other great manufacturing centre, Birmingham, the number of people proceeded against for drunkenness also increased at this time, from 1,999 in 1872 to 3,727 in 1877.²¹ This was partly attributable to the actions of the city's Chief Constable, Major Bond, who, from 1876, instructed his men to arrest 'quiet drunks'. Section 12 of the 1872 Licensing Act had made simple drunkenness an offence, which Bond acted upon. Unfortunately for the Chief Constable, the policy met with resistance from both magistrates and town council and was abandoned.²² Bond continued to defend his actions and attributed the increase in arrests for drunkenness on an improved

¹⁷ D. Jones, 'Crime and police in Manchester in the nineteenth century', in D. Jones, *Crime, Protest, Community and Police in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1982), p.163.

¹⁸ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), pp. 164-165.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.338.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 167.

²¹ B. Weinberger, 'Law breakers and law enforcers in the late Victorian city: Birmingham 1867-1877' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1981), p.231.

²² *Ibid*, p.83. The initiative failed as 'quiet' drunks could only be brought to court on a summons, the address being ascertained by following the defendant home, a practice seen by the magistrates to be 'un-English'.

standard of policing and the force's reaction to public pressure.²³ Therefore, Birmingham's police used the powers given to them by the 1872 Licensing Act by arresting more people for drunkenness. Throughout England and Wales, therefore, statistics for drunkenness were influenced by the actions of the police. The patterns varied depending on each force's approach.

Even so, an individual officer's discretion was still the decisive factor in making an arrest. As Thompson noted 'the police certainly had wide discretion in deciding whether to take no notice, to caution, or to arrest and charge.' There was also a class distinction to be made, as drunken gentlemen and respectable workingmen could be helped home, placed into a cab, or simply ignored. It was the 'lower orders of society' who would be arrested and charged.²⁴

As the number of people proceeded against for drunkenness rose, so did the prison population. In 1869, committals on summary conviction numbered 123,552, an increase on the previous year of 11.4 per cent.²⁵ In many cases, drink was blamed. Once again, in Liverpool, it was reported that 'drunkenness apparently flourishes more than ever' in the town, after a weekend which saw 270 cases of drunkenness appear before the magistrates. Many arrested women were stated to have been kept in local bridewells due to overcrowding in Walton Gaol. Although no proof was forthcoming, this problem was attributed to drink.²⁶ Elsewhere in Lancashire, Oldham's Liberal MP, John Tomlinson Hibbert, reported that the number of committals for drunkenness to Strangeways Prison had risen by 10 per cent from 1866 to 1870.²⁷ There was, moreover, a gendered view of prisoners. Women were reported to have comprised the majority of committals to Ripon Prison, where the governor, William Smith, declared that they had 'more frequent habits of

²³ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), pp.195-222.

²⁴ F.M.L. Thompson, F.M.L. *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 330.

²⁵ Judicial statistics. 1869. PP England and Wales [C.195], p.xxix.

²⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 August 1871.

²⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 January 1871.

drunkenness than men' before adding 'We have a great deal of trouble with them.'²⁸ Ripon's prison was much smaller than either Walton or Strangeways, but the perceived problem of drunkenness, especially amongst women, was prevalent in both rural and urban prisons of varying sizes.²⁹

4.3) Crimes of Violence

The 1870s were also a key decade in fears about violence. Not only was drunkenness seen as a problem but inter-personal violence was perceived to be on the increase. Concerns about violent attacks were not new; in the early 1860s there had been a moral panic about garrotting.³⁰ A decade later, fears about the relationship between drunkenness and violence were now intertwined. They reached a peak in August 1874. That month, Richard Morgan, a porter, had been beaten and kicked to death on Tithebarn Street in Liverpool. Morgan had been returning from a Bank Holiday trip to the Wirral with his wife, when, on passing a pub had been asked for money by a group of men. When he refused he was attacked, and later died from his injuries. The death of an apparently respectable working man at the hands of local 'street roughs', or cornermen, caused a public sensation and sparked national debates about gangs and violence. The shock was intensified as the attack took place in broad daylight and in a busy thoroughfare. 'Few crimes have created a wider or deeper feeling of horror', stated the *Liverpool Mercury*, and 'the circumstances...were of such a nature that every law-abiding member of the community must have felt a personal interest in the

²⁸ Report from the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix, 1872. PP 1872 (242), p.2.

²⁹ Ripon had approximately eighty committals, for all offences, annually by 1872, compared to 6624 committals to Strangeways that year. See *Ibid*, p. 3 and Manchester. Chaplain's Report on Salford Hundred County Prison, 21 October 1872, Lancashire Archives (hereafter LA), Quarter Sessions Petitions, QSP/3902/41. As befitted Victorian gender ideology, the penal regime believed female sexuality to produce 'unruly and deviant behaviour', especially in working-class women, see S. D'Cruze and L. Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 122.

³⁰ J. Davis, 'The London garrotting panic: a moral panic and the creation of a criminal class in mid-Victorian England' in V.A.C. Gatrell, B. Lehman and G. Parker (eds), *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London: Europa, 1980), pp.190-213, G. Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), Ch. 6.

case.³¹ As Macilwee noted, the 'Tithebarn Street Outrage' exaggerated concerns about a threat to social stability and of the perceived inability of the authorities to control the 'lower orders'.³²

Such was the effect of the attack on Tithebarn Street that a parliamentary inquiry was established in the autumn of 1874, which sought the views of the country's magistrates into the suitability of the powers available to them in punishing brutal assaults. Responses to the inquiry were muted, with the majority of respondents claiming that existing powers were sufficient in dealing with such offences. As a result, no changes in the law were made, although the fact that such a process was deemed necessary is an indication of how seriously the issue of brutal violent offences was viewed by parliament.

Additionally, the decade also saw a peak in prosecutions for violent assaults against the police. These were a regular occurrence throughout the nineteenth century, with the police's enforcing of legislation often leading to clashes between themselves and the poorer working class.³³ Weinberger has stressed that the 1870s, in particular, witnessed a surge in such attacks. They were particularly brutal as they generally took the form of assaults by mobs, and were fuelled by police implementation of the licensing laws and new Poor Law policy.³⁴ In Birmingham, in 1875, one particular incident garnered national publicity, with the murder of PC Lynes during a riot in Navigation Street. *The Times* reported that Lynes and a colleague, Sergeant Fletcher, had been attacked by a 'mob of ruffians' whilst taking a suspected burglar into custody. In the ensuing riot

³¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 December 1874.

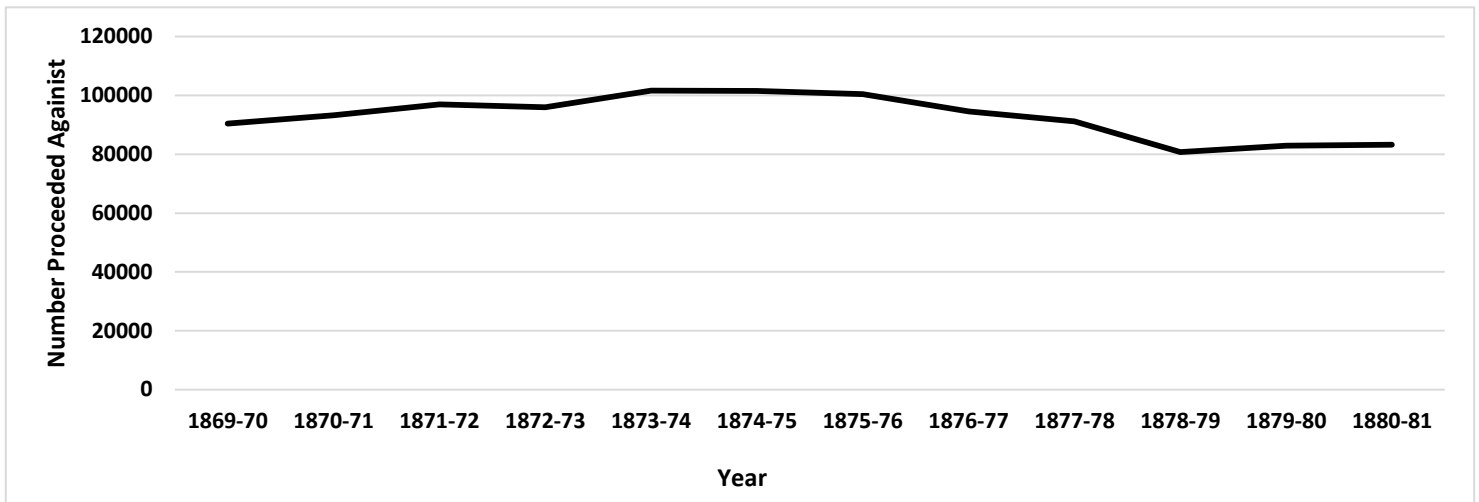
³² M. Macilwee, *The Gangs of Liverpool* (Preston: Milo, 2007), p.79, see also, J. Archer, 'The press, the cornermen and Liverpool's 'Tithebarn Street Outrage' of 1874, *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* (2010-11), pp.117-142.

³³ C. Emsley, *The English Police, A Political and Social History* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp.70-71. Many, if not most, assaults against the police went unrecorded.

³⁴ B. Weinberger, 'The police and the public in mid-nineteenth-century Warwickshire', in V. Bailey (ed.), *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (New Jersey: Rutgers, 1981), pp.65-67. The 1870s saw the unpopularity of the police at its height, especially amongst the working class. See also, C. Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: The Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-80* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), Ch. 9.

Lynes had been stabbed and later died of his injuries.³⁵ Episodes such as this, and the death of Richard Morgan, meant that fears about brutal assaults, both against the police and the ‘respectable’ public, became heightened during the decade.

Figure 4.2: Number of prosecutions for assault, England and Wales, 1869-1881



Source: Judicial Statistics, 1869-1881

The link between drunkenness and violence is a particularly important one here. As well as being a national concern, it is especially important in the case of Salford, as discussed in Chapter 5. As Figure 4.2 shows, the prosecutions for assaults, nationally, show a much steadier pattern over the decade when compared to those for drunkenness. Even in mid-decade, when concerns over violence were at their highest, there was no sharp rise in those proceeded against for violent offences. Events in Tithebarn Street and Navigation Street had provoked waves of anxiety about violence but police activity did not appear to have changed.³⁶ After 1876, the rates began to decline. Concerns about brutal assaults did not result in legislation and do not appear to have had a discernible effect on the policing of violence *per se*.³⁷ This chapter will now move away from issues of law and order and examine the economic concerns about drink.

³⁵ *The Times*, 8 March 1875. Not surprisingly the incident and aftermath were widely reported in the Birmingham press, see *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 March, 25 March, 2 April, 12 July and 28 July 1875.

³⁶ R. Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), pp. 64-66.

³⁷ This was not the case in Salford, however, discussed in Chapter 6.

4.4) Drink and the Economy

During this period, a number of social commentators believed drunkenness was increasing and that this increase was attributable, in no small part, to an increase in wages and the inability of the working class to spend this money wisely. As Archer's study of violence in Liverpool noted, the fluctuations in the numbers of arrests for drunkenness in the borough were linked to economic conditions, with figures increasing in times of prosperity.³⁸ In 1877, in giving evidence to the Select Committee on Intemperance, the statistician, Leone Levi, believed that drunkenness was more prevalent amongst workers in industrial counties, such as Lancashire and Northumberland.

Although his evidence was at times ambiguous, he stated that 'The consumption of the temperate has greatly increased of late in proportion to the general prosperity of the people'.³⁹ He believed that miners in particular were unable to resist spending their wages on drink, testifying that 'With an immense increase in wages in the mining districts the men found themselves in a sudden flush of prosperity, and having no thrift, and no intelligence to use that prosperity aright, they rushed to the public house.'⁴⁰

Furthermore, Alfred Ephraim Eccles, the owner of cotton mills in Pendleton and Chorley, Lancashire, believed that drinking was increasing amongst both the labouring and artisan classes.⁴¹ The latter, he told the Select Committee on Intemperance, 'earn more money than other workpeople and spend it very largely in beer and tobacco.'⁴² William Hoyle, a Bury mill-owner and statistician of the UKA, proclaimed that, with working men, 'any advance in wages is simply

³⁸ Archer, *The Monster Evil*, p.23.

³⁹ Third report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (418), pp.205-206. The committee pushed Levi on several occasions to testify that the perceived increase of drunkenness was commensurate with the increase in trade and wages. At times he agreed with them but then contradicted himself on other occasions.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.207.

⁴¹ As noted in Chapter 3, Pendleton became part of the borough of Salford in 1853.

⁴² Third report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (418), p.68.

providing them greater facility for their own degradation.⁴³ Elsewhere, in Salford, in March 1873, the stipendiary magistrates, Sir John Iles Mantell, maintained that ‘the working classes are now earning very high wages – altogether more than are necessary for their proper wants – and their disposition to spend those earnings in drink is amply proved by the drunken cases that come before me’.⁴⁴

These viewpoints were contradicted by press reports which described the workings of local police courts. In Salford, the *Weekly Chronicle* despatched a reporter to the police court to test Mantell’s assertion. The newspaper was critical of the workings of the court, and, supporting the ‘respectable’ working class, disagreed with Mantell’s claims. It stated;

The class of drunkards who were placed in the dock on Tuesday, evidently, with two exceptions, belong to a class who receive, as a rule, merely a workhouse pittance. Women and men alike were clothed in a garb that no respectable tradesman, who saw them in such habiliments, would admit on his premises. Miserable and wretched outcasts, who tramp our streets at midnight, and find a shelter in outhouses or any refuge for the destitute that can be found, were the class of offenders who were arraigned for judgement. These characters are not the skilled artisans who are now in receipt of high wages.⁴⁵

The *Chronicle*, a Conservative organ which no doubt felt compelled to defend its readers from the ire of the Stipendiary, had used the article to fiercely support Salford’s artisans against Mantell’s accusations.⁴⁶ Party politics did not necessarily influence such opinions, however, as in Rochdale, the Liberal *Observer* produced a similar observation concerning the borough’s police court. It declared that ‘With respect to the prisoners, one of the first things that strikes me is the very limited

⁴³ W. Hoyle, *Our National Resources and How They Are Wasted: An Omitted Chapter in Political Economy* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, 1871), p. 110.

⁴⁴ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 1 March 1873.

⁴⁵ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 8 March 1873.

⁴⁶ Salford had witnessed a resurgence of working class Conservatism and some of the *Chronicle*’s readers were no doubt part of the newly enfranchised ‘respectable’ working class, and Tory voters. See Chapter 3.

number of well-dressed people who appear before the bench'.⁴⁷ In Liverpool, the social investigator, and editor of the town's *Porcupine* magazine, Hugh Shimmin, described the appearance of six women who been brought up for drunkenness and held in the local bridewell. One he described as 'a very curious-looking old woman, with gray hair and red pimpled face', whilst 'The five other females in the cell were all young women. One of them only was decently attired'.⁴⁸ If taken at face value, the images portrayed by these commentators suggested that few of those arrested for drunkenness were earning high wages.

There is little doubt that it was working-class women who were imprisoned for drunkenness. As the *Rochdale Observer* astutely noted,

Whatever may be said to the contrary, drunkenness is the besetting sin of all classes, but I suppose those in the upper and middle classes manage to keep out of the hands of the police, whilst those below them in station being detected are converted for the nonce into scapegoats.⁴⁹

These sentiments were reflected in police policy. As noted below, at this time, a tenuous link had emerged which combined the perceived increase in female drunkenness with the number of small shopkeepers licensed to sell alcohol. Not all commentators pursued this line, as William Palin, Manchester's Chief Constable, testified that men and women who bought their alcohol from grocer's shops, that is, those who could afford to shop there, tended not to fall into the hands of the police.⁵⁰ His counterpart in Liverpool, Major Greig, echoed Palin's statement. Greig testified that 'it is only the lower classes who are included under the head of drunken men and women; they would

⁴⁷ *Rochdale Observer*, 7 January 1871.

⁴⁸ Archer, *The Monster Evil*, p. 237.

⁴⁹ *Rochdale Observer*, 7 January 1871.

⁵⁰ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), p. 166.

not go to respectable grocers' shops, but would go to the lowest beerhouses and public houses.⁵¹ It was the 'unrespectable' working class, therefore, who were most vulnerable to arrest.

Historians have examined the Victorian economy and its impact on the drinking habits of the working class. Dingle suggested that the rise in money wages in the 1870s benefitted artisans far more than it did low-skilled workers, and that it was the former group who were mainly responsible for the increase in alcohol consumption in the first half of the decade.⁵² However, he based his argument purely on statistics and did not examine the individuals involved. Additionally, he viewed drinkers purely as male, as husbands, and focussed on how their drinking patterns affected the household economy. He did not take the drinking habits of women into account, or even acknowledge that women did indeed drink. During this period, female textile workers in particular, were associated with drunkenness. In Lancashire, Alfred Ephraim Eccles believed that the prevalence of licensed premises, in the area surrounding his mill, led to drunkenness amongst his employees. He argued that 'We had plenty of drunken women in Pendleton where liquor shops abounded' and that work was known to stop on a Monday through the effect of drunkenness.⁵³ Therefore, by examining the circumstances of female individuals sentenced to gaol for drunkenness it is possible to ascertain that not only could drinkers be women, they were also not artisans or in highly-paid occupations. This will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Moreover, the mid-Victorian period witnessed a peak in the overall consumption of alcohol. The wine trade had initially benefitted from Gladstone's free trade efforts but by the 1870s,

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁵² A.E. Dingle, 'Drink and working-class living standards in Britain, 1870-1914', *Economic History Review*, 25.4 (1972), pp.608-622, p. 617.

⁵³ Third report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (418), p. 68. For classic accounts of the decline of 'Saint Monday', see D. Reid, 'The decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876', *Past and Present*, 71 (1976), pp. 76-101, 'Weddings, weekdays, work and leisure in urban England: the decline of Saint Monday revisited', *Past and Present*, 153 (1996), pp. 135-63 and E.P. Thompson, 'Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), pp. 56-97.

consumption of wine fell behind spirits and beer.⁵⁴ The peak years for spirits and beer consumption in the nineteenth century were 1870-76, which Dingle has attributed partially to the lack of affordable, mass produced consumer goods and rising wages. A lack of alternatives to alcohol, at least until the 1880s, meant that working class leisure activities centred on drinking.⁵⁵ Jennings also associated the fall in consumption from the 1870s with the increasing range of alternative goods which became available, especially tobacco.⁵⁶ However, depressed economic conditions in the second half of the decade, particularly in Lancashire, may have played a greater role, coupled with police attention turning elsewhere. As noted in Chapter 9, the women committed for drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale were living in poor areas, therefore it is highly unlikely that they would have been able to afford alternative forms of leisure to any great extent. Economic factors, rather than temperance activity, were probably the main drivers of the decline in alcohol consumption. This argument would not have been supported by the likes of William Hoyle, who, commenting on the decline in consumption in 1880, stated,

The continued spread of temperance truth, coupled with the severe distress which has existed, and which has largely been the result of this intemperance, has at length not only enlightened the understandings of the people, but has roused them to such a sense of personal obligation as has borne the wholesome fruits to which I have referred.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ B. Harrison, B, *Drink and the Victorians, The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, 2nd ed (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994), p. 231.

⁵⁵ A.E. Dingle, 'Drink and working-class living standards'. Dingle's working class drinker was predominantly male and an artisan. He mentioned women only in the context of housewives and budget holders and did not take into account working-class female drinkers and their occupational and family backgrounds. As Cunningham noted, 'Women, whether or not they were in paid employment, had very little sense of time being so neatly divided into work and leisure.' H. Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure, Life Changes in England since 1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 178. See also, P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Struggle for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 95.

⁵⁶ P. Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English, 1500-2000* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p.20.

⁵⁷ *Rochdale Times*, 24 April 1880. Hoyle, a Lancashire cotton manufacturer was an ardent supporter of the UKA and became renowned as the movement's statistician. He published several works, the most prominent of which, *Our National Resources and How They Are Wasted* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, 1871) and *Crime in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Heywood, 1876) blamed economic depression and crime, respectively, on intemperance. See also, R. Bayne, 'Hoyle, William (1831-1886)', rev. Mark Clement, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, reproduced at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>[accessed 1 Sept 2016].

Such an opinion would not have been unexpected, coming as it did from an ardent member of the UKA.

4.5) The Medical Profession

From the middle of the nineteenth century, elements of the medical profession began to argue that habitual drunkenness needed to be viewed as a disease to be cured, rather than as a crime to be punished.⁵⁸ By the 1870s such opinions were coming to prominence in contemporary discourse but it is only after the end of this research period that they affected legislative change, in the form of the 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act. Furthermore, by the end of the century, the link between drunkenness and insanity was seen to be particularly prominent in industrial areas, such as those in Lancashire.⁵⁹ It is important, therefore, to acknowledge the medical debates which took place during this research period.

One of the leading proponents of these views was Donald Dalrymple, an ex-proprietor of an asylum in Norwich, who was elected as a Liberal MP in 1870. His former position saw him associate insanity with drunkenness and, after introducing a bill for the state licensing of retreats and asylums, he instigated a select committee into the issue.⁶⁰ Sitting in March 1872, the committee reached several conclusions, notably that: drunkenness was on the increase, mainly in the larger towns and cities, that existing laws were inadequate to deal with it, that it was the cause of crime, disease and poverty and that occasionally drunkenness became an uncontrollable disease, 'confirmed and

⁵⁸ L. Radzinowicz and R. Hood, *A History of English Criminal Law, Vol.5, The Emergence of Penal Policy* (London: Stevens and Sons, 1986), p.289.

⁵⁹ P. McCandless, "Curses of civilization': insanity and drunkenness in Victorian Britain, *British Journal of Addiction*, 79 (1984), p. 52. Drunkenness in industrial areas was linked by contemporary commentators to the presence of the Irish, unhealthy urban environments, monotonous work and high wages.

⁶⁰ J. Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics Since 1830: A Study in Policy Making* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 36.

habitual'. It recommended that asylums be established for the committal, both voluntary or by the authorities, of criminal and non-criminal inebriates.⁶¹

Dalrymple's views gained support amongst social commentators, with the prominent Anglican vicar, Richard Temple West, arguing that short prison sentences were failing to alleviate or reform the number of women being prosecuted for drunkenness. Prison sentences, he stated, 'appear utterly to fail in effecting any reformation, and show the extreme and urgent need of a sanatorium or reformatory as suggested by the late Mr. Donald Dalrymple'.⁶² Additionally, one W.A. Holdsworth, writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, also espoused the establishment of asylums and reformatories for the treatment of habitual drunkards. Dalrymple's Bill, which had been re-introduced after the select committee's report had, he argued, 'the merit of being practical, simple, and cheap, while it carefully avoids an undue interference with personal liberty.'⁶³ Ultimately, the legislature did not agree, and Dalrymple's proposals were rejected due to libertarian and class concerns. It would be another seven years before they were acted upon, albeit in a watered down form, with the passing of the 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act.⁶⁴

It was not just the reformation of those deemed to be habitual drunkards that concerned the medical profession. Dr Robert Martin, speaking in 1874, declared that the increasing death rate in Liverpool was attributable to intemperance, which was caused by the large number of licensed premises which had grown up under the local magistrates' experiment in free trade. He directed his ire, in particular, towards women, declaring that,

⁶¹ Report from the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix, 1872. PP 1872 (242), pp.iii-vii, see also: Habitual drunkards. A bill to amend the law of lunacy, and to provide for the management of habitual drunkards, 1870 PP (1870 (197)) and R.M. MacLeod, 'The edge of hope: social policy and chronic alcoholism 1870-1900', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 22.3 (1967), pp. 215-245.

⁶² *John Bull*, 24 December, 1875. Dalrymple had died in 1873.

⁶³ W.A. Holdsworth, 'ART.IV.-1. The Licensing Act, 1872, *The Edinburgh Review*, 137.280 (1873), pp. 398-421.

⁶⁴ P. Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English*, p.216. There was, for example, concern that deceitful families may lock up troublesome relatives in asylums, although the Bill failed as it would have affected middle class drinkers too, see also Vleugels, 'Drunkenness'.

Wherever female drunkenness abounds, a high infantile death rate is inevitable. The milk of the mother is scanty and injurious, and her mode of feeding her infant is barbarous; if she does not overlay it, she half poisons it with the horribly foul air it breathes; its rags are filthy, and it is exposed to chilling winds, or to the night air. No wonder, therefore, that the offspring of a drunken mother, but especially of drunken, perhaps syphilitic parents, are short-lived.⁶⁵

It is important to note therefore, that alongside political and public order concerns about drunkenness, the roots of the medical profession's interest in the topic had begun to emerge long before the licensing debates of the early 1870s. Noting the comments of Dr Robert Martin, above, this chapter now turns towards wider Victorian concerns about female drunkenness.

4.6) Female Drunkenness

Marital status played a key role in Victorian perceptions of female drinking, as middle-class commentators deplored the perceived effect that drink had on wives and mothers. In her study of women's leisure, Parratt stated that reformers, the police, and doctors alike argued that it was middle-aged, married women who were most likely to be 'confirmed drunkards'. In late-Victorian London, for example, Charles Booth was told that women did not take to drink before the age of twenty-five and that those that did, tended to be married.⁶⁶ Such conclusions were also drawn elsewhere. In Salford, Sir John Iles Mantell, the stipendiary magistrate, believed that females prosecuted for drunkenness in the borough tended to be older women, stating that 'it is very rare

⁶⁵R. Martin, 'On intemperance as a factor in the production of disease', *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society*, 1873/74-5. Manchester Historical Society, reproduced at <<https://www.gale.com>>[accessed 7 June 2012]. pp. 67-86.

⁶⁶C.M. Parratt, *"More Than Mere Amusement": Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914* (Boston, Mass: Northeastern University Press, 2001), pp. 142-143.

that girls under 20 come before the magistrates for drunkenness'.⁶⁷ It was feared that neglectful mothers, not fathers, would lead their children into a life of crime. As the *Dundee Courier* stated,

With women, terrible as the statement may appear, instances of their teaching their own child to thief are not uncommon. In these cases, however, the women are invariably drunkards: no sober woman, though her character may be bad, ever trains her child to systematic dishonesty.⁶⁸

These views were a constant trope of the Victorian age.

Such statements suggested that drinking was primarily viewed as being a habit for older, married women. Indeed, Zedner has stated that the years 1864-1877 witnessed an increase in the age of the female prison population. The proportion of women over forty-five, she claimed, rose from 12 per cent in 1866 to 18 per cent in 1877.⁶⁹ As drunkenness was the most common offence for which women were committed to gaol, it would not be surprising to see this pattern repeated for Strangeways, as will be investigated below.

Victorians were particularly concerned about mothers who were deemed to be criminal. It was argued that criminality was genetic, and that the children of criminal mothers would become criminal themselves, through the influence of their parents and their home life.⁷⁰ M.E. Owen, writing in 1866, argued that there was a class of women who 'poison the springs of their home life – who bring forth children to follow in their steps'. These women, she continued, 'were *born into this state*. They have been suffered to *grow up* in it'.⁷¹ The debates still raged later on in the century, when J.A. Bright, the son of John Bright, the famous Liberal, argued that 'Drunken, vicious and criminal parents have no right to the care of children whom they are certainly bringing up to form

⁶⁷ Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (271), p.28.

⁶⁸ *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 21 June 1870.

⁶⁹ L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.156-157.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 47-48.

⁷¹ M.E. Owen, 'Criminal women', *The Cornhill Magazine*, 14.80 (1866), p. 156. Italics are original.

another generation like themselves.⁷² The only solution, he stated, was to remove children from such 'unfit' parents.

Regardless of the common perception of which 'type' of woman was more likely to drink, the 1870s witnesses a growth in concern about women's drinking in general. The perceived rise in female drinking was associated by several commentators with grocers' licences. These licences could be obtained by small shopkeepers, who could then sell alcohol for consumption off the premises. Introduced by William Gladstone in 1860, they were unpopular with licensing magistrates insofar as they were unable to turn down any application, provided that the applicant could fulfil four criteria: being of good character, their property being of the appropriate rateable value and that their house, and that of their neighbours, was not disorderly. By 1879, there were 5,378 such licences in operation.⁷³ The oft-repeated argument was that women were secretly procuring alcohol from small shops and grocers, who were substituting the alcohol with household goods on the weekly account.⁷⁴ Throughout the decade, claims and counter-claims were made against grocers' licences and their effect on the perceived increase in female drunkenness. So insidious was their influence perceived to be, that in 1877 *The Lancet* began a campaign against them, claiming that they encouraged secret drinking amongst women.⁷⁵

These claims, although unwarranted and lacking in substance, became commonplace. In September 1875, a letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, prompted by police reports of a 'great and unprecedented advance of drunkenness amongst women.' The writer was sure of where the problem lay, namely in the number of licences granted to shopkeepers for them to sell alcohol for off consumption.⁷⁶ The Manchester magistrate, William Agnew, complained to the Home

⁷² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 November 1883.

⁷³ *Morning Post*, 22 April 1879.

⁷⁴ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 8 September 1879.

⁷⁵ T. Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard* (Open Access: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 45.

⁷⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, 11 September 1875. Another letter appeared two days later, probably from a holder of such a licence, angrily refuting the claims, see *Manchester Guardian*, 13 September 1875.

Secretary that they were compelled to grant such licences even if they was no requirement for them in the locality.⁷⁷ In giving evidence to the Select Committee on Intemperance, his colleague, John Alexander Bremner, stated that despite convictions for female drunkenness declining between 1873 and 1876, there had been an increase in drunkenness amongst women, mainly ‘the comparatively educated middle class.’ This was due, he claimed, to the increase in grocers’ licences in Manchester, where,

Respectable women, perhaps the wives of clerks and others in receipt of moderate incomes, go to grocers’ shops ostensibly for tea and sugar, but take away with them a bottle or two of spirits. They take it home and begin to drink, and that is the way the thing begins.⁷⁸

Harrison suggested that there was some credence in the temperance view that grocers’ licences increased drinking amongst women. There is, however, no evidence to substantiate this.⁷⁹

Indeed, not all commentators agreed with the likes of Bremner. Major Bond, the Chief Constable of Birmingham, expressed doubt that grocers’ licences were to blame for female drunkenness. ‘They are of no moment whatever’, he stated to the Select Committee on Intemperance in 1877, before adding that large numbers of men congregating in public houses was, in his view, the prime cause of drunkenness in Birmingham.⁸⁰ Yet concerns persisted, numerous enough for there to be prolonged debates in select committee and in the press about grocers’ licences and their perceived effect on women’s drinking. Such concerns may well have been linked to the emergence of feminism, a desire of some women to break out of their ‘separate sphere’ of home and family.

⁷⁷ *Salford Weekly News*, 23 February 1878.

⁷⁸ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), p. 149.

⁷⁹ B. Harrison, ‘Pubs’ in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City, Image and Realities, Vol.1* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

⁸⁰ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), p.200.

By the mid-Victorian period, some women were beginning to challenge the concept of their gendered role in society.⁸¹ This was a period which saw middle-class women make concerted efforts to engage in politics and education. Indeed, Vleugels has stated that concerns about female drunkenness, amongst social commentators, can be linked to contemporary feminist ideas.⁸² This is, however, over-stating the importance of Victorian feminism in the everyday thoughts of the police and magistrates. Although middle-class women were challenging the sexual double-standard, it is unlikely that the day-to-day actions of police and magistrates were unduly influenced by wider political and feminist debates.⁸³ The entry of women into university education at Cambridge, for instance, whilst causing controversy, was unlikely to affect sentencing policy in Salford or Rochdale.⁸⁴ As noted above, it was overwhelmingly working-class, not middle-class, women who were prosecuted for drunkenness.

4.7) Legislation

Finally, this chapter will explore debates about licensing. This period witnessed the introduction of two important pieces of legislation, namely the 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act and the 1872 Licensing Act. The latter, in particular, was the most important piece of licensing legislation to have been passed for forty years. Both Acts had a major impact on the licensing of pubs and beerhouses,

⁸¹ After 1867, the concept of women's suffrage began to be brought into political debate, see: C. Eustance, 'Protests from behind the grille: gender and the transformation of parliament, 1867-1918', *Parliamentary History*, 16.1 (1997), pp.107-126, H.L. Smith, *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1866-1928* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), p. 7, See A. Rosen, 'Emily Davies and the women's movement, 1862-1867', *Journal of British Studies*, 19.1 (1979), pp. 101-121.

⁸² Vleugels, 'Drunkenness', p. 271.

⁸³ See B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), J. Jordan, *Josephine Butler* (London: John Murray, 2001), chs. 7 and 8, J. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), Ch. 4, M. Ogborn, 'Law and discipline in nineteenth century English state formation: the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 6.1 (1993), pp.28-55, for a revisionist view of the opposition to the CDAs, see F.B. Smith, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts reconsidered', *Social History of Medicine*, 3.2 (1990), pp.197-215.

⁸⁴ A. Rosen, 'Emily Davies and the women's movement, 1862-1867', *Journal of British Studies*, 19.1 (1979), pp.101-121 and P. Williams, 'Pioneer women students at Cambridge, 1869-81', in F. Hunt (ed.), *Lessons for Life, The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp.171-191, R. McWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women and degrees at Cambridge University', in M. Vicinus (ed.), *A Widening Sphere, Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (London: Methuen, 1980), pp.117-145.

as well as the policing of, and sentencing policies towards, women prosecuted for drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale. These implications will be explored further in Chapters 5 and 6 but in order to appreciate the context under which these Acts were introduced, this chapter will now turn to the overarching debates concerning legislative change.

The 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act was a Gladstonian measure, the introduction of which ended the free trade in wine and beer established by the 1830 Beer Act. Under the Act, licences for beerhouses, which had blossomed in number after 1830, were placed under the control of local magistrates, who took the opportunity to close what they perceived as ‘problem’ houses in their localities.⁸⁵ As a result, by 1871, the number of beerhouses nationally had been reduced by 6,540 to 42,590, a decrease of 13 per cent. The implementation of the Act by magistrates is important in understanding local attitudes towards licensing, as will be explored further in Chapter 5.

Despite this measure, the early 1870s saw temperance agitation against alcohol place the ‘drink question’ at the forefront of political debate. The years 1871-2, in particular, have been noted as a turning point in temperance history.⁸⁶ The early part of the decade became a pivotal time for licensing reform and Greenway has argued that from 1871-74 ‘Licensing questions and temperance reform had become highly political issues, which not inconceivably might determine the fate of ministries.’⁸⁷ Political pressure had been brought to bear by the presence of the UKA, who had

⁸⁵ Under the 1830 Beer Act, any rate-payer could obtain a licence from the excise to sell beer. Authorisation from magistrates was not required, the licence cost two guineas, and was renewable on an annual basis. The number of beerhouse licences issued rose sharply, reaching 32,000 at the end of the first year of the Act’s operation, and there continued to be a tremendous expansion in the number of beerhouses nationally. Ostensibly designed to reduce spirit drinking and promote free trade, the rapid growth in beerhouses was perceived to have led to an increase in working class drunkenness throughout the country, as beer consumption increased. See P. Jennings, ‘...one of the most mischievous acts that ever passed the British legislature’. The 1830 Beerhouse Act and its consequences, in M. Hewitt (ed.), *Unrespectable Recreations* (Leeds: Leeds Centre for Victorian Studies, 2011), p.60, J. Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, Ch.7, N. Mason, “‘The sovereign people are in a beastly state’: The Beer Act of 1830 and Victorian discourse on working-class drunkenness’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 29.1 (2001), pp. 109-127. Mason stated that the Act was also designed to appease the working class at a time of political and social upheaval.

⁸⁶ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, Ch.12.

⁸⁷ J. Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*, p.35

found a parliamentary champion in Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the Liberal MP for Carlisle.⁸⁸ Lawson agitated for the passing of the Permissive Bill, which proposed the introduction of a 'local veto' over the passing of new licences. Despite a heavy defeat on its first reading, Lawson continued to promote the Bill, which was ultimately doomed to failure, as many MPs denounced it as introducing prohibition by the back door and expressed concern that drinking would be forced underground.⁸⁹ Reflecting on the failure of the Permissive Bill some years later, Lawson believed that drinking was entrenched in the British way of life, stating 'The Public House was looked upon as about as sacred as the Church, and the idea of doing anything which might eliminate it from our national and social life was looked upon with horror.'⁹⁰ Despite continued opposition, and with no success, Lawson attempted to introduce the Bill on a regular basis.

Although ultimately unsuccessful in their desire to introduce prohibition, the 1872 Licensing Act would not have been introduced without sustained pressure from the UKA. The Act's passage through Parliament, however, was not straightforward. In 1871, the Home Secretary, Henry Bruce, had failed to introduce a Licensing Bill and the resultant 1872 Act was seen as a watered-down version of this earlier proposal.⁹¹

Indeed, historians have differed on their interpretation of the 1872 Licensing Act. Whilst Jennings has proclaimed it to be the most important piece of [licensing] legislation between those of 1828 and 1910, Nicholls has stated that it was simply a weaker version of the 1871 Bill.⁹²

Additionally, Greenaway felt that it did little more than impose a range of regulations onto the

⁸⁸ Formed in Manchester in 1853, the UKA believed that moral suasion had failed and that legislation was the only solution to drunkenness. Their ultimate aim was total prohibition, which initially would have been introduced on a local basis under the Permissive Bill. Under the Bill, local ratepayers, rather than magistrates, would decide on the passing of licences. If at least two-thirds of local ratepayers voted against a new licence, then it would be denied.

⁸⁹ Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*, p.25.

⁹⁰ G.W.E. Russell (ed.), *Sir Wilfrid Lawson, A Memoir* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1909), p. 61.

⁹¹ For a full appraisal of the Bill, see Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, pp. 242-245, Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*, pp. 32-3 and Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 123.

⁹² P. Jennings, 'Liquor licensing and the local historian', *Local Historian*, May 2011, pp.121-137, Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 124.

existing law.⁹³ As Yeomans has argued, however, the Act 'markedly increased both the scale and scope of alcohol regulation', bringing in a range of new measures.⁹⁴ Furthermore, Jennings has stated that the early 1870s were a watershed in the policing of the pub and that after 1872 there was a general improvement in the character of public houses.⁹⁵ In terms of the policing and sentencing of drunkenness, the Act was an extremely important measure, granting as it did new powers to police and magistrates respectively. In particular, Section 12 of the Act introduced the new offence of simple drunkenness, and also enabled magistrates to sentence people for up to one month in gaol for being drunk and riotous. As will be discussed below, these measures had major implications for sentencing practice in Salford and Rochdale. No matter the implications for the criminal justice system and those processed through it, the Act represented the final move away from free trade to a much more regulated, restrictive and interventionist framework.

Public reaction to the 1872 Licensing Act was mixed. There was a measure of working-class hostility to the new closing hours, with protests in Cheltenham, Maidstone, Coventry and Oxford, amongst others, and riots in Ashton-under-Lyne. In Parliament, Conservative critics were more numerous than Liberal, although W.V. Harcourt, the Liberal member for Oxford, condemned the Act unequivocally. He complained that it 'put everyone in prison, and... treated everyone with cruelty.'⁹⁶ Indeed, the complaint that liberties were being infringed by law makers and law enforcers was also taken up by sections of the press, who denounced the measure as an attack on the right of men to drink as and when they wanted. The temperance movement, on the other hand, viewed it as a measure of success, without whole-heartedly endorsing it. The UKA, for example, viewed it as a step

⁹³ Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*, p.34.

⁹⁴ H. Yeomans, *Alcohol and Moral Regulation: Public Attitudes, Spirited Measures and Victorian Hangovers* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2014), p.74.

⁹⁵ Jennings, *The Local*, pp.159-60. Publicans were now more susceptible to prosecution, for allowing drunkenness on the premises.

⁹⁶ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 254.

in the right direction and the Band of Hope stated that it did at least embody some temperance principles.⁹⁷

Ultimately, the 1872 Licensing Act did not last long in its original state. In 1874, it was amended.⁹⁸ Disraeli's newly-elected Conservative government revised some of the more unpopular, at least amongst the drinks trade, clauses of the Liberal measure by setting back hours of closing by half-an-hour, repealing adulteration clauses and reducing the power of entry by the police into licensed premises.⁹⁹ These changes have merited very little discussion amongst historians. Dingle, Nicholls and Yeomans did not mention the revised Act at all and Harrison's study ended in 1872. Jennings, however, discussed the 1874 amendments briefly, but only to note the minor changes.¹⁰⁰ Finally, Gutzke suggested that brewers, stirred into action against Liberal licensing legislation, were generally satisfied with the amendments to the 1872 Licensing Act and thereafter lost interest in political intervention.¹⁰¹ After 1874, concerns over drunkenness remained but were not enacted in legislation until the end of the decade, with the passing of the 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act.

4.8) Conclusion

The mid-Victorian period represented a peak in concerns about drunkenness in myriad ways. Driven by police activity, criminal statistics for the offence showed a steady rise in convictions throughout the 1870s. These figures were dependant on the actions of individual forces but were highlighted by the temperance movement as proof that drunkenness was increasing. Furthermore,

⁹⁷ Yeomans, *Alcohol and Moral Regulation*, p.81.

⁹⁸ The Liberal's defeat in the General Election of 1874 led to Gladstone's now infamous comment that his party had been 'borne down on a torrent of gin and beer', as he attributed the defeat on popular reaction to the 1872 Licensing Act, see Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*, p. 34.

⁹⁹ For example, constables now had to justify why they wanted to enter a licensed premises and were to provide 'reasonable ground' for entering, whereas under the 1872 Act they could enter at any time without providing a reason. See J. Paterson, *The Intoxicating Liquor Licensing Acts, 1872, 1874* (London: Shaw & Sons, 1889). Haydon believed that the repeal of these clauses was an example of Disraeli's government 'paying its debts' to the drink trade, P. Haydon, *An Inebriated History of Britain* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), p. 223.

¹⁰⁰ Jennings, *The Local*, p. 85 and p. 120.

¹⁰¹ D. Gutzke, *Protecting the Pub, Brewers and Publicans Against Temperance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), p.68.

the early part of the decade represented an economic boom, as witnessed in the industrial areas of south-east Lancashire, which doubtless contributed to the amount of money spent in pubs and beerhouses by the region's workers. Additionally, medical opinion was divided over whether or not drunkenness was a disease but the retreats and reformatories which emerged in the latter part of the century were yet to be fully established. The responses of police and magistrates alike showed that they felt that drunkenness was very much a criminal matter, which needed to be addressed via the courts and prisons, rather than recourse to medical aid.

Importantly, the issue of female drunkenness was a vexed question. Bound up in debates surrounding gender ideology, contemporary commentators were convinced that drunkenness amongst women was increasing. Ultimately, they had little idea of the true extent of any problem nor of how to deal with it. There was no firm evidence to support any increase in female drunkenness and the regular blaming of grocers' licences did little to convince the wider public of their role in the perceived problem. Hearsay, conjecture, anecdotal evidence and patriarchal prejudice fuelled debates about female drunkenness that had little, if any, basis in reality. The concern about grocers' licences rested on the frustration felt by the police and magistracy of their inability to fully control the issuing of such licences.

This was a crucial period for alcohol legislation, initially driven by the temperance movement, which led to changes in policing and affected magisterial discretion. Drink became a political *cause celebre*, which resulted in prolonged and fierce parliamentary debate and, ultimately, the fall of the Liberal government. The 1872 Licensing Act and its amendments of 1874 represented the zenith of legislative change concerning drink during this period and the 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act did not produce anywhere near the level of debate seen in the early part of the decade. After 1872, the UKA continued to push for the Permissive Bill, which was never to be enshrined in legislation.

There is no suggestion that concerns about female drunkenness were restricted to this research period. Concerns about women and drink continued to grow up to, and during, the First World War.¹⁰² Rather, the 1870s represented a particularly important period for concerns about drunkenness in general and female drunkenness in particular. This was a time when legislative change had a genuine effect on the policing and sentencing of women for drunkenness. It was also a period when a perceived increase in inter-personal violence was linked to a similar increase in drinking. It is due to this heightened level of concern, debate and action that the period is such a rich one for the study of female drunkenness in south-east Lancashire. National concerns were reflected at a local level, with licensing legislation discussed widely within both the Metropolitan and provincial press. This will be examined in detail in the next chapter, where the impact of these national debates will be explored in Salford and Rochdale.

¹⁰² R. Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots, The Drink Crisis in Britain During World War One* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), Ch. 6.

Chapter 5

Local Context: Salford and Rochdale

5.1) Introduction

This chapter continues the discussion begun in Chapter 4, and explores how national concerns about drunkenness were played out at a local level. It explores the debates in Salford and Rochdale, and how the police and authorities in the respective boroughs viewed the issue of drunkenness. The chapter begins by looking at the image of Lancashire in the nineteenth century, and how the county gained a reputation for drunkenness and violence. It then discusses the licensing debates in Salford and Rochdale, before examining the concerns surrounding female drunkenness. The policing of drunkenness at the local level is then explored, before the chapter ends with an exploration of the link between drunkenness and violence. This was an extremely important issue in Salford, which requires particular attention.

5.2) Lancashire

By this period, the county of Lancashire had developed a reputation, particularly amongst the London press, as being a singularly drunken and violent place. As both case studies were located within the county, it is worth exploring these themes further, in order to provide context for the experiences of Salford and Rochdale. Both boroughs struggled to contain the perceived problem of drunkenness but in Salford, violence was also noted as a particular issue.

By the 1870s, the London press had perpetuated the image that urban areas within Lancashire was some of the most violent, drunken and criminal areas in the country. Even before the events of Tithebarn Street, as noted in Chapter 4, a lawless Lancashire loomed large in the popular imagination. Three years before Richard Morgan's death, the *Pall Mall Gazette* had informed its readers that, 'Drunkenness is a vice which the magistracy have to face in most counties,

but in Lancashire it has become a special plague of no ordinary magnitude.¹ In 1875, *The Times*, reacting to the publication of the county's crime statistics, stated that 'It is significantly described, in the paper before us, as the general propensity of Lancashire people to get as drunk as they can.'² Indeed, Sindall has stated that 'A certain mythology was created stereotyping Lancastrians as brutal on a par with the stereotyping of Scottish miserliness and Irish stupidity.'³ Although large areas of the county were still rural, the main urban centres of Liverpool and Manchester, with their associated crime and disorder, overshadowed them.

If Londoners believed that mid-Victorian Lancashire was a violent and drunken place then so too did Lancastrians, and their immediate neighbours. In April 1869, the *Bradford Observer* had informed its readers that 'Excessive violence in the streets has become a common crime in Manchester.' The report was of an attack by two men on one George Saunders, with the sub-heading 'Murderous Assault in Salford'.⁴ The mid-1870s represented a peak of local concern about assaults in Salford, and 'kicking', the assault on a person by kicking them whilst wearing clogs, was seen as a particularly Lancastrian phenomenon. At the Salford Hundred Intermediate Sessions, in May 1874, the chairman, W.H. Higgin, argued that an increase in brutal assaults was attributable to drunkenness 'either on the part of the persons accused, or on the part of the prosecutor, or on the part of the witnesses, or perhaps on the part of all concerned.' The county's newspapers helped fuel the fire, as the *Salford Weekly Chronicle* titled its report of Higgin's comments, 'Our Lancashire Disgrace.'⁵

As reports of drunkenness filled the court reports of newspapers, so reports of assaults in Lancashire became ever more frequent. In December 1873, two constables in Oldham were badly beaten by three men outside a public house, leading to Oldham's Chief Constable expressing

¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 January 1871.

² *The Times*, 1 December 1875.

³ R. Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), p.64.

⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 13 April 1869.

⁵ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 23 May 1874.

concern that such incidents were affecting his ability to retain officers. 'Two constables were off duty now,' he explained to Oldham's Police Court, 'one with his kneecap kicked off, and another with several wounds in his legs, the result of kicks from such as the prisoners.'⁶ Such assaults prompted comment from Higgin, at the Quarter Sessions in January 1874. He was not satisfied with the sentences meted out by the borough's magistrates, and felt that such assaults warranted being dealt with by a higher court.⁷

Additionally, Lancashire's image was not helped by the notoriety of Liverpool, which had a particular reputation for high instances of female drunkenness and criminality.⁸ The town's newspapers, it was reported, 'have for some time been publishing astounding lists of the commitments of women to prison in that town on charges of drunkenness, disorderly behaviour, and more serious crimes.'⁹ Indeed they had, with the *Liverpool Mercury* reporting that, during the summer of 1871, nearly 900 women had been held at bridewells, due to overcrowding in Walton Gaol.¹⁰ These conditions were of recurring concern to the newspaper, which believed that, on more than one occasion, the gaol had been overcrowded with women, most of whom had been committed for drunkenness.¹¹ Whilst Liverpool's reputation arguably provides an extreme example, drunkenness in Lancashire remained a constant topic of debate. In 1869, the Rochdale magistrate Edmund Ashworth, argued that nine-tenths of the committals to Strangeways were attributable to drink, and that 'To the drunken habits of the people must be attributed very much of the crime, poverty, and insanity which existed in the county.'¹² Anecdotal evidence, coupled with the rising number of committals to the gaol, were used by Ashworth in support of his claim.¹³

⁶ Of the defendants, one received six weeks in prison and the others a fine of 40s each or one month. *Manchester Guardian*, 30 December 1873.

⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 14 January 1874.

⁸ See Archer, *The Monster Evil*, Ch. 8.

⁹ *Manchester Evening News*, 28 July 1871.

¹⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 27 October 1871.

¹¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 August 1871.

¹² *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 April 1869.

¹³ Ashworth took the word of an, unnamed, visiting justice for his information, along with police statistics. These showed that between 1861 and 1869, the gaol's population had almost doubled, from 428 to nearly 800.

Therefore, not only were the police in Rochdale and Salford operating at a time when national concerns about drunkenness had reached a peak, they were also operating in a county which had its own particular reputation for criminality at this time. With this in mind, this chapter will now examine the debates over licensing in Rochdale and Salford.

5.3) The Licensing Question

In common with contemporary national debates, the issue of licensing reform dominated local discourse in Salford and Rochdale. Arguably, no other topic produced the same amount of debate within the local press in either borough, and the newspapers were divided firmly along party lines. This section will explore how these debates played out locally, beginning with the views and actions of the respective boroughs' MPs.

The thorny issue of licensing was not on the agenda of Rochdale's Liberal MP, Thomas Bayley-Potter, who did not contribute to any parliamentary debates on licensing. Although he claimed to be a supporter of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill, having voted for the measure on at least two separate occasions, this may have been attributable to his friendship with Lawson, rather than any firm ideological stance.¹⁴ As Huggins has suggested, his views concerning licensing legislation were ambiguous.¹⁵ Furthermore, his lack of contribution to this, or indeed any other debate, may have been attributable to his reputation as a poor orator.¹⁶ His annual addresses to his

¹⁴ It was noted at a meeting of Rochdale's Licensed Victuallers that Potter had voted for the Bill twice, see *Rochdale Observer*, 18 October 1873. Potter talked about his friendship with Lawson in the *Rochdale Observer*, 4 February 1871. Additionally, Lawson enlisted the help of 'my old friend, Mr Potter' to vote against Government proposals to raise £2,000,000 and 20,000 men during the Franco-Prussian War. They were also both members of the Cobden Club. See G.W.E Russell (ed.), *Sir Wilfrid Lawson, A Memoir* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1909), p. 87 and p. 372.

¹⁵ M. Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p.60.

¹⁶ 'He very rarely sought to catch the Speaker's eye', noted his obituary, *London Evening Standard*, 8 November, 1898. He only contributed to approximately thirty debates throughout his long parliamentary career.

constituents, for example, were reputed to be 'spoiled by bad delivery.'¹⁷ If Rochdale was looking towards its MP for a strong stance on the licensing debate, it was not forthcoming.

Likewise, in Salford, William Charley, one of the two Conservative members for the borough, did not involve himself extensively in debates about licensing. He showed only a passing interest in the 1872 Licensing Act, although he did vote against the Permissive Bill.¹⁸ Additionally, his colleague, Charles Cawley, did not contribute extensively to licensing debates in the House of Commons. Although claiming to be a temperance advocate, Cawley was no doubt mindful of Salford's electorate, and he may not have wanted to be seen to be advocating against the drink trade. An Evangelical, he was a firm opponent of the Permissive Bill and believed that 'self-control and restraint' were the keys to temperance rather than prohibition. In common with many other MPs, he felt that the Bill was unworkable and would lead to people travelling from 'dry' to 'wet' areas to purchase alcohol.¹⁹ This opposition to the aims of the UKA met with anger from their secretary, Thomas Barker.²⁰ He was no doubt frustrated by the UKA's failure to gain the support of a well-respected and prominent local MP, who could potentially influence local opinion in any debates concerning the Permissive Bill. Ultimately, the MPs for Salford and Rochdale appeared to be paying lip-service to the issue of licensing, without engaging fully in the debate.

However, several prominent figures in Salford and Rochdale did support the UKA's proposed measure. In Salford, Canon Hugh Stowell, who had done so much to inflame anti-Irish feeling in the 1860s, was a passionate supporter of temperance. He protested against Sunday opening hours and supported Lawson's Permissive Bill.²¹ Additionally, the UKA was supported by several prominent

¹⁷ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 8 November 1898.

¹⁸ See, for example, Commons Sitting of Wednesday, 7th August 1872. PP 1872 (3.213).

¹⁹ Commons Sitting of Friday, 26th July 1872. PP 1872 (3.212).

²⁰ Letters from Barker, criticizing Cawley at some length, were printed in consecutive weeks in the *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 3 June 1871 and 10 June 1871. Born in Peterborough, Barker became secretary of the UKA upon its formation in 1853, a position he held until his death in 1889. A resident of Manchester, he was also secretary of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Society. See *Manchester Guardian*, 27 June 1889.

²¹ Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford*, p. 103. G. Blackford, 'A man of great energy and small discretion': Hugh Stowell and the temperance movement', in Ford, C (eds), *The Church in Cottonopolis: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Diocese of Manchester* (Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 1997).

Salford men, including Joseph Brotherton and Alderman William Harvey, an ex-mayor of the borough, whilst its leadership counted amongst its number several former members of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Society.²² Due to this close link, the society pledged its support to the Permissive Bill.²³ In Rochdale, the UKA also gained a measure of support amongst local worthies. In 1871, although the Rochdale Auxiliary could only boast 130 members, the mayor, George Leach Ashworth, and the Vicar of Spotland, the confrontational William N. Molesworth, were two high-profile supporters. In 1872, however, Ashworth's successor, William T. Shawcross enraged the UKA in the borough by calling them 'fanatics'.²⁴ He was a firm opponent of the Permissive Bill, declaring it to be an infraction of personal liberty.²⁵ Ultimately, the Permissive Bill, as elsewhere, failed to gain widespread support amongst local leaders.

The press in both boroughs was divided firmly on party lines over the subject of licensing legislation. In Salford, the Liberal *Weekly News* was quick to support the 1872 Licensing Act, declaring it to be an 'excellent measure', which would be 'productive of much good'.²⁶ Its Conservative rival, the *Weekly Chronicle*, however, claimed that the Act was 'strung together in a higgledy-piggledy fashion' and was of a 'terribly patchwork character'.²⁷ In Rochdale, the *Observer*, which had been a supporter of Bruce's 1871 Licensing Bill, showed less enthusiasm for the 1872 Act, calling it a 'tolerable reform of the licensing system' and naming it 'Bruce's mild mixture'.²⁸ The *Times* also criticized the Government's efforts, proclaiming them to be 'specimens of attempted piecemeal legislation, all of them failing to grapple fully with the admitted evils of the present

²² Blackford, 'A man of great energy and small discretion', p. 90.

²³ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 19 November 1870.

²⁴ *Rochdale Times*, 26 October 1872.

²⁵ *Rochdale Observer*, 18 October 1873.

²⁶ *Salford Weekly News*, 24 August 1872.

²⁷ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 17 August 1872.

²⁸ See *Rochdale Observer*, 8 April 1871 for discussion of the 1871 Bill. It had decreed it to be 'a step in the right direction'. Its reaction to the 1872 Licensing Act was in *Rochdale Observer*, 10 August 1872. The paper was probably unhappy that the Act removed all mention of licence limits, variable certificates and local option.

licensing system.²⁹ It was not unusual to find the local press so partisan in two boroughs where party politics were so divisive and where neither side was prepared to concede ground to the other.

The implementation of, and reaction to, the 1872 Licensing Act in Salford and Rochdale followed similar patterns. In both boroughs, the magistrates adhered to the new opening and closing hours and, amongst the populace, there was not the violent reaction to the Act, seen elsewhere, as noted in Chapter 4.³⁰ In Salford, it was felt that the reduction in opening hours had led to increased incidences of private drinking but that high wages and 'a consequent increase of idle time' were the main causes of drunkenness in the borough.³¹ This latter contention is difficult to prove and appears more grounded in prejudice than fact. As Cunningham's study of pre-1914 working-class leisure has shown, there were no major changes in annual holidays during the period and, at any rate, these were unpaid. Additionally, there were greater constraints on women's leisure than men's, especially if a woman was married and unemployed.³² Although the Saturday half-holiday was well-established by the 1870s, it made little impact on women's leisure time. Therefore, there appears to have been little prospect of women committed for drunkenness to have had either the opportunity, or the finances, to engage in prolonged periods of leisure.

Both Chief Constables felt that the 1872 Licensing Act, although not reducing drunkenness, had had a beneficial effect on public order. In Salford, Torrens informed the Watch Committee that the Act,

though inoperative in the repression of the crime of drunkenness, has been of benefit in

effecting a better state of order within licensed premises, and a better state of order in the

²⁹ *Rochdale Times*, 13 April 1872.

³⁰ The magistrates of Salford followed the opening hours laid down in the Licensing Act. In the borough the opening hours were from 6am to 11pm on weekdays and 12.30pm to 2.30pm and 6pm to 10pm on Sundays. See *Salford Weekly News*, 24 August 1872. In Rochdale, the magistrates also followed the terms of the Act in setting opening and closing hours. See *Police (counties and boroughs). Reports of the inspectors of constabulary for the year ended 29th September 1872*, PP 1873 (16), p.152.

³¹ Licensing Act (1872). Reports from borough authorities in England and Wales relating to the Licensing Act, 1872, PP 1874 (160), p. 25.

³² H. Cunningham, 'Leisure', in Benson, J (ed.), *The Working Class in England, 1875-1914* (Beckingham: Croom Helm, 1985).

streets of the Borough during the late hours of the night and the early hours of the morning.³³

His conclusions were mirrored in Rochdale, where, it was stated 'Midnight broils, formerly of common occurrence, had become less frequent, and there is much less disorder in the streets at an earlier hour of the night than was formerly the case.'³⁴ In common with the authorities in Salford, the Chief Constable, Samuel Stevens, feared that the earlier closing hours had led to an increase in private drinking. Such unsubstantiated declarations indicated a reluctance to prosecute license holders for permitting drunkenness on their premises.

In both boroughs, very few licensed victuallers and beerhouse keepers were convicted under the terms of the 1872 Licensing Act. In Salford, in 1872, out of 119 licensed victuallers in the borough, only one was convicted, with thirty-one convictions among 532 beerhouse keepers. These numbers remained small throughout the decade.³⁵ In the same year, in Rochdale, the numbers were slightly higher but out of 350 licensed houses in the borough, only six licensed victuallers, and seven beerhouse keepers were convicted and fined. These discrepancies did not escape the attention of the public in Rochdale. In 1875, a writer styling themselves 'Justice' felt that 'if they [publicans] kept the law, and did not permit drunkenness in their houses, there would be very few apprehensions for drunkenness.'³⁶ In Manchester, the *Free Lance* expressed sarcastic surprise at the conviction of James Kerfoot, the landlord of the Royal Oak in Salford. 'Is every publican in Salford', it opined, 'fined, without exception, who permits a drunken man to come or remain in his establishment? If this be the case, inebriation must be of singularly rare occurrence in Salford'.³⁷

³³ *Report of the Chief Constable, to the General Watch Committee of the Borough of Salford, year ending 29 September 1873*, 28 October 1873, GMPM.

³⁴ *Rochdale Observer*, 28 December 1872.

³⁵ Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (271), Appendix C. p. 386. There appears to have been a clampdown on licence holders up until 1870, after which the numbers dropped considerably.

³⁶ *Rochdale Observer*, 23 January 1875.

³⁷ *Free Lance*, 15 May 1871. Kerfoot was fined 20s for permitting drunkenness.

The magazine's view was clear, as drunkenness was perceived as a major problem, then surely a greater number of licensed victuallers should have been prosecuted.

Such criticism highlighted not only police policy but also the practical difficulties in proving that license holders were permitting drunkenness on their premises. One example, from Salford, provides a case in point. In August 1875, Thomas Westhead, the landlord of the Three Legs of Man in Greengate, was summoned for serving drink to Clarrisa Foulks, who had been noted by PC Henry to be drunk. Although Foulks was convicted, Westhead called several witnesses to support him, and his case was dismissed.³⁸ Prosecutions against license holders became even more difficult to bring to court, after the amendments made in the 1874 Licensing Act, which curtailed police powers to enter licensed premises.³⁹

It is little wonder, therefore, that private drinking became increasingly blamed for the rise in prosecutions for drunkenness. If it could not be proved, by the police, that licensed victuallers were the cause, then another factor needed to be provided.⁴⁰ After all, in both boroughs, it had been asserted that the conduct of public houses had improved under the 1872 Licensing Act.

5.4) Perceptions of Female Drunkenness

Drunkenness was certainly perceived to be a great problem in Salford and Rochdale, as correspondence to the local newspapers showed. In Salford, one writer declared in May 1870,

³⁸ *Salford Weekly News*, 7 August 1875.

³⁹ See Chapter 4.

⁴⁰ In 1876, after visiting Birmingham to view their system of public house inspection, Torrens argued for, and received, an Inspector of public houses for Salford. See Torrens note to Watch Committee, 4 April 1876, contained within Watch Committee minutes. The appointment was noted in the Watch Committee minutes, 13 June 1876. It is not clear what effect this post had, or for how long it lasted. In 1877, Mantell intimated that the Watch Committee were interfering in the duties of Torrens, who did not have 'untrammelled' power over the police. The inference was that Torrens would exercise more control over public-houses if he had been allowed to. See Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (271), pp. 37-38.

Sir, Seeing so many cases of drunkenness published in your paper, and others, for the last week or two, I think it ought to attract the attention of the authorities of Salford as to where such persons are supplied with intoxicating drinks. It seems in every case they have obtained drink to such excess as to render them not only drunk but incapable of taking care of themselves. Hoping some of the authorities may take the matter up and try to mend it in some way or other.⁴¹

In Rochdale, a temperance advocate praised the commentary on drunkenness within the pages of the *Rochdale Observer*, stating that,

you are in such earnest in respect to the great increase of drunkenness and crime in Lancashire, as made known and proved by the figures of the chairmen of quarter sessions, and I greatly regret that our own town should have contributed so largely to the increase of such an undesirable and expensive class of subjects.⁴²

Within these general debates over drinking, concerns about female drunkenness became highlighted. Religious figures weighed into the debate, with John Galbraith, the Protestant Chaplain of Strangeways Prison, stating that ‘the depravity of the mass of our female population is increasing’. His assertion was supported, he believed, by the number of women committed to the gaol for drunkenness, which had increased by 600 between 1869 and 1872.⁴³ In Manchester, whilst addressing a meeting of the CETS in November 1874, the city’s Anglican Bishop, James Fraser, proclaimed that ‘Women were sometimes called the “tenderer” and “softer” sex, but he was afraid that when they became addicted to drinking they lost their natural characteristics, and became ten thousand times more degraded than drunken men.’⁴⁴ Such comments were bound up in Victorian gender ideology over the prescribed behaviour of women.

⁴¹ *Salford Weekly News*, 17 May 1870.

⁴² *Rochdale Observer*, 24 July 1869.

⁴³ Manchester. Chaplain’s Report on Salford Hundred County Prison, 21 October 1872, Quarter Sessions Petitions, LA, QSP/3902/41.

⁴⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 4 November 1874.

Local newspapers served to highlight this perceived difference between drunkenness in men and in women. Manchester's *Free Lance* was vehement in its condemnation of drunkenness in general, and female drunkenness in particular. In one particularly descriptive moment, it declared 'Women who drink are the worst of drunkards, and the feminine soaker is one of the most pitiable sights under heaven.'⁴⁵ In Salford, the *Weekly News* was critical of the number of women arrested for drunkenness in the week after the passing of the 1872 Licensing Act; 'where women are bad', it bemoaned, 'they are bad indeed.'⁴⁶ There was certainly a sexual double-standard in evidence here, which, as Zedner argued, witnessed women being 'doubly-damned', as they had not only committed a criminal offence but had also betrayed the prescribed standards of femininity.⁴⁷

A common, and unsubstantiated, claim concerning female drunkenness at this time was that, not only was it on the increase, but that this increase was linked to grocer's licences. As noted in Chapter 4, it was feared that women were purchasing alcohol from small shopkeepers, who were substituting the alcohol on their customer's account for household goods. Salford's Chief Constable, Robert Torrens, was in no doubt that this was the case. In his report of 1875, he stated that the ability to obtain a grocer's licence 'was of pernicious effect and productive of intemperance amongst women.'⁴⁸ Torrens had little proof that this was true and his declaration met with little support from the *Weekly News*, which argued that 'It is to the extension of the beerhouse, public-house and vault systems that we chiefly owe the mischief Captain Torrens would fix upon the grocers and shopkeepers' licences'.⁴⁹ Blaming off-licences for an increase in drinking deflected attention from the police and magistrates, who were reluctant, or unable, to prosecute licensed victuallers under

⁴⁵ *Free Lance*, 26 November 1870. In the magazine's view, a 'soaker' was someone to whom alcohol had become a 'necessity' and was at a worse stage of drinking than a 'tippler'.

⁴⁶ *Salford Weekly News*, 24 August 1872.

⁴⁷ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, p. 82.

⁴⁸ *Report of the Chief Constable, to the General Watch Committee of the Borough of Salford, year ending 29 September 1875*, 29 October 1875. This resulted in a memorial being sent to the Home Secretary, Richard Cross, from Salford's Licensing Committee, urging him to alter the law regarding the provision of such licences. It appears to have had little effect. The memorial was affixed to the Chief Constable's Report, 29 October 1875.

⁴⁹ *Salford Weekly News*, 19 August 1876. Torrens was still continuing his argument at this time.

the Licensing Laws. Off-licence holders such as grocers, and other small shopkeepers, unlike other licenced premises, were not under the authorities' control or surveillance.

In Rochdale, by mid-decade, concerns over female drunkenness had also taken root. Here, there was additional concern that the wives of 'respectable' men were being prosecuted for the offence. The police statistics of 1876 had reported that the number of women convicted for drunkenness had increased by forty-two from the previous year. The *Rochdale Observer*, believed that 'Unfortunately, the persons are not confined to the abandoned classes of society, but many are the wives of well conducted working men, and a few are domestic servants.'⁵⁰ Due to the limited availability of the prison registers, it is not possible to test these assertions for this year but such claims can be examined for previous years, as will be shown in Chapter 8. Regardless of the social status of these women, the police were convinced that female drunkenness was increasing, as Samuel Stevens claimed in November 1875.⁵¹ A combination of police statistics and anecdotal evidence had led to this conclusion in both boroughs. This chapter, therefore, will now turn to the policing of drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale.

5.5) The Policing of Drunkenness

There were discernible differences in the way that drunkenness was policed in Salford and Rochdale after the 1872 Licensing Act. Before the Act, and in common with most police forces in England and Wales, both forces only prosecuted people for extreme forms of drunkenness, for being either drunk and incapable, or drunk and disorderly. In Salford, this policy did not change after the 1872 Act came into law, yet in Rochdale, the police made full use of their new powers, and began to arrest people for simple drunkenness. This had a major effect on the number of people arrested for drunkenness in Rochdale, and inflated the police statistics for the offence. The groundwork for these tactics were laid before the 1872 Licensing Act, however, and the reaction of the police in the

⁵⁰ *Rochdale Observer*, 1 January 1876.

⁵¹ *Rochdale Observer*, 20 November 1875.

respective boroughs to the 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act provided an indication of their differing approaches to drunkenness. As Emsley has stated, the police made full use of powers given to them by legislation, which was particularly the case in Rochdale.⁵²

As noted in Chapter 4, the 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act transferred the power to issue beerhouse licences from the excise to local magistrates. This led, in some areas, to magistrates immediately refusing the licences of beerhouses they regarded as problematic, insofar as they were deemed to be associated with criminality.⁵³ The association of criminality with a particular locale was not unusual. As Emsley has noted, many major towns and cities possessed districts which were reputed to be criminal.⁵⁴ In Birmingham, Thomas Street was one such area, whilst in Manchester, the detective Jerome Caminada described the city's Deansgate as a 'rendezvous of thieves and.... a very hot-bed of social iniquity and vice.'⁵⁵ In London, Davis has noted how Jennings' Buildings in Kensington was deemed to house a criminal population and, as a result, was policed heavily.⁵⁶ There were perceptible similarities between the popular perception of Jennings' Buildings and Rochdale's Gank. Several beerhouses in Church Lane, for example, were noted to have been either disorderly, or brothels, and the refuges of thieves and prostitutes. In 1869, Stevens had stated at Rochdale's Brewster Sessions that,

As regards beerhouses, I have to report that those in Church Lane are constantly resorted to by prostitutes and other persons of notoriously bad character, and that not only are they chiefly supported by abandoned women and their disreputable associates, but in some instances the beerhouse-keepers are the real landlords of the brothels.

⁵² C. Emsley, *The English Police, A Political and Social History* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf) p. 70.

⁵³ P. Jennings, *The Local: A History of the English Pub* (Stroud: The History Press, 2007), p. 71.

⁵⁴ C. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900*, 4th ed (Harlow: Pearson, 2010), Ch. 5.

⁵⁵ B. Weinberger, 'Law breakers and law enforcers in the late Victorian city: Birmingham 1867-1877' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1981), Ch. 1, J. Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life, Vol.1* (Manchester: John Heywood, 1895), p. 16.

⁵⁶ J. Davis, 'From 'rookeries' to 'communities': race, poverty and policing in London, 1850-1985', *History Workshop Journal*, 27.1 (1989), pp. 66-85. The perception of the Irish in Jennings' Buildings was reflected, in Rochdale, towards Mount Pleasant.

I attribute a large proportion of the drunkenness in this borough to the mismanagement of beerhouses generally, kept as they are, in many instances, by persons of no moral character, with little property, and no personal respectability at stake.⁵⁷

Using the new powers given to them under the 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act, Rochdale's magistrates refused licences to eight premises in and around The Gank. Additionally, the police began to supervise common lodging houses and those judged to be used by professional thieves and prostitutes were closed. By the end of 1869 Stevens reported to the Home Secretary that fifty-four 'houses of bad character' remained in Rochdale, mainly in Church Lane and The Gank, a reduction from 159 in 1868.⁵⁸ The remaining houses were reported to have been closed by September 1872, under powers secured by a local improvement act, which led Stevens to declare that 'Church Lane has undergone a remarkable change. Drunkenness and every specie of debauchery for which the lane for many years had been notorious disappeared'.⁵⁹ Theft from the person, a regular occurrence previously, was declared to be now virtually unknown.⁶⁰ Rochdale's authorities had wasted little time in using legislation to close down what they deemed to be criminal establishments.

⁵⁷ *Rochdale Observer*, 28 August 1869.

⁵⁸ *Rochdale Corporation, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Watch Committee*, 15 December 1869 (RLSL).

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 48-49. Reports of drunkenness in Church Lane appeared regularly in later newspaper reports, however.

⁶⁰ *Rochdale Observer*, 15 January 1870. S. Waller., *Cuffs and Handcuffs, The Story of Rochdale Police Through the Years 1252-1957* (Rochdale: Thomas Yates, 1957), pp.48-9.

Figure 5.1: The Gank, Rochdale in the 1850s⁶¹



The focus on Church Lane, in particular, may well have been attributable, in part, to its proximity to the new Town Hall. As Figure 5.1, above, shows, the Town Hall was situated only a stone's throw from some of the worst housing in the borough. It appears to have been a priority of the authorities to address the perceived problems of criminality in The Gank, before the Town Hall opened.

In Salford, the police and magistrates implemented the 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act with far less vigour than their counterparts in Rochdale. In fact, initially, no licences at all were refused. As the borough's Mayor, Thomas Davies, stated in April 1870, the Act had not been put into operation in Salford as 'It was thought by the magistrates that, in strict justice, it would not be fair

⁶¹ Map reproduced at <<https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>>[accessed 3 March 2012]. The coloured square denotes the approximate location of the new Town Hall, which opened in 1871. No maps for Rochdale in the 1870s are available.

that the offences of the past should be brought against those who held licences, or that the bill should be made retrospective.⁶² Davies was speaking to a meeting of the Licence Amendment League and it appears that temperance pressure was being brought to bear on the borough's magistrates, since he promised that, in terms of licences, 'when the brewster sessions came, next October, there would be a considerable thinning of the number.'⁶³ Consequently, by September of that year, at least thirty-five licences had been refused.⁶⁴ The reason behind this delay in implementing the Act is not readily apparent. As least as early as September 1869, Salford's police were well aware of which houses were deemed to be problematic, as a report to the Watch Committee noted twenty-four pubs and beerhouses associated with 'thieves and prostitutes'. Furthermore, one beerhouse, the Blue Bell on Brown Street, was also noted to have possessed a rat pit.⁶⁵ Under the Act, its licence was refused.⁶⁶ Implementation of the Act was reactive in Salford, as opposed to proactive in Rochdale, the latter being less influenced by public opinion or temperance agitation, than by a desire on the part of the authorities to 'improve' the physical and moral lay of the land.

⁶² *Manchester Guardian*, 6 April 1870.

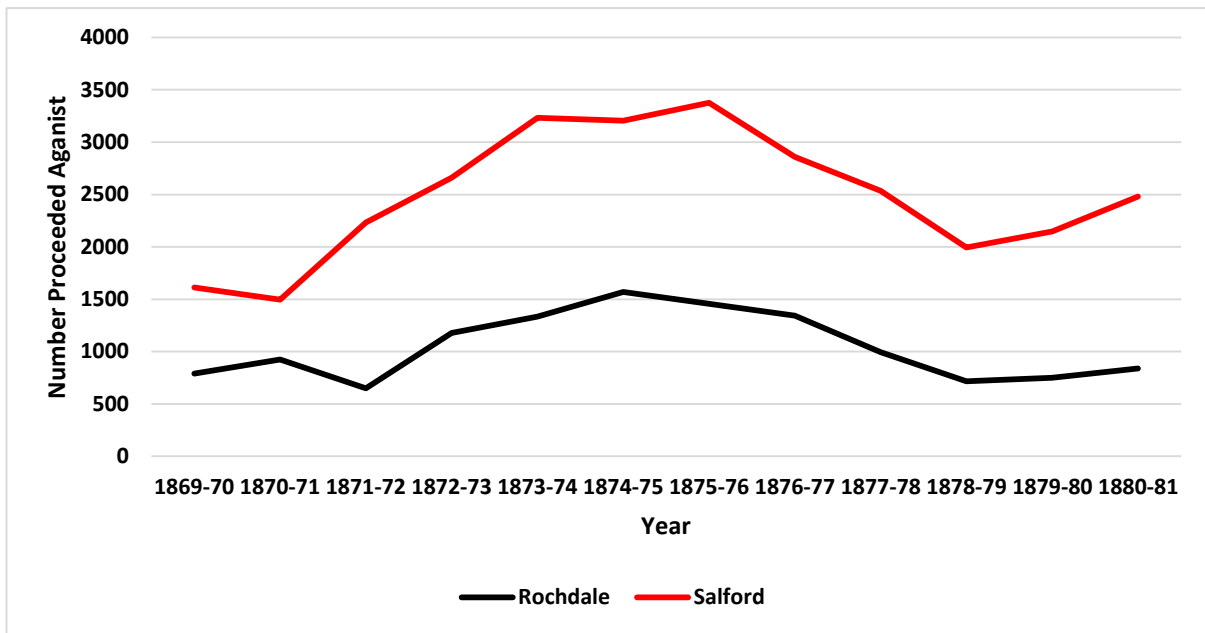
⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ See *Manchester Guardian*, 25 August 1870, *Manchester Evening News*, 26 August 1870 and 21 September 1870.

⁶⁵ See Salford Watch Committee Minutes, 20 September 1869.

⁶⁶ N. Richardson, *Salford Pubs, Part One: The Old Town, including Chapel Street, Greengate and the Adelphi* (Salford: self-published, 2003), p. 37. The Blue Bell appears to have been only one of two premises on the list to have had its licence application refused.

Figure 5.2: Number proceeded against for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1881.



Sources: Reports of the Inspectors of Constabulary, and Judicial Statistics, 1869-1881

Nowhere was the difference in these methods more apparent as in the reaction of the respective police forces to the 1872 Licensing Act. As Figure 5.2 shows, the pattern of prosecutions for drunkenness in both boroughs, throughout the 1870s, followed a similar trend. Both boroughs showed a rise in prosecutions after the 1872 Licensing Act. This was particularly apparent in Rochdale, as the number of people prosecuted for drunkenness almost doubled, from 649 in 1871-72, to 1178 in 1872-73, the first year of the Act's operation. In comparison, the increase in Salford was, proportionally, more modest, with 2232 people prosecuted in 1871-72, and 3231 in 1872-73. Prosecutions in both boroughs peaked at mid-decade. The year 1874-75 saw the highest number of prosecutions in Rochdale, with 1571, whilst 3375 prosecutions, in 1875-76, represented the peak number for the decade in Salford. After mid-decade there was a steady decline in prosecutions in both boroughs.⁶⁷ There is little doubt that the passing of the Act resulted in an increased focus by the police on drunkenness, which led to a rise in the number of prosecutions of both men and

⁶⁷ By 1879-80, the number had declined to 751 in Rochdale, and 2148 in Salford.

women. However, the figures alone do not portray the actual actions of the police in Salford and Rochdale, and how these actions reflected the moral and physical constitutions of the two boroughs.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 12 of the 1872 Licensing Act introduced the offence of simple drunkenness. As noted above, the majority of police forces did not prosecute people for this offence, preferring instead to concentrate on addressing extreme forms of drunkenness, namely being drunk and disorderly, or drunk and incapable. At least two police forces, however, those of Birmingham and Rochdale, did prosecute people for the new offence. This produced widely differing reactions. In 1876, the policy of Birmingham's Chief Constable, Major Bond, to arrest 'quiet drunks' met with opposition amongst the borough's magistrates and led to a national outcry.⁶⁸ It was Bond's methods which were deemed to be controversial, in that he appointed detectives to follow a 'quiet drunk' home to ascertain their address in order to proceed with a summons. According to Weinberger, Bond offended the council's Liberal sensitivities and implemented a practice which was deemed to be 'un-English'.⁶⁹ His policy of arresting people for simple drunkenness was quickly abandoned, although he continued to defend his stance in public.⁷⁰

The same policy did not meet with controversy in Rochdale. In fact, it was positively embraced here. There is no indication, however, that Stevens employed detectives to follow a 'quiet drunk' to their home, the implementation of which may well have caused an outcry. Regardless of his methods, Stevens followed up his 'cleansing' of Church Lane with a more wide-ranging attack on drunkenness. His policy of arresting people for simple drunkenness had a major impact on the number of people prosecuted, which, as noted above, almost doubled from 1871-72 to 1872-73. Furthermore the number of women committed to gaol for being drunk rose from six in

⁶⁸ The *Pall Mall Gazette* was a particularly vociferous opponent of Bond's actions, and described his methods as a 'blundering excess of zeal', see *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 November 1876.

⁶⁹ B. Weinberger, 'Law breakers and law enforcers in the late Victorian city: Birmingham 1867-1877' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1981), p. 82-83.

⁷⁰ Bond continued to defend his stance on 'quiet drunks' in select committee, see First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), pp.195-222. So controversial was his policy, that it helped lead to him losing his post, and was noted in his obituary, see *Birmingham Daily Post*, 29 January 1892.

1871-72 to fifty-one in 1872-73 and peaked at eight-three in 1874-75. The Chief Constable was bullish about his tactics, stating that,

In many towns, the police take very little notice of drunken persons, and never arrest or proceed by summons unless it is a bad case of “drunk and disorderly” or “drunk and incapable”. We make no such nice distinctions. All persons reported for *drunkenness*, although not in a helpless condition, are proceeded against.⁷¹

Despite, or perhaps because of, this substantial increase in arrests for drunkenness, his approach met with support from the *Rochdale Observer*, which, a year later, claimed that:-

The number of cases proceeded against may appear large in comparison with the statistics furnished by other towns; but it must be remembered that in Rochdale every individual found intoxicated, whether disorderly or not, is arrested and proceeded against before the magistrates, whereas in many towns hundreds of cases of simple drunkenness are disposed of without adjudication by the Justices, the arrested persons being liberated on becoming sober. Drunkenness, as everyone knows, is an offence against the law; and therefore the police of Rochdale, in carrying out the strict letter of the law deserve commendation for their extreme vigilance and activity.⁷²

Tellingly, the *Observer* also weighed into the debate over Bond’s approach in Birmingham, cautiously supporting his effects in an editorial, by declaring that ‘before condemning Major Bond out of hand, we should like to know more of the practical results...’⁷³ Stevens had implemented the policy of arresting people for simple drunkenness some four years before Bond, without any national, or even local, controversy. It is possible that Birmingham’s status as one of the country’s major industrial centres elevated Bond’s actions into the national consciousness in a way that the implementation of

⁷¹ *Rochdale Observer*, 6 June 1874. Italics are original.

⁷² *Rochdale Observer*, 24 December 1875. This was the peak year for drunkenness prosecutions in Rochdale for the decade.

⁷³ *Rochdale Observer*, 18 November 1876.

a similar policy in Rochdale did not. Although an important industrial borough, Rochdale did not possess the prestige of Birmingham. Interestingly, both councils were dominated by Liberals, and yet the reactions of the respective elites towards the policing of simple drunkenness were markedly different.

The acceptance of Stevens' approach in Rochdale was most likely grounded in the beliefs of the borough's Liberal rulers. As Garrard has stated, the local elites in Rochdale perceived their own values as 'crucial to social stability' whilst 'their economic and social roles provided a strong basis for influencing mass conduct and attitudes.'⁷⁴ Furthermore, as Stevenson argued, the relationship between Chief Constable and Watch Committee was 'fundamental to any effective policing policy.'⁷⁵ To this end, it is certainly difficult to draw any conclusion other than that the police in Rochdale, and no doubt also in Salford, were tasked with playing the central role of Storch's domestic missionaries to the full, by imposing a new urban discipline on the borough's working-class population, in this instance via the policing of drunkenness.⁷⁶ Rochdale, a successful industrial borough, which was undergoing improvements to its infrastructure at this time, and was governed by a Nonconformist Liberal elite, was determined to ensure its population toed the moral line.

Furthermore, the support shown to Stevens was an indication of the close working relationship between Rochdale's police and magistrates.⁷⁷ One example portrays this further. In

⁷⁴ Garrard, *Leadership and Power*, p. 47. He also included Salford and Bolton here.

⁷⁵ K. Stevenson, 'Chief constables as 'moral heroes' and guardians of public morality', in K. Stevenson, D.J. Cox and I. Channing (eds), *Leading the Police, A History of Chief Constables, 1835-2017* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 94. Additionally, Emsley stated that in smaller boroughs, the chief constable had often risen through the ranks of the police, as had Samuel Stevens, which meant that the watch committee comprised his social superiors, who regarded him as their servant, see C. Emsley, *The English Police, A Political and Social History* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 84-5.

⁷⁶ R.D. Storch, 'The policeman as domestic missionary: urban discipline and popular culture in northern England, 1850-1880' *Journal of Social History*, 9.4 (1976), pp. 481-509. Furthermore, perhaps more so in the case of Rochdale, there were marked similarities with Pratt's comprehensive study of New Zealand, a country which, from the mid-Victorian years to the present day, promoted, and continues to promote, social cohesion and conformity and which was 'excessively vigilant against the dangers which it thought threatened it.' J. Pratt, 'The dark side of paradise, explaining New Zealand's history of high imprisonment', *British Journal of Criminology*, 46 (2006), p. 555.

⁷⁷ For a similar discussion of the authorities and the reporting of female offending in Crewe see S. D'Cruze, B. Godfrey and D. Cox, 'The most troublesome woman in Crewe': crime, gender and sentencing, 1880-1940' in D'Cruze, S., Avdela, E. and Rowbottom, J. ed(s), *Crime, Violence and the Nation State* (New York, Methuen, 2009).

1876, at a dinner held for the borough police, one magistrate, Alderman Littlewood, exposed the attitude towards and complicity of the authorities when it came to the policing and sentencing of cases of drunkenness. Describing them as being of a 'delightful simplicity', he described a typical interchange with the arresting officer,

"Please your worships I found the prisoner drunk in Rope Street last night at a quarter past twelve. I lifted him up but he would not go home so I brought him to the Town Hall and locked him up." (Laughter) "Any other questions to ask the officer?" "No sir." "Have you anything to say?" "No sir." "Five shillings and costs." (Renewed laughter).⁷⁸

This was an indication of how the magistrates in Rochdale processed such cases, with rapidity and without much recourse to the defendant's word. In this, the borough's magistrates were not alone, those brought up for drunkenness were generally convicted on the word of the arresting officer alone in police courts throughout England and Wales.⁷⁹ They were, as Jennings stated the 'staple custom for the police, magistrates' courts and prisons', the 'bread and butter of the criminal justice system.'⁸⁰ Once before the magistrates, an acquittal for drunkenness was rare. For example, in 1874, 241 women were brought before the Rochdale magistrates for drunkenness, of whom 196 were convicted, a conviction rate of 81.3 per cent. In Salford the proportion of convictions was even higher with 903 out of 960 women convicted, a rate of 93.9 per cent.⁸¹ Such was the regularity of such cases coming before the magistrates in Rochdale, that they were not seen as a serious threat but rather as a nuisance or, at least on the occasion described above, as a source of amusement.

The large number of cases led the *Rochdale Pilot* to portray the sentencing of drunkenness in the police court as a fairly mundane affair. As the *Pilot* put it, 'the greater number of the cases of

⁷⁸ *Rochdale Times*, 30 December 1876.

⁷⁹ S. Petrow, *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p.217. Although focussing on the Metropolitan police, such experiences were widespread.

⁸⁰ P. Jennings, 'Policing drunkenness in England and Wales from the late eighteenth century to the First World War', *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, 26.1 (2012), pp.69-92.

⁸¹ Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing) Act, 1874. Return for the year ending 29 September 1874, PP 1876 (361), p. 25.

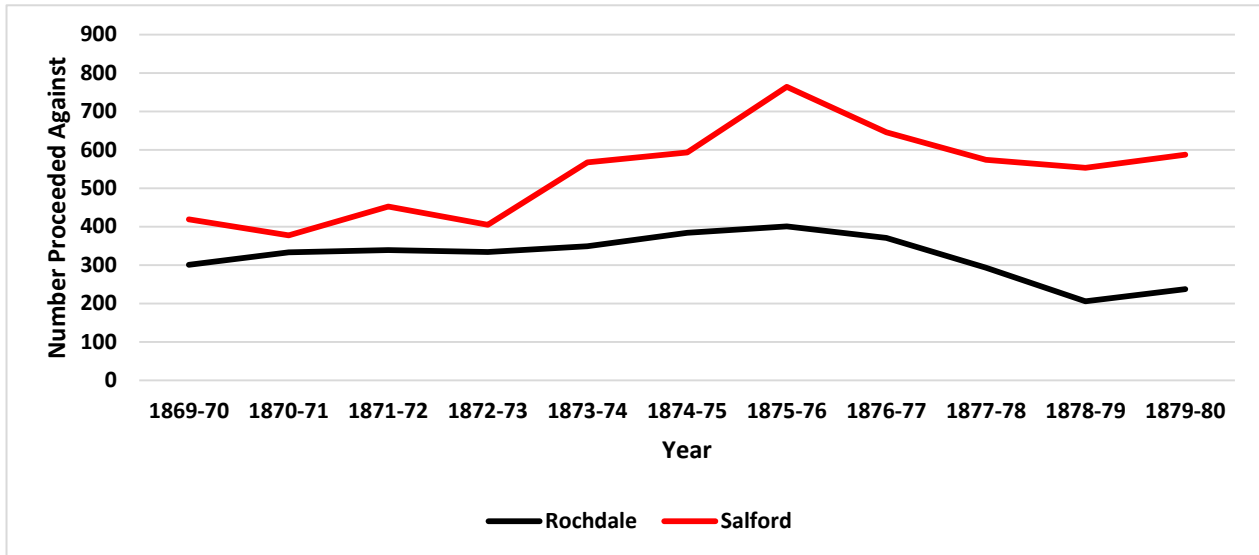
drunkenness have nothing in them to interest any but the defendants.’⁸² Many cases did interest readers of the press, however, especially those concerning habitual female offenders, as will be noted in the case studies below.

Although drunkenness was viewed as a serious problem in Salford, the police did not arrest people for simple drunkenness. It is possible that the greater number of residents, as compared to Rochdale, meant that the police had enough to contend with simply by concentrating on dealing with those who were drunk and incapable, or disorderly. Furthermore, perhaps due to their perceived association with the drinks trade, the Conservative dominated council in Salford may not have been keen to support such measures. Additionally, Rochdale did not have the density of licensed premises on the scale of Salford’s Chapel Street, or Manchester’s Deansgate, and the policing of Salford would have had a much different feel to it than that of Rochdale. Importantly, unlike Rochdale, crimes of violence were of greater concern in Salford and so drunken violence would have taken up a greater proportion of police time. The next section of this chapter, therefore, will examine the link between crimes of violence and drunkenness in the two boroughs, and how the respective authorities addressed it.

⁸² *Rochdale Pilot*, 7 January 1871.

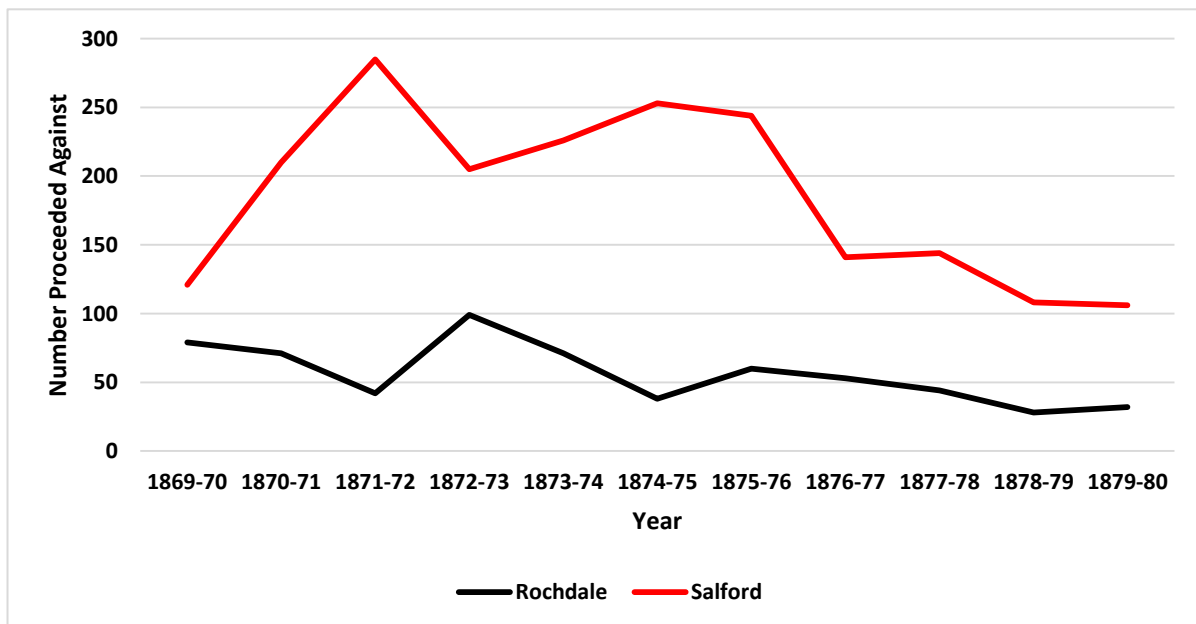
5.6) Drunkenness and Violence

Figure 5.3: Number proceeded against for common assault, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1880.



Source: Judicial Statistics, 1869-1880

Figure 5.4: Number proceeded against for assaulting the police, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1880



Source: Judicial Statistics, 1869-1880

As noted above, the popular image of Lancashire, at least within the pages of the press, was of a violent and drunken county. On a local level, however, this image was manifested much more

within Salford at this time than was ever the case in Rochdale. Once again police statistics played a major role in local debates. Drunkenness and assaults on the police were, it was reported, 'of too frequent occurrence' in Salford.⁸³ As Figure 5.3 shows, the number of people proceeded against for common assaults in Rochdale over the decade generally remained static, with a slight rise in mid-decade, before falling from 1877. In Salford the trend was less steady, with a discernible rise from 1873, a peak in 1876 and a decrease in the last four years of the decade. Additionally, Figure 5.4 shows a sharp rise in the number of people prosecuted for assaults on the police in Salford from 1870, to a peak of 285 in 1872. This figure then rose again in mid-decade before dropping sharply after 1876. In Rochdale the peak year was 1873, with ninety-nine prosecutions, which was more than double the figure for 1872, which was forty two.⁸⁴ Although the figure rose again from 1875 to 1876 it was not as pronounced as earlier and prosecutions began to fall towards the end of the decade.

In Salford, the local press helped to engender the image of the borough as a rowdy place, particularly in districts such as Greengate. Additionally, elements of Manchester's press took delight in reporting on incidents of fighting in Salford's streets. For example, the *Sphinx* called upon the borough's police to 'keep a check upon street fights, cursing and blaspheming, and the disturbance of the general peace.'⁸⁵ It had, it stated, 'had occasion some time since to call attention to the rowdyism which prevailed in Greengate and others (sic) streets in Salford at all hours of the day, both on Sunday and on week-days.'⁸⁶ Its contemporary, the *City Jackdaw*, reported on crimes of violence in the borough with the headline, 'Rowdy Salford!'⁸⁷ Reports of general rowdyism, brutal

⁸³ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 29 August 1874.

⁸⁴ This may be attributable to police interference, and the public response to it, after the 1872 Licensing Act, which saw people prosecuted for the new offence of simple drunkenness.

⁸⁵ *The Sphinx*, 18 March 1871.

⁸⁶ *The Sphinx*, 20 August 1870.

⁸⁷ *City Jackdaw*, 25 August 1876.

violence and drunkenness all combined to present a particularly negative image of the borough in the press.⁸⁸

This reputation was given further weight by the comments of Sir John Iles Mantell, who was convinced that violence had been rising in Salford throughout his tenure. He believed that the rise in common assaults, and assaults against the police in the borough, were inextricably linked to drunkenness. These cases, he stated, were 'in almost every instance the result of drunkenness, and therefore they would naturally increase in number with the cases of drunkenness.'⁸⁹ Salford, in Mantell's opinion, was a particularly violent place. His experience on Manchester's County Bench led him to state that, 'there were more cases of brutality investigated in one week at the Salford court than there were in three months in his other court at Strangeways.'⁹⁰ On another occasion, he had claimed of Salford that 'I think you will rarely find this court equalled by any other in the kingdom for an exhibition of savage and brutal conduct.'⁹¹ He believed that nowhere, not even neighbouring Manchester, the industrial powerhouse of Lancashire, was as violent as Salford. Mantell perceived drunkenness and violence as part of the same problem. Therefore, when studying patterns of female drunkenness in Chapter 6, committals for females convicted of crimes of violence will also be considered.⁹²

Considering the comments by high profile figures in the judiciary, it is little wonder that Salford's reputation became cemented in the local consciousness. By 1876, Salford's newspapers were dedicating ever increasing column inches to brutal assaults in the borough, which was

⁸⁸ It was from these so-called 'rowdy' areas that youth gangs emerged from the 1870s. See A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester, The Story of the Scuttlers, Britain's First Youth Cult* (Preston: Milo, 2008).

⁸⁹ Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (271), pp.33-34.

⁹⁰ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 19 August 1876.

⁹¹ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 29 July 1876.

⁹² Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (271), pp. 386-388. He provided returns to the Select Committee which showed committals for both drunkenness, and assault. This was unusual, as only three other witnesses provided such information. These were the representatives for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Staffordshire and Ayr.

‘attaining the most enviable notoriety through the reckless ruffianism of some of its residuum population.’⁹³ Both the *Weekly Chronicle* and the *Weekly News* took their lead not only from the comments of Mantell but also from the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, W.H. Higgin, whose pronouncements in court were reported in great detail. In common with the judiciary, both newspapers linked violence with drunkenness. The *Weekly Chronicle*, not missing an opportunity to criticize Liberal policy, believed that drunkenness had increased in the years following the 1872 Licensing Act. The reason, it stated, was that shorter opening hours had led to more rapid drinking in a shorter space of time and that acts of violence were the result. Conversely, it argued that longer opening hours reduced incidents of violence, as ‘the slow and gradual method of intoxication more frequently produces helplessness and stupor.’⁹⁴ The case of Elizabeth Dixon, committed to the sessions for attempted suicide, whilst drunk, helped to support these concerns. In court, her defence counsel argued that her offence was attributable to the 1872 Licensing Act as the more restrictive opening hours meant that ‘People get drunk in less time, and the effect is more maddening.’⁹⁵ The perceived links between drink and violence were highlighted by comments in court and newspaper editorials.

Publicity about violence, and crime in general, in Salford reached a zenith in 1876. Once again, the Salford Sessions were the catalyst. Of the thirty-five misdemeanours which came before the court, twenty-seven concerned violent assaults. Higgin stated that Salford’s magistrates were struggling to deal with such incidents and that crime in Salford was increasing with ‘alarming rapidity.’ Higgin argued that matters needed to be resolved, ‘With reference to these violent assaults’, he said, ‘it is manifest that strong measures must be resorted to to put them down.’⁹⁶ He repeated his belief that such incidents needed to be treated as indictable offences. The *Salford*

⁹³ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 26 August 1876. The newspaper was, once again, convinced that Manchester should bear part of the blame for this perception. Much of the increase in crime in Salford was attributable, it believed, to ‘the occupants of the dens of infamy in the purlieu of Deansgate, now cleared for warehouse room, [who] have guttered towards the slums of Salford’.

⁹⁴ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 23 May 1874.

⁹⁵ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 24 January 1874.

⁹⁶ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 19 August 1876.

Weekly News even went so far as to produce statistical evidence, which it believed portrayed the extent of the problem. From 1868 to 1876, the returns for those dealt with summarily and those sent to trial for violence were provided, as can see in Table 5.1, below.

Table 5.1: Number of prosecutions for crimes of violence, Salford, 1868-1876

Year	Summary convictions	Sent to trial
1868	284	15
1869	33? ⁹⁷	16
1870	340	5
1871	468	10
1872	593	18
1873	520	34
1874	639	39
1875	711	49
1876 (to August)	684	57

These figures proved, the newspaper warned its readers, ‘that crimes of violence are surely and alarmingly on the increase.’ Once again drunkenness was linked with this perceived rise, ‘It is not surprising to find it asserted – and we believe with perfect accuracy – that the increase of such offences...is commensurate with the increase of drunkenness.’ Salford’s newspapers were supportive of Mantell, who sent many of these cases to a higher court. Conversely, the *Weekly News* was critical of those magistrates who dealt with crimes of violence summarily and believed that they should follow the lead of the stipendiary.⁹⁸

Such concerns about violence were not reflected in Rochdale. Annually, the borough prided itself on a low number of reported indictable offences and an absence of brutal assaults. When newsworthy incidents of violence did take place, they were seen as extreme examples. For instance, a large scale brawl in Mount Pleasant in 1875 was dismissed as ‘an Irish faction fight.’⁹⁹ On another occasion, in 1877, a plasterer named John McKenna kicked his wife, Ann, to death whilst he was drunk. The attack proved a sensation in the borough, with Rochdale’s newspapers devoting multiple

⁹⁷ Last digit illegible in source.

⁹⁸ *Salford Weekly News*, 9 September 1876.

⁹⁹ *Rochdale Times*, 24 December 1875.

column inches to the death, in a blaze of publicity usually reserved for general elections.¹⁰⁰

Moreover, an attempted murder took place in Rochdale later that year. However, such incidents were rare in the borough, with the *Rochdale Observer* noting that 'If for these two events only, the year 1877 will be a marked one in the history of crime in this borough.'¹⁰¹

The authorities and press in the borough saw minor moral offences, such as drunkenness and vagrancy, as greater problems than acts of violence. Committals for vagrancy to Strangeways from Rochdale were common, with 267 female committals processed under the 1824 Vagrancy Act between 1869 and 1875. Concerns about vagrancy and travellers were interlinked. In 1868, the *Rochdale Observer* apportioned much of the blame for crime in the borough on travellers. 'No doubt,' it stated, 'the increased criminality is greatly due to the large numbers of migratory persons who have been in and around it [the borough].' The *Observer* further bemoaned 'the excessive number of the thorough "'tramp" character, who have puzzled the guardians so much by their demands on passing through the town.'¹⁰² This was reflected in sentencing policy towards those who had no settled home in Rochdale, as will be explored in Chapter 9.

Rochdale's authorities had a particular reputation for punishing vagrancy. A, possibly apocryphal, report from the *Rochdale Times* provides a case in point. It stated,

That begging and vagrancy cannot be prosecuted here we had ear witness of a day or two ago by the expression of a woman who was waiting the dispatch of the prison van.

"Rochdale", said the woman in comfort to a vagrant man, whose wife was being taken to jail for begging, "is the worst place in England for travellers!"¹⁰³

Distrust of travellers probably dated from at least the late 1860s. In 1869, the *Observer* reflected on the increased number of vagrants visible in the town due to a depression in trade.¹⁰⁴ This depression

¹⁰⁰ The incident dominated the papers, with special supplements concerning the trial being produced.

¹⁰¹ *Rochdale Observer*, 29 December 1877.

¹⁰² *Rochdale Observer*, 12 September 1868.

¹⁰³ *Rochdale Times*, 13 June 1874.

¹⁰⁴ During 1868, 12,489 casuals lodged at Wardleworth Workhouse, an increase of over 2000 from 1867. *Rochdale Observer*, 2 January 1869. 1868 was a year of general depression and a peak year for the number of

had, it stated, increased the number of 'deserving artisans in need of work, but actual experience proves that the nomadic tribe consists of an idle and dissolute class, who would rather starve than work, and who prefer stealing to starving.'¹⁰⁵ Vagrancy had long been linked to crime in the country, and the police in other areas, such as Leeds, were instructed, periodically, to reduce the number of beggars.¹⁰⁶ If being poor in Rochdale could leave a person open to arrest, then being poor and homeless could increase these chances considerably.

5.7) Conclusion

In line with national concerns, drunkenness was a major topic of debate in Salford and Rochdale. The perceived effect of licensing legislation was intertwined throughout debates on female drunkenness, and crimes of violence. Throughout these debates, the local press was divided firmly on party lines, which highlighted the intense political divisions in both boroughs. Both Chief Constables were convinced that female drunkenness was increasing, yet provided little firm evidence to suggest that this really was the case. Grocers' licences were the scapegoats here, as the police and magistrates apportioned the blame for the apparent increase in drunkenness on a system over which they had little control. There was a great deal of satisfaction with the good behaviour of licensees, and the orderliness of their premises, although it is difficult to ascertain whether this apparent good conduct was real. Even after the early closing hours instigated by the 1872 Licensing Act, it is difficult to believe that Salford's Chapel Street, for instance, was any less disorderly after closing time than it had been previously. Arguably, any disturbances took place earlier in the evening and were more closely contained. As Torrens' reports show, the majority of arrests for

vagrants applying for out-relief, see Weinberger, 'The police and the people', p. 68. This increase was probably attributable to the poverty caused by the cotton famine earlier in the decade.

¹⁰⁵ *Rochdale Observer*, 2 January 1869.

¹⁰⁶ D. Churchill, 'Crime, policing and control in Leeds, c.1830-1890' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The Open University, 2012), p.131.

drunkenness, amongst men and women, still took place on a Saturday night, after the pubs and beerhouses had closed.¹⁰⁷

Policing differed between Salford and Rochdale. This was due to a combination of environmental and geographical factors but also to the outlook of the borough's civic leaders. Rochdale was an intensely Liberal borough, whose Nonconformist elites were determined to stamp their own moral authority on the population. In contrast, Salford, a Conservative-dominated borough was perhaps happier to allow the working man, if not the working woman, an honest drink at the end of an honest day's work. Despite this, Salford had a terrible reputation, rightly or wrongly, for crimes of violence, such as common and brutal assaults, and assaults on the police. These concerns were not as apparent in Rochdale, which prided itself on its moral standing. As will be explored in Chapter 9, the streets and districts most closely associated with violence and other forms of criminality, were the ones from which the majority of women imprisoned for drunkenness were drawn.

¹⁰⁷ In 1873-74, the majority of men and women were arrested between 11pm and midnight on a Saturday, followed by midnight to 1am. See *Report of the Chief Constable to the General Watch Committee of the Borough of Salford, ending 29 September 1874, 31 October 1874*, GMPM, p.314.

Chapter 6

Sentencing Patterns for Drunkenness and Crimes of Violence

6.1) Introduction

This chapter begins the analysis of the female registers from Strangeways Prison, using the database. It explores the legal data contained within the registers to provide an overview of sentencing patterns. The chapter notes that the majority of committals to the prison were for drunkenness, and how police activity and magisterial discretion impacted on these committals. It focusses, in particular, on Salford and Rochdale. Continuing the themes explored in Chapter 5, it describes how, in Rochdale, the police crusade against drunkenness resulted in larger numbers of women being committed for the offence. Moreover, in Salford, the stipendiary magistrate's frustration at perceived levels of lawlessness in the borough saw him increasingly use custodial sentences in an attempt to combat these. Although concentrating on female drunkenness, as crimes of violence were linked to drink, especially in Salford, this chapter will also explore committals for women convicted of these offences as well and note differences in sentencing policy between the boroughs.

6.2) Committals to Strangeways Prison, 1869-1875

Figure 6.1: Major offence category of women committed to Strangeways Prison, 1869-1875

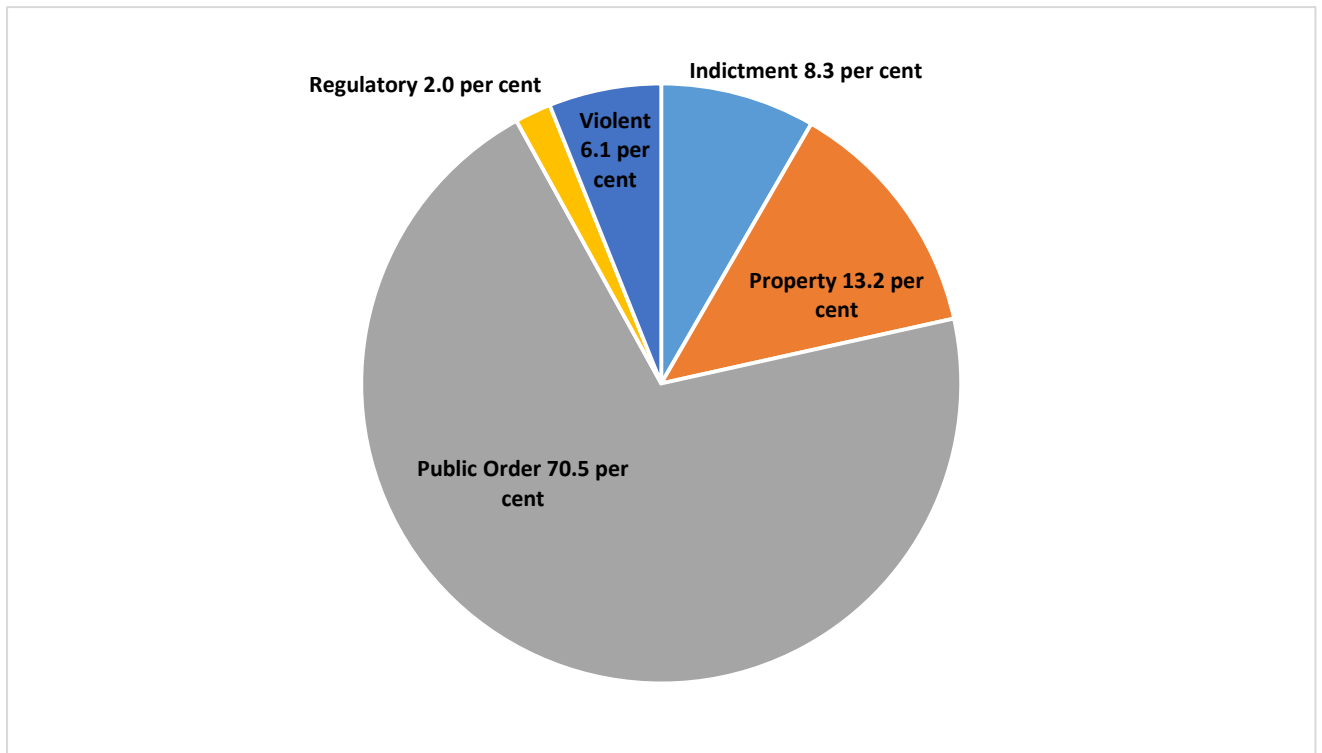


Table 6.1: Summary committals for women, Strangeways Prison, 1869-1875

	Frequency	Per cent
Drunkenness	6319	54.0
Nuisance	1452	12.4
Larceny - No Value Determined	973	8.3
Prostitution	696	6.0
Assaulting the Person	683	5.8
Vagrancy	521	4.5
Handling Stolen Goods	203	1.7
Poor Law	149	1.3
Damaging Property	125	1.1
Pawnbrokers Act	125	1.1
Larceny - Over 5/	107	0.9
Assaulting the Police	89	0.8
Larceny - Under 5/	69	0.6
Larceny - Offender <16 Years	67	0.6
Fraud	37	0.3
Employment	26	0.2
Health	18	0.2
Licensing	12	0.1
Court Order	11	0.1
Revenue Laws	5	0.0
Animals	4	0.0
Attempted Suicide	2	0.0
Total	11693	100.0

In October 1874, John Galbraith, the protestant chaplain of Strangeways Prison, lamented the increase in the number of people committed to the prison for drunkenness. Of the 3978 people committed for the offence that year, 1324 (33.3 per cent) were women. Reporting on a 24 per cent rise in the total number of committals from 1873, he estimated that nearly a half of all committals were for drunkenness and that this ‘rapid and unchecked progress’ was attributable to the 1872 Licensing Act.¹ The prison registers help to explain why Galbraith was so dismayed at the number of women committed for drunkenness. As Figure 6.1 shows, the majority of women committed to Strangeways were convicted for public order offences, which accounted for 8988 (70.5 per cent) of

¹ Manchester. Chaplain’s Report on Salford Hundred County Prison, 26 October 1874, Quarter Sessions Petitions, LA, QSP/3950/16. He argued that, under the Act, restrictions on sales had led to an increase in drunkenness. He believed that improved education, rather than acts of parliament, was the key to reducing drunkenness.

all summary committals. Furthermore, as shown by Table 6.1, 6319 (54.0 per cent) women were committed for drunkenness. This was by far the most common offence for which women were gaoled. The second highest offence, nuisance, comprised only 1452 (12.4 per cent) of committals. The female population of Strangeways Prison, therefore, was dominated by women committed for drunkenness. These findings correspond with those of Zedner, whose examination of Tothill Fields prison concluded that women convicted of drunkenness comprised the majority of committals to the prison between 1850 and 1877.² Additionally, Turner's study of Stafford Petty Sessions between 1880 and 1905 also showed that drunkenness was the most common offence for which women were prosecuted, whilst Curtin identified drunkenness as the main source of female committals to Galway Gaol in the mid to late nineteenth century.³ The number of drunkenness committals, especially female committals, to Strangeways caused concern amongst the authorities. It further provoked John Gaibraith, to note that, 'It is deplorable that this steady annual increase has chiefly taken place amongst the females of whom the drunkards during the past year numbered more than half those committed'. Additionally, he stated that drink was a direct cause of imprisonment for a number of women who had been committed for assault.⁴

His concerns were reflected elsewhere. In 1869, Edmund Ashworth, a Rochdale magistrate, stated that the newly opened Strangeways Prison was being overwhelmed by the number of inmates, especially those convicted of drunkenness, or who had committed crimes whilst drunk. 'Nine-tenths of the prisoners in the county gaol', he argued 'could trace their fall, directly or indirectly, to the use of strong drink.'⁵ One anonymous temperance advocate was also scathing

² L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.156-7.

³ J. Turner, 'Offending women in Stafford, 1880-1905: punishment, reform and re-integration' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 2005); 'Summary justice for women: Stafford Borough, 1880-1905', *Crime, History and Societies*, 16.2 (2012), 55-77. G. Curtin, *The Women of Galway Jail* (Dublin: Arlen House 2001), p.71; 'Female prisoners in Galway gaol in the late nineteenth century', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 54 (2002), 175-182.

⁴ Manchester. Chaplain's Report on Salford Hundred County Prison, 20 October 1873, Quarter Sessions Petitions, LA, QSP/3926/25.

⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 April 1869.

about the impact of drink on the population of Strangeways. 'We have in Manchester a gaol built at a cost of £40,000' they argued 'which would not have been required if we had been without drinkshops.'⁶ In commenting on the rising number of committals for drunkenness, Oldham's Liberal MP, John Tomlinson Hibbert, criticized the short sentences which were handed down for the offence. He felt that the results were that 'those sent in for three days only got a good washing and were made clean and respectable-looking, after which they were turned out again ready to resume their old habits.'⁷

Anxieties about the effect of drunkenness on the prison population were by no means restricted to Strangeways. In Liverpool in 1871, Walton Gaol was considered to be full to capacity. It was reported that, as a result, some 900 women had had to be imprisoned in local bridewells. The prison's Catholic chaplain, and temperance campaigner, Father James Nugent 'declared his conviction to be that the gaol is overcrowded more by drunkenness than by crime' and he stated that longer sentences needed to be passed on 'women who showed a tendency to become habitual drunkards.'⁸ In Yorkshire, committals for drunkenness to Wakefield Gaol more than doubled between 1867 and 1873. That year, 31 per cent of the prison population had been convicted of drunkenness.⁹

It is difficult to fully evaluate the impact of drink on prison populations. As contemporary commentators noted, drink was often a factor in other offences. The historian, L.O. Pike, stated that 'it [drunkenness] may stimulate towards violence, and send to prison a man who, had he remained sober, might have escaped reproach.'¹⁰ Reporting to the Select Committee on Intemperance in April 1877, James Davis, the legal adviser to the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, testified that

⁶ *Rochdale Observer*, 15 April 1871.

⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 January 1871.

⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 27 October 1871.

⁹ P. Jennings, 'Policing drunkenness in England and Wales', pp. 69-92.

¹⁰ L.O. Pike, *A History of Crime in England, Volume 2* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1876), p.433.

many of the common assaults dealt with by the police involved drunkenness.¹¹ The role that drink played in a variety of offences is apparent from newspaper reports in cases of, for example; larceny, assault against the person and the police, and prostitution. It played a major role in the number of women committed to gaol.

These reports can provide additional glimpses of women committed for other offences who were drunk at the time. Importantly, at times, the charges which were brought by the police did not reflect the offence for which a woman was convicted. Magisterial discretion was very much in evidence here. If the police brought multiple charges against one woman, then often a magistrate would decide whether to proceed with all charges, or not. This was certainly the case where drunkenness was concerned. According to the prison registers, Salford's Ellen Molloy was sentenced to two months' hard labour for assaulting Anne Haslam. Molloy was reported to be drunk when she struck Haslam on the head with a jug during a quarrel. Additionally, the court report stated that Molloy became violent when arrested and kicked the arresting officer, PC Youd. The prison registers do not mention either Molloy's drunkenness or the assault on Youd. It appears that Molloy's previous criminal record counted against her.¹² Mary Ann Holland was convicted of disturbing the peace in May 1873. She had actually assaulted PC Robson whilst resisting arrest, by tearing off his necktie, kicking him and spitting in his face. The magistrate, Sir John Iles Mantell, blamed the incident on her drunkenness.¹³ The charge of disturbing the peace was therefore ambiguous and could cover a range of offences.

This latter example may also help to explain why comparatively few women appear in the registers for assaulting the police. More women may have been charged with the offence but not convicted of it. In Bolton, Ann Williams was convicted of disturbing the peace in October 1869. The

¹¹ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), p.117. Davis had previously served as stipendiary magistrate for Stoke-on-Trent and Sheffield.

¹² *Salford Weekly Chronicle* (n.d) August 1873.

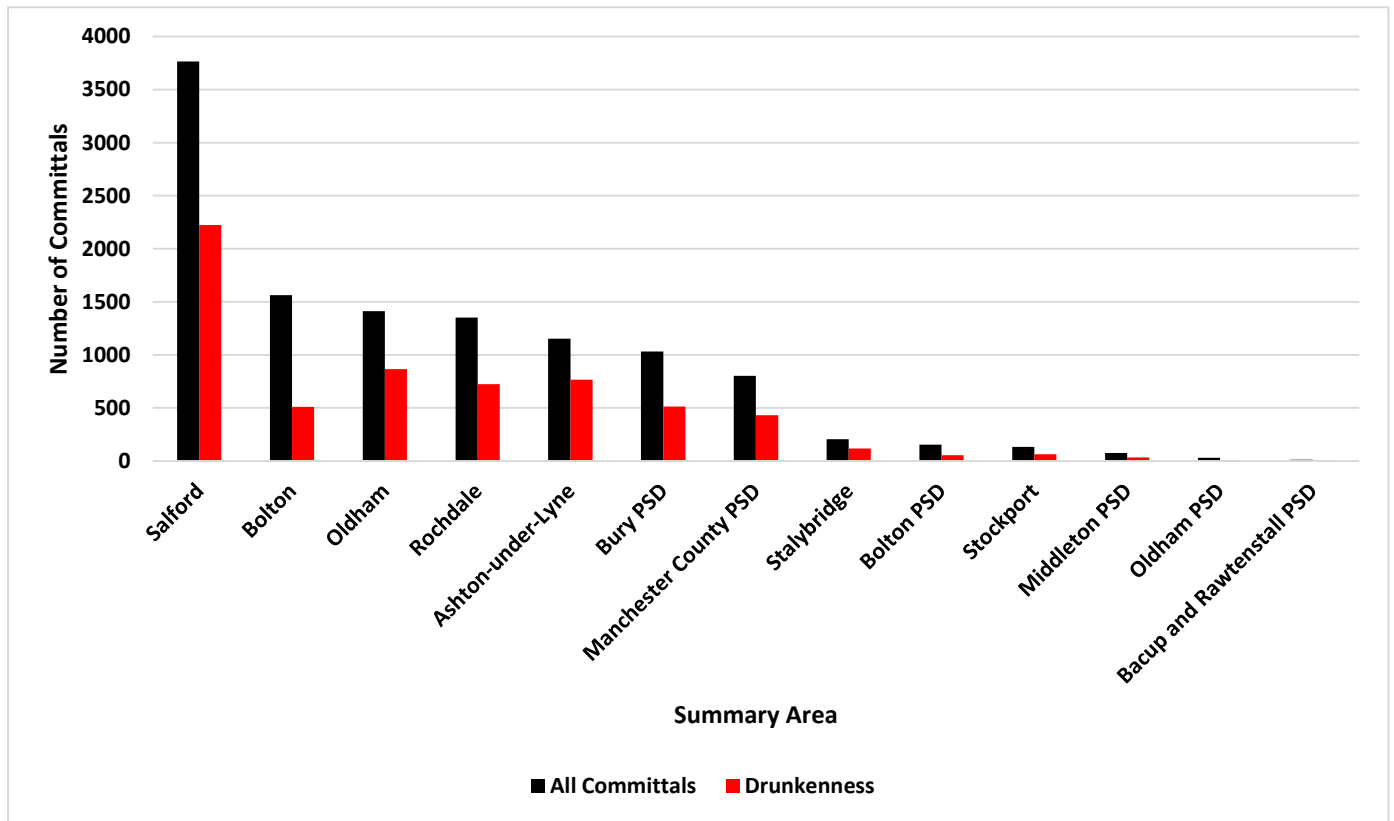
¹³ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 17 May 1873.

newspaper report did not detail Williams' behaviour and she served fourteen days in prison.¹⁴ Her offence was probably not as serious as that of Holland, who received a sentence of three months in Strangeways. It is not possible to examine every committal in the database to ascertain the exact offence for which each woman was committed. However, one point is certain: the 6319 committals for drunkenness did not represent the total number of women committed to Strangeways for offences in which drink was a contributing factor. Regardless of the potential ambiguity regarding these offences, the data from the prison registers provides considerable scope for judging the patterns of committals. Ultimately, it is important to examine how the authorities decided which offences women should be imprisoned for.

¹⁴ *Bolton Evening News*, 9 October 1869. She may or may not have been drunk, Bolton's Chief Constable divided public order offences into four categories: Drunkenness, Breach of the Peace, Common Assault and Riotous Prostitutes. See *Bolton Evening News*, 27 August 1873.

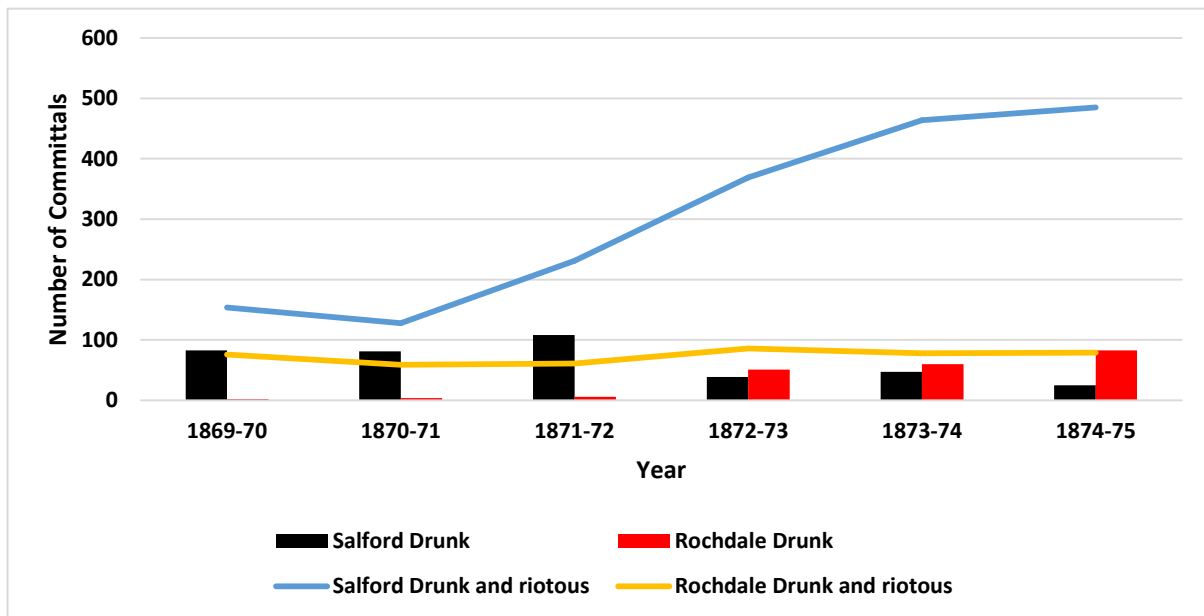
6.3) The Case Studies: Salford and Rochdale

Figure 6.2: Drunkenness as a proportion of all summary committals of females by summary area, 1869-1875



As Figure 6.2 shows, nearly one-third of all female committals, for all offences, came from Salford’s magistrates’ court. Salford’s proximity to Manchester was a major factor in this. In total, 1297 women gave a Manchester address, of which 882 (68.0 per cent) came from Salford’s court. Therefore, the higher population density of Salford and Manchester contributed significantly to the number of women processed through Salford’s court.

Figure 6.3: Number of female committals for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875



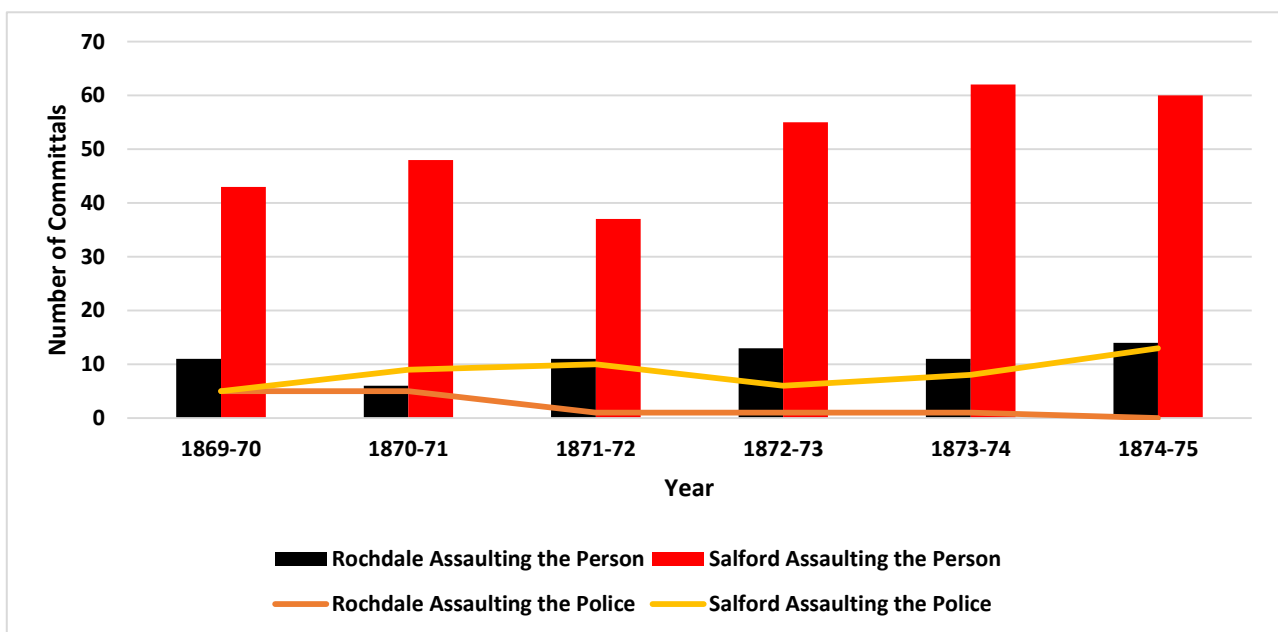
As noted in Chapter 5, under the terms of the 1872 Licensing Act, Rochdale’s police began to prosecute people for the offence of simple drunkenness. As shown in Figure 6.3, this led to an increase from Rochdale in the number of female committals for being drunk, which, at 206 (28.5 per cent) were proportionally greater than those from Salford. Despite having a much larger population, only 383 (17.2 per cent) women were committed for being drunk from Salford.¹⁵ In Rochdale, the number of women committed for being drunk increased rapidly, from six in 1871-72 to a peak of eighty-three in 1874-75. Contrastingly, in Salford, the pattern was reversed, with the number of women committed for being drunk in Salford peaking at 108 in 1871-72 before declining sharply to twenty-five in 1874-75. The difference in these patterns were wholly attributable to the actions of the respective borough forces.

Concerns about drunkenness and the perceived link with crimes of violence in Salford were also reflected in the figures for committals for being drunk and riotous. These numbered 1831 (82.3

¹⁵ Newspaper reports from Salford suggest that women were only arrested for being drunk if they were creating a disturbance at the time. There is no evidence that Salford’s police arrested people for simple drunkenness, indeed Major Bond’s actions in Birmingham were seen as newsworthy, see *Salford Weekly News*, 19 August 1876.

per cent) in Salford and 439 (60.7 per cent) in Rochdale.¹⁶ Figure 6.3 shows the rapid increase in committals for being drunk and riotous in Salford, from 128 (5.8 per cent) in 1870-71 to 485 (21.8 per cent) in 1874-75. Unlike Salford, there was only a slight increase in the number of women committed for being drunk and riotous from Rochdale. Here, seventy-six (10.5 per cent) women were committed for being drunk and riotous in 1869-70, a number which peaked at eighty-six (11.9 per cent) in 1872-73. The actions of Salford's stipendiary magistrate, Sir John Iles Mantell, were key here.

Figure 6.4: Number of female committals for crimes of violence, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875



Where crimes of violence are concerned, one pattern is common to both boroughs: very few women were committed to Strangeways for assaulting the police. Figure 6.4 shows that, in Salford, fifty-one (14.2 per cent) committals were for assaulting the police whilst they numbered thirteen (16.5 per cent) in Rochdale. The judicial statistics do not separate the figures by gender, so it is not possible to determine the number of men and women who were proceeded against for assaulting the police. For this period, in Salford, 1300 men and women were proceeded against summarily for assaulting

¹⁶ The figures include thirteen cases of drunk and disorderly in Salford and eight in Rochdale.

the police, with 400 from Rochdale.¹⁷ The number of women from these boroughs that found themselves in gaol for the offence, therefore, does seem very low.

One possible reason for this is that it was deemed to be a male offence and that men were much more likely to be charged with assaulting the police than women. Indeed, Churchill's examination of public-police relations in late-nineteenth century Leeds has shown that men, rather than women, tended to be involved in acts of violence towards the police.¹⁸ He further discovered that, in 1873, in order to improve the ratio of convictions to prosecutions, the Chief Constable of Leeds instructed his men not to add assaulting a policeman to a charge of drunkenness unless the wound was severe.¹⁹ In his study of East London, however, August stated that it was not unusual for women, as well as men, to be charged with assaulting the police.²⁰ In Salford and Rochdale, the police may have been reluctant to bring a charge of assault against a woman, except in exceptional circumstances. Weinberger noted that in the early to mid-twentieth century, a police constable was expected to deal with an assault without bringing a charge and that being assaulted whilst carrying out an arrest for drunkenness was seen as part of the job.²¹ An assault by a woman, especially, would have been perceived as an affront to a policeman's masculinity and could well have impacted on how those on his beat would have viewed him. On the streets of a Lancashire textile town in the nineteenth century a policeman was expected to handle himself, especially against women. Therefore, this reluctance to bring a charge of assault against a woman may account for the very low

¹⁷ Judicial Statistics, PP 1869-1875, and Strangeways female prison registers, MA, 1869-1875.

¹⁸ Churchill has used police occurrence books to build up an intriguing examination of police interaction with the public, see D. Churchill, 'I am just the man for upsetting you bloody bobbies': popular animosity towards the police in late nineteenth-century Leeds', *Social History*, 39.2 (2014), pp. 248-266.

¹⁹ D. Churchill, *Crime Control and Everyday Life in the Victorian City, The Police and the Public* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 218-219.

²⁰ Assaults by women generally resulted in minimal injury, however. See A. August, 'A horrible looking woman': female violence in east London', *Journal of British Studies*, 54.4 (2015), p. 835.

²¹ B. Weinberger, *The Best Police in the World: An Oral History of English Policing from the 1930s to the 1960s* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 32 and p. 157. In the inter-war years, constables who tried to escort drunken women home, or move them along, were often mistakenly seen to be arresting them. They were then assaulted by members of the public, see J. Klein, *Invisible Men, the Secret Lives of Police Constables in Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, 1900-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), pp. 180-181.

number of committals here. However, the fact that women were sometimes charged with assaulting the police but not convicted of the offence, also needs to be taken into account.²²

In both boroughs, assaulting the person comprised the greatest proportion of committals for crimes of violence. These needed to be treated with a certain caution, however, as the actual numbers involved differed widely. In Salford, 305 (85.2 per cent) were for assaulting the person, with 1873-74 being the peak year, with sixty-two. In Rochdale, the number of committals was much smaller, with sixty-six (83.5 per cent) women being committed for assaulting the person. This can certainly be attributable, in part, to the difference in population between Salford and Rochdale but there was also a much greater concern about violence in the former than the latter, which was reflected in sentencing policy.

Table 6.2: Committals to prison for drunkenness, with sentences of one calendar month, without the option of a fine, by court, 1869-1875

Summary Area	1871-72	1872-73	1873-74	1874-75	Total	Per cent
Salford	0	49	74	61	184	75.7
Manchester County PSD	1	3	5	13	22	9.1
Bury PSD	0	9	1	11	21	8.6
Stalybridge	0	2	3	3	8	3.3
Rochdale	0	2	2	0	4	1.6
Middleton PSD	0	0	2	0	2	0.8
Ashton-under-Lyne	0	0	0	1	1	0.4
Bolton	0	0	1	0	1	0.4
Total	1	65	88	89	243	99.9

²² Furthermore, Gatrell believed that an apparent decline in assaults on the police after 1850 may have been attributable to constables framing more 'appropriate charges which would withstand the scrutiny of sceptical magistrates'. Beforehand, police had used the offence for 'quick and simple arrests'. V.A.C Gatrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 286.

Under Section 12 of the 1872 Licensing Act, any person convicted of drunkenness three or more times in twelve months was liable to a fine of up to forty shillings. Additionally, any person convicted of drunk and riotous behaviour could also be liable to such a fine. However, for this latter offence, magistrates could sentence a person to up to a month in prison, without the option of a fine.²³ Table 6.2 shows that this custodial option was utilised extensively in Salford. Between 1872-73 and 1874-75, Salford's magistrates sentenced 184 women to one month in gaol without the option of a fine. This number comprised 75.7 per cent of all such sentences from all courts. In Salford, 181 (98.4 per cent) of these sentences were for being drunk and riotous and three (1.6 per cent) were for being drunk and disorderly.²⁴ Sir John Iles Mantell was the sole committing magistrate for 122 (66.3 per cent) of these committals. Mantell was also the committing magistrate for eleven (50.0 per cent) committals from Manchester County PSD. All of these committals were for being drunk and riotous. These figures, therefore, show that Salford's magistrates in general, and Mantell in particular, increasingly used the powers given to them by the 1872 Licensing Act to sentence women to gaol for the maximum period allowed to them. Moreover, it appears that this was used against women who were repeat offenders. Of the 184 committals, 137 (74.5 per cent) women had four or more previous committals to gaol. Additionally, thirty-six (19.6 per cent) had one to three and only eleven (6.0 per cent), had none. Mantell's personal viewpoint was key here, as he became increasingly frustrated at the number of people appearing before him for drunkenness. In March 1873, he had sentenced one man to gaol, without the option of a fine, stating that 'they don't care for fines, and therefore I will try what imprisonment will do.'²⁵

In terms of committals for violence, Salford sent, by far, the highest number of women to prison for a sentence over fourteen days. Of the 482 women who fell into this category, 280 (58.1 per cent) came from Salford. Manchester County PSD sent the second highest number, with

²³ Licensing Act, 1872 PP (1872 (35 & 36 Vict c.94)), p. 5.

²⁴ In both Rochdale and Salford, two offences made up the majority of committals for drunkenness; drunk, and drunk and riotous. The charge of drunk and disorderly was used interchangeably with that of drunk and riotous in the local newspapers. Therefore, they have been treated as the same offence here.

²⁵ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 1 March 1873.

seventy-five (15.6 per cent). Salford's court also handed out the largest number of custodial sentences for violence without the option of a fine, with 281 (59.3 per cent). There is, therefore, a similar pattern to the data for drunkenness. Salford's court increasingly attempted to deal with the perceived problem of drunkenness and violence with custodial sentences, without the option of a fine. Rochdale gave thirty-three (7.0 per cent) women an immediate custodial sentence, whilst thirty-five (13.8 per cent) women received a fine of twenty shillings or below. The main common denominator between Salford and Manchester County PSD was Sir John Iles Mantell, who was the stipendiary magistrate for both courts. Therefore, the chapter will now turn to an analysis of the magistrates.

6.4) The Magistrates

An analysis of the sentences handed down by magistrates in Salford and Rochdale will help to explore how the respective Benches dealt with cases of drunkenness and acts of violence. Not only was Sir John Iles Mantell, Salford's stipendiary magistrate, the sole committing magistrate for over half of all total committals from Salford, he was also responsible for the majority of committals for drunkenness, and nearly two-thirds of all committals for violence, from Salford's borough court.²⁶ The number of women sent to prison by Mantell for drunkenness more than doubled from 1869-70 to 1874-75.²⁷ His abhorrence of alcohol was due, in no small part, to his belief that drink and violence were inextricably linked.²⁸ Between July and August 1876, 894 prisoners had been brought to trial in Salford. This led Mantell to complain about his increasing workload and declare that the business of Salford's court had become 'overwhelming'.²⁹ Therefore, in order to assess Mantell's

²⁶ Mantell was the sole committing magistrate for 1955 (51.9 per cent) committals from Salford. These included 1097 (49.7 per cent) committals for drunkenness and 138 (62.7 per cent) committals for crimes of violence.

²⁷ The Conservative, William Goulden, had the second highest number of committals, with 120 (5.4 per cent). As a lay magistrate, he would have sat with two colleagues.

²⁸ Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (271), p.33.

²⁹ *Salford Weekly News*, 19 August 1876. He committed a morning a day to Salford's court, before commencing his duties at Strangeways as stipendiary for Manchester County PSD.

impact on sentencing in Salford, the decision has been taken to run a separate analysis of his cases from those of the borough's lay magistrates.

The patterns of Mantell's committals, as well as the total number, provide valuable clues as to his mindset. Although, it was very rare for Mantell to hand down sentences of over fourteen days for drunkenness, they did increase over time. These committals rose from one (0.1 per cent) in 1869-70 to a peak of fifty-three (4.8 per cent) in 1874-75. Importantly, the number of women committed without the option of a fine also rose steadily, from only four (0.4 per cent) in 1869-70 to fifty-two (4.7 per cent) in 1872-73, with a peak of eighty-four (7.7 per cent) in 1873-74. Although the majority of fines that Mantell imposed were small, up to twenty shillings, these also increased steadily, from 108 (9.8 per cent) in 1870-71 to 179 (16.3 per cent) in 1874-75. These figures expose the frustration that Mantell held at his failure to halt the number of drunkenness cases coming before him. The rising numbers led to him dealing out harsher sentences in a vain attempt to curb them. His actions belie Davis' claim that part of the purpose of police courts was to win lower-class acceptance of the law, in addition to dispensing justice.³⁰ There is little evidence from Salford that Mantell dispensed help and advice to the poorer working-class.

Furthermore, a similar pattern emerges with the committals from the lay magistrates. The number of women given a sentence of between one and fourteen days increased from sixty-eight (6.0 per cent) in 1869-70 to 241 (21.4 per cent) in 1874-75. Salford's lay magistrates also tended to handed down small fines, of up to twenty shillings, although these rose from seventy (6.2 per cent) in 1869-70 to 236 (20.9 per cent) in 1874-75. There was also an increase in the number of women committed without the option of a fine. This number more than doubled from seventeen (1.5 per cent) in 1871-72 to thirty-eight (3.4 per cent) in 1873-74. Therefore the number of women committed without the option of a fine from both Mantell and the lay magistrates peaked in 1873-74. It is probable that the force of Mantell's personality helped to influence the sentencing policy of

³⁰ J. Davis, 'A poor man's system of justice: the London police courts in the second half of the nineteenth century', *The Historical Journal*, 27.2 (1984), pp. 309-335.

Salford's lay magistrates. No other court came close to Salford, in replicating the number of women committed for one month, without the option of a fine.

Although the number of committals for violence in Salford were smaller than those for drunkenness, they show a similar pattern. Mantell committed an increasing number of women to prison without the option of a fine. These more than doubled from ten (7.2 per cent) in 1871-72 to a peak of twenty-two (15.9 per cent) in both 1873-74 and 1874-75. The number of women committed to prison for more than fourteen days by Mantell also increased, from five (3.6 per cent) in 1870-71 to twenty-four (17.4 per cent) in 1874-75. Additionally, the number of women sent to a higher court by Mantell for violence also peaked in 1873-74. He had sent only thirteen women to a higher court for this offence between 1869-70 and 1872-73. However, in 1873-74 this number rose to twenty-two. As the number of cases dealt with by Mantell increased, his punishments became harsher. These rose and peaked at approximately the same time.

Salford's lay magistrates also sent the majority of women convicted of crimes of violence to prison without the option of a fine. These totalled 193 (87.7 per cent). They also tended to hand down sentences of over fourteen days for violence, with the peak year being 1870-71 with thirty-nine committals (17.7 per cent). Again, it is difficult to imagine that Mantell did not have a major influence on sentencing policy towards crimes of violence in the borough.

In comparison, Rochdale's lay magistrates tended to hand down lighter sentences for drunkenness. Women were, on the whole, committed for up to fourteen days. They were also more likely to be given the option of a fine of up to twenty shillings. In terms of prison sentences, 113 women (15.6 per cent) were committed for over fourteen days and only twenty-eight women (3.9 per cent) were not given the option of a fine. Additionally, 102 women (14.1 per cent) were given a fine of over twenty shillings. Rochdale's magistrates, therefore, did not fully utilise the increased powers to impose fines given to them by the 1872 Licensing Act. Large fines may not have been handed down as magistrates were aware that the women in question would not have been able to pay them. Contemporary evidence shows that legislation was not always implemented at ground

level. In April 1877, James Davies, recalling his experiences as stipendiary magistrate for both Stoke-on-Trent and Sheffield, testified in select committee that he did not use the graded system of fines introduced under the 1872 Licensing Act. He reasoned that it was not possible for magistrates to know whether defendants had made multiple appearances for drunkenness.³¹ Evidence from Rochdale and Salford newspaper reports, however, suggest that in these boroughs the Bench did have knowledge of the court records of defendants.

As discussed in Chapter 5, violence was not as much of a concern to the authorities in Rochdale as it was in Salford. This was reflected in press reports. In 1875, for example, the *Rochdale Times* reported that, of the 135 indictable offences from Rochdale over the past twelve months, none was 'of a really serious nature'.³² In terms of sentencing for crimes of violence in the borough, women were generally sent to prison for up to fourteen days. The number of women committed for over fourteen days decreased after 1872-73, at a time when numbers were increasing in Salford. It is, however, difficult to discern a pattern in the fine options handed down in Rochdale. As the overall numbers are relatively small, only seventy-nine committals from Rochdale were for crimes of violence, no clear pattern emerges. Overall, thirty-five women (44.3 per cent) were given a fine of up to twenty shillings, eleven women (13.9 per cent) were given the option of over twenty shillings and thirty-three (41.8 per cent) given no option of a fine.³³

Finally, marital status does not appear to have played a part in how women were treated by the borough magistrates. As Tables 1 to 4 in Appendix 2 show; in both boroughs, across all marital groups, the majority of women were committed for up to fourteen days and were fined between one pence and twenty shillings. As will be seen in Chapter 7, married women comprised nearly half of all committals for drunkenness from Salford and just over half from Rochdale. In her study of inebriate reformatories, Morrison has argued that fining was not perceived to prevent re-offending

³¹ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), p. 140.

³² *Rochdale Times*, 24 December 1875.

³³ See Figures 3 and 4 in Appendix 2.

amongst married women, as the cost of the fine would often fall to the husband.³⁴ However, the data from Strangeways shows that married women were, as a rule, given the option of a fine. There were exceptions; in Salford, 150 (6.7 per cent) married women were not given the option of a fine, although the majority of these were caught up in Mantell's drive against drunkenness. Indeed, when Ann Darcey was convicted of being drunk and disorderly in July 1875, she pleaded to be fined, on account of being the mother of four children. A married woman, and repeat offender, Mantell refused her plea, stating, 'No, you are a confirmed drunkard' and sentenced her to a month in gaol.³⁵ Moreover, in Rochdale, only eleven (1.5 per cent) married women received a straight custodial sentence. The data presented here suggests that marital status was not a factor in sentencing decisions.

6.5) Multiple Committals

A caveat needs to be applied when discussing the number of summary committals to Strangeways. The majority of female committals to the gaol, 6319 (54.0 per cent), were for drunkenness. The data, however, does not provide the full picture. As noted above, there were often differences between the charges brought by the police and the offence, or offences, for which a woman was convicted. Magisterial discretion played a significant role here. The terms used in the prison registers to describe offences, such as being drunk, being drunk and riotous or disturbing the peace, are vague and ambiguous and often do not fully portray the actions for which a woman was convicted. Additionally, charges brought by the police were sometimes not acted upon by magistrates. Therefore the number of cases of drunkenness and/or violence which resulted in a gaol sentence can not be fully ascertained by the prison registers alone. A qualitative study can help to more fully understand the range of offences for which women were imprisoned.

³⁴ B. Morrison, 'Controlling the "hopeless": re-visioning the history of female inebriate institutions c. 1870-1920' in H. Johnston (ed.) *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 135-157.

³⁵ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 17 July 1875.

The vast majority of summary committals, 11458, were for one offence, which resulted in one sentence. The remaining 235 summary committals were for more than one offence, which resulted in the same number of sentences.³⁶ For example, in November 1869, Mary Hallows was convicted of being drunk and begging. She received a sentence of fourteen days in prison or a five shilling fine, for drunkenness, and twenty-one days in prison for begging. In May 1871, Mabel Wallis was convicted of being drunk and riotous, and assaulting Martha Winstanley. She received a prison sentence of seven days in lieu of a fine for each offence. Although these multiple committals comprised only 2.1 per cent of the total summary committals they brought up several research questions, including: what were these charges and why were they framed in this way? For example, a charge of being drunk and riotous suggests that a woman was drunk and behaving in a violent manner, yet in many such cases only one charge was brought. Were the women who were charged with multiple offences repeat offenders, who were well known to the police? If so, was this a tactic used by the police to increase the possibility of a longer gaol sentence? And were the women who were convicted of multiple offences treated more harshly than those convicted of a single offence? Upon further investigation, the way that all charges were framed needs to be taken into account. Firstly though, the extent of these multiple committals will be discussed.

³⁶ In addition, seven trial cases could be deemed multiple offences. These have not been included here, as they were from a higher court and did always result in more than one sentence.

Table 6.3: Number of multiple committals per summary area, 1869-1875

	Frequency	Per cent
Bolton	48	20.4
Rochdale	47	20.0
Bury PSD	41	17.4
Oldham	29	12.3
Ashton-under-Lyne	27	11.5
Salford	19	8.1
Manchester County PSD	10	4.3
Stalybridge	5	2.1
Stockport	4	1.7
Bolton PSD	3	1.3
Bacup and Rawtenstall PSD	1	0.4
Oldham PSD	1	0.4
Total	235	100.0

As Table 6.3 shows, Bolton borough court had the highest number of women who were committed for more than one offence, although Rochdale borough court and Bury PSD produced nearly as many. It is interesting that Bolton had the highest number of such committals, whilst Salford, with the highest number of summary committals overall, had much fewer. Salford's police did bring more than one charge against individuals, however, as the Chief Constable, Torrens, noted in August 1874. Of the 198 assaults on police officers that year, he stated, 143 of the offenders were also charged with drunkenness. He did not make the distinction between the number of men and women involved, however.³⁷

The majority of the cases detailed in Table 6.3 concerned drunkenness, with ninety-six (40.9 per cent) of multiple committals. Larceny of no determined value was second with sixty-four (27.2 per cent) committals and assaulting the person was the third highest with thirty-nine (16.6 per cent) committals. Of the drunkenness committals, fourteen included assaulting a police constable and twelve included assaulting another person. Tellingly, the women committed of more than one offence, which included drunkenness, did tend to be repeat offenders. Of the ninety-six cases, sixty

³⁷ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 7 August 1874.

(62.5 per cent) had four or more previous committals, twenty-one (21.9 per cent) had between one and three, and fifteen (15.6 per cent) had none.

As the borough with one of the highest rates of multiple committals, the majority of which included drunkenness, the actions of the police and magistrates in Rochdale merits further investigation. Their attitude towards Margaret Burke is telling. Burke was convicted of multiple offences on three occasions. On each occasion she assaulted a police officer. On the first occasion she was also convicted of indecent behaviour. She was also convicted twice of being drunk and riotous. On the last occasion, in May 1873, she kicked and tried to bite PC Cartwright when he attempted to stop her smashing the windows of a house whilst she was drunk. In court, the Chief Constable, Samuel Stevens, noted that she had been before the court seventeen times for drunkenness, four times for assaulting the police, once for vagrancy and once for common assault.³⁸ She received a sentence of fourteen days in prison or a fine of ten shillings and sixpence for each offence. At the time of this committal, she had already been in prison seventeen times. Not all women convicted of multiple offences had such a reputation. In July 1870, Mary Mahon was convicted of being drunk and riotous and damaging the water closet in the police cell, using the seat to strike the cell door. She had one previous committal and was given a sentence of seven days or a fine of five shillings for drunkenness, and seven days, or a fine of one shilling, for the damage to the cell.

The qualitative evidence suggests that there were, at times, differences between the charges brought by the police and the offence for which a woman was convicted. For example, on occasion, when convicted of assault, women were not convicted of drunkenness, even though they had been drunk at the time. Catherine Caveney was imprisoned for two months for assaulting PC Stuart in November 1870. She had been charged with being a disorderly prostitute, being drunk and disorderly and assaulting the police. Caveney was well known to the police and the charge of

³⁸ *Rochdale Observer*, 10 May 1873.

drunkenness was dropped on this occasion, with a custodial sentence imposed for the assault.³⁹

Catherine Swift, brought before the Bench for drunkenness and assaulting the police, was sentenced to prison for one month for the assault. Again, the charge of drunkenness was dropped. However, in both cases, drunkenness may have been viewed as an aggravating factor by the magistrate.⁴⁰

It is only by cross-referencing the database results with newspaper reports that the answers to the initial research questions emerge. From the data, it does appear that repeat offenders were more likely to be convicted of multiple offences. However, by examining newspaper reports, a more complex picture takes shape. They do show that a woman's reputation counted against her. The charges that the police brought were not always acted upon by magistrates. In Rochdale, the police did charge women with more than one offence but at times the magistrates decided to drop one charge and proceed with the other. If there had been a concerted effort by the magistrates to punish repeat offenders by convicting them of more than one offence, then they did not always take it. In the case of Caveney, her arrest for drunkenness and assaulting the police presented the magistrates with an opportunity to convict her of two offences, which they did not take. The case of Swift provides another example. This also shows how problematic it is to ascertain the true extent of drunkenness from prison committals. It does suggest however, that drink played a much larger part in committals to Strangeways than simply women convicted of a single offence of drunkenness. The data does show that it was rare for a woman to be convicted of more than one offence and that multiple committals were not part of a tactic by the magistrates to impose harsher sentences. In these cases there was a certain amount of magisterial discretion. As Wiener noted, judicial attitudes towards drink were changing in the mid-Victorian period. Drunkenness was increasingly treated as an aggravating, rather than a mitigating factor, in offending.⁴¹ It is necessary therefore, to view

³⁹ *Rochdale Observer*, 19 November 1870.

⁴⁰ *Rochdale Observer*, 23 April 1870.

⁴¹ M. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal, Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.80.

these multiple committals as part of sentencing practice as a whole. They can also give an indication as to whether or not female offenders were treated differently from male offenders.

6.6) Were Female Offenders ‘Doubly Damned’?

Victorian women were expected to conform to middle-class ideals of femininity. The art critic, John Ruskin, was not alone amongst his contemporaries in believing that ‘man’s power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender’, whilst ‘the woman’s power is for rule, not for battle, - and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement and decision. She sees the qualities of things, their claims and their places.’⁴² This Victorian gender ideology has been perceived as permeating the criminal justice system. Zedner stated that criminal women were ‘doubly damned’, in that they were seen not only as criminal but as traitors to their sex. However, she based her conclusions on accounts of high profile Victorian commentators and the higher courts. It was this top-down approach which dominated her argument and there is no description of the actions of the petty sessions courts.⁴³ When exploring the sentencing practices of these courts, other historians have found that women were not necessarily ‘doubly damned’. For example, Davies discovered that female gang members in mid-Victorian Salford were fiercely condemned from the Bench, yet still sentenced less harshly than their male counterparts.⁴⁴ Additionally, Godfrey, Farrell and Karstedt argued that magistrates in Crewe and Stafford were more concerned with ‘civilizing’ dangerous masculinities than with punishing women. As they stated, “‘doubly deviant’ femininity did not weigh heavily in their decisions’.⁴⁵ More recently, August has presented an alternative viewpoint. He stated that in East

⁴² J. Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (Cambridge, Mass: The Riverside Press, 1900), p. 73. Such images were emphasised in local newspapers and magazines. Manchester’s *Free Lance* published a list of what it termed ‘female requisites’ in 1873. Feminine qualities, it believed, included being chaste, dutiful, elegant, faithful, obedient and witty. *Free Lance*, 11 July 1873.

⁴³ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, Ch. 1.

⁴⁴ A. Davies, ‘These viragoes are no less cruel than the lads’, young women, gangs and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 39.1 (1999), 72-89.

⁴⁵ B. Godfrey, S. Farrell and S. Karstedt, ‘Explaining gendered sentencing patterns for violent men and women in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 45 (2005), 696-720.

London, the magistrates at the Thames Police Court led a parallel campaign against violent men and 'unfeminine' women. He argued that women who presented themselves in court as wives or mothers, and appeared to conform to a conventional view of femininity, were treated less harshly than those that did not.⁴⁶ Additionally, in the higher courts, Wiener has claimed that there was a double standard in cases of violence, with men accused of wife-beating being treated leniently if their spouse was proven to be drunken.⁴⁷

As the database focusses exclusively on female prisoners it is not possible to carry out a comparative analysis of the sentencing of men and women. However, the weekly newspapers regularly published lists of men and women convicted of drunkenness. These lists contained the sentences handed down for each defendant, both male and female. Often, the location of the offence was noted along with the marital status of women but not of men. Additionally, a description of the offence itself was often published too. By studying the five weekly newspapers from Salford and Rochdale, over a period of ten years, it is possible to ascertain whether or not men and women were treated differently when being sentenced for drunkenness.

Taking a sample of these cases from the newspapers in both boroughs, it does not appear that there was a gendered sentencing policy from either Salford's or Rochdale's magistrates. According to the *Rochdale Observer* of 13 June 1874, Thomas Holt was charged with being drunk and incapable. He was discharged with a caution after spending time in the cells. Adam Drysdale was given a fine of five shillings or seven days in gaol for being drunk. In another case, Michael Gannon was also fined five shillings for being drunk and disorderly. Of the female defendants, Catherine Logan was found guilty of being drunk and assaulting a police officer. She was given a fine of five shillings for each offence. Jane Mulligan, charged with being drunk and incapable, was also fined

⁴⁶ A. August, "'A horrible looking woman': female violence in east London', *Journal of British Studies*, 54.4 (2015), 844-868. Also, Rowbotham noted that female violence was seen as of particular concern by magistrates, J. Rowbotham 'Criminal savages? Or "civilising" the legal process', in J. Rowbotham and K. Stevenson (eds), *Criminal Conversations: Victorian Crimes, Social Panic and Moral Outrage* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), p. 102.

⁴⁷ M. Wiener, *Men of Blood, Violence, Manliness and Criminal Justice in Victorian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 184.

five shillings.⁴⁸ As Logan assaulted a police officer her sentence could be seen to have been particularly light.

Lists published in Salford's newspapers presented a similar picture. On one Saturday in 1878, six men and one woman were sentenced for being drunk and disorderly. The woman, Ann Morrelly, received a sentence of seven shillings and sixpence or seven days in gaol. Of the men, one received a sentence of forty shillings or a month in gaol, another a sentence of a twenty shillings fine or a month in gaol. The remainder received sentences of between a seven and ten shillings fine or seven days in gaol. There is no indication of the severity of the offences but those that resulted in the possibility of a month in gaol were evidently deemed to be more serious than the others. The lengthy list for the following Monday's cases shows a similar picture. Here, the sentences handed down to both men and women were, on the whole, a seven shillings fine or seven days in gaol. Two of the women listed received smaller fines. Ann Coury received a fine of five shillings or seven days and Elizabeth Curry a fine of two shillings and sixpence or three days in gaol.⁴⁹ These lists do not suggest a gendered approach to sentencing so much as the 'conveyor belt' system of justice in Salford's and Rochdale's borough courts. This is doubtless attributable to the number of daily cases in the borough courts and the desire of the magistrates to deal with them as quickly as possible.⁵⁰

Women could be harshly punished in both courts if they were repeat offenders and well known to the police, although there were exceptions to this. They were also punished more harshly, not surprisingly, due to the seriousness of the offence. Whether or not they were punished more severely than male repeat offenders is difficult to ascertain. Women also received harsher sentences than they might otherwise have done, if they were perceived to have behaved badly in court. Although this latter point echoes August's findings for East London, the magistrates may have been punishing women for showing a lack of respect towards the Bench, rather than punishing

⁴⁸ *Rochdale Observer*, 16 June 1874.

⁴⁹ *Salford Weekly News*, 2 March 1878.

⁵⁰ Mantell in particular had a reputation for processing drunkenness cases quickly. See his obituary in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 18 July 1893.

'unfeminine' behaviour. In Salford, in March 1874, Margaret Lockett, described in court as a prostitute, was charged with assaulting two police officers. Lockett had been charged with disorderly conduct and assaulting the police on several previous occasions and she had served sentences of three months and six months for this offence. On this occasion the following exchange took place in court:-

Sir J.I. Mantell: Very well; I shall send you back for another six months. – Prisoner (to the policeman): All right, you b__s, I'll do for you. – Sir J.I. Mantell: Stay a minute; I'll do something else. You are a most hardened character, and a long term of imprisonment is the only thing that will do you good; I shall commit you to the sessions.⁵¹

Marian Gorden was similarly charged with being drunk and assaulting the police. She was also described as a prostitute, and also saw her initial sentence increased. Additionally, she had been found with a man's coat in her possession. She was initially sentenced to a month in gaol. However, her behaviour led to this sentence being increased to two months. As she descended from the dock she had exclaimed 'I can stand that; thank God it's no worse!', which prompted Mantell to bring her back. She repeated her comment and exclaimed 'I don't care neither what I say or do!' Mantell proclaimed her to be a 'hardened woman' and increased her sentence. Only now did she appear to be suitably contrite, as the *Salford Weekly Chronicle* noted, the 'Prisoner this time more quietly left the dock.'⁵²

In Rochdale, Margaret Morton saw her initial sentence of ten shillings and sixpence increased to twenty-one shillings or a month in gaol. She had, apparently, maintained a 'contemptuous demeanour' towards the Bench and it was reported that 'as she was about to descend the spiral staircase she threw back the door with indescribable violence.' The Chairman of the Bench took a dim view of her behaviour and increased her sentence.⁵³ On all these occasions

⁵¹ *Salford Weekly News*, 7 March 1874.

⁵² *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 12 October 1872.

⁵³ *Rochdale Observer*, 8 January 1876.

gender does not appear to have been a factor. It was the perceived lack of respect for the police, magistrate and court, coupled with the judgements that, certainly in Salford, these women were deemed to be 'hardened characters', which led to the increase in their sentences.

In contrast to August's findings for East London, the fact that a woman was married, or carried her children into court, did not necessarily lead to more lenient sentencing in Salford or Rochdale. In Salford, Mary Armstrong, described as a married woman, was sentenced to a month in gaol in September 1875 for being drunk and disorderly. It was noted that she had been before the Bench five times before, and had previously served a month in gaol. In addition, her husband was described as a 'respectable man'.⁵⁴ By contrast, Elizabeth Ann Bennett, charged with being drunk and disorderly two months later and with several previous appearances for the same offence, received fourteen days in gaol. Bennett's marital status was not disclosed but she was described as having no settled residence.⁵⁵ It is possible that Armstrong as a married woman, was expected to behave in a respectable fashion and so was given a harsher punishment. In Rochdale, in April 1874, Ann Lord was sent to gaol for a month for being drunk. She had already been charged four times that year and had previous committals. In Rochdale, women who presented themselves in court with children in their arms were not necessarily treated with sympathy. In January 1875, Elizabeth Ann Fenton had appeared in court with twin children in her arms but was fined ten shillings or sentenced to fourteen days in gaol for being drunk and disorderly and using obscene language.⁵⁶

Likewise, Mantell's attempt to curb what he saw as an increase of drunken violence in Salford did not involve gender differentials in sentencing. In 1874, he sentenced two women to two months' imprisonment for attacking a labourer in King Street. A man involved in the assault was given a forty shilling fine or two months in gaol. Although the women, Mary Hoggarth and Ann

⁵⁴ *Salford Weekly News*, 4 September 1875.

⁵⁵ *Salford Weekly News*, 6 November 1875.

⁵⁶ *Rochdale Observer*, 23 January 1875. For a detailed case study in Cheshire, see S, D'Cruze, B Godfrey and D. Cox, "The most troublesome woman in Crewe": investigating gender, sentencing and the late Victorian English lower courts, in E. Avdela, S. D'Cruze and J. Rowbotham (eds), *Problems of Crime and Violence in Europe, 1780-2000: Essays in Criminal Justice* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010).

Dodson, were not given the option of a fine, this was because they were perceived to have started the attack, whilst drunk. It was the respective roles of these people in the attack, not their gender, which was reflected in their sentences. When Sir John proclaimed that he was determined to put an end to drunken violence in Salford, his comments were not aimed specifically at either men or women.⁵⁷ Other examples support this. In May 1872, it was reported that Mantell had 'committed to gaol several of the known toppers and disorderly characters who infest the streets, not giving them the option of a fine.'⁵⁸ Again, this was aimed at both men and women. Indeed, Mantell gave out harsh sentences to men. In December 1875, he controversially sentenced Henry Bennett to three months in gaol for vagrancy, as noted above.⁵⁹

Another prevailing Victorian notion of female criminality was that once women turned to crime, they were 'irredeemable'. It was considered much more difficult to reform a female repeat offender than a male.⁶⁰ Examples from Rochdale show that such concerns were reflected in sentencing policy. Women were often put on a 'scale' of offending, under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, especially if they were deemed to be prostitutes.⁶¹ Considered to be 'irredeemable', the police and court were at a loss as to how to deal with them. The Chief Constable, Samuel Stevens, often argued for longer prison sentences and the Bench was usually happy to oblige. For example, Margaret Montague was convicted of being disorderly, and imprisoned for a month in March 1874. Stevens stated that 'she was such a bad character that they hardly knew what to do with her.' In 1873, she had been convicted seven times and had been regularly committed to gaol. Stevens added that: 'He had laid the present information under the Vagrancy Act, so that if they obtained a conviction against her under that act, they could, on her being brought up again, proceed against her as an

⁵⁷ *Salford Weekly Chronicle*, 11 July 1874.

⁵⁸ *Salford Weekly News*, 4 May 1872.

⁵⁹ *Salford Weekly News*, 15 January 1876.

⁶⁰ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, Ch.1.

⁶¹ Vagrancy Act, 1824 PP (1824 (5 & 4 Geo c.83)), pp. 701-2. Under the terms of the Act, a woman convicted of being an idle and disorderly person could be sentenced to up to one month in prison. A second conviction could lead to three months, and a label as a rogue and vagabond. A third conviction, as an incorrigible rogue, could lead to a one year prison sentence, via the sessions.

incorrigible.⁶² Mary Stanton, described as ‘a young woman bearing a very bad character, and who had been many times convicted’ was sent to gaol for three months for being drunk and disorderly. She was charged with being a ‘rogue and vagabond’ and it was reported that ‘when she next appears before the bench, as she probably will, she will have acquired the title of an “incorrigible rogue and vagabond,” with its accompanying penalties.’⁶³

These longer prison sentences were an attempt to reform repeat offenders. The *Rochdale Observer* stated in November 1879, when discussing the punishment handed down to Sarah Madden,

Under the cumulative system of punishment she has already suffered a long imprisonment as an incorrigible rogue, after which she was supposed to be whitewashed and begin life anew. Since then she has passed the same degrees under the Vagrancy Act, and was now again committed for trial as an incorrigible rogue.⁶⁴

In 1875, Mary Crabtree was sent to gaol for a month after being charged as a ‘rogue and vagabond’. She had been arrested for being drunk and disorderly in Yorkshire Street and was described as ‘an old offender.’⁶⁵ In 1876, she was committed for trial as an ‘incorrigible rogue’, after being charged with being drunk and riotous.⁶⁶ At the sessions she was found guilty and sentenced to one year in gaol with hard labour. She had previously been found guilty of stealing a bucket, for which she served two months in gaol, and had been summarily convicted ten times for drunkenness.⁶⁷

Rochdale’s newspapers constantly reported similar sentences. For example, Margaret Smith, charged with being drunk and disorderly and ‘apparently an incorrigible reprobate’, was sent to gaol for a month with hard labour.⁶⁸ Interestingly, Mary Kelly, who was once deemed ‘the worst woman

⁶² *Rochdale Observer*, 28 March 1874.

⁶³ *Rochdale Observer*, 6 June 1874.

⁶⁴ *Rochdale Observer*, 22 November 1879.

⁶⁵ *Rochdale Times*, 22 May 1875.

⁶⁶ *Rochdale Times*, 28 October 1876.

⁶⁷ A calendar of prisoners tried at the general quarter sessions of the peace for the year 1876, National Archives (hereafter NA), 23 October 1876, HO140, reproduced at <www.findmypast.co.uk> [accessed 5 April 2017].

⁶⁸ *Rochdale Times*, 27 February 1875.

in Rochdale' and who appeared over 100 times before the magistrates, was not treated in such a manner. This may have been because she often showed signs of attempting to reform by signing the temperance pledge, nor was she ever charged with being a prostitute. Kelly was often treated with sympathy in court, in ways which were not applied to Crabtree or Smith.

Rochdale's police used their full legislative powers to rid the streets of women they were unable to control. Margaret Montague again fell foul of these tactics. In April 1875, she was committed to the sessions after being charged as an 'incorrigible rogue and vagabond'. In court she was described as 'a prostitute and a very bad lot indeed. She had no employment and he [Detective Sergeant Marshall] could not keep her off the streets.'⁶⁹ One month later, Samuel Stevens pushed for longer sentences for several women. He asked the magistrates to try Mary Jane O'Brien as an 'incorrigible rogue and vagabond' and to send her to the sessions. This they did, after hearing that she had been previously 'dealt with' as a disorderly prostitute and as a 'rogue and vagabond'. Ann Jordan received a sentence of twenty-one shillings or one month in gaol after being described by the Chief Constable as 'another great nuisance and habitual drunkard.' Another woman, Ellen Gannon, was given the same sentence for being drunk and creating a disturbance. The *Rochdale Times* stated that she was 'another of the batch of nuisances that Mr Stevens wanted to get rid of.'⁷⁰ There is no suggestion that male defendants were accorded the same treatment. The *Time's* report, entitled 'A BATCH OF NUISANCES' referred only to women. Rochdale's police and magistrates used harsher prison sentences, usually with no option of a fine, in an attempt to rid the streets of women they considered to be 'irredeemable'. These were repeat offenders who had shown no indication that they were willing to 'reform'.

⁶⁹ *Rochdale Times*, 3 April 1875.

⁷⁰ *Rochdale Times*, 29 May 1875.

6.7) Conclusion

It is not possible to confirm John Galbraith's assertion that the 1872 Licensing Act resulted in an increase in drunkenness. It is certainly true that both male and female committals to Strangeways Prison increased after the passing of the Act, but the fact that the number of committals for the offence increased does not mean that drunkenness itself was rising. In Rochdale, police activity resulted in an increase in the number of people proceeded against in the borough for drunkenness. This, in turn, resulted in an increase in the number of committals to Strangeways. From Salford, the number of committals also rose but the key factor here is that women were being committed for longer sentences after the passing of the 1872 Licensing Act. Concerns particular to Salford and Rochdale meant that women were more likely to be committed for being drunk and riotous, than for being drunk, in Salford, whilst the reverse was the case in Rochdale.

The authorities in Rochdale made full use of their legal powers. The police prosecuted women to the fullest extent permitted under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, in accordance with the local elites' drive against immorality and drunkenness. In Salford, the magistrates began to sentence women convicted of drunk and riotous behaviour to a month in gaol, without the option of a fine. This was the maximum gaol sentence allowed under the provisions of the 1872 Licensing Act. Throughout the first half of the 1870s, therefore, Salford's magistrates began to pursue a policy of custodial sentences in an attempt to address the perceived problem of drunkenness. The influence of Salford's stipendiary, Sir John Iles Mantell was crucial. Mantell, a man who hated drunkenness and, as he saw it, the violence resulting from drink, used the full weight of his authority.

It is difficult to identify patterns in sentencing policy, as attitudes towards both habitual and non-habitual offenders could be frustratingly inconsistent. Committals often rested on the opinions of the lay magistrates at the time, although the behaviour of Mantell is somewhat easier to assess. It does appear that, in the main, men and women were not treated differently when it came to sentences for drunkenness. However, women who appeared before magistrates for drunkenness

would have been deemed to be unrespectable, by the police, magistrates, and readers of the local newspapers. Both Rochdale and Salford, however, struggled to deal with female repeat offenders. The authorities in both boroughs repeatedly used prison to try to solve the problem. In Rochdale this was by using the sterner measures available to them under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, rather than the powers available to them under the 1872 Licensing Act. In Salford, custodial sentences were also used with increasing regularity. Neither method prevented repeat offending for drunkenness and/or disorderly behaviour. As regards punishment, the summary courts in Victorian England had few alternatives beyond fines and prison sentences. The experiences of Rochdale and Salford show how ineffective these punishments were in preventing recidivism.

Chapter 7

Age, Family and Marital Status

7.1) Introduction

This chapter begins with an exploration of the age, marital status and family size of all women committed to Strangeways Prison for drunkenness, from 1869 to 1875. The main focus of the chapter concerns the two case studies of Salford and Rochdale. Using the data from the prison registers, alongside evidence from contemporary newspapers, the chapter will build up a picture of the domestic lives of women in these two boroughs. It argues that older women were more likely to be committed for drunkenness than younger women and examines how familial and informal support networks available to these women were affected by repeated spells of incarceration. It will show how many women did not have access to these networks, which made them increasingly vulnerable to imprisonment.

7.2) Age, Marital Status and Family – All Summary Areas

Figure 7.1: Marital status of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875

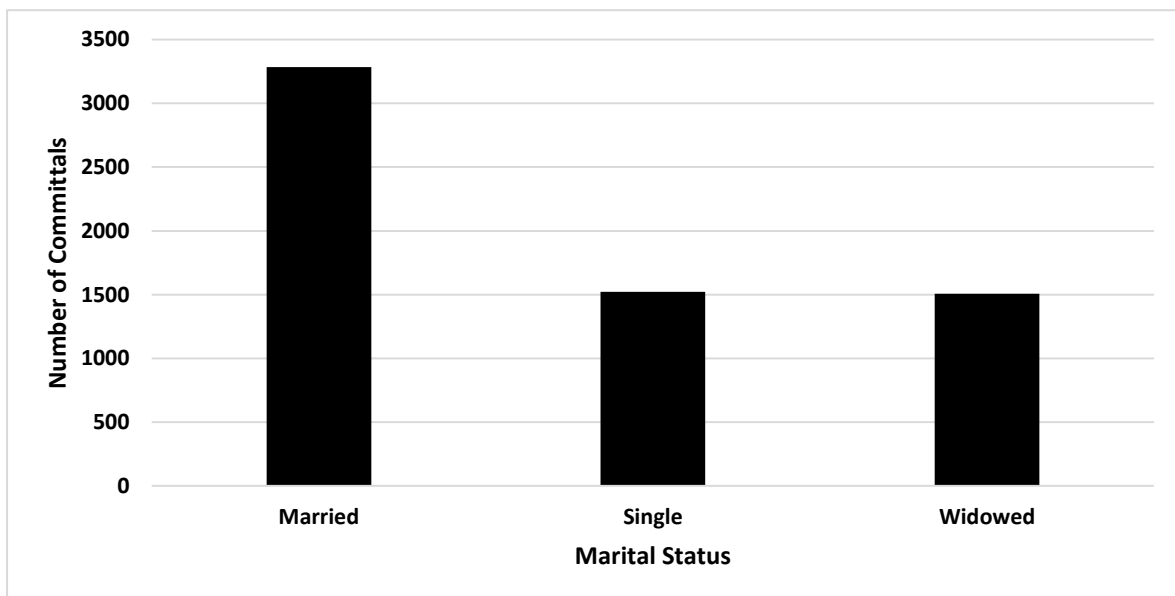


Figure 7.2: Family size of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875

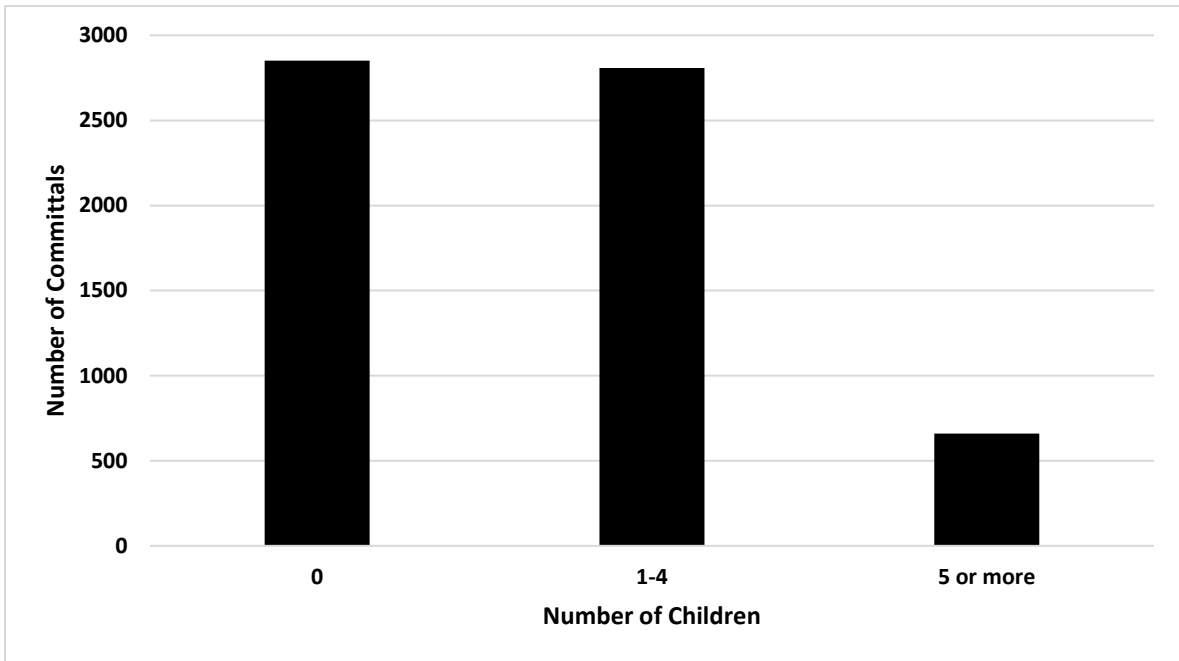


Figure 7.3: Age groups of women committed for drunkenness, and all other offences, all summary areas, 1869-1875

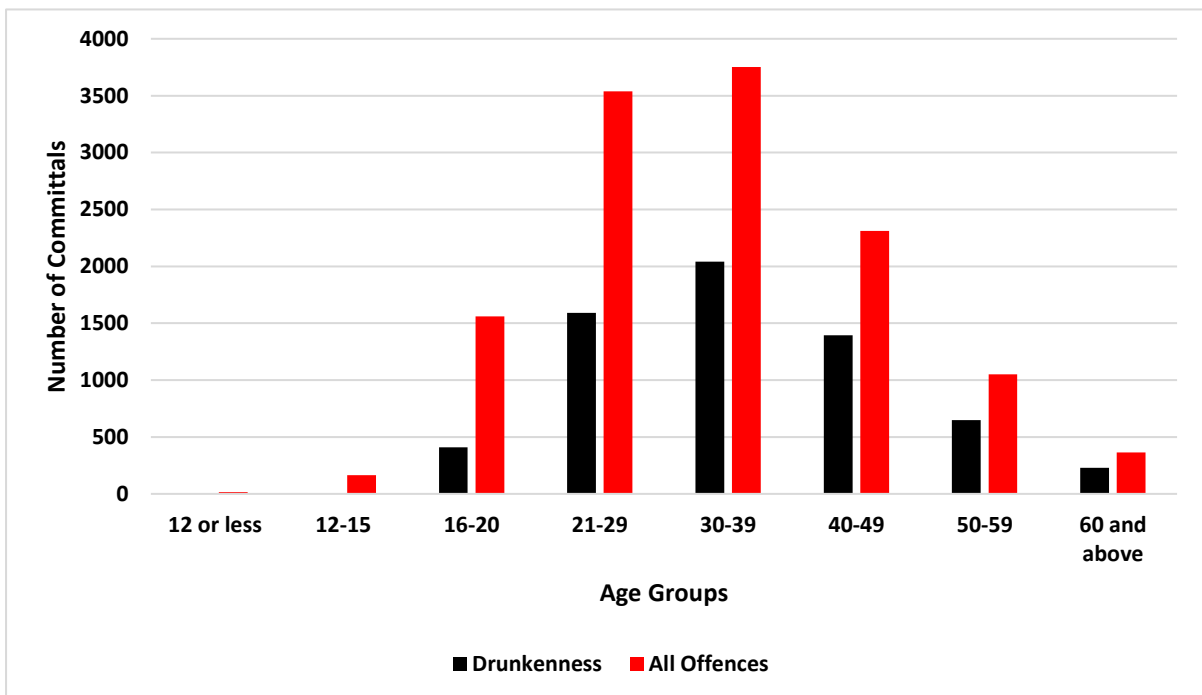
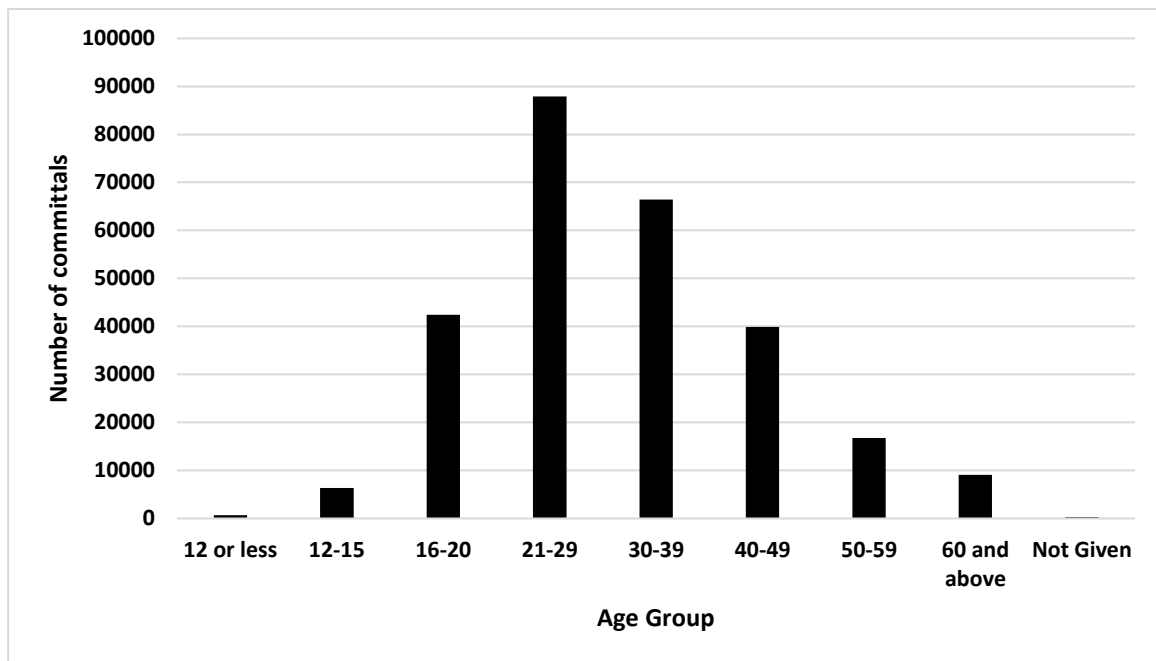


Figure 7.4: Number of female committals to local prisons by age group, England and Wales, all offences, 1869-1875



Source: Judicial Statistics, 1869-1875

Figures 7.1 to 7.3 show the marital status, family size and age groups of all women committed for drunkenness from all summary areas to Strangeways Prison. Out of the 6319 total committals for drunkenness, the single largest group was that of married women, who totalled 3285 (52.0 per cent), of the committals. The number of single and widowed women were similar, with 1522 (24.1 per cent), and 1508 (23.8 per cent), committals respectively. Therefore, statistically, it is understandable that Victorian concerns about drunkenness centred on married women, however, single and widowed women combined also contributed nearly half of all committals for drunkenness. The contemporary focus on marriage was attributable to the perceived impact that drink had on families and home life, rather than the reality, which was that committals for drunkenness included women of all marital status.

In terms of age, the data indicates that women began to be committed to prison for drunkenness from the age of twenty-one, with the peak age group being thirty to thirty-nine. There was a particularly large increase between the sixteen to twenty age group, and the twenty-one to

twenty-nine age group. There were 410 (6.5 per cent) committals for drunkenness from the former group, compared to 1591 (25.2 per cent), in the latter. Additionally, there was a large decrease from the forty to forty-nine age group to the fifty to fifty-nine age group. Here, 1393 (22.0 per cent) women comprised the former group and 649 (10.3 per cent) the latter. The peak ages of women committed for drunkenness, therefore, were between twenty-one and forty-nine. In terms of juvenile offenders, there may have been a number who were sent to reformatories or industrial schools, rather than prison. Including these here would therefore inflate the 'other offences' bracket at an earlier age range. However, as noted below, juvenile offenders who were sent to Strangeways were not always given an additional sentence in a reformatory. Indeed, their presence in the gaol did not escape the attention of the Protestant Chaplain, John Galbraith. In his report of October 1873, he noted an increase in the number of juveniles in gaol, declaring that 'I am at a loss to account for the late increase [from twenty-one in 1871 to twenty-seven in 1872], if it be not due to the imprisonment of an unusually large number, (of the ages 14 to 15 years), for gambling, (chiefly on Sundays), & for sleeping out at night.'¹ Therefore, it can be concluded that there were not a significant number of juveniles missing from the prison statistics, which otherwise would have inflated this age range.

Nationally, as Figure 7.4 shows, for all offences the peak age group for women committed to local prisons was twenty-one to twenty-nine. One noticeable difference between the figures for Strangeways and those nationally, was that the age group sixteen to twenty constituted a much higher proportion of all offences nationally, than they did locally for drunkenness. The judicial statistics do not separate committals by offence, so it is difficult to ascertain how many national committals were for drunkenness. The pattern was similar at Strangeways, with women aged between sixteen and twenty being committed for offences other than drunkenness. Drunkenness did comprise the majority of committals from this age group at Strangeways, with 410 (26.3 per

¹ Manchester. Chaplain's Report on Salford Hundred County Prison, 20 October 1873, Quarter Sessions Petitions, LA, QSP/3926/25.

cent). The second highest offence sub-category was nuisance, with 275 (17.6 per cent), committals. It is possible to speculate, however, that women committed for drunkenness were older, in general, than women committed for all other offences.

In terms of family size of those women committed for drunkenness, there was little to separate those women with no children and those with between one and four children. In total, 2851 (45.1 per cent), women, had no children and 2809 (44.5 per cent), had between one and four. The remainder, 659 (10.4 per cent), had five or more children. Not surprisingly, single women comprised the highest number of women with no children, with 1319 (20.9 per cent). Married women with no children numbered 1065 (16.9 per cent). The majority of married and widowed women had between one and four children, these numbered 1717 (27.2 per cent) and 889 (14.1 per cent), respectively. The age and wage earning capacity of children would have impacted on the spending power of the family as a whole, and on the availability of money to spend on drink.

One methodological issue needs to be borne in mind. As a number of women were committed multiple times, their family circumstances may have changed as time progressed. Single women, for example, may have married, married women may have become widowed and the number of children in a family may also have changed. As the time period for this study is relatively short, only six years, then the number of such changes in domestic circumstances, in total, would probably be few. This is, however, a point to be considered when analysing the registers. These changes over time were often captured in the prison registers and are a benefit to the historian. The registers can suggest that it was prison itself which led to changes in women's lives, or perhaps these changes had a bearing on their patterns of offending. As noted below, married women often separated from their husbands and may or may not have lost access to any children as a result. It is possible to note these breakdowns in familial relationships via the registers. Therefore, the registers are viable for qualitative, as well as quantitative analysis.

7.3) Age Query

Of the 11693 summary committals in the database, 1402 (12.0 per cent), did not report an accurate age. Of these, just over half, 779 (55.6 per cent), were for drunkenness. There could be two main reasons for this. Firstly, the prisoner may have claimed ignorance about her age in order to prevent, or attempt to prevent, the prison authorities from identifying her. Most probably, this would have been a potential tactic of a repeat offender. Secondly, the woman in question may not have genuinely known her true age. Whatever the reason, in these cases, the prison authorities estimated the prisoner's age.² Although dependent on the judgement of the prison official, this may have been because the woman in question was a hardened drinker who appeared prematurely aged, due to her habit. In this case, they may also have been repeat offenders and had more previous committals than those women with no age query. Using the data from the prison registers it is possible to test this theory.

In examining all the cases, there is no evidence to suggest that women with a query against their age were more likely to be repeatedly committed for drunkenness, certainly no more than women with no age query. Overall, 311 (39.9 per cent), of women with an age query, appeared only once in the registers. They had no prior or future committals to Strangeways. Age queries decreased as the number of previous committals increased. The next highest number of queries was for women with one previous committal, these being 117 (15.0 per cent). Women with two previous committals numbered forty-three (5.5 per cent), and those with three previous committals numbered thirty (3.9 per cent). There were women in the sample who were committed an extremely high number of times but these were the exception. For example, one woman had fifty-seven previous committals and another had forty-eight. Statistically, therefore, it would appear that, where drunkenness is concerned, an approximated age is no indication of recidivism. This is also supported when looking at all offences, excluding drunkenness, in the database. Here, the

² See Chapter 2.

majority of women who had an age query against them had, overwhelming, no previous committals.³ Doubtless, in some cases, the ravages of drink and/or life in Victorian Lancashire would have taken its toll on a woman's health or appearance, making them look older than they actually were. Additionally, it is still possible that some women lied about their age.

The possibility that women were not truthful about their age, in order to conceal their identity, is given weight when the full committal record of recidivists is examined. For example, Margaret Frain, a hawker who had fifty-seven previous committals, did not have an age query against her until her forty-eighth appearance in the registers. Likewise, Mary Kilkenny, also a hawker, who had forty-eight previous committals, had repeated queries against her age from her thirty-fourth committal onwards. Although recidivists comprised a minority of women with an age query, these examples show that a number of repeat offenders appear to have attempted to deny their true age in order to avoid more serious punishment. Additionally, some women also had queries against their age when first committed. For example, Ann Cullen, who had numerous aliases, had a query against her age when first committed for drunkenness in March 1871. She was committed a further twelve times up to May 1875 and had no further queries. Likewise, Mary Ryan, who had thirteen previous committals, had age queries against her name for her first two committals only. It appears that, in the majority of cases, once the prison authorities ascertained a woman's age, the detailed records held in the prison registers and female description books, meant that it was difficult for a woman to lie about her age in order to conceal her identity.

Of these women, the majority were Irish, with 455 (58.4 per cent) committals. The second highest group were English, with 280 (35.9 per cent). Therefore, it is possible that Irish women were more likely to lie about their age. One potential reason is that they may have felt that, as women not born in England, they were more likely to avoid detection through official records, although this

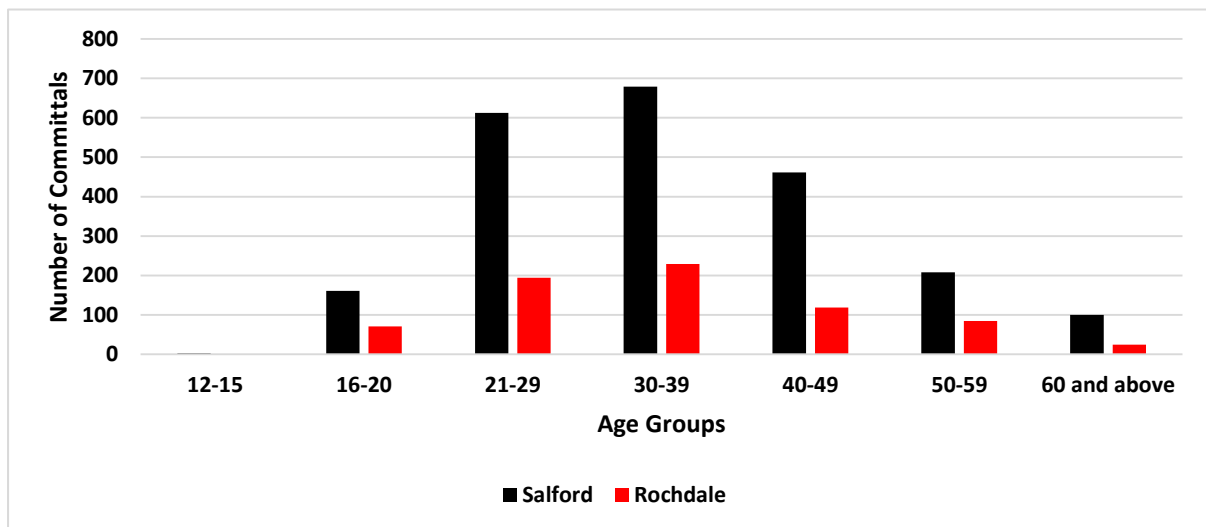
³ For those with an age query, for all offences, excluding drunkenness, across all the summary areas, including the higher courts, 542 (71.4 per cent) had no previous committals. Those with no age query also comprised the highest number of women with no previous committals, 2783 (49.0 per cent).

is speculation at this point.⁴ It has not been possible to confirm or deny this but more research could be carried out in future to investigate whether or not this was indeed the case.

7.4) Case studies: Salford and Rochdale

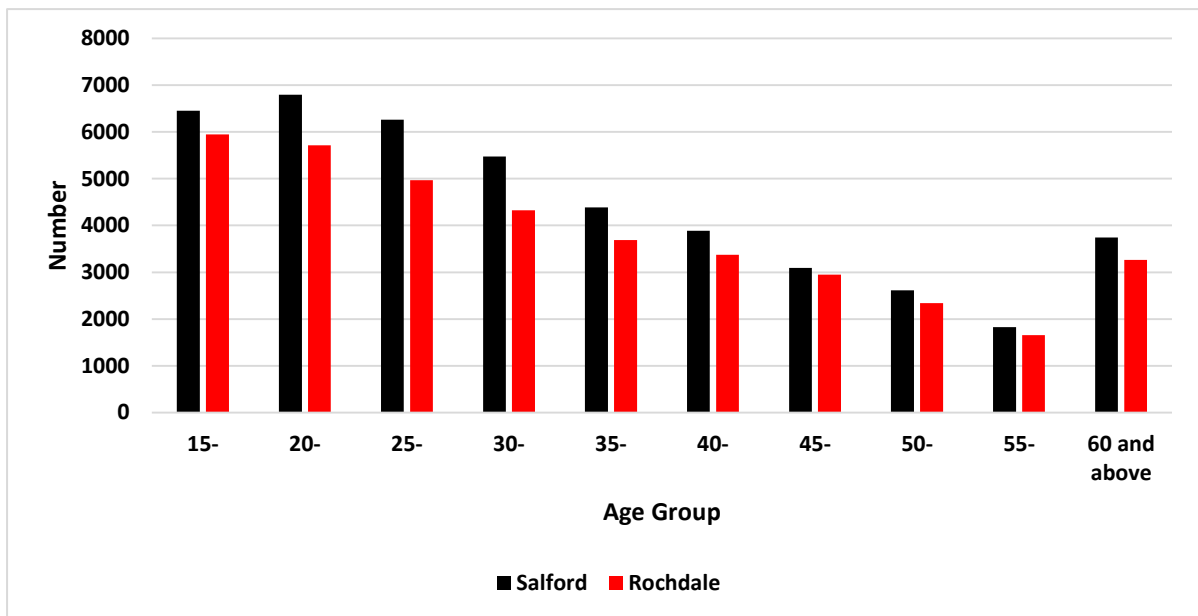
Age

Figure 7.5: Age groups of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875



⁴ As noted in the case study of Theresa Wilson in Chapter 9, it was difficult for women to hide their identity once they had been incorporated into criminal justice records.

Figure 7.6: Number of women by age group, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875



Source: *Census of England and Wales, 1871, Vol.III.*

In Salford and Rochdale, the age groupings follow an almost identical pattern. As Figure 7.5 shows, the most common age of women committed for drunkenness was between thirty and thirty-nine in both boroughs. Women aged between twenty and twenty-nine comprised the second highest groups in both boroughs and forty to forty-nine the third highest group. Taken as a whole, the majority of women in Salford and Rochdale were committed to prison between the ages of twenty-one and forty-nine. There were comparatively few younger women (those aged below twenty-one) and older women (those aged over fifty). Interestingly, there were more women in Salford and Rochdale, according to the census, shown in Figure 7.6, aged between twenty and thirty than there was aged between thirty and forty, yet it was this latter group which contributed the peak number of committals to Strangeways for drunkenness.

Table 7.1: Average ages of women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875

	Salford	Rochdale
Mean	35.53	35.59
Median	33	34
Mode	30	28
Range	62	71
Minimum Age	15	16
Maximum Age	77	87

The average age can be distorted by the presence of extreme numbers in the sample. Table 7.1 shows that, in Rochdale, the youngest age was sixteen and the oldest eighty-seven, a range of seventy-one. The modal age was twenty-eight, which appeared forty times (5.5 per cent), in the sample. In Salford, the age range was lower, with the youngest being fifteen and the oldest seventy-seven. The age range was, therefore, sixty-two. The modal age was thirty, which appeared 112 times (5.0 per cent). The average ages for women in Salford and Rochdale were very similar. These figures indicate that there was foundation in the contemporary comments surrounding women and drink. As discussed above, commentators believed that older, married women were more likely to be prosecuted for drunkenness. In Salford, Mantell's belief that young 'mill girls' did not generally appear before the Bench for drunkenness is borne out by the figures from Strangeways. In both case studies, it was women who were aged in their thirties who were most likely to be committed.

The next three sections have combined several age groups in relation to their number of committals. As age groups 12-15 and 16-20 represented a low number of committals, these will be discussed together. Age groups 21-29, 30-39 and 40-49 represented, collectively, the greatest number of committals, and finally age groups 50-59 and 60 and above represented a decrease in the number of committals. These will be examined in turn, with reasons given for these patterns.

Age Groups 12-15 and 16-20

These two age ranges saw two of the lowest number of committals for drunkenness from both Salford and Rochdale. In particular, the age range twelve to fifteen contributed the lowest numbers of committals for drunkenness to Strangeways. Nationally, the number of children imprisoned for all offences had declined between 1856 and 1875, which Stack has suggested may have been attributable to a more humanitarian view from police and magistrates towards child imprisonment.⁵

⁵ J.A. Stack, 'Reformatory and industrial schools and the decline of child imprisonment in mid-Victorian England and Wales', *History of Education*, 23.1 (1994), p. 73. Wiener has also noted the increase in the number of child committals to both industrial schools and reformatories from the 1860s, which may have replaced prison sentences, see M.J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal, Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 148.

Juveniles would have been less likely to have been earning a regular wage and would most likely have been single, as noted below. The low number of women under the age of sixteen may in part be attributed to their lying about their age, in order to avoid being sent to a reformatory. Under the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, children under the age of sixteen could have been sentenced to up to five years in a reformatory, in addition to a short prison sentence in an adult gaol. Davies has suggested that young girls aged from fourteen to fifteen, convicted of violent offences in Salford, could have lied about their age in order to avoid a long period of detention in a reformatory.⁶

From Salford, three of those committed were fifteen years of age. One juvenile, Margaret Hughes, a silk weaver from Manchester, served three days in gaol for being drunk and incapable in Worsley Street, Salford. This was her first and only committal. The other two juveniles, Elizabeth McEvoy and Maria Connor, both from Peel Street in Pendleton and both cotton factory workers, were committed repeatedly. McEvoy was first committed from the Quarter Sessions in September 1870 for stealing a skirt and was sentenced to three months in gaol. She was imprisoned a further six times up to April 1874, mainly for drunkenness in Salford, and continued to be committed after September 1875.⁷ Birkenhead-born Connor was first committed in September 1871 and was imprisoned a further eight times up to July 1875. Once again, she continued to be sent to gaol after September 1875.⁸ Like McEvoy, her most common offence was drunkenness but she was also imprisoned three times for petty larceny. Neither McEvoy nor Connor served an additional term in a reformatory and no juveniles, under the age of sixteen, were committed for drunkenness from Rochdale.

However, although magistrates in south-east Lancashire were not averse to imprisoning juveniles, they did not always confer an additional sentence in a reformatory. From all the summary

⁶ A. Davies, 'These viragoes are no less cruel than the lads', young women, gangs and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39.1 (1999), p. 82.

⁷ She was also have been committed at least once to Belle Vue gaol, Manchester. Belle Vue Prison Registers, 1850-1880, reproduced at <www.findmypast.co.uk>[accessed 11 November 2017], GB127.M600/1.

⁸ The female description books show her last committal to Strangeways to be in 1879. She was also imprisoned at least once in Belle Vue Gaol, Manchester. Strangeways Prison Female Description Books, 1867-1879, reproduced at <www.findmypast.co.uk>[accessed 11 November 2017], GB127/M600/3.

areas in the database, for all offences, there were 179 committals of juveniles aged fifteen or under. These did, however, only account for 1.4 per cent of the sample. Of these, only three, the examples from Salford, were for drunkenness. Of the remainder, fifty-two juveniles (29.1 per cent), were sentenced to five years in a reformatory in addition to a prison sentence. The most common offence for which juveniles were committed was theft, which accounted for 126 (70.4 per cent), of all juvenile committals.⁹ The police may not have arrested children for drunkenness as they may not have seen it as worth their while, or they may have dealt out a form of informal, summary punishment rather than take them through the court system for a minor infraction. Additionally, juveniles may not have engaged in public drinking, as the 1872 Licensing Act had prohibited the sale of alcohol to children under the age of sixteen.¹⁰ Children were, however, known to procure alcohol from licensed premises for their parents, even up to the early years of the twentieth century.¹¹ Whatever the reason, and bearing in mind the possibility that prisoners lied about their ages, female juveniles were not committed to Strangeways for drunkenness.¹²

Women began to be committed in greater numbers, for drunkenness, from the age of sixteen. In Salford, 399 committals were for women aged between sixteen and twenty, of these, 161 (40.4 per cent), were for drunkenness. The second most common offences were assaulting the person and handling stolen goods, which both accounted for thirty-one committals (7.8 per cent). Additionally, nuisance offences, offences against property without violence and larceny of no determined value were the next most common offences.¹³ In Rochdale, 212 committals were in this

⁹ The remainder were regulatory offences, which numbered nine (5.0 per cent), violent offences, which numbered five (2.8 per cent) and public order offences (mainly nuisance and vagrancy), which numbered thirty-six (20.1 per cent). Two children were committed for prostitution.

¹⁰ B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians, The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, 2nd ed (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994), p.315. This is not to suggest that these provisions were always abided by, however.

¹¹ A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), p. 62.

¹² Likewise, Turner has noted that very few female juvenile offenders were prosecuted at Stafford Petty Sessions, between 1880 and 1905, see J. Turner, 'Summary justice for women: Stafford borough, 1880-1905', *Crime, History and Societies*, 16.2 (2012), p. 74.

¹³ These numbered twenty-nine (7.3 per cent), twenty-eight (7.0 per cent) and twenty-six (6.5 per cent) committals respectively.

age range, of which seventy (33.0 per cent), were for drunkenness. These also provided the highest number of committals but unlike Salford, the next most common offences were those which disrupted public order or were moral crimes. In Rochdale, the second and third most common offences in this age group were those of nuisance, which numbered fifty (23.5 per cent), and prostitution, which numbered forty (18.8 per cent). The police in Rochdale focussed on crimes of morality in accordance with the desires of the borough's Liberal, Nonconformist elite, and this practice was reflected in the patterns of committals for this age group.¹⁴ In Salford, fears about violence, and the greater potential for theft, possibly fuelled by crippling poverty, saw the borough's police focus on these offences.

The increasing number of drunkenness committals in this age group suggests that women were beginning to earn a wage, and as a result, spend some of their earnings on drink. If living with parents, once their 'keep' had been handed over, there would have been more scope, than for those aged below sixteen, to spend their money on leisure. In Salford and Rochdale, the textile industry employed the majority of sixteen to twenty year-olds. In Salford, 131 (81.4 per cent) women were employed in textiles, whilst in Rochdale the number was sixty-five (91.5 per cent). Due to the employment opportunities for women in both boroughs, this was not unusual.¹⁵ The textile industry was the major employer for women in south-east Lancashire but there was more diversity of trades in older age groups, in Salford and Rochdale, than in younger ones. As noted below, the majority of women aged between sixteen and twenty were unmarried. Coupled with the earning, and therefore spending power of young, single women with no dependants, this age group could have been drinking socially with work colleagues. They would, on the whole, have been too young to have developed a 'serious' drinking problem which could have led to alcoholism in older women. This relationship between age and repeat committals will be discussed below.

¹⁴ See Chapter 3 for the social composition of Rochdale's elite and Chapter 6 for local sentencing patterns.

¹⁵ See Chapter 3 for employment statistics.

Age Groups 21-29, 30-39 and 40-49

These three age groups represented the most common number of committals for drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale. In both boroughs, the greatest number of committals came in the thirty to thirty-nine age group. These age groups also saw, particularly in Salford, a greater increase in the number of women committed for crimes of violence.¹⁶ Although, the number of women committed for all offences, in both boroughs, increased dramatically from the age of twenty. In Salford, 1173 committals were in the twenty-one to twenty-nine age group, of which 613 (52.3 per cent), were for drunkenness. The number of women committed for prostitution offences also increased sharply, with 112 committals (9.5 per cent). The third most common offence was assaulting the person with ninety-six (31.5 per cent) committals. Committals for handling stolen goods, which had been such a common offence amongst younger women, declined proportionately, numbering thirty-eight (3.2 per cent), of committals.

In Rochdale, committals for drunkenness accounted for 194 (43.9 per cent), out of 442 committals in the twenty-one to twenty-nine age group. Once again, nuisance offences comprised the second highest number of committals, numbering ninety-six (21.7 per cent), which was the highest number across all the age groups. Committals for assaulting the person increased sharply from the sixteen to twenty age group and numbered twenty-nine (6.6 per cent). Increases in violent offences were often equated by commentators to drunkenness. This does not explain the decrease in committals for assaults against the person in Rochdale, however, which more than halved in the thirty to thirty-nine age group, a peak age group for drunkenness, and declined sharply after the age of forty.¹⁷

¹⁶ Out of the 305 committals for assaulting the person in Salford, ninety-six (31.5 per cent) were in the twenty to twenty-nine age group, ninety-four (30.8 per cent) in the thirty to thirty-nine age group and sixty-two (20.3 per cent) in the forty to forty-nine age group. In Rochdale, the highest number was in the twenty to twenty nine age group, with twenty-nine (43.9 per cent) committals.

¹⁷ There were only eight (0.6 per cent) committals for this offence from Rochdale in the forty to forty-nine age group.

The greatest number of committals for drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale came in the thirty to thirty-nine age group and in Salford, this group also represented the highest number of women committed for all offences. Drunkenness accounted for 679 (55.5 per cent) of committals in Salford and 229 (59.2 per cent) in Rochdale. In Salford, the pattern of committals for all offences was similar to that of the previous age group, with committals for prostitution offences and violent offences being common.¹⁸ In Rochdale, nuisance offences were again the second most common offence for which women were committed, with thirty-five (9.0 per cent). However, the third most common offence was vagrancy, which saw twenty-eight (7.2 per cent), committals. This was the highest number of committals for these offences across all age groups in Rochdale.¹⁹ As discussed in Chapter 5, Rochdale had a particular reputation for punishing vagrants and travellers, which no doubt accounts for the high number of committals for vagrancy in this age group.

The age group forty to forty-nine saw the beginning in the decrease of committals for all offences in both boroughs. In Salford, drunkenness accounted for 461 (63.6 per cent), of committals, although this was a higher proportion than previous age groups. Committals for assaulting the person declined to sixty-two (8.6 per cent), and prostitution to twenty-two (3.0 per cent). The handling of stolen goods was also a common offence in this age group, with thirty-five (4.8 per cent), committals. In Rochdale, drunkenness accounted for 119 (60.0 per cent), of committals in this age group, whilst larceny of no determined value was the second most common offence, with twenty-two (11.1 per cent), committals. The number of committals for nuisance offences dropped considerably to fourteen (7.0 per cent). In Salford, therefore, this age group saw the proportion of women committed for drunkenness increase. As women grew older, committals for drunkenness became increasingly common.

¹⁸ In Salford, ninety-nine (8.1 per cent) committals in this age group were for prostitution, with ninety-four (7.7 per cent) for assaulting the person.

¹⁹ The second highest was seventeen (1.2 per cent) in the fifty to fifty-nine age group.

Employment patterns differed across these three age groups in both boroughs. The textile industry was the major employer of women aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine, who were committed for drunkenness, with 341 (55.6 per cent), in Salford and 145 (74.7 per cent), in Rochdale. This was still the case in the thirty to thirty nine age group but in Salford the number of charwomen in this group rose considerably.²⁰ Here, charwomen accounted for 114 (16.8 per cent) of committals. Charwomen had only accounted for thirty (4.9 per cent) committals for women aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine. In the forty to forty-nine age group, in Salford, charring was the most common occupation, appearing in 130 (28.2 per cent), of committals. Of the remainder, 106 (23.0 per cent), of committals were for textile workers. Houseworkers too, were common here, with ninety (19.5 per cent), of committals. Charwomen also comprised the largest occupational group in Rochdale in the forty to forty-nine age group with twenty-three (19.3 per cent), committals. Hawkers and homeworkers also figured prominently, with twenty-two (18.5 per cent), and twenty (16.8 per cent), committals respectively. These figures reflected the employment opportunities available, or not, to women of this age group. Many women would have left factory work once they were married, in order to raise children and then returned to part-time work, either inside or outside the home, after their children had grown up and taken employment, as is discussed in Chapter 8. Regardless of the changing economic and employment conditions of women in both boroughs, they were still being prosecuted on charges of drunkenness.

Age Groups 50-59 and 60 and above

These two age groups represented two of the lowest numbers of committals to Strangeways for drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale. Indeed, discounting juveniles, the latter group contributed the least number of committals from both boroughs. In Salford, drunkenness contributed 208 (69.6 per cent), of committals in the fifty to fifty-nine age group and 100 (69.9 per cent), in those aged

²⁰ In Salford, in the thirty to thirty-nine age group, 233 (34.3 per cent) committals were from textile workers. In Rochdale they numbered 114 (50.0 per cent).

sixty and above. In Rochdale, the trend was similar, with 85 (64.9 per cent), committals for drunkenness in the fifty to fifty-nine age group and twenty-six out of forty committals (65.0 per cent), in those aged sixty and above. Therefore, although the number of committals for drunkenness was decreasing in these latter age groups, the overall proportion of committals for the offence, compared to other offences, continued to rise.

There were comparatively few other offences for which women in these age groups were committed. There were seventeen (13.0 per cent), committals for vagrancy in Rochdale for those aged fifty to fifty-nine and eleven (8.4 per cent), committals for larceny of no determined value. These were the second and third most significant offences in the borough for this age group. In Salford, the next most significant offences were for assaulting the person with eighteen (6.0 per cent) committals and handling stolen goods with fifteen (5.0 per cent) committals. For women aged sixty and above, in both boroughs, if they were committed to gaol, it was usually for drunkenness.

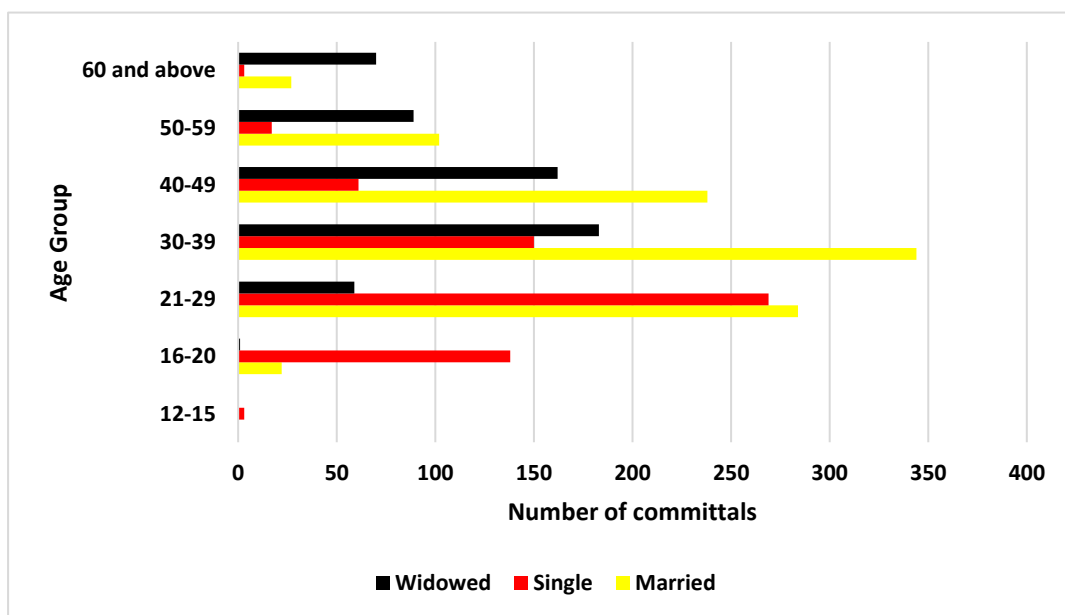
Women in both age groups were in poorly paid occupations. The most common occupation in Salford, for those committed for drunkenness and aged between fifty and fifty-nine, was that of charwoman, which featured in sixty (28.8 per cent), committals. This was also the case in Rochdale, with twenty-nine (34.1 per cent), committals being for charwomen. In Salford, hawker was the most common occupation for women aged sixty and over, with thirty-five (35.0 per cent), committals. In Rochdale, there were only twenty-six women in this age group. Of these, six (23.0 per cent), were charwomen and five (19.2 per cent) were houseworkers. There were also four (16.0 per cent), committals for cotton factory workers. Despite being in poorly-paid occupations, therefore, older women were proportionately more likely to be committed for drunkenness than their younger contemporaries.

These older women may also have been more susceptible to alcoholism and may have had a 'career' of drunkenness. In Salford, for example, Mary Burke, aged fifty-six, had amassed forty-six previous committals by November 1874. The greatest number of previous committals in the

database was eighty-one, and related to fifty year-old Sarah Ann Lee, also of Salford. This will be investigated further in Chapter 10. In terms of the decline in overall numbers, older women may have given up drink in later life, or, due to a dip in economic fortunes in old age, may not have been able to afford to drink. Additionally, they may have been less likely to have been arrested by the police. It may be possible that police constables were reluctant to arrest older, more frail, women, as they may have been seen as desperate, rather than dangerous.²¹ Additionally, the mortality rate amongst older women, especially those with health problems brought on by years of alcohol abuse, may have played a part in reducing the numbers committed to prison.

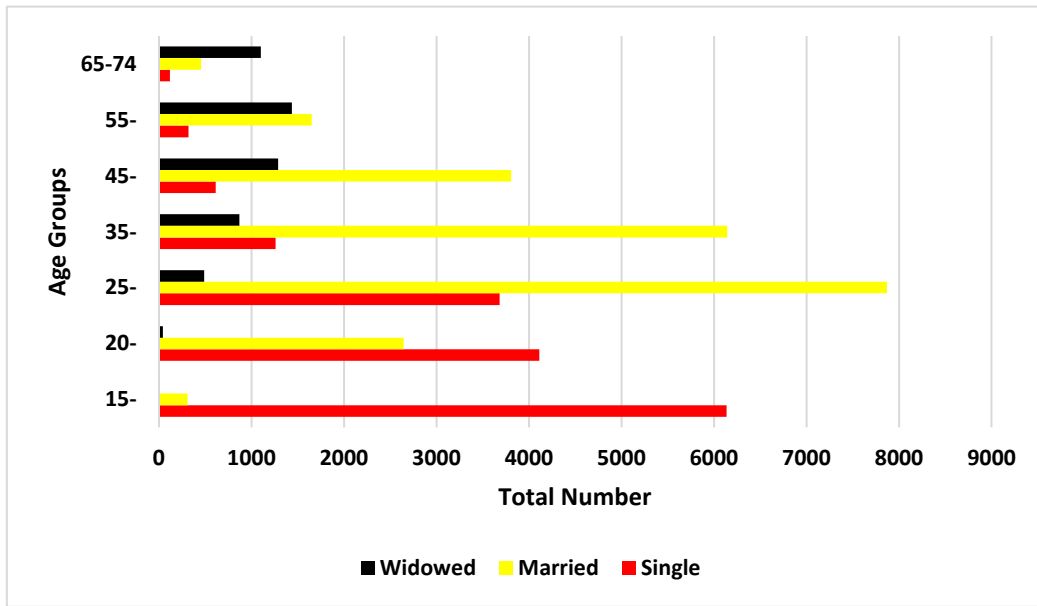
7.5) Marital Status

Figure 7.7: Committals for drunkenness, marital status by age group, Salford, 1869-1875



²¹ This would also depend on how visible they were to the police and how much of a problem they were perceived to be. It is likely that they were dealt with informally, being moved on, or, in the case of middle class or respectable working class women, taken home. Thompson noted that the police were instructed to deal with drunkenness on this basis. See F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society, a Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 330.

Figure 7.8: Marital status by age group, Salford, 1871

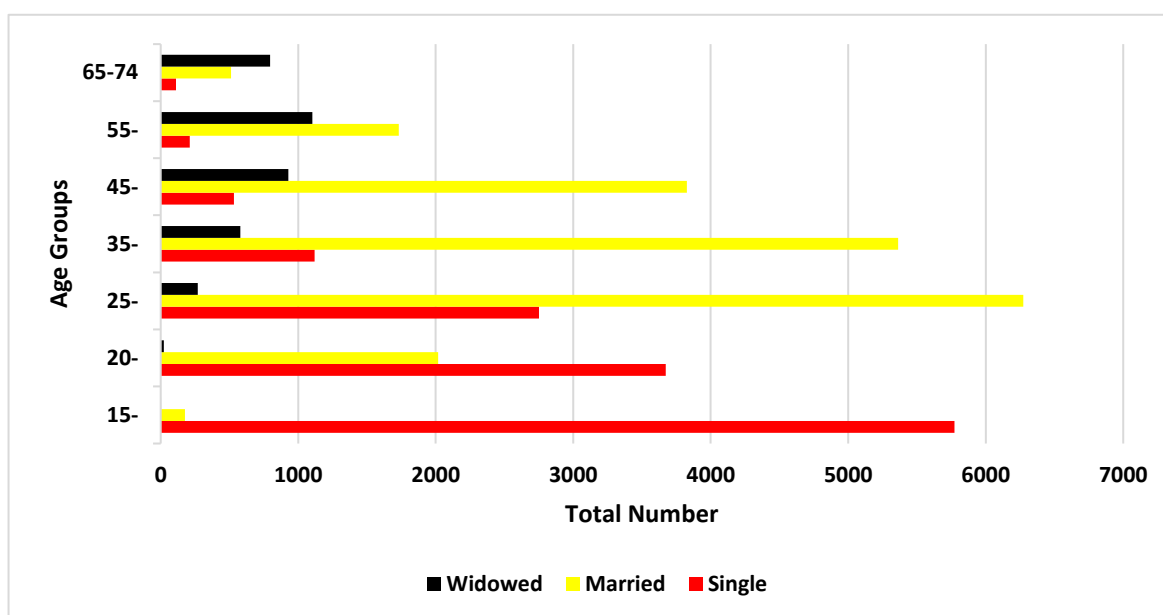


Source: Census of England and Wales, 1871 Vol.III.

Figure 7.9: Committals for drunkenness, marital status by age group, Rochdale, 1869-1875



Figure 7.10: Marital status by age group, Rochdale, 1871



Source: Census of England and Wales, 1871, Vol.III.

Single Women

The age range of single women committed from Salford and Rochdale differed. In both boroughs, the majority of single women committed for drunkenness were aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine. In Salford, the number of committals in this group, 269 (42.0 per cent), were almost double those of the second highest number, 150 (23.4 per cent), in the age group thirty to thirty-nine. There was not much difference here between the third highest number which was for women aged between sixteen and twenty. This group numbered 138 (21.5 per cent) committals. The proportions differed in Rochdale. Here, sixty-nine (43.3 per cent) committals for single women came in the twenty-one to twenty-nine age group but the second highest number was sixty-one (38.4 per cent), in the age group sixteen to twenty. In Rochdale, there were only twenty-one (13.2 per cent) committals for women aged between thirty and thirty-nine. Single women in Rochdale, committed for drunkenness, therefore, tended to be younger than their counterparts in Salford.

The age groups in the census differed slightly from those in the judicial statistics, so some leeway does need to be given when using them for comparison. However, it is possible to carry out

a meaningful analysis. As Figures 7.8 and 7.10 show, single women were prominent in both boroughs between the ages of twenty and twenty-four. Between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine the number of married women outnumbered those who were single. It is interesting to note that in Salford, there were almost as many single women as married women being committed in the twenty-one to twenty-nine age group, which was not the case in Rochdale.

Figures 7.7 and 7.9 show that, proportionally, there were more single women committed in Salford than Rochdale, although the figures for both single and widowed women in both boroughs were similar. The majority of single women in both boroughs were aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine, with 268 (43.8 per cent) in Salford and sixty-nine (35.6 per cent) in Rochdale. Where single women were concerned, the first suggestion is that these were women who had no dependants, who brought in their own income and had the opportunity to spend it as they chose. This would only have been true if they were indeed in employment and that they had no children. The statistics from the registers certainly bear out this image, with most single women having no children. In Salford 539 (84.1 per cent) single women had no children, whilst 102 (15.9 per cent) had between one and four children. No single women in Salford had five or more children, which is not a surprising result. This was doubtless attributable to their relatively young ages.

In Rochdale, the proportions were even higher. Here, 146 (91.8 per cent) single women had no children, which was similar to Salford but only thirteen (8.2 per cent) women had between one and four children. In line with Salford, no single women in the Rochdale sample had five or more children. There would, obviously, have been a difference in the availability of income for an employed, single woman with even a small family, and one with no children. It is possible that, where children, were concerned, a woman could rely on help from her family or neighbours in terms of childcare. Family and informal support networks would be important here. Regardless; young,

single women with no dependants had a greater opportunity to spend their leisure time as they wished, even if these were possibly constrained by working class notions of respectability.²²

The number of single women suggests that these were young workers, spending their leisure time with friends and colleagues in public houses and beerhouses, probably at the end of the week and/or after the working day had ended. It has not been possible to confirm whether there were a number of women from Manchester who were working and drinking in Salford, or whether they were women from Salford who drank close to their place of work or home.²³ In Salford and Rochdale, an overwhelming number of single women were in employment, with only two (0.3 per cent) single women in Salford, and one (0.6 per cent) in Rochdale stating that they had no occupation. The majority of women in both boroughs were employed in the industrial sector, particularly the textile industry, whilst the second highest number of single women were employed in the domestic sector. Further investigation shows that the industrial sector was by far the most common employer in the Rochdale sample. Here, 132 (83.0 per cent) single women were employed in the industrial sector, with only sixteen women (10.1 per cent) employed in the domestic sector. In Salford, the range of occupations were higher, with 403 (62.9 per cent) single women employed in industry, with 199 (31.9 per cent) employed in the domestic sector. The reasons for these differences will be explored below.

Young, single, working-class women had arguably more money to spend, and had greater opportunity to engage in a range of leisure activities, than their married counterparts. Birchall's study of 1870s Manchester, for example, has noted how, in the city's Oldham Street, young working-class women took part in 'monkey parades', a social activity which involved young men and women

²² C. Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives, Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.119 and D.W. Gutzke, *Women Drinking Out in Britain Since the Early Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 19.

²³ As noted in Chapter 9 though, a number of women lived in Manchester and were arrested for drunkenness in Salford. Some women may very well have worked in Salford.

promenading up and down a street, with friends, with the possibility of meeting a partner.²⁴

Importantly, there were alternatives to the pub and beerhouse for young, unmarried women.

Parratt has traced the popularity of music halls amongst young women, who constituted the largest proportion of women present in such venues, who spent the evening with their peers. Additionally, dancing halls were also popular and young women were also known to spend a proportion of their wages on fashionable clothing.²⁵ Although the pub certainly played a role in their leisure activities, such alternatives could realistically help to account for the lower number of drunkenness committals amongst young women.

The large number of single women who stated that they were in employment, therefore, suggests that they were bringing in an income. When this was then coupled with a small family, or no family at all, then a picture emerges of women who were in receipt of an income and who were able to spend part of this income on themselves. Of course, if living with parents, which could well have been the case, then a certain amount of money would have been given over to housekeeping. There does appear, though, to have been sufficient left over to be spent on drink. This would help to account for the significant proportion of single women in the sample, who were caught up, at the time, in the authorities' drive against drunkenness.

Married Women

As the census figures show, in Salford and Rochdale, the number of married women increased from the age of twenty-five. Married women could well be the recipients of a dual income, particularly in areas such as Lancashire, where in the industrial towns female employment was relatively high.

Additionally, the children of middle-aged married women could also have been bringing in an income. Therefore, the potential for surplus income, to be spent on alcohol, would have increased.

²⁴ These took place during leisure hours, on a Saturday and Sunday evening, see J. Birchall, 'The carnival revels of Manchester's vagabonds': young working-class women and monkey parades in the 1870s', *Women's History Review*, 15.2 (206), pp. 229-252.

²⁵ C. Parratt, *"More Than Mere Amusement": Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001), Ch. 4.

This theory that married women would bring in more income depended on the women in question being part of a stable family unit, living with a husband and children, and all of them fully employed and with a regular income. Further analysis of the prison registers shows that this was not always the case. The prison authorities made a note of the next of kin of every woman committed, which was provided, ostensibly, in order for them to inform the prisoner's nearest relative of their discharge from gaol. It would also have served to assist in identifying the prisoner in question, in cases of re-committal.²⁶ A number of married women in Salford and Rochdale stated that their husbands were living at a separate address from themselves, sometimes this was in a different town. Additionally, further investigation has been carried out, using the census, to ascertain whether other married women were co-habiting with their husbands.

As Figures 7.7 and 7.9 show, the majority of women committed for drunkenness from both Salford and Rochdale were married. The majority of married women in both boroughs were aged between thirty and thirty-nine, with the next highest numbers appearing in the twenty-one to twenty-nine and forty to forty-nine age groups.²⁷ In Salford, ninety-four women paid a fine after they had been committed, which resulted in their early release from prison. Of this number, sixty-six (70.2 per cent), were married. In Rochdale the number of women who paid the fine after committal is negligible, only three women did so, and they were all married. Morrison has stated that married women were less likely to be given a fine by magistrates as their husbands would often pay it for them.²⁸ This suggests that this was the case here, although for all offences, from all

²⁶ In the Strangeways registers, from 1870, the next of kin was provided. There was no specific column to record this. In the Manchester City gaol registers, there was a column provided specifically for such information. The heading stated that these details were required in order to inform the next of kin of the prisoner's discharge.

²⁷ In Salford 345 (33.9 per cent) married women were aged thirty to thirty-nine. In Rochdale this number was 165 (40.8 per cent). In Salford 284 (27.9 per cent) women were aged twenty-one to twenty-nine and 238 (23.4 per cent) were aged forty to forty-nine. In Rochdale the figures were ninety-nine (24.5 per cent) and seventy-eight (19.3 per cent) respectively.

²⁸ B. Morrison, 'Controlling the "hopeless": re-visioning the history of female inebriate institutions c.1870-1920' in H. Johnston (ed.) *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) p. 139.

summary areas, the number of women who paid the fine after being committed to prison was low. They numbered only 222 (1.9 per cent), across the whole sample of 11693 summary committals.

Local narratives bemoaned married women coming before the Bench for drunkenness more than they did single women or widows. In Rochdale, the Chief Constable, Samuel Stevens, complained that increasing numbers of women coming before the Bench for drunkenness were 'wives of respectable working men'.²⁹ Whilst the number of married women being prosecuted for drunkenness was not in doubt, the issue of respectability was a subjective one. Indeed, when Rochdale's Sarah Madden was brought before the borough magistrates for vagrancy in August 1873, it was stated in court that her mother was a 'bad character' and her father was a respectable man.³⁰ This statement could not have been further from the truth, as although her mother, Ellen, had indeed been regularly committed to Strangeways for drunkenness, so had her father, John.³¹ D'Cruze noted that there was a combination of class and gender interests in Victorian courtrooms which led to women being 'patronized, criticized and ridiculed' by magistrates.³² The statements from the authorities in Rochdale give a glimpse into the patriarchal nature of the criminal justice system and how women were viewed in a separate light than men.

Although contemporary commentators and historians have noted that many women committed for drunkenness were married, they have overlooked the fact that many women were estranged from their husbands. As Hunt, *et al* noted, women arrested for habitual drunkenness had often lost all family connections.³³ Upon committal to Strangeways Prison, not all married women gave their husband as their next of kin. In Salford, 1018 women stated that they were married, of whom 683 (67.1 per cent), gave their husband as next of kin, although in fifty-four cases (7.9 per cent), they were living at a different address and a further three were incarcerated in Strangeways at

²⁹ *Rochdale Observer*, 24 December 1875.

³⁰ *Rochdale Observer*, 9 August 1873.

³¹ Sarah Madden is the subject of a case study in Chapter 10.

³² S.D'Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage: Sex, Violence and Victorian Working Women* (London: UCL Press, 1998), p. 80.

³³ G. Hunt, J. Mellor and J. Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad: women and the inebriate reformatories from 1900-1913', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 40.2 (1989), p. 250.

the same time as their wives. Of the remainder, eighty-three (8.2 per cent), did not have a relative recorded. Finally, 250 (24.6 per cent), women either gave another relative as next of kin or provided no name.³⁴ In the latter instance, this information was recorded in the registers as 'no relatives living', 'no relations' or 'address of relatives not known', which was an intriguing response from a married woman. Taken together, therefore, those married women who did not state their husband as next of kin, and those who stated their husbands were living at a different address, totalled 306 (30.1 per cent). The data shows that a high proportion of married women in Rochdale also did not give their husband as next of kin. Here, nearly 30 per cent of women in Rochdale did not do so.³⁵ This is a significant proportion and suggests that these women were estranged from their husbands. Additionally, the majority of women simply provided their husband's name, and no address, which suggests that they were living at the same address. Whilst a study of the census could help confirm this, it only provides information for a certain point in time. Domestic circumstances could well have changed over the course of the research period. However, the research carried out using the prison registers does give an indication of the extent of co-habitation.

The reasons for estrangement could be varied. One reason was the drinking habits of one partner, or the other, or both. To suggest that married women comprised the majority of women arrested for drunkenness does not take into account the varied and complex domestic picture that comprised such women's lives. A wife estranged from her husband would potentially lose his income, if he was in employment. Such a situation did lead to desperate acts, often under the influence of drink. In June 1870, Margaret Smith, a married woman, had attempted to drown herself in the River Irwell at Salford. It was reported that she had taken to drink after her husband, Thomas, left her. The strain of raising their four children was the catalyst for her drinking and the

³⁴ This breaks down as: child, thirty-six (3.5 per cent), none, 127 (12.5 per cent), parent, forty-one (4.0 per cent), sibling, thirty-nine (3.8 per cent) and other relative (aunt/uncle/niece/nephew/grandparent), nine (0.9 per cent).

³⁵ 256 (63.4 per cent) gave their husband as next of kin, although eighteen (7.0 per cent) were living at different addresses. Of the remainder, thirty-four (8.4 per cent) were not recorded, whilst those who gave a parent as next of kin were second highest, with forty-seven (11.6 per cent). Those who gave no name numbered thirty-nine (9.7 per cent).

attempt to kill herself.³⁶ A year later she spent seven days in prison for being drunk and riotous in Salford. In July 1872, she spent another seven days in prison for the same offence, although she had moved to Rochdale by this time. The domestic situations of these women, therefore, can not be ascertained from the prison registers alone. Further investigation is required to develop a more accurate picture. Regardless, these women would have been vulnerable. Without the husband's additional income it would have been easy to fall into, or further into, poverty. Also, her reputation in her local community would have suffered, as it is possible that she would have been portrayed as 'unrespectable' or 'rough'. Additionally, she may have found that family and/or informal support networks would have been closed off to her, as she was shunned by relatives and friends.

Historians have suggested that women often frequented licensed premises in the company of their husbands or sweethearts.³⁷ As a number of the women in the database were estranged from their husbands, this was not always the case. Moreover, it is difficult to ascertain with whom, and where, women were drinking. As arrests took place in public, that is, on the street and outside any licensed premises, it is not always apparent where women arrested for drunkenness had indeed been drinking. There are rare examples of women drinking alone. In Salford, in 1875, Clarissa Fowkes was arrested for being drunk in the Three Legs of Man public house in Greengate. A constable, PC Henry, had entered the pub to serve a notice for the annual licensing session, when he noticed her drinking whisky and behaving noisily. She was drunk and it was not noted that she was in company with anyone else, either male or female. Foulkes served fourteen days in prison for the offence.³⁸ She was aged fifty-one and was widowed, which may explain why she appeared to be drinking alone. Such reports are rare, unfortunately, which deny the opportunity for a more rigorous analysis.

³⁶ *Salford Weekly News*, 4 June 1870. Smith appeared in the registers on two separate occasions, once from Salford and once from Rochdale, on both occasions she stated that she a husband, Thomas – it is not known whether they were still estranged.

³⁷ P. Jennings, *The Local: A History of the English Pub* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), p.116, D.W. Gutzke, *Women Drinking Out in Britain Since the Early Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p.19.

³⁸ *Salford Weekly News*, 7 August 1875.

As the age range of thirty to thirty-nine comprised the majority of women committed to prison for drunkenness in both boroughs, it is therefore not surprising to discover that the majority of married women fell into this age bracket. In Salford, they numbered 345 (33.9 per cent), and in Rochdale, 165 (40.8 per cent). In both boroughs, the pattern was the same. There was a steady increase in committals from the age of twenty-one, a peak between thirty and thirty-one, and then a decrease in the forty to forty-nine age bracket. There was a further decrease in the fifty to fifty-nine age bracket and very few married women were aged over sixty. The majority of women, therefore, would have been at an age when they may have been in regular employment. They would, quite possibly, have had children that were too young to bring in a wage themselves. As Roberts has stated, women often left their employment after having children, in order to raise them and pursue their domestic 'ideal'. In later life, they may have returned to part-time, temporary and low-paid work such as charring or hawking.³⁹ An analysis of the women in the database shows that these women fitted this profile.

Widows

Due to the dangerous nature of their husband's occupations, the wives of manual labourers were widowed earlier than middle-class women.⁴⁰ The age range of widows in the sample provides more evidence that these women were from the working class, as the majority were young. In Salford, 563 committals involved widows and most of them were aged between thirty and thirty-nine. This age group numbered 182 (32.3 per cent), with those aged between forty and forty-nine, the second highest group, numbering 162 (28.8 per cent). In Rochdale, there were 160 cases involving widows and of these, forty-three (26.9 per cent), were between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine. The second highest figure was for those aged between fifty and fifty-nine, with forty-two (26.3 per cent). The lives of young working-class widows would have been particularly difficult. They may have had

³⁹ E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place, A Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), p. 138.

⁴⁰ J. Perkin, *Victorian Women* (London: John Murray, 1993), p. 132.

children who were too young to earn a living and so, without an income from a father, the mother would have struggled to make ends meet. It is possible that alcohol was an escape from such poverty and hardship. Attention will now turn to the occupations and family size of widows, beginning with Salford.

In Salford, the majority of widows were in employment. In only seven cases (1.2 per cent), did a widow state that she had no occupation. Most widows were charwomen, who numbered 142 (25.2 per cent), or worked in the textile industry, who numbered 136 (24.2 per cent). As Roberts has stated, in her study of working class women in late-Victorian and early twentieth century Lancashire, charring was at the lowest end of the domestic service trade.⁴¹ Of the remainder, the majority were hawkers, who numbered 111 (19.7 per cent). When combining the numbers for hawkers and charwomen, therefore, nearly half of all widows were in poorly paid, marginal occupations. In Rochdale, the spread of occupations was similar. Here, sixty-seven (42.5 per cent) of widows worked in the textile industry. Charwomen and hawkers were also heavily represented, with thirty-two (20.0 per cent), and twenty-one (13.1 per cent), respectively. Only two (1.3 per cent), women stated that they had no occupation. This reflected the importance of the textile industry in women's employment.

In Salford and Rochdale, the majority of widows had between one and four children. In Salford the number was 311 (55.2 per cent), and in Rochdale it was 110 (68.8 per cent). In Salford 198 (35.2 per cent), widows had no children and in Rochdale this number was thirty-three (20.6 per cent). As most widows were aged between thirty and thirty-nine in both boroughs, it is not surprising to discover that the majority of widows with small families fell into this age bracket. In Salford, eighty-two (14.6 per cent), widows, between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine, had no children and ninety-four (16.7 per cent), had one or more children. In Rochdale these numbers were thirteen (8.1 per cent), and twenty-two (13.8 per cent), respectively. However, thirty widows

⁴¹ Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p.45 and p.58.

between the ages of fifty and fifty-nine also had between one and four children, which reflects the high number of women in this age range.

The addresses of widows also gives a further indication of the poverty in which they were living. Although the majority of widows did give an address as a place of residence, in both boroughs there were also a number who had no place of abode. In Rochdale, thirty (18.8 per cent), widows stated that they had no settled home, whilst in Salford the corresponding number was seventy-four (13.1 per cent). On the whole, therefore, the data presents a picture of widows who were, relatively speaking, young, with a small family and, for the most part, in a poorly paid occupation. There would have been a great deal of pressure on raising a family and maintaining the home under such circumstances.

The study of the next of kin given by widows also gives credence to the theory that many of these women were estranged from their families. In Salford, most widows, 254 (45.1 per cent), stated that they had no next of kin, which, initially, is perhaps not surprising. However, over half (53.9 per cent) stated that they had children.⁴² Similarly, in Rochdale, most widows gave no next of kin, who numbered seventy-two (45.0 per cent) but of these, fifty-one (70.8 per cent) had children.⁴³ In both boroughs, children were the second highest figure of those named as next of kin, comprising 129 (22.9 per cent) in Salford and forty-three (26.9 per cent) in Rochdale. These figures suggest that widowed women were mostly estranged from their families, with no familial support network. It may well have been their drinking which led to this estrangement. In Salford, the majority of widows, 221 (39.3 per cent), had four or more previous committals. The proportion was slightly higher in Rochdale, with sixty-nine (43.1 per cent) having four or more. Here, the second highest figure was those widows with one to three previous committals, fifty-one (31.9 per cent). Conversely, in Salford, 190 (33.7 per cent) had no previous committals, which was the second highest number. The high number of recidivists here, though, does suggest that widows were prone

⁴² 112 (44.1 per cent) had one to four children and twenty-five (9.8 per cent) had five or more.

⁴³ Forty-six (63.9 per cent) had one to four children and five (6.9 per cent) had five or more.

to be repeat offenders. Again, as stated above, this may be because widows had more licence to behave freely, although as the majority were young and had children, this may not have been the case.

Contemporary commentators attributed habitual female drunkenness to moral laxity and physical weakness. A woman, it was argued, did not possess the physical strength of a man and, therefore, alcohol was more likely to have an adverse effect on their bodies and prove more difficult to resist. Once in gaol, they were perceived to be the most troublesome and helpless prisoners.⁴⁴ At the Select Committee on Intemperance in 1877, it was axiomatic that men were quieter than women when drunk and that this led to an increase in the number of women prosecuted for drunkenness ‘the fact of the greater excitability of temperament upon the part of the women,’ it was agreed, ‘would probably account for the greater number of them who are taken up.’⁴⁵ In 1878, the Manchester periodical, the *City Jackdaw*, proclaimed that ‘When women take to drink it is, in an ordinary way, all up with them.’⁴⁶ Reporting that the death of one Ann Holmes, from Leeds, in 1877, was attributable to chronic alcoholism, the borough coroner stated ‘When a female took to drinking it seemed to end far more sadly than in the case of males.’⁴⁷ Concerns about drinking amongst middle-class women could also be attached to their working-class contemporaries, as the *Saturday Review* decreed that ‘They [women] have plenty of imagination, which is liable to be excited, but they have not much will to spare, and are especially liable, even at their best, to the depression which is aggravated by alcohol.’⁴⁸

This narrative did not suggest that, far from being genetically predisposed towards drunkenness, some women turned to drink out of grief, or found their drinking habits exacerbated by it. In Rochdale, Ann Jones, the sister of Mary Kelly, was widowed at the age of twenty in 1874,

⁴⁴ L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 229.

⁴⁵ This formed part of the questioning to James Davis, First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), p.124.

⁴⁶ *City Jackdaw*, 27 September 1878.

⁴⁷ *Illustrated Police News*, 7 April 1877.

⁴⁸ *Saturday Review*, 21 January 1871.

when her husband was killed whilst working as a labourer at Rochdale's post office.⁴⁹ Although Jones had already served a prison sentence of seven days in 1873, for being drunk and riotous, her family life appears to have been impacted by his early death. In June 1875, she was sentenced to three months in prison for neglecting her children. The chief constable, Samuel Stevens, testified that she had taken to drink after being widowed and that despite the assistance of her neighbours in looking after her children, she 'was spending what money she had in the public house, and did not return until drunk.'⁵⁰ Furthermore, in 1876, she did not answer a summons for being drunk and disorderly. Stating that she was a bad character, Stevens proclaimed that 'she was very drunken, neglected her children, and had several times been sent to prison.'⁵¹ Jones appeared twice in the registers and although her committals began before her husband's death, it appears that it was this incident, rather than any physical or moral weakness, which accelerated her drinking.

Jones' experience was not an isolated case. In Salford, Bridget Thompson's life bore parallels to that of Jones'. Thompson was a forty-four year old widow, whose offending lasted for almost twenty years. She was committed to Strangeways on eighteen occasions between 1870 and 1875. All her committals, bar one, came from offences committed in Salford and all involved drunkenness. She gave a variety of occupations throughout this period, stating that she worked in a silk mill, was a charwoman, a seamstress and a homemaker. She was married at the time of her first committal, in November 1870 but was widowed soon afterwards.⁵² By the time of her second committal, in May 1871, her husband, William, had died. By 1886, she had appeared at the Quarter Sessions three times, the third occasion being for attempted suicide, for which she served seven

⁴⁹ Her husband, Charles, had been killed by a piece of machinery. Some months later, another labourer, John Heaney, was also killed whilst working on the post office, by the same machine. *Bradford Observer*, 18 February, 1875.

⁵⁰ *Rochdale Times*, 26 June 1875. There is a sense here that, unlike his counterpart in Salford, Rochdale's chief constable was well aware of Jones and her circumstances, even if this information was provided by his constables.

⁵¹ *Rochdale Times*, 29 July 1876.

⁵² A death certificate exists for William Thompson, aged 46, who died in the fourth quarter of 1870, in Salford. It is highly likely that he was Thompson's husband, and he may have died before her first committal. The only other William Thompson who died in Salford between 1869 and 1871 was a baby.

months. By then she had also been committed twenty-nine times for drunkenness and other offences. She did appear to have the support of her family, living with her daughter in Salford. Tragically, she eventually succeeded in committing suicide, hanging herself in Strangeways in 1888, whilst in gaol for theft.⁵³ She possibly started to drink after the death of her husband, therefore the onset of grief, combined with the loss of an income and the strain of raising a family, rather than any physical or moral failing, were the cause of her offending.

Ethnicity also played a role in widows committed for drunkenness. In Salford, 275 (48.8 per cent) of all widows committed for drunkenness were born in Ireland. In Rochdale, they numbered seventy-three (45.6 per cent). Coupled with the occupational data above, Irish-born women appeared to be more vulnerable to committals for drunkenness than their English counterparts. Irish-born women were in the lowest paid jobs and, as far as their family status is concerned, may not have had a familial support network to help them, as discussed in Chapter 9. This help could comprise paying the fine, or supporting them in their day-to day life. Widows, as has been noted above, may also have had more licence and less peer pressure from their community, to drink. In his study of mid-century Preston, Anderson suggested that for widows, kin were an important source of help.⁵⁴ This may not have been the case for widows who were repeatedly committed to gaol.

⁵³ *Glasgow Evening Post*, 31 August 1888.

⁵⁴ M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 146.

7.6) Family Size

Figure 7.11: Number of children of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875

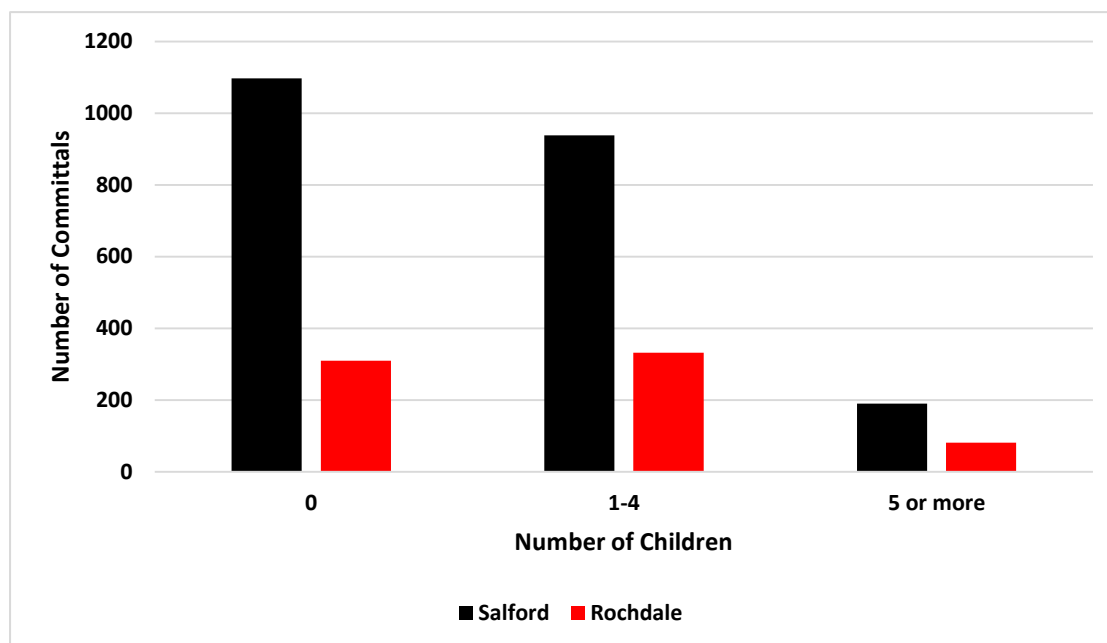


Table 7.2: Average number of children of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875

	Salford	Rochdale
Mean	1.44	1.71
Median	1	1
Mode	0	0
Range	11	8
Minimum Size	0	0
Maximum Size	11	8

Figure 7.11 shows that the family size of women committed for drunkenness from Salford and Rochdale tended to be small. The majority of women from Salford, 1097 (49.3 per cent) had no children, although the number of those with one to four children was also significant, with 938 (42.2 per cent). In Rochdale, the latter group was only slightly larger than the former, with 332 (45.9 per cent) having between one and four children, compared to 310 (42.9 per cent) who had none. The number of women with five or more children were fewest in both boroughs. As explored below, the number of children in a family could be important, especially in families where the children were earning wages. Table 7.2 shows the average family size of women committed for drunkenness in

Salford and Rochdale. In both cases the average family size was very small, with women, in general, only having one child. The range was eleven in Salford and eight in Rochdale. Women who had the highest number of children, in both cases, were extreme examples. In Salford, only one woman, Ann Emmett, had eleven children. Emmett, a forty-six year old houseworker, only appeared once in the registers but was recommitted after September 1875. In Rochdale, three women had the maximum of eight children, two of whom, Mary Casey and Margaret Davis, were only committed once, whilst the third, Catherine Logan, was a repeat offender. She had been imprisoned five times in Strangeways and continued to be re-committed after September 1875. All three women were homeless and had been born outside Rochdale.⁵⁵

With the average age of women being thirty, it is important to analyse, as much as is possible, the average age of their children. Initially, it could be suggested that children were too young to be earning a wage and contributing to the family income. Instead, they may have been a drain on family resources. At the end of the nineteenth century, the social reformer, Seebohm Rowntree, noted that over 22 per cent of the population of York were living in 'primary' poverty, where income was insufficient to buy the bare minimum of food and shelter, due to having large families. He noted that the poverty period lasted for the first ten years or more of the children's lives, before they were old enough to work and contribute to the family income.⁵⁶ These women, therefore, would have been living a hand-to-mouth existence.

⁵⁵ Casey was born in London, Davis, on the sea, and Logan, Galway.

⁵⁶ B.S. Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1901), p. 128.

Figure 7.12: Marital status in relation to number of children, Salford, 1869-1875

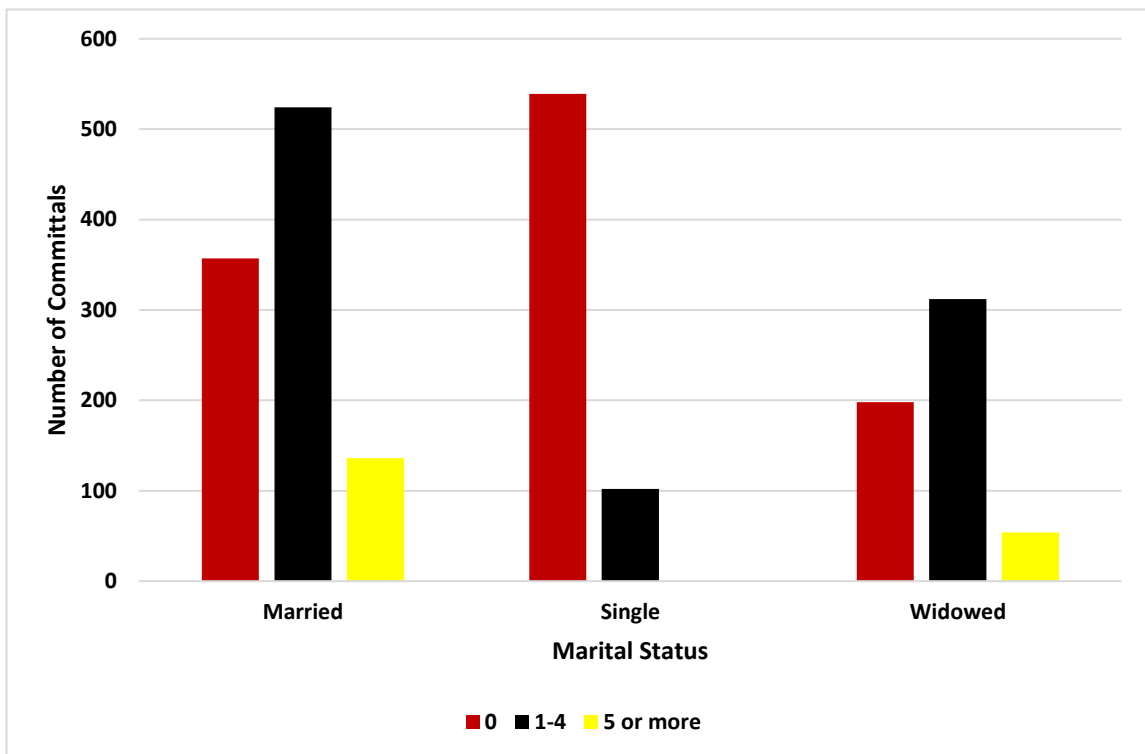
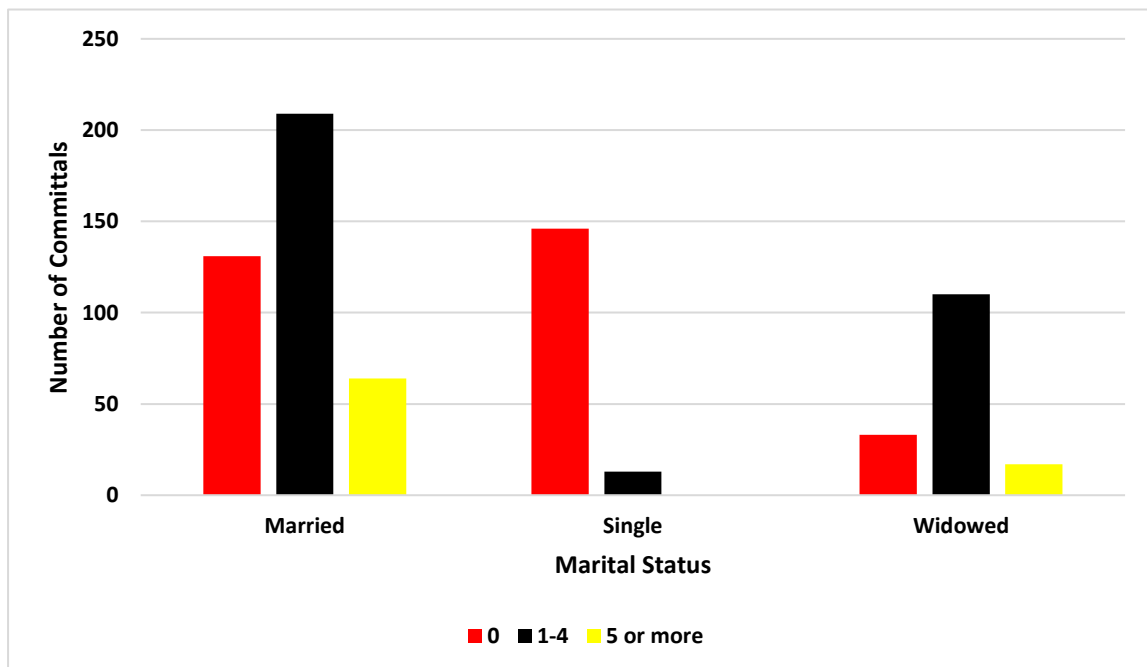


Figure 7.13: Marital status in relation to number of children, Rochdale, 1869-1875



The relationship between the number of children and marital status followed an expected pattern.

As shown in Figures 7.12 and 7.13, in Salford and Rochdale, single women were more likely to have

no children, whilst married women were more likely to have between one and four children. Married women were also more likely to have five or more children, in both boroughs. Widows also tended to have children, which again needs to be taken into account when looking at support networks.

In both boroughs, the majority of women with no children were aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine, numbering 382 (17.2 per cent), in Salford and 112 (15.5 per cent), in Rochdale. The majority of those with one to four children were aged between thirty and thirty-nine, numbering 300 (13.5 per cent), in Salford and 109 (15.1 per cent) in Rochdale. In Rochdale, this age group also had the highest number of women with five or more children, thirty-four (4.7 per cent). In Salford, those aged between forty and forty-nine were more likely to have five or more children, with eighty-one (3.6 per cent). Older, married women, therefore, had the bigger families, which suggests they had more mouths to feed and/or more children capable of bringing in a wage. If the latter was the case, then this would have lifted the family out of primary poverty, as per Rowntree's study. If more children were bringing in a wage then the household would have been, theoretically, more prosperous.⁵⁷ There would also, of course, have been more money to spend on drink.⁵⁸

7.7) Support networks

Historians have discussed the importance and prevalence of family and neighbourhood support networks in nineteenth and twentieth century working-class communities. Roberts' study of working-class life concentrated, for the most part, on the so-called respectable working class. She argued that rough families were characterised by the drunken behaviour of the husband and father, rather than the wife and mother.⁵⁹ In her analysis, it was men who went to the pub and their wives,

⁵⁷ Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life*, p, 128.

⁵⁸ Therefore putting these families into what Rowntree termed 'secondary' poverty, where families were plunged into debt via, what he argued was, injudicious spending on alcohol and gambling. *Ibid*, Ch. 5.

⁵⁹ Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 194.

if they drank with at all, only joined them for a short time. Alternatively, they were in the same location as their husbands but drank in another part of the public house with other women. Conversely, other historians have noted how the behaviour of women affected local preconceptions of a family's respectability. As Ross noted, in pre-1914 London, some women considered themselves the social superiors of others and could ostracize female neighbours due to their 'drunkenness, slovenly housekeeping, or their sexual habits.'⁶⁰ Furthermore, Tebbutt's study of working-class gossip revealed that women who stepped outside accepted social norms, such as through drunkenness or fighting, became categorized as local 'characters'.⁶¹ A woman's reputation was decided by her neighbours and was crucial in the membership of family and neighbourhood support networks.⁶²

The familial and support networks discussed here may not have been available to the women in the database, either because there was no one to help them, or because of their drunken behaviour. These may have been women, generally speaking, that people wished to avoid. As noted above, a number of married and widowed women in the sample had no familial support. The case studies in Chapters 9 and 10 give glimpses of how these women were perceived in their own neighbourhoods and how much support they received, if any.⁶³ Drunken women were perceived by society as unrespectable, as 'rough' and so their reputation in their community could well have been reflected in the support given to them whilst in, and out, of prison. Robert Roberts, in his reflections on life in his part of Salford in the early twentieth-century, described how his mother supported two young women working as prostitutes. These women, close neighbours, were treated with disdain by

⁶⁰ E. Ross, 'Survival networks: women's neighbourhood sharing in London before World War I', *History Workshop Journal*, 15.1 (1983), p. 14.

⁶¹ M. Tebbutt, *Women's Talk? A Social History of Gossip in Working-Class Neighbourhoods, 1880-1960* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 5.

⁶² D. Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage*, p. 192. These support networks included borrowing, lending and childcare and were a key factor in household survival strategies.

⁶³ See the case studies of Theresa Wilson, Mary Kelly and Sarah Madden in particular. Other shorter case studies throughout the thesis also provide a window into the nature and availability of support networks.

his father but were viewed with sympathy by his mother, who understood that they had resorted to prostitution in order to survive.⁶⁴

Court reports provide indications of the support networks available, or lacking, to women imprisoned for drunkenness. The *Salford Weekly News* noted that the mother and sister of Susan Wilson, one of the borough's most notorious characters, looked after her children when she was drinking.⁶⁵ Wilson was married but, due to her drinking, had separated from her husband.⁶⁶ Also in Salford, Theresa Wilson, no relation to Susan, was an unmarried mother. Her children ended up in the workhouse when she was arrested for being drunk. It was reported that her children had been physically abused by their mother and there was no relation to look after the children whilst she was in prison.⁶⁷ In Rochdale, Mary Kelly, a widow, kept her three children together despite being constantly committed to prison, fined, and admonished for drunkenness and other minor offences. There are examples from newspaper reports that some women had been ostracized by their families or communities. Their children were sometimes cared for by family members, were adopted or sent to the workhouse. There is evidence, discussed below, that women committed for drunkenness were socially isolated, whilst others still maintained a close relationship with family members or neighbours. Even in these latter cases, however, support could not be forthcoming when called upon.

Where women were estranged from their husbands, it is possible that the family unit as a whole had broken down. Children of wage-earning age would bring in extra money to the household budget, potentially leaving additional money to be spent on drink. If the family unit had collapsed and children were no longer living with their mothers, then this extra income stream would be denied to them. The breakdown of the family unit could also lead to the lack of a familial

⁶⁴ R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum, Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), p. 206.

⁶⁵ *Salford Weekly News*, 24 April 1875.

⁶⁶ See her obituary, *Salford City Reporter*, 6 May 1905.

⁶⁷ *Manchester Weekly Times*, 2 May 1868.

support network. For example, Salford's Ellen Willcock had been committed thirty-eight times to Strangeways by October 1875. The majority of her committals were for drunkenness but she was committed three times for wandering abroad with no visible means of subsistence, between 1869 and 1875. Willcock, a charwoman, was widowed, although the registers state she was single and claimed to have three children, however, in later committals she stated she had none. She had at least two daughters, Eliza and Mary, who were both living with her sister, Margaret in 1871. Willcock usually gave an address in Brindleheath, Salford but was often found sleeping rough. A persistent offender, she appeared to have no familial support, although she gave her sister, Margaret, as next of kin. Her daughters, therefore, appeared to provide her with no financial or domestic support. As a widow in a low-paid occupation, this exclusion from a support network left her vulnerable to imprisonment.

Even if a woman was not estranged from her husband, immediate familial support may not have been forthcoming. In June 1875, the husband and son of Mary Ann Baxter, who had been brought before the Salford Bench ten times, refused PC Trafford's request to let her into their house on Ellor Street. The constable had apprehended Baxter for being drunk and disorderly and attempted to return her to her home, rather than take her into custody. Upon appearing in court, she was sentenced to one month in gaol.⁶⁸ Her last appearance in the gaol registers is in February 1879, when she was committed for fourteen days for being drunk and riotous in Salford. She was still married and still lived in Ellor Street. This was not her final spell of imprisonment as the register records at least one further committal.⁶⁹ In 1881, she was still living with her husband, Richard, in Salford. Her behaviour when drunk appeared to have impacted on her family's desire to assist her but the marriage did seem to survive her repeated clashes with authority.

⁶⁸ *Salford Weekly News*, 19 June 1875. Baxter had been disorderly in Ellor Street, where she lived, therefore it would have been easier for the policeman to escort her home than take her into custody. It is possible that she was well known to PC Trafford.

⁶⁹ There are a handful of surviving Strangeways Prison register pages post-1875, accessible via www.findmypast.co.uk. Baxter appeared in one in February 1879.

7.8) Conclusion

The impact of drinking on marriage, motherhood and domestic life concerned the Victorians far more than the habits of single and widowed women. The breakdown of the family lives of wives and mothers who drank was seen as a foregone conclusion. There is no doubt that the lives of many women committed for drunkenness did indeed fracture: marriages ended and contact with children lost. However, it is too simplistic to suggest that the drinking habits of married women were to blame. Other causes, such as poverty, unemployment, domestic violence and the drinking habits of spouses also need to be taken into account. Women committed to gaol for drunkenness in south-east Lancashire were not all married, as there were a significant number of single and widowed women in the registers. There is little doubt, however, that the family lives of many women, especially those repeatedly committed to prison, did collapse. The reaction of families to the incarceration of mothers varied. At times children found themselves cared for by relatives, at others they were placed in the workhouse. Widowed women found themselves turning to drink, and becoming involved in criminal acts, after the deaths of their husbands. It was grief, not physical or moral failings, which could lead to these actions.

The majority of women committed for drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale were married and their peak age was between thirty and thirty-nine. Committals increased steadily up to this age group and declined thereafter, although the proportion of older women committed for drunkenness was greater than in younger age groups. The occupational status of these women is explored in more detail in the next chapter, yet it appears that the wage-earning potential of women, linked to their stage of the life cycle, was a major factor in their drinking habits. Younger women were potentially more likely to be social drinkers, whilst older women were more likely to develop alcoholism after years of drinking.

The actions of the authorities in Salford and Rochdale also played a role in gaol committals. As noted in Chapter 6, the police and magistrates had a major impact on the way women were

treated. This chapter helps to expand on this, by examining the offences for which women were committed, in relation to their age. In Salford, women were more likely to be imprisoned for crimes of violence and theft, whilst in Rochdale, especially amongst younger women, it was moral offences, and those seen to disrupt public order, which contributed the greater number of committals. The actions of the authorities in both boroughs reflected the concern felt by the elites towards these offences. The next chapter will build on the analysis detailed here, and examine the occupations of these women, which were linked to where they lived, as well as their stage of the life cycle.

Chapter 8

Occupation and Education

8.1) Introduction

The chapter explores the occupations of female inmates in Strangeways Prison, and their potential connection to 'problematic' drinking. It examines the employment and educational backgrounds of all women committed for drunkenness, from all summary areas, with the major focus again being on the case studies of Salford and Rochdale. Patterns of employment in both boroughs played a key role in the number and range of committals for drunkenness. Furthermore, the chapter explores the link between prostitution and drink, and how this played out in the descriptions of prostitutes in the registers and in local discourse. Finally, the chapter looks at the educational standards of women prisoners and how these related to literacy standards in Lancashire, as a whole.

8.2) Occupations of Female Inmates

The first section of this chapter will explore the occupations of women from all the summary areas, who were committed for drunkenness. The prison registers are a useful source of information, when exploring the occupations of female prisoners. They can be used in conjunction with the census, which, as has been pointed out by historians, can be a problematic source when trying to determine patterns of working-class female employment.¹ The census, for example, only stated what occupation a woman was engaged in on one particular date. It also did not taken into account seasonal and casual employment or underemployment. Additionally, married women were sometimes defined according to their husband's occupation or the enumerator refused to consider women's employment at all. The prison registers, therefore, can provide a snapshot of a woman's

¹ August, A, 'How separate a sphere? Poor women and paid work in late-Victorian London', *Family History*, 19.3 (1994), pp. 285-309. The data contained in the figures in this chapter comes from the prison registers. The census has been used, where necessary, in case studies to trace a woman's occupation outside the years 1869-1875, which is the date range of the prison registers.

employment over several years, dependant, of course, on the number of times a woman was committed to gaol.

As a woman's domestic situation may have changed over the course of the research period, so might her occupation. For example, Catherine Gallagher appeared in the registers as a cotton factory worker and a charwoman. Additionally, Sarah Huddleston stated on separate occasions that she was a factory operative, a charwoman, and a houseworker. Such instances may have reflected either the changing nature of female occupation over the life cycle, an attempt to conceal an identity, the resultant breakdown in regular employment due to offending and repeated incarceration, or they may have had multiple occupations, in order to make ends meet. Whilst this change in occupation was by no means relevant to all women in the registers, it does need to be borne in mind when carrying out analysis.

Figure 8.1: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875

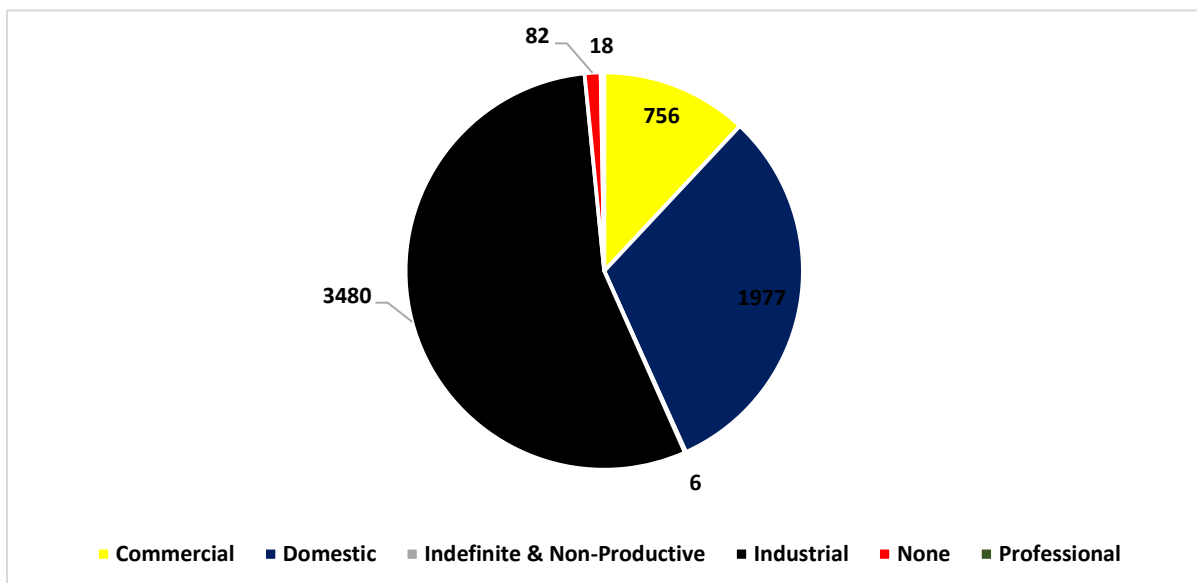


Table 8.1: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875

Trade Type	Frequency	Percentage
Industrial	3480	55.1
Domestic	1977	31.3
Commercial	756	12.0
None	82	1.3
Professional	18	0.3
Indefinite and Non-Productive	6	0.1
Total	6319	100

Industrial Trades

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the textile industry in Lancashire was a rich source of female employment.² Therefore, it is not surprising that the majority of women committed for drunkenness worked in its various occupations, as shown in Figure 8.1 and Table 8.1. In all, 3480 (55.1 per cent), committals concerned women who worked in an industrial trade. Of these, 2136 (61.4 per cent) gave their trade as either a factory operative or cotton factory worker.³ These seem to have been generic terms and this figure does not include those women who gave a specific trade, such as cotton weaver, cotton reeler, cotton spinner, cotton winder or flax spinner. In total, therefore, the actual number of women who worked in a mill or factory was higher than 2136. The number of women in other industrial occupations, such as hat spinner, hat trimmer, French polisher or crochet worker were in single figures. Only two other occupations, those of seamstress and tailoress, numbered over a hundred but these comprised only 170 (2.7 per cent) and 106 (1.7 per cent) of the total respectively. Arguably, these latter occupations, along with those of milliner, stay maker, dressmaker and lace worker may have been carried out in the home.⁴ Homework was

² Women, and girls over thirteen, comprised over half of all factory operatives during this time, see J.K. Walton, *Lancashire, a Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 202. See also Chapter 3 and J. Liddington and J. Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us, The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Virago, 1978), Ch.3.

³ The term factory operative was used in the early prison registers. This was replaced by cotton factory in later registers, the terms are treated interchangeably both in the registers and the thesis.

⁴ See E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place, An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1984), S. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods, Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (Routledge: London, 1992), C. Walkley, *The Ghost in the Looking Glass, The Victorian Seamstress* (London: Peter Owen, 1981).

noted by the census as a domestic, rather than an industrial trade. It is, however, impossible to tell from the available records just where these roles were carried out, therefore the categories used in the census have been adhered to.

Domestic Trades

Table 8.2: Domestic trades of women committed for drunkenness, all summary areas, 1869-1875

Domestic Trade	Number	Percentage
Charwoman	901	45.6
Housework	626	31.7
Servant	393	19.9
Laundress	44	2.2
Nurse	6	0.3
Cook	5	0.3
Lodging House Keeper	2	0.1
Total	1977	100

Domestic trades contributed the second highest number of women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness, as shown in Table 8.2. This section will explore the two most common trades, those of charwoman and houseworker, with the roles of servants being discussed in the section on Salford and Rochdale below. The majority of women who worked in these trades were charwomen, a profession, which, as Roberts has pointed out, was the lowest of the domestic trades.⁵

Contemporary commentators pinpointed charwomen as one of the groups of women most likely to be arrested for drunkenness. One such witness was Manchester's Chief Constable, William Henry Palin. He also stated that the 'lowest class' of servants, such as women who cleaned warehouses and brothels, were most likely to come under the purview of the city's police.⁶

The majority of charwomen, 345 (38.3 per cent), were aged between forty and forty-nine. The number within this age group that were married, were similar to those that were widowed, with 157 (45.5 per cent) and 141 (40.9 per cent), committals respectively. The next highest age group

⁵ Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 58.

⁶ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), pp.176 and 179.

was thirty to thirty-nine, with 278 (30.9 per cent), committals, of whom 141 (50.7 per cent), were married. The number of charwomen declined in the older age groups. In these, 161 (17.9 per cent), were aged between fifty and fifty-nine and forty-five (5.0 per cent), were aged sixty and above. Of all the charwomen in the sample, 430 (47.7 per cent), were married and 335 (37.2 per cent), were widowed. Charring was an occupation associated with a particular stage of the life cycle. It was an occupation which women could turn to after marriage and the birth of children, or in later life. As Roberts has stated, women would often leave work outside the home after marriage, although many did continue to work from home.⁷ In Lancashire, however, women would not always give up work in a mill after marriage or childbirth. The needs of the employer, or the family, meant that women often returned to the factory or mill soon after childbirth.⁸ Many women did, however, become charwomen or houseworkers. In terms of family size, 321 (35.6 per cent), of charwomen had no children and 472 (52.4 per cent), had between one and four children. The family size shown here suggests that this may have been the case for some women, as most were at an age where they may have had young families.

Homeworkers were the second highest number of women committed for drunkenness who had a domestic trade. The number of women who worked in the home will probably be higher, as, for example, seamstresses and lace workers may also have carried out their trade in the home. Rose's study of lace workers in Nottingham has shown that married women continued to work after marriage, as homeworkers. She argued that this unregulated occupation was usually carried out by women who were married and with young families. They lived either in, or near to, poverty and returned to better paid jobs when their children were of a wage-earning age.⁹ In Lancashire, despite the demands of the mill and family, Roberts also found examples of women taking up part-time work in the home, after marriage.¹⁰ This stage of a woman's life course was reflected in the prison

⁷ Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p.138.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 137.

⁹ Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*, pp. 79-85.

¹⁰ Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 102.

registers. Homeworkers comprised 626 (9.9 per cent) committals for drunkenness from all summary areas. They were, overwhelmingly, married women, with the majority, over half, aged between thirty and forty-nine. Married women comprised 519 (83.0 per cent), of the committals, with those in the forty to forty-nine age group numbering 176 (28.1 per cent), and 172 (27.4 per cent) comprising the thirty to thirty-nine age group. There were only twelve (1.9 per cent) single women in this occupational category and ninety-five (15.2 per cent) widows. The majority of married women did indeed have small families, with 284 (45.4 per cent), having between one and four children.

Commercial and Other Trades

As discussed in Chapter 2, the categories of occupations used in the census have been used to allocate the occupations in the database. When examining the category for commercial trades, the census needs to be used with caution. Within the database, only a small number of occupations could be allocated the category of a commercial trade. These ranged from hawker to shop keeper, which were vastly different occupations. Of those women committed for drunkenness, 756 (11.9 per cent) had a commercial trade. Of these, 681 (90.0 per cent) were hawkers, seventy-three (9.7 per cent) worked in a warehouse of some description and only two (0.3 per cent) women were shopkeepers. In the commercial trades, therefore, women were overwhelmingly hawkers. This was a particularly poorly-paid occupation, with women often turning to street selling to supplement a meagre family income or to stay out of the workhouse.¹¹ Of the remaining trades, only eighteen (0.3 per cent), committals came from those designated as being from the professional class, as stipulated by the census. Of these, the vast majority were musicians.¹² Those from the indefinite and non-productive class were labourers, although they numbered only six in total.

¹¹ M. Ward, *Female Occupations, Women's Employment, 1850-1950* (Newbury: Countryside Books, 2008), p. 243.

¹² Of the eighteen cases, seventeen were musicians, including a violinist. The other case was an acrobat. They comprised nine individuals, only one of whom was born in the north-west of England. It is not apparent from

8.3) Case studies: Salford and Rochdale

Table 8.3: Trade types of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875

Trade Type	Salford	Percentage	Rochdale	Percentage
Industrial	1115	50.1	447	61.8
Domestic	844	37.9	169	23.4
Commercial	216	9.7	98	13.6
None	39	1.8	7	1.0
Professional	11	0.5	2	0.3
Total	2225	100	723	100

Table 8.3 shows that industrial trades dominated the occupations of those women committed from Salford and Rochdale. The proportion of women employed in these trades was higher in Rochdale, with 447 (61.8 per cent), compared to 1115 (50.1 per cent), in Salford. The domestic trades provided the second highest number of committals in both boroughs, with 169 (23.4 per cent), employed in domestic trades in Rochdale and 844 (37.9 per cent), in Salford. As discussed below, there was a higher number of servants in Salford than Rochdale, no doubt influenced by the proximity of Manchester, where servants committed from Salford both lived and worked, and the larger number of houses which required general servants and cleaners. Indeed, in Rochdale, domestic servants only comprised eighteen (2.5 per cent), of all women committed for drunkenness, as compared to 202 (9.1 per cent), in Salford. The figures also suggest that the textile industry employed proportionally more women in Rochdale than in Salford. Those who worked in a factory or mill comprised the highest proportion in both boroughs, with 374 (51.7 per cent), in Rochdale and 848 (38.1 per cent), in Salford. Charwomen, hawkers and homeworkers comprised other notable trades. Charwomen comprised eighty-six (11.9 per cent), of women committed from Rochdale and 354 (15.9 per cent), from Salford. Hawkers also figured highly in both boroughs, with eighty-six (11.9 per cent), in Rochdale and 206 (9.3 per cent), in Salford. The predominance of both hawkers and charwomen from both boroughs gives an indication of how many women were eking out an

the census or prison registers whether these women were street musicians, buskers or music hall artistes. As they were noted purely as musicians they have been placed under the Professional class, as per the census.

existence in poorly-paid occupations. Their trade would have made them more vulnerable to imprisonment as they would have been less likely to be able to pay any fine handed down to them.

One further point to investigate would be the local experience of women in Rochdale and Salford. Whilst appearing common at times, their employment may also have been different in various complex ways. Although the textile industry, for example, was one of the main employers of women in both boroughs, their experiences of working in the mills and factories could well have been very different. Here, the availability of work needs to be considered, along with contemporary wage rates.¹³ It has not been possible to go into such detail here. The next section of this chapter will explore each trade type in both Salford and Rochdale.

Industrial Trades

Table 8.4: The five most frequent industrial trades for women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875

Trade	Salford	Percentage	Trade	Rochdale	Percentage
Factory/Mill Worker¹⁴	848	76.1	Factory/Mill Worker¹⁵	374	83.7
Seamstress	67	6.0	Tailoress	29	6.5
Dressmaker	27	2.4	Seamstress	17	3.8
Tailoress	26	2.3	Artificial Flower Maker	5	1.1
Boot Binder	18	1.6	Cap Maker	3	0.7
Total	986	88.4	Total	435	97.3

The majority of industrial trades noted in the registers were generic, with women being noted, almost overwhelmingly, as either factory operatives or cotton factory workers. The use of these terms may denote that a woman was involved in an unskilled or low-skilled position, rather than one, such as weaver, that was deemed to require more ability. Robert Roberts noted that in early

¹³ See J. Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-1880* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), Introduction.

¹⁴ Includes the following occupations: cotton factory, flax mill, cotton weaver, factory operative, fustian cutter, silk weaver, linen mill, silk winder, silk mill, weaver, paper mill, linen factory, silk factory, winder, worsted mill, cotton baller, polisher, reeler, sorter, spinner and winder, flax spinner, spinner, wool sorter and woollen mill.

¹⁵ Includes the following occupations: cotton factory, cotton weaver, factory operative, flax mill, woollen mill, cotton winder, cotton sorter, woollen weaver, cotton packer, picker and polisher, fustian cutter, linen mill and silk weaver.

twentieth-century Salford, female weavers were regarded as the cream of female textile workers, followed by winders and drawers-in. Spinners, he declared, lacked standing, and women who worked in dye-works comprised the 'lowest bracket'.¹⁶ Occasionally, the prison registers noted a more specific trade description, such as flax mill worker or cotton weaver (see footnotes 14 and 15). Therefore, any woman who had a trade related to factory or mill work has been included as a factory/mill worker in Table 8.4. Conversely, trades such as seamstress, dressmaker and tailoress may also have been, as a rule, identical occupations. As this is not certain they have been separated in the analysis in Table 8.4. When combined, these three trades represented nearly 11.0 per cent of all committals for drunkenness in both Salford and Rochdale.¹⁷ There was a greater variety of industrial trades in Salford than Rochdale, as can be seen by Table 8.4.¹⁸ In Rochdale the five highest number of industrial trades comprised almost 10 per cent more committals than they did in Salford. Regardless of this, however, the textile industry did dominate the occupations of women committed for drunkenness in both boroughs.

As noted in Chapter 3, the economies of both Salford and Rochdale in the first half of the 1870s were reported to be in good health. This relative prosperity, combined with the large numbers of women working in the respective textile industries may help to explain the prevalence of textile workers in the prison registers. Additionally, women in the Lancashire textile industry were in receipt of better wages than some of their counterparts in other occupations. In her study of the effect of industrialisation on women, Rendall stated that sections of the female workers in textiles were amongst the best paid in the country.¹⁹ Although female cotton workers generally comprised the non-skilled or low-skilled part of the textile workforce, they would have had greater scope to spend their wages on drink than other female workers. This does, however, contradict the

¹⁶ R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum, Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 20.

¹⁷ There were three (0.7 per cent) committals for dressmakers in Rochdale.

¹⁸ See also Chapter 3.

¹⁹ J. Rendall, *Women in an Industrialising Society: England 1750-1880* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 64.

argument that people who attended the local police courts were not in receipt of high wages. Furthermore, although the local economies were reported to be buoyant, this does not explain the high proportion of women from poorer occupations. Moreover, it is interesting that, despite more women being employed in domestic trades than industrial, in both boroughs, as noted in Chapter 3, industrial trades out-numbered domestic occupations amongst women committed for drunkenness.

Domestic Trades

Table 8.5: Domestic trades of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875

Trade	Salford	Percentage	Trade	Rochdale	Percentage
Charwoman	354	41.9	Charwoman	86	50.9
Housework	249	29.5	Housework	61	36.1
Servant	202	23.9	Servant	18	10.7
Laundress	32	3.8	Laundress	4	2.4
Cook	5	0.6			
Nurse	2	0.2			
Total	844	100	Total	169	100

There was a higher proportion of women from domestic trades in Salford, than there was from Rochdale, as shown in Table 8.5. In both boroughs, the highest number of committals from this trade concerned the same occupations, namely charwoman, houseworker and servant. The proportion of servants committed from Salford, however, was much higher than that of Rochdale, which no doubt reflected the difference in employment opportunities for women in both boroughs.

According to the census, there were 8322 domestic servants in Manchester and Salford in 1871, the figures for Rochdale are, unfortunately, unavailable.²⁰ However, as neighbouring Oldham returned figures of 1027 domestic servants, with a population approximately double that of Rochdale, it would be unusual if the latter had a greater number of servants.²¹ The proximity of

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 435. The figures for the city of Manchester and borough of Salford were combined. This figure was second only to Liverpool, which had 10793 domestic servants, in the census' principal towns of Lancashire. See also E. Higgs, 'Domestic service and household production' in A.V. John (ed.) *Unequal Opportunities, Women's Employment in England, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

²¹ In 1871, Oldham had a population of 113,100, Rochdale's was 63,485, see Census of England and Wales, 1871. (33 & 34 Vict. c. 107.) Population tables. Area, houses, and inhabitants. Vol. I. Counties. PP 1872 [C.676], p. 182.

Salford to the commercial centre of Manchester meant that there were more opportunities for young women to enter service. The occupation of servant was very much linked to the life cycle, as servants tended to young, single women who had left home.²² Higgs has explored the roles of servants in Victorian Rochdale and discovered that, of his sample, in 1871 only one-third of all servants were living with their employer. The majority of the remainder were living with relatives.²³ Additionally, he stated that 16 per cent of employers were working class, of various levels, and that some large employers in Rochdale did not employ live-in servants.²⁴ Higgs also discovered that small shopkeepers and artisans tended to procure girls from the workhouse, as they were cheaper to employ.²⁵ The wealth and social status of their employer, therefore, related to a servants' wages.

Despite the low number of servants committed for drunkenness, the press in Rochdale expressed concerns about their behaviour. In 1876, the *Rochdale Observer* highlighted the apparent increase in the number of servants coming before the court for drunkenness.²⁶ Unfortunately, this dates from after the database sample ends, and, as the post-1875 prison registers, with few exceptions, no longer exist, there is no way to test such concerns from this date. Alternatively, although the records of Rochdale's petty sessions registers are available, they do not denote the occupations of defendants. It is, however, possible to use the prison registers to examine how many servants were committed from Rochdale in the first half of the decade and to judge whether the *Observer's* concerns were justified. In fact, few servants were committed to Strangeways for drunkenness, from Rochdale, between 1869 and 1875. As Table 8.5 shows, these numbered only eighteen committals, which, on average, was three committals a year. Of course, many more servants may have been prosecuted for drunkenness and may have paid a fine rather than go to

²² Higgs, 'Domestic service and household production', p. 137.

²³ Higgs took a random sample of one in four households containing servants from the 1851, 1861 and 1871 censuses. See E. Higgs, 'Domestic servants and households in Victorian England', *Social History*, 8:2 (1983), p. 205.

²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 206-7.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 208.

²⁶ *Rochdale Observer*, 1 January 1876.

gaol. Even so, it is only possible to analyse the evidence available and in this case the newspaper's concern appeared to be misplaced.

The influence of Manchester on Salford's criminal statistics was a constant concern to the borough authorities and remains a continual theme here. Of all the servants committed from Salford's police court, 101 (50.0 per cent) lived in the borough. Of the remainder, a high proportion, sixty-one (30.3 per cent), lived in neighbouring Manchester. This suggests that these women worked for employers in Salford and stayed in the borough to drink, or they lived near enough to the boundary with Salford to spend their leisure time there. It is possible that some servants were rendered unemployed by their committals to prison, as twenty-seven (13.4 per cent), were homeless. Indeed, although there were a low number of servants committed from Rochdale, in five cases (27.8 per cent), they were homeless. The majority, ten (55.6 per cent), however, did live in Rochdale. The extent of homelessness will be explored further in Chapter 9.

It is possible that some women committed to Strangeways may not have given their true occupation. Zedner has stated that, in Tothill Fields, women may have lied about their occupations in order to secure a position in the prison laundry, which was preferable to other tasks.²⁷ This does not appear to have been the case at Strangeways, certainly in terms of laundry work. Here, only a small number of women stated that they were laundresses. They numbered only thirty-two (1.4 per cent) of all committals from Salford and four (0.6 per cent) from Rochdale. The study of the occupation of laundress, however, is problematic when using the census. The occupation of laundry maid was registered under the domestic class, whilst a laundry keeper was registered under the industrial class. According to the 1871 census, only twenty women in Manchester and Salford were laundry maids but there were 2897 laundry keepers.²⁸ It may be that the majority of women in

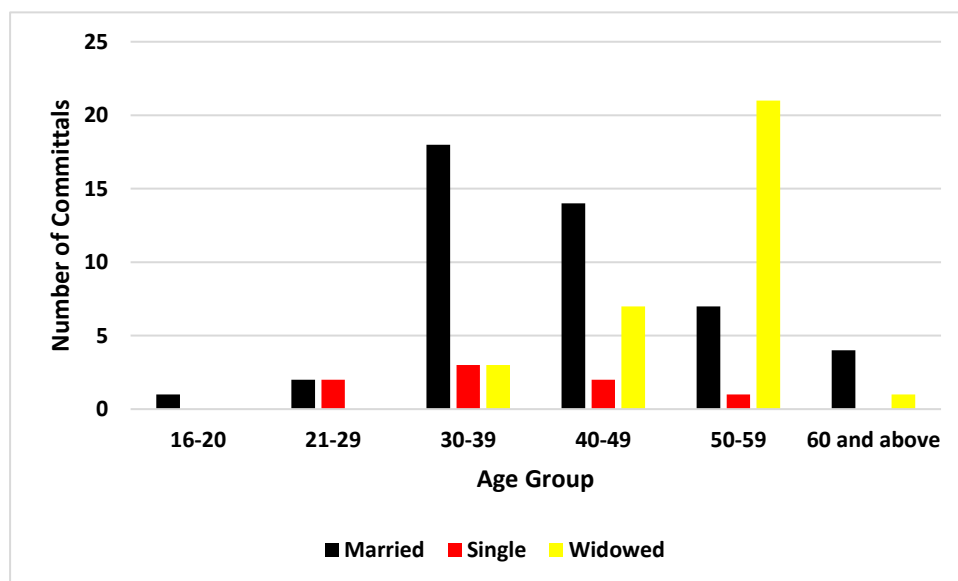
²⁷ L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 154.

²⁸ Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population abstracts. Ages, civil condition, occupations, and birth-places of the people. Vol. III. PP 1873 [C.872], p. 435. The data for Rochdale is unavailable. It needs to be borne in mind that, due to the warmth of laundries, some women may have become laundry workers during colder weather.

prison came from this latter occupational group but it is difficult to be certain. Laundresses were associated with alcohol, as they had a reputation for heavy drinking, due in part to the long hours and hot conditions in which they worked. Additionally, part-payment in beer was a long-standing tradition in the trade.²⁹ There were far fewer laundry workers in Salford, and no doubt Rochdale also, than factory workers or domestic servants, which was reflected in the occupational composition of women committed to gaol.

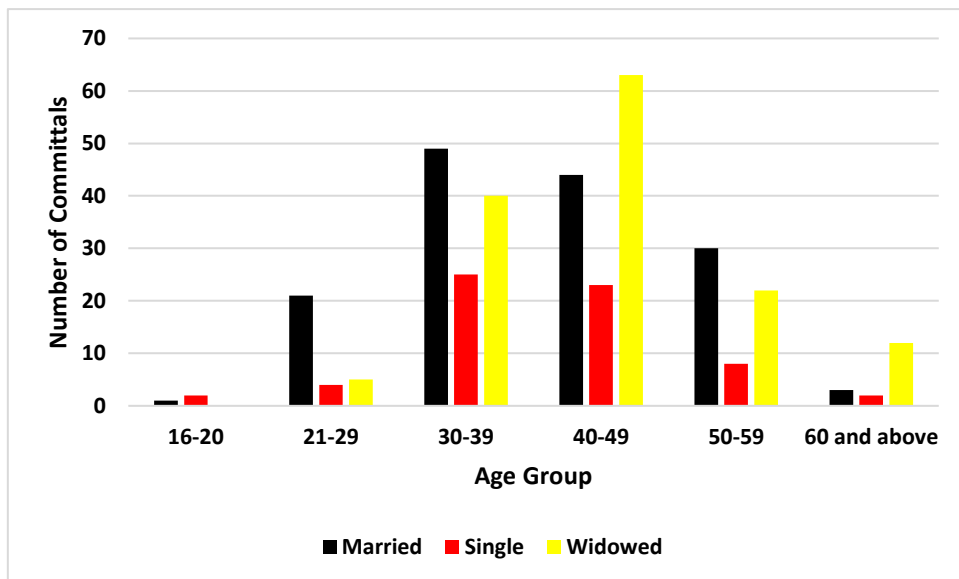
Although there was a relatively small number of laundry workers committed to Strangeways from both boroughs, it would only have required a small number of publically visible cases to create and sustain the image of laundresses as being notorious drunkards. Regardless of the potential problems with the census, however, and bearing in mind the low overall number of laundry women in gaol, there were a number of repeat offenders amongst them. From Salford, six (18.8 per cent), women appeared only once in the registers, six (18.8 per cent), had one previous committal, whilst one woman, Bridget Thompson, had seventeen previous committals, one had six, and another, nine. Perhaps these latter women did indeed embody the laundresses' reputation for drunkenness.

Figure 8.2: Age and marital status of charwomen committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875



²⁹ P.E. Malcomson, 'Laundresses and the laundry trade in Victorian England', *Victorian Studies*, 24:4 (1981), p. 461. E. Ross, 'Survival networks: women's neighbourhood sharing in London before World War I', *History Workshop*, 15:1 (1983), p. 11.

Figure 8.3: Age and marital status of charwomen committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875



There was a difference between Salford and Rochdale in the marital status of charwomen. As Figures 8.2 and 8.3 show, there was a much higher proportion of widowed and single women, than married women, in these age groups in Salford, than in Rochdale. There was a much higher proportion of widows in the fifty to fifty-nine age group in Rochdale, which is arguably the pattern expected. Older, working-class widows worked in poorly-paid occupations, if they worked at all, as employers favoured younger workers.³⁰

³⁰ J. Perkin, *Victorian Women* (London: John Murray, 1993), p. 148.

Figure 8.4: Age and marital status of houseworkers committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875

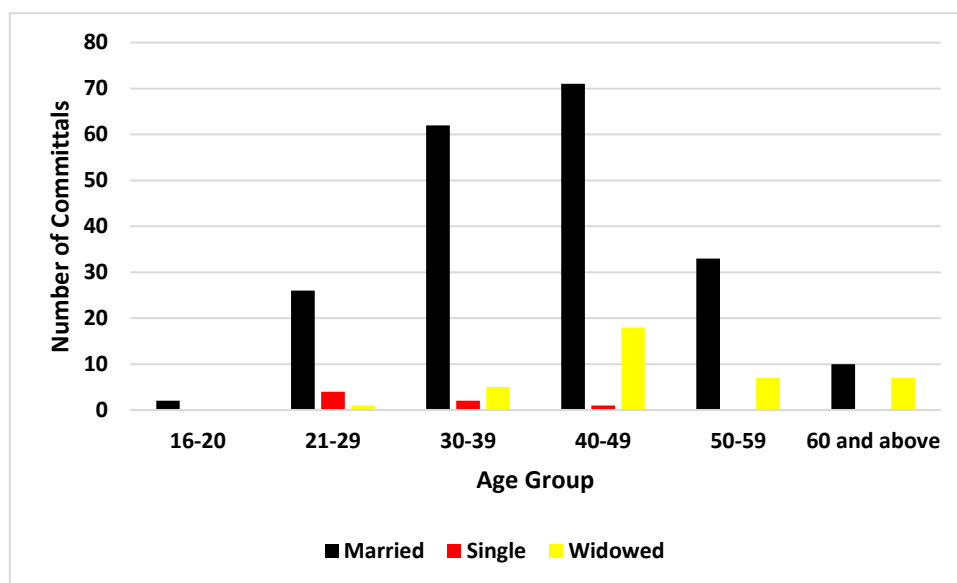
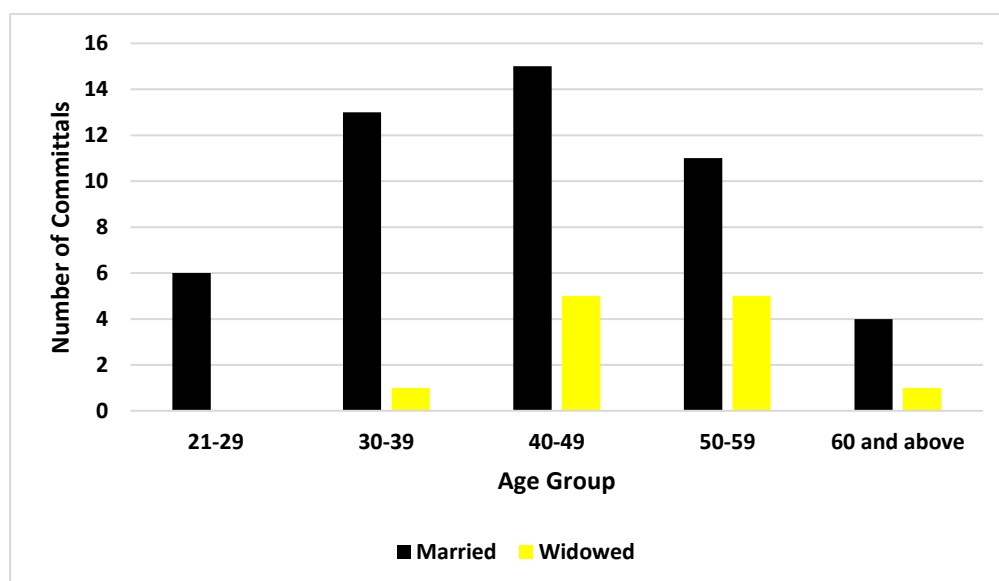


Figure 8.5: Age and marital status of houseworkers committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875



Women who worked as houseworkers, which was sweated labour, in both boroughs, were overwhelmingly married, as shown in Figures 8.4 and 8.5. Interestingly, from Rochdale, no single women stated that they were a houseworker. It was primarily an occupation for married women in both boroughs, with only seven committals for single women in Salford. It was not, as has been noted, an occupation for young, childless women. In Rochdale, only eleven (18.0 per cent), had no children and in Salford the figure was similar, with 44 committals (17.7 per cent). In Salford, the two

committals from the sixteen to twenty age group are a little misleading. Both women were on the cusp on the higher age group, as they were both aged twenty and were married with children. Neither of them was a repeat offender. One woman, Margaret O'Neill, from Manchester, was only committed once to Strangeways, and the second, Barbara Forrest, from Salford, had one previous committal and was not committed again.³¹ Therefore, women who gave their occupation as houseworker were, on the whole, at the expected stage of the life cycle.

Commercial and Other Trades

In line with the commercial trades across the whole database, the large majority of women employed in commercial trades in Salford and Rochdale were hawkers. In Salford, there were 206 (95.4 per cent), committals from this trade type, involving hawkers. The remainder were warehouse workers, who totalled nine (4.2 per cent), committals and one shopkeeper. In Rochdale, there were eighty-six (87.8 per cent), committals involving hawkers, with the remainder being cotton warehouse workers, who totalled twelve (12.2 per cent), committals. The women involved in commercial trades then, were mainly hawkers, which was not an occupation which could have been considered to have been highly paid.

The other trades in the database contributed very few committals from either Salford or Rochdale. In both boroughs, no women were employed in the Indefinite and Non-Productive class. In Salford, there were eleven committals where women were employed in the Professional class, in Rochdale there were two committals. Together, these committals comprised four women, all of whom claimed that they were musicians. From Rochdale, Worcester-born Elizabeth Foy was committed only once to Rochdale but the others were repeat offenders. Mary Beedal, born in London, was committed from Salford, Rochdale and Bury PSD courts on five occasions, each time for drunkenness. Ellen Beaumont, also born in London, was committed seven times from Salford borough court and twice from Bury PSD. These committals were mainly for drunkenness but she

³¹ Nor do either of them appear in the City Gaol registers.

was also committed for prostitution and theft. She claimed on two occasions to be an actress and then a knitter.³² Finally, Dublin-born Agnes Williams was committed five times, on each occasion for drunkenness. A homeless woman, Williams was first committed for being drunk in Bury, where she stated that she was a violinist. Her other four committals came from Salford and were all for drunkenness. There was no pattern in terms of marital status or address which linked all four women. None of them was born in Lancashire, so there is little doubt that they came to the county for work. Importantly, it is not apparent whether they were music hall entertainers or street performers. If the latter was the case, then they would have been vulnerable to arrest for public order offences, and, ultimately, imprisonment.

Unemployed Women

The number of women who stated that they had no occupation was low in both boroughs. In Salford, thirty-nine (1.8 per cent), women committed for drunkenness, were unemployed at some point, and in Rochdale the figure was even lower, with seven (1.0 per cent), women. In Rochdale, six of these women were employed at some point. They all had multiple committals and claimed on at least one occasion to have no occupation. Of these, only one woman, Mary Ann Brierley, was a factory worker. She appeared three times in the registers, stating on one occasion that she had no occupation but claimed employment as a factory operative in the other two. The remaining women also had multiple committals and interestingly, all of them claimed that, when they were in employment, they were either houseworkers or charwomen. This suggests that they had little regular, well-paid employment and were dependant on poorly paid, irregular work. There is no indication from the prison registers that any women were full-time housewives. As Roberts noted, this was an aspiration for families headed by skilled artisans.³³ However, for practical and economic

³² She claimed to be an actress when committed for prostitution in Salford in February 1872 and a knitter when committed from Bury for damaging a window in June 1875. On another occasion, for being drunk in Bury, she claimed to have no employment.

³³ Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 137.

reasons this was not a viable ambition and is further indication that these women were from the poorer end of the working-class.

Concerning unemployment, the thirty-nine committals from Salford comprised thirty-three women, of whom seventeen only appeared in the registers once. Of the remaining sixteen women, the pattern of occupations was similar to that of Rochdale. When in work, women tended to be houseworkers, and occasionally seamstresses or charwomen. One woman, Julia Higgins, stated on one occasion that she was a rag sorter. Only six women claimed to have been, at some point, employed in the textile industry. Of these, Rosannah Huntingdon appeared six times in the registers and she was noted as a factory operative on all but her last committal. On this occasion she was unemployed, which suggests that she had lost her position due to her repeated committals for drunkenness. However, Huntingdon was also committed for prostitution, so either she was supplementing her wages, or working on the streets was her only option. As in Rochdale, these women appear to have been living in poverty and would not have been earning the high wages that contemporary commentators attributed to the perceived rise in drunkenness.³⁴

8.4) Drink and Prostitution

In the prison registers, not one woman described herself, or was described by prison staff, as a prostitute, which has not been the case in previous research. Zedner noted that a small number of women in Tothill Fields prison did admit to being prostitutes, although she suggested that the comparatively low number was suspicious.³⁵ In Canada, work on the nineteenth-century Quebec City prison registers have also shown that women were described as prostitutes in the occupation field, although this was not the case in Montreal.³⁶ This raises the question then, as to why this was not the case with Strangeways. Were women reluctant to describe themselves as prostitutes, although a number were certainly described as such in the local press, or was there an

³⁴ Two women were committed twice and had no occupation on either occasion.

³⁵ Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, p. 154. Nevertheless, some women did admit to being prostitutes.

³⁶ D. Fyson and F. Fenchel, 'Prison registers, their possibilities and their pitfalls: the case of local prisons in nineteenth-century Quebec', *The History of the Family*, 20:2 (2015), p. 168.

understanding amongst, or directive to, prison staff that women were not to be noted as prostitutes? Alternatively, prostitution may not have been considered to be a valid occupation, so the term was not used.³⁷ In Manchester, the Chief Constable, William Henry Palin, stated that many women arrested in the city for drunkenness were prostitutes.³⁸ This was not the case in neighbouring Salford, where the stipendiary, Sir John Iles Mantell, did not believe that prostitutes tended to be proceeded against for drunkenness.³⁹

There is no suggestion from the Strangeways prison registers that there was a 'default' occupation to be used, by prison staff, on the committal of a prostitute. In total, 696 (6.0 per cent) committals from all summary areas were for prostitution. The majority were textile workers, with 481 (60.0 per cent), women being factory operatives, cotton factory workers or cotton weavers.⁴⁰ This may have simply represented the preponderance of textile workers in the area, rather than any recourse to a 'default' occupation. Of the remainder, sixty-eight (9.8 per cent), women were charwomen and sixty (8.6 per cent), were servants. Hawkers comprised twenty-seven (3.9 per cent), of all committals for prostitution. Therefore, as for drunkenness, industrial trades again dominated the committals for prostitution.

The occupations of women convicted of prostitution differed at a regional level. In London, Walkowitz noted that women committed to Millbank Prison in the late-Victorian period tended to be servants, laundresses, charwomen and hawkers. Regional variations saw a greater number of millworkers becoming prostitutes in Glasgow whilst shopgirls, waitresses and barmaids joined their

³⁷ Prostitution was not noted as a profession in the census either, see August, 'How separate a sphere?', p. 288. However, the 1824 Vagrancy Act, the 1847 Town Police Clauses Act and the 1839 Metropolitan Police Act did identify the 'common prostitute' as a specific category of offender, see S. Caslin-Bell, 'The "gateway to adventure": women, urban space and moral purity in Liverpool c.1908-c.1957' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2012), p. 36. Additionally, prison officials may have assumed that most women prisoners were part or full-time prostitutes.

³⁸ First report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (171), p. 176.

³⁹ Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance; together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix, 1877. PP 1877 (271), p. 28.

⁴⁰ The number of textile workers was higher, as a handful of women worked in flax mills, were silk weavers or fustian cutters.

ranks in the later decades of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ In her study of nineteenth century seamstresses, Walkley has suggested that there was a correlation between needlewomen and prostitution.⁴² In terms of occupations, therefore, prostitution in south-east Lancashire had more in common with Glasgow, another predominantly manufacturing area, than it did with London.

Drink and prostitution were seen to be intertwined. Public houses were known as places in which prostitutes could solicit men.⁴³ Additionally, Bartley has stated that prostitutes were often drunk, as alcohol fortified them when carrying out their trade.⁴⁴ It is difficult to establish exactly how many women worked as prostitutes, and not just from the prison registers. As historians have pointed out, women turned to prostitution for a variety of reasons and it was often not a full-time occupation.⁴⁵ Prostitutes were generally young, single and childless. Turning to the streets was a necessity rather than a choice, in order to support themselves during times of economic hardship. There were a low number of committals to Strangeways for prostitution and, in common with the committals for drunkenness, the offences recorded in the prison registers could be vague. Most women committed for prostitution were convicted of being disorderly prostitutes or importuning members of the public, offences which comprised only 696 (6.0 per cent) of all summary committals. In addition, women convicted of indecent behaviour were also described as prostitutes, certainly by the newspapers in Salford, and their offence as described in the newspapers often differed from those in the registers. For example, the *Salford Weekly News* reported that Ann Smith had been convicted of 'importuning passengers for the purpose of prostitution' in September 1871 and committed to prison for one month.⁴⁶ The prison registers noted that she had been committed for indecent behaviour. Women committed for indecent behaviour have been noted in the database

⁴¹ J. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 15-16.

⁴² Walkley, *The Ghost in the Looking Glass*, Ch. 5.

⁴³ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p.26.

⁴⁴ P. Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860-1914* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.6.

⁴⁵ Women who turned to prostitution to supplement wages were termed, in contemporary parlance, as 'dollymops'. See Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ *Salford Weekly News*, 2 September 1871.

under the nuisance sub-category, as it has not been possible to ascertain that all these offences were connected with prostitution.

In the database, prostitution has been treated as a separate offence from that of drunkenness, unless the offence specifically stated that a women had been convicted of both drunkenness and prostitution. Newspaper reports often placed women convicted of prostitution in the drunkenness lists, even if it did not state that drink had been a factor. As noted in Chapter 6, the 6319 committals for drunkenness do not include all those offences in which drink had been a factor. Women were convicted of offences committed whilst under the influence of alcohol but this was not noted in the prison registers. It is highly likely that a number of women convicted of prostitution were under the influence of drink. In her study of prostitution in early twentieth-century Scotland, Settle has estimated that approximately half of all women arrested for importuning were drunk at the time of their arrest.⁴⁷ In *Strangeways*, however, only four women in the registers were convicted, at the same time, of being drunk and of prostitution. Therefore, if drink was a factor in the offence, then magistrates were more likely to ignore the charge of drunkenness, if one had been brought, and convict purely on the offence of importuning.⁴⁸ Without examining all the cases in the *Strangeways* registers, however, it is difficult to prove how many women were drunk at the time of their arrest.⁴⁹ Unless the prison registers specifically state that drink was a factor in these offences, then they have not been included in the sample of 6319 cases.

Prostitution itself was not an offence and police officers were often instructed not to arrest prostitutes unless they were behaving 'indecently' or disturbing the peace of the street and its passengers.⁵⁰ This can be seen in the overall pattern for offences for which prostitutes were

⁴⁷ L. Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland, Prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1900-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p. 126.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 6 for further examples of sentencing practice.

⁴⁹ A column has been added to the database to try and assess this, by comparing offences to newspaper reports. This is a research question which can be explored further in future.

⁵⁰ M. Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 129, C. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900*, 4th ed (Harlow: Pearson, 2010), p. 101.

committed. After all, women committed for prostitution were often also committed, on other occasions, for a range of public order offences, particularly drunkenness but also vagrancy and nuisance offences. In Salford, ninety-two women who were committed at least once for prostitution were also committed, at least once, for drunkenness. In Rochdale, this number was thirty. As noted in Chapter 6, women charged with being riotous prostitutes in Rochdale were treated more harshly, under the terms of the 1824 Vagrancy Act, than their counterparts in Salford. In Salford, prosecutions under the Act were not pursued as vigorously. The overall low number of committals for prostitution across all summary areas was probably due in no small part to the actions of the police. It was much easier to gain a conviction for drunkenness than prostitution, as the latter required a witness to testify in front of the Bench, whereas convictions for drunkenness were carried out on the word of the arresting officer.⁵¹

Table 8.6: Age and marital status of women committed to Strangeways for prostitution, all summary areas, 1869-1875

	12-15	16-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
Married	0	15	98	67	16	3	199
Single	3	160	178	64	12	1	418
Widowed	0	0	13	42	21	2	78
Total	3	175	289	174	49	6	696⁵²

Table 8.7: Age and marital status of women committed to Strangeways for prostitution, Salford, 1869-1875

	16-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
Married	5	35	31	6	0	77
Single	25	68	37	5	1	136
Widowed	0	9	31	11	0	51
Total	30	112	99	22	1	264

⁵¹ Members of the public were reluctant to act as witnesses in cases of soliciting, due to the inconvenience of going to court and the potential embarrassment of having encountered a prostitute, see D. Churchill, *Crime Control and Everyday Life in the Victorian City, The Police and the Public* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 110-111. For discussion of the use of police evidence in magistrates courts, see D. Taylor, 'Cass, Coverdale and consent: the Metropolitan Police and working-class women in late-Victorian London', *Cultural and Social History*, 12.1 (2015), pp. 121-122.

⁵² Includes one woman whose marital status was not given.

Table 8.8: Age and marital status of women committed to Strangeways for prostitution, Rochdale, 1869-1875

	16-20	21-29	30-39 ⁵³	40-49	Total
Married	0	10	6	1	17
Single	40	16	2	2	60
Widowed	0	1	3	0	4
Total	40	27	12	3	82

There is a typical image of the Victorian prostitute. According to this model, women tended to turn to prostitution from the age of eighteen, were young, single and childless, and gave up prostitution once they were married or had gained employment. It was, in general, a temporary, part-time expedient.⁵⁴ In terms of age and marital status, this is borne out, partly, by the committals to Strangeways. Only three committals were for juveniles. Catherine Walters was committed twice from Ashton-Under-Lyne, and Catherine Corrigan was committed once from Bolton. Although they were both aged fifteen at the time of their offences, they served periods of imprisonment but were not committed to a reformatory. They were extreme examples, as women who were arrested for prostitution tended to be aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine.⁵⁵ As shown in Table 8.6, out of all the summary areas, 696 committals were for prostitution, with 289 (41.5 per cent), falling into the twenty-one to twenty-nine age range. The next highest was 175 (25.1 per cent), committals in the sixteen to twenty age range and then 174 (25.0 per cent), in the thirty to thirty-nine age range. Women were rarely committed for prostitution after the age of thirty-nine or before the age of sixteen. In Salford this pattern was similar, with the majority of women committed for prostitution falling in the twenty-one to twenty-nine and thirty to thirty-nine age range, as shown in Table 8.7. In Rochdale, however, most women were aged between sixteen and twenty.⁵⁶ Therefore, women

⁵³ One woman in this age range did not give her marital status.

⁵⁴ B. Godfrey and P. Lawrence, *Crime and Justice Since 1750*, 2nd ed (London: Routledge, 2015), pp.123-4.

⁵⁵ Although, of course, the possibility that young girls lied about their ages, to avoid the reformatory, needs to be taken into account.

⁵⁶ In Salford, 112 (43.2 per cent) women were aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine, and ninety-nine (38.0 per cent) were aged between thirty and thirty-nine. In Rochdale, forty (49.0 per cent) women were aged between sixteen and twenty, and twenty-eight (33.7 per cent) were aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine.

committed for prostitution were older in Salford than in Rochdale. This may suggest that the employment opportunities for older women in Rochdale were greater than for those in Salford.

As Tables 8.6 to 8.8 show, women committed for prostitution tended to be single. Overall, single women comprised 418 (60.1 per cent), of all committals for prostitution. In Rochdale, this number was sixty-one (73.5 per cent), and in Salford 136 (51.5 per cent). Salford, however, had a higher proportion of married women committed for prostitution than Rochdale. In Salford, seventy-seven (29.1 per cent), were married compared to seventeen (20.7 per cent) in Rochdale. Salford, too, saw a much higher number of widows, particularly aged between thirty and thirty-nine, committed for prostitution, compared to Rochdale. Here, only four women in total were widowed.

In Salford, these widows tended to be repeat offenders. The thirty-one committals for widows aged between thirty and thirty-nine in Salford comprised nineteen individuals, of whom only one was committed to Strangeways once.⁵⁷ The remainder ranged from having one previous committal to fifty-one. Within this group there were individuals who had ten, twelve, nineteen, twenty and twenty-three previous committals and some continued to be committed to gaol after the end of the research period. In terms of occupations, six widows were textile workers, five widows were charwomen and four were servants, perhaps unusually for this age group, with the remainder including a cap maker, laundress and umbrella maker. The majority, eleven, were childless, with eight women having between one and four children. These women were committed for a range of offences and included some of the most prolific repeat offenders in the database. It is possible that being a young widow gave some of them license to behave in a way that was deemed unacceptable for a married woman. Most of them had no dependants and marginal occupations. Perhaps they felt that they had little to live for.

⁵⁷ The woman in question, Catherine Owen, does not appear in the Manchester City Gaol registers either, so it can be assumed that she only served one term in prison in the region.

8.5) Education

Table 8.9: Educational status of women committed for drunkenness, compared to national figures for all female prisoners in local prisons, 1869-1875⁵⁸

Education (Strangeways)	Frequency	Percentage	Education (National)	Frequency	Percentage
None	3309	52.4	None	105241	39.0
R or R&W Imp	2973	47.0	R or R&W Imp	159623	59.2
R&W Well	33	0.5	R&W Well	4062	1.5
Not Given	4	0.1	Not Given	799	0.3
Total	6319	100	Total	269725	100

Nearly all women committed for drunkenness had a poor level of education. Over half had no education at all, and of the remainder, the majority could either read only, or had a low level of reading and writing ability. As Table 8.9 shows, only 0.5 per cent of all women committed could read and write well. These findings are not surprising. Judgement on a prisoner's educational level was subjective and the decision of the prison chaplain. The Education Act, which provided a commitment to education on a national scale, was only passed in 1870 and education was not made compulsory until the 1880 Education Act.⁵⁹ Such measures were far too late to have an effect on the women in the database. Moreover, as historians have pointed out, during childhood, education for working class children was perceived to be more important for boys than girls, the latter being primed for domestic duties in later life. Indeed, young, working class, girls were known to miss school classes to help out their mother at home, without censure from school teachers.⁶⁰ Gomersall has stated that, in Victorian Lancashire, girls were brought up to believe their role was a domestic one, and were denied the educational opportunities given to boys.⁶¹ However, Roberts could not find any difference between boys' and girls' education, except that the teaching of housewifery skills

⁵⁸ Taken from Judicial statistics, PP 1869-1875. In addition there were 110 women adjudged, nationally, to have possessed a superior education. No women committed to Strangeways were adjudged to have possessed a superior education.

⁵⁹ The 1880 Education Act made education compulsory between the ages of five and ten.

⁶⁰ Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*, p.163.

⁶¹ M. Gomersall, 'Challenges and changes? The education of Lancashire factory women in the later nineteenth century', *History of Education*, 24.2 (1995), pp. 165-172.

was more prevalent amongst the latter.⁶² Regardless, the educational information contained in prison registers has its uses. Crone has used them to examine national literacy rates and has argued that the very specific divisions used in them to distinguish reading and writing ability are important in gauging these rates over time.⁶³

The educational level of women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness was lower than the national figures for women committed to local prisons, for all offences. As Table 8.9 shows, in Strangeways, the proportion of women who had no education was 13.0 per cent higher than the national figure. Nationally, the proportion of women who could read, or read and write imperfectly, was 12.0 per cent higher than the figure for Strangeways. Generally, women committed to local prisons had a generally poor education, which was reflected in the low number of women who could read and write well, or who possessed a superior education. However, it appears that women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness were less literate than the national average for all offences. Female prisoners in Lancashire did seem to be, on the whole, poorly educated. Elsewhere in the county, Crone has argued that female prisoners in Preston Gaol had a much lower literacy rate than the county average.⁶⁴ However, not all women in Strangeways had been born in Lancashire and some may have been educated, to some extent, elsewhere. Using the database, it is possible to ascertain the educational standards of female prisoners born in Lancashire, as compared to elsewhere in Britain.

Using cross tabulation, it is possible to ascertain the educational standards of women, against their place of birth. Women born in Scotland, Wales and overseas comprised a very small proportion of the overall committals for drunkenness and so have been discounted from this analysis. In total, 3310 (52.4 per cent) of those committed had no education, of whom the majority, 1527 (46.2 per cent), were born in Ireland. The comparative number for women born in Lancashire, including Stalybridge and Stockport, numbered 1338 (40.4 per cent). The total number of women

⁶² Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, pp. 30-31.

⁶³ R. Crone, 'Reappraising Victorian literacy through prison records', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 15.1 (2010).

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 18.

who could read, or read and write imperfectly, numbered 2975 (47.1 per cent). Here, the majority of women were born in Lancashire, with 1322 (44.4 per cent), committals. Irish-born women again figured highly and numbered 979 (33.0 per cent), committals. Women born in other English counties, outside Lancashire, numbered 315 (9.5 per cent), committals of women with no education, and 459 (15.4 per cent) of women who could read, or read and write imperfectly. In itself, this may not be significant. As discussed below, women born in either Lancashire or in Ireland comprised the large majority of women committed to Strangeways for drunkenness. Therefore, these figures would naturally be proportionately higher for these women, than women born elsewhere. The place of birth of female prisoners will be explored in Chapter 9.

8.6) Conclusion

The issue of women's employment presents a conundrum. Women who were committed to gaol for drunkenness did not appear to be in receipt of high wages, they were not artisans and nor were they in highly-skilled occupations. However, a large majority were employed in the textile industry, which saw a better rate of pay and conditions for women than other female occupations. These women must have had enough money in order to buy drink but as they ended up being committed to gaol, they either refused to, or were unable to, pay any fine handed down to them, which would have kept them from prison. Moreover, in a culture where there was little point in saving money, wages were often spent as quickly as they were earned, leaving no funds to cover a fine. Additionally, a significant number of women were in poorly paid occupations, such as charring, housework and hawking. It is much more apparent from these groups of women that they were in poorly paid occupations and as such could not have fitted into the contemporary narrative, which attributed the increase in drunkenness to high wages. There is no doubt that all these women had enough money to buy drink but not enough to keep them out of gaol.

The possibility that there were more women who were unemployed, than were shown in the registers, needs to be taken into account. If women could be untruthful about their age, as

noted in Chapter 7, then it is possible that they lied about their occupation. A woman committed for prostitution, for instance, may not have admitted that this was her primary source of income. It is not certain that women committed for prostitution, for example, were supplementing their income, or that working on the streets was their only source of money. Additionally, women may have stated that they worked in a particular occupation, as that had been the last employment that they had undertaken. This is, at the moment, conjecture and whilst difficult to prove, is worth further investigation.

Overall, female occupations did fall into the expected pattern of the life cycle. For example, servants tended to be young, single women, textile workers were a combination of single and married women, whilst homeworkers, charwomen and hawkers tended to be older women, who were mostly married. The study does show that women committed for drunkenness covered the gamut of female occupations in Lancashire. Therefore, the assertions of chief constables, such as Palin and Greig, can be proven by the study of these registers. These women were all working class, and they were all vulnerable to arrest and conviction. Women from the middle and upper classes did not find themselves imprisoned in Strangeways for any offence and certainly not for drunkenness.

The next chapter will build upon this life cycle analysis, and examine the ethnicity of women committed to Strangeways, their religion, and the impact that migration, both local and national, had on committals to gaol.

Chapter 9

Ethnicity, Migration and Religion

9.1) Introduction

This chapter discusses not only the ethnicities and religion of women committed for drunkenness but also the impact of migration on the committals for drunkenness from south-east Lancashire. These three factors has been consolidated, as, especially in the case of Irish Catholic migrants, debates over their perceived connection with drunkenness was common amongst contemporary commentators. The chapter helps to solidify the argument that many women committed for drunkenness were poor and had little or no familial or informal support. It argues that women's minority ethnic status and religion increased their vulnerability to imprisonment. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the ethnic background of women committed for drunkenness to Strangeways. It then concentrates on the two case studies of Salford and Rochdale, examining ethnicity, migration patterns and homeless women. The chapter then discusses women who were committed from more than one summary area and the penultimate section is an examination of the religious affiliations of all women committed for drunkenness. Finally, the chapter looks at an in-depth biography of a repeat offender from Salford, Theresa Wilson, a woman whose life encompassed several of the themes explored here.

9.2) Overview – All Summary Areas

Ethnicity

Figure 9.1: Country of birth of all women committed for drunkenness, 1869-1875

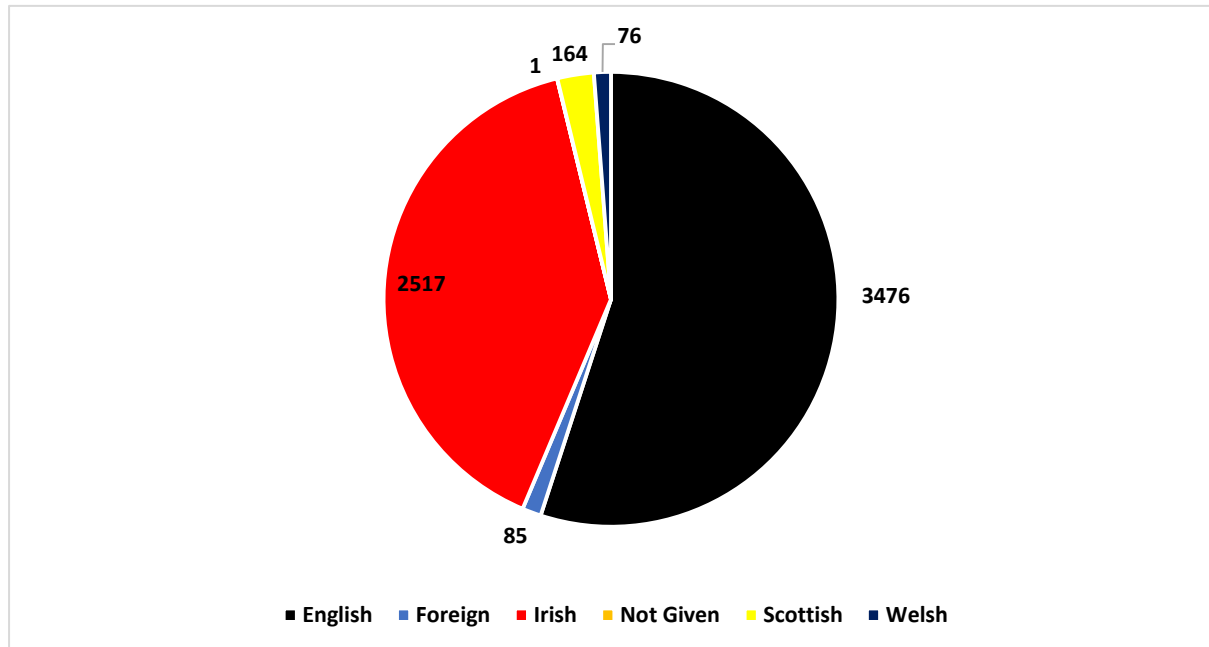


Table 9.1: Number of Irish, Scottish and Welsh women in Lancashire, 1871

Irish		Scottish		Welsh		Total Female Pop. - 1871
Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
107453	7.4	22,514	1.5	31,872	2.2	1,452,759

Source: Census of England and Wales, 1871

As Figure 9.1 shows, the overwhelming number of women committed for drunkenness to Strangeways Prison were born in either England or Ireland. Out of a total of 6319 committals, covering all the borough courts, 3476 (55.0 per cent) of women were born in England and 2527 (39.8 per cent) were born in Ireland. Additionally, of those born in England, a number would have been born to Irish parents. These second-generation Irish women may have identified, and been identified by the host community, as Irish, rather than English.¹ The numbers in Salford and

¹ Of course, second generation Irish women may also have been born in Scotland or Wales. See R. Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain' in R. Swift and S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (Savage: Barnes and Noble, 1989), p. 165.

Rochdale followed a similar pattern. In Salford, 1196 (53.8 per cent) women were born in England and 901 (40.5 per cent) were born in Ireland. In Rochdale, the figures were 423 (58.5 per cent) and 255 (35.3 per cent) respectively.

Other countries were also represented but not to the same extent. Table 9.1 shows that women born in Scotland comprised the third highest number of all committals, which was 164 (2.6 per cent). This was also the case in Salford, with fifty-six women (2.5 per cent) being born in Scotland, and also in Rochdale, where Scottish women comprised twenty-nine committals (4.0 per cent). Women born in Wales and those born overseas comprised the remainder. Table 9.1 gives an overview of the number of Irish, Welsh and Scottish women in Lancashire in 1871. The figures cover the whole of the county, and so can-not be taken as a wholly accurate proportion of the birthplace of women in south-east Lancashire. Migrations patterns differed from town to town, for example.² However, it does give an indication of the extent of Irish migration, as compared to that of Scottish and Welsh women, within Lancashire itself. As the number of Irish immigrants outweighed that of their Scottish and Welsh counterparts, it is not unsurprising to find that Irish-born women figured more highly in the prison registers than those born in Scotland or Wales.

² For the Lancashire figures, see Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population abstracts. Ages, civil condition, occupations, and birth-places of the people. Vol. III. PP 1873 [C.872], pp. 438-440.

9.3) Case studies: Salford and Rochdale

Ethnicity

Figure 9.2: Country of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875

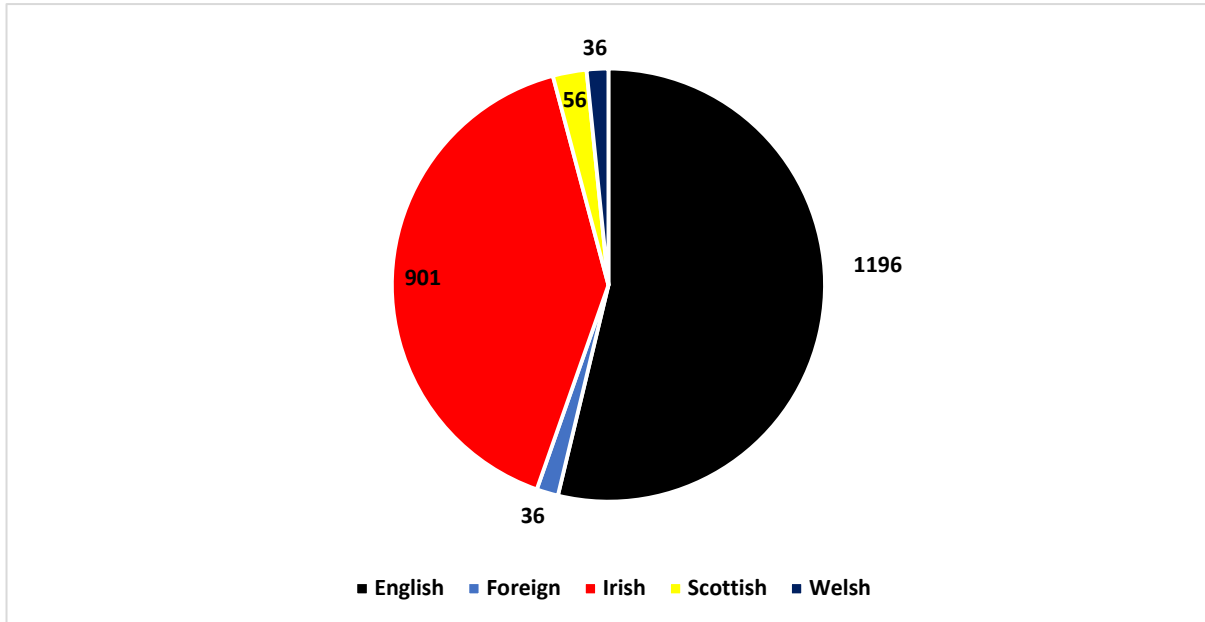
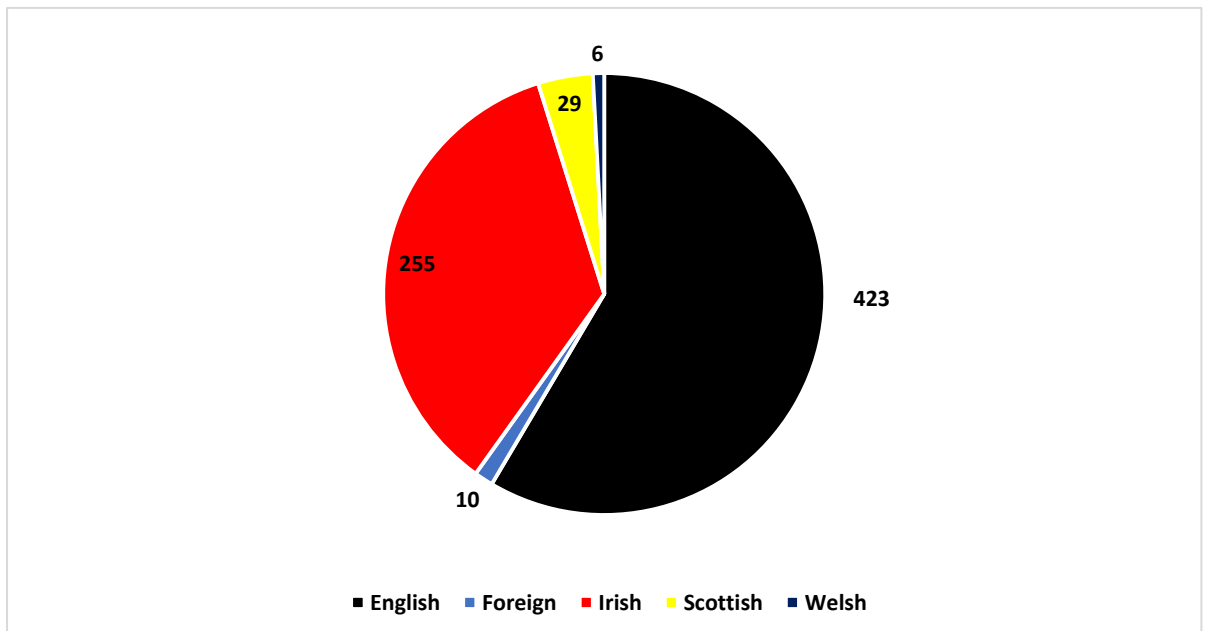


Figure 9.3: Country of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875



Figures 9.2 and 9.3 show the country of birth of all women committed from Salford and Rochdale for drunkenness. Irish-born women comprised 901 of the committals for drunkenness from Salford Borough Court. These represented 418 individuals. There were 1324 committals concerning non-Irish women, which represented 780 individuals. In Rochdale, the 255 committals of Irish-born women comprised 131 individuals. There were 468 committals of non-Irish born women, a total of 273 individuals.

Both boroughs followed the same pattern as committals from all summary areas, with English-born women comprising the majority of committals for drunkenness but with Irish-born women also figuring highly. It is possible that anti-Irish feeling in Salford, in part, accounted for the large number of Irish women committed from the borough. As discussed in Chapter 3, anti-Irish sentiment was a key factor in the growth of working-class Conservatism in Salford in the 1860s. Prejudice against the Irish was inflamed by concerns about the disestablishment of the English Church and by Irish Fenianism. Although Fenianism was not perceived to be a military threat in Lancashire by the 1870s, it is possible that the prejudice it fuelled still lingered in Salford at this time.³ Regardless, there was still a stereotypical image of the Irish at the turn of the twentieth century in the borough. Robert Roberts, describing his childhood in Edwardian Salford, noted how an English family could be scorned for allowing their daughter to marry a 'low Mick from the bog' and that Irish Catholic immigrants were viewed as being at the bottom of the social strata.⁴

³ For an examination of the militancy of Fenians in Lancashire, see W.J. Lowe, 'Lancashire fenianism, 1864-71', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 126 (1976), pp. 156-185.

⁴ R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum, Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1986), pp. 22-23.

Migration

Table 9.2: Place of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Salford, most common areas, 1869-1875

Place of birth	Number	Percentage
Ireland	901	40.5
Manchester	371	16.7
Other English Counties	293	13.2
South-East Lancashire ⁵	205	9.2
Salford	193	8.7
Lancashire	131	5.9
Other ⁶	131	5.9
Total	2225	100

Table 9.3: Place of birth of women committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, most common areas, 1869-1875

Place of birth	Number	Percentage
Ireland	255	35.3
Rochdale	91	12.6
Other English Counties	88	12.2
South-East Lancashire ⁷	87	12.0
Manchester	82	11.3
Lancashire	71	9.8
Other ⁸	49	6.8
Total	723	100

As Table 9.2 and 9.3 show, migration had a large impact on the committals to Strangeways. This was also the case elsewhere. In eighteenth century London, King discovered that long-distant female migrants, without support networks or employment, were at risk of turning to crime.⁹ The impact of migration to both Salford and Rochdale is apparent from the birthplaces of women in the prison registers. In both cases, women born outside these boroughs outnumbered the women born within

⁵ This number includes the other main urban areas represented in the prison registers: Ashton-under-Lyne, Bolton, Bury, Oldham, Rochdale, Stalybridge and Stockport and their surrounding areas.

⁶ Born in Scotland, Wales, overseas, or did not give their place of birth.

⁷ This number includes the other main urban areas represented in the prison registers: Ashton-under-Lyne, Bolton, Bury, Oldham, Salford, Stalybridge and Stockport.

⁸ Born in Scotland, Wales, overseas, or did not give their place of birth.

⁹ P. King, 'Female offenders, work and life-cycle change in late-eighteenth-century London', *Continuity and Change*, 11.1 (1996), p. 11.

them. Women born in Manchester have been treated as migrants, even in the case of Salford, despite the close proximity of both boroughs. This is justified, as Manchester was very much a separate borough from Salford, and therefore, women born in Manchester have been treated as separate cases. If the figures for Salford and Manchester were combined, however, they would comprise just over a quarter of all women committed to Strangeways from Salford's borough court. The majority were women who were born outside these boroughs.

Women born in south-east Lancashire have been treated as short distance migrants, and so, to an extent, have women born in other parts of Lancashire. It was, however, a much greater distance from Barrow-in-Furness, in the north of the county, than from Blackburn, for example. Additionally, travelling from Halifax or Huddersfield in Yorkshire, to Rochdale would be quicker than from other parts of Lancashire. This needs to be borne in mind. Furthermore, women born in Yorkshire, especially in the case of Rochdale, could also be viewed as short distance migrants, although, for ease of analysis, they have not been treated as such here.¹⁰ Women born in other English counties, and those born in Ireland, have been treated as long distance migrants. The number of women born in either Salford or Rochdale was comparatively small. In Salford, only 193 (8.7 per cent) women committed for drunkenness were born in the borough. In Rochdale, the corresponding number was ninety-one (12.6 per cent).

Using the reasoning above then, short distance migrants comprised 707 (31.8 per cent) of committals from Salford and 240 (33.2 per cent) from Rochdale, which are similar figures.¹¹ Long distance migrants totalled 1325 (59.6 per cent) of committals from Salford and 392 (54.2 per cent) from Rochdale.¹² Again these figures were similar. In both cases, long distance migration was heavily influenced by the presence of Irish-born women in the registers, who provided by far the

¹⁰ Yorkshire could be placed in a separate category but then so could Cheshire. For ease of analysis, and to keep the number of categories to a manageable level, they have been included under all other English counties. Manchester has been separated from the rest of Lancashire, in order to examine the influence that such a major industrial centre had on its surrounding boroughs.

¹¹ The figures from south-east Lancashire, Lancashire and Manchester have been calculated here.

¹² The figures from Ireland, other English counties, Scotland, Wales and overseas have been calculated here.

highest total of committals, from all categories, in both boroughs. Overall, Tables 9.2 and 9.3 show the great extent to which migrants flocked to the industrial boroughs of Lancashire. Salford was a particular magnet for migrants, as people from all over the country, and Ireland, flocked to the industries and job opportunities in both Salford and Manchester. As noted in Chapter 3, Salford witnessed a rapid growth in its population during the 1870s, swelled by the number of people from outside the borough.¹³

In 1871, the number of Irish-born women living in Salford totalled 5450. This was 4.4 per cent of the total population of the borough. The figures for Manchester also need to be taken into account, due to the proximity of the borough to Salford. In 1871, there were 34,066 Irish-born people in Manchester, who comprised 9.0 per cent of the city's population.¹⁴ Even with the numbers for Manchester taken into account, Irish-born women were far more likely to be committed for drunkenness than their English counterparts. In Rochdale, Irish-born women numbered 2350, or 3.7 per cent of the borough's population in 1871.¹⁵ However, the number of committals for Irish-born women may be attributable more to their class, than their ethnicity.

Swift has noted that, nationally, Irish-born men and women were over-represented in committals to prison from 1861 onwards. They were, he argued, five times more likely than the English to be committed to gaol.¹⁶ Likewise, Finnegan has noted that the Irish were also over-represented in the crime statistics of York, with 16.5 per cent of all prosecutions in 1871, despite only comprising 7.7 per cent of the population.¹⁷ As Tables 9.2 and 9.3 show, Irish-born women do appear to have been overrepresented in the prison registers. They comprised 40.5 per cent of all

¹³ In 1875, the population of Salford was reported to be increasing by 2000 people per annum. See *Salford Weekly News*, 24 July 1875.

¹⁴ Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population abstracts. Ages, civil condition, occupations, and birth-places of the people. Vol. III. PP 1873 [C.872], p. 440.

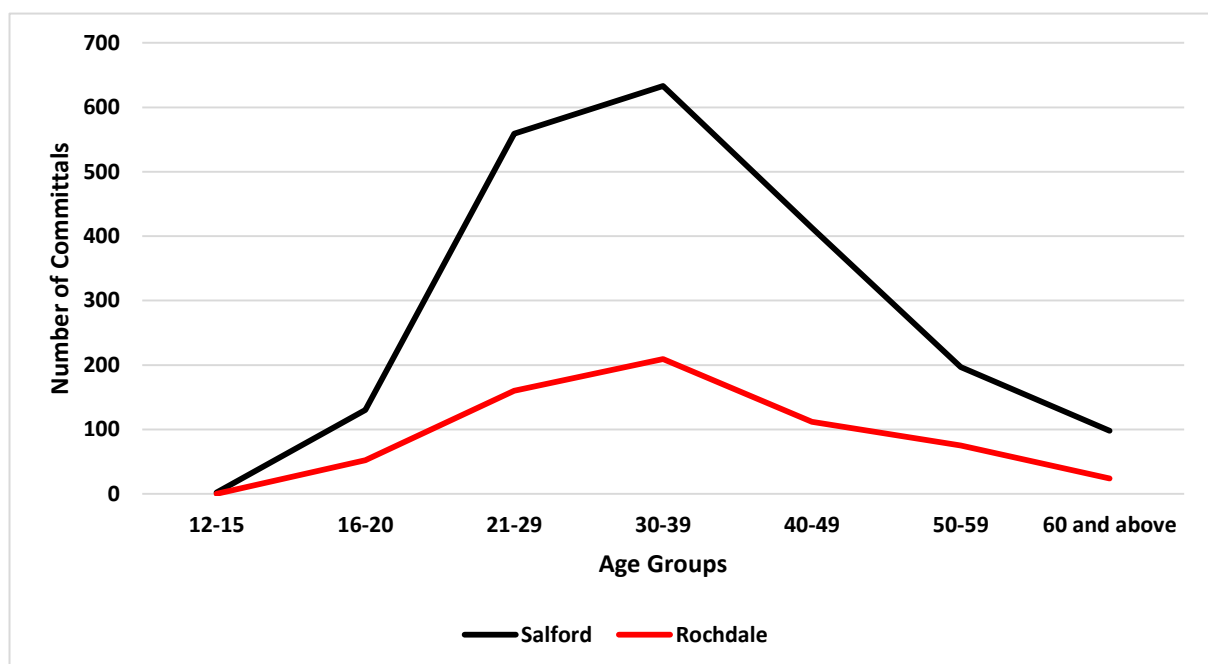
¹⁵ These figures were calculated by searching the 1871 census on www.findmypast.co.uk as the 1871 census did not report on these figures at the time.

¹⁶ R. Swift, 'Heroes or villains?: The Irish, crime, and disorder in Victorian England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 29.3 (1997), p. 402.

¹⁷ F. Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice, A Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840-1875* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1982), 151.

committals for drunkenness from Salford and 35.3 per cent from Rochdale. As they numbered only 4.4 per cent and 3.7 per cent of these boroughs' populations respectively, these are particularly high numbers. However, as Archer has noted, these results need to be treated with caution. As the Irish tended to belong to the unskilled working class, the social group most likely to come into contact with the police, then they may not have been overrepresented at all. These women were quite possibly in prison because they were poor, not because they were Irish.¹⁸

Figure 9.4: Age groups of female migrants committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875



As women born outside Salford and Rochdale comprised the majority of women committed for drunkenness from these two boroughs, it is perhaps not surprising to note that their peak age groups are similar to those examined in Chapter 7. Again, the age groups twenty-one to twenty-nine and thirty to thirty-nine, represented the peak number of committals for drunkenness. There are also discernible patterns in the distribution of women within each age group as can be seen in the data contained in Appendix 3. The number of Irish-born women (Location ID 13), aged under

¹⁸J.E. Archer, *The Monster Evil: Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), Ch.5, especially p. 66 and p. 76.

twenty-one in both Rochdale and Salford was comparatively small. There was a great increase thereafter. In Salford there were 222 (24.6 per cent) committals of Irish-born women aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine, compared to twenty-five (2.8 per cent) aged below twenty-one. In Rochdale, only four (1.6 per cent) committals were for Irish-born women aged below twenty-one, compared to forty-two (16.5 per cent) who were aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine. As ages increased, so did the number of Irish-born women, although in both boroughs there was a decrease after the age of forty-nine. This pattern was no doubt attributable to the number of women who left Ireland during the famine of 1845-1852, which saw an estimated 1,500,000 people emigrate from the country.¹⁹ By 1871, the number of Irish-born people in England and Wales had declined, falling from 3.0 per cent of the population in 1861, to 2.5 per cent in 1871. These figures may account for the low number of Irish-born women aged below twenty-one who were committed for drunkenness.²⁰

From Salford, women born in Manchester comprised the second highest number of women who were born outside the borough. As stated, it is, perhaps, an exaggeration to suggest that these women were migrants, as Salford was within a short walking distance of central Manchester. However, the high number of Manchester-born women does portray the great extent to which Manchester's population increased the number of cases processed through Salford's petty sessions. Employment and leisure opportunities in Salford were easily accessible for these women. Additionally, Manchester-born women comprised the third highest category of migrants from Rochdale. Although not as easily accessible as Salford, it would have been possible to walk from Manchester to Rochdale in a day. With the textile industry employing a high number of women in

¹⁹ G. Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991), p. 10.

²⁰ D.M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999). The number then continued to decline thereafter, see, D. Fitzpatrick, 'A curious middle place: the Irish in Britain, 1871-1921', in R. Swift and S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (Savage: Barnes and Noble, 1989), p. 11.

Rochdale, it is quite possible that women travelled from Manchester to Rochdale in order to search for work.

Employment opportunities would also have been a major factor for women from other parts of Lancashire, as well as those from other English counties. The number of women born outside Lancashire represented a high proportion of committals from both Salford and Rochdale. Non-Lancastrians were prominent in Salford, with 293 (13.2 per cent) of committals being for women born outside the county. In Rochdale, the proportion was similar, with 88 (12.2 per cent) of committals. As Appendix 3 shows, the age ranges of these women were similar to those of the Irish, with the most common ages being twenty-one to twenty-nine and thirty to thirty-nine. Amongst all the most common migrant groups there was an increase in committals from the age of twenty, before a decrease after the age of thirty-nine. The reasons for this pattern may have been linked to employment status and opportunities, which this chapter will now examine.

Figure 9.5: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness by place of birth, Salford, 1869-1875

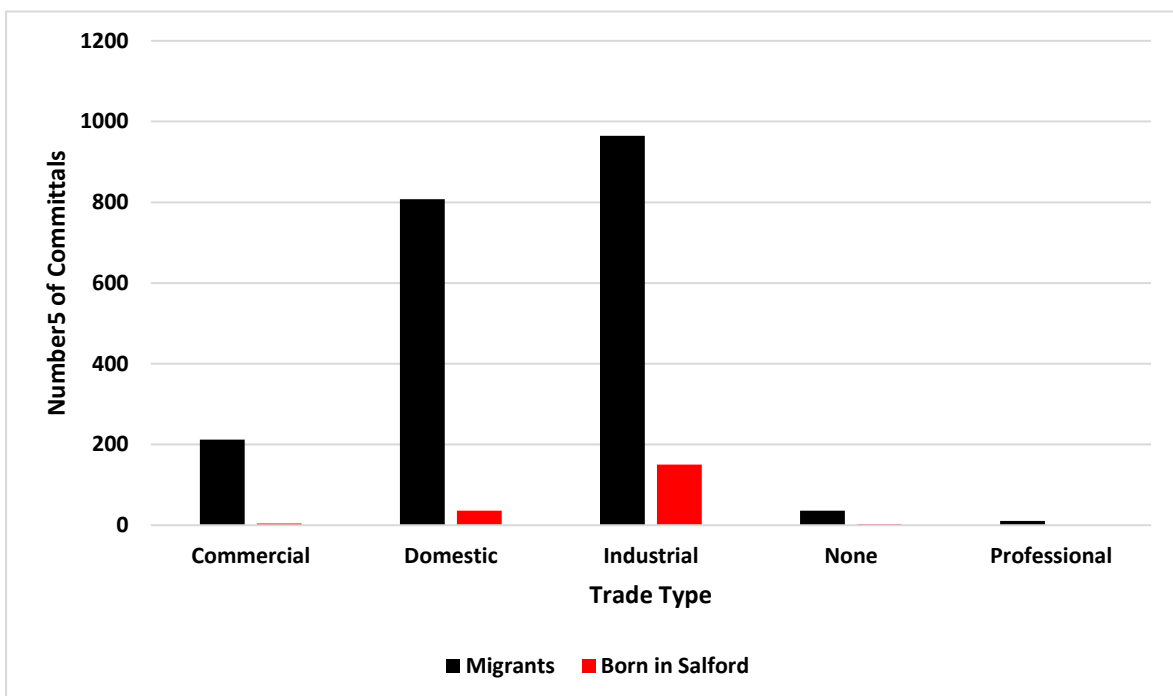
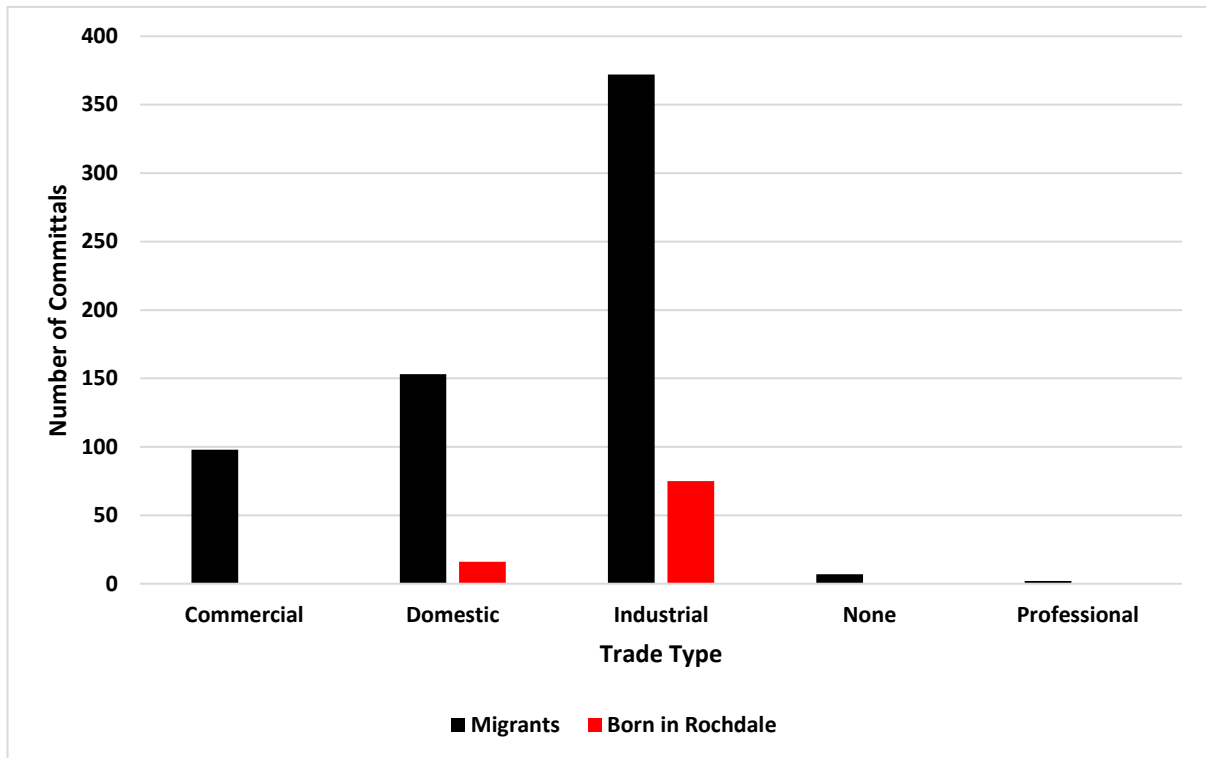


Figure 9.6: Trade type of women committed for drunkenness by place of birth, Rochdale, 1869-1875



There was a pattern in the types of occupations carried out by women and their place of birth. In Salford, Irish-born women, and women born outside Lancashire, were more likely to be working in the domestic sector than women born in either Salford or Manchester.²¹ Irish-born women comprised by far the largest number of charwomen. Out of a total of 354 committals involving charwomen, 158 (44.6 per cent) were born in Ireland. They also comprised the highest number of servants, with seventy-nine (39.1 per cent) and homeworkers, with 116 (46.6 per cent). These numbers reflected the particular type of work with which Irish women were associated. As Walter noted, Irish women were a common source of domestic labour in the nineteenth century.²² In addition to this, a significant number of servants, forty-one (20.3 per cent) were English women,

²¹ Irish-born women comprised 367 (16.5 per cent) of women in the domestic trades and those born outside Lancashire comprised 134 (6.0 per cent). In contrast, women born in Salford totalled thirty-six (1.6 per cent) and those born in Manchester, 118 (5.3 per cent).

²² B. Walter, 'Strangers on the inside: Irish women servants in England, 1881,' *Immigrants and Minorities*, 27:2-3 (2009), p. 281.

born outside Lancashire. They also comprised a high number of charwomen, with forty-nine (14.1 per cent).

The commercial sector trade type is a little misleading, as noted in Chapter 8, as the majority of women in this sector were hawkers. This was certainly the case with Irish-born women. They comprised the highest number of hawkers from Salford, with 153 (74.3 per cent). This was also the case in Rochdale, as the highest proportion, fifty (58.1 per cent) of all hawkers were born in Ireland.

In terms of overall patterns, there was a similar picture in Rochdale. Again, Irish-born women and those born outside Lancashire were more likely than locally-born women to be working in the domestic trades. The majority of charwomen had been born in Ireland, with forty-one (47.7 per cent). As noted in Chapter 8, there were few servants committed to prison from Rochdale. Even so, 33.3 per cent were Irish, although this number only comprised six cases. As in Salford, Irish-born women represented the highest number of homeworkers committed from Rochdale, with thirty-nine (63.9 per cent).

In both Salford and Rochdale, the industrial sector employed the majority of women committed for drunkenness, as shown in Figures 9.5 and 9.6.²³ In this category, however, the numbers were more evenly spread. In Salford, in the industrial category, a high number of Irish women were also noted as working in a cotton factory or as factory operatives, with 171 (59.2 per cent). The second highest number was of women born in Manchester, who totalled 129 (46.7 per cent). Of women born in Salford, eighty-six (28.4 per cent) worked in a cotton factory or were factory operatives. In Rochdale, fifty-seven (79.2 per cent) cotton factory workers or factory operatives were born in Ireland, compared to sixty-four (41.0 per cent) from Rochdale. This may

²³ In Salford, 1115 (50.1 per cent) of all women had an industrial occupation. In Rochdale this number was 447 (61.8 per cent).

not be surprising, as Neal has noted, the textile industry had been a large employer of Irish women in Rochdale since at least 1851.²⁴

Such figures show the huge impact that migration had on the industrial centres of south-east Lancashire and gives an indication of the types of roles that migrants filled. Irish-born women by far filled the poorest paid and insecure roles, although women born outside Lancashire were also highly represented here. Locally-born women were much more likely to work in the textile industry, where wages were comparatively high, than they were in the service industries.

The most common trade types for women in both boroughs, as discussed in Chapter 8, were industrial and domestic. Occupations of women inmates from Rochdale, in particular, were dominated by the textile industry, as noted in Figure 9.6, whilst the domestic and industrial sectors in Salford were more closely matched, as shown in Figure 9.5. However, in terms of committals for drunkenness, domestic service was not a trade which was dominated by young female migrants, as has been noted in previous studies.²⁵ In both boroughs, industrial trades figured most highly amongst those aged between sixteen and twenty. In Rochdale, only one (1.4 per cent) woman in this age group worked in the domestic trades, with the corresponding number being nineteen (11.8 per cent) in Salford. Female factory workers enjoyed more independence, and more opportunity to socialise with workmates, than domestic servants. This was especially the case if they were single or if their children were of wage earning age, or had left home. As Lethbridge noted, at the turn of the century, 'The most important advantage of factory life was freedom.'²⁶

²⁴ F. Neal, 'Irish settlement in the north-east and north-west of England in the mid-nineteenth century', in R. Swift and S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Victorian Britain, The Local Dimension* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp.94-95.

²⁵ See King, 'Female offenders'.

²⁶ L. Lethbridge, *Servants, A Downstairs View of Twentieth-century Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 94. She further stated that 'Factory girls did not have to endure the daily petty humiliations of being at the beck and call of a condescending mistress; of having no set hours to call their own, of having pitifully few opportunities to meet men (or even women).'

In Salford, long distance migrants did constitute the majority of servants committed for drunkenness. Here, 120 (59.4 per cent) servants were born in either Ireland, or other English counties. Out of the 202 committals for servants from Salford, only seven (3.5 per cent) had been born in the borough. These were all individuals, whose ages ranged from eighteen to sixty-three. Irish servants numbered seventy-nine (39.1 per cent) committals with the majority aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine. The next highest age group was thirty to thirty-nine.²⁷ The majority of women in both age groups were single, comprising twenty-three (63.8 per cent) of twenty-one to twenty-nine year olds and fourteen (51.9 per cent) of those aged between thirty and thirty-nine. English servants, born outside Lancashire, were mainly aged between thirty and thirty-nine.²⁸ Single women formed the highest proportion of women aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine, with six (60.0 per cent) committals in this age group. The marital status of these women was, however, more evenly spread than those of Irish servants, with seventeen (41.5 per cent) being single and twelve (29.3 per cent) being married.²⁹

Female servants committed for drunkenness from Salford, therefore, tended to have been born outside the borough but did not quite fit the image of the young, single, vulnerable woman noted elsewhere.³⁰ To an extent, those born in other English counties did fit this profile, but there were only forty-one committals of this type. Irish-born women tended to be single but were still, generally, in service up until the age of thirty-nine. It is possible that a number of these women had been servants in the past, as younger women, but had lost their position over time, perhaps due to their committals to prison. Alternatively, these women could still have been in service but it is difficult to imagine that they would have been kept on by their employers after spells in gaol. For example, forty-two year-old Elizabeth Bridge, from Oldham, stated that she was a servant when

²⁷ Out of all committals for Irish servants, thirty-six (45.6 per cent) were aged between twenty-one and twenty-nine and twenty-seven (34.3 per cent) were aged between thirty and thirty-nine.

²⁸ They totaled twenty-one (51.2 per cent).

²⁹ Irish servants did tend to be older than English servants. The peak age of Irish servants in the 1881 census was thirty-five to fifty-four. English servants peaked at fifteen to nineteen and decreased after the age of thirty. See Walter, 'Strangers on the inside', p. 288.

³⁰ King, 'Female offenders'.

committed for drunkenness in November 1873. When she was committed again, for the same offence, in May 1875, she was working as a charwoman. Furthermore, Margaret Welsh, committed five times for drunkenness in Salford and Newton, claimed to be a servant on every occasion. However, as she alternated between the workhouse and having no settled home, it is unlikely that she could have held down such a position. It is quite possible that she had worked in service in her earlier life, and continued to state this occupation to the prison authorities.

9.4) Place of Residence

Table 9.4: The most common places of residence of women committed for drunkenness, Salford and Rochdale, 1869-1875

Salford: town of residence	Frequency	Percentage	Rochdale: town of residence	Frequency	Percentage
Salford	1451	65.2	Rochdale	517	75.3
Manchester	523	23.5	No Settled Home	74	10.8
No Settled Home	150	6.7	Oldham	16	2.3
Total	2124	95.4	Total	607	88.4

The geographical differences between Salford and Rochdale can be seen by the data in Table 9.4. Salford's proximity to Manchester had a large influence on the number of women who were processed through its borough court. The majority of women did live in Salford but nearly a quarter lived in neighbouring Manchester. Homeless women comprised the third highest category here but the percentage was low, with 150 (6.7 per cent) of all women stating that they had no settled home. In Rochdale, the majority, 517 (72.3 per cent) lived in the borough, whilst the next highest figure was for women with no settled home, who numbered 74 (10.9 per cent). Rochdale's nearest neighbour, Oldham, did provide the third highest figure but the distance between the two boroughs, approximately nine miles, meant that there was not the same impact on Rochdale's court, as Manchester had on Salford's. The differing geographical locations of both boroughs then, heavily influenced the number of women who went through the respective magistrates' courts.

Not surprisingly, the districts of Manchester closest to Salford appeared prominently in the prison registers. The Deansgate area was heavily represented here, with Deansgate itself and the streets surrounding it often featuring in the addresses of women committed for drunkenness. As noted in Chapter 3, Deansgate was a densely populated area, with a large number of public houses. The population of the district alone, in 1871, was 24,173.³¹ The licensed premises of Salford's Chapel Street, therefore, were easily accessible to a large number of people. Indeed, the streets nearest to Chapel Street were heavily represented, with Wood Street, Cumberland Street, Dolefield, Bridge Street, Trumpet Street, Garside Street, Spinningfield and Hardman Street appearing regularly in the registers. Also within walking distance of Salford was the Manchester district of Angel Meadow, a notorious slum. Addresses of women from this area included Millers Lane, Rochdale Road, Charter Street and Angel Street. Another Manchester district within easy reach of Salford was Hulme, an area which also provided a number of women to Salford's borough court. In total, fifty women committed from Salford had an address there. Furthermore, the manufacturing district of Ancoats was also within close proximity of Salford, and was home to a number of women committed for drunkenness in the borough, although not to the same extent as Deansgate. Hulme, Deansgate, Angel Meadow and Ancoats were all poor, slum areas, with densely packed housing and poor sanitation. It was areas like these which contributed the large majority of women arrested and committed for drunkenness.³²

In total, of the 2225 committals from Salford's borough court, 349 (15.7 per cent) were of women who lived in Manchester. Of these, 143 were committed only once but there were also persistent offenders in the sample. For example, Maria Riley had twenty-three previous committals

³¹ Census of England and Wales, 1871. (33 & 34 Vict. c. 107.) Population tables. Area, houses, and inhabitants. Vol. II. Registration or union counties. PP 1872 [C.676-I C.676-II], p. 383.

³² A reporter from the *Manchester Evening News* produced a series of articles on 'criminal Manchester' in 1874, in which Charter Street and Deansgate were extensively covered. These were reprinted in the 1880s in a bound volume, see *Criminal Manchester, Experiences of a Special Correspondent* (Manchester: G. Renshaw, 1874), reproduced at <<http://library.chethams.com>>[accessed 3 April 2018]. Charter Street was described as 'the headquarters, practically, of the thieving fraternity', p. 1, whilst drunkenness amongst women in Deansgate was deemed to be 'nothing more than an every-day occurrence', p. 11.

by August 1875 and continued to be re-committed after this date. She was committed twenty-one times between 1869 and 1875, with all but one of the offences taking place in Salford. A young widow, she was aged thirty in 1875. Riley gave an address in Hulme for all but her last committal, when she had become homeless. Additionally, Catherine Atkinson was committed twenty-two times during this period, with all the offences taking place in Salford. She lived in the Angel Meadow district before also becoming homeless. Similarly, Mary Ann Haughton, who lived at various addresses around Deansgate, was committed sixteen times and continued to be committed after September 1875. She was also widowed. All three women lived within walking distance of Salford and were repeat offenders. It was habitual offenders such as these who helped to increase the number of women prosecuted at Salford's borough court.

Manchester did not have a shortage of places in which to get a drink, so it is interesting to note the number of women who lived in the borough, yet were arrested in Salford. It is possible that they worked in Salford, or had friends there, and so the pubs and beerhouses of Chapel Street would have been places to meet after work. Additionally, a number of Manchester women may have been known to the Manchester police. They could have moved across the River Irwell to drink in an area in which they were relatively unknown. If they then fell foul of the law, then they may have been tried by a magistrate who would have had no prior knowledge of their offending. As will be noted in Chapter 10, however, the administration of the criminal justice system was efficient at tracking habitual offenders.

The addresses of women committed for drunkenness do not support contemporary arguments, which claimed that people arrested for drunkenness tended to be well-paid. As noted, it was Manchester's poorer districts which helped to swell the number of female committals to gaol. In Salford, this pattern was the same. Here, women had addresses all over the borough but particularly in areas such as Greengate, Regent Road, Adelphi and, most commonly, the streets and courts on and around Chapel Street. As noted in Chapter 3, these were densely populated areas

and, in the case of the Adelphi, home to a significant number of Irish-born women. These areas were constantly associated with criminality. It was these areas, for example, and those noted above in Manchester, which saw the birth and growth of youth gangs, the scuttlers, from the 1870s onwards.³³ As in Manchester, it was the residents of the poorer areas of Salford who figured most prominently in the prison registers.

Being a much smaller borough, the addresses of women committed from Rochdale were much closer together. Here, two areas featured highly, those of Mount Pleasant and The Gank.³⁴ From the former district, Hope Street, High Street, Mount Pleasant and Whitehall Street appeared regularly in the registers. From the latter, Church Lane, Church Style, and Packer Street were common addresses. As in Salford, these were areas commonly associated with criminality, especially drunkenness, crimes of violence, and theft. They were also slum areas, with particularly poor housing and sanitation. The residents of these areas were more likely to come under police surveillance than those in other areas of the borough. The Irish presence was particularly notable in Rochdale's Mount Pleasant and Salford's Adelphi districts. The problems associated with these areas, namely drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and assault were also stereotypically Irish traits.³⁵

Nearly three-quarters of women committed from Rochdale lived in the borough. The stance of Rochdale's authorities towards travellers was a major reason as to why so few women from outside Rochdale were committed to gaol. When ascertaining that a woman in the dock was not a resident of Rochdale, or was simply passing through the borough to another destination, the magistrates tended to discharge them, with a caution, on the promise that they would continue

³³ See A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester* (Preston: Milo, 2008).

³⁴ See Chapter 3 for a detailed analysis of these districts, and those of Salford as noted above.

³⁵ Swift states that, to a lesser extent, petty theft and vagrancy were also associated with the Irish, R. Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain', pp. 166-7. This was still the case in late nineteenth-century Liverpool, see F. Neal, 'A criminal profile of the Liverpool Irish', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 140 (1990), p. 162 and D. Beckingham, 'The Irish question and the question of drunkenness: catholic loyalty in nineteenth-century Liverpool', *Irish Geography*, 42.2 (2009), pp. 125-144.

their journey and leave the borough. Rochdale's newspapers regularly reported these decisions. In July 1875, Jane Ann Howcroft, prosecuted for drunkenness, promised to leave Rochdale and 'was got rid of on those terms.'³⁶ In June of that year, Eliza Barker, arrested for being drunk and incapable and described as having 'a complexion like a gypsy', was noted to have been 'tramping about the country.' Again, she was discharged on condition that she leave Rochdale.³⁷ Finally, in May 1875, Ellen Ward, described as 'a tramp' was discharged on condition that she continued on her journey to Manchester. She had been found in a drunken state, with a child in her arms, on High Street.³⁸ These are examples from just one year, yet they were a common occurrence throughout the research period.³⁹ Rochdale's authorities were keen to improve and maintain the moral and social standing of the borough. This meant moving on any offenders who did not have roots in the borough, and were not seen to be contributing to Rochdale's economic standing. That these women would have been perceived to have been a drain on Rochdale's Poor Law was no doubt a contributory factor.⁴⁰

Further research, utilising SPSS to geo-map the addresses of these women, would be advantageous in analysing their places of residence. This is a time-consuming process, however, and as ordinance survey maps are not available for the 1870s, it would be difficult. As a result it has not been possible to undertake this process for the thesis but it is an area which could be explored further in the future.

The police and magistrates in both Salford and Rochdale were content to apportion blame for any rise in crime rates on people who had migrated, for whatever reason, to their boroughs. In

³⁶ *Rochdale Observer*, 3 July 1875.

³⁷ *Rochdale Observer*, 26 June 1875.

³⁸ *Rochdale Observer*, 22 May 1875.

³⁹ For example, see Annie Johnson, *Rochdale Observer*, 1 January 1876, Mary Kelly, *Rochdale Observer*, 21 October 1876, Margaret Monaghan, *Rochdale Observer*, 18 August 1876, Alice Myers, *Rochdale Observer*, 2 September 1876, Rachel Barton, *Rochdale Observer*, 28 April 1877. This is by no means a definitive list.

⁴⁰ In Stafford, vagrant women were also given the option of leaving the town but usually after they had already served a sentence in the local prison, J. Turner, 'Summary justice for women: Stafford borough, 1880-1905', *Crime, History and Societies*, 16.2 (2012), pp. 67-68.

Salford, those displaced by the slum clearances in Manchester's Deansgate were accused of increasing the amount of crime in the borough. In Rochdale, as discussed in Chapter 5, the number of vagrants created by the economic distress of the late 1860s were blamed in a similar way. As Walton, *et al*, have discovered in their comparative study of the Spanish Basque country and north-west Lancashire, this was not unusual. In Victorian Bilbao, for example, contemporary commentators attributed 95 per cent of all crime, a rather spurious figure, to immigrants, whilst the criminality of the remaining 5 per cent was blamed on Basques who had been corrupted by outside, Spanish, influences.⁴¹ Such observations were also common in Lancashire. In Salford, disorderly behaviour at the annual Eccles Wakes was blamed on people travelling to the celebrations from Manchester, whilst the clearances in Deansgate led to an influx of new residents in Salford.⁴² They had 'greatly swelled the drunkards list', noted the *Salford Weekly News*, in horror, and were 'notable for nothing but drunkenness, vice, and cruelty'.⁴³ As noted above, Rochdale's authorities had a dim view of offenders who did not reside in the borough. Both boroughs, in an attempt to prove their moral standing, were keen to apportion blame for criminality on the shoulders of migrants and outsiders.⁴⁴

9.5) Homeless Women

Over the whole sample, 640 (10.1 per cent) women stated that they had no settled home.⁴⁵ In Salford this number was 150 (6.7 per cent) and in Rochdale, 74 (10.8 per cent). These figures, while portraying the number of homeless women, do not present their personal experiences. Close analysis of these women shows how either their use of alcohol, their experiences of imprisonment, or both, impacted on their lives. Women who claimed they had no settled abode were often

⁴¹ J.K. Walton, M. Blinkhorn, C. Pooley, D. Tidswell and M.J. Winstanley, 'Crime, migration and social change in north-west England and the Basque country, c. 1870-1930', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39.1 (1999), p. 107.

⁴² *Salford Weekly News*, 27 September 1873. Eccles was not part of the county borough of Salford until 1974, however.

⁴³ *Salford Weekly News*, 29 August 1874.

⁴⁴ See also, L. Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), Ch. 1.

⁴⁵ This has been interpreted that these women were homeless.

committed from more than one borough court, which reflected their transient lifestyles. Others lost their homes and their families after repeated committals. By linking together the records in the database, it is possible to judge how women's lives changed over time and to discover to what extent prison played a role in women losing their homes.⁴⁶

Elizabeth Norris, also known as Elizabeth Murray, Mullen and Jones, was one woman who was committed from more than one court. She appeared four times in the registers, over a period of only two months, from February 1871 to April 1871. Born in Bradford, Yorkshire, she was first committed by Rochdale's borough court for begging, then for the same offence in Oldham, before being committed for drunkenness in Ashton-under-Lyne. Her final committal was again for begging in Rochdale. At the time of her first committal she was living in Bury Workhouse, before claiming she had no settled home. Norris' vagrant existence would have regularly brought her into the orbit of the police. She was also estranged from her husband, George. For her first two committals, she stated that he was her next of kin, living at an address in Birkenhead. For her final two committals she stated that she had no next of kin. She was therefore living in poverty, with no familial support and, by April 1871, with no home.

There are other examples in the registers. Mary McCoy, or McKay, was committed twice, once from Ashton-under-Lyne in November 1871 for drunkenness and once from Rochdale in February 1875 for begging. She had no settled home and appeared to have lost contact with her husband, Alexander, who was also in Strangeways at the time of her first committal. By the time of her second committal she gave no next of kin. Additionally, Mary Warburton, born in Warrington, was committed twice for drunkenness, the first time in November 1872 in Salford and then in August 1873, in Oldham. Warburton stated that she was married at the time of her first committal, although she did not provide a next of kin. She was widowed by the time of her second committal

⁴⁶ Every woman has been given a unique ID and all their committals can be observed by filtering on their respective ID.

but did provide her brother's name as next of kin. Homeless women tended to move from town to town, and did not have the support of a husband or family.

Homeless women may also have moved areas in order to avoid detection by the police, especially if they were well known to them. This would not have been a tactic used purely by homeless women, however. Elizabeth Carter, of Salford, was one homeless woman who may have moved from the borough in an attempt to avoid prosecution, although she was not successful. She was committed to prison six times between March 1870 and May 1875. Four of these committals were for drunkenness, one for using threatening language towards her husband whilst drunk and one for assaulting her husband, William. Reporting on this latter offence, the *Salford Weekly News* stated that Carter had separated from her husband and had attempted to cause grievous bodily harm by throwing vitriol at him.⁴⁷ Her relationship with her husband was fractious, at least three of her committals were for offences against him. All but two of her committals came from Salford, the final two being from Bury and Stalybridge respectively.⁴⁸ She stated that she had an address only once, in Greengate, Salford, otherwise she had no settled home. Carter may have moved from town to town to escape the attention of the police or to find employment. She appears in the registers as a factory worker but it is unknown whether she actually had an occupation. By her sixth committal her marriage appears to have broken down completely, as she gave no next of kin.

Most homeless women did state that they had an occupation, however, as only two cases in Salford, and one in Rochdale, stated that they had no trade. The textile industry again comprised the largest number of women in both boroughs. Hawkers were prominent in Salford and Rochdale but again, servants were more numerous in Salford than in Rochdale.⁴⁹ This latter group comprised

⁴⁷ *Salford Weekly News*, 12 March 1870.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth was sentenced to three months in Strangeways in July 1870, for using threatening language against her husband. She also appeared in the female description book for New Bailey Prison in July 1867 but there is no record of her offence. She gave an address in Red Bank, Manchester whilst in the New Bailey but was homeless in 1870.

⁴⁹ It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many women were employed in the textile industries of both boroughs but there were at least thirty-nine (26.0 per cent) women in Salford and twenty-one (27.8 per cent) in Rochdale. Hawkers numbered thirty (20.7 per cent) in Salford and twenty (25.3 per cent) in Rochdale.

twenty-seven (18.0 per cent) committals from Salford but only five (6.3 per cent) in Rochdale. In both boroughs, as per the overall numbers in each group, the highest number of women with no settled home came in the thirty to thirty-nine age group. This number was forty-two (28.0 per cent) in Salford and twenty-four (30.4 per cent) in Rochdale. In the latter borough, however, the forty to forty-nine age group was also highly represented, with twenty-three (29.1 per cent) committals for drunkenness.

The most significant figure here comes when examining the marital status and next of kin of women with no settled home. In Salford, widowed women made up the largest group of women with no home, with seventy-four (49.3 per cent) committals. In Rochdale, most homeless women were married, with thirty-nine (49.4 per cent). However, an interesting pattern emerges here. As noted above, not all married women gave their spouses as next of kin, or gave a different address for them, which suggests that they were separated from their husbands. In either borough, most homeless women had no, or few, children. In Salford, those women with no children, or between one and four children, both comprised sixty-nine (46.0 per cent) of committals. In Rochdale, women with no children numbered thirty (38.0 per cent) and those with between one and four children, thirty-four (43.0 per cent). Further investigation suggests that many homeless women had no family support to fall back on.

In Salford, 109 (72.7 per cent) of homeless women gave no next of kin. Only seven (4.7 per cent) gave the name of a husband. As most women were widows, this is not surprising. In Rochdale, however, forty-four (55.7 per cent) women gave no next of kin and only nine (11.4 per cent) gave the name of a husband. Further research needs to be carried out to ascertain whether or not those women who did give their husband as next of kin were actually living with him. The majority of women in both boroughs had no settled home, no familial support and appeared to live alone and in extreme poverty. Drinking could well have been a release, the 'shortest way out of Manchester', for these women. They would have also been more susceptible to a prison sentence, having few funds

to be able to pay a fine, or having no one to pay them. It is also possible that prison was a desirable alternative to life on the outside. Zedner has noted that many destitute women would treat prison as a refuge, a place they treated as a welfare agency rather than a place of punishment.⁵⁰

Furthermore, Turner has stated, that in Stafford, homeless women had no means to stop offending and there was little possibility to reform themselves without help.⁵¹ There is little doubt that this was also the case for homeless women in Salford and Rochdale.

One common thread which links a number of homeless women is that they did move around a great deal and were committed to prison by more than one borough court. These women appeared to have no roots and no familial support, either from their husbands or other family members. Due to this lifestyle, they were more vulnerable to being arrested by the police for vagrancy and drunkenness.

9.6) Committals From Multiple Courts

It was not only homeless women who were committed to prison by more than one borough court. A number of women did move from town to town and were committed from the respective petty sessions. They did not appear to be homeless, as they gave an address on each occasion. Elizabeth Green, for example, appeared four times in the registers, with a separate address on each occasion. She was committed from Salford's borough court, for being drunk and disorderly, whilst living in Manchester, in May 1870. In June of that year she was living in Rochdale and was duly committed from the borough court for being drunk and riotous. In November 1870, she was living in Bolton and spent one month in gaol for disturbing the peace, being committed from Bolton's borough court. Finally, whilst living in Oldham in March 1871, she was committed for seven days by Manchester PSD for being drunk and riotous in Newton. Green, who had several aliases, was widowed with four children.⁵² She gave her occupation as a factory operative at first and then as a hawker. She

⁵⁰ L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 171.

⁵¹ J. Turner, 'Punishing women, 1880-1905', *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 50.5 (2011), pp. 505-515.

⁵² She was also known as Walsh, Knight, and Greaves. She gave her daughter, Elizabeth Hampson, living in Hulme, as next of kin.

changed addresses over a relatively short space of time, and lived in four different boroughs in under a year.

Ellen Altham was also a repeat offender who had more than one address. She appeared in the registers six times in total, with addresses in Rochdale, Bolton and Bury. A factory operative, Altham's offences ranged from drunkenness to begging and larceny and she was committed from each borough's petty sessions. She was married with one child but again appeared to be estranged from her husband, John. By her fifth committal, for begging in Rochdale, she did not know his address. She gave her father's details when she was committed for the final time, in October 1874, for stealing a jacket. The sentence, for one year, may have been the deciding factor in the breakdown of the marriage.

Mary Coleman, alias Walsh, was committed five times from Salford's borough court, once from Bolton and once from Bolton PSD. She lived, for the most part, in Greengate but was living in Farnworth when she was committed for drunkenness in that town. Her committal for breach of the peace in Bolton was while she was living in Salford and she was living at Dolefield, in Manchester, when she experienced her final committal for being drunk and riotous in Salford. Coleman was nineteen at the time of her first committal in March 1871 and was married to George Coleman. Her offending did not end in 1875 though, as the registers show that she had future committals after this date. Some women did, therefore, move from town to town and did offend in each town in which they lived. They may have been motivated to move by the promise of familial or informal support networks, by employment opportunities, to avoid debtors, or by the desire to avoid prosecution by police forces and magistrates who knew them well.

9.7) Religion

Table 9.5: Religion of women committed for drunkenness to Strangeways Gaol, all summary areas, 1869-1875

	CH		RC		Other		Not Given		Total	%
Country	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
English	2490	39.4	886	14.0	101	1.6	1	0.0	3478	55.0
Irish	679	10.7	1825	28.9	12	0.2	0	0.0	2516	39.8
Scottish	110	1.7	34	0.5	20	0.3	0	0.0	164	2.6
Welsh	59	0.9	14	0.2	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	76	1.2
Not Given	0	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0
Total	3376	53.4	2806	44.4	136	2.2	1	0.0	6319	100

Table 9.6: Religion and nationality of women committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875

	CH		RC		Other		Total
Country	Frequency	Percentage	RC	Percentage	Other	Percentage	
English	839	37.7	321	14.4	36	1.6	1196
Irish	215	9.7	682	30.7	4	0.2	901
Scottish	38	1.7	10	0.4	8	0.4	56
Welsh	27	1.2	7	0.3	2	0.1	36
Foreign	25	1.1	11	0.5	0	0	36
Total	1144	51.4	1031	46.3	50	2.2	2225

Table 9.7: Religion and nationality of women committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875

	CH		RC		Other		Total
Country	Frequency	Percentage	RC	Percentage	Other	Percentage	
English	306	42.3	108	14.9	9	1.2	423
Irish	77	10.7	177	24.5	1	0.1	255
Scottish	18	2.5	6	0.8	5	0.7	29
Welsh	4	0.6	2	0.3	0	0	6
Foreign	2	0.3	8	1.1	0	0	10
Total	407	56.3	301	41.6	15	2.1	723

As Table 9.5 shows, just over half of all women committed for drunkenness claimed that they were Protestant and nearly half claimed to be Catholic. The majority of Catholics were Irish.⁵³ The report of John Galbraith, the Protestant chaplain in Strangeways, stated that some inmates claimed that

⁵³ Elsewhere, in mid-century Glamorgan, the majority of Irish prisoners were also Catholic, although few were reported to have ever been to church, V. Summers, 'A source of sad annoyance': The Irish and crime in south Wales, 1841-81', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 27:2-3 (2009), pp. 305-306.

they were Protestant when in fact they were Catholic, as Protestants were thought to have more privileges in gaol.⁵⁴ This has recently been examined by Johnston, *et al*, who stated that prisoners were known to place requests to change their religion.⁵⁵ This study looked at inmates in convict prisons, however, so this may not have been the case in Strangeways where sentences, particularly for drunkenness, were much shorter.

The proportion of Protestants and Catholics committed from Salford and Rochdale were approximately the same in both cases. There was a slightly higher proportion of Catholics committed from Salford than Rochdale, which may have been related to the numbers of Catholics in both boroughs. Unfortunately, the religious affiliations of the populations of both boroughs are not recorded within the 1871 census, so it is difficult to ascertain this. In order to examine the themes explored in this chapter at a more detailed level, the chapter will now present a case study of a repeat offender, Salford's Theresa Wilson.

9.8) Case Study: Theresa Wilson

Theresa Wilson's biography presents a harrowing picture. Born in Maryborough, Ireland, c.1844, she was committed to at least three gaols over the course of her life. The majority of her committals were to Strangeways, where she was committed seventeen times between December 1870 and November 1874. She was also committed to New Bailey Prison, whilst it served as the County Prison for the Hundred of Salford, before Strangeways, and also at least four times to Manchester's City Gaol.⁵⁶ In the main, her committals were for being drunk and riotous but she also served sentences

⁵⁴ These perceived benefits, he noted, were daily attendance at chapel and more time outdoors, Manchester. Chaplain's Report on Salford Hundred County Prison, 23 October 1871, LA, Quarter Sessions Petitions, QSP/3878/18. In 1875, he believed that 'over 10 per cent who are Roman Catholics outside, have themselves registered as Protestants when they come into Gaol.' Manchester. Chaplain's Report on Salford Hundred County Prison, 25 October 1875, LA, Quarter Sessions Petitions, QSP/3974/37. In Glamorgan, Catholic prisoners were passed over in favour of Protestants, when allocating laundry work, a much sort-after position, see Summers, 'A source of sad annoyance', p. 306.

⁵⁵ H. Johnston, B. Godfrey and J. Turner, 'I am afraid that she is perfectly responsible for her actions and is simply wicked': reconstructing the criminal career of Julia Hyland', in AM. Kilday and D. Nash (eds), *Law, Crime and Deviance Since 1700* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), ch.10. Some inmates requested to change their religion from Roman Catholic to Protestant and vice versa, some for the reason above.

⁵⁶ By November 1874, she had been committed twenty-seven times to New Bailey and Strangeways combined.

for theft, prostitution and, towards the end of her life, for assaulting the police. The events of her life help to explore the themes discussed in this chapter, and the thesis as a whole. Ultimately, her experiences were not unique.

Wilson's life story portrays a deeply troubled woman, who was regularly committed to gaol. She first appeared in the English census in 1861, where she was living as a washerwoman with her son, Thomas, at 95a Bedford Street in Salford. It is possible that she came to England with other Irish migrants or met up with them when she arrived in Salford, as next door, at number 95, lived three members of the Farrar family and one Ann Lord, all of whom had also been born in Maryborough. The head of the Farrar family, Margaret, was an artificial flower maker, an occupation which Wilson gave in the prison registers, so it is probable that she learnt the trade from her. Wilson was an unmarried mother of two. There is no evidence that she was ever married, or that the children had the same father. It was possibly this lack of familial support and the cost of raising two children whilst in a poorly-paid job, which led to her offending.

By the late 1860s, her life had started to unravel. Her first committal to gaol appears to have been in December 1867, when she was living in a cellar under 30 Union Street in Salford.⁵⁷ In May 1868, she was committed to Strangeways for six months for physically abusing her children. Both children had been removed to the workhouse, where bruises, burns, scratches and bites had been found upon one child, whilst the other had a black eye. Wilson had been seen beating Thomas in the street, which led to her committal. The children, noted the magistrate, Mr Trafford, had been 'shamefully treated'.⁵⁸ It is not known whether the children were ever returned to Wilson, although, given the extent of their injuries, it appears unlikely. Tellingly, Wilson was described in court as a 'dissipated woman', an appearance which may have been caused by excessive drinking. At the time, she was only twenty-four years old.

⁵⁷ This information is only available in the prison's description books, rather than the prison register. As the description books did not record the offence, it is not known for what she was committed.

⁵⁸ *Manchester Times*, 2 May 1868.

As noted above, women may have found prison a welcome refuge from homelessness and poverty. Additionally, they may have been increasingly institutionalised by repeated periods of incarceration. Both possibilities may be attributable to Wilson. By 1871, she had already been imprisoned for six months for stealing clothing and for one month for stealing a looking glass. She had also been convicted several times for drunkenness, assault and indecent behaviour. In May that year, she was sentenced to eighteen months in Strangeways, with police supervision for seven years, for stealing a muffler. Released from prison on 21 November 1872, she was re-committed two days later for being drunk and riotous. Prison had failed to reform her.

Furthermore, as discussed above, some women moved from town to town, possibly in an attempt to avoid prosecution, or greater sanctions when arrested. All but two of Wilson's committals to Strangeways came from Salford. The others were for offences committed in Rochdale. In February 1873, whilst living in Manchester, she was committed from Rochdale's borough court for being drunk and riotous. Three more committals from Salford followed, before, in September 1873, she was once again committed from Rochdale for being drunk and riotous.⁵⁹ This time, she gave an address in the borough. Any attempt to conceal her identity failed, as despite giving an alias of Mary Ann Stansfield, Samuel Stevens, the Chief Constable, noted that 'she was an old gaol bird, and quite accustomed to being locked up'. Her lifestyle had evidently taken its toll on her health, as, at nearly thirty years of age, she was described as 'an elderly-looking woman'.⁶⁰ By this time Wilson had been integrated into the system of observation and record-keeping which was effective in tracking habitual offenders.

Her ill-health finally caught up with her and her committals to gaol resulted in longer sentences. In February 1874, despite giving her address as Greengate, Salford, she was committed for three months for wandering abroad without any visible means of subsistence. Her last

⁵⁹ One of the three committals prior to September 1873 was for damaging flannels whilst in gaol, which may give an insight into her state of mind at this time.

⁶⁰ *Rochdale Times*, 22 February 1873.

committal was in November 1874, when she was sentenced to another lengthy spell of confinement, this being six months for assaulting the police. She had nearly completed this sentence, when, in March 1875 she died of phthisis, a form of tuberculosis.⁶¹ She died in poverty, being buried in a communal grave at St Phillips Cemetery in Manchester.⁶² With the strain of being an unmarried mother-of-two, in a marginal occupation, Wilson appears to have been someone who succumbed to alcohol addiction, which may have caused or exacerbated a mental illness, at an early age. Prison would never have been an effective remedy.

9.9) Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the vulnerability that migrants had in terms of prosecution and imprisonment. In Salford and Rochdale, the majority of women committed for drunkenness had not been born in these boroughs. Many migrants were Irish but women from other parts of Lancashire and other English counties also figured highly. To use Manchester as an example of local immigration, particularly in the case of Salford, is perhaps stretching the definition of migration a little but this study serves to show the major impact that Manchester had on the workings of its neighbour's justice system. Both Rochdale's and Salford's borough courts would have been busy places, especially on a Monday morning but at times the number of people being processed through Salford's court must have felt overwhelming.⁶³ Policing too would have felt different, not only in terms of population numbers but in terms of geography.

These migrants would have been attracted by the prospect of employment in south-east Lancashire. Whereas women's employment elsewhere was often restricted to domestic service, for example in Liverpool, Salford and Rochdale possessed a range of industries, particularly textiles,

⁶¹ Theresa Wilson Death Certificate, reproduced at <www.gro.gov.uk>[accessed 23 October 2017]

⁶² Theresa Wilson Burial Record, reproduced at <<http://www.manchester.gov.uk>>[accessed 18 October 2017]

⁶³ This is why Salford eventually had its own stipendiary magistrate, who devoted his duties purely to the borough and did not share them with Manchester County PSD.

which could offer women work. Regardless, many women, particularly the Irish, did find themselves working as domestic servants. Migrants dominated the lower-paid and marginal occupations, particularly as hawkers, charwomen and houseworkers. Locally-born workers were generally employed in the textile industry, perhaps suggesting that employers preferred local workers to migrants, who may have been seen as transient. Doubtless, local prejudice against the Irish, in particular, also needs to be taken into account here. After all, the elites in both boroughs were quick to associate migrants, even if they had simply travelled across from Manchester, with criminality. Additionally, women may not have had a support network into which they could integrate upon arrival in a new area, leading to unemployment or marginal, insecure occupations, and ultimately to crime and prosecution.

Analysis of their addresses shows that women committed from drunkenness came, in the main, from the poorer working-class areas of both boroughs, particularly those marked by slum housing, poor hygiene and sanitation. Manchester again figured highly in the number of women committed from Salford. Not all women stayed in the same place. For a variety of reasons women moved from town to town but often returned to the place from which they had first been committed. Also, some women were homeless. Often deserted by their husbands and with the family unit having broken down, possibly as a result of drinking and of repeated spells in prison, these women emerged at other boroughs within south-east Lancashire and often found themselves committed from more than one borough court.

Ultimately, as the case of Theresa Wilson highlights, many women were living a hand-to-mouth existence, where poverty and ill-health could lead to alcohol abuse and imprisonment. This was a time when, apart from an often reluctant recourse to the Poor Law, there was a lack of state support and welfare. Therefore, familial and informal support networks in working-class communities were vital in supporting the most vulnerable women. A lack of these support networks

left the most vulnerable in society open to the prejudices of magistrates and the machinery of the criminal justice system.

Chapter 10

Re-offending and Desistance

10.1) Introduction

This chapter addresses the re-committal of women to Strangeways and explores the extent to which the prison registers can be used to ascertain the onset of, and desistance from, offending. It begins by examining the most common number of times women were committed for drunkenness, across south-east Lancashire, before taking a detailed exploration of Salford and Rochdale. This second section begins by looking at the ethnicity of repeat offenders before moving on to examine the links between a woman's occupation, and the number of times that she was committed to gaol. Finally, it will explore the extent of serious offending amongst these women. The chapter ends with two cases studies, both concerning repeat offenders from Rochdale. They provide an in-depth look at these women's lives in relation to the various themes examined in this chapter.

10.2) Overview – All Summary Areas

The prison registers themselves do not indicate when a woman may have desisted from offending, or even the extent of her offending. They are indicators of when, and how many times, a woman was committed for an offence. The petty nature of these offences meant that a woman may have continued offending, after her last recorded committal, but may have been fined or otherwise dealt with at summary level. However, the registers do provide a starting point for examining the following: why women were repeatedly committed for drunkenness, why women may have been only committed once or twice, and why consistent repeat offenders suddenly stopped being committed.

Although this needs to be borne in mind whilst analysing the statistics, the registers do provide an extensive overview of committals and re-committals involving drunkenness. They also

allow an examination of other offences for which women, committed at least once for drunkenness, may have committed. Circumstances which may have led a woman to end a career of petty theft may not hold true for women committed for drunkenness, which may only have been part of a pattern of offending. As will be discussed below, women committed for drunkenness were also committed for other offences, whether drink-related or not, during their lives.

The importance of age in tracing patterns of re-offending and desistance has grown in recent years. One of the first studies, by King, noted that the peak age of conviction for female property offenders in the early years of the nineteenth century was twenty-two to twenty-three. Godfrey, *et al*, discovered that, in Crewe, the majority of persistent offenders, both male and female, began their offending between the ages of eight and twenty.¹ Elsewhere, Turner found that the most common age of women summonsed to Stafford Petty Sessions was forty.² Further afield, in nineteenth century Canada, Fyson and Fenchel discovered that the majority of committals for men and women came before the age of thirty.³ Finally, Godfrey has discovered that, in early twentieth century Victoria, Australia, and also in New Zealand, the majority of violent female offenders were aged between twenty-five and forty.⁴

¹ B. Godfrey, D.J. Cox, and S.D. Farrell, *Criminal Lives: Family Life, Employment and Offending* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) p. 39.

² J Turner, 'Offending women in Stafford, 1880-1905: punishment, reform and re-integration' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Keele University, 2009), p. 93.

³ D. Fyson and F. Fenchel, 'Prison registers, their possibilities and their pitfalls: the case of local prisons in nineteenth-century Quebec', *The History of the Family*, 20.2 (2015), pp. 180-182.

⁴ B. Godfrey, 'Rough girls, 1880-1930: the "recent" history of violent young women', in A. Worrall and C. Alder (eds), *Criminal Girls* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2004), p. 29.

Number of Previous Committals: All Summary Areas

Table 10.1: Previous committals, from 0 to 8, for women convicted of drunkenness, all courts, 1869-1875

Total Previous Committals	Number of women	Percentage
0 (no further committals)	1304	20.6
1	558	8.8
2	272	4.3
0 (further committals)	240	3.8
3	188	3.0
4	156	2.5
5	96	1.5
6	72	1.1
7	62	1.0
8	47	0.7

Table 10.2: Previous committals, from 0 to 8, for women convicted of drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875

Total Previous Committals	Number of women	Percentage
0 (no further committals)	489	21.98
1	193	8.67
2	106	4.76
0 (further committals)	92	4.13
3	67	3.01
4	54	2.43
6	28	1.26
5	27	1.21
7	22	0.99
8	16	0.72

Table 10.3: Previous committals, from 0 to 8, for women convicted of drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875

Total Previous Committals	Number of women	Percentage
0 (no further committals)	115	15.91
1	67	9.27
2	33	4.56
3	30	4.15
4	28	3.87
0 (further committals)	27	3.73
7	13	1.80
5	12	1.66
8	11	1.52
9	11	1.52

Table 10.1 shows the total number of previous committals for women committed, at least once, for drunkenness from all the summary areas in south-east Lancashire.⁵ There were 6319 committals for drunkenness, comprising 3249 individuals. Of these women, 1304 (20.6 per cent) were committed once and were not committed to Strangeways again, for any offence, in the future. These figures do not, however, represent the total number of times that a woman was committed to gaol. For example, Sarah Ann Shannon, described by the *Salford Weekly News* as 'An Incurable Female Drunkard', served all but seven of her eighty-one committals before October 1869.⁶ She did not appear in the registers again after July 1870, when she served seven days in gaol for being drunk and riotous in Salford. Likewise, 240 (3.8 per cent) women had no previous committals but did go on to be committed, at least once, after September 1875. For example, Annie Jordan, from Salford, had seventeen previous committals by August 1875 and was also committed to gaol again after the end of the research period. It is therefore not possible, for a number of women, to calculate exactly how many times they were actually committed to Strangeways Prison throughout their lives, and for which offences. The registers do, however, give a strong indication of the extent of repeat offending within south-east Lancashire during the first half of the 1870s.

The presence of another gaol in the area, Manchester's City Gaol, located on Hyde Road, also needs to be taken into account when examining the offending careers of these women. If offences were committed within the City of Manchester then the offender would be tried at Manchester Police Court and committed to City Gaol. The Strangeways registers included details of other gaols to which women were committed, if any. Women may have only been committed once to Strangeways but several times to City Gaol. The life of Kate Ditchfield is a case in point. Ditchfield, a servant from Hulme, was committed to Strangeways in August 1875 for being drunk and riotous in Salford. She only appeared once in the registers but she was committed multiple times to City Gaol. Additionally, she was committed twice at the sessions, in 1878 and 1880, for being an

⁵ For the full breakdown of all total committals, refer to Appendix 4.

⁶ *Salford Weekly News*, 19 March 1870.

incorrigible rogue, for which she served twelve months in gaol on both occasions.⁷ Ditchfield's case was not unique. Other women were also committed to both Strangeways and City Gaol, such as; Theresa Wilson, Jane Hynn, Mary Ann Wilson and Eliza Stewart. Therefore, if a woman was committed only once to Strangeways it does not mean that this was the only time that she served a prison sentence. This needs to be taken into account when examining the offending 'careers' of women.⁸

As Tables 10.1 to 10.3 show, the highest number of women committed for drunkenness were committed only once. Women with two and three previous committals provided the next highest figure, whilst the number of serious, repeat offenders was relatively low. As noted above, however, a number of women went on to be re-committed after September 1875. It may well be reductionist to suggest that all women who were repeatedly committed to gaol suffered from alcoholism, yet, where committals ran well into double figures, this is the likeliest conclusion to draw. These women, such as Shannon, noted above, were extreme examples but were precisely the type of offender used by contemporary commentators to support their claims that female drunkenness was an increasing problem, and that short prison sentences failed to deter such offending. John Tomlinson Hibbert, the Liberal MP for Oldham, argued as such in January 1871. Hibbert reported to the Salford Hundred Quarter Sessions that eight women had been committed to Strangeways Prison a total of 327 times, with the worst offender being committed eighty-three times.⁹ Evidence from the registers shows that although such women did exist, and were not reformed by short prison sentences, the majority were committed a much smaller number of times.

This is not to suggest that women who were committed upwards of eighty times to gaol are not worthy of investigation, indeed a sample of such women will be examined later. However, it is

⁷ These sentences would probably have been carried out at Strangeways, so it is unusual to find that the prison registers did not note her future committal reference.

⁸ Before 1868, women were also committed to New Bailey Prison in Salford. As this was the County Prison for the Hundred of Salford prior to the opening of Strangeways, any previous reference numbers pertaining to committals to the New Bailey appear to have been included in the Strangeways registers.

⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 January 1871.

the background and experience of women committed a small number of times which will provide a more balanced overview of female drunkenness, in south-east Lancashire. It is tempting when examining data to look for patterns. A group of women who were committed twice, for example, may have had a common background, be it in terms of their marital status, their occupations, or ethnicity, or all three. Every woman led a different life, though, with, potentially broad differences in their lifestyles. The data itself can only provide suggestions, it is only by combining the raw figures with an exploration of the women involved, that conclusions as to why they re-offended, or desisted from offending, can be reached. A common thread linking women committed twice, for example, may not be readily apparent.

There is a further point which requires examination. Tables 10.1 to 10.3 show women who were committed for drunkenness at least once. Multiple committals may represent multiple offences, not all of which were specifically for drunkenness, although drink may have been an aggravating factor.¹⁰ A woman with five previous committals, for example, may have only been committed for drunkenness once. The other four committals may have been for a range of other petty offences, such as theft or soliciting prostitution. One woman, Bridget McNulty, was committed from Bury, Rochdale and Bolton between October 1869 and May 1871 for being drunk and riotous, behaving indecently and for stealing money, respectively. Additionally, Mary Pearson was committed for offences which included stealing money from one Thomas Pennington (for which she was acquitted), handling stolen goods, drunkenness and assault. She appeared six times in the registers between February 1872 and September 1875, and had at least one subsequent committal.¹¹ Mary Ellen Ryan provides a further example. Her first committal came in November 1874, when she was committed for being drunk and disorderly. She appeared five more times in the registers up until August 1875 for offences which included stealing, drunkenness, obstructing the footpath and being a riotous prostitute. Again, she continued to be committed after this research

¹⁰ As discussed in Chapter 6.

¹¹ These offences took place in Barton-upon Irwell, Eccles (twice) and Salford (three times).

period ends. Drunkenness, therefore, was by no means the only offence for which repeat offenders were committed.

The chapter will now move on to the two case studies of Salford and Rochdale. It will concentrate, in particular, on those women who were committed multiple times for drunkenness. Initially, it examines the extent to which ethnicity was a factor in recidivism, before exploring the most common occupations of women committed four or more times. The final part of this section moves on to examine the extent to which women from both boroughs were tried at a higher court, and why.

10.3) Case studies: Salford and Rochdale

Table 10.4: Number of female re-committals by ethnicity, Salford, 1869-1875

	English	Foreign	Irish	Scottish	Welsh	
0	362	5	189	21	4	581
1-3	341	9	212	17	15	594
4 or more	493	22	500	18	17	1050
	1196	36	901	56	36	2225

Table 10.5: Number of female re-committals by ethnicity, Rochdale, 1869-1875

	English	Foreign	Irish	Scottish	Welsh	
0	83	3	46	7	3	142
1-3	115	2	61	15	3	196
4 or more	225	5	148	7	0	385
	423	10	255	29	6	723

Tables 10.4 and 10.5 show the number of times women from Salford's and Rochdale's courts were re-committed to Strangeways for drunkenness, and their ethnicity. The most striking pattern to emerge is that Irish women in both boroughs comprised a significant number of women with four or more re-committals. In Salford, out of all committals for Irish women, 500 (55.5 per cent) had four or more re-committals, which was greater than those Irish women with no re-committals or between one and three re-committals, combined. The pattern was similar in Rochdale, with 148 (58.0 per cent) committals concerning Irish women who were re-committed four or more times. Of

course, these numbers may have been swelled by individual recidivists. A woman who appeared multiple times in the registers, for example, would account for a large number of these re-committals. For example, Catherine Kennedy, an Irishwoman committed from Salford, appeared eighteen times in the registers.¹² These committals therefore, only represented one person. Regardless, it is interesting to note that although the majority of re-committals concerning English women were also for four or more, the proportion was not as high as those for Irish women. In Salford, 493 (41.2 per cent) of English women were committed four or more times and in Rochdale this number was 225 (53.1 per cent). The difference was much higher in Salford than Rochdale, however, which may be related to the number of Irish women in each borough. Although the number of English-born women committed for drunkenness were the highest in both boroughs, proportionally, Irish women were more likely to be re-committed multiple times.¹³

As noted in Chapter 9, migrants, including those born in Manchester, outnumbered locally-born women in both boroughs. It is possible to explore the proportion of re-committals further by breaking down the figures in Tables 10.4 and 10.5 into individual birthplaces. The majority of committals in both boroughs concerned women who were committed four or more times, and migrants comprised the majority of these women. In Salford, women born in south-east Lancashire were particularly liable to be re-committed. Of the 142 committals for these women, eighty-nine (62.7 per cent) had four or more re-committals. These figures are distorted somewhat by the presence of Ellen Willcock, who was born in nearby Peel Green and appeared twenty-two times in the registers from 1869 to 1875. However, in Rochdale, sixteen (64.0 per cent) of women were born in south-east Lancashire, which was also one of the highest proportions. Conversely, locally-born

¹² By May 1875 she had twenty-seven committals, ten of which came before this research period, and she continued to be re-committed after the research period ends.

¹³ Neal noted that Catholics represented 64.6 per cent of all committals to Liverpool borough gaol between 1864 and 1876, see F. Neal, 'A criminal profile of the Liverpool Irish', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 140 (1990), p. 173. Swift argued that the Irish were over-represented in prisons, nationally, between 1861 and 1901, see R. Swift, 'Crime and the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain' in R. Swift, and S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (Savage: Barnes and Noble, 1989), p. 165.

women were more likely to have four or more re-committals in Rochdale than Salford. In Rochdale they numbered sixty (65.9 per cent), compared to eighty-four (43.5 per cent) in Salford. Again, this may be related to the greater number of migrants in Salford, particularly when women from Manchester are taken into account, than in Rochdale. However, Rochdale's authorities may have been more willing to imprison locally-born women in order to preserve what they considered to be the moral standing of the borough and its residents.

These figures therefore portray the extent to which individual women were re-committed to prison for drunkenness. The next section will examine the occupations of these women and whether re-offending, or desistance, could be linked to their work. Finally, it will explore whether they committed other offences in addition to drunkenness and assess any clues this provides into the lives of these women. Was drunkenness, for example, a pathway into more serious offending?

10.4) Occupations in Relation to Re-Offending

Tables 4 and 5, contained within Appendix 4, examine the number of re-committals, in relation to occupation, for Salford and Rochdale. In both boroughs the textile industry is highly represented but as had been noted above, textile occupations dominated the trade types of women committed for drunkenness in these areas. One particularly interesting pattern, from both boroughs, is the predominance of charwomen and hawkers, especially when examining women who were committed four or more times. In Salford, especially, the proportion of charwomen who were committed multiple times far outweighs those who were committed either once, or a handful of times. Here, out of 354 committals involving charwomen, 189 (53.4 per cent) were committed four or more times. In Rochdale, the number was forty-five (52.3 per cent). Hawkers also figured highly in this category. In Salford, 143 (69.1 per cent) of hawkers were committed four or more times, whilst in Rochdale the number was fifty-three (65.1 per cent). Therefore, women in very poorly-paid occupations featured prominently amongst the ranks of repeat offenders.

The ethnicity of these women may provide a clue as to why so many found themselves committed repeatedly to gaol. In both boroughs, Irish women comprised the majority of charwomen. In Salford, 158 (44.6 per cent) of charwomen committed to gaol for drunkenness were Irish, whilst in Rochdale the number was forty-one (47.7 per cent). Locally-born women were slightly more prevalent in this category in Rochdale rather than Salford. In the former, twelve (14.0 per cent) charwomen were born in Rochdale, whilst in the latter, only eighteen (5.1 per cent) had been born in Salford. Once again, this suggests that Irish migrants comprised a significant proportion of those in poorly-paid occupations and were more likely to be open to prosecution than those born locally.

This suggestion is given even greater credence when the ethnicity of hawkers is taken into account. In Rochdale, fifty (58.1 per cent) of hawkers committed for drunkenness were born in Ireland, whilst not one was born in Rochdale. In Salford, the proportion was even higher. Here, 153 (74.3 per cent) of hawkers were Irish, compared to only four (1.9 per cent) who had been born in Salford itself. As hawkers were more visible on the street, and therefore more likely than, for example, textile workers to come under the surveillance of the police, then perhaps it is not surprising to see them represented so highly in the prison registers. It is, however, the large number who were repeatedly incarcerated which is of interest.

Further examination of the prison registers gives an indication of the types of offences for which hawkers were committed. They were, on the whole, public order offences. In both boroughs, drunkenness was by far the most common offence, with 206 (65.0 per cent) committals from Salford and eighty-six (66.2 per cent) from Rochdale. No other offence came close to these figures but the next most common offences were nuisance with twenty-two (6.9 per cent) committals from Salford and nine (6.9 per cent) from Rochdale.¹⁴ It is interesting that there were many more committals

¹⁴ Other common offences for which hawkers were committed were prostitution with fourteen (4.4 per cent) in Salford but only two (1.5 per cent) in Rochdale, and vagrancy, with eighteen (5.7 per cent) in Salford and fourteen (10.8 per cent) in Rochdale. These were public order offences but were nowhere near the figures for drunkenness.

here for drunkenness than nuisance, an offence which included obstructing the footpath. As hawkers plied their trade on the streets then committals for this latter offence do seem low. It appears that prosecutions for drunkenness were more likely to be successful than those for obstruction, which was perhaps more difficult to prove. This would certainly have been the case if the defendant had previous convictions for drunkenness. Regardless, the visibility of these women on the streets made them vulnerable to arrest.

From Salford, Galway-born Ann McGrath fitted into the description of hawkers examined here. McGrath had twenty-five previous committals to gaol, to both Strangeways and New Bailey, by June 1873 and continued to be committed after the end of the research period.¹⁵ Of the fifteen times she appears in the registers from 1869 to 1875, all were for drunkenness. She gave four addresses during this time, the most common being Collier Street in the Greengate district of Salford, as noted above, one of the borough's poorest and most crowded areas. Her final three committals during this period, however, show that she had lost her home, which, as discussed above, was a common fate for many women committed for drunkenness. She was single, and had no relatives or children, and appeared, therefore, to lack any kind of support network.

From Rochdale, Margaret Frain's experience also related to many of the themes discussed so far. She was also Irish, being born in Sligo and had fifty-seven previous committals by August 1875. Again, she continued to be committed to gaol after the end of the research period. Also a hawker, Frain was married but appeared to be estranged from her husband, John. Like McGrath, all of her committals from 1869 to 1875 were for drunkenness, although on one occasion she was also committed for damaging a cape. Unlike McGrath, Frain did not appear to lose her home, at least not during the period in question but she did move address constantly. In 1870, she was living in Blackwater Street, Rochdale, but by 1875, had lived in Ashton-under-Lyne, Oldham, Ashton (again), Rochdale (again), Heap, Oldham (again), Ashton (for a third time), Bury, Rochdale (again) and finally,

¹⁵ She was also committed to City Gaol in Manchester, at least twice.

Bury (again).¹⁶ She appears to have rarely stayed in one area for long and constantly moved back and forth from borough to borough in south-east Lancashire. She may well have been engaging in ‘moonlight flits’, in that she was running up debts to shopkeepers and landlords, before disappearing to avoid paying them. Additionally, she may have been constantly on the move in order to evade prosecution. If so, this was unsuccessful, as she was committed from the courts representing the areas in which she lived. It is probable that she was living in poverty. The Bury Workhouse records note a Margaret Frain being an inmate from 1865 to 1867, before she was re-committed in 1876. Interestingly, she does not appear to have been sent to the sessions at any time and did not, therefore, engage in serious criminal activity, which is the subject of the next section.

10.5) Higher Courts

The prison registers can also be used as a starting point through which to explore the extent to which women committed for drunkenness went on to commit more serious offences. Were these women ever sent to the sessions for more serious crimes, or were the higher courts used by magistrates to rid their areas of the most troublesome culprits?

The answer is perhaps, a little ambiguous. The registers contain committals concerning particularly notorious women, such as Rochdale’s Mary Kelly, who appeared before the borough’s magistrates over 100 times and is discussed below, and Salford’s Susan Wilson, who had made 153 appearances before Salford’s court by 1895.¹⁷ Neither woman, however, was ever committed to gaol from a higher court.¹⁸ The situation regarding the use of the higher courts in Rochdale was somewhat different to Salford. In Rochdale, as noted in Chapter 6, disorderly prostitutes were prosecuted to the fullest extent under the 1824 Vagrancy Act. There were also women who did not

¹⁶ Blackwater Street was another ‘notorious’ area, as noted in Chapter 3.

¹⁷ *Lancashire Evening Post*, 14 June 1895.

¹⁸ In 1886, however, Kelly was bound over by the Quarter Sessions for assault, see *Rochdale Observer*, 2 February 1886.

commit as many petty offences as Kelly or Wilson but did eventually find themselves convicted by a higher court.

Hulme-born Elizabeth Feeney was one woman who did find herself committed from a higher court. She appeared in the Strangeways registers only once during this research period. In July 1875, she served seven days for being drunk, and for breaking the window of a beerhouse.¹⁹ By 1881, she had been committed to City Gaol four times for assault, abusive behaviour and prostitution and at least the same number of times to Strangeways. Having served two months in gaol in 1877 for stealing calico, she was found guilty of larceny in 1881 and sentenced to one year in prison, coupled with police supervision for seven years. Feeney did not appear again in the prison records so it is possible that she desisted from offending after this time. The Habitual Offenders Register noted her destination on discharge as Manchester but it has not been possible to trace her from this date.²⁰ Ultimately, it was her arrest for larceny which had propelled her into the higher courts.

Unless a woman did commit an offence serious enough to be tried in a higher court, there was little that magistrates could do with women who were continually brought before them for drunkenness. For example, Galway-born Mary Burke, from Salford, had forty-six previous committals by December 1874, the majority of which were for drunkenness. She appeared thirty-four times in the registers from 1869 to 1874 and her sentences increased in line with her appearances. From November 1869 to March 1872 she was committed thirteen times, on only one occasion did her sentence exceed seven days. From then on, until November 1874, she was committed a further twenty-one times, fourteen of which were sentences of one month. It appears that Salford's magistrates had recognised her as a persistent offender and were prosecuting her to

¹⁹ *Salford Weekly News*, 3 July 1875.

²⁰ Habitual Offenders Register, 1882, NA, reproduced at <www.findmypast.co.uk>[accessed 31 October 2017], MEP06.

the fullest extent allowed under the 1872 Licensing Act. Such measures were ineffective, however and it is possible that only Burke's death ended her offending.²¹

Table 10.6: Committals from higher court by offence sub-category, all summary areas, 1869-1875

	Frequency	Percentage
Offences Against Property without Violence	826	77.7
Offences Against the Person	94	8.8
Offences Against Property with Violence	62	5.8
No Specific Class	55	5.2
Offences Against the Currency	26	2.4
Total	1063	100.0

As Table 10.6 shows, the majority of women were committed from the sessions or assizes for property offences. These offences did not, on the whole, concern a violent action, as 826 (77.7 per cent) concerned the theft of money, clothing or other types of property. This figure corresponds closely to the national figure for female committals on indictment.²² Very few women were committed from a higher court for public order offences, which came under No Specific Class. Of these fifty-five cases, seventeen (30.9 per cent) involved prostitution. The majority of committals from this class, twenty-eight (52.7 per cent,) were for attempted suicide. Therefore, with the odd exception, it was offences against property which would see a women sent to trial at the sessions or assizes.

In order to fully explore some of the themes behind the onset of offending and of desistance, the chapter will now examine, in detail, the lives of two persistent offenders from Rochdale, Mary Kelly, and Sarah Madden.

²¹ A death certificate exists for a Mary Burk, of the correct age, in Salford, in 1876.

²² In 1870, 81.4 per cent of all female committals on indictment were for offences against property without violence, falling slightly to 77.6 per cent in 1875. L. Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 314.

10.6) Case Study: Mary Kelly

The biography of Mary Kelly, once denounced by a magistrate as ‘the worst woman in Rochdale’ provides a prime example of the factors which can affect both the onset of, and desistance from, criminal behaviour. She appeared before the magistrates in the borough over 100 times for petty offences, particularly drunkenness, and developed a local reputation for her drunken behaviour. Kelly was not unusual, as it appeared that every urban area in Britain possessed women of equal, or worse, notoriety. Indeed, Jennings has noted the life of London’s Jane Cakebread, who had made 278 appearances before the magistrates by 1895, and Emma Retallick of Pontypridd, who made her 189th appearance in 1909.²³ Likewise, Davies has detailed the life of Nancy Dickybird, the ‘terror of the Manchester police’, who amassed 173 convictions, before 1914, for drunkenness in Manchester before her conversion to teetotalism by the Salvation Army.²⁴ Across the Pennines in Yorkshire, Jane Johnson, ‘an incorrigible drunkard’ had found herself in custody, in various towns in the county, 159 times between 1860 and her death in 1885.²⁵

Kelly’s reputation meant that the local newspapers printed a large amount of material about her appearances in court, which, in conjunction with the census, enable a thorough study of her life. She was born around 1835 and was a young widow, her husband Thomas having died of phthisis in 1865, and she had also lost three young children by this time.²⁶ The loss of her husband’s income would have put strain on the finances of a woman who was also raising four other children: Mary Ann, Annie, Edward and Margaret.²⁷ She was first committed to the New Bailey Prison in September 1859, for stealing a pair of trousers, before serving a sentence of six months in January 1863 for

²³ P. Jennings, Policing drunkenness in England and Wales from the late eighteenth century to the First World War in *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* (Winter 2012), p.84

²⁴ A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1992), pp.70-71

²⁵ *Leeds Daily News*, 13 August 1881. My thanks to David Churchill of the School of Law, University of Leeds, for sharing his research on Jane.

²⁶ In September 1862, four year-old Patrick and eighteen month-old Elizabeth dies of measles. In 1865, just days after his father, another son, Edward, died of whooping cough. All BMD information regarding Kelly obtained from www.findmypast.co.uk.

²⁷ Edward’s parentage is unclear, as he was born three years after his ‘father’s’ death.

stealing a shawl. Her last lengthy spell of imprisonment was for a year in May 1864 for stealing a roll of calico. By 1886, she had also been committed to gaol twenty-three times for assault and drunkenness.

Kelly's early offending may well have been attributable to poverty. In 1860, she claimed that a Mrs Howarth, a local shopkeeper, had paid her to steal several pairs of trousers from her employer. Kelly was living with her family in a cellar at the time.²⁸ It was her repeated committals for drunkenness, however, that allow an insight into community relations in Rochdale. She lived in various addresses in Mount Pleasant, which, as discussed in Chapter 3, was known as the Irish district of Rochdale, and associated with drunkenness and violence. Her 'career' of petty offending can be broken down into two distinct phases. The first lasted until 1877, by which time she had made over forty appearances before the borough's magistrates for drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and obscene language. The second phase lasted from c.1880 to c.1888. Between times she became a teetotaler and announced to a temperance meeting at Rochdale that it was peer pressure which had led her to drink. The local press were quick to seize upon this claim and declared that,

She related how, after she came into this town, she was led into the habit of drinking by the example, and, indeed, pressure of those with whom she worked as a tailoress, till at length she could drink as freely and spend her money as recklessly as they.²⁹

Indeed, whilst abstaining from drink, Kelly became the subject of physical and emotional abuse from her neighbours.

²⁸ *Rochdale Observer*, 28 January 1860. Howarth was being tried at Rochdale for receiving stolen goods. Kelly claimed that Howarth had persuaded her to steal from her employer, a Mr Gray, for which Mary received approximately two shillings.

²⁹ *Rochdale Observer*, 30 March 1878.

As Godfrey, *et al*, have stated, persistent offenders were highly likely to be subjected to victimisation and this was certainly the case with Kelly.³⁰ In May 1878, two months after she spoke at the Temperance Hall, Kelly summoned Maria Kelly and Ann Carney, the latter a Rochdale-born daughter of Irish migrants, for using obscene language to her.³¹ The incident was sparked by Kelly providing chairs for a temperance meeting, which prompted the defendants to come to her door to verbally abuse her. In court, Mr Brierley, speaking for Kelly, stated that 'because Mary had got into the right path she was subjected to systematic annoyance to induce her to get into bad habits again.' Tellingly, the newspaper's report was entitled 'Miserable Jealousy'.³² This was not the only incident of this nature. In June 1879, two young women were summoned for using obscene language to Kelly. She was, according to the court, being 'subject to a great deal of annoyance.'³³ In May 1880, Julia Carney, Ann's sister, assaulted Kelly in a tripe shop on Rope Street, attacking her with her fists and a handily placed pair of weighing scales.³⁴ The court report provided further evidence of local tensions, stating that 'As complainant was a teetotaller she was constantly the victim of foul and abusive language from either the defendant or some of the girls with whom she kept company.'

Such peer pressure eventually turned Kelly back to drink and from 1881, she began to appear regularly again in court. Her offending had ended by 1888, not due to the support of family and friends or the supposedly deterrent effect of the prison system. Kelly emigrated to Ottawa, Canada to be with her daughter Margaret, who had left Rochdale some years before. Intriguingly, when she died in September 1913, the local newspaper printed a report of her funeral. It was a remembrance of a respectable women, whose cortege was surrounded by friends and family. There

³⁰ Godfrey, Cox and Farrall, *Criminal Lives*, Ch. 6.

³¹ Maria Kelly appears at least fourteen times in court. A Maria Kelly appears twice in the Strangeways prison registers between October 1869 and November 1875. The first offence is for breaking a window in Bury in 1872 whilst resident in the town, the second for drunkenness in Rochdale in 1874. Born in Sligo c.1837, she gave her occupation as tailoress, which gives a strong indication that she was the woman named here, although this is not conclusive.

³² *Rochdale Observer*, 18 May 1878.

³³ *Rochdale Times*, 14 June 1879.

³⁴ The 1871 census showed Rochdale-born Carney as a twelve-year old cotton weaver, living in Dawson Square, just off Rope Street, on the Mount.

was no mention of her offending in Rochdale or any indication that she had come before the courts in Ottawa.³⁵ There are two reasons for this apparent desistance from offending. Firstly, by moving away from the influences and poverty of Rochdale, she was able to integrate into a support network in a new country where she was separated from the temptations of drink. Secondly, the role of her daughter was key. It appears that the bond between mother and daughter was strong and that Margaret cared for Kelly in the latter stages of her life. Their roles became reversed. Desistance for Kelly came from a change of location and the existence of a strong familial support network, rather than the effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

10.7) Case Study: Sarah Madden

Sarah Madden appeared only twice in the registers from 1869 to 1875. However, her subsequent offending merits further investigation, as her experiences reflected several of the themes explored above: Madden was a migrant, she was repeatedly committed to gaol and ultimately, it was not the criminal justice system which influenced her criminal 'career'. Born to Irish parents in Shrewsbury, Shropshire, in 1861, Madden was one of seven daughters. The Madden family appear to have left the town, and moved to Rochdale, as a result of the father, John's, offending. In November 1871, John Madden had been acquitted at Shrewsbury Assizes of maliciously wounding one Michael Burke with a knife. Perhaps fearing a form of informal retribution upon his release, the family left Shrewsbury and moved north.³⁶

Once in Rochdale, parental neglect led to Madden roaming the streets of the borough, sometimes with a sibling, which brought her to the attention of the police. Reports of her vagrant behaviour can be found from 1873, when, aged thirteen, she was brought before the Bench for

³⁵ *Ottawa Citizen*, 6 September 1913. Death certificate reproduced at www.ancestry.co.uk[accessed 23 January 2015]

³⁶ See *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 1 December 1871, John Maddin (sic), Assizes record, via www.findmypast.co.uk. Madden had previously been convicted of assaulting his wife and of drunkenness. See *Shrewsbury Free Press and Advertiser for Salop*, 21 July 1866 and *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 20 August 1869.

wandering abroad. It was stated that she had been brought before the magistrates on previous occasions for theft and vagrancy.³⁷ Her home life was blamed for this behaviour, as 'it appeared that she had a bad home, her mother being in gaol, and her father threatening to beat her at the time she was found wandering about'.³⁸ Her first committal to prison was in February 1875, when she served two months for stealing a shawl. Sentenced to an additional five years in a reformatory, she was sent to the workhouse as, on account of her 'very bad character', no reformatory could be found.³⁹

This lack of familial support had a direct bearing on Madden's offending. Already accustomed to being arrested and placed in custody whilst a juvenile, she began to be prosecuted for drunkenness and prostitution. By the age of seventeen, in 1877, she was already noted as being a prostitute and had been convicted 'many times' by Rochdale's magistrates.⁴⁰ As noted in Chapter 6, Rochdale's police prosecuted women, arrested as disorderly prostitutes, under the 1824 Vagrancy Act to the highest degree possible, and Madden found herself caught on more than one occasion in the 'sliding scale' they employed to punish such offenders. In total, she served four separate sentences of twelve months in gaol for being an 'incorrigible rogue' between October 1877 and February 1887.⁴¹ The report of her last appearance at the sessions noted that she had also been summarily committed twenty-three times for prostitution and drunkenness.⁴² Her experience was not unique, as the examples of other women, described in Chapter 6, show.

Madden's behaviour had continually brought her to the attention of the police. When she was committed to the sessions in 1886, the *Rochdale Times* proclaimed that:-

³⁷ *Rochdale Times*, 13 September 1873. Having been born in 1861, she was probably aged twelve.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Initially, her mother, Ellen was blamed for Sarah's behaviour, and she had been committed to gaol four times for drunkenness between 1873 and 1874. However, her father, John, also served time in Strangeways for drunkenness.

³⁹ This detail was contained in the prison register.

⁴⁰ *Rochdale Observer*, 14 April 1877.

⁴¹ These trial dates were 22 October 1877, 12 January 1880, 28 May 1883 and 15 February 1886.

⁴² Interestingly, one of these committals was for assaulting her mother, which suggests that their relationship was a fraught one. See *Rochdale Observer*, 22 April 1882.

Sarah Madden (25), who has often been described as the worst woman in Rochdale, was drunk and disorderly in South-lane on Sunday night. The prisoner said that having been a wild, unfortunate girl in the past the police, when they saw her, tried to aggravate her so that they could bring her to the Town Hall. Detective Boothman said that he had to caution this woman daily. She was one of the worst women on the streets.⁴³

Madden served her final sentence as an 'incurrible rogue' in 1886-87 but this did not represent the end of her offending. However, her appearances before the magistrates lessened after 1888 and this may have been attributable to a change in her personal life, rather than the best efforts of the criminal justice system. She had, for example, served her first sentence as an incurrible rogue when, in November 1879, she was arrested for being drunk and disorderly, and brought to the police office in a wheelbarrow. As the *Rochdale Observer* bemoaned 'Under the cumulative system of punishment she has already suffered a long imprisonment as an incurrible rogue, after which she was supposed to be whitewashed and to commence life anew'.⁴⁴ As Godfrey, *et al*, have discussed, there have been several theories put forward as to why people desist from crime.⁴⁵ It has been suggested that marriage was a factor in the ending of criminal behaviour among women but this was not the case with Madden, as her offending continued after marriage.⁴⁶

In July 1888, she married Joseph Ashworth, a local coal heaver. Although she was not sent to the sessions after this date, she was still arrested for drunkenness and disorderly behaviour.

Between August 1888 and July 1895 she made a further twelve appearances before Rochdale's Bench. In 1890, she was sentenced to six months for assaulting Annie Caveney. The 1891 census

⁴³ *Rochdale Times*, 20 February 1886.

⁴⁴ *Rochdale Observer*, 22 November 1879.

⁴⁵ Godfrey, Cox and Farrall, *Criminal Lives*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ However, in their study of Victorian Crewe, Godfrey, Cox and Farrall argued that marriage did little to end offending amongst men. Furthermore, they discovered that employment in Crewe's railway works, whilst stabilizing the offending of persistent offenders, witnessed an increase in drunkenness amongst both persistent and occasional offenders. Their study, however, looked at offending amongst men and the impact of their relationships with women, whilst no town in south-east Lancashire had a major employer on the scale of Crewe's Lancashire and North Western Railway Company Works. *Ibid*, Ch. 4.

shows that after her release, she was living with her mother and father in South Lane, Rochdale, which suggests that she was separated from her husband. Indeed, the marriage was not a happy one, as in October 1888, just three months after her wedding, Sarah Ashworth prosecuted Joseph for assault, although she did not appear in court. In June 1895, Joseph prosecuted Ashworth for damaging his windows. She was, according to the court, 'an intemperate violent woman.....and complainant was obliged to seek protection from her violence.'⁴⁷ Newspaper reports from 1888 to 1895 show that Ashworth was living at a variety of addresses in Rochdale, apparently separated from her husband. As noted in Chapter 7, it was not unusual for women committed to Strangeways to have been estranged from their husbands.

Ashworth's last recorded offence was in July 1895, when she was sentenced to fourteen days in prison for vagrancy and being a disorderly prostitute, which again suggests that she had separated from Joseph. Reporting on this offence, the *Observer* noted that she had been released from gaol to undergo treatment at Rochdale Infirmary for cancer but had been plied with drink.⁴⁸ Her declining health may have been a factor in her apparent desistance from offending as Ashworth did not appear before the Bench again. Furthermore, there may have been a reconciliation between husband and wife. When Ashworth succumbed to breast cancer in June 1897, at the age of thirty-six, Joseph was present at her death.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Rochdale Observer*, 15 June 1895.

⁴⁸ *Rochdale Observer*, 20 July 1895.

⁴⁹ Sarah Madden Marriage and Death Certificates, reproduced at <www.gro.gov.uk>[accessed 16 June 2017]

10.8) Conclusion

This chapter has concentrated on women who were committed repeatedly to Strangeways for drunkenness. As discussed above, the registers can not give a concrete answer as to when women began and ended their offending. However, they do give a strong indication of these events and, most importantly, they help to provide an understanding of the circumstances of these women's lives: their work life, domestic situation and economic standing.

Examining women who were committed multiple times helps to broaden our understanding of these circumstances. By exploring repeated committals over a number of years, it can be ascertained when a marriage broke down, when children were lost, when occupations changed and when they moved, or lost, their home. It may, at times, be possible to ascertain whether it was their drinking habits which led to any breakdown in their domestic life, or *vice versa*. Of course, it is dangerous to generalise, as all lives were different. The case studies of Kelly and Madden provide firm evidence of this. Both women were habitual offenders and both gained a notorious reputation on the streets of Rochdale. However, whilst a change in Kelly's domestic circumstance led to her desistance from crime, Madden's marriage, at least initially, did not. Ultimately, important life events, rather than the efforts of the criminal justice system, were of greater influence on their offending.

It is possible, however, to provide some general observations. The number of charwomen and hawkers who were repeatedly committed for drunkenness bears noting, as those that were committed four or more times to gaol outweighed those committed fewer times. Their ethnicity and birthplace are important here: many were migrants, especially Irish migrants, whilst very few of their number were born in the boroughs in which their offences were committed. A constant presence on the streets, hawkers were perhaps more vulnerable than most women to arrest and prosecution.

The nature of policing in Salford and Rochdale also had a bearing on arrests. The smaller geographical area, and population of Rochdale meant that women in the borough would have been more recognisable to the beat constable, and ultimately, the magistrates. However, women in Salford could feel persecuted too. As Mary Ann Baxter, appearing for the tenth time before Salford's magistrates in 1875, told the court, 'I cannot look at policemen now but they take me up'.⁵⁰ Many women would surely have been institutionalised by the number of times they were imprisoned, and their regular court appearances would have held no fear for them. Many women needed economic or emotional support, rather than punishment. Prison, rather than addressing the problem of habitual offending, probably helped to exacerbate it.

⁵⁰ *Salford Weekly News*, 19 June 1875.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

This thesis had three primary aims. These were, firstly, to produce a comprehensive account of attitudes towards female drunkenness in two Lancashire boroughs, and the legal and social circumstances which led to women being imprisoned for the offence, between c.1869 and 1879. Secondly, the thesis explored the use of local power dynamics, using the case studies of Salford and Rochdale to examine how the authorities used legislation to police working-class communities. Thirdly, the thesis sought to explore the life-cycle of women committed to Strangeways Prison for drunkenness, who they were, why they were committed and in which stage of the life-cycle they were most vulnerable to committal. This exploration aimed to expand the knowledge of the lives of women committed to Victorian gaols, a much-neglected topic of criminal justice history. Initially, the thesis explored the national and local concerns about female drunkenness, before examining sentencing patterns towards, and the life cycle of, women committed to Strangeways, using data from the prison registers. This conclusion will discuss each aim before providing closing remarks.

One of these primary aims, the exploration of the nature of local politics, was examined in Chapters 3, 5 and 6. They showed that the introduction of the 1869 Wine and Beerhouse Act and the 1872 Licensing Act, had a major impact on the prosecution of drunkenness in Salford and Rochdale. However, as Chapter 5 showed, the policing of drunkenness differed between boroughs. In Salford, the police concentrated, as most forces did, on extreme forms of drunkenness, such as drunk and disorderly or drunk and incapable. In Rochdale, however, the police took a different approach, in also prosecuting people for simple drunkenness. As Belchem noted that there were 'peculiarities' of Liverpool, so might a study of approaches to drunkenness suggest that there were also 'peculiarities' of Rochdale.¹ This chapter further exposed the 'zero-tolerance' approach that the

¹ J. Belchem, 'Introduction: the peculiarities of Liverpool', in J. Belchem (ed.), *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour, Essays in Liverpool History 1790-1940* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992).

borough's authorities took towards public order offences from the late 1860s onwards. These offences were targeted by the Chief Constable, Samuel Stevens, with support from the Liberal, Nonconformist local elites. Nowhere was his approach more apparent than in the policing of drunkenness, which saw Rochdale's constables tasked with arresting people for simple drunkenness under the terms of the 1872 Licensing Act. Such actions were unusual for police forces elsewhere and proved highly controversial and unpopular when they were implemented, as was seen in the case of Birmingham. Rochdale's urban rulers, however, celebrated Stevens' actions as proof of the high moral standing of their borough.

There was, however, no shortage of controversy in Salford, which saw its judicial system dominated by the borough's stipendiary magistrate, Sir John Iles Mantell. He believed that Salford was one of the most drunken, violent and lawless boroughs in England and, as a result, he used the full power of the law when sentencing women for drunkenness and violence. As the face of the judicial system in the borough, Mantell perceived statistics portraying a rise in drunkenness and violence as an affront to his authority. His regular outbursts in court, directed to defendants, the press, or both, were intended to maintain this authority in the face of what appeared to be increasing criminality. His professional pride was at stake here and his regular resort to custodial sentences, as noted in Chapter 6, were the actions of a man determined to enforce his personality and authority over those who came before him. This did not have the deterrent effect for which he was striving. Additionally, Salford's lay magistrates were influenced by Mantell and those that committed women to gaol for drunkenness followed his lead.

In contrast, Rochdale did not possess a stipendiary and the borough's lay magistrates were less severe in their interpretation of the law. The lack of such a forceful personality as Mantell allowed Rochdale's magistrates to use greater discretion in sentencing. Here, Rochdale's magistrates regularly convicted women under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, which resulted in women deemed to be 'disorderly prostitutes' being subjected to ever longer sentences. This, again, was in

line with the assault on offences of morality and public order with which the borough's authorities were determined to deal. They would have been aided by the smaller population of Rochdale, as compared to Salford, which allowed police and magistrates alike to possess a greater appreciation of a defendant's social circumstances than was the case in the latter. Furthermore, although both magistrates' courts were busy, the number of women processed in Salford was overwhelming. Women committed from Salford tended to be prosecuted for being drunk and riotous, which reflected the concern about drink and violence in the borough. In contrast, a greater proportion of women from Rochdale were committed for being drunk, a consequence of police action. Finally, as Chapter 6 showed, there is little evidence that Victorian perceptions of gender had any great influence in sentencing patterns towards women in either borough.

Another primary aim of the thesis was to explore the effect of the life cycle on the imprisonment of women for drunkenness. Women committed to prison for the offence were not a homogenous group. They were single, married, young, old, childless or with large families. They were factory workers, hawkers, charwomen and servants. Importantly, however, patterns relating to their stage of the life cycle can be discerned through the data, enabling conclusions to be drawn regarding their vulnerability to prosecution and imprisonment. The use of individual biographies was important in portraying these, at times deeply troubled women, as the wives, mothers and daughters that they were.

As Chapter 7 showed, women began to be committed for drunkenness later in the life cycle than women committed for theft. Committals for drunkenness were most prevalent in older, married women, with the peak age being between thirty and thirty-nine. Leisure options were important here, as the opportunities open to young, single women would have been greater than those for their older counterparts. Young, single women did indeed feature in the prison registers, however, especially those who were textile workers. This suggests that socialising with workmates at the end of the week, an important working-class ritual, led these women into contact with the

police, who expected to encounter drunken behaviour at weekends. Furthermore, women who were over the age of sixty when committed, tended to be imprisoned for drunkenness more than any other offence. This could indicate an addiction to alcohol, the lack of a need to conform to conventions of respectability, or an absence of other leisure opportunities for women in their age range.

The lack of familial, or neighbourhood, support networks were also apparent here. Many married women were separated from their husbands and had lost access to his wage. Furthermore, women with children were often imprisoned for vagrancy, especially for sleeping out, and had lost contact with their offspring. This lack of a secure family unit was another major factor in a woman's vulnerability to prosecution for drunkenness.

In terms of the 'type' of women who drank in public, as noted in the literature review, incarcerated women were comprised, almost entirely, of the poor, marginalised working class. Chapter 8 noted the occupations of these women and it was apparent, from the large number of charwomen, houseworkers and hawkers that they were living in poverty. Hawkers in particular were vulnerable to arrest for a range of public order offences and were highly visible to the police, who had a wealth of legal powers at their disposal. Charwomen tended to be older women, suggesting that they were struggling to find meaningful employment in later stages of life, and were forced to find any irregular employment they could. A recourse to drink would have been a rare comfort to them.

The findings presented in Chapter 9 give further credence to the desperate circumstances that many women found themselves in. The majority of committals from Salford and Rochdale comprised women who were not born in these boroughs, and whilst the Irish were over-represented here, there were also significant numbers of English women. Therefore, being a migrant, even one who had travelled a short distance, left a woman vulnerable to imprisonment. The reasons for this could be numerous, such as the lack of employment, the tendency of mill-owners to employ local

women, seasonal employment or dismissal. Furthermore, most migrants, especially the Irish, tended to be employed in poorly-paid, marginal occupations, such as hawking. For migrants who travelled without having family or friends at their destination, the chances of finding settled, regular employment would have been harder still. The economies of Salford and Rochdale were booming during the first half of the 1870s and their populations were increasing. Female migrants were attracted by the prospect of employment but those who did not find it became vulnerable to criminality and imprisonment.

The poverty of incarcerated women was further highlighted by an examination of their addresses. They came from the poorer areas of Rochdale, Salford and Manchester, especially the slum areas described in Chapter 3. These districts had appalling sanitary conditions which meant that many residents would have spent a great deal of time on the streets. Moreover, they were districts which were perceived, by the press and the police, as being particularly criminal. Therefore, they were policed heavily, which led these women into direct contact with authority on a regular basis. During a period in which drunkenness was perceived as a particular social problem, a combination of police activity, popular prejudice and limited leisure opportunities would have increased a woman's chances of prosecution for the offence.

Chapter 10 explored re-offending and desistance. It argued that far from being the morally corrupt women denounced by the Victorians, many repeat offenders had no access to support, were desperately poor and in many instances had been widowed. Therefore, grief and poverty were important triggers in a woman's life, which could lead her into drink and, ultimately, imprisonment. Repeat offenders were also targeted by the police, who knew that a woman's reputation and appearance would count against her in court. At a time when magistrates rarely doubted the word of the arresting constable, these women would have had little chance of avoiding gaol. Furthermore, a desire for the relative warmth and comfort that a gaol could bring, in contrast to

their domestic circumstances, was a further factor. Many women were not deterred by the criminal justice system and at times revelled in their court appearances.

In fulfilling the first primary aim of the thesis, this study has explored a wide variety of factors relating to female drunkenness, from national and local concerns, to policing, sentencing policies and the life cycle of imprisoned women. It has shown that, in line with national concerns, female drunkenness was deemed to be a major problem in south-east Lancashire. The comparative analysis of Salford and Rochdale has highlighted how two boroughs, despite being close to one other, had distinctly different approaches to the policing and sentencing of women prosecuted for drunkenness. These were influenced by individuals as well as their political and social composition. Furthermore, the thesis has contributed to the knowledge of the social status of women committed to local prisons at this time, by using detailed qualitative and quantitative research methods. Further research could use Rochdale's petty sessions registers to provide an in-depth examination of who used the borough's magistrates' court, for what purpose and whether there was a gender difference between the treatment of men and women in court. Another area which could be explored in more detail is the influence of local temperance groups on policing and sentencing. Temperance is a large topic and could not be fully examined here. Moreover, the prison registers could be used to examine female petty offending in the region, as a whole, and the lived experience of women in mid-Victorian Lancashire. The registers provide a wealth of detail on people's lives, not just their experience of the criminal justice system. Therefore, the full potential of Victorian prison registers has yet to be realised.

Appendices

Appendix 1

1.1: Classification of Offences

For committals from the higher courts:

Sub-categories

Offences Against the Person
Offences Against Property with Violence
Offences Against Property without Violence
Offences Against Currency
No Specific Class

For committals from petty sessions:

Public Order

Drunkenness
Nuisance
Prostitution
Vagrancy

Violent

Assaulting the Person
Assaulting the Police
Attempted Suicide

Property

Damaging Property
Fraud
Handling Stolen Goods
Larceny – No Value Determined
Larceny – Offender <16 Years
Larceny – Over 5/
Larceny – Under 5/
Pawnbrokers' Act

Regulatory

Animals
Court Order
Employment

Fraud
Health
Licensing
Poor Law
Revenue Laws

Committals from Higher Court

There is some overlap with the major offence categories and sub-categories here. For example, offences in the 'No Specific Class' sub-category covered public order, violent and regulatory offences. Offences against the person covered both violent and regulatory offences. The judicial statistics usefully divide offences tried on indictment into six categories. Five of these categories have been used for the database. The wording for the 'Currency Offences' and 'No Specific Class' categories has been changed slightly for ease of analysis.

Offence Sub-Categories:

Offences Against the Person

Assaulting the person/police
Abandoning/abducting/endangering/murdering/neglecting a child/children
Attempted murder
Bigamy
Concealment of birth
Grievous bodily harm
Intent to maim
Intent to procure miscarriage
Manslaughter
Murder
Unlawful wounding

Offences Against Property with Violence

Burglary
Breaking and entering
Stealing from dwelling house or public property/warehouse
Robbery from the person
Robbery with violence

Offences Against Property without Violence

Embezzlement
Handling/Receiving Stolen Goods
Illegally pawning
Larceny to the value of £5 from dwelling houses
Simple larceny/ from the person/by servants

Obtaining money/goods by false pretences/forging a will/fraud

Offences Against the Currency

Dealing in/possessing/tendering counterfeit coin
Possessing implements for coining money

No Specific Class

Attempted suicide
Being a common prostitute did behave in a riotous/indecent manner having been previously convicted as a rogue and vagabond/idle and disorderly person
Falsely accusing of rape
Intent to commit felony
Perjury
Wandering abroad and having no visible means of subsistence having previously been convicted as a rogue and vagabond

Major Offence Category: Public Order

Drunkenness

Disorderly conduct in licensed premises
Drunk
Drunk and disorderly/riotous/indecent/incapable
Drunk and disorderly/riotous in the workhouse
Drunk and disorderly and using profane/obscene/abusive language
Drunk and riotous and assaulting the person
Drunk and disorderly/riotous and assaulting a police officer
Drunk and riotous and disturbing the peace/breach of the peace
Drunk and obstructing the footpath
Drunk and begging/illegally pawning/stealing items
Drunk and Importuning passengers for the purpose of prostitution
Drunk and keeping a brothel
Drunk and neglect of family
Drunk and disorderly/riotous and damaging property
Drunk and disorderly and found in public house during prohibited hours
Drunk in charge of a horse and cart
Licensing Act 1872 - Refusing to quit a public house/beerhouse

Nuisance

Being a person of bad fame did behave herself riotously and disorderly
Breach of the peace/by fighting/by riotous conduct
Breaking windows, riotous and indecent behaviour
Creating a disturbance
Disorderly/Disorderly Conduct/Disorderly and riotous/disorderly and disturbing the public peace
Disorderly conduct by fighting
Disorderly conduct and damaging items/damaging property
Disturbing the peace/Riotous in a police office
Gaming with box and dice
Indecent and riotous behaviour
Indecent behaviour/exposing the person
Loitering about to the annoyance of passengers
Obstructing the footpath

Obstructing the footpath and wandering abroad without any visible means of subsistence
Playing at a pretended game of chance/bag of dice
Pretending to tell fortunes
Riotous and disorderly behaviour/conduct
Telling fortunes
Throwing night soil in the public street
Using abusive/obscene/profane/threatening/offensive/disgusting language
Using certain public craft means or devices to deceive and impose upon her majesty's subjects

Prostitution

Being a common prostitute did loiter/importune passengers for the purpose of prostitution
Indecent/riotous/disorderly/riotous prostitute
Keeping a brothel/unlawfully and knowingly allowing thieves to assemble therein
Riotous/indecent prostitute and assaulting a police officer

Vagrancy

Begging
Being a reputed thief
Procuring a child for the purpose of begging/Causing a child to wander abroad and beg alms
Found in a house/building/outhouse/shop/warehouse/yard/street/public place for an unlawful purpose/with intent to commit a felony
Hawking/peddling without a certificate/licence
Rogue and vagabond
Selling goods without a certificate
Sleeping out/in an outhouse and with no visible means of subsistence
Suspected person
Unlawfully trespassing on railway and refusing to quit
Vagrancy
Wandering abroad and or/not having any visible means of subsistence

Major Offence Category: Violent

Assaulting the Person

Assaulting another member of the public/court official/school board officer
Assaulting another inmate/staff member in the workhouse
Assault with wilful damage/indecent behaviour/breach of the peace/threatening behaviour

Assaulting the Police

Assaulting/resisting or obstructing a police officer

Attempted Suicide

Major Offence Category: Regulatory

Animals

Permitting a dog to be at large/unmuzzled
Cruelty to an ass
Ill-treating a dog

Court Order

Offence against the Penal Servitude Act/Prevention of Crimes Act in not reporting to police/reporting change of residence

Employment

Absenting/absconding from employment
Breach of contract
Carrying on the business of broker without a licence
Leaving her apprenticeship

Fraud

Non-payment of monies to loan society
Non-payment of rail/carriage fare

Health

Breach of lodging house regulations
Selling unfit food/clothing
Keeping an unregistered lodging house
Neglecting to keep house clean

Licensing

Breaking terms of Penal Servitude Act – associating with thieves and prostitutes
Breach of licence act
Keeping a beerhouse open in illegal hours
Keeping an illicit still
Offence against the Licensing Act
Retailing beer without a licence

Poor Law

Absconding from Industrial School/Workhouse
Absconding from the workhouse with clothes
Behaving in a riotous/indecent/disorderly/violent manner whilst an inmate of the workhouse
Deceiving the Union
Breach of the Bury Improvement Act 1846
Breach of the School Board Act
Concealing an escaped child from an Industrial School
Damaging/destroying clothing/property in the workhouse
Embezzling clothing belonging to the Bolton Union
Neglect of family/child
Neglecting to send child to school under School Board Act
Nonpayment of Borough/poor rates
Not paying towards child in Reformatory School/Industrial School
Offence against the School Board Act
Refusing to work at the workhouse
While inmate of the workhouse was guilty of misbehaving by acting indecently to wit by wearing male attire

Revenue Laws

Offence against the Excise Laws

Major Offence Category: Property

Damaging Property

Wilfully damaging items/windows/doors/police cell/grass

Breaking items/windows/panes of glass/items of clothing

Fraud

Fraudulently removing goods

Obtaining goods by false pretences

Procuring charitable donations by false pretences

Ringing the Changes

Handling Stolen Goods

Having stolen goods

Possessing items reasonably suspected to have been stolen

Pawnbrokers' Act

Illegally pawning clothing

Larceny – Offender <16 Years

Items stolen by offender under 16 years of age and prosecuted under the Juvenile Offenders Act

Larceny – Under 5/

Stealing items/money under the value of 5/

Larceny – Over 5/

Stealing items/money over the value of 5/

Larceny – No Value Determined

Stealing items/money, with no stated value

1.2: Summary Areas

Borough Courts

Ashton-under-Lyne

Ashton-under-Lyne
Audenshaw
Bardsley
Clayton
Clayton in Droylsden
Denton
Droylsden
Dukes Platting
Haughton
Hooley Hill
Hurst
Lees
Millbottom
Mossley
Smallshaw
Taunton
Waterloo

Bolton

Bolton

Oldham

Chadderton
Crompton
Oldham
Royton (part of)

Rochdale

Blatchinworth
Butterworth
Calderbrook
Castleton
Littleboro
Rochdale
Spotland (part of)
Wardleworth
Wuerdle and Wardle

Salford

Salford

Stalybridge

Stalybridge

Stockport

Brinnington
Heaton Mersey
Heaton Norris (part of)
Stockport

Petty Sessional Divisions**Bacup and Rawtenstall**

Bacup
Spotland (part of)

Bolton

Aspull
Blackrod
Broughton
Farnworth
Great Bolton
Great Lever
Halliwell
Heaton
Horwich
Kearsley
Little Bolton
Little Hulton
Little Lever
Lostock
Middle Hulton
Over Hulton
Rumsworth
Sharples
Tonge
Turton
Westhoughton

Bury

Ainsworth
Birtle cum Bamford
Bury
Elton
Radcliffe
Heywood
Heap
Hopwood
Pilkington
Ramsbottom
Tottington Higher End
Tottington Lower End
Walmersley
Walmersley & Shuttleworth

Manchester County

Barton upon Irwell
Blackley
Bradford
Burnage
Cheetham
Clifton
Crumpsall
Didsbury
Eccles
Failsworth
Fallowfield
Flixton
Gorton
Harpurhey
Heaton Chapel
Heaton Norris (rural)
Irlam
Levenshulme
Longsight
Manchester
Moss Side
Moston
Newton
Old Trafford
Openshaw
Patricroft
Pendlebury
Prestwich
Reddish
Rusholme
Stretford
Swinton
West Gorton
Winton
Withington
Worsley

Middleton

Middleton
Todmorden
Todmorden and Walsden
Walshaw

Oldham

Royton (part of)
Middleton Junction
Tonge

Higher Court

1.3: Place of Birth and Address

Location ID1 (Place of Birth)

Salford – 1
Rochdale – 2
Bolton – 3
Oldham – 4
Ashton-under-Lyne – 5
Stalybridge – 6
Stockport – 7
Manchester – 8
Bury – 9
No Settled Home – 10
Lancashire – 11
Other English Counties – 12
Irish – 13
Scottish – 14
Welsh – 15
Non-UK – 16
Not Given – 17
South-East Lancashire - 18

Location ID2 (Address)

Salford – 1
Rochdale – 2
Bolton – 3
Oldham – 4
Ashton-under-Lyne – 5
Stalybridge – 6
Stockport – 7
Manchester – 8
Bury – 9
No Settled Home – 10
Lancashire – 11
Other English Counties – 12
Outside England - 13
Not Given – 14
South-East Lancashire – 15

1.4: Occupations

Industrial

Artificial Flower Maker
Bag Maker
Basket Maker
Bleach Croft
Bleach Maker
Boatwoman
Bonnet Maker
Book Keeper
Boot Binder
Boot Closer
Boot Stitcher
Box Maker
Brickcroft
Brick Maker
Brush Maker
Button Turner
Cane Chair Maker
Cap Maker
Carder
Cardroom
Carpet Weaver
Chair Bottomer
Cigar Maker
Clothes Dealer
Confectioner
Cork Dealer
Cotton Baller
Cotton Factory
Cotton Packer
Cotton Picker
Cotton Polisher
Cotton Reeler
Cotton Sorter
Cotton Spinner
Cotton Weaver
Cotton Winder
Crinoline Maker
Crochet Worker
Crockery Printer
Dressmaker
Duster in Paper Works
Dyer
Embroideress
Factory Operative
File Cutter
Fish Dealer
Flax Mill

Flax Spinner
Flax Worker
Flour Mill
Font Sorter
French Polisher
Fringe Maker
Fringe Trimmer
Fur Cutter
Fur Dresser
Furrier
Fustian Cutter
Fustian Weaver
Glass Froster
Glassworks
Glove Maker
Greengrocer
Hair Dresser
Hat Spinner
Hat Stitcher
Hat Trimmer
Heald Knitter
Healdmaker
Horse Mill
Knitter
Lace Jagger
Lace Maker
Lace Worker
Linen Factory
Linen Mill
Machine Stitcher
Machinist
Mangle Keeper
Mantle Maker
Marine Store Dealer
Market Gardener
Mat Maker
Match Maker
Mill Worker
Milliner
Milliner & Dressmaker
Nail Cutter
Paper Box Maker
Paper Mill
Paper Stainer
Paper Works
Plate Polisher
Pottery
Poulterer
Print Works
Quilter
Rag Sorter

Roller Coverer
Rope Maker
Salem Weaver
Screw Maker
Seamstress
Sewing Machinist
Shoe Binder
Silk Factory
Silk Finisher and Dyer
Silk Mill
Silk Weaver
Silk Winder
Silker in a Bleach Croft
Smallware Weaver
Sorter at Paper Mill
Spinner
Stay Maker
Stitcher at Bleach Works
Tailoress
Tassell Maker
Thread Polisher
Tobacconist
Twist Winder
Umbrella Coverer
Umbrella Maker
Upholsteress
Washerwoman
Waste Picker
Waste Sorter
Watchmaker
Weaver
Wig Maker
Winder
Wool Factory
Wool Sorter
Wool Weaver
Woollen Mill
Woollen Weaver
Worsted Mill
Worsted Weaver

The occupation of sempstress has been changed to seamstress, as these were the same role. Forty women from the registers gave their occupation as sempstress. There is also an overlap between the industrial and domestic occupation field. Certain occupations listed under the former, such as seamstress, dressmaker and milliner, were often carried out in the home and could be a part-time occupation. Therefore, strictly speaking, these could be noted as homework, which the census

noted as a domestic occupation. However, as there is little way of knowing whether each woman who stated that she was a dressmaker or seamstress did indeed work in the home, rather than a factory or workshop, the census definition has been adhered to. As noted below, the Commercial trade type is wide ranging, as there was a significant difference in the occupations of a hawker and a shopkeeper. However, in order to maintain consistency in the use of the census, these trade descriptions have been adhered to.

Domestic

Chamber Maid
Charwoman
Cook
Hotel Waitress or Servant
Housemaid
Housework
Kitchen Maid
Laundress
Lodging House Keeper
Nurse
Nurse - Servant
Servant

Commercial

Broker
Cotton Warehouse
Hawker
Paper Warehouse
Shopkeeper
Warehouse
Waste Warehouse

Professional

Acrobat
Actress
Midwife
Musician
School Mistress
Violinist

Indefinite & Non-Productive

Field Labourer
Labourer

None

Appendix 2

Table 1: Fine option by marital status in Salford 1869-1875

Salford ²	1p.-20s.	No Option	Over 20s.	Total
Married	852	150	15	1017
	38.3%	6.7%	0.7%	45.7%
Not Given	3	0	0	3
	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Single	517	112	12	641
	23.2%	5.0%	0.5%	28.8%
Widowed	472	82	10	564
	21.2%	3.7%	0.4%	25.3%
Total	1844	344	37	2225
	82.9%	15.5%	1.7%	100.0%

Table 2: Fine option by marital status in Rochdale 1869-1875

Rochdale	1p.-20s.	No Option	Over 20s.	Total
Married	341	11	52	404
	47.2%	1.5%	7.2%	55.9%
Single	122	6	31	159
	16.9%	0.8%	4.3%	22.0%
Widowed	130	11	19	160
	18.0%	1.5%	2.6%	22.1%
Total	593	28	102	723
	82.0%	3.9%	14.1%	100.0%

² A further three cases did not give their age.

Table 3: Prison sentence by marital status in Salford, 1869-1875

Salford³	1-14 Days	Over 14 Days	Total
Married	921	96	1017
	41.4%	4.3%	45.7%
Single	566	75	641
	25.4%	3.4%	28.8%
Widowed	499	65	564
	22.4%	2.9%	25.3%
Total	1989	236	2225
	89.4%	10.6%	100.0%

Table 4: Prison sentence by marital status in Rochdale, 1869-1875

Rochdale	1-14 Days	Over 14 Days	Total
Married	346	58	404
	47.9%	8.0%	55.9%
Single	122	37	159
	16.9%	5.1%	22.0%
Widowed	142	18	160
	19.6%	2.5%	22.1%
Total	610	113	723
	84.4%	15.6%	100.0%

Figure 1: Length of prison sentences for female drunkenness, 1869-1875

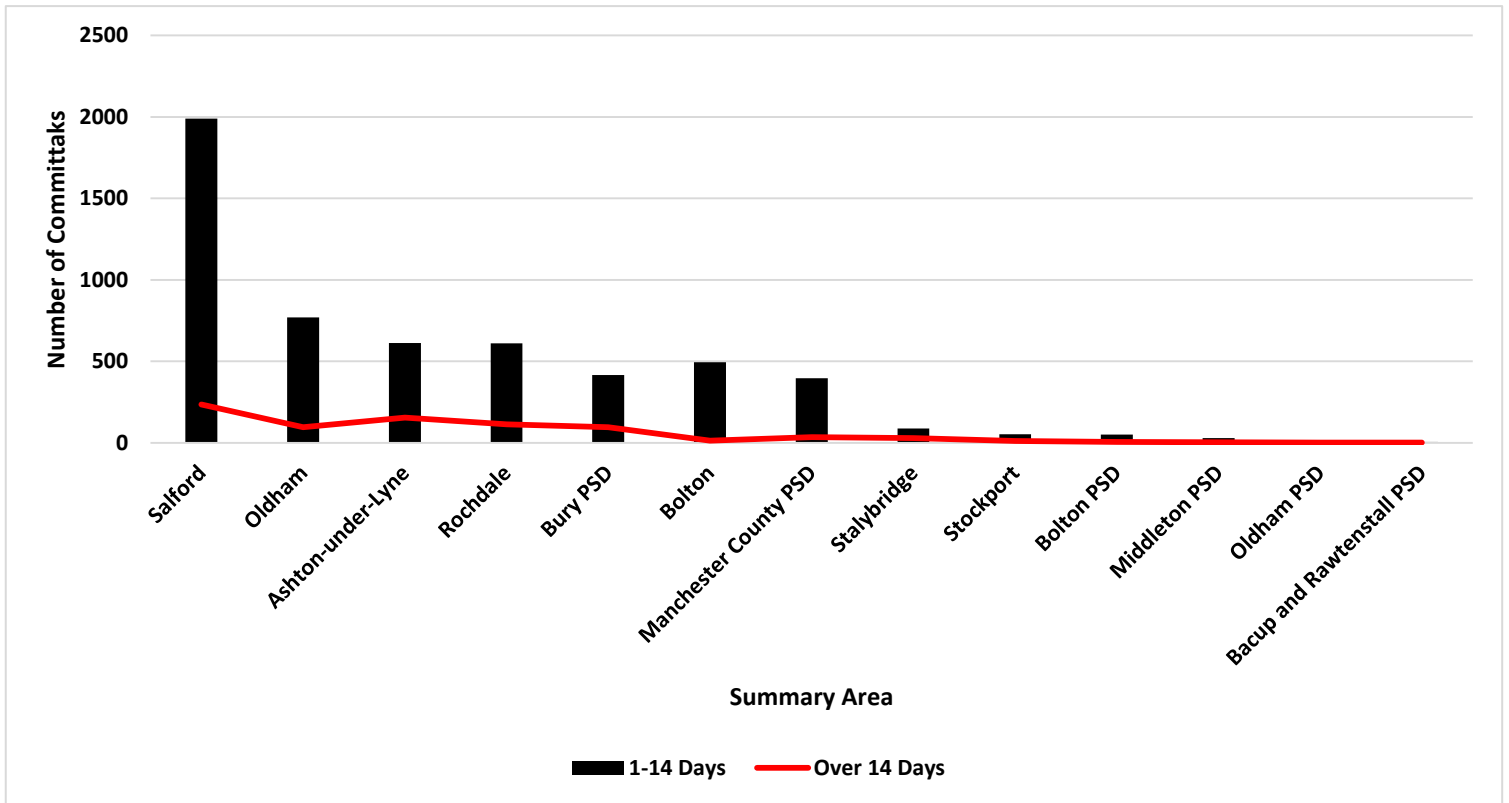


Figure 2: Fine options for female drunkenness, 1869-1875

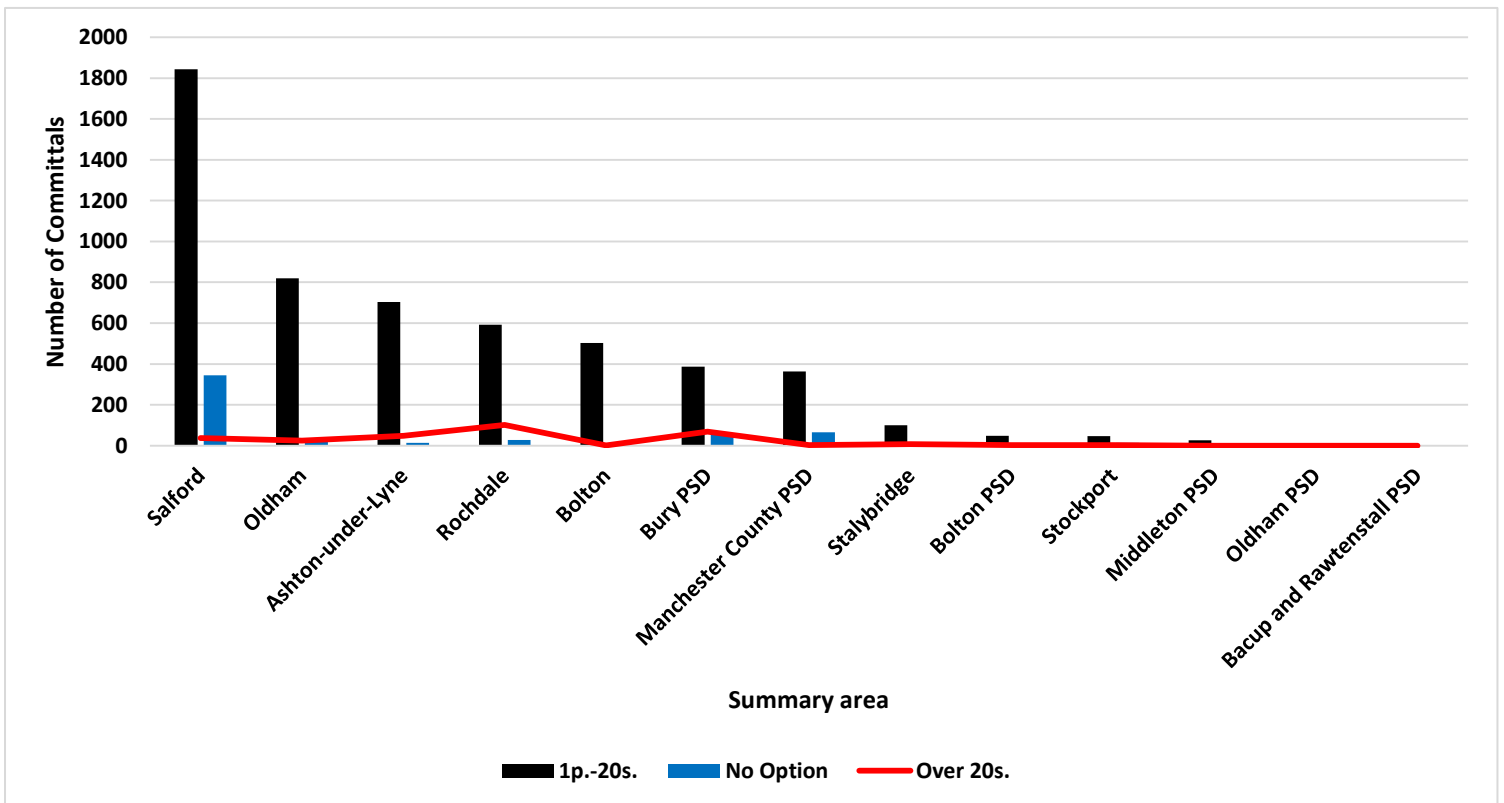


Figure 3: Length of prison sentence for female crimes of violence, 1869-1875

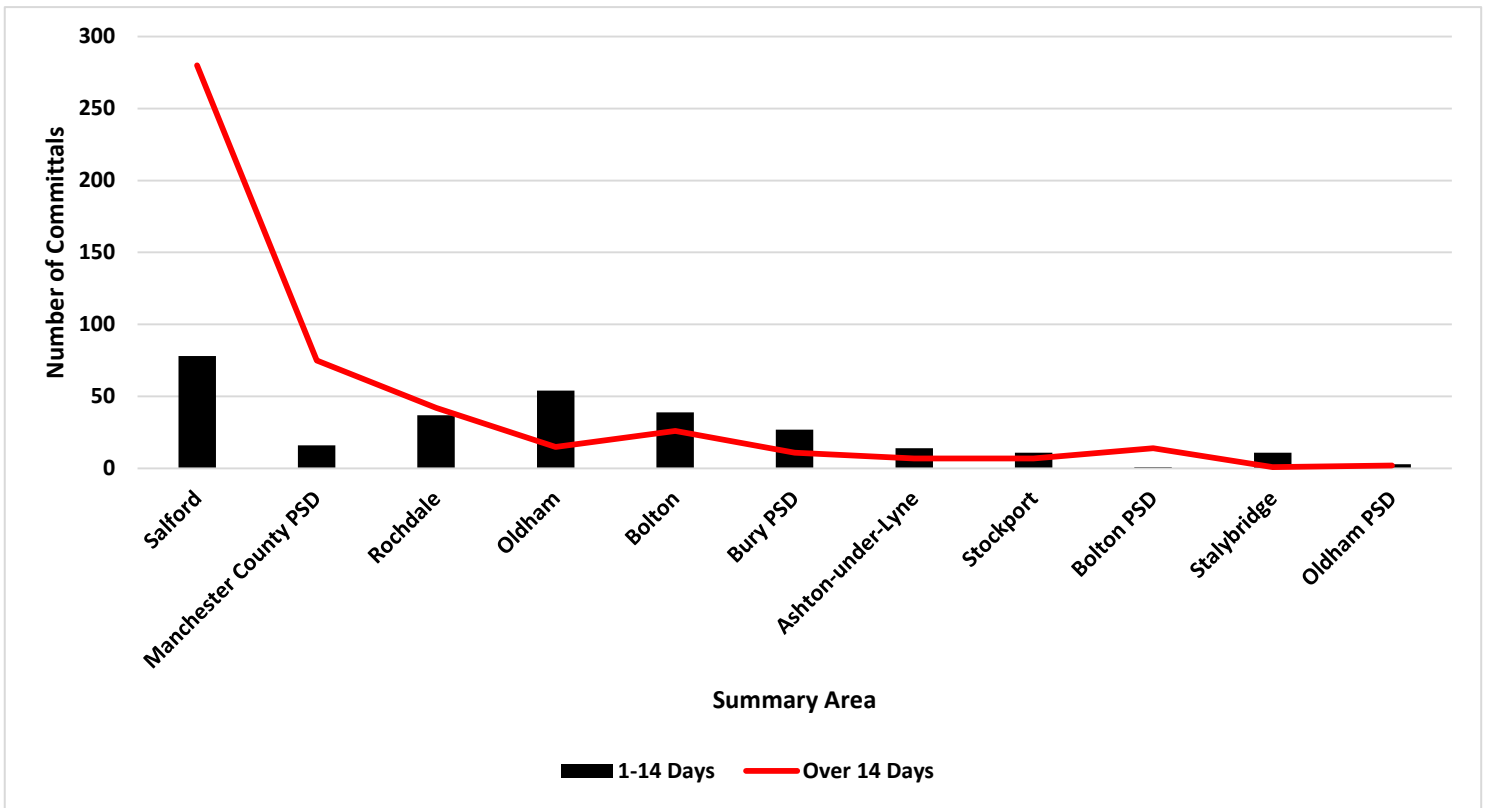
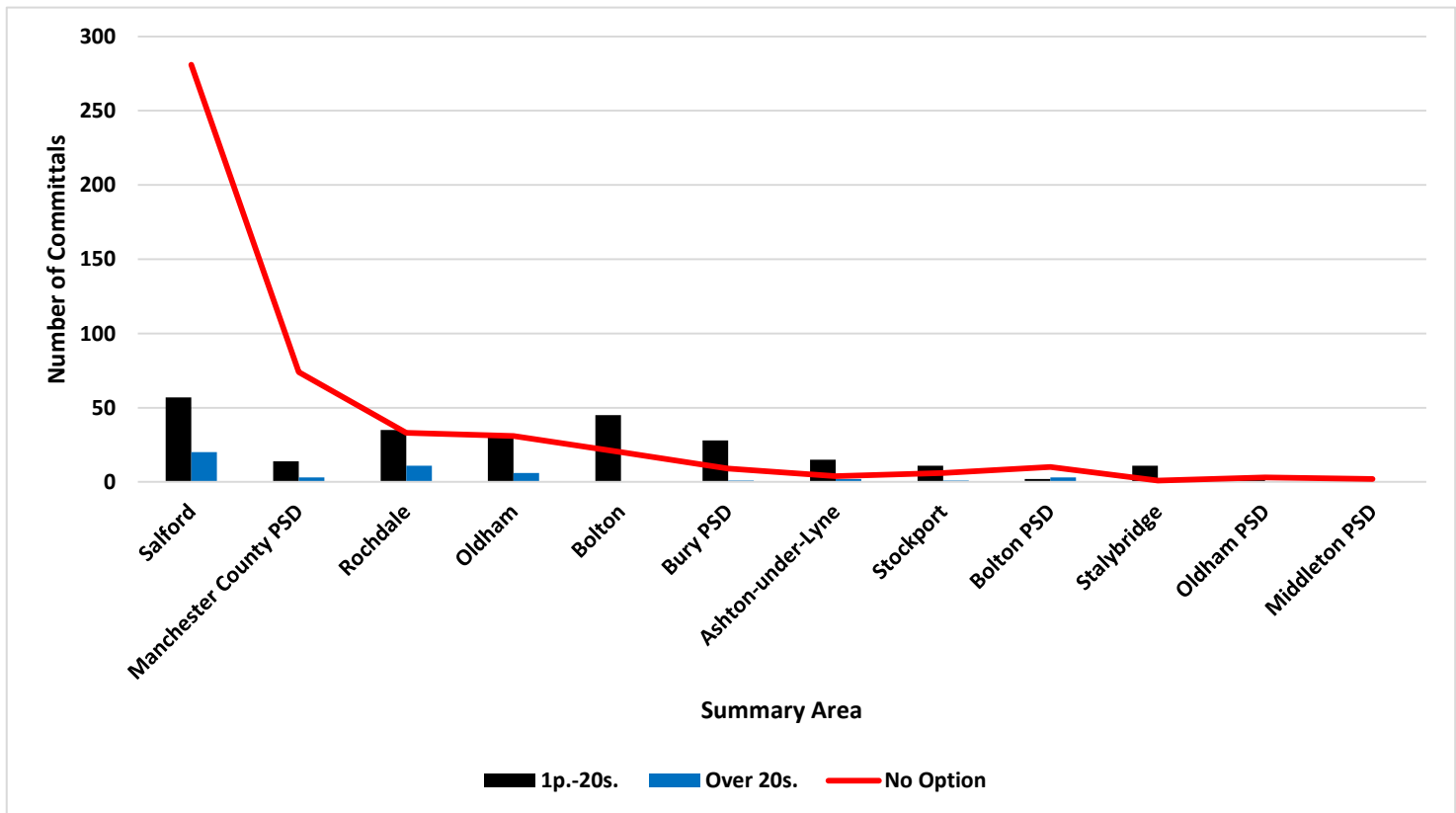


Figure 4: Fine option for female crimes of violence, 1869-1875



Appendix 3

Table 1: Migrants: Age Group by Location ID1: Women committed for drunkenness, Salford, 1869-1875³

Loc ID	Age Groups							Total
	12-15	16-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and above	
13	0	25	222	301	208	90	55	901
8	0	35	117	119	62	25	13	371
12	2	28	85	86	44	32	15	292
18	0	13	30	23	56	18	2	142
11	0	14	42	35	18	18	4	131
14	0	2	22	20	4	3	5	56
16	0	3	9	18	7	2	1	40
15	0	0	8	14	7	4	3	36
3	0	2	4	6	3	0	0	15
7	0	2	5	3	0	3	0	13
9	0	1	7	1	1	1	0	11
6	0	0	0	6	2	1	0	9
5	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	7
4	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	5
2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
	2	130	559	633	413	197	98	2032

³ For location ID, see Appendix 1.3.

Table 2: Migrants: Age Group by Location ID1: Women committed for drunkenness, Rochdale, 1869-1875⁴

	Age Groups						
Loc ID	16-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and above	Total
13	4	42	95	72	29	13	255
12	15	28	27	10	7	2	89
8	12	28	19	6	15	2	82
11	4	24	23	10	8	2	71
14	4	5	11	7	2	0	29
18	5	2	8	2	3	5	25
5	0	10	6	3	0	0	19
9	2	4	10	1	0	0	17
7	3	8	3	0	0	0	14
16	0	1	2	0	9	1	13
3	1	5	1	0	0	0	7
15	1	1	2	1	1	0	6
1	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
6	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	51	160	209	112	75	25	632

⁴ For location ID, see Appendix 1.3.

Appendix 4

Table 1: Total Number of Previous Committals for Women Convicted of Drunkenness: All Courts

Total Previous Committals	Number of women	Percentage
0 (no further committals)	1304	20.6
1	558	8.8
2	272	4.3
0 (further committals)	240	3.8
3	188	3.0
4	156	2.5
5	96	1.5
6	72	1.1
7	62	1.0
8	47	0.7
9	38	0.6
10	32	0.5
11	28	0.4
12	19	0.3
13	15	0.2
17	14	0.2
18	14	0.2
14	10	0.2
16	9	0.1
19	8	0.1
20	6	0.1
23	6	0.1
28	6	0.1
15	5	0.1
21	5	0.1
25	4	0.1
26	4	0.1
37	4	0.1
22	3	0.0
27	3	0.0
32	3	0.0
24	2	0.0
38	2	0.0
48	2	0.0
29	1	0.0
30	1	0.0
31	1	0.0
34	1	0.0
35	1	0.0

36	1	0.0
43	1	0.0
46	1	0.0
49	1	0.0
51	1	0.0
57	1	0.0
81	1	0.0
Total	3249	51.4⁵

Table 2: Total Number of Previous Committals for Women Convicted of Drunkenness: Salford

Total Previous Committals	Number of women	Percentage
0 (no further committals)	489	21.98
1	193	8.67
2	106	4.76
0 (further committals)	92	4.13
3	67	3.01
4	54	2.43
6	28	1.26
5	27	1.21
7	22	0.99
8	16	0.72
9	15	0.67
11	13	0.58
10	12	0.54
12	6	0.27
16	6	0.27
17	5	0.22
14	5	0.22
19	3	0.13
23	3	0.13
21	3	0.13
25	3	0.13
18	2	0.09
20	2	0.09
28	2	0.09
22	2	0.09
32	2	0.09
48	2	0.09
13	1	0.04
15	1	0.04
26	1	0.04
27	1	0.04

⁵ This table shows that the 6319 committals for drunkenness comprised 3249 individuals (51.4 per cent).

38	1	0.04
29	1	0.04
30	1	0.04
34	1	0.04
35	1	0.04
46	1	0.04
51	1	0.04
81	1	0.04
Total	2225	100

Table 3: Total Number of Previous Committals for Women Convicted of Drunkenness: Rochdale

Total Previous Committals	Number of women	Percentage
0 (no further committals)	115	15.91
1	67	9.27
2	33	4.56
3	30	4.15
4	28	3.87
0 (further committals)	27	3.73
7	13	1.80
5	12	1.66
8	11	1.52
9	11	1.52
10	10	1.38
6	6	0.83
18	6	0.83
12	5	0.69
11	4	0.55
13	3	0.41
17	2	0.28
20	2	0.28
26	2	0.28
37	2	0.28
14	1	0.14
16	1	0.14
19	1	0.14
23	1	0.14
28	1	0.14
15	1	0.14
21	1	0.14
25	1	0.14
27	1	0.14
32	1	0.14
48	1	0.14
29	1	0.14

31	1	0.14
57	1	0.14
Total	723	100

Table 4: Number of re-committals by trade, Salford, 1869-1875

Trade	0	1-3	4 or more	Total
Cotton Factory	123	119	214	456
Charwoman	70	95	189	354
Housework	79	76	94	249
Hawker	32	31	143	206
Servant	69	53	80	202
Flax Mill	24	32	60	116
Cotton Weaver	35	16	48	99
Factory Operative	27	21	50	98
Seamstress	17	30	20	67
None	11	10	18	39
Laundress	6	10	16	32
Dressmaker	11	14	2	27
Tailoress	6	12	8	26
Boot binder	3	4	11	18
Cap Maker	1	2	12	15
Artificial Flower Maker	0	0	14	14
Fustian Cutter	6	1	7	14
Silk Weaver	3	2	7	12
Musician	0	0	11	11
Linen Mill	0	3	7	10
Milliner	1	7	2	10
Silk Winder	2	3	5	10
Silk Mill	1	6	2	9
Umbrella Maker	3	4	2	9
Weaver	3	4	2	9
Cotton Warehouse	3	3	2	8
Smallware Weaver	3	4	0	7
Cook	0	1	4	5
Paper Mill	2	3	0	5
Boot closer	1	0	3	4
French Polisher	1	0	3	4

Machine Stitcher	1	3	0	4
Rag Sorter	3	1	0	4
Upholsteress	0	4	0	4
Boatwoman	1	0	2	3
Linen Factory	3	0	0	3
Sewing Machinist	0	3	0	3
Stay Maker	3	0	0	3
Washerwoman	0	1	2	3
Clothes Dealer	0	2	0	2
Hat Trimmer	0	0	2	2
Knitter	0	1	1	2
Machinist	2	0	0	2
Nurse	1	1	0	2
Plate polisher	2	0	0	2
Shoe Binder	1	1	0	2
Silk Factory	0	2	0	2
Tassell Maker	2	0	0	2
Tobacconist	0	0	2	2
Winder	2	0	0	2
Worsted Mill	1	1	0	2
Book Keeper	1	0	0	1
Brush maker	0	1	0	1
Cork Dealer	1	0	0	1
Cotton Baller	0	1	0	1
Cotton Polisher	1	0	0	1
Cotton Reeler	0	0	1	1
Cotton Sorter	1	0	0	1
Cotton Spinner	0	0	1	1
Cotton Winder	1	0	0	1
Embroideress	0	1	0	1
Flax Spinner	0	1	0	1
Fur Dresser	1	0	0	1
Glassworks	1	0	0	1
Greengrocer	1	0	0	1
Horse Mill	0	1	0	1
Lace Worker	0	0	1	1
Mangle Keeper	0	1	0	1
Mantle maker	1	0	0	1
Marine Store Dealer	1	0	0	1

Market Gardener	1	0	0	1
Mat Maker	0	0	1	1
Nail Cutter	1	0	0	1
Paper Box Maker	1	0	0	1
Shopkeeper	1	0	0	1
Spinner	0	1	0	1
Umbrella coverer	1	0	0	1
Warehouse	1	0	0	1
Wool Sorter	0	0	1	1
Woollen Mill	0	1	0	1
	581	594	1050	2225

Table 5: Number of re-committals by trade, Rochdale, 1869-1875

Trade	0	1-3	4 or more	Total
Cotton Factory	41	52	147	240
Charwoman	12	29	45	86
Hawker	16	17	53	86
Housework	16	22	23	61
Cotton Weaver	16	27	14	57
Factory Operative	4	11	39	54
Tailoress	6	9	14	29
Servant	9	0	9	18
Seamstress	2	6	9	17
Cotton Warehouse	3	3	6	12
None	1	0	6	7
Flax Mill	1	2	3	6
Artificial Flower Maker	0	3	2	5
Laundress	2	2	0	4
Woollen Mill	0	2	2	4
Cap Maker	3	0	0	3
Cotton Winder	1	2	0	3
Dressmaker	0	2	1	3
Machinist	1	1	1	3
Cotton Sorter	0	0	2	2
Musician	1	0	1	2
Upholsteress	1	0	1	2
Waste Sorter	1	1	0	2
Woollen Weaver	0	0	2	2
Boot binder	0	0	1	1
Cotton Packer	0	1	0	1
Cotton Picker	0	1	0	1
Cotton Polisher	1	0	0	1
Crochet Worker	1	0	0	1
Fish Dealer	1	0	0	1
Fustian Cutter	0	1	0	1
Knitter	0	0	1	1
Linen Mill	0	0	1	1
Mantle maker	1	0	0	1
Match Maker	0	1	0	1
Shoe Binder	1	0	0	1
Silk Weaver	0	0	1	1
Umbrella Maker	0	1	0	1
Washerwoman	0	0	1	1
	142	196	385	723

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